A grammar of Makalero

A Papuan language of East Timor
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PROEFSCHRIFT

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<tr>
<td>V2DEM</td>
<td>addressee-related deictic verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VDEM.DIST</td>
<td>distal deictic verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VDEM.HIGH</td>
<td>higher elevation deictic verb</td>
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<tr>
<td>VDEM.LOW</td>
<td>lower elevation deictic verb</td>
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<td>VOC</td>
<td>vocative</td>
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The glosses of items of unknown function repeat the phonological forms of the morphemes in question in capital letters.
## List of abbreviations

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>ADV</td>
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<tr>
<td>ARG</td>
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<td>argument structure construction</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Indonesian rupiah</td>
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<td>pron</td>
<td>pronoun</td>
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<td>right-detached position</td>
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<td>suff</td>
<td>suffix</td>
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<td>serial verb construction</td>
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<td>Tetum</td>
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<td>//</td>
<td>lexical parallel</td>
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1. Introduction

The present book is a descriptive grammar of Makalero, one of the 16 national languages of East Timor recognised as such in the country’s constitution. It is spoken in the subdistrict of Illiomar, in the south-east of the country. The location of East Timor in the context of insular South-East Asia is shown in Map 1.

![Map 1: East Timor in South-East Asia (adapted from Schapper 2009)](image)

With an area of 15,410 km² and just under a million inhabitants, East Timor exhibits quite a striking language diversity. The linguistic landscape of Timor as well as the neighbouring islands of Alor and Pantar is depicted in Map 2. The Makalero-speaking area is darkened.

![Map 2: The languages of Timor, Alor and Pantar (adapted from Hull 2004)](image)
§ 1.1 (p. 2) gives an outline of the history of the young country of East Timor. It includes some details on the Ilíomar subdistrict, although relatively little is known of its earlier history. § 1.2 (p. 5) and § 1.3 (p. 7) present background information on the geographical setting of the Makalero area and on its speakers and their culture. § 1.4 (p. 9) discusses the language and the language situation. The genetic classification of Makalero is outlined in § 1.5 (p. 12), followed by a sketch of the language’s structure in § 1.6 (p. 16). § 1.7 (p. 27) gives an overview over previous work. § 1.8 (p. 28) details the corpus underlying the present analysis and the methodology used. § 1.9 (p. 32), finally, discusses the orthography used for Makalero.

1.1 A short history of East Timor and Ilíomar

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

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

From about 1550, European colonialism was the major force shaping the island’s history. The earliest European activity in the area was by Portuguese traders and missionaries. Initially, there were no permanent administration, military presence or trade posts. However, these were established later, to counter the growing influence of the Dutch in the area. In 1586, large parts of the island of Timor were declared
the Province of Portuguese Timor. The following centuries were characterised by Dutch-Portuguese rivalry on the island, as well as several rebellions of the Timorese against the foreign colonisers. The colonial rivalry between the two European powers persisted until 1859, when the two parties agreed on a division of the island in the Treaty of Lisbon. However, territorial disputes continued, and the boundaries as in existence today were not established until 1916.

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

During World War II, East Timor saw Australian and Japanese military activity. During this time, many Timorese fled the country, and it was in such refugee camps in Australia that Capell (1944, 1972) conducted his survey of Timorese languages (see § 1.7, p. 27). After the capitulation of Japan in 1945, Portugal resumed control over Timor and retained it until the Carnation Revolution in 1974, when the fascist dictatorship in Portugal was abolished. Following this event, the then ruling party Fretilin (Frente Revolucionária do Timor-Leste Independente) declared the independence of East Timor in 1975. Shortly thereafter, however, internal strife that was probably supported by the Indonesian secret service broke out. The country seemed on the verge of civil war. Presenting this as a threat to stability in the region, Indonesia launched an armed invasion of Timor. Fearing communist tendencies in Fretilin, the international community was largely silent. Thus East Timor became the 27th province of Indonesia. What followed was a period of Indonesian repression, countered by guerilla warfare from Falintil (Forças Armadas de Liberação Nacional de Timor-Leste), the military wing of Fretilin. East Timor was only brought back to the international stage in 1991, when Indonesian military killed at least 250 Timorese as well as a number of foreign nationals during a peaceful protest in the capital Dili. This event, known as the Santa Cruz massacre, was recorded by a British cameraman. Under the ensuing international pressure, Indonesia finally offered East Timor the choice between a wide-reaching autonomy within Indonesia or independence. This referendum took place on August 30, 1999 and resulted in 78.5% of votes for independence from Indonesia. Directly after this, Indonesian military and pro-integration East Timorese militia carried out a campaign of violence and terrorism in retaliation: “In one month, this massive military operation murdered some 2,000 people, raped hundreds of women and girls, displaced three-quarters of the population, and demolished 75 percent of the country’s infrastructure” (Chomsky 2003: 72). A multinational force was finally allowed into East Timor to stabilise the area. After an interim UN administration, East Timor became formally independent on May 20, 2002. The brief period of independence has been characterised by episodes of major unrest in 2002 and 2006, as well as a nearly fatal attack on the then-president José Ramos-Horta in 2008. To this day, East
Timor is among the poorest nations in Asia and is heavily dependent on foreign credits and NGOs. There is little secure information on the history of the Iliomar subdistrict. Chamberlain (2008: 14) suggests the villages of Iliomar I and Iliomar II in their present-day location were established in about 1894, when two leaders, Nakameta (whose equestrian statue, though damaged in the 1999 unrest, stands in Iliomar today) and Rapimeta moved the Makalero people some kilometers up the coast in a northeasterly direction. In 1904, a military post was established in Iliomar, and a Portuguese fort, now ruined, was built presumably at more or less the same time. Of the other six villages making up the Iliomar subdistrict (see § 1.2 p. 5), Ailebere was established in 1917 and Tirilolo much later, in 1973 (Chamberlain 2008: 21, 45).

During the Indonesian invasion, which started in 1975, the population of Iliomar didn’t experience the war until 1977 (Chamberlain 2008: 64). Late in that year, the Fretilin leadership ordered the evacuation of the people to Mt. Matebian. Moving in a non-direct way to avoid Indonesian troops, the population of Iliomar arrived there in 1978. By this time, several 10,000 other villagers from the surrounding districts were already in hiding there. Lack of provisions and attacks by the Indonesian armed forces led to heavy casualties among the civilian population. When the Fretilin resistance crumbled in 1978, the civilians were ordered back to their villages, which were by then under Indonesian control. Upon their return from Matebian, all Iliomar villagers were concentrated in the area of Iliomar town. Their movement was restricted to within 500 metres of the new village limits. These measures were intended to isolate the villagers from Falintil elements in the jungle. Thus restricted, the villagers were unable to cultivate their traditional fields; the result was a severe shortage of food, and particularly in 1981 and 1982, malnourishment and the resulting mortality was very high. From 1979 on, Iliomar received emergency feeding from the International Committee of the Red Cross. In 1983, the Indonesian armed forces and Fretilin negotiated a ceasefire. It was only then that proper crops could be planted and the supply situation improved somewhat. In the period from 1983 to 1989, there was no organised resistance in the Iliomar area, and the Indonesian administration was consolidated. Nevertheless, the remaining guerillas in the forests continued harassing the local Indonesian forces, and there were numerous skirmishes between Falintil fighters and Indonesian military as well as their local military auxiliaries. The 1990s, finally, were a period of relative security. After the referendum in 1999, however, as the Indonesian forces prepared to withdraw to Lospalos, they burned public buildings, including the administration building, the health post and the junior high school in Iliomar, and shot and killed numerous domestic animals, leaving Iliomar devastated. Since then, reconstruction has been going slowly, with the subdistrict Health Center and electricity reestablished in Iliomar town in 2002 (Chamberlain 2008: 7). However, the power supply is intermittent due to fuel shortages and repairs to the generators. § 1.2 (p. 5) gives more information on the infrastructure found today in the subdistrict.

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

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

Map 3: Lautém district

The subdistrict covers an area of approximately 300 km² (Chamberlain 2008, Annex C, 2). It is bordered in the east and Northeast by the Lospalos subdistrict, in the north by Luro, in the northwest by Bagua, in the east by Uatucarbau, and in the South by the Timor sea. It is home to a population of 6,726 (according to the 2004 East Timor population census retrievable at http://dne.mof.gov.tl/census/index.htm).

Iliomar subdistrict is heavily wooded and mountainous: elevations range from sea level to almost 900 m on Mount Naunili. The main connection by road is from Lospalos. The road is 46 kilometers long and in fairly bad condition. Traffic is frequently interrupted due to mudslides. The road continues westwards to Uatucarbau. It is in driveable but very bad condition, although recently new bridges crossing the rivers to the east of Iliomar have been completed. There is a regular truck and sometimes bus service from Iliomar to Lospalos. Furthermore, the UN staff occasionally use a centrally-located football field, next to the primary school in Iliomar town, as a landing site. There is a catholic church with a resident priest in Iliomar, as well as several chapels in the surrounding villages. A number of primary schools operate across the subdistrict, and there is one secondary school in Iliomar town. Electricity is provided by two diesel-generators, which are switched on daily from 7 pm to 12 pm. A local health centre provides basic medical care. In 2009, there was mobile reception on Mount Naunili, the highest point of the subdistrict, some 5 km out of Iliomar town on the road to Lospalos. Iliomar town is furthermore

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proud owner of a library, established by the Timor Lorosa’e Nippon Cultural Project (TNCC) in 2004. It provides a variety of books and school materials for all ages, predominantly in Tetum, English and Japanese. Politically, the Iliomar subdistrict is divided into six villages (suços) which are, in turn, divided into a total of 25 subvillages. This organisation is shown in Table 1.1.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>village</th>
<th>subvillages</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>Iliomar</td>
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<td>Ara-ara</td>
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<td>Kaentau</td>
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<td>Ossuhira</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Uamatatar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iliomar II</td>
<td>Akara</td>
</tr>
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<td>Lihina</td>
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<td>Madarira</td>
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<td>Kaidabu</td>
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<td>Leilor</td>
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<td>Hitali</td>
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<td>Rumutau</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Uataomar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kainliu</td>
<td>Titirauen</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Maluhira</td>
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<td>Liufalin</td>
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<td>Larimi</td>
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<td>Tatalalarin</td>
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<td>Eteuata</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Table 1.1: Villages and subvillages in Iliomar

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

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

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

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4 © J.-P. Fischer. Reproduced with the permission of the author.
5 42 according to Chamberlain (2008: Annex C, 5). He lists their names as Busarulu, Iliomar, Dirimuni, Komil, Luraira, Pakakesi, Ta’amatu, Mamun, Uardai, Loorasa, Ma’aleuet, Liisorou, Urhu’a, Tafarira, Noniru, Naunira (note: these are likely variant spellings of the same name), Warritir, Buabere, Abuabu, Hulalain, Lafidebar, Inameli, Luanira, Betunomar, Feihira, Drekun, Mahurira, Ailebore, Deni, Kaparesin, Muurai, Lutupere, Kittau, Upurira, Upulira (it is possible that one among the last two is a misspelling and the two refer to the same clan), Uaitelu, Manir, Perut, Paidar, Nutitupul, Lurubotifa and Mauberu. The spelling has been adjusted to follow that used in this thesis (see § 1.9, p. 32). The present corpus does not contain a complete set of clan names. However, it confirms eight of the above-mentioned names, namely Dirimuni, Komil, Loorasa, Liisorou, Tafarira, Naunira, Inameli and Mahurira, and additionally gives the names Dolomara, Loopupul, Muenira, Pusaulu, Punakosi and Darapu’u. It is at present unclear how these relate to the names given by Chamberlain. With the exception of Iliomar (a nominal compound consisting of ‘dl’ ‘stone’ and ‘omar’ ‘stilt house’), none of the clan names, from either source, is transparent. Note the occurrence of the voiced bilabial stop in several of the names listed by Chamberlain; this suggests clan names follow the same phonological subsystem as place names (see § 3.1.3.1.2, p. 111).
the following episode from Chamberlain (2008: 57), relating the reason for a
disagreement between a Falintil group and the Fretilin Iliomar Zone in 1976: “An
important element in the dispute was Hornay’s (the leader of the Falintil group, JH)
antipathy towards the Iliomar Fretilin Secretary, Tômas Pinto. Hornay reportedly
believed that the position should be held by a respected $liurai$ (traditional leader).
According to Lere Anan Timor (the Fretilin Vice Secretary of the Iliomar Zone at
the time, JH): “They didn’t want Tômas Pinto to be the Zona Secretary, because
they wanted a ‘blue-blood’ (i.e. a member of a powerful clan, JH). He (Francisco
Hornay) wanted me to be the Zona Secretary, because I was a ‘blue-blood’”.
The society is patriarchally organised. Locals consider marriage ceremonies the
central pillar of the cultural framework. In the course of this, the clan of the groom
pays a substantial bride price to the clan of the bride. An important social division in
this context is into wife-giver ($omara$) and wife-taker ($tua$) clans. Another
important part of socio-cultural life are funerals and the ceremonies associated with
them. These areas of cultural life still await anthropological investigation.
The residents of the Iliomar subdistrict are mainly subsistence farmers. The main
crops cultivated are rice, maize and vegetables. Furthermore, there are fairly
extensive coconut plantations. Other crops cultivated are candlenut ($aleurites
moluccana$), areca nut and lontar palms ($borassus sundaicus$). Livestock includes
water buffalo, cattle, pigs, goats, chickens and horses. Despite the subdistrict’s long
cost line, little fishing is undertaken due to rough seas.
The large majority of residents are Roman Catholic (96.5% of the population nation-
wide, according to http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/35878.htm). Nevertheless,
traditional animist believes remain strong and coexist with the Catholic practices.
Some degree of formal schooling is very common. Many young people continue
education in other cities of East Timor, either temporarily or permanently. However,
the exact proportions are unknown.
There are sizeable Maklero communities in the district capital Lospalos, where they
are centred in the subvillages of Natura and Sawarica, and in Dili, particularly in the
Becora area.
1.4 Language and language situation

Makalero, sometimes also given as Maklore\textsuperscript{6}, is the main language of the subdistrict of Lioiomar. It borders the language area of Naueti in the west, Makasae in the north and northwest, and Fataluku in the east. Both the Fataluku and the Makasae languages are clearly related to Makalero; Naueti, on the other hand, is not. The linguistic boundary with Naueti appears clear-cut, marked by the major Irarere river which also forms the western boundary of the Lioiomar subdistrict. The boundaries to the other languages are less easy to define and appear to be more gradual. The inhabitants of the Luro subdistrict, which borders Lioiomar on the north, appear to think of their idiom, referred to as Sa’ani, as distinct from either Makasae and Makalero. The speech of this subdistrict has seen no linguistic investigation yet; a first impression by the present author confirms that the mutual intelligibility with Makalero is high. Sa’ani may thus perhaps be seen as a transitional variant between Makasae and Makalero.

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

At the time of writing, Makalero is relatively vital. It is spoken by an estimated 6,500 speakers\textsuperscript{7} and is a major identification factor for the people of Lioiomar. The language is used in both everyday life as well as in ritual contexts. It is being learnt as a first language by all children of Makalero parents in the district. Overall, the population of the Lioiomar subdistrict is fairly homogeneous, with very few residents from other parts of the island.

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

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

\textsuperscript{7} According to the East Timor population census of 2004 (http://dnc.mof.gov.tl/census/index.htm) 5,981 individuals aged 6 and above have Makalero as their mother tongue. 5,559 of these live in the Lautém district and 292 in Dili; the rest is scattered across the other districts of East Timor. The estimate of a total number of 6,500 speakers adds a rather generous 500 more speakers located abroad.
or Indonesian. Practical knowledge of Portuguese is relatively restricted at the time of writing. However, this language is the official language of instruction. Despite this fact, Tetum or Indonesian were more commonly used during my first visit in 2007. Since then, teachers have received intensive training in Portuguese and were mostly using that language in the classroom by the time of my second visit in 2009. It is unclear to what degree the pupils are able to follow classes in this language. Tetum, with a large proportion of Portuguese-based vocabulary, is used in matters pertaining to politics and national issues. It is also the language used in church. Although Indonesian has lost ground since 1999, it is still present as the language of entertainment in that most television programmes followed by the local population are Indonesian. Furthermore, it is very common for young people to leave the area temporarily or permanently in order to pursue education or job opportunities. A language with relatively few speakers in a heavily multilingual nation where mobility is on the increase, Makalero must thus be considered endangered in the longer term.

Although it is recognised as a national language in the constitution of East Timor, many previous sources on the languages of the nation do not recognise Makalero as a language in its own right, but as a dialect of the larger Makasae (see e.g. Lewis 2009). On the other hand, Hull (2004: 26/31) discusses it a separate language that is “transitional between Makasai and Fataluku. (...) Of all the non-Austronesian languages of Timor, Makasai and Makalero are clearly the most closely related, although mutual intelligibility is minimal. Lexical (as well as morphological) disagreements between the two vernaculars are nevertheless frequent enough to justify their classification as separate languages.” The present study confirms a very high degree of lexical correspondence between Makasae and Makalero. The comparative word list in Table 1.2 gives an impression of the degree of similarity between the two languages. Contrary to Hull’s assessment of minimal mutual intelligibility, it appears direct communication between the two groups is possible to a considerable degree. In fact, Makalero speakers characterise their language as a dialect of Makasae. It is noticeable, however, that the similarity between the two idioms is centred on content vocabulary, where regular sound correspondences can be established. For instance, voiced plosives in Makasae correspond to voiceless ones in Makalero, which seems to have lost this distinction. This constitutes the main difference between the phonological systems of the two languages. Furthermore, Makasae seems to have lost a final /t/ in several cases where it is still present in Makalero. Also noticeable are differences in vowel qualities in diphthongs or where a glottal phoneme is involved. Items with more grammatical function, on the other hand, are in many cases wildly different. Examples are provided by the last two items in Table 1.2, namely the modal verb ‘be able’ and the clause-internal negator.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Makalero</th>
<th>Makasae</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>day / sun</td>
<td>uatu</td>
<td>watu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>night</td>
<td>kamu</td>
<td>gamu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>river</td>
<td>weir</td>
<td>wair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>earth, ground</td>
<td>ma’ a</td>
<td>ma’ a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>house</td>
<td>omar / lopu</td>
<td>oma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meat</td>
<td>seur</td>
<td>seu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bone</td>
<td>afa</td>
<td>sapa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>name</td>
<td>nei</td>
<td>nai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>child</td>
<td>mata</td>
<td>mata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>older sibling</td>
<td>nana</td>
<td>kaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>younger sibling</td>
<td>noko</td>
<td>noko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grandparent/ grandchild</td>
<td>dada</td>
<td>dada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one</td>
<td>u / un</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>two</td>
<td>loloi / lolei</td>
<td>lolai’e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>three</td>
<td>lolitu</td>
<td>lolitu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>six</td>
<td>douh</td>
<td>daho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>good</td>
<td>rau</td>
<td>rau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wet</td>
<td>hifal</td>
<td>ipal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>long</td>
<td>asan</td>
<td>asan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sharp</td>
<td>mera’</td>
<td>mera’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heavy</td>
<td>ti’ir</td>
<td>ti’ir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>say</td>
<td>lolo</td>
<td>lolo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hear</td>
<td>uali’</td>
<td>wali’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sleep</td>
<td>ti’a</td>
<td>ta’e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>search</td>
<td>haka</td>
<td>haga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beat</td>
<td>pase</td>
<td>base</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be able</td>
<td>me’e</td>
<td>be’u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>nomo</td>
<td>to, noto, tonai, notonai, noko</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1.2: Lexical comparison between Makalero and Makasae

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

### 1.5 Classification

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

![Figure 1.1: The Eastern Timor languages](image)

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

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

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\(^{8}\) The two terms are used interchangeably in the present thesis.

\(^{9}\) Note, however, that it is contested in Donohue and Schapper (forthcoming); the final word on the classification on the Timor-Alor-Pantar group has thus not yet been spoken.
general phonological, morphological and syntactic features that are characteristic for this language type is given in Foley (1998: 506f.). Tables 1.3 through 1.5 summarise these features. The right column in each table gives their Makalero values, showing how it relates to this general Papuan language type.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>feature</th>
<th>Papuan</th>
<th>Makalero</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>vowel system</td>
<td>diverse; (/i e a o u/ widespread)</td>
<td>/i e a o u/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>articulation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stops: voicing</td>
<td>diverse patterns (absence of voicing common)</td>
<td>absent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>distinction</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fricatives</td>
<td>restricted (0-1 members)</td>
<td>/f s/ ([h])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liquids</td>
<td>[r] and [l] not phonemic</td>
<td>/r/ and /l/ phonemic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>syllables</td>
<td>complex consonant clusters common</td>
<td>CV favoured; some consonant clusters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stress</td>
<td>diverse rules (phonemic stress common)</td>
<td>predictable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tone</td>
<td>common</td>
<td>absent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1.3: Makalero and Papuan languages compared: phonology

Two of the patterns found in Makalero phonology, namely the five-vowel system and the absence of voicing in stops, are also widespread in Papuan languages. Other than these, Makalero is quite distinct from the typical Papuan language with respect to its phonological characteristics.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>feature</th>
<th>Papuan</th>
<th>Makalero</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>morphological structure</td>
<td>weakly or highly agglutinative</td>
<td>close to isolating</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inflectional morphology</td>
<td>strongly developed</td>
<td>very weakly developed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>derivational morphology</td>
<td>varied; frequent use of SVCs</td>
<td>little (complement-verb complexes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nouns</td>
<td>normally uninflected for number and gender</td>
<td>uninflected (may be plural-marked)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPs</td>
<td>typically inflected for case</td>
<td>uninflected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verbs</td>
<td>varied (the presence of at least an agreement affix for the subject is common)</td>
<td>mostly uninflected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAM</td>
<td>varied; often suffixal; SVCs common</td>
<td>preverbal particle; separate predications</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lexical categories</td>
<td>sharp division into nouns and verbs common</td>
<td>categorial indeterminacy; some derivational processes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1.4: Makalero and Papuan languages compared: morphology

In the domain of morphology, Makalero resembles the Papuan language type with respect to nominal inflection, which is largely non-existent (except for the fact that there is in Makalero optional plural marking). Another possible analogy is TAM marking, for which serial verb constructions are widespread in Papuan languages; although the present thesis does not use the term SVC, the adverbial verbs used to express the majority of the TAM categories in the form of distinct predications may qualify as such. In all other respects, Makalero deviates from the Papuan language type.
Table 1.5: Makalero and Papuan languages compared: syntax

In the domain of syntax, Makalero shows the largest degree of agreement with the Papuan language type, conforming to it with respect to general phrase headedness, word order, as well as the place of the determiner and the modifier with a noun. Makalero agrees with Foley’s 22 characteristic Papuan features\(^8\) as reproduced in Tables 1.3. through 1.5, in only 8 instances, most of which are found in syntax. Apart from the vocabulary, syntax thus provides the strongest argument for its classification as Papuan.\(^9\)

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

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

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\(^8\)The total of 22 counts the syntactic features in Table 1.5 each separately, despite the fact that most of them are concomitants of SOV.

\(^9\)Note, however, that word order is not a sound basis for language classification, since languages may change their basic word order (see Heine 2008: 34f. for some contact-induced examples of this process).
exclusive distinction in the personal pronoun paradigm). Note also that Donohue (2004)\textsuperscript{12} denies the validity of an area with linguistically definable borders in Central and Eastern Indonesia. Instead, he claims the region is part of a typological continuum between Northern, Western and Eastern Austronesian languages.

1.6 A grammatical sketch of Makalero

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

1.6.1 The vocabulary

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

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

\textsuperscript{13} Most of the reconstructed forms Foley (1986: 211) lists appear to be Proto-Malayo-Polynesian, rather than Proto-Austronesian, as he indicates. In some cases, his spelling is adapted in the Table according to the forms in the Austronesian Basic Vocabulary Database retrievable at http://language.psy.auckland.ac.nz/austronesian/.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proto-Malayo-Polynesian reconstruction</th>
<th>Makalero</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*kulit ‘skin’</td>
<td>ulit ‘skin (human or animal)’, uli ‘bark, leather’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*l-ina ‘mother’</td>
<td>ina ‘mother (as a term of address only)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*wahin ‘water’</td>
<td>ueir ‘river’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Makalero</th>
<th>cognates in other Papuan languages of Timor</th>
<th>cognates in Austronesian languages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*kuda ‘horse’</td>
<td>Bnq *kuda, Fat *kuca, BI kuda, Tm kuda</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*pipi ‘goat’</td>
<td>Mks *kuda ‘horse’, Bnq *pipi, Fat *pipi, Tm *bibi ‘goat’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*lopu ‘house’</td>
<td>Fat le ‘house’, BI lepat ‘food stall’ (PAN *lepat?)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*omar15 ‘stilt house’</td>
<td>Mks oma ‘house’, BI rumah, Tm uma ‘house’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*selu ‘other’</td>
<td>Mks seluk ‘other’, Tm seluk ‘other’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1.7: Austronesian core vocabulary in Makalero

14 Another item listed as a common Austronesian root in Papuan languages in Foley (1986: 211) is *retu ‘breast’, which appears to be reflected in Makalero dudu ‘breast’. However, according to the Austronesian Basic Vocabulary Database, this lexeme reconstructs as *nanu, rather than *retu, for both Proto-Austronesian and Proto-Malayo-Polynesian. Borrowing of this Austronesian root into the ancestor of Makalero would thus involve a more uncommon change from */nu/ to /d/. Note, however, that the Database lists several Austronesian languages (mostly from the Philippines) as having a form dudu or dudug for ‘breast’.

15 The origin of the final /t/ is not quite clear. It may possibly be identical to the nominal formative -r discussed in § 3.1.2.1.1 (p. 102).
A semantically delineable group of presumably old Austronesian loans are numerals. Table 1.9 shows a selection of Makalero numerals of Austronesian origin. For more details, see § 3.2.3.8 (p. 171).

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Makalero</th>
<th>Proto-Austronesian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>hein</em> ~ <em>sein</em></td>
<td>Tm <em>hein</em> ‘wait’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>resin</em> ~ <em>resi</em></td>
<td>Tm <em>resin</em> ‘exceed, be left over’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>taru</em> ~ <em>taru</em></td>
<td>Bl <em>taru</em> ‘put, place’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>teri</em> ~ <em>teri</em></td>
<td>Tm <em>teri</em> ‘cut with scissors or shears’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 1.9: Austronesian numerals in Makalero

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Makalero</th>
<th>Proto-Austronesian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>fat</em></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>lima</em></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>fitu</em></td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>siwa</em></td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>rihan</em></td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

### Table 1.10: Loanwords from Tetum

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Makalero</th>
<th>Tetum source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>beik, peik</em> ‘stupid’</td>
<td><em>beik</em> ‘stupid’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>funu</em> ‘war’</td>
<td><em>funu</em> ‘war’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kole</em> ‘tired’</td>
<td><em>kole</em> ‘tired’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kulat</em> ‘mushroom’</td>
<td><em>kulat</em> ‘mushroom’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>liurai</em> ‘king’</td>
<td><em>liurai</em> ‘king’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>matenek</em> ‘clever’</td>
<td><em>matenek</em> ‘clever, intelligent’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>matebian</em> ‘soul’</td>
<td><em>matebian</em> ‘soul’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>susuk</em> ‘mosquito’</td>
<td><em>susuk</em> ‘mosquito’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tamba</em> ‘because’</td>
<td><em>tamb</em> ‘because’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ukun</em> ‘rule’</td>
<td><em>ukun</em> ‘rule’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 1.11: Loanwords from Indonesian

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

Table 1.12: Loanwords from Portuguese

1.6.2 Phonology

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

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

\(^{17}\) Note that Portuguese verbs are not generally borrowed in the infinitive form, but rather in the third person singular present tense. An exception is fiar ‘trust, honour’, which ultimately derives from Portuguese fiar ‘trust, entrust’. It is found in an identical form in Tetum as ‘believe’. 
alohphone [ʔ] and a fricative allophone [h]. Both are frequently pronounced so faintly that they are practically inaudible.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>labial</th>
<th>alveo-</th>
<th>post-</th>
<th>velar</th>
<th>glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plosive</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diverted</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>airstream</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1.13: Consonant phonemes

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

i (i:)

u (u:)

e (e:)

o (o:)

a (a:)

Table 1.14: Vowel phonemes

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

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

The minimal lexical morpheme is bimoraic; the coda does not contribute to syllable weight. For this reason, a monosyllabic lexical morpheme must have either a long vowel nucleus or a diphthong nucleus. Furthermore, there is a restriction on the
number of heavy syllables; a simple morpheme can contain one such syllable at most. Stress on word-level is generally on the second-to-last mora of a morpheme. Stress assignment in the utterance is roughly trochaic; however, more research is needed on this.

1.6.3 Lexical categories

All content words in Makalero are analysed as either nouns or verbs. Basically any lexeme can be used for referencing and for predicating, hence the classification of morphemes into these two classes is not straightforward. Nevertheless, I argue for the reality of a noun/verb distinction in Makalero based on the fact that there are some – largely unproductive – category-changing derivational processes, as well as a number of lexemes which receive widely differing, unrelated meanings if used either as prototypical verbs or nouns. § 3.1.1 (p. 100) and § 3.2.1 (p. 125) suggest a semantic feature as a general identification criterion for nouns and verbs: prototypical nouns, if used predicatively, are generally translated as “is an x”. Prototypical verbs in referring function, on the other hand, may denote “the act of x-ing”, “the product of x-ing” or “an instrument or object associated with x-ing”. Makalero is largely isolating. The most productive morphological process is reduplication. In some cases, it appears to derive nouns from verbs. Otherwise, with both nouns and activity verbs, reduplication has a distributivity reading, denoting a variety of referents. With stative verbs, it is generally read as denoting a high degree of the property expressed by the verb. Other than that, an unproductive formative -r- can be identified, which appears to be broadly nominalising in function. The suffix -ini is another way of deriving nouns from verbs. Also, there is an agent noun suffix -door, borrowed ultimately from Portuguese. Some more morphological variation is found in the domain of verbs. There is an unproductive verbaliser in the form of the glottal phoneme as well as some inflectional morphology. A subclass of semantically intransitive verbs inflect for subject number. A more sizeable group of verbs exhibits bound forms used in a complement-verb complex.

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

In the verbal domain, there is a major distinction between stative verbs and activity verbs. Most notably, the VP-internal adverb hau ‘all’ is read as a marker of completion with activity verbs, but denotes high degree with stative verbs. With respect to syntactic valency, the majority of verbs is dative. While the first of the
two arguments associated with these verbs is a subject, the second can take the form of either an object or a complement. The two instantiations of the second argument differ in position. Nominal undergoers are commonly associated with the object position, while locations and goals are usually found in the complement position. Pronominal undergoers can stand in either position. A small minority of verbs is analysed as being atevalent, i.e. have a valency of zero and do not take any argument. These generally express temporal or modal concepts such as soohe ‘yesterday’, tone ‘perhaps’, or atama ‘first’. Other verbal subgroups are constituted by negative verbs, interrogative verbs, numerals, deictic verbs, quantifiers, verbs of physical and emotional states and verbs with complement clause extensions. Furthermore, there is a sizeable group of verbs which are marked with the third person undergoer prefix k- in the circumstances discussed in § 5.2.2.6.3 (p. 349). It is argued that these verb forms are undergoing a reanalysis into free and bound verb forms.

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

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

1.6.4 The noun phrase

The noun phrase in Makalero is relatively straightforward. The head noun is preceded by a possessive phrase, while all other dependents (i.e. modifiers and determiners) follow it. Most variation is found in the domain of the modifier, which may be nominal, verbal, or fully clausal. As well as unmarked modifiers, there are modifiers introduced by the clitic attributive marker ki=. These are generally contrasting the referent in question with other possible referents with respect to the quality they express (§ 4.3.4, p. 284). There are, furthermore, genuine relative sentences11 in Makalero. The marking of these is centred on the subject of the relative clause, be it the head of the modifier or within the modifier. In the latter case, the head noun may be marked additionally. This results in a combination of

11 They are called relative sentences rather than relative clauses because they may be multicausal.
head-marking and dependent-marking patterns. The head of a relative sentence may be either left-dislocated or in situ.

### 1.6.5 The verb phrase

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

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

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

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

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

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

1.6.7 The sentence

The unit ‘sentence’ applies to expressions that pertain to one event semantically, but may consist of one or more clauses syntactically. Many sentences are bicausal due to the mismatch between the rigid structure of the Makalero clause, which allows for the expression of two syntactic arguments with a verb at most, and the semantic participant frames of verbs, which may contain more than two participants. This leads to a situation where all semantically ditransitive states of affairs are necessarily expressed in two clauses, with the light verb mei ‘take’ providing an empty argument slot for the supernumerary argument. Another important group of bicausal sentences involve verbal complements. These express circumstantial information of manner or location and are syntactically treated like verbal arguments in that they fill a verb’s non-subject argument position. In fact, objects and complements are variant expressions of the same syntactic function. A given clause can contain only one or the other, but not both at the same time. Consequently, if a clause is constructed with a verbal complement, an undergoer in the verb’s semantic participant frame must be expressed in a separate clause. Again, the light verb mei ‘take’ is used for this purpose. The last group of multi-clause sentences involve avalent adverbial predicates, which are clausal by themselves, but cannot form utterances on their own. Such adverbial predicates express time, aspectual notions, as well as epistemic modality. Deontic modality as expressed by a variety of modal verbs also generally takes the form of a sentence, as do verbs of saying with their complement clause extensions and a conative construction with fera ‘try’. The
connection between the clauses in a sentence may be unmarked, or marked overtly
with a clause-linking clitic (§ 3.5.3.1, p. 250).

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

Consequently, this clause is discontinuous. The square brackets in this sentence
visualise its structure. A sentence such as (1) shows clearly that the LDP functions
above the clause level.

(1)  \[
\text{[Kiloo]}_{\text{SUBJ in LDP}} \text{[mu’}a \text{ hai \text{[kamu]}_{\text{CLA}=te’e \text{[ma’}u\text{]}_{\text{VP}}.}
\]

‘He came after night(fall).’

(elic634)

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

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

### 1.6.8 The utterance

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

§ 8.3 (p. 481) argues that several constructions in Makalero can be termed
subordinating; the clearest of these are relative sentences. Like the subordinating
clause linkers, these exhibit a marking pattern where the relative clitic is found on
either the head or the subject argument of the relative sentence. On the basis of this
parallel, the purposive and reported speech linkers are analysed as subordinating. A rather different, yet also clearly subordinated structure are VP complements. These are full predications and are able to stand with the same modifiers as an independent clause. However, the verb stands in a dependent (possibly less verbal) form. A third type of clearly subordinated structure are clausal arguments and adverbial clauses in the left-detached position of a sentence. A somewhat tricky case is presented by verbs of saying and modal verbs and their complement clause extensions. § 3.6.2 (p. 3.6.2) argues that constructions where the complementiser attaches to the verb of saying, introducing its complement clause extension, originate from a construction where the complement functions as an argument of the verb of saying. The complementiser looks in those cases like a determiner or definite marker, showing that the clause functions as a nominal constituent within that clause. As such, complement clause extensions may qualify as a type of subordinating construction.

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

The majority of sentences in Makalero follows the unmarked SOV word order. However, either argument may be placed in the left-detached position. These left-dislocated arguments may be both topics and foci. Most foci in the LDP are relatively long and may be taken up in situ by a pronoun. As such, § 9.2.1.2 (p. 498) concludes that the issue in those cases is the length of the constituent in question rather than its focality. Consequently, the main function of the LDP is to hold topics. § 9.2.2 (p. 500) discusses an explicit focus construction in which a clause with an empty position is followed by the same or a very similar clause with that position filled. This focus construction quite nicely implements the common definition of focus as the part of a proposition by which the assertion differs from the presupposition. Makalero disposes of a number of clitic or adverbial markers which have to do with information structure. The most important of these is the contrastive clitic =ini. This
is found on both topical and focal participants. It is likely an extension of the clause linker =ini and appears to separate the contrastive argument from the rest of the clause. As such, these constructions display a high degree of similarity to cleft constructions. The clitic =haka marks the contradiction of a presupposition. Na’ama-mumi, which is predicative in status, equivalent to avalent adverbal predicates, appears to mark the beginning of a new scene or event. The clitic =oo ‘too’ is a frequently used concessive linker. However, it also occurs in a variety of cases, often in pairs, where this translation does not make sense. As such, it appears to have some information structuring use, which requires further research.

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

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

### 1.7 Previous work

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

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

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10 An example is the word ‘body’, which de Almeida records as *ambe*. In the Makalero corpus underlying the present thesis, only *afir* is used. The corresponding Makasae is *ama* or *ama bere*.
Gaspar Seixas (the latter, as well as a Tetum translation, can be accessed online at http://www.geocities.jp/hkbtls/hakerek/Hakerek13/iliomar_makalero.htm). Lastly, Chamberlain’s 2008 monograph ‘The struggle in Iliomar’ gives invaluable non-linguistic (mostly historical) information.

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

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text no.</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Origin</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Length (mins)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>My father</td>
<td>Joana da Silva</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Tirilolo</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>1:34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>The evacuation to Mount Matebian</td>
<td>Olinda Pinto</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>Iliomar II</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>1:59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>How to get to Tirilolo</td>
<td>Joana da Silva</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Tirilolo</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>0:33</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
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<td>Page</td>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>Duration</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>The customs of Iliomar</td>
<td>Mateus Seixas Miranda</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>14:16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>My ancestor’s life</td>
<td>Eugenio Xavier</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>6:55</td>
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<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>The story of the Loorasa clan</td>
<td>Francisco Rosa</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>2:26</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Traditional healing</td>
<td>Theodoro Araújo</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>0:30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Life during the hunger season</td>
<td>Alfredo de Jesus</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>1:25</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>My life and religion</td>
<td>Maria da Gloria</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>2:08</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>My childhood as an orphan</td>
<td>Alfredo de Jesus</td>
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<td>1:46</td>
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<td>My childhood as an orphan II</td>
<td>Alfredo de Jesus</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>0:31</td>
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<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>My father’s life</td>
<td>Salvador da Silva</td>
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<td>35</td>
<td>The history of Ailebere</td>
<td>Eurico Jerónimo</td>
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<td>M</td>
<td>3:28</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Frog story 1</td>
<td>Joana da Silva</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>M</td>
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<td>44</td>
<td>A restless night</td>
<td>Joana da Silva</td>
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<td>1:47</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>How to cook mung bean porridge</td>
<td>Joana da Silva</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>1:07</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>The tale of Laapo and the king</td>
<td>Igildo Ximenes</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>2:44</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>The tale of a naughty child</td>
<td>Igildo Ximenes</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>2:19</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>How I mistakenly used up my uncle’s massage oil</td>
<td>Maria da Silva</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>1:14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>Frog story 1</td>
<td>Mafalda Rosa</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>12:02</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55a</td>
<td>Wedding customs in Iliomar</td>
<td>Alexandre Serba Rosa</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>10:04</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>My ancestor’s life</td>
<td>Joana da Silva</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>2:33</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>How to make coconut oil</td>
<td>Joana da Silva</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>3:11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>How I suffered a miscarriage</td>
<td>Marmelinda Esteves</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>1:19</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>How I got together with my husband</td>
<td>Marmelinda Esteves</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>1:40</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>How we caught a huge sea turtle</td>
<td>Joana da Silva</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>2:12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>How to make yarn</td>
<td>Joana da Silva</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>5:15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>How I nearly died as a baby</td>
<td>Joana da Silva</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>1:49</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>The tale of Lerenene and the snake</td>
<td>Marcos da Costa</td>
<td>~40</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>4:43</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Time</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>How I worked with the international polling staff in 1999</td>
<td>José Serba dos Santos</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Aileb</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>My life</td>
<td>Carlito João Akara</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Akara</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>How my husband was very ill</td>
<td>Joana da Silva</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Tirilol</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>The tale of Nonomata</td>
<td>Mirandolina dos Reis</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Iliomar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>The story of the Komil clan</td>
<td>Mateus da Costa</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>Ailebe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>My life</td>
<td>Mateus da Costa</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>Ailebe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>My youth</td>
<td>Mateus da Costa</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>Ailebe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>How I earned money to go to school</td>
<td>Joana da Silva</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Tirilol</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>A divorce</td>
<td>Eligio Pereira</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Iliomar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>My life</td>
<td>Carlos da Costa</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>Tirilol</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76</td>
<td>The village of Hiitiali</td>
<td>Carlos da Costa</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>Tirilol</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>The principle foods in Iliomar</td>
<td>Sabina Pereira</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Iliomar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>A disagreement in the family</td>
<td>Jovita Jerónimo</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Ailebe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82</td>
<td>My life</td>
<td>Vicente Reis</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Marafal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83</td>
<td>My life</td>
<td>Filomena Seixas</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Iliomar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td>The Indonesian occupation Independence</td>
<td>Marta Seixas</td>
<td>~60</td>
<td>Ailebe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td>Education in Timor</td>
<td>Olimpia Jerónimo</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Marafal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86</td>
<td>The tale of the king of Iliomar and the snake</td>
<td>Olimpia Jerónimo</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Marafal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98</td>
<td>The importance of the Makalero language</td>
<td>Martinho Van da Costa Belo</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Ailebe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99</td>
<td>A dangerous monkey / my ancestor</td>
<td>José da Costa Jerónimo</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Marafal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101</td>
<td>My life</td>
<td>Agusto Barreto</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>Iliomar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>102</td>
<td>Frog stories 1 &amp; 2</td>
<td>Agusto Pinto</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Osuhira</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>103</td>
<td>An episode from my life</td>
<td>Agusto Barreto</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>Iliomar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>105</td>
<td>A message to the author’s father</td>
<td>Agusto Barreto</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>Iliomar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 1.15: Transcribed recordings

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

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

In 2008, courtesy of the Fataluku Language Project (http://fataluku.com/) and Sr. Vitor Rosado Marques of the Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical (IICT), I travelled to Lisbon to evaluate the records on Timorese languages kept in the IICT. During this trip, I was thus able to view the earliest Makalero data collected some 40 to 60 years ago (see § 1.7, p. 27). These data are quite different in some respects from those gathered by myself in Timor. It is not clear to what extent these differences are due to local variants of the language and to what extent language change is involved. As a consequence, wherever such examples are used in the following, they are marked as such with the reference ‘almeida’. I combined this trip to Lisbon with a short stay in Porto, where I had made contact with Olávio Cabral, who was at the time a student at Porto university and originates from Tirilolo in the
iliomar subdistrict (see Map 4). Olávio helped me immensely in transcribing recordings and answering numerous questions I had prepared. During the last two years of the project, Olávio was very often available online, so that I could ask him more questions to test hypotheses through email and chat. Sentences collected during my visit to Porto are marked as ‘pelic’. Also, Olávio did another run of the information structure pictograms (marked as ‘isquest’). Sentences gained through email or from an occasional online chat are referenced to as ‘chat’.

1.9 Orthography

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

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

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
(2) & ni & ‘mother’ & [ni:] \\
  & fat & ‘four’ & [fat] \\
  & la’it & ‘old’ & [la?it], [la?i:ti] \\
  & masan & ‘scared’ & [masan], [ma’sa:na]
\end{array}
\]

However, some lexemes include long vowels which cannot be predicted by the above rules. In these cases, vowel length is indicated by a double vowel grapheme, as shown in (3).
(3)  *pu*lata
    ‘head’          [puˈlata]
*te*r
    ‘rosary’        [ˈteːɾsu]

Vowel length is not represented in the transcription used in the majority of the sources discussed in § 1.7 (p. 27). An exception are the Timor Loro Sa’e Nippon Culture Center vernacular publications, which – inconsistently – appear to use the apostrophe <’> following a vowel graph for the purpose.

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

(4)  *u*arô’
    ‘wash’          [ˈwaroh]
    *iar
    ‘cry’           [jar]
(5)  *nu*a
    ‘eat’           [ˈnuːa]
    *tie
    ‘sleep’         [ˈtiːa]
(6)  *fa*t
    ‘enter’         [ˈfawt]
    *heil
    ‘pull’          [ˈheil]
(7)  *le*u
    ‘call’          [ˈlew]
    *rei
    ‘outwards’      [ˈrej]
(8)  *ou*ar
    ‘master’        [ˈo.war]
    *sai*a
    ‘skirt’         [ˈsa.ja]

Previous publications generally use <w> and <i> for these sounds.
The major difficulty in the domain of consonants is the graphic representation of the glottal phoneme. This phoneme is alternatively realised as [h], [ʔ], or as vowel length if it occurs between two identical vowels. The distribution of these allophones can be predicted for some instances; in others, there appears to be free variation. In some morphemes, only one or the other realisation is used, apparently as a lexical property. § 2.1.2.1 (p. 51) argues that preglottalisation of phrase-initial vowels is not phonemic. Neither does morpheme-initial [h] contrast with its absence.
However, the occurrence of the fricative allophone morpheme-initially does not seem regularly predictable as that of the preglottalisation. As such, a morpheme-initial glottal fricative is taken to be a lexical property and is represented by the grapheme <h>, as in the examples in (9). Free variation between all possible realisations of the glottal phoneme is found in the case of the glottal verbaliser (see § 3.2.2.1.1, p. 128). The addition of an echo vowel to such a verb results in a sequence of two identical vowels interrupted by a glottal phoneme, which explains the long-vowel realisation. This variation is not reflected in the orthography; the grapheme <’> is used to represent this verbal ending, as shown in (10). In all other cases, either <h> or <’> are used depending on the unpredictable realisation of the glottal phoneme in a given morpheme. Note, however, that word-internal [h] is relatively rare in simple (non-compounded) morphemes. In fact, of the examples given in (11), ri‘hum ‘thousand’ is an Austronesian loan, while ele‘haa ‘old man’ is likely a compound. In cases where a glottal phoneme occurs between two identical vowels word-internally, generally all three possible realisations are found, as shown in (12).

(9)  

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kofa‘r</td>
<td>‘new’</td>
<td>[kɔfar], [ʼfar]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hifa‘</td>
<td>‘catch’</td>
<td>[hiːfaʔ]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(10)  

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lafu‘</td>
<td>‘live’</td>
<td>[lafuʔ], [lafuː], [laːfuː] (from lafu ‘life’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mutu‘</td>
<td>‘be inside’</td>
<td>[mutuʔ], [mutu], [muːtuː] (from mutu ‘inside’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fani‘</td>
<td>‘be like’</td>
<td>[faniʔ], [fanii], [fə:`niː]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(11)  

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mu’a</td>
<td>‘ground’</td>
<td>[muʔa]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to’i</td>
<td>‘dig’</td>
<td>[toʔi]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ri‘hum</td>
<td>‘thousand’</td>
<td>[ri‘hum]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ele‘haa</td>
<td>‘old man’</td>
<td>[eˈla:`haː]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(12)  

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>da‘al</td>
<td>‘break’</td>
<td>[daʔal], [daːl], [da hoː]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na’an</td>
<td>(NEG.EX)</td>
<td>[naʔan], [naːn], [ˈnaːhan]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ne’et</td>
<td>‘think’</td>
<td>[neʔet], [neːt]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

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

2.1 Consonants

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>labial</th>
<th>alveo-</th>
<th>post-</th>
<th>palatal</th>
<th>velar</th>
<th>glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>plosive</td>
<td>p (b)</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>k (g)</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>affricate</td>
<td>(ts) (dz)</td>
<td>(ʧ) (ʤ)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>(ŋ)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fricative</td>
<td>f  β v</td>
<td>s (z)</td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lateral</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tap / trill</td>
<td>r r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>approxi-</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mant</td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.1: Consonant phones

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

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

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

/p/ ~ /t/ initial position:

[powk]  ['pouk] ‘shave’

tow  ‘coconut shell’

medial position:

[‘apa]  [‘afa] ‘psoriasis’

apa  ‘father’

[‘upa]  [‘uta] ‘nut, bean’

/p/ ~ /m/ initial position:

[panih]  [‘man] ‘be like’

panih ‘be like’

[‘pako]  [‘ako] ‘crouch’

poko ‘crouch’

medial position:

[‘apa]  [‘ama] ‘psoriasis’

apa  ‘psoriasis’

ama  ‘garden’

---

20 See § 2.1.2.1 (p. 51) for the preglottalisation of vowels.
[^upa]  [^huma]
upa 'father'  huma 'be angry'

/p/ ~ /f/
initial position:
[^po\^a\r]  [^f\^o\l]
po'or 'cook'  fo'ol 'kill'
[^pu\i\p\u\r]  [^fu\i\fu\i\?] 
puripuri 'lie'  fuli-fuli 'be all together'

medial position:
[^apa]  [^hafa]
apa 'psoriasis'  hafa 'bone'
[^tepar]  [^sefar]
tepar 'be silent'  sefar 'dog'

/p/ ~ [w]1
initial position:
[^pe\r]  [^\^we\r]
pere 'big'  uere (2DEM)
[^pi\li]  [^ui\rik]
pil 'wound'  uirik 'saddening'

medial position:
[^kapar]  [^ka\u\ar]
kapar 'scratch'  kauar 'be cold'

/p/ ~ [h]2
initial position:
[^pu\r]  [^hu\l\a]
pura 'sell'  hula 'end point'

medial position:
[^pi\pi]  [^hi\hi]
pipi 'goat'  hihi 'call (a horse)'
[^ri\pu]  [^ri\u\hun]
ripu 'pair (of earrings)'  rihun 'thousand'

---
1 Approximants are analysed as allophones of the high vowels. See § 2.2.2 (p. 60) for a more detailed discussion.
2 See § 2.1.2.1 (p. 51) for the status of [h] as an allophone of a glottal phoneme /\l/.
Chapter 2

/ʌ/ ~ /d/ initial position:

[ˈtæn] ˈtæn ‘waken’ ˈdæn ‘lift’

[təw] ˈtəw ‘coconut shell’ ˈdəw ‘six’

medial position:

[ˈkʊtə] ˈkʊtə ‘kill him/her’ ˈkʊdə ‘horse’

/ʌ/ ~ /n/ initial position:

[liː] ˈliː ‘pour (a drink)’ ˈniː ‘mother’

[ˈtoʊkɛ] ˈtoʊkɛ ‘tokay lizard’ ˈnɔko ‘younger sibling’

medial position:

[tiːˈtɔːrə] ˈtiːˈtɔːrə ‘run (PL)’ ˈtɪnə ‘cook’

final position:

[ˈfɔːt] ˈfɔːt ‘enter’ ˈpɔːn ‘many’

/ʌ/ ~ /s/ initial position

[liːl] ˈliːl ‘noon’ ˈsil ‘bind’

[ˈtoʊkɛ] ˈtoʊkɛ ‘tokay lizard’ ˈsɔkə ‘cover’

medial position:

[ˈɔːtə] ˈɔːtə ‘fire’ ˈəsa ‘bird’

[ˈʊtʊ] ˈʊtʊ ‘cover (BD)’ ˈusu ‘textile warp size’

/ʌ/ ~ /l/ initial position:

[ˈtɛw] ˈtɛw ‘buy’ ˈlɛw ‘call’
| 
| --- |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[tutu]</th>
<th>[luturu]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tutur ‘support’</td>
<td>lutur ‘fence’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Medial position:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[’ats]</th>
<th>[’ale]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ate ‘tree, plant’</td>
<td>ale ‘rice plant’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[’atu]</th>
<th>[’alu]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>attu ‘faeces’</td>
<td>alu ‘headstrap on basket’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Final position:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[’aʔat]</th>
<th>[’haʔal]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aʔat ‘rest’</td>
<td>haʔal ‘fry’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[fɔːt]</th>
<th>[fɔːl]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fɔt ‘break open’ (of a cotton bud)</td>
<td>fɔl ‘kill’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[taw]</th>
<th>[raw]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>taw- ‘where (RED)’</td>
<td>raw ‘good’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[tʰaʔ]</th>
<th>[rɪʔaʔ]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tia ‘sleep (SG)’</td>
<td>ria’ ‘run (SG)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Medial position:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[’etu]</th>
<th>[heru]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>etu ‘birthmark’</td>
<td>heru ‘weave’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[tara]</th>
<th>[’jar]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tara ‘forbid (?)’</td>
<td>iar ‘cry’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[tʰaɾe]</th>
<th>[’horu]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tore ‘swollen (?)’</td>
<td>horu ‘horn’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[’tule]</th>
<th>[’hulu]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tule ‘not want’</td>
<td>hulu ‘spoon out’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Medial position:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[’wata]</th>
<th>[ira’waha]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wata ‘coconut’</td>
<td>ira waha ‘flood’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
final position: 'dowt' ['dowt] 'dowh' ['dowh] ‘break up’

/d/ ~ /k/
initial position: 'dafa' ['dafa] ‘stab’
    k-a-afa- ‘away from him/her (RED)’
/'du'c/ ['du'c] ‘light’
    k-ue- ‘around him/her’

medial position:
['dada] ‘grandparent, grandchild’
    taka ‘cover’
/'dudu] ['dudu] ‘breast’
    dukul ‘bow’

/d/ ~ /n/
initial position: 'dane' ['dane] ‘lift’
    nana ‘snake’
/'du'e/ ['du'e] ‘light’
    nu’a ‘eat’

medial position:
['dada] ‘grandparent, grandchild’
    dana ‘garden’

/d/ ~ /s/
initial position:
['daka] ‘close (BD)’
    -saka ‘search (BD)’
/'diki] ['diki] ‘yarn’
    sikir ‘women’s dance’

medial position:
['pada] ‘friend’
    dasa ‘throw’
/d/ ~ /l/: initial position:
[
\text{da}^\text{a} \text{al}] & [
\text{la}^\text{a} \text{a}]
\text{da}^\text{a} \text{al} 'break' & \text{la}^\text{a} \text{a} 'move'

\text{[d}^\text{u}^\text{e}] & \text{[l}^\text{u}^\text{e}]
\text{d}^\text{u}^\text{e} 'light' & \text{l}^\text{u}^\text{e} 'lime'

medial position:
\text{[d}^\text{u}^\text{d}u] & \text{[h}^\text{u}^\text{l}u]
\text{d}^\text{u}^\text{d}u 'breast' & \text{h}^\text{u}^\text{l}u 'spoon out'

/d/ ~ /ɾ/: initial position:
\text{[d}^\text{o}^\text{w}h] & \text{[r}^\text{o}w]
\text{d}^\text{o}^\text{w}h 'six' & \text{r}^\text{o}w 'sleep (PL)'

\text{[d}^\text{u}^\text{d}u] & \text{[r}^\text{u}^\text{r}u]
\text{d}^\text{u}^\text{d}u 'breast' & \text{r}^\text{u}^\text{r}u 'ten'

medial position:
\text{[p}^\text{a}^\text{d}a] & \text{[f}^\text{a}^\text{r}a]
\text{p}^\text{a}^\text{d}a 'friend' & \text{f}^\text{a}^\text{r}a 'ship'

/d/ ~ [ɾ]: initial position:
\text{[d}^\text{a}^\text{k}a] & \text{[h}^\text{a}^\text{k}a]
\text{d}^\text{a}^\text{k}a 'cover (BD)' & \text{h}^\text{a}^\text{k}a 'search'

/k/ ~ [ʔ]: medial position:
\text{[r}^\text{a}^\text{k}u] & \text{[r}^\text{a}^\text{ʔ}u]
\text{r}^\text{a}^\text{k}u 'friend' & \text{r}^\text{a}^\text{ʔ}u 'plate'

\text{[m}^\text{r}^\text{e}^\text{κ}e] & \text{[m}^\text{r}^\text{ʔ}e]
\text{m}^\text{r}^\text{e}^\text{κ}e- 'break up (bound)' & \text{m}^\text{r}^\text{ʔ}e 'be able'

/k/ ~ [h]: initial position:
\text{[k}^\text{e}^\text{j}l] & \text{[h}^\text{e}^\text{j}l]
\text{k}^\text{e}^\text{j}l 'lift with a stick' & \text{h}^\text{e}^\text{j}l 'pull'

\text{[k}^\text{o}^\text{h}^\text{o}^\text{r}u] & \text{[h}^\text{o}^\text{ʔ}^\text{o}^\text{r}u]
\text{k}^\text{o}^\text{h}^\text{o}^\text{r}u 'with him' & \text{h}^\text{o}^\text{ʔ}^\text{o}^\text{r}u 'shoulder'

medial position:
\text{[h}^\text{a}^\text{k}a] & \text{[n}^\text{a}^\text{h}a]
\text{h}^\text{a}^\text{k}a 'search' & \text{n}^\text{a}^\text{h}a 'work'
final position:  
[powk]  [dowk]  
pouk ‘shave’  douh ‘six’

/k/ ~ 0  
initial position:  
[kamu]  ['amu]  
kamu ‘night’  amu ‘person’
[kini]  ['ini]  
kini ‘make’  ini (1pe)

[ʔ] ~ /p/  
medial position:  
[laʔa]  ['lapa]  
la’a ‘move’  lapa ‘kind of beetle’
[leʔu]  ['lepuh]  
le’u ‘roll, wrap’  lepuh ‘be hungry’

[ʔ] ~ /t/  
medial position:  
[muʔu]  ['mutu]  
uu ‘banana’  mutu- ‘inside (RED)’

final position:  
[naʔ]  [nt]  
na’ ‘basket’  nat ‘stand (SG)’

[ʔ] ~ /d/  
medial position:  
[daʔal]  ['dada]  
da’al ‘break’  dada ‘grandparent, grandchild’
[loʔe]  ['lode]  
lo’e ‘peel’  lode ‘bag, basket’

[ʔ] ~ [h]  
--  
(see § 2.1.2.1, p. 51)

[ʔ] ~ [w]  
medial position:  
[laʔa]  ['lawan]  
la’a ‘move’  lawan ‘precious metal’
[ʔ] ~ Ø
medial position:
[ɾaʔu] [raw]
ra’u ‘plate’ rau ‘good’
[luʔe] [lu’e]
lue ‘cut’
final position:
[mutuʔ] [mutu]
mutu ‘inside’ mutu ‘inside (RED)’
[^a]ata [^[a]aʔ]
ata ‘fire’ ata ‘angry’

/m/ ~ /n/
initial position:
[^man] [^[n]a]
mana ‘hole’ nana ‘snake’
[mej] [nej]
mei ‘take’ nei ‘name’
medial position:
[^darn] [^[d]a]
dame ‘good’ dane ‘lift’
[^nam] [^[n]a]
namu ‘body hair’ nanu ‘great-great-grandparent’

/m/ ~ /f/
initial position:
[^man] [^[f]a]
mana ‘hole’ fana ‘teach’
[mej] [fejʔ]
mei ‘two (HUM)’ fei ‘sew’
medial position:
[^ama] [^[h]a]
am ‘garden’ hafa ‘bone’
[^imir] [^[i]ifil]
imir ‘red’ ifil ‘tongue’

/m/ ~ /w/
initial position:
[^mara] [^[w]a]
mara ‘go’ wari ‘still’
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/ɬ/ ~ /ʃ/</th>
<th>initial position:</th>
<th>/ʃə/ ~ [w]</th>
<th>initial position:</th>
<th>/ʃ/ ~ [h]</th>
<th>initial position:</th>
<th>/ʃ/ ~ /ɬ/</th>
<th>initial position:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

- [meli] ‘pick’
- [meer] ‘bottom’

- [‘amar] ‘old’
- [kawar] ‘cold’

- [‘a] ‘bone’
- [asa] ‘bird’

- [‘a] ‘star’
- [ha] ‘call (a horse)’

- [‘a] ‘bird’
- [ha] ‘war’

- [‘a] ‘hard’
- [lama-lama] ‘in small pieces’

- [‘a] ‘blind’
- [leto-] ‘through’

- [‘a] ‘bird’
- [ha] ‘war’
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/s/ ~ /t/</th>
<th>initial position:</th>
<th>/s/ ~ /j/</th>
<th>initial position:</th>
<th>/s/ ~ /h/</th>
<th>initial position:</th>
<th>/s/ ~ /w/</th>
<th>initial position:</th>
<th>[h] ~ Ø</th>
<th>final position:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>['sapu']</td>
<td>sapu ‘pomelo’</td>
<td>['sarjn']</td>
<td>saren ‘filter’</td>
<td>['saʔe']</td>
<td>saʔe ‘hair’</td>
<td>['saala']</td>
<td>sala ‘mistake’</td>
<td>['lafuh']</td>
<td>lafu ‘live’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>['siʔa?]</td>
<td>sia ‘rub’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[hi:ʔ]</td>
<td>hil ‘pit (someone against)’</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ria ‘run’</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>['pusi']</td>
<td>pusi ‘pan, container’</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>.puripuri ‘lie’</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>['asa']</td>
<td>asa ‘bird’</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘aran’</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>aran ‘dry’</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

*[resi]* ['resi] resi- ‘remain (RED)’* *teli]* ['teli] teli ‘maize’
2.1.2 Consonant phonemes

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

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

A conspicuous characteristic of this consonant inventory is the occurrence of /d/ as the only native voiced plosive. The other voiced plosives in Table 2.1, [b] and [ɡ], have been classified as loan consonants (see § 2.1.2.2, p. 53). Features used once in a phonological system tend to be used again; this optimises what Clements
(2003: 287) terms the economy of the system. Voicing is not a prominent feature in the Makalero consonant system as given in Table 2.1; apart from /d/, only the liquids /l/ and /r/, the nasals and the approximants (for which see § 2.2.2, p. 60) are voiced. In none of these, however, is voicing a distinctive feature: rather, it is the default value. The presence of /d/ in Makalero seems to contradict Burquest’s (1998: 48) generalisation that if a language has a voiced alveolar plosive24, it will also have the bilabial one, which appears to be the most unmarked voiced plosive. Whereas neighbouring and closely related Makasae has both a voiced and a voiceless series of stop phonemes (Huber 2008a: 4), Fataluku has only the unvoiced series (Hull 2005: 6). Neither of them has an incomplete series. The system exhibited by Makalero thus seems to be in between these two extremes, and might possibly reflect an incomplete shift24, 25. It appears an incomplete series of voiced stops is relatively common in the consonant inventories of the languages of Eastern Indonesia; for instance, the Papuan language Abui (Kratochvil 2007: 25), spoken on the nearby island of Alor, has voiced bilabial and alveolar stops, but a corresponding voiced velar stop has only been introduced recently via loan words. Austronesian Leti, spoken on Leti island is reported to have the four stop phonemes /p/, /t/, /d/, and /k/ (Engelenhoven 2004: 490), which are the same as those found in Makalero. In several of the languages spoken on the islands east of Timor26 voicing is not a distinctive feature. Given that /d/ in Makalero is realised in the postalveolar, rather than in alveolar, position, voicing is not the sole feature distinguishing it from alveo-dental /t/. Hence an analysis similar to that given in Engelenhoven (2004: 49f.) for Leti lends itself for Makalero: with place of articulation taken as the main feature distinguishing /d/ and /t/, voicing as a distinctive feature can be discarded from the consonant system, and /d/ can be grouped together with the other stops in one plosive series with five members, starting from bilabial /p/, going on to alveo-dental /t/, postalveolar /d/, velar /k/ and ending at glottal /ʔ/. Table 2.2 below shows the native Makalero consonant phonemes, taking into account this rearrangement.

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

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

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

27 e.g. Meher on Kistar (e.g. Christensen and Christensen 1992: 41), Moa on the Leti islands (e.g. Engelenhoven 1995: 253) and Wetan on the Babar islands (e.g. Jesselin de Jong 1987: 154).
The traditionally organised phoneme chart as shown in Table 2.2 exhibits many gaps; in fact, there are 14 empty as opposed to only 11 filled positions. The Makalero consonant system thus appears to be highly uneconomic in that many features are used only in one phoneme and do not reappear anywhere else in the phoneme inventory, making it rather unsatisfactory. However, the system can be made more economic if one accepts a few adjustments to the arrangement given in Table 2.2. First, the liquid /l/ can be taken to function as the (post-)alveolar counterpart of the nasals, their common characteristic being an obstruction of the oral track and the resulting divergence of the air stream through the nasal cavity in case of the nasals, and through the sides of the tongue in the case of the liquid /l/. This fills the gap in the postalveolar position in the erstwhile nasal row, and at the same time makes a separate lateral row unnecessary. Second, fricatives, which in the literature have often been negatively defined as lacking contact between the articulators, can be taken to have a turbulence of the air stream as their positive defining feature. As such, /v/ can be seen as the (post-)alveolar counterpart of the labial and alveolar fricatives. The term ‘continuant’ covers both fricatives and /r/. Again, this fills a gap in the fricative row, while at the same time eliminating the tap row. These modifications yield the phoneme system consisting of 11 elements given in Table 2.3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>plosive</th>
<th>p</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>d</th>
<th>k</th>
<th>?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fricative</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lateral</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tap</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.2: Consonant phonemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>plosive</th>
<th>p</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>d</th>
<th>k</th>
<th>?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>diverted airstream</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>continuant</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.3: Consonant phonemes (rearranged)
The resulting system is appealing in its simplicity, and much more compact and economic in terms of Clements’s analysis than the one given in Table 2.2 above.27

2.1.2.1 The glottal phoneme /ʔ/

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

(1) [ˈanihawneː italianeː]

Ani hau nene’.
Is all hot
‘I am very hot.’

(2) [ˈaniawneːʔeː]

Ani hau nene’.
Is all hot
‘I am very hot.’

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


28 Furthermore, in a number of verbs, initial [h] alternates with [s] in certain contexts (see § 3.2.2.2.2.2, p. 135). No such morphosyntactic process is attested for an initial glottal stop.
[ʔ] allophones. Nene’ ‘hot’ as in (1) and (2) illustrates this. The following schemas summarise these distributional tendencies.\(^{25}\)

\[
\begin{align*}
/\theta/ & \rightarrow [h]/ & \#_\text{—} & \text{(e.g. heti ‘ask’, hi’a ‘street’)} \\
/\theta/ & \rightarrow [ʔ] \text{ (rarely [h])}/ & \text{V - V} & \text{(e.g. ra’u ‘plate’, lu’a ‘move’, } \\
& & & \text{but also na’a ‘work’} \\
& & \text{V - #} & \text{(e.g. isi’ ‘at’, fasa’ ‘dirt’, but } \\
& & & \text{also douh ‘six’)}
\end{align*}
\]

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

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

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

\(^{25}\) A possible alternative analysis to account for this messy distribution of [ʔ] and [h] would be to posit two distinct glottal phonemes, namely a glottal stop /ʔ/ and a glottal fricative /h/. The latter would alternatively be realised as either [h] or [ʔ]. Such an analysis would be able to capture the difference between such lexemes as na’u ‘just’, which occur only with the glottal stop, and na’a ‘work’, which can be realised with either a glottal stop or a glottal fricative. However, unless clear distributional criteria for its [h] and its [ʔ] variant are given, it cannot satisfactorily account for those words where internal or final [h] does not appear to alternate with [ʔ]. Furthermore, it would obscure the fact that the distribution of the glottal sounds as illustrated in the schema above is statistically clearly dominant; also, it would involve the positing of two phonemes which cannot be demonstrated to contrast in any context.
2.1.2.2 The loan consonants

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(3)</th>
<th>[bejk]</th>
<th>beik</th>
<th>‘stupid’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[ba'dain]</td>
<td>badaen</td>
<td>‘expert’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[tamba]</td>
<td>tamba</td>
<td>‘because’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(4)</th>
<th>[banju]</th>
<th>bangku</th>
<th>‘bench, stool’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[gambar]</td>
<td>gambar</td>
<td>‘picture’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[gur’ger]</td>
<td>geger</td>
<td>‘crazy’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(5)</th>
<th>[ar’birus]</th>
<th>arbiru</th>
<th>‘any’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[butawn]</td>
<td>butaun</td>
<td>‘button’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[gu’vernu]</td>
<td>governu</td>
<td>‘government’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

---

30 In fact, some speakers replace all voiced plosives by their unvoiced counterparts when speaking Indonesian.
31 Pinto (2007), a native speaker, lists /b/ as a phoneme in his analysis of Makalero, giving such examples as hibi ‘goat’, bada ‘friend’, and bai ‘pig’; in my own data, the same items occur consistently as [pibi], [pada] and [paj], respectively. Note, however, that the cognates of these items in Makasae have a voiced plosive. In his comprehensive 2004 article, Hull also gives many Makalero lexemes containing the grapheme <b>. However, on p. 69, listing Makalero phonemes, he presents a system basically identical to the one shown in Table 2.2. There is no explanation as to whether he considers <b> to be an allophone of /p/, and if so, by which factors it is conditioned.
32 The only exception to this is a word uweere, which was translated as ‘live there’ and occurs only once in the entire corpus. Uweere is presumably segmentable into u–we, the bound form of the addressee-related deictic verb (§ 3.2.3.9, p. 180), and an element here, which might mean something like ‘live’ (although usually lafu is used for that). It is unclear where this word comes from.
33 It is possible that place and clan names retain older features, or are adopted from previous populations.
be identical to the one used for the rest of the lexicon (see § 3.1.3.1.2, p. 111).
The affricates /Dr/ and /dy/ occur only in Malay/Indonesian loans. (6) and (7) give examples.

(6) [dʒiriːkən] jergen ‘jerrycan’
    [dʒawa] Jawa ‘Java’

(7) [ʃrək] cek ‘check’
    [ʃerita] cerita ‘story’

They are realised as [ʃ] and [dʒ], respectively, only in rather careful speech, or
where the morphemes containing them are readily perceived to be loans. In more
usual pronunciation, they tend to be fronted to alveolar affricates (e.g.
[dziriːkən] ‘jerrycan’) and may additionally be simplified into alveolar affricates (e.g. [zɛriːkən]). [ts] and [dz] are thus allophones of /Dr/ and /dy/,
respectively, as are some occurrences of [s] and [z].
The velar nasal /ŋ/ is confined to Malay/Indonesian loanwords such as langgung
‘directly, straight away’. Its occurrence is also a characteristic of careful speech, and
in most circumstances it is devaleralised so as to become a dental nasal [n]. Thus,
[ˈlansun] is frequently realised as [ˈlansun].
The voiced fricative /v/ occurs only in Portuguese loanwords, such as governu
‘government’ or sirvisu ‘work’. Many speakers realise /v/ as [b], thus [goˈ bernu] and
[sirˈ bisu], respectively.
The voiced alveolar fricative, /z/ is a generally a characteristic of Portuguese
loanwords, where it either corresponds to the same sound in Portuguese (e.g.
[kazaˈmẽntu] ‘marriage’ from Port. casamento) or replaces an original voiced
palatal fricative /ʒ/. Makalero speakers find the latter hard to produce; thus, for
instance, [igˈrɛza] ‘church’ from Port. igreja [iɡˈɾeʒa], or [menˈsazen] ‘message’
from Port. mensagem [mẽˈsaʒẽ]. As noted above, however, /z/ is also a possible
realisation of the affricate /dy/ in Indonesian loanwords.
The phonological system as shown in Table 2.3 must thus be understood as an
idealised original system. The actual status of the loan consonants may vary from
one speaker to the next. Table 2.4, which integrates the loan consonants, represents a
maximum consonant system, where all loan consonants are treated as phonemic.

34 This item is originally from English. Since direct English influence in Makalero is minimal, it is
reasonable to assume it has been borrowed via Indonesian.
35 The phoneme replacements described above are also characteristic for Makalero speakers speaking
either Indonesian or Portuguese.
### 2.2 Vowels

Table 2.5 shows the vowel sounds found in Makalero.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>labial</th>
<th>alveo-dental</th>
<th>post-alveolar</th>
<th>palatal</th>
<th>velar</th>
<th>glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>close</td>
<td>i, i̯, ɨ, ɨ̯</td>
<td>u, u̯, ʉ, ʉ̯</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>close-mid</td>
<td>e, e̯, ɛ, ɛ̯</td>
<td>o, o̯, ɔ, ɔ̯</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>open-mid</td>
<td>ĕ, ĕ̯, ɛ, ɛ̯̆</td>
<td>ŏ, ŏ̯, ɔ, ɔ̯̆</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>open</td>
<td>a, a̯, ə, ə̯</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

\[Uai=nì \ ki-ue=ràa \ \textit{ue'} \ nomo ma\'en=isi...\]

CLS=LNK1 3:POSS-sister.in.law=PL  V2DEM NEG  know=LNK2
‘And her sisters-in-law there didn’t know, and then …’  (74-036)

(9) [ni'vemj'hinejhuđil\'aran]

... \textit{ni-ue} meih=ini hai Hudilaran.

REFL-sister.in.law two.HUM=LNK1 NSIT H.
‘... she and her sister-in-law went to Hudilaran together.’  (74-043)

(10) [ˌpiːju\'sakil\'bo ɬamæe\'na:ni]

... \textit{pǐpi,ru}\textit{s}a kiloo nomo \textit{ena}=ni...

deer 3s NEG see=LNK1
‘... the deer, he doesn’t see (it) …’  (38-083)

(11) [ɬ'ateta:\'lakwa\'ni:ti\'ki\'lo:ma\'ʔun\'i\'u\'wa:re\'kata\'et\'e\'la\'ʔani]

... \textit{ate-tala} \textit{k-ua-mit} kiloo \textit{ma'=ni} \textit{uar}=ee

\textit{k-ata-etc-\textit{la}=ni...}

3:UND-contact:RED-upwards-move=LNK1
‘... (the owl) sits on top of a branch, (and) he climbs up the stone…’  (38-078)

In (8), it appears the long open vowel of the plural suffix -raa (§ 3.3.3.2, p. 236) causes \textit{ue} ‘sister-in-law’ to be realised with an open mid vowel [ə]. In (9), on the other hand, both the preceding and the following immediate context contain high vowels, hence the same word is realised with a closed mid vowel [æ]. In the context of the third person pronoun \textit{kiloo} in (10), mid and low vowels are predominant, resulting in the realisation of the mid vowel as [ə]. In (11), where the same morpheme is realised with a closed mid vowel [ə], it is immediately preceded by a series of high vowels. Note, however, that the following context contains low vowels. It is not quite clear when, in a mixed phonetic environment containing both high and low vowels, the high ones take precedence over low ones and vice versa to determine the realisation of the mid vowels. It is also possible that idiolectal variation is a relevant factor, with some speakers favouring one realisation over the other.\footnote{Apparently a very similar situation is found in Leti (Engelkenhoven 2004: 59). It is described there as “a phonotactic tendency without phonemic value”.}

All vowels may be partly or entirely retracted in the vicinity of the glottal stop. Figure 2.1 shows clearly how the pulses of the vowel /a/ preceding [ʔ] become irregular halfway through its realisation, indicating the onset of glottal constriction.
Long vowels are in most cases taken to be allophones of the respective short vowels. Their distribution is discussed in detail in § 2.2.3 (p. 62). Note that phrase-initial vowels are commonly preglottalised. This glottal stop is not distinctive and disappears when the same word is used within a phrase following a closed syllable. Also, it does not appear to cause a creaky phonation in adjacent vowels. As such, it is taken to be non-phonemic (§ 2.1.2.1, p. 51).

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

/i/ ~ /e/

| Initial Position |  
|------------------|---|
| /ina/            | [i^na]|
| *ina ‘eye’       |    |
| /ena/            | [e^na]|
| *ena ‘see’       |    |
final position:
[lo'v]  
lo‘i  ‘small basket’
[lo'v]|  
lo‘e  ‘peel (the bark off a tree)’

/i/ ~ /a/  
initial position:
["ifi]
ifi  ‘star’

["isu]
isu  ‘fruit’

final position:
[fani]
fani-  ‘like (RED)’

[a]ri
ari  ‘liver’

/i/ ~ /u/  
initial position:
["ira]
ira  ‘water’

["ura]
ura  ‘worm’

final position:
[teri]
teri  ‘cut’

[fani]
fani-  ‘like (RED)’

/i/ ~ /o/  
medial position:
[kitu]
kitu  ‘prong (with a fork)’

[kato]  
koto  ‘maybe’

final position:
[poki]
poki  ‘spindle whorl’

[pako]  
poko  ‘crouch’

/e/ ~ /a/  
initial position:
[etu]
etu  ‘birthmark’

[atu]  
atu  ‘faeces’
medial position:
['fenu']  ['fanu']
fenu ‘turtle’   fanu ‘face’

final position:
['dana']  ['dana']
dane ‘lift’   dana ‘garden’

[‘haʔe']  [‘haʔa']
ha‘e ‘ladder’  ha’a ‘mouth’

/e/ ~ /a/
initial position:
['etu']  ['etu']
etu ‘birthmark’   -atu ‘cover (BD)’

final position:
[‘ate']  [‘atu]
ate ‘tree’   atu ‘faeces’

[‘ete']  [‘etu]
ete ‘upwards’  etu ‘birthmark’

/e/ ~ /o/
medial position:
[tewh]  [tow]
tewh ‘buy’   towh ‘coconut shell’

[‘heru']  [‘horu']
heru ‘loom’  horu ‘horn’

/a/ ~ /a/
final position:
[‘ata']  [‘atu']
ata ‘fire’   atu ‘faeces’

[‘ura']  [‘uru']
ura ‘worm’  uru ‘moon’

/a/ ~ /o/
initial position:
[‘amu']  [‘omu']
amu ‘person’  omu ‘ball (wool)’
2.2.2 The glides

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

(12)  [mx̂αθemavimnihevemsĵhinsjhudi'laran]

Motor heman=ini ni-ue meth=ini hai Hudilaran.

motorbike take=LNK1  REF=LNK1 SIT  two.HUM=LNK1 NSIT H.

‘Having taken a motorbike, she went together with her sister-in-law to
Hudilaran.’  (74-043)

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

(13)  [marα'βei'lere'ukunana'pɔ]

... mara were were ukum=ana=po...

go 3p 2DEM rule=INT=ADV.

‘... after they had ruled...’  (55-05)

(14)  [marα'were: niw:we:'a:βko:rlb:bn=ɔna:na]

... mara were ni-ue-raa=oo ko-horu lolo-ini=oo na'am.

go 2DEM REF=LNK1.say.NML=too 3:UND-with NEG.EX

‘... she didn’t speak a word to her sisters-in-law...’  (74-033)

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

\(/w/ \rightarrow [w] / \quad \#.V \quad \text{(e.g. uar } [\text{u}^\text{ar}] \text{, but also } [\text{u}^\text{ar}^\text{ar}] \text{ ‘rock’)}

\(V.V \quad \text{(e.g. deue } [\text{dwe}] \text{ ‘buy on credit’)}

\(V.(C)# \quad \text{(e.g. faut } [\text{fawt}] \text{ ‘enter’, } \text{raw } [\text{raw}] \text{ ‘good’)}
/i/ \rightarrow [j]/

\[ \text{\#V} \quad (\text{e.g. iar [\text{\textquoteleft}jar\textquoteright], but also [\text{\textquoteleft}i\text{\textquoteleft}ar\textquoteright] \text{\textquoteleft}cry\textquoteright])} \\
\text{V\_V} \quad (\text{e.g. saia [\text{\textquoteleft}saja\textquoteright] \text{\textquoteleft}skirt\textquoteright}) \\
\text{V\_/(C)\#} \quad (\text{e.g. hein [\text{\textquoteleft}hejn\textquoteright] \text{\textquoteleft}wait\textquoteright}, dai [\text{\textquoteleft}daj\textquoteright] \text{\textquoteleft}pass\textquoteright})

The structural level, the status of the onglides is ambivalent. Lexical items involving one of these sounds shift from being realised as disyllables, where the initial high vowel functions as the nucleus of a syllable of its own, to a monosyllabic realisation, where the high vowel is merely an onglide. Thus iar \text{\textquoteleft}stone, rock\textquoteright\ can be found as [\text{"u\text{"ar}] and as [\text{"war}], and iar \text{\textquoteleft}cry\textquoteright\ is realised as both [\text{"jar}] and [\text{"i\text{"ar}]. Contexts in which some kind of emphasis is put on such a word appear to favour the two-syllable realisation; nevertheless, this realisation also occurs in perfectly unstressed contexts, such as the one given in (15).

(15) \text{[ki\text{\textquoteleft}la\text{\textquoteleft}ma\text{\textquoteleft}una\text{\textquoteright}ini\text{"u\text{"a\text{"ekata\text{"etela\text{\textquoteleft}tani]}\text{\textquoteleft}ani\textquoteright]}}\text{\textquoteleft}ani\textquoteright]}

\text{Kiloo ma\text{\textquoteleft}u=ni\text{"a=ini\text{\textquoteleft}uar=ee k-ata-ete-la\text{\textquoteleft}a=ni...}

3s come=LNK1 V1DEM=LNK1 rock=DEF 3:UND-contact:RED-upwards-move=LNK1

\text{\textquoteleft}He comes here and climbs up the stone…\textquoteright\ (38-078)

This floating between a syllabic and a non-syllabic realisation is captured nicely by the term semi-vowel and supports the assumption that the glides are essentially vocalic, rather than consonant phonemes in their own right. Another case in point is the fact that onglides may be preglottalised (see e.g. (14) above), especially in phrase-initial position. They share this characteristic with phrase-initial vowels.\(^3\)

The status of the onglides within the syllable is similarly ambivalent; see § 2.3.1 (p. 70) for a discussion.

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

\(^3\) The fricativised labiodental version [v] of the back glide appears not to be subject to preglottalisation in phrase-initial position. This is probably a consequence of the stronger consonantal qualities of this realisation.
In other respects, however, the glides show consonantal characteristics. Evidence to this effect comes from reduplication involving morphemes with a diphthong nucleus. Although full reduplication is possible, the offglide part of the diphthong is most often not reduplicated. As the juxtaposed examples in (16) show, this is parallel to the treatment of coda consonants in closed syllables, which are not reduplicated either (see §3.1.2.2, p. 106 and §3.2.2.3, p. 138 for more details on the process of reduplication).

(16)  
\[
\text{[daw]} \quad \text{[da'daw]}
\]
\text{dau ‘must’} \quad \text{dakau ‘must’}
\[
\text{[’aran]} \quad \text{[.’ara’aran]}
\]
\text{aran ‘dry’} \quad \text{ara-aran ‘really dry’}

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

### 2.2.3 Vowel length

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

![Figure 2.2: Ki-ni ‘his mother’](image-url)
Long vowels occur not only in native words, but also in Portuguese and Indonesian loanwords, a few of which are given in (17).

(17)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>['paːldi]</th>
<th>paaldi</th>
<th>'bucket'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>['paŋku]</td>
<td>paŋku</td>
<td>'bench, stool'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>['sa:patu]</td>
<td>saapatu</td>
<td>'shoe'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>['vi:timə]</td>
<td>vitiima</td>
<td>'victim'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>['ta:nda]</td>
<td>taanda</td>
<td>'sign'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(from Portuguese balde ‘bucket’)  
(from Indonesian bangku ‘bench’)
(from Portuguese sapato ‘shoe’)  
(from Portuguese vitiima ‘victim’)  
(from Indonesian tanda ‘sign’)

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

(18)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>[i] ~ [i:]</th>
<th>[dili]</th>
<th>['dili]</th>
<th>Dili ‘Dili’</th>
<th>dil ‘be startled’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[ni]</td>
<td>[ni:]</td>
<td>ni (REFL)</td>
<td>ni ‘mother’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[a:] ~ [a:]</td>
<td>['na:na]</td>
<td>[nana]</td>
<td>na’an (NEG.EX)</td>
<td>nana ‘elder sibling’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[u] ~ [u:]</td>
<td>['hulu]</td>
<td>[hu:lu]</td>
<td>hulu ‘spoon’</td>
<td>hul ‘be able’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(19)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>[,sətʰmə:]</th>
<th>sotemee</th>
<th>‘self, alone’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[kə:le]</td>
<td>kel</td>
<td>‘close, near’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(20)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>[kilo:]</th>
<th>kiloo</th>
<th>(3s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[,lo:s'palɔs]</td>
<td>Loospalos</td>
<td>‘Lospalos’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[^2] ['paŋku] alternates with ['baŋku], see § 2.1.2.2 (p. 53).
[^3] It is not clear whether the Portuguese loans have been borrowed directly from Portuguese or via one of the other languages of the region (possible sources apart from Portuguese for saapatu are Tetum sapaatu, Indonesian sepātu and, less likely, Fataluku sapi or sapiata).
Vowel lengthening is largely predictable. The following paragraphs describe the circumstances under which vowels are predictably lengthened, which are able to account for all of the apparent minimal pairs in (18). Nevertheless, there is a small number of cases that cannot be accounted for by these productive rules. As such, long vowels are treated as phonemes of marginal status in § 2.2.4 (p. 66).

2.2.3.1 Sequences of two identical vowels

In several instances, what is realised as a long vowel corresponds in fact to a sequence of two identical short vowels interrupted in careful pronunciation by an allophone of the glottal phoneme /ʔ/.\(^4\) (21) shows two examples.

\[
\begin{align*}
(21) \quad & \text{[lɔ:n]} / [lɔʔɔn] \quad & \text{lo’on} & \text{‘sky’} \\
& \text{[ti:]} / [tiʔi] \quad & \text{ti’} & \text{‘pour (a drink)’}
\end{align*}
\]

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

2.2.3.2 Monosyllabic morphemes

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

\[
\begin{align*}
(22) \quad & \text{[u:]} \quad & \text{u} & \text{‘one’} \\
& \text{[ni:]} \quad & \text{ni} & \text{‘mother’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
(23) \quad & \text{[duːr]} \quad & \text{dur} & \text{‘wake up’} \\
& \text{[fuːn]} \quad & \text{fun} & \text{‘tree, trunk’}
\end{align*}
\]

Correspondingly, there is a complementary rule against short monophthongs in the nucleus of a monosyllabic lexical item.\(^4\) Exempted from this rule are loanwords, such as the examples from Indonesian in (24).

\[^{4}\text{See § 2.1.2.1 (p. 51).}\]
\[^{4}\text{Note that this licenses monosyllabic morphemes with diphthong nuclei, such as those given in (i).}\]

\[
\begin{align*}
(24) \quad & \text{[dʊwə]} \quad & \text{dʊwə} & \text{‘six’} \\
& \text{[raʊ]} \quad & \text{raʊ} & \text{‘good’}
\end{align*}
\]

Clearly, diphthongs behave like long vowels in this respect (see § 2.5.1, p. 76).
(24)  [fɛːk]  cek  ‘check’
      [dyːk]  jok  ‘plug in’

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

(25)  [iː]  ii  (2p)
      [øː]  =oo  ‘too’

(26)  [ni]  ni  (REFL)
      [ta]  ta  (REC)

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

2.2.3.3 Vowel lengthening at the end of the phonological phrase

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

2.2.3.4 Other instances of vowel length

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

(27)  [ˈpuːˌlata]  paulata  ‘head’
      [kiːˈloː]  kiloo  (3s)
      [ˈpaːrˈduːfːu]  paardufi  ‘widow’
      [ˈaːˈriːa]  aaria  ‘orphan’
      [ˈleːtɛrːoː]  leteroo  ‘coarse bag’

It is possible that these words are old compounds that are no longer transparent, where the syllable with the long nucleus would originally have constituted a morpheme of its own. If this is the case, the long vowels can be explained as the effect of the rule requiring monosyllabic lexical morphemes to have a long vowel
nucleus (see § 2.2.3.2, p. 64). This analysis seems especially probable in the case of the third person singular pronoun kiloe, as suggested by the fact that its cognate in Makasae is gi (see § 3.3.1.2, p. 221). However, it is unclear what exactly the -loo component would be. Also, paardafu ‘widow’ is a good candidate for an old compound because of the /d/ consonant cluster. Simple lexemes in Makalero do not normally exhibit consonant clusters (see § 2.5.2, p. 78). This suggests a segmentation into par [pa:r] and dufu [dufu]. There is no evidence, however, of any of these segments occurring on their own and what they might possibly mean. I assume that a similar process accounts for the long vowels in the Portuguese and Indonesian borrowings given in § 2.2.3 (p. 62). The majority of these exhibit a consonant cluster. An example is *tama* [tanda] ‘sign’, from Indonesian *tanda* ‘sign’. To account for the cluster, lexemes like this are presumably treated like compounds involving a monosyllabic morpheme, which is required to have a long vowel nucleus. In the case of *saapatu* [sa:’patu] ‘shoe’, which does not involve a consonant cluster, the relevant factor must be the length of the morpheme; typical Makalero morphemes are disyllabic (see § 2.5.1, p. 76). Again, presumably this over-long morpheme is analysed as a compound to account for its length.

### 2.2.4 Vowel phonemes

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

| i (iː) | u (uː) |
| e (eː) | o (oː) |
| a (aː) |

**Table 2.6: Vowel phonemes**

Five-vowel systems are widely distributed in the Austronesian languages of the area; the development of mid vowels is in fact one of the innovations proposed by Blust
(1993: 247) for Proto-Central Eastern Malay Polynesian (although according to him, PCEMPE retained the Proto-Austronesian central vowel). Hull (2004: 67), too, claims that the phoneme inventories of Timor’s non-Austronesian languages “scarcely differ from those of their Timoric neighbours”.

### 2.2.5 Diphthongs

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(28)</th>
<th>[aw]</th>
<th>e.g. [raw]</th>
<th>rau</th>
<th>‘good’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[ew]</td>
<td>e.g. [teuh]</td>
<td>teuh</td>
<td>‘buy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[ow]</td>
<td>e.g. [tow]</td>
<td>tou</td>
<td>‘coconut shell’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[aj]</td>
<td>e.g. [dai]</td>
<td>dai</td>
<td>‘walk’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[ej]</td>
<td>e.g. [kamu'nei]</td>
<td>kamunei</td>
<td>‘tomorrow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[uj]</td>
<td>e.g. [pui'dai]</td>
<td>Puidai</td>
<td>(a personal name)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[oij]</td>
<td>e.g. [lo'loji]</td>
<td>loloi</td>
<td>‘two’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

![Figure 2.3: Diphthongs](image)

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

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

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

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

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

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

---

42 Positional verbs such as (k)wa ‘be on top’ or (k)wa- ‘be around’, if used with with the third person argument-marking prefix k-, may in fast speech come quite close to a monosyllabic pronunciation as [kwa?] and [kwe], respectively. In careful speech, however, they are clearly disyllabic.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Open syllable</th>
<th>Closed syllable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Simple nucleus</td>
<td>Complex nucleus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘person’</td>
<td>(2p)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘elder sibling’</td>
<td>‘mother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘buy on credit’</td>
<td>‘stone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘door’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘call’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘blood’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.7: Syllable types

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

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

(29)  [sir’visu] / [sir’visu]  
sirvisu ‘work’  from Port. serviço ‘service’

[is’kola] / [isi’kola]  
iskola ‘school’  from Port. escola ‘school’
Resyllabification to open syllables, if necessary involving the insertion of epenthetic vowels, is also pervasive in running speech (see § 2.5.2, p. 78).

2.3.1 Segmental features

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Segmental setup</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>NC</th>
<th>ON</th>
<th>ONC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Phonotactic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>structure</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>VC</td>
<td>CV</td>
<td>CVC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>V:</td>
<td>V:C</td>
<td>CV:</td>
<td>CV:C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>VG</td>
<td>VGC</td>
<td>CVG</td>
<td>CVGC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>GV</td>
<td>GVC</td>
<td>GVC</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>GV:</td>
<td>GVGC</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>GVG</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.8: Segmental features

In practice, however, the onset position is generally filled either by a non-phonemic glottal stop or, through resyllabification, by the final consonant of a preceding morpheme, following the maximal onset principle as defined by Ewen and van der Hulst (2001: 126-7), which states that “given an intervocalic consonant or consonant cluster, assign it to the beginning of the second syllable (…)”. Long vowels and diphthongs are equivalent in that both of them, to the exclusion of short vowels, can fill the nucleus position of a monosyllabic lexical item (see § 2.5.1, p. 76 below). Hence hat [hæ:t] ‘dry’ and faut [fɔːt] ‘enter’, and nit [nɪt] ‘mother’ and raw [rɔː] ‘good’ are well-formed lexical items, but not *[hæt] or *[nɪt]. The syllable weight unit mora as discussed for instance in Hyman (2003) is used to make the difference between these two types of nuclei – simple (consisting of a short vowel) versus complex (consisting of a V + G combination or a long vowel) – explicit. The fact that *[hæt] is not a well-formed lexical morpheme shows that the syllable weight is determined by the nature of the nucleus only. If the coda contributed to syllable weight, *[hæt] would qualify as a heavy syllable and should be well-formed. Makalero is therefore what Ewen and van der Hulst (2001: 134) call a nucleus-weight language (as opposed to a rhyme-weighted language). In other words, a complex nucleus is assumed to weigh two morae, but a simple nucleus only one, while the coda does not contribute to syllable weight at all. (30) and (31) show examples of monomoraic syllables, of which those in (30) are open, while (31) also

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41 However, the latter is an existing grammatical item, namely the reflexive pronoun (§ 3.3.1.2, p. 227).
contains closed ones. (32) and (33), on the other hand, exemplify bimoraic syllables, with long vowel nuclei in (32) and diphthong nuclei in (33). Both light and heavy syllables can be either open or closed.

(30)  
\[ \sigma \sigma \]  
\[ \mu \mu \]  
\[ N O N \]  
\[ [\text{a. m u}]^{44} \]  
\text{amu}  
\text{‘person’}  
\[ \sigma \sigma \sigma \sigma \]  
\[ \mu \mu \mu \mu \]  
\[ O N O N O N O N \]  
\[ [l i \ i \ i \ p a \ k a] \]  
\text{lilipaka}  
\text{‘butterfly’}  

(31)  
\[ \sigma \sigma \]  
\[ \mu \mu \]  
\[ N O N C \]  
\[ [\text{a s a n}] \]  
\text{asan}  
\text{‘long’}  
\[ \sigma \sigma \]  
\[ \mu \mu \]  
\[ O N O N O N C \]  
\[ [s e f a r] \]  
\text{sefar}  
\text{‘dog’}  

(32)  
\[ \sigma \]  
\[ \mu \mu \]  
\[ O N C \]  
\[ [d u i r] \]  
\text{dur}  
\text{‘wake up’}  
\[ \sigma \]  
\[ \mu \mu \]  
\[ O N \]  
\[ [n i] \]  
\text{ni}  
\text{‘mother’}  

(33)  
\[ \sigma \]  
\[ \mu \mu \]  
\[ O N C \]  
\[ [t e w h] \]  
\text{teuh}  
\text{‘buy’}  
\[ \sigma \]  
\[ \mu \mu \]  
\[ O N \]  
\[ [r a w] \]  
\text{rau}  
\text{‘good’}  

\[^{44}\text{For the present argument, stress is irrelevant and is not indicated.}\]
Not only does the coda consonant not contribute to syllable weight, it is also missing from the reduplicant in full reduplication, as shown in (34). The example of *aran ‘dry’ shows that this does not only happen in cases where the coda consonant of the reduplicant would encounter the onset consonant of the root, thus avoiding a consonant cluster. Instead, the coda does not appear in the reduplicant even if the root itself is vowel-initial.

(34) felum felu-felum

‘nice’ ‘very nice’

aran ara-aran

‘dry’ ‘completely dry’

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

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

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

Recall that these morphemes can alternatively be realised as disyllables, thus *[nər] and *[uər], respectively (§ 2.2.2, p. 60).
The first analysis, with the onglide as part of a complex nucleus, could also explain the absence of a GV:C syllable type as noted in Table 2.7; as § 2.5.4.1 (p. 83) argues, there are no super-heavy, or trimoraic, nuclei in Makalero, as confirmed by the behaviour of monosyllabic morphemes in the echo vowel process. On the other hand, under this analysis, such monosyllabic lexemes as weir [wejr] ‘river’, which contain both an onglide and a diphthong, would end up as trimoraic, unless the onglide is understood to be in the onset position. Furthermore, in the context where a morpheme ending in a closed syllable is followed by one starting in an onglide, as in the example in (36), an echo vowel is generally added to the consonant-final morpheme, a strategy used to avoid consonant clusters. If the glide were analysed as part of a complex nucleus, the clitic =uai ‘or’ would have to be understood as having an empty onset position, and resyllabification of the preceding morpheme’s coda consonant into the onset of this syllable would be expected, but does not occur.

(36) [ma'ta:nawaj'amu.puti'rə:]  
    ... metan=uai amu putir=oo...  
    black-or person white-too  
    ‘… (whether he was) black or a white person...’  

Either analysis, with the onglide as an onset or as part of a complex nucleus, can explain only part of the evidence. Overall, the arguments favouring their analysis as syllable onsets are taken to be more significant, and it is this structure that is adopted in the present thesis.43 The unclear syllabic status of onglides reflect their phonemic status, which fluctuates between more vowel-like and more consonant-like realisations and may be nicely captured by the term semi-vowel.

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

Any vowel and diphthong can be a syllable nucleus. An onset can consist of one consonant at most, and the same applies for codas. When it comes to the distribution of consonantal elements into these slots, the gaps which show up in the list of minimal pairs given in § 2.1.1 (p. 38) suggest that there are some restrictions, i.e., that not all consonants are licensed to occur freely in both onset and coda position. Indeed, even though Makalero allows for closed syllables, these are not the preferred type, as is evidenced by the fact that it was impossible in many instances to find minimal pairs contrasting two consonant sounds in morpheme-final position. Correspondingly, there appear to be several restrictions for consonants to fill the coda position, whereas the onset position is relatively free. Table 2.9 aims to show the distribution of the consonant phonemes both in onset and in coda positions. As for the onset position, a distinction is made between syllables occurring at the beginning of a morpheme and those within a morpheme; thus the consonants in question are shown occurring both word-initially and word-medially, wherever possible. Examples showing coda consonants are per se restricted to word-final syllables. Note that again, loan words, and hence loan consonants, are left out of this consideration.\(^{40}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Onset</th>
<th>Morpheme-initial position</th>
<th>Morpheme-medial position</th>
<th>Morpheme-final position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bilabial stop</td>
<td>/p/</td>
<td>pai ‘pig’</td>
<td>apa ‘psoriasis’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alveodental stop</td>
<td>/t/</td>
<td>teah ‘buy’</td>
<td>mata ‘child’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>postalveolar stop</td>
<td>/d/</td>
<td>da’al ‘break’</td>
<td>hodan ‘great-grandfather’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>velar stop</td>
<td>/k/</td>
<td>koi ‘hide’</td>
<td>dikar ‘short’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glottal stop</td>
<td>/ʔ/</td>
<td>ha’a ‘mouth’</td>
<td>ka’el ‘bite’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bilabial nasal</td>
<td>/m/</td>
<td>mara ‘go’</td>
<td>namu ‘body hair’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alveodental nasal</td>
<td>/n/</td>
<td>nami ‘male’</td>
<td>mini ‘nose’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>labio-dental fricative</td>
<td>/l/</td>
<td>fasa ‘dirt’</td>
<td>afu ‘carry’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{40}\) In the following, IPA transcription is no longer employed whenever the exact phonetic realisation is of no immediate relevance to the argument. For a discussion of the orthography used see § 1.9 (p. 32).
Phonology

| alveodental | sa’e ‘hair’ | asa ‘bird’ | mus ‘suck’ |
| fricative /s/ |
| lateral glide /l/ | lepu ‘be hungry’ | kalin ‘pour out’ | ka’el ‘bite’ |
| postalveolar tap /r/ | rau ‘good’ | ira ‘water’ | omar ‘stilt house’ |

Table 2.9: Distribution of consonant phonemes

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

| p | t | d | k | ʔ |
| m | n | l |
| f | s | r |

Table 2.10: Consonant phonemes in onset position

| t | k | ʔ |
| n | l |
| s | r |

Table 2.11: Consonant phonemes in coda position

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

2.5 The morpheme

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

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

The following paragraphs discuss these requirements in detail.
2.5.1 Bimorality

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

(37)  

\begin{align*}
  & \text{\textit{hu.ri}} & \text{‘release’} \\
  & \text{\textit{ua.li}} & \text{‘ear’} \\
  & \text{\textit{da.kar}} & \text{‘step’} \\
  & \text{\textit{ru.kit}} & \text{‘curly (hair)’}
\end{align*}

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

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

On the phonetic level, in contrast, their nuclei are lengthened in order for them to meet the bimorality requirement, as illustrated below.

(38)  

\begin{align*}
  & \mu \mu \\
  & \rightarrow \\
  & /d \ u \ r/ \rightarrow [d \ u: \ r] \\
  & \text{‘wake up’} \\
  & \mu \mu \\
  & \rightarrow \\
  & /n \ i/ \rightarrow [n \ i:] \\
  & \text{‘mother’}
\end{align*}

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

Apart from mono- and disyllabic items, there is also a number of trisyllabic lexical morphemes, as exemplified in (39).
(39) puul.ta 'head'
   ha.na.’e ‘formerly’
   lo.li.ta ‘three’
   mu.rai ‘carry on one’s back’

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

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

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

(41) raranini ‘decoration’
    ra-rau (?) + nini ‘RDL-good’ ‘do:BD’
    kamunei ‘tomorrow, noon’
    kam + nei ‘night’ ?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(42) 
sir.vi.su                  serviço
     ‘work’                  ‘service’

     ob.ri.ga.du             obrigado
     ‘thank you’             ‘thank you’

     teer.su                 terço
     ‘rosary’                ‘rosary’

(43) 
taan.da                   tanda
     ‘sign’                  ‘sign’

     paan.ku                 bangku
     ‘bench, stool’          ‘bench’

     lan.sun                 langsung
     ‘straight away’         ‘direct, straight, immediately’

(44) 
paar.du.fu                ‘widow’
poor.naal                 ‘flour sack’
Toor.ma.ta               (a toponym)

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

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

morpheme level

\[ \text{mi:t=ini} \]

\text{sit.SG=LNK1} \\

phonetic realisation

\[ \text{[m i 't i n i]} \] \\
syllable level

\[ \text{O N. O N. O N.} \] \\
\[ \text{[m i: t i n i]} \] \\

As a result, closed syllables are not uncommon on the morpheme level, but they actually occur very infrequently in discourse. (45) and (46) exemplify slightly longer bits of natural speech; the corresponding syllabifications show the pervasiveness of the favoured CV syllabification pattern.

(45) \[ [.\text{kwe.ke.i.'lini: \mid} \text{ha.'je.na]} \]

\[ \text{K-ue-keil=ini} \quad \text{hai ena.} \]

3:UND-aound-peek=LNK1 NSIT see

‘Peeking around it, he sees (him).’ (38-007)

(46) \[ [\text{ki.'wa.re.\?'i.ni.'sa: \mid} \text{'haj."du: \?'ri.ni.\?'e.ni.'di.la.'kwe.ke.'i.l]} \]

… \[ \text{ki-ouar=ee=ini} \quad \text{sa'a (...) hai dur=ini e'} \quad \text{ni-dila} \]

3:POSS-master-DEF=CTR what NSIT wake.up=LNK1 V1DEM REFL-frog

\[ \text{k-ue-keil.}\text{\textsuperscript{30}} \]

3:UND-around-peek

‘… his master (…) wakes up and peeks at the frog.’ (38-006)

2.5.3 Heavy syllables

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

\textsuperscript{30} Note the occurrence of the echo vowel at the end of the phrase, as opposed to what may be seen in the same word in (45).
not quite clear what the [aj] element might be. The make-up of *poornaal* is entirely opaque. The position of the heavy syllable within a morpheme seems to be free; there are items in which the first syllables are heavy, such as those demonstrated in (47), items with a heavy second syllable, such as in (48) – this often equals the last syllable, since the most frequent type of morpheme is, as mentioned above, disyllabic – and other syllables, as exemplified for a few instances in (49).

(47)  
[hi:ˈtafu]  hintafu  ‘machete’
[pa:ˈdəfu]  paardufu  ‘widow’
[ˈhaːle]  haale  ‘other’

(48)  
[loˈloj]  loloi  ‘two’
[ʔiːraw]  irau  ‘not allowed’
[ˈsuːsuku]  susuuk  ‘mosquito’

(49)  
[ˌnapirəːnu]  napíroomu  ‘tablecloth’
[ˌleːtəɾɔː]  leteroo  ‘coarse bag’
[ˌsotəmeː]  sotemee  ‘alone’

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

2.5.4 Echo vowels

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

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

52 Hull (2004: 67) confirms that Makalero is generally vocalic, but claims that “there is a greater tendency towards apocope” than in Fataluku and Makasae, which “are strongly vocalic in structure”.
asked about the closed-syllable variant, i.e. the word without the echo vowel (such as in (50)), speakers judge this form to be better and more correct than the form with the echo vowel, as in (51); this shows that they recognise (50) as the base form of the morpheme.

(50) [‘jɑr] iar ‘cry’

(51) [‘ja-ra] iar ‘cry’

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

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


Ki-dila e’ini putil=ee-mutu’ini hai rei-misa=si...
3:POSS-foot V1DEM=LNK1 bottle=DEF-inside=LNK1 NSIT outwards-go.up=LNK2
‘His frog is here inside the bottle and is getting out...’

(38-005)

(53) [ki ʃa‘ila?i’aniputi:le:halimu’tu?]u]

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

(38-008)

(54) [‘a’si‘u’pare?iniki’la fuerehanupapa’uku | hanupapa’ukuatu’refi’ni:]

Asi-apapa ere=invi ki-lafu ere hanu pa-pa’uk, hanu
1s:POSS-father 1DEM=CTR 3:POSS-life 1DEM very RDL-bad very

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

(33-01)

(55) [‘a!i‘i‘a‘arma’i:hi || ‘mej=psu: | mejhe’reki’si?erre]

Asi-da-raa ere meih, meih=po u meih ere
1s:POSS-grandparent-PL 1DEM two.HUM two.HUM=ADV one two.HUM 1DEM

k-isi’ ere...
3:UND-belong 1DEM
‘I have (only) two grandfathers, and one among them...’

(33-03)
Both the occurrence of echo vowels as well as vowel lengthening are connected to the end of a phonological phrase, such that a closed syllable concluding an intonational unit is eliminated through attachment of an echo vowel\(^{15}\), which results in an additional, open syllable, as well as the lengthening of the immediately preceding vowel.

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

\[(56) \quad [\textit{mi'ni}na.piri'sistuwaite?efiki'lo kise'fa:ra | ?isi'wa:ta] \]

\[
\ldots \textit{minina Pirisistu uai}=te'e=fe kiloo ki-sefar... \textit{isi-utat}, \]

miss P. \hspace{1cm} CLS=after=FE 3s \hspace{1cm} 3:POSS-dog \hspace{1cm} at:RED-call

‘… then miss Pirisistu called his dog.’ \hspace{1cm} (89-19)

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

\(^{15}\) This rule applies in the vast majority of cases, although in a few instances the echo vowel is at best very faint or not present at all; examples are given in (i) and (ii).

(ii) \quad [\textit{m2'tor hema'nin ni've mu'chin cj hudilaran}]

\[
\text{Motor heman=ini ni-ae meth=ini hai Hudilaran.} \]

motorbike take-LNK1 REFL-sister.in.law two.HUM-LNK1 NSIT H.

‘Having taken a motorbike, (she) went together with her sister-in-law to Hudilaran.’ \hspace{1cm} (74-03)

(iii) \quad [\textit{?ima=n nami'ra'imiarnu fa:t}]

\[
\text{Ini=bi'/ae=ni namiraa ini amu fat} \quad \text{1pi=alone=CTR man 1pe person four} \]

‘… we were only four boys.’ . \hspace{1cm} (72-01)

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

(iv) \quad [\textit{?ini, nami'ra:mu'fa:ta}]

\[
\ldots \text{ini namiraa amu fat...} \quad \text{1pi man person four} \]

‘… we were four boys…’ \hspace{1cm} (33-17)

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

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

\[
\text{(58)} \quad \sigma \quad \sigma \\
R \quad R \\
O \quad N \quad O \quad N \quad C \\
x \quad x \quad x \quad x \quad x \\
. \quad . \quad . \quad . \quad . \\
b \quad i \quad k \quad o \quad n \\
\text{root}
\]

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

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

\[
\text{(59)} \quad \sigma \quad \sigma \\
N \quad O \quad N \quad C \\
x \quad x \quad x \quad x \\
. \quad . \quad . \quad . \\
[a \quad s \quad a \quad n]
\]
The addition of an echo vowel to this structure results in a new onsetless syllable consisting only of a nucleus. It is associated with two positions on the skeletal tier, the first of which is empty such as shown in (60). This empty onset position is crucial, since it is the *raison d’être* of the echo vowel process to eliminate a morpheme-final consonant and to convert it into the onset of a new syllable. Now, following the maximal onset principle as laid out above, the preceding consonant moves into the empty onset position.

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

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

The skeletal tier is also able to account for the behaviour of such items as *hein* ‘wait’ under application of the echo vowel. Notably, morphemes like this change from being monosyllabic to being trisyllabic when an echo vowel is added, thus [hein] ends up as [he:i:ni]. This example has been cited in § 2.2.2 (p. 60) to support the idea that off-glides are actually vowels, not consonants. With the aid of the skeletal tier, the explanation of the process which results in the trisyllabic [he:i:ni] is quite trivial. The diphthong nucleus, being complex, occupies two skeletal positions, as shown in (62); thus the root [hein] is associated with four skeletal positions. To this, the echo vowel syllable with its two positions is added.
In the following, a process exactly analogous to the one described for *asan* in (60) and (61) applies: the coda consonant of *hein* is reassigned to the empty onset position of the echo vowel syllable. The remaining unbound skeletal position that belongs to the root morpheme is then linked to the nearest element, namely the second (glide) element of the diphthong nucleus. Being bound to two skeletal positions, this element is lengthened. As such, it can no longer be realised as an off-glide, but becomes a fully syllabic long vowel.

The same applies to monosyllabic lexical morphemes consisting of a closed syllable with a long vowel nucleus. A morpheme such as *dur* [du:r] ‘wake up’ occupies four positions on the skeletal tier, just like *hein* ‘wait’ in (62).
In the next step, the tap /r/ is reassigned to the new syllable as an onset. As a consequence of this, three skeletal positions are now bound to the already long vowel of the root [d uː r], as seen in (65).

(65) \[
\begin{array}{c}
\sigma \\
\mu \\
O \\
x \\
[d \\
u : ] u
\end{array}
\begin{array}{c}
\sigma \\
\mu \\
O \\
x \\
[ \bar{u} : ] u
\end{array}
\]

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

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

2.5.5 Vowel reduction

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

(66) ['asi'dada'raːrmeiːhi]

\textit{Asi-dada-raa} \hspace{1cm} ere \hspace{1cm} meih...

\textit{1s:POSS-grandparent-PL 1DEM two.HUM}

‘I have (only) two grandfathers …’ (33-29f)

The tendency to drop unstressed vowels in fast speech can give rise to consonant clusters, as seen in (66). The reduction of unstressed vowels is not possible without limits, but appears to be largely restricted to grammatical, rather than lexical, items.
Instances are the most frequent grammatical items, such as the demonstrative *ere* (as in (66)) and the clause linkers *=ini* and *=isi* (see § 3.5.2.5, p. 247 and § 3.5.3.1.1.1, p. 250, respectively).

### 2.6 Stress

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

#### 2.6.1 Stress in isolated words

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

\[(67) \quad [\text{mi:ti}] \quad \text{mit} \quad \text{‘sit (SG)’}\]
\[(68) \quad [\text{mi:’tini}] \quad \text{mit} = \text{ini} \quad \text{‘sit (SG) and...’}\]

Stress is mainly realised through amplitude, as the intensity curves of (66) and (67) in Figures 2.4 and 2.5 demonstrate, rather than through length.
Figure 2.4: *Mit* ‘sit (SG)’, intensity

Figure 2.5: *Mit=ini* ‘sit (SG) and then’, intensity

On the other hand, the pitch peak of an intonational unit does not necessarily coincide with the syllable marked as stressed through intensity. Compare Figure 2.6, in which both vowels seem to be pronounced at the same pitch, whereas in Figure
2.7. the pitch peak, weak though it is, apparently coincides with the syllable bearing main stress. It thus seems that pitch is not the decisive feature in determining the stressed syllable in Makalero.

![Figure 2.6: Mit ‘sit (SG)’, pitch](image)

![Figure 2.7: Mit=ini ‘sit (SG) and then’, pitch](image)
For words uttered in isolation and short phrases, the penultimate stress pattern is pervasive; it holds for bi-, tri- and the occasional quadrisyllabic lexical item, as shown in (69), (70) and (71), respectively.

(69)  
\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{['fala]} & \text{fala} & \text{‘cat’} \\
\text{['muni]} & \text{muni} & \text{‘return’} \\
\text{['ira]} & \text{ira} & \text{‘water’} \\
\end{array}
\]

(70)  
\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{[ko'haru]} & \text{ko-horu} & \text{‘with him’} \\
\text{[lo'litu]} & \text{lolu} & \text{‘three’} \\
\text{[si'visu]} & \text{si'visu} & \text{‘work’} \\
\end{array}
\]

(71)  
\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{[is'a'ami]} & \text{isarami} & \text{‘brother’} \\
\text{[usu'padu]} & \text{usapadu} & \text{‘candle’} \\
\text{[ra'ra'nini]} & \text{raranini} & \text{‘decoration’} \\
\end{array}
\]

Penultimate stress also applies to disyllabic grammatical items.

(72)  
\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{['ani]} & \text{ani} & \text{(1s)} \\
\text{['na'a]} & \text{=na’a} & \text{(INT)} \\
\text{['fata]} & \text{=fata} & \text{(COND)} \\
\end{array}
\]

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

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

(73)  
\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{[kamu'nui]} & \text{kamuei} & \text{‘noon’} \\
\text{[da'da'wai]} & \text{dada-uai} & \text{‘grandfather (HON)’} \\
\end{array}
\]

(74)  
\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{[ltere're]} & \text{lerete} & \text{‘coarse bag’} \\
\text{[sot'me]} & \text{soteme} & \text{‘self, alone’} \\
\end{array}
\]

The defining feature of heavy syllables is that they consist of two morae, as shown in (75) for kamuei ‘tomorrow’ and leteroo ‘coarse bag’, respectively.
Clearly, Makalero makes use of the moraic trochee as defined by Ewen and van der Hulst (2001: 227): “[i]n systems employing the moraic trochee, a foot may be formed either by a heavy syllable on its own or by two light syllables.” This system thus bases the notion of foot on moraic rather than syllabic structure, such that a foot must consist of two morae rather than two syllables. The word stress thus lies on the last foot rather than on the penultimate syllable. This definition accounts both for such cases as demonstrated in (69) through (72) (see the schematic representations in ((76) and (77) below, for a lexical and a grammatical item, respectively), as well as for such lexemes as those in (73) and (74), as shown in the schematic representations in (78) and (79). Feet are bracketed in the representations.

(75) \[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\sigma & \sigma & \sigma \\
\mu & \mu & \mu \\
[k & a & m & u & 'n & \varepsilon & j] \\
\begin{array}{cc}
\end{array}
\end{array}
\]

\textit{kamunei} \\
‘tomorrow’

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\sigma & \sigma & \sigma \\
\mu & \mu & \mu \\
[l & \varepsilon & t & \varepsilon & 'r & \grave{\alpha}] \\
\end{array}
\]

\textit{leteroo} \\
‘coarse bag’

(76) \[
( \ast \ .) \\
( \underline{\mu} \ \underline{\mu}) \\
[\text{f} \ a \ l \ a] \\
\textit{fala} \\
‘cat’
\]

(77) \[
( \ast \ .) \\
( \underline{\mu} \ \underline{\mu}) \\
[\text{a} \ n \ i] \\
\textit{ani} \\
‘1s’
\]

(78) \[
( \ast \ .) \ ( \ast \ .) \\
( \underline{\mu} \ \underline{\mu}) \ ( \underline{\mu} \ \underline{\mu}) \\
[k \ a \ m \ u \ 'n \ \varepsilon \ j] \\
\textit{kamunei} \\
‘tomorrow’
\]

(79) \[
( \ast \ .) \ ( \ast \ .) \\
( \underline{\mu} \ \underline{\mu}) \ ( \underline{\mu} \ \underline{\mu}) \\
[l \ \varepsilon \ t \ \varepsilon \ 'r \ \grave{\alpha}] \\
\textit{leteroo} \\
‘coarse bag’
\]
A word consisting of an odd number of morae, such as lolitu ‘three’ in (80), shows that foot structure is assigned from right to left; hence if a word has an uneven number of morae, the first, unaccented mora is not assigned to any foot, that is, is stranded.

(80) \[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\mu & \mu & \mu \\
\| & \| & \\
\| & \| & \\
\| & \| & \\
\| & \| & \\
\| & \| & \\
\end{array}
\]

lolitu

‘three’

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

(81) \[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\mu & \mu & \\
\| & \| & \\
\| & \| & \\
\| & \| & \\
\end{array}
\]

as an

‘long’

(82) \[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\mu & \mu & \mu \\
\| & \| & \\
\| & \| & \\
\| & \| & \\
\end{array}
\]

as an

‘long’

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

(83) \[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\mu & \mu & \mu \\
\| & \| & \\
\| & \| & \\
\end{array}
\]

paardifu

‘widow’
The same holds for mit=ini [miːˈtini] (sit.SG=LNN1) given as Figure 2.4 above, which has a secondary accent on the first, long, syllable. There are a few more such instances, e.g. puulata [puːˈlata] ‘head’ and sookoroko [sɔːˈkɔrɔkɔɾɔ] ‘snore’. Interestingly, there are also a variety of loan words which follow this pattern, e.g. viitima [viːˈtimə] ‘victim’ and saapatu [saːˈpatu] ‘shoe’. As pointed out in § 2.2.3.4 (p. 65) with reference to both native and borrowed words, the aberrant stress pattern suggests that they are understood to be made up of several morphemes. This is obviously the case with [miːtiːni] (mit ‘sit (SG)’ and the clause linking clitic =ini). In the case of paardu fu ‘widow’, the consonant cluster further supports the idea of the word being a compound. For a loanword such as saapatu [saːˈpatu] ‘shoe’, this would involve reanalysis of some kind, whereas in the case of viitima [viːˈtimə] ‘victim’, the long vowel in the nucleus of the first syllable seems to reflect the fact that in the donor language Portuguese, this word is stressed on the first syllable. I am not aware of minimal pairs with stress as the only distinctive feature.

2.6.2 Stress in the utterance

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

(87) . (x .) . (x.) (x.) (x.) (x.) (x.) (x.) . (x.) (x.) (x.)

[ni’sefare] haj’afavini sefa’re: haj ‘mejn ata k̀k̀k̀k̀k̀.

... ni-sefar=ee hai afu=ni sefar=ee hai mei=ni ata’-kokor.

REFL-dog=DEF NSIT carry=LNK1 dog=DEF NSIT take=LNK1 angry-hold
‘He carries his dog and holds him angrily (?)’  (38-032)

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

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

(88) . (x .) (x .) (x.) (x .) (x .) (x .) (x .)

[se’fra’ aму’lafu a’ta’u ‘ira’ mutu’la’a]

... sefar amula’fu ata’u ira-mutu-la’a...

dog human all water-inside:RED-move
‘... the dog and the human, all fall into the water.’  (38-097)

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

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

According to most basic textbooks, a distinction between at least two lexical categories, namely nouns and verbs, is a universal trait in languages (e.g. Payne 1997: 32). That is, they posit a basic distinction between the expression of objects and actions, or reference and predication. There is, however, no consensus over this seemingly basic fact: specific theories may define other sets of basic word classes. For instance, Croft (2001: 63) argues for three universal basic word classes, namely nouns, verbs and adjectives, with the chief functions of denoting objects, actions and properties, respectively. Yet another approach argues that word class distinctions must be considered a matter of degree (see e.g. Sasse 1993). Evidence challenging traditional word class theory has, among others, been adduced from Austronesian languages. Specifically, many individual Austronesian languages have been analysed as lacking a noun/verb distinction. This may be illustrated by such examples as (1) and (2) from Tongan (Broschart 1997: 134, examples (15) and (16)).

(1)  na’e lele e kau fefiné
    PAST run SPEC PL.HUM woman.DEF
    ‘The women were running.’

(2)  na’e fefiné kotoa e kau lelé
    PAST woman all SPEC PL.HUM run.DEF
    ‘The ones running were all female.’

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

Makalero, even though no member of the Austronesian family genetically, is spoken in a larger area dominated by Austronesian languages, and it is similar to these languages in several respects. Among those is the fact that the translational equivalents of verbs and nouns can quite freely be used in both argument and predicate positions, respectively. This characteristic is not commonly associated with Papuan languages (see § 1.5, p. 12).
In the Makalero lexicon, there is formal evidence for the distinction between function words and content words; to wit, there is a bimoracticity requirement for the latter (see § 2.5, p. 75). This means that a content word has to be either disyllabic or, if it is monosyllabic, its vowel nucleus has to be long or a diphthong. There is no such requirement for monosyllabic function words. As such the two lexemes in (3), ni ‘mother’ and ni (REFL) are clearly distinguished.

(3) \[ ni [ni:] \quad ni [ni] \]
\[ ‘mother’ \quad (REFL) \]

Within the class of content words, however, the evidence for a distinction between nouns and verbs is weak. Though a lexeme may prototypically be used as an argument, it can easily function as a predicate given the right context. Similarly, lexemes prototypically used in predicate function can be used as arguments. (4) and (5) exemplify this flexibility with a prototypical verb, the stative isit ‘be ill’. In (4), it is used as the clause’s main predicate. In (5), on the other hand, the same lexeme clearly stands in a nominal slot, preceded by the third person possessive marker ki- (§ 3.3.1.13, p. 225) and the definite marker =ee (§ 3.5.1.1, p. 243). In this it is the head of the subject argument to the following predicate, k-ua-misa ‘rise over (it)’.

(6) and (7) illustrate the same with a prototypical noun, meestri ‘teacher’. In (6), it is part of the subject argument, while in (7), it functions as a predicate.

(4) ... asi-atupusi hai nomo isit.
1a:POSS-belly NSIT NEG ill
‘... my belly did not hurt anymore.’ (101-137)

(5) Ki-isit=ee hai k-ua-misa...
3:POSS-ill=DEF NSIT 3:UND-on.top:RED-go.up
‘His illness got worse...’ (lit. went up on top) (67-29)

(6) ... un=ini aire’ meestri Karo ere ni-asu mei...
one=CTR now teacher K. 1DEM REFL-for take
‘... one (of them) teacher Caro now took for himself (to be his wife)...’ (105-025)

(7) Tufuraa umere’ nomohaka murid=pa meestri.
woman DIST.DEM V CLS.NEG student=ADVR teacher
‘That girl over there is not a student, but a teacher.’ (elic1593)

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

---

Possessive modifiers with verbs in referring function are usually the agents of the verbal actions in question; possessors referring to non-agentive participants are found in the corpus only with locative verbs.
(8) 

mini (v)  
mini (n)  

‘follow’  
‘nose’  

(9) 

lu’a (v)  
lu’a (n)  

‘not get’  
‘monkey’  

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

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

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

### 3.1 Nouns

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

3.1.1 Nouns in Makalero: a tentative definition

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

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

(10) ama          ‘garden’
     hia’         ‘street’
     taaumata    ‘family of the groom, wife-takers’
     na’a         ‘work’

There is also some scattered nominalising derivational morphology (see § 3.1.2.1, p. 101), resulting in a relatively small class of nouns that are morphologically marked as such. The bulk of morphemes, however, are undervied and cannot be identified as belonging to either one or another class on morphological or structural grounds. Hence a general working definition which captures both derived and undervied nouns is needed. There are no formal features which can be used to classify a given lexeme as a noun. Nominal derivational morphology is limited and no use for the definition of undervied nouns. Syntactic evidence, too, is of no help – rather, this is the origin of the problem (see § 3, p. 97). Therefore, I resort to semantic criteria for a preliminary working definition, as suggested by Haspelmath (2001: 16543) and discussed in § 3 (p. 97) above, by which a lexeme x can be identified as a noun by a semantic correlation as given in Table 3.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning if used as an argument</th>
<th>meaning if used as a predicate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>be an x</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

56 Derivation of verbs from nouns is discussed in § 3.2.2 (p. 127) under verbal morphology.
57 This definition relies on translational equivalents of Makalero lexemes in English and is thus itself not unproblematic. However, as laid out, the language-internal evidence provides no good criteria to capture the class of nouns as a whole.
A noun x is translated as predating the property of being an x if used in the verbal slot. Verbs exhibit a different semantic correlation between their predicative use and the argument use (see § 3.2.1, p. 125). As such, I maintain that content words can reliably be grouped into nouns and verbs on a semantic basis.58 (11) and (12) give contextual examples of the semantic correlation shown in Table 3.1. In (11), the noun dada ‘grandparent’, in the phrase fi-dada ‘our (incl.) grandfather’, functions as the subject argument of the clause, while (12) shows the same phrase used to predicate the property of being the entity expressed by the noun phrase in question.59

(11) ... fi-dada fi-upa fi-nanu fi-hoden hane’
1pi-grandparent 1pi-father 1pi-great-grandparent 1p-great-grandparent REM.PT

fi-asu lolo...
1pi-för say
‘… our grandfathers and our fathers, our great-great-grandfathers and our
great-grandfathers told us long ago…’

(55-28)

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

(38-101)

3.1.2 Nominal morphology

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

3.1.2.1 Derivational morphology

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

58 Under this definition, it would seem that such lexemes as feesta ‘party’ and iskola ‘school’ are actually
prototypical verbs (see § 3.2.1, p. 125).
59 Note that fi-dada ‘our grandfather’ is used as a taboo term to refer to the crocodile.
and thus represent exceptions to the general functional flexibility of morphemes that is a characteristic of Makalero.

### 3.1.2.1 The -r-formative

Though it is unproductive and its few occurrences scattered, the formative -r- is clearly associated with the nominal domain. One of the clearest, and most systematic, instances is its occurrence in the demonstrative (i.e. nominal) forms of the spatial deictic paradigm, where a form with -r- appears to derive a referring expression (in this case a pronoun) from a categorically unmarked base, as shown in (13) on the example of the speaker-related demonstrative. Note, however, that it goes regularly through the whole series of deictics (see § 3.2.3.9, p. 180 and § 3.3.2.1, p. 232).

(13)  
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
e & \text{ere} \\
\text{(speaker-related demonstrative root)} & \text{(1DEM)}
\end{array}
\]

There are few more instances of verb-to-noun derivation with -r-. The clearest of these is the agent noun akor ‘thief’, derived from (k)-ako ‘steal’, as exemplified in (14) and (15).

(14)  
\[
\ldots \text{ani la’}a=ni \text{ pusi-ako}... \quad \text{is move=LNK1 pan-steal} \\
\ldots \text{I went and stole pans…’} \quad (101-292)
\]

(15)  
\[
\text{Ako} \text{-r lapu-mutu-la’a iaia mei=ni da’al-ini.} \\
\text{steal-NML house-inside:RED move glass take=LNK1 break-do:BD} \\
\text{‘The thief entered the house by breaking a window pane.’} \quad \text{(elic529)}
\]

Other instances of verb-to-noun derivation with -r- include the following:

(16)  
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{umu} & \text{umur} \\
\text{‘die’} & \text{‘dead body / death’} \\
\text{nua} & \text{nuar}\text{,} \\
\text{‘eat’} & \text{‘food’} \\
\text{uatu misa} & \text{uatu misar} \\
\text{‘the sun rises’} & \text{‘east’}
\end{array}
\]

---

\text{Naar} is found only once in the corpus, and was produced by a non-native speaker of Makalero. Though the person in question has been living in Ilomar for many years and is fluent in the language, this item must be viewed with caution. Note, also, that other derivations for ‘food’, such as a reduplicated form \text{nua-nua} (§ 3.1.2.2, p. 106), or a simple form with the third person possessive pronoun \text{kī}, \text{ki-nua} are in frequent use.
The meaning of the -r- formative is very broadly nominalising. It can give derive agent nouns, as in (15), as well as concrete objects or abstract concepts associated with a given verb, as in (16). Note that the interpretation of the derived form umar given in (16) varies between the latter two; it can be read either as denoting a dead body, i.e. an object associated with the action expressed by the verb or the abstract concept of death.

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

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

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

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

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

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

---

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

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

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

The general semantic effect of the suffix can be paraphrased as denoting the result or product, and sometimes the undergoer, of the verbal action. (21), volunteered by an informant, suggests that there is a possibility for multiple derivations with -ini. Thus, kutu-ini ‘clothes’ is derived from the verb (k)-uttu ‘wear / cover / block’ (with a third person argument-marking prefix), and kutu-ini-ni is in its turn derived from that and appears to be a more abstract notion.

(21)  
| kutu-ini    | kutu-ini-ni |
| ‘clothes’   | ‘style (of clothing)’ |

No such multiple derivations with -ini- occur in the corpus of free speech, hence it is not clear whether the correlation of the simply derived form with more concrete objects and that of the doubly derived form with more abstract objects is regular. The issue of -ini is complicated by the fact that the form [ini] has several, quite distinct functions, likely homophonous rather than polysemous. Thus it has to be born in mind that -ini-nominalisations of verbs are in many cases formally homophonous to combinations of verbs with the clitic clause linker =ini (§ 3.5.2.5.2, p. 249). (22) and (23) illustrate this with teuh-ini,\(^2\) which is a nominalised form in (22), but a verb with a sequential marker in (23). Note that the two differ clearly as to their function within the clause.

\(^2\) The clitic =ini (see § 3.5.2.5, p. 247) is cliticised to clauses. Its initial vowel is usually omitted in fluent speech after another vowel (though it may appear in slower diction). As such, a vowel-final verb with the clause linker =ini is generally distinct from an -ini-nominalisation. The latter suffix retains its initial vowel except after a stem ending in the same vowel. Using lolo ‘say’ as an example, the nominalisation is lolo-ini ‘conversation’ as given in (20) above; the most commonly used form of the verb lolo with the clause linker, on the other hand, would be lolo=ni.
(22) \[ \text{Maia ka'w=ua ani k-asu teuh-ini na'u mei kini ere} \]
\textit{ki-isa se hare'.}
3:Poss-condition very clean

'The child for whom I bought a present was very happy.' (clic526)

(23) \[ \text{Uai=ni=ni ni-asu mei=ni modo-hasa teuh=ini pura mei=ni} \]
\textit{tempe kini=ni pura...}
\textit{tempe do=LNK1 sell}

'So we took (the money) for ourselves and bought vegetables, which we
then sold, and took (the money) and made tempe with it, which we then
sold...' (124-29)

Also, \text{-ini} is one of the bound forms of the verb \text{kini} 'do', which is used with verbal complements in both causativising and object-demoting function (see § 5.2.2.5.1, p. 340 for details).\footnote{A historical relationship between this and the nominalising suffix \text{-ini} cannot be excluded, given both the formal as well as the semantic similarity between the two.}

3.1.2.1.3 Agent nouns

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

(24) \text{deue-door} \hspace{1cm} \text{deue}

'borrower, somebody with
a lot of debts'

\text{deue}

'borrow'

\text{fana-door} \hspace{1cm} \text{fana}

'teacher'

\text{fana}

'teach'

\text{ropa-pura-door} \hspace{1cm} \text{ropa pura}

'clothes salesman'

'sell clothes'

Apart from this borrowed derivative suffix (see § 3.3.3.4, p. 238 for some remarks on its status), there are several language-internal means to convey the same meaning. However, it does not appear as if any of these is productive. Consider the examples in (25) through (27). The first example in (25), \text{akor} 'thief' from (k)-ako 'steal', has been mentioned above in the discussion of the nominal \text{-r}-formative
(§ 3.1.2.1.1, p. 102). A variant form is akorteul, with an otherwise unattested additional teul element. The two items in (26) may both be translated as ‘farmer’; the first of these, ama-ouar, is a nominal compound (§ 4.1.1, p. 276) which literally translates as ‘garden master’. Ama pau-paum, on the other hand, is derived from the phrase ama pau ‘to weed / work in a garden’ by reduplication of the verb pau ‘pull out’. It thus conforms to § 3.1.2.2 (p. 106), which records several cases of nominalisation through reduplication. Finally, fananini ki-amulafu for ‘teacher’ in (27) was produced by speakers consciously trying to avoid the much more common Portuguese loan meestri ‘teacher’. Fanani-ni is a complement-verb complex of the form ‘teach-do’, and is connected to amulafu ‘(living) person’ in a possessive construction, which could be rendered in English as ‘person of teaching’.

(25) akor
akorteul ‘thief’

(26) ama-ouar
ama pau-paum ‘farmer’

(27) fananini ki-amulafu ‘teacher’

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

3.1.2.2 Reduplication

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

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

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64 There is a verb teul ‘chase’. I fail, however, to see how these two elements could be related.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(28)</th>
<th><em>kitu</em></th>
<th><em>kitu-kitu</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘skewer, prong’</td>
<td>‘fork’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hulu</em></td>
<td><em>hulu-hulu</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
|       | ‘spoon out’ | ‘spoon’
| *tufa* | *tufa-tufa* |
|       | ‘sweep’ | ‘broom’ |
| *sia* | *sia-sia* |
|       | ‘rub, brush’ | ‘eraser’ |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(29)</th>
<th><em>seti</em></th>
<th><em>seti-seti</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘pass, miss’</td>
<td>‘error, mistake, sin’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kini</em></td>
<td><em>kini-kini</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘do, make’</td>
<td>‘behaviour, tradition’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>lafu</em></td>
<td><em>lafu-lafu</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘live, be alive’</td>
<td>‘life, aspiration’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>fani</em></td>
<td><em>fani-fani</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘be like’</td>
<td>‘resemblance, likeness’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mua</em></td>
<td><em>mua-mua</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘eat’</td>
<td>‘food’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(30)</th>
<th><em>seran</em></th>
<th><em>sera-seran</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘stuff’</td>
<td>‘things, stuff’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sa’a</em></td>
<td><em>sa’a-sa’a</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘thing’</td>
<td>‘things, stuff’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>saka</em></td>
<td><em>saka-saka</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘branch’</td>
<td>‘branches’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

65 The simplex *hulu* also occurs in nominal function, with the same meaning.
(31)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>isa</em></td>
<td>'emotional state'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>isa-isa</em></td>
<td>'age'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>isu</em></td>
<td>'seed'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>isu-isu</em></td>
<td>'freckles'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kamu</em></td>
<td>'night'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kamu-(k)amu</em></td>
<td>'early morning'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(32)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>iaia</em></td>
<td>'glass, mirror'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>uti</em></td>
<td>'image, picture'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>rifu</em></td>
<td>'gathering'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>toutou</em></td>
<td>'owl'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3.1.3 Types of nouns

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

#### 3.1.3.1 Proper names

Proper names generally include personal names and place names. Both of these categories constitute distinctive subsystems in Makalero mainly on phonological grounds, as discussed in § 3.1.3.1.1 (p. 109) and § 3.1.3.1.2 (p. 111), respectively. Note that § 3.1.3.1.2 (p. 111) treats clan names as well as place names. The names of
months can be grouped into a separate class based on similar reasons. The issue is presented in more detail in § 3.1.3.1.3 (p. 112).

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

(33)  
\[\text{Joana da Silva} \] (female)  
\[\text{Agusto Pinto} \] (male)  
\[\text{Igildo Ximenes} \] (male)  
\[\text{Maria da Gloria} \] (female)  
\[\text{Marcos da Costa} \] (male)

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

Personal names commonly contain consonant clusters, otherwise disfavoured (§ 2.5.2, p. 78). Also, the preference for disyllabic morphemes does not apply (§ 2.5.1, p. 76).

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

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

(34)  
\[\text{Mafalda} \rightarrow \text{Falda} \]  
\[\text{Latina} \rightarrow \text{Tina} \]
(35)  
\begin{align*}
\text{Olávio} \ [\text{'o}l\text{\textacute{a}viu}] & \rightarrow Ola \ [\text{'o}la] \\
Agusto \ [\text{'ag}\text{\textacute{u}}st\text{\textacute{u}}] & \rightarrow Agus \ [\text{'ag}us]\text{\textsuperscript{16}}
\end{align*}

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

(36)  
\begin{align*}
\text{Noi} \ [\text{'noi}] & \rightarrow A-noi \ [\text{'a}noi] \\
Jua\(\)a \ [zu\text{'ana}] / [\text{'zwana}] & \rightarrow A-jua\(\)a [\text{'az}wa]
\end{align*}

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

(37)  
\begin{align*}
\text{Leni} \ ['\text{leni}] & \rightarrow A-leni \ [,\text{'a}leni]
\end{align*}

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

(38)  
\begin{align*}
\text{Atino ki-mama!} & \quad ‘\text{Atino’s mother!’} \\
\text{Atino ki-papa!} & \quad ‘\text{Atino’s father!’}
\end{align*}

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

(39)  
\begin{align*}
\text{Ilia\textsuperscript{atu} (male)} \\
\text{Alou (female)} \\
\text{Viarudoli (female)}
\end{align*}

Very few people nowadays use their Timorese name, hence they are more frequently found in stories about the ancestors (and there, for some reason, more frequently for\textsuperscript{16} In the case of Agusto, the short form Agus may be influenced by the common Indonesian given name Agus.
women). My information on such names is too limited as to allow for conclusions on their phonology, meaning etc. There have been very few occurrences of what seems to be an associative plural marker -ara, which occurs with personal names only.67 An example is given in (40). The compatibility with this suffix is a distinguishing characteristic of personal names on the morphological level, as well.

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

3.1.3.1.2 Place and clan names

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

(41) Ailebere69
Bunabiki70
Boropai

(42) Abubal
Luraboitafa
Busarulu

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

67 It appears the more general plural marker -lau (see § 3.3.3.2, p. 236) can stand with personal names too, and yields an associative plural reading much like -ara.
68 Note that several of the clan names listed in Chamberlain 2008 and reproduced in § 1.3 (p. 7), such as Iliomar and Ailebere, are also names of places.
69 Ailebere is spelled Aelebere in Map 4 (§ 1.2, p. 5).
70 This village is officially spelled Bunabiqui, using Portuguese orthography (see Map 4, § 1.2, p. 5).
71 The form of these place names conforms perfectly to the phonological system of Makasae with its two series of stops, voiced and voiceless (Huber 2008a). It is unlikely that the names of these settlements in the Makalero heartland are borrowed from Makasae. This may suggest that Makalero originally had a series of voiced stops that was lost at some stage of language evolution.
While a place name like Lopuarapau looks very much like a compound (‘buffalo house’), it does not conform to the structure of nominal compounds in Makalero (see § 4.1.1, p. 276), in which the modifying noun precedes the head of the structure. As such, ‘buffalo house’ would be arapau-lopu (or ara-lopu), not lopu-arapau. It seems, therefore, that place names in Makalero differ from the rest of the language’s vocabulary not only in phonology, but also in other aspects, such as their syntactic make-up.

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

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

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

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

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

3.1.3.1.3 Months

Makalero speakers normally use the Indonesian or Portuguese names for months. When necessary, however, they are able to provide names for the twelve months of the year in Makalero. These terms were never used in spontaneous speech that I witnessed, but were volunteered by informants. The twelve months are listed in Table 3.2 below. Speakers equate these months with the twelve months of the Gregorian calendar. The Makalero terms given in the left column were given to me.
personally by a group of speakers. The forms in square brackets following them are those given by Pinto (2007: 10). The right column gives explanations for these names, as offered by the above-mentioned group of speakers.

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

Note that Pinto gives mater-raadina as April and utu-let as March, respectively, thus the other way round than in my own information. Apart from this, the two sources coincide except in the spelling.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Season</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| matu-isar  | July         | matu = sweet yam  
[Matu Isar]  
isa-r = go.up-NML (?)  
→ when the sweet yams come up |
| lue-uru    | August       | lue = ash  
uru = moon  
→ when plants wither and look grey |
| eu-laun    | September    | eu = oily substance in a coconut (?)  
lauan = ?  
→ when the skin of coconuts starts getting shiny |
| bare mata  | October      | bare = dry season (?)  
mata = child  
→ beginning of dry season |
| bare bere  | November     | bare = dry season (?)  
bere = big (SG)  
→ height of dry season |
| ata-uru    | December     | ata = fire  
uru = moon  
→ when there are many forest fires |

Table 3.2: Makalero months

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

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

3.1.3.2 [+HUM] nouns

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(v) Uai-te xe ki=helar-lāa ni-mata teni mei la’a-ni ira ure
    CLS-after ATTR-big-PL-PL REFL-child again take move=LNK1 water 2DEM

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

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

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

\begin{verbatim}
(49) ... uai=ni=si uai=te’isi amuni ki-upa-raa
     CLS=LNK1=LNK2 CLS=after=LNK2 person 3:POSS-father-PL

asi-paimatu-raa fani’ asa hil...
1s.POSS-uncle-PL be.like chicken pit
‘... then his uncles (my in-laws) went for a cock-fight...’ (67-27)

(50) Ani he’ul=afaa ho’o mei ni-nana=raa meih=ee kini
     is full=COND some take REFL-elder.sibling.PL two.HUM=DEF give.to.3

ni-noko=raa meih=ee kini.
REFL-younger.sibling=PL two.HUM=DEF give.to.3
‘If I was full, I gave some to my two elder siblings and to my two younger siblings.’ (101-026)
\end{verbatim}

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

\begin{verbatim}
(51) ni / ina\textsuperscript{77} ‘mother’
     upa ‘father’
     dada ‘grandparent / grandchild’
     hodden ‘great-grandparent / great-grandchild’
     nanu ‘great-great-grandparent / great-great-grandchild’
     nana ‘elder sibling’
     noko ‘younger sibling’
\end{verbatim}

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

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

\textsuperscript{77} The latter appears to be more endearing; ni is not generally used as a term of address. Also, ni does not occur with the honorific suffix -saii (see § 3.3.3.3, p. 238).
tufur 'sister, cousin'
isarami 'brother, cousin'
tumata 'niece, nephew'
upa ki=ka'u / upa ki=pere 'uncle (father's younger / elder brother)'
ina ki=ka'u / ina ki=pere 'aunt (mother's younger / elder sister)'
tia 'aunt'
tiu 'uncle'
pai 'parent's younger sibling (?)'
paakin 'parent-in-law'
paimatu 'parent's sibling'
mali 'brother/sister-in-law'
tu 'sister-in-law'
faini 'brother/sister-in-law (?)'
paardifu 'widow'78

The fact that paardifu 'widow' is pluralised with -raa shows that it is understood as a kinship term. Note that it appears to present an exception to the phonetic restriction on the use of the -raa-suffix as stated above, which suggests it is not compatible with roots containing an /e/. This is further confirmation of the idea brought forward in § 2.2.3.4 (p. 65) on phonological grounds that paardifu ‘widow’ is in fact a compound. There are two nouns which can appear with either -laa and -raa, namely pada ‘friend, colleague’79 and funda ‘young woman’80; thus these nouns can be classified as either kinship terms or other [+HUM] nouns, depending possibly on the context and/or the speaker. (52) shows pada ‘friend’ with the -laa-plural, while in (53), it takes the -raa-plural.

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

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

---

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

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

80 This is most likely related to fumara ‘young (unmarried) woman’, see § 3.1.2.1.1 (p. 102). The form funda appears to have come about by the same process as described in fn 76, which gives rise to such variant forms as ['na'ra:] and ['na nda] for ‘elder siblings’.
Among kinship terms, *mata* ‘child’ is special in that it has a distinct plural marker, *-niki*\(^b\), which occurs nowhere else. However, *mata* is not restricted to occurring with this plural marker only; rather, a whole range of marking patterns, listed in (54), has been found, constituting another peculiarity of this noun. In fact, the use of a simple *-r*, rather than *-raa*, is also restricted to *mata*. Apart from this, note that double marking of the plural is common with this noun. The only option that does not occur is *mata-la*, using only the plural for human nouns other than kinship terms. Note, however, that *-la* is found on *mata* ‘child’ in conjunction with the *-r*-plural, yielding *mata-la*.\(^a\)

(54) \[\]

|  | \[\]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mata-niki</td>
<td>‘children’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mata-niki-niki</td>
<td>‘’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mata-raa</td>
<td>‘’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mata-niki-raa</td>
<td>‘’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mata-niki-la</td>
<td>‘’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mata-r</td>
<td>‘’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mata-r-la</td>
<td>‘’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is, furthermore, a honorific suffix *-uai* (§ 3.3.3.3, p. 238), which is found in kinship terms only.\(^2\) (55) and (56) show examples of its use.

(55) \[\]

|  | \[\]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>... ani upa-uai k-ue-kol...</td>
<td>1s father-HON 3:UND-around-hug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘... I hug you (father)...’</td>
<td>(105-061)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(56) \[\]

|  | \[\]
|---|---|
| ... amun upa-uai-raa=ni ni-mata meih=ini la’a=ni... \[\]
| person father-HON-PL=CTR REFL-child two.HUM=LNK1 move=LNK1 \[\]
| ‘... (some) old men went together with their children...’ | (61-05) |

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

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

---

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

\(^b\) In Makasae, the possible cognate *-kai* appears to be used with personal names, too. There is no such example in my Makalero database, although it was not specifically tested.
3.1.3.3 [-HUM] nouns

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(61) arapau ara- omar oma- ‘buffalo’ ‘stilt house’

A further possible member is munu ‘lips’, which may have a reduced form mu-. The reduced forms are rather different in their make-up; while arapau ‘buffalo’ loses a whole syllable in its reduced form ar-, omar ‘stilt house’ loses only the final consonant /t/, yielding oma-. Munu ‘lips’, too, loses a syllable – in this case, it leaves the simplex mu-, of which munu appears to be a reduplication. The form ar- ‘buffalo’ is only found in nominal compounds (§ 4.1.1, p. 276), while omar- ‘house’ is used only in the complement position to a verb of movement (see § 4.3.3, p. 283 and § 5.2.2, p. 320). The form mu- ‘lips’ is found in one case only, namely the nominal compound mu-nunu (lips:RED-body.hair) ‘moustache’. In all cases, the nouns in question form a unit with the element following them from which they are dependent. In the case of a nominal compound, the reduced forms ara- and mu- are used to modify a subsequent noun, while in the case of a complement-verb complex, oma- fills a following movement verb’s valency as its complement.

3.1.3.5 Numeral classifiers

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

83 This may reflect a classification of nouns according to degrees of individuation. Hypothetically, for Makalero speakers, nouns designating large objects such as the above-mentioned houses, trees, cars, and buffaloes are per se individuated enough and need no classifier, while smaller objects such as eggs, sheets of paper or teeth are seen to be more “mass-like” and need to be specifically individuated by a classifier. [+HUM] nouns appear to defy this hypothesis in that they regularly occur with a classifier; however, § 3.1.3.2 (p. 115) shows that they have a special status in several respects. It does not appear absurd that individuation is perceived as appropriate (though not necessary) for humans.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>classifier</th>
<th>literal meaning</th>
<th>shape, size</th>
<th>examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| amu        | ‘person’        | (humans)    | infermeira ‘nurse’  
amiraa ‘man’  
personal pronouns |
| afar       | ‘body’          | round,      | kaila ‘papaya’     
dosi ‘cookie’    |
|            |                 | middle-sized|                      |
| hasa       | ‘leaf’          | flat        | foto ‘photo’        
sa’e ‘hair’      |
| isu        | ‘seed’          | round, small| ua ‘egg’            
dita ‘frog’       
mata ‘child’      
uasi ‘tooth’      |
| lafi       | ‘side’          | flat        | kalsa ‘trousers’    
faru ‘shirt’      |
|            |                 | (clothing)  |                      |
| ina        | ‘eye’           | ?           | found only with      
poka ‘small basket’|
| ifi        | ‘star’          | (small animals,  | --                  |
|            |                 | such as insects?)|                      |
| no         | ‘layer’         | ?           | found only with      
meti ‘sea’       |
| tala       | ?               | ?           | found only with      
kapat ‘necklace (in the dowry)’ |
| ripu       | ?               | ?           | poka ‘small basket’  
lauan ‘earrings (in the dowry)’ |

Table 3.3: Classifiers

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

---

34 According to elicited word lists.
35 This translation was given by a native speaker. It occurs only if what seems to be a fixed expression, meti no fitu ‘seven seas’, used to denote a very large distance.
(62) ... dila isu teteropa; isu u, isu loloi, isu lolitu, isu fat
    frog seed how many seed one seed two seed three seed four
    isu lima, isu douh, isu fitu, isu afu, isu siua, isu ruru,
    seed five seed six seed seven seed eight seed nine seed ten
    isu resin u...
    seed remain one
    ‘... how many frogs are there, (there are) one, two, three, four, five, six,
    seven, eight, nine, ten, eleven...’

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

(63) ... dila lolai=ni we-diari.
    frog two=CTR V2DEM:RED-sit:PL
    ‘... it is two frogs that are sitting there.’

(65) ... uai=ni ki-foto mei=ni fuli’ ere [...] ani ni-asu
    CLS=LNK1 3:POSS-photo take=LNK1 put.together 1DEM 1s REFL-for
    hasa u hai mei.
    leaf one NSIT take
    ‘... so (you two) are together in a photo, I took one for myself.’

3.1.3.6 Count nouns and mass nouns

As discussed in § 3.1.3.5 (p. 120), one subgroup of what would semantically classify as count nouns is optionally used with numeral classifiers. There appear to be no classifiers for the second subgroup of count nouns. The nouns of this second subgroup commonly denote large animals and objects, while those of the first subgroup, which tend to be compatible with classifiers, denote smaller animals and objects. Human nouns, which have been shown to be used with a special human classifier amu ‘person’, do not conform to this rough semantic classification.

The translational equivalents of English mass nouns are individuated through the use of a unit of measurement, such as puti ‘bottle’, kopa ‘cup, glass’, bit(ua)ru ‘liter’ or metur ‘meter’; examples are given in (66) and (67). The noun expressing the unit of
measurement is followed by the numeral; both stand in the NP’s modifier position
(§ 4.3, p. 279).

(66)  \textit{Ani-aau ia r u kopu u manini!}
  \textit{1s-for water glass one give.to.1s}
  ‘Give me a glass of water!’

(67)  \textit{... hena metur loloi teuh=isi kiloo hai mei ma’u.}
  \textit{cloth metre two buy=LNK2 3s NSIT take come}
  ‘... (I) bought two metres of cloth, and then he brought it here.’

The comparison with such examples as (62) and (64) in § 3.1.3.5 (p. 120) above
shows that there is no grammatical difference between the construction of count
nouns with classifiers and that of mass nouns with units of measurement. There is
thus little evidence for a separate class of mass nouns; they behave very much like
those nouns that are compatible with classifiers. Together, they contrast with the
nouns denoting larger animals and objects for which there are no classifiers.
Rijkhoff (2002: 50) defines four language-specific types of nouns on the basis of
their behaviour in combination with numerals. One of these is the singular object
noun, which stands in a direct construction with a numeral. This type of noun is
found in many European languages. It appears that Makalero nouns denoting larger
objects, for which there are no classifiers, might be counted among such singular
object nouns. Another of Rijkhoff’s (2002: 50) noun types is the sort noun, with
which the numeral combines with a sortal classifier. Though the use of classifiers is
not obligatory in Makalero, nouns denoting smaller objects, and possibly mass
nouns, seem to conform to the definition of sort nouns.

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

3.1.3.7 (In-)alienability

Many languages in insular Southeast Asia and Polynesia distinguish alienable and
inalienable possession, generally through the form of the possessive marker as either
a free or a bound form. The most common semantic classes of nouns to be
inalienably possessed are body parts and kinship terms (Rijkhoff 202: 197).

No overt distinction between alienable and inalienable possession is present in
Makalero. Prototypically inalienably possessed nouns such as kinship terms and
body parts take the same possessive markers as all other nouns (§ 3.3.1.1.3, p. 225).

According to Hull (2004: 82) this distinction was present in the parent tongue, but
was lost in all Papuan languages of Timor “as part of the process of assimilation to
the Timoric Sprachbund.\textsuperscript{36} However, Makalero speakers consistently translated terms for body parts and kinship terms with a possessive marker in elicitation sessions when asked for translations of isolated words. That is, in the examples in (68), the Makalero equivalents for ‘body hair’ and ‘aunt’ were given in the forms ki-namu and ki-paimatu, respectively, both marked with the third person possessive marker ki-.

(68) \begin{align*}
  & ki-namu & \text{‘body hair’} \\
  & ki-paimatu & \text{‘aunt’}
\end{align*}

Note that not only human and animal body parts, but also parts of fruit and plants, such as the skin or peel, and constituent parts of constructions, such as roofs (of houses) or brakes (of cars) were consistently given in the possessed form. All of these can be described as being parts of a whole and may alternatively be expressed as a nominal compound with the noun expressing the whole (see § 4.1.1, p. 276). Another set of nouns regularly occurring in the possessed form are the days of the week (§ 3.2.3.8, p. 171). This strongly suggest that, though the distinction between alienable and inalienable nouns is not overly marked in Makalero, it is nevertheless relevant in the language. According to Engelenhoven (2004: 116; p.c.) and Klamer (2010: 192-193), the very same phenomenon of signalling inalienability through permanent possessive prefixation is also found in Leti, Fataluku and Teiwa. Even though there may be no specific marking, the distinction is thus generally valid in the languages of the area.

### 3.1.3.7.1 Body part nouns expressing location

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

(69) \begin{align*}
  & famu & \text{‘face’} & \rightarrow & \text{‘in front’} \\
  & lepa & \text{‘middle (of the body)’} & \rightarrow & \text{‘in the middle, midways’} \\
  & lafi & \text{‘side’} & \rightarrow & \text{‘side, beside’} \\
  & sofii & \text{‘backside’} & \rightarrow & \text{‘behind’}
\end{align*}

This is a very well-known process of grammaticalisation (see e.g. Heine, Claudi and Hünnemeyer 1991). Locations involving these body parts are expressed in possessive constructions (§ 4.2, p. 277), as exemplified in (70), or in the form of nominal compounds (§ 4.1.1, p. 276), as in (71).\textsuperscript{37}

\textsuperscript{36} An exception is Bunak, which in fact distinguishes several classes of inalienable possession (Schapper 2009: 321f.)

\textsuperscript{37} Lepa ‘middle’ is also used as a complement in a complement-verb complex (§ 5.2.2.2, p. 326). The same construction is found with lafi ‘side’, though in the latter case the use of lafi as a verbal complement is analysed as the reduced form of the corresponding locative verb lafi ‘be beside’ (see § 3.2.2.2.2.1, p. 132). It is possible that lepa ‘middle’ has a corresponding locative verb lepa ‘be in the middle’, too, in
(70) ... kareta ma’u=ni iskola ere ki-famu k-utu-e-pa:ra.
    car come=LNK1 school 1DEM 3:POSS-face 3:UND-cover-V1DEM:RED-stop
‘... the car stopped here in front of the school.’ (101-364)

(71) ... pai-lofo lopu-sofu-ist-ufe’...
    pig-enclosure house-backside-at:RED-VDEM:LOW
‘... the pigpen was there below behind the house...’ (120-112)

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

3.2 Verbs

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

3.2.1 Verbs in Makalero: a tentative definition

§ 3 (p. 97) highlights the difficulties in word class categorisation in Makalero and
other languages of the same area. Specifically, basically any content word, including
those that would prototypically be translated as nouns, can be used as a predicate,
and conversely, even those content words that are typically used predicatively can be
used as arguments. Such concepts as tense, aspect and mood are generally expressed
periphrastically, and any lexeme functioning as a clausal predicate can be thus
modified. Hence none of the typical defining characteristics of verbs, either syntactic
or structural as mentioned in § 3.2 (p. 125) above, are of much use in the case of
Makalero.
Nevertheless, there are a variety of stems which can be said to qualify as verbal. On
the one hand, these are lexemes which occur only ever as predicates in the corpus. A
few examples are given in (72). There is no occurrence of these items in argument
function in the whole corpus; as such, it seems safe to assume that they are verbal in
nature.

which case the construction of lepa as a complement can be explained along the same lines as that of lafi
‘side’. However, such a putative locative verb is not attested in the corpus.
(72)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>misa</em></td>
<td>‘go up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>paxe</em></td>
<td>‘beat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>dur</em></td>
<td>‘wake up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>futar</em></td>
<td>‘force, oblige’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Meaning if used as a predicate</th>
<th>Meaning if used as an argument</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>(the act of) x-ing, x-ness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>the product / result of x-ing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>the instrument involved in x-ing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

An argument use of a verb x yields either the abstract act of x-ing, or the product resulting from x-ing or instrument involved in x-ing. The following sentences give examples of these correlations. In (73), the stative verb *ti’ir* ‘heavy’ is used as a predicate. In (74), on the other hand, it functions as the subject argument and translates as ‘heaviness’ or, more idiometrically, ‘weight’.
(73) \textit{Uai=ni ni=pO sirvisu na’u ti’ir.} \\
CLS-LNK1=LNK1=ADV R work just heavy \\
‘But the work was heavy.’

(101-429)

(74) \textit{Asi-loode ki-ti’ir ere kilu ruru.} \\
1s:POSS-bag 3:POSS-heavy 1DEM kilo ten \\
‘My bag’s weight is 10 kilos.’

(elic 470)

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

(75) \textit{Iliomar ere ki-lo-lo-ini uatu.uere.uatu.uere mei=ni ta rata} \\
I. 1DEM 3:POSS-say-NML daily take=LNK1 REC tell \\
ere... \\
1DEM \\
‘The language of Iliomar that we (use to) tell each other (things) daily...’

(21-006)

(76) \textit{... ki-rata=ni hai hau uere’.} \\
3:POSS-tell-CTR NSIT all 2DEM.V \\
‘... the story is this.’

(125-43)

(77) \textit{Asi-upa mara=ni kus mei ani kus=ana...} \\
1s:POSS-father go=LNK1 blow take 1s blow.INT \\
‘My father took his blowtube and was going to shoot me...’

(101-079)

(78) \textit{... ki-te-eri mei solo kus mei=ni ki-ha’a to’e...} \\
3:POSS-buttocks take impale blow take=LNK1 3:POSS-mouth be.inside \\
‘... (they) impaled (him) with his buttocks, then put the blowtube in his mouth...’

(118-42)

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

### 3.2.2 Verbal morphology

The morphological processes associated with verbs are a good independent diagnostic for the verbal status of a given lexeme, next to the meaning correlation shown in Table 3.4. The verbal morphology can be grouped into derivational
morphology, discussed in § 3.2.2.1 (p. 128), and inflectional morphology as laid out in § 3.2.2.2 (p. 129). Finally, reduplication, which does not involve a separate morpheme but manipulates the verb stem, is treated separately in § 3.2.2.3 (p. 138). The latter is not a diagnostic for verbal status, since it is found with nouns also (§ 3.1.2.2, p. 106).

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

3.2.2.1 Derivational morphology

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

3.2.2.1.1 The glottal verbaliser

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

(79)

\begin{align*}
\text{uli} & \quad \text{uli'} \\
\text{‘ear'} & \quad \text{‘hear'} \\
\text{huri} & \quad \text{huri'} \\
\text{‘brush (n)'} & \quad \text{‘brush (v)'} \\
\text{atu} & \quad \text{atu'} \\
\text{‘faeces'} & \quad \text{‘defecate'} \\
\text{teru} & \quad \text{teru'} \\
\text{‘shelter, umbrella'} & \quad \text{‘shelter (v)'}
\end{align*}
(80) gives an aberrant example of uncertain status, in which the base is not a noun, but a particle. It involves the verb *hai* ‘to be finished’, which looks like a verbal derivation of the aspect marker *hai* (§ 3.4.3, p. 242). The derivation of a full verb from an aspect marker would be highly unusual typologically; the reverse, on the other hand, is widely attested crosslinguistically. Note, however, that it is somewhat difficult to reconcile the meanings of the two items; *hai* generally marks the beginning of a new situation (hence the gloss NSIT), while the semantics of *hai* seem to be quite the contrary. As such, the formal similarity between the two items does not constitute conclusive evidence for the presence of such an unusual derivation, and *hai* ‘finished’ and *hai* (NSIT) may in fact be unrelated.

(80)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(80)</th>
<th>hai</th>
<th>hai’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(NSIT)</td>
<td>‘be finished, over’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(81)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(81)</th>
<th>rata’</th>
<th>rata</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘arrive’</td>
<td>‘tell (a story)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tutu’</td>
<td>‘pierce’</td>
<td>‘like’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peri’</td>
<td>‘be hot’</td>
<td>* peri (unattested)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(82)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(82)</th>
<th>diri’</th>
<th>‘k.o. Tree’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fasa’</td>
<td>‘dirt’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hana’</td>
<td>‘iron rod’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hiri’</td>
<td>‘bat’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3.2.2.2 Inflectional morphology

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular form</th>
<th>plural form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sit</td>
<td>mit</td>
<td>diar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stand</td>
<td>nat</td>
<td>naser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sleep / lie</td>
<td>tia</td>
<td>rou⁹⁸</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>run</td>
<td>ria'</td>
<td>titar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>big</td>
<td>pere</td>
<td>helar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.5: Verbs with subject number agreement

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

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

⁹⁸ In all instances found so far, tia stands with singular subjects only, and rou with plural subjects only. However, it seems that rou can be used with a filled complement position only (§ 3.2.3.1.2.1, p. 145). Thus, (vi) was judged ungrammatical, whereas (vii) and (viii) are fine. tia, on the other hand, can be found both with and without a complement.

(vi)    * Ini rou.
        1pe sleep:PL:BD
        intended: ‘We (are) sleep(ing).’ (elicle611c)

(vii)   Ini fuli-rou.
        1pe together:RED-sleep:PL:BD
        ‘We sleep (together).’ (elicle611b)

(viii)  ... amu lima=ni e-rou.
        person five-LNK1 V:DEM:RED-sleep:PL:BD
        ‘... the five (of us) slept here.’ (44-01)
(84) ... sefar=ee hai ate-fun=ee k-ata-nat.
dog=DEF NSIT tree-trunk=DEF 3:UND-contact:RED-stand:SG
‘... the dog is standing next to the tree.’ (38-050)

(85) ... ate=ini we-nat.
tree=CTR V2DEM:RED-stand:SG
‘... a tree is standing there.’ (38-043)

(86) Amula-flat melee=ini ta-ata-naser.
person-PL two.HUM=LNK1 REC-contact:RED-stand:PL
‘The two people stand next to each other.’ (pelic159)

(87) Arapau haka-hau uata-ia-naser.
buffalo all-all coconut-under:RED-stand:PL
‘All the buffalo stand under the coconut tree.’ (elic885)

(88) Uata=ee lopu=ee k-ue-naser.
cocoanut=DEF house=DEF 3:UND-around-stand:PL
‘The coconut trees stand around the house.’ (pelic146)

### 3.2.2.2 Bound verb forms

A sizeable group of verbs exhibit special bound forms if they are part of a complement-verb complex (see § 5.2.2, p. 320). These forms can be classified into two types, namely reduced forms that appear as complements of another verb\(^\text{80}\) on the one hand, and on the other hand forms with a morphophonologically altered onset that are used only if their complement position is filled. For simplicity, the former are henceforth called reduced verbs and the latter altered-onset verbs. The verbal subgroups constituting these two types do not overlap, i.e. a given verb has either a reduced complement form or an altered-onset form for use as the main verb in a complement-verb complex; no verb which has a special form for both positions has been found in the corpus. Any lexeme exhibiting either of these morphological changes is clearly verbal. Again, however, this is a subgroup of verbs; many verbs appear in complement-verb complexes in the same form as when they stand alone.

---

\(^{80}\) Their distribution is reminiscent of that of reduced nouns, which have a shortened form that appears only if it is dependent on a nominal or verbal head (§ 3.1.3.4, p. 120), and interrogative pronouns, whose base form only appears in these contexts as well (see § 3.3.1.4, p. 228). However, in the latter case, the bound form is clearly the base form, while the subject form is a grammaticalised combination of the base form and the subject marker –ini (see § 6.2.1, p. 389). They thus differ in this respect from the complement forms of verbs and nouns, which are reductions of the independent verb forms.
3.2.2.2.1 Verbs with reduced forms
The reduced form of a verb for use in the dependent VP in a complement-verb complex is formed by dropping the final consonant of the independent verb. As such, the presence of this form is limited to a subgroup of consonant-final verbs. A large part of these end in a glottal phoneme. The list of glottal-final verbs known to have reduced forms in Table 3.6 is intended to be exhaustive.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>free form</th>
<th>reduced form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>be in physical contact</td>
<td>(k)-*ata&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be like</td>
<td>fan'i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be together</td>
<td>fulli'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be near</td>
<td>fu'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be up in</td>
<td>ika'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be at</td>
<td>isi'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be during, all (along)</td>
<td>kafu'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be under</td>
<td>(k)-ia'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be beside</td>
<td>lafi'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be in the middle</td>
<td>leetana'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be outside</td>
<td>le'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be near</td>
<td>male'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be alongside</td>
<td>mi'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be inside</td>
<td>mutu'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be higher up</td>
<td>nama'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be in the middle (?)</td>
<td>nese'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go up</td>
<td>po'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be many</td>
<td>rop'a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be together</td>
<td>ro'u'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be separate</td>
<td>se'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be where</td>
<td>tau'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be which</td>
<td>taure'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go perpendicular</td>
<td>tefu'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mix, accompany</td>
<td>to'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be on top</td>
<td>(k)-ua'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.6: Glottal-final verbs with reduced forms

(89) shows such reduced forms in context.

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

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

nama' 'be higher up'
nama-la’a higher:RED-go
'go upwards'

Although a large proportion of glottal-final verbs lose the glottal element if used as a verbal complement, not all of them do. Examples of verbs which retain the glottal element are given in (90), along with instances of their use as verbal complements.

(90)    tutu’ ‘grind’
         tutu’-ini grind-do:BD
         ‘do (some) grinding’

hare’ ‘clean’
hare’-kena clean-sec:BD
‘see clearly’

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

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

(91)    mutu’ ‘be inside’
         mutu- ‘be inside (RED)’
         mutu ‘inside (n)’

(k)-ia’ ‘be under’
(k)-ia- ia
‘be under (RED)’ ‘foot’

lafi’ ‘be next to’
lafi- lafi
‘be next to (RED)’ ‘side’

This appears to suggest a reduction in verbal qualities of verbal complements, which use such reduced forms. However, § 5.2.2.2 (p. 326) shows that they can take the same modifiers and markers that a full, independent VP occurs with. There is thus little evidence of a reduction in verbal properties of these forms. Furthermore, the comparison with the forms in Table 3.7 shows that the relevant characteristic of the reduced forms is the loss of the final consonant. The fact that with the verbs listed in Table 3.6 this final consonant coincides with the verbaliser appears to be accidental.
There are also verbs which lose a coda consonant other than the glottal element in the reduced form. Table 3.7 gives a list of these verbs, which is intended to be
exhaustive as well. Two examples of complement-verb complexes involving such verbs can be seen in (92).

(92) \( \text{losan} \) \( \text{losa-daru} \)
    ‘empty, naked’      empty:RED-put:BD
                      ‘bury naked’

\( \text{sofit} \) \( \text{sofi-isa} \)
    ‘be behind’         behind:RED-go.down
                      ‘go down after (someone)’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb form</th>
<th>free form</th>
<th>reduced form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>short</td>
<td>dikar</td>
<td>dik-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cut short</td>
<td>hapil</td>
<td>hapi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be able</td>
<td>hud</td>
<td>hu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be straight, true</td>
<td>lolor</td>
<td>lolo-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be empty, naked</td>
<td>losan</td>
<td>losa-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be long (temporal)</td>
<td>mu’it</td>
<td>mu’i-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>remain</td>
<td>resin</td>
<td>resi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be behind</td>
<td>sofit</td>
<td>sofi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be young</td>
<td>su’ul</td>
<td>su’u-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>follow</td>
<td>turut</td>
<td>turu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be rotten</td>
<td>popok</td>
<td>popo-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be white</td>
<td>putir</td>
<td>puti-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be big</td>
<td>rian</td>
<td>ria-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be quick, fast</td>
<td>rau</td>
<td>rau-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cut (?)</td>
<td>ter</td>
<td>te-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.7: Verbs with reduced forms

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

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

Again, only a subgroup of consonant-final verbs have such reduced forms in complement position. (93) gives a few examples of verbs which retain the coda consonant if used as dependent verbs in a complement-verb complex.
Whether a verb loses its coda consonant or not is not predictable and hence a lexical property of the verbs listed in Tables 3.6 and 3.7.

### 3.2.2.2.2 Altered onset verbs

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Free form</th>
<th>Bound form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>be finished</td>
<td>hai(^a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>search</td>
<td>haka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be dry</td>
<td>hat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fry</td>
<td>ha’al</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pull</td>
<td>heil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wait</td>
<td>hein(^b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ask</td>
<td>heti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be difficult</td>
<td>heke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>big (PL)</td>
<td>helar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>take</td>
<td>heman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jump</td>
<td>he’el</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cut</td>
<td>he’i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>catch</td>
<td>hifa’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>know</td>
<td>hafe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>protect</td>
<td>hor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plant</td>
<td>houn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>angry</td>
<td>huma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shoot</td>
<td>huri</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.8: [h]-initial verbs\(^{93}\)

\(^{a}\) See § 5.2.2.6.2 (p. 348) for a short discussion of this particular verb.

\(^{b}\) *Hein* ‘wait’ is likely an Austronesian loan (cf. 1tm *hein* ‘wait’, see § 1.6.1, p. 16).

\(^{9}\) It is not quite clear whether there might be an additional member hole – sole ‘take out with a spoon’ to this class. They could also be two separate lexemes, one meaning ‘to take out, throw away’, the other ‘to spoon (out)’. There are not enough occurrences to make sure.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>free form</th>
<th>bound form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>throw away</td>
<td>tafal</td>
<td>-dafa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>close</td>
<td>taka</td>
<td>-dak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>name</td>
<td>tamu</td>
<td>-dama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>put, place</td>
<td>taru⁴⁴</td>
<td>-daru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lean towards</td>
<td>tekih</td>
<td>-dekih</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buy</td>
<td>teuh</td>
<td>-deuh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cut</td>
<td>teri</td>
<td>-deri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shelter</td>
<td>teru’</td>
<td>-deru’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sleep</td>
<td>tia</td>
<td>-dia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cook</td>
<td>tina</td>
<td>-dina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kick</td>
<td>ti’al</td>
<td>-di’a’l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pour (a drink)</td>
<td>ti’</td>
<td>-di’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dig</td>
<td>to’i</td>
<td>-do’i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sweep</td>
<td>tufa</td>
<td>-dufa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>punch</td>
<td>tuku</td>
<td>-duku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bring, transport</td>
<td>tula</td>
<td>-dula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not want</td>
<td>tule</td>
<td>-dule</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pound, thump</td>
<td>tupi</td>
<td>-dupi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bake (in bamboo)</td>
<td>tu’il</td>
<td>-du’il</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.9: /t/-initial verbs⁵

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>free form</th>
<th>bound form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>die</td>
<td>umu</td>
<td>-numu, -umu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fall (rain)</td>
<td>uta</td>
<td>-nata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laugh</td>
<td>hi’e</td>
<td>-ni’e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>see</td>
<td>ena</td>
<td>-kena, -ena⁶⁶</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do, make</td>
<td>kini</td>
<td>-nini, -ini</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.10: Other verbs with distinct free and bound forms⁶⁷

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

⁴⁴ Taru ‘put, place’ is another candidate for an Austronesian loan (cf. PAN *taRug ‘put, put down’).
⁵⁶ Another member of this group might be the verb dur ‘wake up’. However, there is only one instance of the /t/-form tur, which should be the free form. Also, the /d/-form does not occur in the same contexts as the bound forms of the other verbs do. As such, either this variant is part of a different phenomenon altogether, or it must be a performance error. At present, I am inclined to the latter view.
⁶⁶ Ena – kena ‘see’ appears to be a borderline case between a verb with a bound / free form opposition and an argument-marking verb. The same holds for kini – ini ‘do’. See § 5.2.2.6.3.4 (p. 356) for a discussion.
Lexical categories

(94) 

=tasam \hspace{1em} =ere \text{ fani-tasan} 
\text{‘suffer’} \hspace{1em} 1DEM like-suffer 
\text{‘suffer like this’} 

to ‘e 
\text{‘put in’} 

=ira \text{ mutu-to ‘e} 
\text{water inside:RED-put.in} 
\text{‘put into the water’} 

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

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

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

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

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

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

(95) rau rau-rau
     ‘good’ ‘very good’

la’a la’a-la’a
‘move’ ‘move about’

tafi tafi-tafi
‘true’ ‘absolutely true’

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

(96) ti’ir ti’i-ti’ir
     ‘heavy’ ‘very heavy’

felun felu-felun
‘nice’ ‘very nice’

iar ia-iar
‘cry’ ‘keep crying’

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

(97) toton to-toton
     ‘watch’ ‘keep watching’

-se’el -se-se’el
‘jump (bound)’ ‘jump repeatedly (bound)’

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

(98) sirvisu sirvisu-visu / sirvi-sirvisu
     ‘work’ ‘keep working’

Note that this reduplicative pattern is also sometimes found in cases involving full reduplication of a disyllabic stem which is made trisyllabic through an echo vowel,
as seen in (99) with *roula* ‘many [-HUM]’. However, this pattern is not pervasive with disyllabic morphemes with echo vowels, and full reduplication of the first two syllables (minus the final consonant) is more frequent. The two patterns shown in (99) and (100) seem to be due to a different ordering of the morphological and syntactic processes involved; in the case of (99), the morpheme *roula* ‘many [-HUM]’ is first given an echo vowel and then reduplicated in this form like a trisyllabic morpheme. In an instance like *rusun* ‘tall’ in (100), on the other hand, reduplication seems to precede the addition of the echo vowel (in the examples, the echo vowel is exceptionally represented in writing).

(99)  
roula  
‘many [-HUM]’ 
roula-ula  
‘a lot of, very many [-HUM]’

(100)  
rusun  
‘tall’ 
rusu-rusunu  
‘very tall’

Verbal reduplication has three basic readings: either as a continuing or repeated action, something resembling the state of affairs as expressed by the verb, or a high degree of the quality expressed by the verb. The repetition or continuity reading is associated with activity verbs (see § 3.2.3.2. p. 150 for event types), as in (101), while the high degree reading is generally found with statives, as in (102). The ‘something resembling x’ or ‘not quite x’ reading appears to be possible with both verb types, as shown in (103) and (104).

(101)  
...uai=ni sefar ere e’=ini hai na’u nana-se-se’el...
CLS-LNK1 dog 1DEM V1DEM=LNK1 NSIT just upwards:RED-RDL-jump:BD
‘... so the dog is here just jumping up and down (repeatedly)’...

(115-099)

(102)  
Po fi lolo-ini ere fi=haka e’=ini mei puna hamu
ADVR lpi say-NML 1DEM lpi=CTR.PRES V1DEM=LNK1 take look very
pa’u-pa’uk...
RDL-bad
‘But our language, we see it as very bad...’

(98-21)

(103)  
Kilo ni mei isi-isit-ini uai=ni=ni urau sirvisu=na’a.
3s REFLEX take RDL-ill-do:BD CLS=LNK1=LNK1 not.allowed work=INT
‘He pretended to be ill so he wouldn’t have to work.’

(elic151)

(104)  
Hai muni la’a=ni imi-imir le’u-le’ur hai na’u ta-ali-la’a.
NSIT return move=LNK1 RDL-red RDL-black? NSIT just REC-all.over-move
‘(I) turned red-ish and black-ish again, and all jumbled up.’

(63-11)

A distributive reading can be found too, though it seems to be relatively rare and is limited to a few verbs. (105) and (106) give examples of the two most common constructions. The first shows the reduplication of *se* ‘divide’; in the case of (106), the simplex *na’a* appears to mean something like ‘one, alone’.

(105)  
Hai muni la’a=ni imi-imir se’u se’u hai na’u ta-ali-la’a.
NSIT return move=LNK1 RDL-red RDL-black? NSIT just REC-all.over-move
‘(I) turned red-ish and black-ish again, and all jumbled up.’

(63-11)
(105) ... ini=ua aire’ se-se’=ini...
  [p=REL now RDL-divide-CTR
   ‘... we who now live each separately...’ (71-4)

(106) ... ni-ni ni-upa-raa k-asu usupadu u na’a-na’a due.
  [REFL-mother REFL-father-PL 3=UND-for candle one RDL-alone light
   ‘... (he) lit a candle each for his mothers and his fathers.’ (124-53)

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

(107)  
  murimuri  *muri
        ‘play’ (unattested)

  nainai  *nai
        ‘slow’ (unattested)

  nikiniki -niki
        ‘drizzle’ (attested only as a plural marker found with the noun mata ‘child’, see § 3.1.3.2.1, p. 116)

  nokonoko noko
        ‘younger sibling’

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

3.2.3 Types of verbs

The open category of verbs can be classified into a variety of groups, based on morphological and syntactic grounds. The morphologically-based verb classes are those discussed in § 3.2.2 (p. 127), and the following sections deal with classes mainly based on syntactic grounds, such that they are reflected in one way or another in grammar. A classification of subgroups on purely semantic grounds is avoided as far as possible. Classifications that encompass all verbs are those of valency, discussed in § 3.2.3.1 (p. 141), and event typology in § 3.2.3.2 (p. 150). The sections following these define subclasses of verbs, namely adverbial verbs in § 3.2.3.3 (p. 159), verbs with the third-person object marking prefix in § 3.2.3.4 (p. 163), weather and times of day verbs with fixed subjects in § 3.2.3.5 (p. 164), interrogative verbs in § 3.2.3.6 (p. 167), negative verbs in § 3.2.3.7 (p. 169), numerals in § 3.2.3.8 (p. 171), deictic verbs in § 3.2.3.9 (p. 180), verbs with complement clause extensions in § 3.2.3.10 (p. 186), verbs of physical or emotional states in § 3.2.3.11 (p. 197), and verbs with grammatical rather than lexical meaning.
in § 3.2.3.12 (p. 202), § 3.2.3.13 (p. 210) and § 3.2.3.14 (p. 215) remark on movement verbs and quantifying verbs, respectively, even though these do not behave as a consistent group. Being defined on semantic grounds, these last sections present exceptions to the principle of syntactically relevant classes.

### 3.2.3.1 Valency

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

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

#### 3.2.3.1.1 Valent verbs

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

(108)    

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Makalero</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>atanana</td>
<td>‘first’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hana’e</td>
<td>‘a long time ago’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aire’</td>
<td>‘now’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kamunei</td>
<td>‘tomorrow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mu’it</td>
<td>‘for a long time’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raine’</td>
<td>‘last night’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tone’</td>
<td>‘maybe’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The number of adverbial verbs occurring in practice is quite limited. Nevertheless, this class of verbs is potentially open, since there appear to be some moderately productive derivations forming such verbs. An example is given in (109), where numerals (see § 3.2.3.8, p. 171) combine with an element -(h)e’ to express the
concept of ‘in x days’. The -(h)e’ element may be related to the complementiser discussed in § 3.6.2 (p. 265).

(109)  
| eihe’  | (lol)ei  |
| ‘in two days’ | ‘two’ |
| ituhe’ | (lol)itu |
| ‘in three days’ | ‘three’ |
| fate’ | fat |
| ‘in four days’ | ‘four’ |

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

(110)  
\[ Kasi\ ere\ hai\ mu’it=isi\ ue’=ini\ airulaa\ uari\ tepa\ ue’. \]
K. 1DEM NSIT long.ago=LNK2 V2DEM=LNK1 until.now still constant V2DEM
‘Kasi (a TV series) has been aired for a long time and still is.’ (elic1572)

(111)  
\[ ...\ tufuraa\ namiraa\ meih=ini\ full-laifu\ hana’e\ hau \]
woman man two.HUM=LNK1 together:RED-live REM.PT all
\[ atamana\ kupe... \]
first hand over
‘… (when) a woman and a man want to live together, (she) had to be handed over (to the groom’s family) first of all.’ (21-014)

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

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

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

(113)  
\[ ...\ ei-nana\ Agapitu\ Barretu\ raine’=ni\ hai\ umu. \]
2s-elder.sibling A. B. last.night=LNK1 NSIT die
‘... your brother Agapito Barreto died last night.’ (101-356)
(114)  *Ani nomohaka soohe’=ete=si Timor-isi-ma’u.*
  3s  CLS.NEG  yesterday-after=LNK2  T-at:RED-come
  ‘I came to Timor not only yesterday.’  (elic756)

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

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

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

### 3.2.3.1.2 Divalent verbs

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

(115)  *[Kiloo]S30 [ani]O30 pase…*
  3s  beat  1s
  ‘He beat me…’  (elic060)

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

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

(117)  *Ani mei=ni [rau-rau]COMPL-kena.*
  1s  take=LNK1 RDL-good-see:BD
  ‘I see it very well.’  (elic1288)
(115) above in comparison to (118) shows that the verb *pase* ‘beat’ can take either an object, as in (115), or a complement, as in (118). However, it cannot express both of these within one clause: (118) shows how the undergoer participant has to be placed in a separate clause with the light verb *mei* ‘take’ (§ 3.2.3.12.1, p. 203) if the main verb stands with a verbal complement.

(118) *Ki-upa kilooraa mei=ni *frac=pase. 
3/POSS-father 3p take=LNK1 good-beat
‘His father beat them up thoroughly.’

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

§ 7.1 (p. 402) discusses in detail how this rigid syntactic structure affects the expression of the semantic participants.

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

(119) *Mata ka’u ere uari tia.*
child small 1DEM still sleep
‘The child is sleeping / still asleep.’

(120) *Kiloo hai [ani lafig]Compl-dia.*
3s NSIT 1s beside:RED-sleep:BD
‘He already lies next to me.’

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

(122) ... *iraku [ni-upa tfan]Compl:iri’...*
3s REFL-father over?-urinate
‘... he urinated over his father...’

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

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

(124) *Uatu hai [Timor-isi]Compl-til.*
day NSIT T-at:RED-noon
‘It is already noon in Timor.’
Lexical categories

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

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

### 3.2.3.1.2.1 Verbs with obligatory locative complements

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

\[(125)\]  


\[1pe\] probably L-at:RED-sleep.PL:BD

‘We will sleep in Lospalos.’

\[(126)\]  

*Init rou.

\[1pe\] sleep.PL:BD

intended: ‘We sleep.’

Verbs with obligatory expression of a locative complement include positional verbs, such as *mit* ‘sit (SG)’, *nat* ‘stand (SG)’ or *tia* ‘lie, sleep’, and verbs expressing a movement, such as *li’an* ‘fall’, *isa* ‘descend’ and *dai* ‘walk by’. Note, however, that this does not include all movement verbs; for instance, the most common one, *la’a*
‘move’, can be used without a complement, as in (127) (see § 3.2.3.13, p. 210 for a discussion of basic movement verbs and the constructions they are found in). The exact extent of this group of verbs thus remains to be determined.

(127) ... ki-ari ere hau mei la’a=ni mua.
1:POSS-liver 1DEM all take move=LNK1 eat
‘... (he) took his liver and went to eat it.’

Another type of verb the argument of which may be found in the complement position are the argument-marking verbs (see § 3.2.3.4, p. 163). For a more detailed discussion of this special construction type refer to § 5.2.2.6.3 (p. 349). While most locative adverbial information is expressed in the form of a verbal complement, as in (125), the same function can be fulfilled by a nominal element. The most common nominal locative complement is mu’a ‘ground’, which is the standard expression of the goal with such verbs as li’an ‘fall’ and isa ‘descend’. (128) and (129) give an example with li’an ‘fall’. The intended reading for the elicited sentence in (128) was ‘I already fell’, with the new situation marker hai (§ 3.4.3, p. 242). However, speakers did not accept this as a possible reading for ani ai-li’an, since it would leave the verb without a complement, and gave only ‘I fell here’ as a possible translation, where ai- is interpreted as the reduced form of the deictic verb ai ‘be here’ (§ 3.2.3.9, p. 180) rather than as the aspect marker hai. Only in (129), where mu’a ‘ground’ is used to express the goal, is hai interpreted as the aspect marker.

(128) Ani ai-li’an.
1s VDEM:RED-fall
‘I fell here.’
intended: ‘I already fell.’
(eelic915)

(129) Ani hai mu’a-li’an.
1s NSIT ground-fall
‘I already fell down.’
(eelic915a)

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

3.2.3.1.2.2 Verbs with undergoers in verbal complements
A small group of verbs express their undergoer participants not in the form of an object argument, but within a verbal complement. The list in Table 3.11 is intended to be exhaustive.
worship (animist)  
dadi
reply to  
der
disrespect  
kore’
smell, kiss  
muni’
play with  
murimuri
think of / about  
né’et
forget  
nílu
be startled by  
mu’at
look at  
puna
shine on  
peri’
show to  
suma
shake  
tata’
phone, call  
telefon, telefone

Table 3.11: Verbs with locative undergoers

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

(130)  … ani langsung [telehaa ki-lolo-ini-isi]COMPL-der...
1s direct old.man 3:POS-ih-NAOM-at:RED-reply
‘… I directly replied to the old man’s words...’  (120-057)

(131)  Ina-uai [ni-mata hai isi]COMPL-muni’.
mother-HON REFL-child NSIT at:RED-kiss
‘The mother kisses her child.’  (elic0106)

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

(132)  … fi (…) [ta hai nomo nese]COMPL-ne’et.
1pi REC NSIT NEG aim.at:RED-think
‘… we (…) don’t think about one another any more.’  (55-27)

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

Syntactically speaking, the undergoer is in these cases an argument of the dependent verb, not of the main verb (see § 5.2.2.2, p. 326).
The overt expression of the undergoer is not necessary if it is recoverable from context. In those instances where it is left unexpressed, the locative verb of the complement is still present, showing on the one hand that these verbs obligatorily
stand with a filled complement position, and on the other hand that the complement-verb complex is lexicalised to some degree. An example is given in (134).

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

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

(135) ... asi-isi-ne’et ka’u-ka’u hai kaua-kauar.
1s:POSS-at;RED-think RDL-title NSIT RDL-cold
‘... my mind was a bit calmer.’ (126-094)

3.2.3.1.2.3 Verbs with nominal undergoer complements

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>lexicalised complement-verb complex</th>
<th>literal meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>have a child / children</td>
<td>mata-ena</td>
<td>child-see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>work</td>
<td>na’a-mei</td>
<td>work-take</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be married (men)</td>
<td>sa-ena</td>
<td>wife-see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be married (men)</td>
<td>mu’a-ena</td>
<td>land-see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be married (women)</td>
<td>nami-ena</td>
<td>husband-see</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.12: Lexicalised expressions with nominal undergoer complements

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

3.2.3.1.3 Other valencies

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

\[ \text{Uere hana'e [hai mei]_{CLS} [ini fana]_{CLS}=te'e ini=oo tepa ma'en...} \]

2DEM REM.PT NSIT take 1pe teach-after 1pe=too constant know

‘After (they) taught as that, we too keep remembering it...’  

(123-20)

(137)  

\[ \text{Ama-ouar we-tefi-la'a=si [kiloraa nana pere}} \]

\[ mei=ni_{CLS} [k-asu]_{CLS} [tsi-suma]_{CLS}. \]

2DEM:RED-perpendicular:RED-move=LNK1 3p snake big.SG

take=LNK1 3:UND-for at:RED-show

‘A farmer goes by, and they show him the snake.’  

(elic366)

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

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

3.2.3.1.4 Valency changes

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

3.2.3.1.4.1 Distinct verbs expressing transitive / intransitive pairs

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

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>aktionsart</th>
<th>aspect</th>
<th>cover term</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>stative</td>
<td>imperfective</td>
<td>non-bounded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>activities</td>
<td>perfective vs. imperfective</td>
<td>arbitrarily bounded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>telic / punctual</td>
<td>perfective</td>
<td>bounded</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.13: Markedness relationship between aspect and aktionsart

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

### 3.2.3.2.1 States

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

(142)  
\begin{align*}
\text{pere} & \quad \text{‘big (SG)’} \\
\text{ria} & \quad \text{‘many (HUM)’} \\
\text{ume’} & \quad \text{(VDEM.DIST)} \\
\text{mutu’} & \quad \text{‘be inside’} \\
\text{na’an} & \quad \text{(NEG.EX)}
\end{align*}

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

The combination of stative verbs with the periphery adverb hau ‘all, totally’ results in a reading different from that of the same marker with activity verbs. With non-statives, hau refers to a situation’s final boundary, marking it as having been
transgressed (see § 5.3.3.2, p. 369). In other words, it resembles a complete
marker. With stative verbs, on the other hand, it denotes a high degree of the quality
or state expressed by the verb, and can also be read as a superlative.\(^9\) (143) through
(145) exemplify the use and reading of hau with a variety of stative verbs.

(143) \textit{Nu’ak=ua kiloo=ua isi’ ere hau ka’u.}
\textit{village=REL. 3s=REL at 1DEM all small}
‘The village he comes from is very small.’ \textit{(elic459)}

(144) \textit{Timor ki-renu ere hai hau rial.}
\textit{T. 3:POSS-populace 1DEM NSIT all many.HUM}
‘The population of Timor is already very big.’ \textit{(chat075)}

(145) \textit{Kiloo=ni ini leetana’=ini hau ma’en.}
\textit{3s=CTR 1pe in.the.middle=LNK1 all know}
‘It’s him who is the cleverest among us.’ \textit{(elic338)}

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

(146) \textit{Namiraa ki=forit ere me’e uar pere ere mei=ni}
\textit{man ATTR=strong 1DEM able stone big 1DEM take=LNK1}
\textit{nana-dane.}
\textit{upwards:RED=lift}
‘This strong man can lift the big stone.’ \textit{(pelic271c)}

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

(147) \textit{Abiliu aire’ uari fransés ma’en.}
\textit{A. now still French know}
‘Abilio still knows French.’ \textit{(elic1273a)}
\textit{(* Abilio is knowing French.)}

\(^9\) \textit{Hau} is also read as a superlative with predicatively used nouns. In terms of aktionsart, thus, these
predicates are stative. This is consistent with their semantics as denoting a property (§ 3.1.1, p. 100)
rather than an action. In the example in (ix), \textit{noko} ‘younger sibling’ functions as a predicate within the
modifier position of the NP (§ 4. p. 273), headed in this case by the same lexeme in argument use.

(ix) \textit{… ari-noko hau noko uma…}
\textit{1s:POSS-younger.sibling all younger.sibling die}
‘… my youngest sibling died…’ \textit{(125-09)}
A last characteristic of stative verbs as opposed to activity verbs is the fact that the verbs leto- ‘through’ and seti- ‘pass’ are read as comparatives. The construction in question is a complement-verb complex with the stative verb as the main verb and either leto- ‘through’ or seti- ‘pass’ as the complement verb (§ 5.2.2.2, p. 326). (148) and (149) show two such constructions.

(148) Kuda ere ni-raku na’u leto-asan.
    horse 1DEM REFL-friend just through-long
    ‘This horse is the biggest of them all.’
    (lit. This horse is bigger than its fellow horses)

(149) ... ei tufuraa (...) nosa.siniora seti-felun nese-la’a...
    2s woman Holy.Virgin pass-pretty aim.at:RED-go
    ‘... you found a woman who is prettier than the Holy Virgin...’
    (74-138)

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

### 3.2.3.2.2 Activities

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

(150) due
      ma’u ‘light (a fire)’
      tina ‘come’
      le ‘cook’
      koko ‘read’

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

The VP-internal adverbial hau ‘all, totally’, which is read as high or excessive degree with statives (§ 3.2.3.2.1, p. 151), denotes completion of the action if used with an activity. Compare the examples in (151) and (152) with (143) through (145) above.

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108 The evidence for the existence of a distinct class of punctuants is dubious, see § 3.2.3.2.3 (p. 155).
(151) *Ani uatu lolo ki-matu’=ini livru hau le’.
 1s day two 3.POSS-inside=LNK1 book all read
‘I read the book through within two days.’  (elic1271)

(152) *Asi-ni hau umu ani hai ere mi-la’la’ala’...
 1s:POSS-mother all die 1s NSIT 1DEM along:RED-RDL-move
‘After my mother had died, I just went around there...’  (101-017)

§ 5.3.3.2 (p. 369) and § 5.3.3.3.1 (p. 376) give more details on the various functions of *hau*, including its aspect-marking use.

In a complement-verb complex with activity verbs, *leto-* ‘through’ and *seti-* ‘pass’ are not read as comparatives, as is the case with stative verbs (§ 3.2.3.2.1, p.151), but retain their literal sense as movement verbs, as in the examples in (153) and (154). Compare these sentences to those with statives in (148) and (149) above.

(153) *... dila pere langsung (...) apadan leto-se’el=ini...
  frog big.SG directly  window through:jump:BD=LNK1
‘... the big frog jumped directly through the window...’  (115-097)

(154) *Kuada umere’ uer=ee hai seti-lor;
  horse DEM.DIST.V river=DEF NSIT pass-fly
‘The horse swam across the river.’  (elic1724)

Alternatively, *seti-* ‘pass’ can be understood figuratively as ‘miss’, or ‘do wrong’, as in (155) and (156). This reading, too, is not found with statives. Neither does it seem to be possible with *leto-* ‘through’, though in all other respects, the two verbs appear to be interchangeable.

(155) *... kuando amulafu rata were seti-loo ki-koneksiua uere nomo when person tell 2DEM pass-say 3:POSS-consequence 2DEM NEG
  mu’i-lafu’.
  long:RED-live
‘... if someone tells the story in the wrong way, the consequence of it is that (he) will not live long.’  (35-07)

(156) *... ni-asu ki-tali uere seti-sifa’...
  REFL-for 3.POSS-rope 2DEM pass-catch:BD
‘... he missed the rope (i.e. didn’t catch it when it was thrown to him)...’  (122-09)

Comparatives of activities are preferentially formed with the dependent form of the verb *resi* ‘remain’, *resi*-

(157) *Ei kiloo resi-la’a.
  2s 3s remain:RED-go
‘You walk more than him.’  (chat095)
(158)  *Kiloo ani resi-dia.*

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
3s & 1s \\
\text{remain.RED-sleep:BD} & \\
\end{array}
\]

‘He sleeps more than me.’

(chat094)

This type of comparative was sometimes accepted and sometimes rejected with statives. I interpret this evidence in such a way that comparatives with *resi-* are not usual with stative verbs, although not plain wrong; as such, this type of comparative formation can be said to be a characteristic of activities.

Lastly, the Portuguese-based suffix -*door*, which is the only productive morpheme to derive agent nouns, is found only on activity verbs. (159) gives some representative examples.

(159)  

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
fana-door & fana \\
\text{‘teacher’} & \text{‘teach’} \\
tapakhu-due-door & tapakhu due \\
\text{‘smoker’} & \text{‘light up tobacco’} \\
tu’a-ke’-door & tu’a ke’ \\
\text{‘drinker’} & \text{‘drink palm wine’} \\
\end{array}
\]

3.2.3.2.3 Punctual events

Punctual events are commonly defined as having “no internal temporal structure because they occur in an instant in time” (Payne 1997: 241). Their existence as a separate verb class in Makalero is disputable. Punctual verbs should be incompatible with progressivity. As is to be expected, this does in fact not occur in spontaneous speech; however, in elicitation, a prototypically punctual verb such as *da’al* ‘break, explode’ was readily accepted with the adverb *uari* ‘still’ in a progressive reading, as exemplified in (160).

(160)  

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
Kopu & uari da’al. \\
glass & still \\
\text{break} & \\
\end{array}
\]

‘The cup is (still) breaking.’

(chat086)

On the other hand, marking the verb *hai* ‘end’ with *uari* ‘still’ was received with a lot of doubt; thus a sentence such as (161) is decidedly unfavoured by native speakers.

(161)  

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
Ki-iskola & uari hai’. \\
3-POSS-school & still \\
\text{finished} & \\
\end{array}
\]

‘His schooling is ending.’

(chat088)

This, however, is not necessarily due to *hai*’ being punctual (which would make it the only punctual verb defined so far), but, perhaps more likely, is a consequence of the sentence’s rather unintuitive semantics.
Since punctual verbs occur at one point in time, they are not in general expected to be compatible with such aspectual verbs as 'start' or 'stop' and 'finish'. In Makalero, however, no objection was raised to such an elicited sentence as (162).

(162) \textit{Kopu hai komesa da' al.}  
glass NSIT start break  
'The glass starts breaking.'  
(chat099a)

Thus, while the evidence from spontaneous speech may be read as supporting a distinct class of punctualls, elicited sentences contest this view. The fact that all instances from spontaneous speech seem to support the distinction suggests that it is based on pragmatics rather than an actual grammatical property of these verbs. I take it, thus, that punctual verbs do not play a significant role in grammar, as statives and actives do. As such, they can be disregarded from further consideration, and verbs such as da' al 'break', fagit 'explode' and hai 'end' are grouped with activity verbs.

### 3.2.3.2.4 Underspecification of event types

§ 3.2.3.2.1 (p. 151) and § 3.2.3.2.2 (p. 153) show that two major event types, namely states and activities, are supported by grammatical evidence in Makalero. However, even though such prototypical aktsamsart readings can be determined, it is important to note that the verbal semantics are quite flexible, and a verb of a given event type can be readily used like the other type in the appropriate context. Consider the example of pere 'big (SG)', an unbounded state. Its unmarked interpretation is as ongoing, with no reference to any boundaries. (163), where it appears without any marking at all, gives a typical example of its use.

(163) \textit{Lopu were pere.}  
house 2DEM big.SG  
'That house is big.'  
(elic713)

However, if the new situation marker hai is used with such a stative, unbounded verb, an initial boundary is added to the state, as in (164).

(164) \textit{... asi-mata hai pere...}  
is:POSS-child NSIT big.SG  
'... my child is already big...'  
(74-136)

The new situation marker hai focuses on a boundary and the ensuing state (see § 3.4.3, p. 242 and § 5.3.1.1, p. 361). As demonstrated in (164), its use is enough to create a boundary, even though it is not present in the actual verbal semantics. With stative verbs, whose semantics encode only a state, this is the initial boundary. No phasal verb or other complex construction is needed for the purpose. The reverse, namely the addition of a final boundary to a state is commonly achieved through the use of hai + negation. That is, what is actually predicated is the
initial boundary of the absence of the state in question. Compare unbounded mutu’ ‘be inside’ in (165) with (166), where hai nomo mutu’ expresses the end of that state.

(165) … uari tepa ni-ha’uein-mutu’…
still constant REFL-place-inside
‘… he is still in his bed…’ (38-011)

(166) … dila hai nomo putil=ce-mutu’.
frog NSIT NEG bottle DEF-inside
‘…the frog is no longer in the bottle…’ (38-024)

The linguistic context can also have considerable influence on the reading of a verb, even without an overt aspect marker. Consider (167), where the stative verb mutu’ has no marking whatsoever.

(167) Ni-surat mei=ni lode-mutu’.
REFL-book take=LNK1 bag-inside
‘(He) put his book into the bag.’ (elic584)
(lit. (he) took his book and it was inside the bag.)

Despite the absence of aspect marking, the context of the sentence in (167) makes it quite clear that mutu’ must be understood to have a very prominent left boundary. The situation is similar in the domain of telicity: verbs can be interpreted as telic or atelic, depending on the context. Consider (168), which figures a complement-verb complex k-umu-lasi ‘cut (them) to death’. The complement verb, (k)-umu, expresses the result, death, and the whole phrase is understood to be telic. Yet (169) shows that this is not necessarily the case in all contexts, since the speaker obviously feels the need to specify the result separately by having the k-umu-lasi complex followed by a separate clause umu ‘die’.

(168) Kiloo ni-mata-r haka-hau k-umu-lasi.
3s REFL-child-PL all-all 3UND-kill-cut
‘He cut all his children to death.’ (pelic426a)

(169) Ni-sa ere hau k-umu-lasi hau k-umu-lasi=ni umu.
REFL-wife 1DEM all 3UND-kill-cut all 3UND-kill-cut=LNK1 die
‘He cut his wife to death (until) she was dead.’ (23-002)

There are several ways to force a telic reading if necessary; one of these is a complement-verb complex with the verb lolo- ‘straight’, such as in (170).

(170) … mata ka’u e’ (…) hai k-uua-lolo-la’a.
child small V1DEM NSIT 3UND-on.top.RED-straight.RED-move
‘… the child has already gone right on top (of the tree trunk).’ (38-119)
The most common variant, however, is again the use of aspect marking, in this case the combination of the new situation marker hai and the adverbial verb hau ‘all, totally’, as exemplified in (171); a more detailed account is given in § 5.3.3.2.1 (p. 369).

(171) Kilooraa pipi=ee hai hau mei=ni ama-mutu-seil-la’a.
\[3p\] goat=DEF NSIT all take=LNK1 garden-inside RED-pull:BD-move
‘They already finished pulling the goat into the garden.’ (pelic280)

If used in a construction normally associated with state verbs, activity verbs also easily assume state or property readings. An example is the ki=-(attributive construction (§ 4.3.4, p. 284), which most commonly serves to attribute properties expressed by stative verbs to a noun. (172) shows a typical example.

(172) ... e1=ni tufuara ki=pa’uk!
\[2s\] CTR woman ATTR=bad
‘... it is you who is a bad woman!’ (74-100)

In (173) and (174), however, the activity verbs ke ‘drink’ and kauen ‘marry’, respectively, are used in the same construction. Notice, however, that in both cases they do not refer to a specific action, but are to be understood as general, stative, properties, not as activities.

(173) Ani ira ki=ke’ ere heti=ee rau=uai na’an?
\[1s\] water ATTR=drink 1DEM ask=DEF good=or NEG.EX
‘May I ask for drinking water?’ (elic1742)

(174) Asi-nana=ua hai ki=kauen ere oko nomo mata-ena.
\[1s:POSS-elder sibling=REL NSIT ATTR=marry 1DEM yet NEG child-see
‘My elder sister who is already married does not have children yet.’ (elic1418)

Another construction normally reserved for stative verbs is the comparative with leto- ‘through’ or seti- ‘pass’ (§ 3.2.3.2.1, p. 151, § 5.2.2.5.4, p. 344). (175) and (176), however, show activity verbs in such contexts. Again, the clause must probably be understood to refer to a property rather than to a specific action.

(175) Ani ei leto-sirvisu.
\[1s\] 2s through-work
‘I work more than you.’ (chat093)

(176) Ei ani seti-mua.
\[2s\] 1s pass-eat
‘You eat more than me.’ (elic1294)

It has been shown that in the appropriate context, both initial and final boundaries can be added to stative verbs, while activity verbs can also be used to predicate unbounded properties. With these examples, I would like to propose that the verbal
semantics in Makalero are rather open with respect to boundedness and can be freely
modified either by context or by the use of aspect markers and adverbs. As such,
Makalero is in good company with other languages of Southeast Asia; Jenny’s
(2001) study on the aspect system of Thai may serve as a good example. In this
article, he comes to the conclusion that “some kind of aktionsart is present in Thai,
but it is very underspecified.” (Ibid.: 111). He summarises that “most of the
aspectual burden is carried by the context and by verbal compounds/auxiliaries. (...) 
Restrictions in the cooccurrence of aspect markers with verbal expressions are in
most cases purely pragmatic ones and can be removed if an adequate (if sometimes
unnatural) context is created. (...) [A]спект markers do more than just select a given
phase or boundary of the verb structure. Like phasal auxiliaries they can add phases
and/or boundaries to the verbal expression.” (Ibid.: 137). I understand the situation
to be very much comparable in Makalero.

3.2.3.3 Adverbials
The term “adverbial” subsumes two kinds of verbal subgroups. This major division
is between those verbs which can function as verb-phrase internal adverbials
(§ 3.2.3.3.1, p. 159) and those which form separate clauses on their own (§ 3.2.3.3.2,
p. 162). The latter group coincides with the avalent verbs treated in § 3.2.3.1.1
(p. 141) and thus receive only a brief mention here. The adverbials discussed in
these sections generally express temporal and modal notions. They have in
common that they are not able to make up utterances of their own, but are used only
with other clauses within multi-clause sentences.

3.2.3.3.1 Verb-phrase internal adverbials
A variety of adverbials stand within a verb phrase, in one of two adverbial positions
(§ 5.3.3, p. 367). In terms of Van Valin and LaPolla’s (1997) analysis of the clause,
which has been adopted in the present work, they are analysed as the clause
periphery (§ 6.5, p. 393). Table 3.14 lists the items found in this function. In the
typical examples in (177) and (178), the aspect marker hai, which is the leftmost
verbal modifier (see § 5.3.1.1, p. 361), precedes the adverbials na’u ‘just’ and tepe
‘constantly’, respectively. This demonstrates that the adverbials in question stand
within the VP.

---

101 Manner and location are either expressed in separate clauses or as verbal complements within VPs
(§ 5.2.2.2, p. 326). The latter option does not exist for the temporal and modal adverbials discussed here.
very  
all, totally  
return  
just  
yet  
entirely  
entirely (?)  
?  
all  
very  
true  
again  
constantly  
still  

Table 3.14: Verb-phrase-internal adverbials

(177)  

\textit{Asi-isa hai na’u hare’...}  
\textit{1s/POSS-state NSIT just clean}  
‘I was very happy...’  

(178)  

\textit{E’=ini hai tepa hu’at...}  
\textit{V\text{DEM}=L\text{NK1} NSIT constant sad}  
‘(She) is here constantly sad...’  

None of these adverbials are compatible with a clause linker such as \textit{=ini} (§ 3.5.2.5.2, p. 249) in this position. This evidences that they are not clausal, but part of the VP. Also, they do not form a complement-verb complex with the following verb. (179) demonstrates this through the fact that the verb \textit{tia} ‘sleep’ uses its free form with the initial /a/, rather than its bound form with the initial /d/ (see § 3.2.2.2.2.2, p. 135), if combined with one of these adverbials.

(179)  

\textit{Kiloo hai tafi tia.}  
\textit{3s NSIT true sleep.SG}  
‘He is really already asleep.’  

There are strong indications that the adverbials listed in Table 3.14 are actually verbal in nature. In fact, those given in Table 3.15 have clear full verb uses, where they are the only predicates in a clause.
all, totally
return
true
again
constant

hau
muni
tafi
teni
tepa

Table 3.15: VP-internal adverbials with full verb uses

(180) and (181) exemplify such full-verb uses. In (180), *tafi* ‘true’ functions as a one-word answer to a yes-no question, which shows that it is predicative on its own. On the other hand, in (181), *teni* ‘again’ is the predicate in a full clause, with its own subject *ei* (2s).

\[(180) \quad \text{\textsc{tafi}}=\text{ni} \quad \text{\textsc{kiloo}} \quad \text{\textsc{ei}}-\text{\textsc{horu}} \quad \text{\textsc{fuli}}-\text{\textsc{dai}?} \]  
\[\text{true}=\text{LNK1} \quad 3s \quad \text{2s-with together-pass} \quad \text{true} \]  
\[\text{‘Did he really go with you? – Yes.’} \quad \text{(elic1128-1128a)} \]

\[(181) \quad 	ext{\textit{Ei ka}’u=te’e} \quad \text{\textit{teni}} \quad \text{ani} \quad \text{\textit{ei mei}=ni} \quad \text{\textit{rau-ka’el}...} \]  
\[\text{2s little-after} \quad \text{again 1s} \quad \text{2s take}=\text{LNK1} \quad \text{good-bite} \]  
\[\text{‘(If you do (that) again, I will bite you thoroughly...’} \quad \text{(115-049)} \]

Though they stand most often within a VP, as in the examples in (177) through (179), these verbs can be used as separate adverbial clauses in multi-clause sentences, too. In such cases, they are most often linked to the following clause by means of a clause linker, as in (182) and (183), where the linker *=ini* is used. Note that in this construction, the adverbial clause can either precede, as in (182), or follow, as in (183), the main verb’s subject. (180) above gives equivalent evidence. Adverbial verbs with clause linkers cannot, however, appear in the VP-internal adverbial position.

\[(182) \quad \text{\textsc{tafi}}=\text{ni} \quad \text{\textsc{kiloo}} \quad \text{\textsc{hai}} \quad \text{\textsc{ma’u}.} \]  
\[\text{true}=\text{LNK1} \quad 3s \quad \text{NSIT come} \]  
\[\text{‘He really already came.’} \quad \text{(elic1108)} \]

\[(183) \quad \text{\textsc{kiloo}} \quad \text{\textsc{tafi}=ni} \quad \text{\textsc{hai}} \quad \text{\textsc{tia}.} \]  
\[3S \quad \text{true}=\text{LNK1} \quad \text{NSIT sleep} \]  
\[\text{‘He is really already asleep.’} \quad \text{(chat066)} \]

Note that *tafi* ‘true’ stands in (182) and (183) with no argument at all. In terms of valency, it is thus an avalent verb (§ 3.2.3.1.1, p. 141). It differs in this respect from all other adverbial verbs which have been found in full verb use. For instance, *teni* ‘again’ is illustrated in (181), where it stands with a subject argument.

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\[102\] Somewhat more doubtful cases, not listed in Table 3.15, are *suri* ‘still’ and *se* ‘very’ (if it is the adverbial counterpart of the full verb se ‘‘separate’’).

\[103\] In a structure as (183), where the adverb intervenes between a verb and its subject argument, the subject stands in the left-detached position of the sentence. See § 7.6.1 (p. 427) for more information.
**Chapter 3**

_Tepa ‘constant’ is special among the verbs listed in Table 3.15 in that it appears as _tepa_, with the glottal verbaliser, if used as a full verb. In some cases, speakers accept sentences where an adverbial predicate is constructed as another verb’s complement rather than as a periphery adverbial. An example is given in (184) where _na’u_ ‘just’ forms a morphosyntactic unit with the verb _tia_ ‘sleep (SG)’. Note, however, that these cases are rare, and constructions with these items in the adverb position, such as (185), are very much preferred (see also (179) above).

(184)  
_Raine’ kiloo hai na’u-dia._

last night 3s NSIT just-sleep:BD  
‘Last night he just slept.’  (elic1390)

(185)  
_Kiloo na’u tia._

3s just sleep  
‘He just sleeps.’  (chat076a)

In conclusion, the adverbials listed in Table 3.14 have been shown to be verbal, being able to function as full predicates on the one hand, or as verbal complements within a VP on the other. Their ability to stand in the adverbial position within the VP distinguishes them from all other verbs.

### 3.2.3.3.2 Clausal adverbials

The adverbial expressions discussed in § 3.2.3.1.1 (p. 141) are fully clausal by themselves. Since the predicate is the only obligatory element in a clause (see § 6, p. 383), they must be predicative. Verbs are the unmarked choice for the predicate function. There is no evidence, such as an argument use, suggesting such adverbials are of any other category. By a process of elimination, then, clausal adverbials are analysed as verbal. They differ from other verbs mainly with respect to valency, in that they are not associated with any arguments at all. Furthermore, even though they are fully clausal, they are not found forming utterances on their own, but are used only in multi-clause sentences. For instance, the answer to the information question in (186) repeats the whole question; an answer consisting of only the focal part, _kaminei_ ‘tomorrow’, is considered unacceptable. Similarly, in (187), the avalent adverbial predicate _tone_ ‘perhaps’ does not constitute an acceptable answer to the question; it must be combined with another predicate, in this case _fani_ ‘like (this)’.

(186)  
... _papa hai lolo “ei tetepene’ la’a=na’a?” uai=ni ani hai_  
Indonesian NSIT say 2s when move=INT CLS~LNK 1s NSIT  

_lolo “ani kaminei la’a=na’a.”_  
say 1s tomorrow move=INT  
‘... the Indonesian said, “when do you want to go?”’, so I said, “I want to go tomorrow.”’  (101-447)
(187) \(Ei \, tafi=ni \, teni \, paandra \, heil=ve \, la’a=ua? - Tone’ uere fami’.\)
\(2s \, true=LNK1 \, again \, flag \, pull=DEF \, move=QM, \quad \text{perhaps} \, 2DEM \, be.\) like
\‘Are you really leaving next Sunday? - Maybe.’ (clich299)

This class of avalent clausal adverbials most likely includes such Portuguese loans as \(agora ‘now’\) and \(portanto ‘however’\).

### 3.2.3.4 Verbs with the third person argument prefix \(k\)-

A variety of vowel-initial verbs mark third person non-subject arguments with a prefix \(k\)-. As argued in § 5.2.2.6.3.1 (p. 350), this prefix is a contracted version of an old form of the third person pronoun (§ 3.3.1.1.2, p. 221), which must originally have stood in the verb’s complement position. All other pronounal non-subject arguments appear in the free form (§ 5.2.2.6.3.1, p. 350) and commonly stand in the complement position, as well. Non-referential nominal undergoers are also usually constructed as complements. Referential nominal undergoers are normally constructed as objects and are cross-referenced on the verb with the \(k\)-prefix. Since the use of the \(k\)-prefix is crucially based on the construction of the undergoer as either a complement or an object within the VP, these verbs are listed here as a syntactically defined subgroup of verbs, rather than with those based on morphological features (§ 3.2.2, p. 127). The exact patterns of non-subject argument marking are discussed in § 5.2.2.6.3 (p. 349). For the present purpose it suffices to say that the vowel-initial verb forms without the \(k\)-prefix are found only in very limited contexts.

The verbs in question are given in Table 3.16. Since they are rarely used without an argument prefix, they are represented throughout the present thesis with a bracketed \(k\)-prefix. Note that, although this group of verbs is relatively small in terms of number, several of its members are high frequency items, such as \((k)\)-asu ‘for’ and \((k)\)-ua ‘on top’.

| all over | \((k)\)-ali- |
| away from | \((k)\)-afa- |
| sideways | \((k)\)-afi’ |
| carry | \((k)\)-afu |
| steal | \((k)\)-amu’ |
| smell | \((k)\)-ako |
| for | \((k)\)-asu |
| in physical contact | \((k)\)-ata’ |
| downwards (?) | \((k)\)-ati- |
| onto | \((k)\)-a’a- |
| firm | \((k)\)-e- |
| see | \((k)\)-ena\(^{104}\) |

\(^{104}\) The cases of \((k)\)-ena ‘see’ and \((k)\)-ini ‘do’ are somewhat aberrant and are discussed in detail in § 5.2.2.6.3.4 (p. 356).
Table 3.16: Verbs with the third person undergo prefix \( k \)-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>third person</th>
<th>( k )-prefix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hit (a target)</td>
<td>( k )-ene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>( k )-eri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apart</td>
<td>( k )-eta-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do</td>
<td>( k )-ini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bake</td>
<td>( k )-isa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>originate from, belong to</td>
<td>( k )-isi (^{105})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with</td>
<td>( k )-horu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fetch (water)</td>
<td>( k )-otu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>towards</td>
<td>( k )-ou-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on top</td>
<td>( k )-ua'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bigger</td>
<td>( k )-uan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>around</td>
<td>( k )-ue-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kill</td>
<td>( k )-umu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>partly hidden</td>
<td>( k )-uri-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kill</td>
<td>( k )-uta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hidden from view</td>
<td>( k )-uta-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cover, block from view, wear</td>
<td>( k )-utu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mind, look after</td>
<td>( k )-utu'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The verbs with object proclitics are generally vowel-initial. The only exception is \( k \)-horu \( ' \)with\( ' \). The \( k \)-prefix is in this case expanded to \( k \)- to avoid a consonant cluster. However, not all vowel-initial verbs have been found to occur with the \( k \)-prefix; (188) exemplifies a few such cases. Whether or not it is compatible with the argument-marking prefix appears to be a lexical property of a given verb.\(^ {106}\)

(188) amat | ‘bring’
inha | ‘be up in’
ufal | ‘keep (an animal)’

### 3.2.3.5 Weather and time of day expressions with fixed subjects

A number of verbs expressing times of day or seasons stand with a fixed subject, which, depending on the verb, is either \( mua \) ‘ground’ or \( watu \) ‘day’. There is no possible context where these verbs could stand with any other subject. Table 3.17 lists the predicates which obligatorily take the subject \( mua \) ‘ground’, while the items given in Table 3.18 are used with \( watu \) ‘day’ as a subject. The verbs in Table 3.19, finally, have been found with either noun as its subject.

\(^{105}\) \( k \)-isi \( ‘ \)belong\( ' \) is discussed in detail in § 3.2.3.12.5 (p. 207).

\(^{106}\) One verb, \( fim \) ‘be like, resemble’, is found in the form \( pani \) whenever the object is the reciprocal pronoun \( ta \) (§ 3.3.1.3, p. 228). In a way, thus, this looks like a kind of object inflection. However, the form \( pani \) appears only with \( ta \), never with any other personal pronouns, suggesting that the process involved differs from the object marking as found with the verbs in Table 3.16. \( Fami \) – \( pani \) is the only verb known to date to exhibit this pattern and must for the time being be considered an exceptional case.
There are three more state verbs, kauar ‘cold’, metan ‘black’ and hare ‘clean’, which can be used figuratively to refer to the weather or a time of day in an equivalent construction. Kauar retains its basic meaning of ‘cold’ if used with mu’a ‘ground’. Metan ‘black’ and hare ‘clean’ both refer in this construction to the very early morning before dawn. A similar case may be softi ‘come after, behind’, which is used in combination with uatu ‘day’ as uatu softi ‘in the future’.

There is clear evidence that such expressions as listed in Tables 3.17 through 3.19 are predicative. (189) and (1890) show that they can be linked to the following clause by means of a clause linker, i.e. =te’e ‘after’ (§ 3.5.3.1.1.3, p. 252) in (189) and =isi (§ 3.5.3.1.1.1, p. 250) in (190). These clause linkers are compatible only with clausal units; hence clearly, mu’a lak ‘in the afternoon’ in (189) and mu’a oko nomo kamu ‘it was not night yet’ in (190) are clausal.

(189)   ... mu’a lak=ete muni ma’u lopu tama-tama.
       ground afternoon-after return come house RDL-enter
   ‘... I used to go early in the morning and came back home only when it was
       already afternoon.’

(126-135)

(190)   Kiloo mu’a oko nomo kamu=si muni ma’u.
       3s ground yet NEG night~LNK2 return come
   ‘He came back before nightfall.’

(eic632)

Furthermore, these expressions can be independently marked for aspect or polarity. The placement of such modifiers makes the internal structure of these clausal units clear. In (191), the aspect marker hai intervenes between uatu ‘day’ and til ‘noon’. This shows clearly that uatu functions as the subject of the clause, while til is its...
predicate (see § 6.2, p. 387, § 6.4, p. 392). The same pattern emerges from the placement of *oko nomo* ‘not yet’ in (190) above, which shows that *mu'a* ‘ground’ is the clause’s subject and *kamu* ‘night’ its predicate.

(191)  
\textit{Uatu hai til ei tan-la'a=na'a?}  
day NSIT noon 2s where:RED=move=INT  
‘It’s already noon, (so) where are you going?’ (elic1669)

The evidence presented in (189) through (191) clearly shows that the time of day expressions listed in Tables 3.17 through 3.19 are predicates. Even though they can be used in argument position, such as *kamu* ‘night’ in (192), predicative uses are far more frequent.

(192)  
\textit{... uai=ni uatu loloi kamu loloi hau hai'=ete...}  
CLS=LNK1 day two night two NSIT finished=after  
‘… so after two days and two nights were over...’ (126-072)

Most frequently, these clausal expressions of time and weather are used within multi-clause sentences to set the time frame for another action, much like the avalent adverbial verbs discussed in § 3.2.3.1.1 (p. 197). A typical example is given in (193).

(193)  
\textit{... uatu til papa=ee na'a.muni deskansa.}  
day noon Indonesian=DEF in.turn rest  
‘… in the afternoon, the Indonesian rested.’ (101-434)

However, they can also be used as utterances all by themselves, as shown by the example in (194).

(194)  
\textit{Uatu hai til.}  
day NSIT noon  
‘It is already noon.’ (elic221)

Sentences as (195) demonstrate that time of day predicates can take a verbal complement, which shows that they are dvalent. While such constructions are not found in recordings of spontaneous speech, they can be elicited.

(195)  
\textit{Uatu hai Timor-isi-til.}  
day NSIT T.-at.RED=noon  
‘It is already noon in Timor.’ (chat084a)

As such, the predicates discussed in this section are, syntactically speaking, identical to the large class of dvalent verbs (§ 3.2.3.1.2, p. 143). Their distinguishing characteristic is the fact that they are restricted in their choice of subject.
3.2.3.6 Interrogative verbs

Table 3.20 lists verbal interrogatives in Makalero.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Makalero</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>where</td>
<td>tau’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>which</td>
<td>taure’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>how many</td>
<td>tauropa’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>when</td>
<td>tetepane’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>how many</td>
<td>teteropa’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.20: Interrogative verbs

The prevalence of initial /u/ is very noticeable in Table 3.20. However, whether this is a fossilised general interrogative-forming device remains a matter of conjecture. The first element tau- in taure’ ‘which’ is identical to the reduced form of tau’ ‘where’. The same element is also found in tauropa’ ‘how many’. The first element of teteropa’ ‘how many’, tete-, is found also in tetepane’ ‘when’; its meaning, however, is unclear. Teteropa’ and tauropa’, which both translate as ‘how many’, share the second element ropa’, which is a quantifier meaning ‘many’ (§ 3.2.3.14, p. 215). It is not clear whereby these two interrogative verbs differ from one another. The verbs given in Table 3.20 may also be used in combination with other verbs, in what is most probably a complement-verb complex (§ 5.2.2.2, p. 326) to form more complex interrogatives. The most common ones are given in (196).

(196) taure-isisi’
     taure-fani’
‘where’ (lit. which at)
‘how’ (lit. which like)

As the verbal subgroups discussed in the previous sections, interrogative verbs can stand both with clause linkers and with verbal modifiers such as aspect marking. (197) and (198) illustrate these properties, showing the interrogatives to function as predicates.

(197) Hai tau’? Hai ma’u=ni tau’?
      NSIT     where   NSIT     come=LNK1     where ‘Where is (he)? (He) came where?’ (99-04)

(198) Ei tetepane’=ini ma’u?
      2S      when=LNK1    come ‘When did you come?’ (elic1486)

Note also that all interrogatives listed in Table 3.20 end in /u/, a very common verbal ending (§ 3.2.2.1.1, p. 128). More evidence to support the idea of interrogatives being verbal comes from the fact that tau’ ‘where’ and taure’ ‘which’ have reduced forms, lacking the final glottal phoneme, for use in complement-verb complexes. This has been taken in § 3.2.2.2.2 (p. 131) as a clear indicator of verbal status. While tau’ ‘where’ and tetepane’ ‘when’ normally function as clausal predicates as in (197) and (198), teteropa’ ‘how many’, tauropa’ ‘how many’ and taure’ ‘which’
occur most frequently in the modifier position of an NP (§ 4.3, p. 279). Typical examples, with the NPs that contain the interrogatives in question in square brackets, are given in (199) and (200).

(199) \[ \textit{Ei e’ ere [uatu teteropa] is kaluh e’?} \]
\[ 
2s \text{ V1DEM 1DEM day how many} \text{ during V1DEM} \\
‘How many days are you here for?’ \]
\[ \text{elic1754} \]

(200) \[ \textit{Robertu [omar taure] is kia’?} \]
\[ 
R. \text{ stilt-house which 3:UND-under} \\
‘Which house does Roberto live in?’ \]
\[ \text{elic1502} \]

It is very common for verbs to stand in this slot as part of an NP. An example is given in (201); in this instance, the stative verb \textit{pere ‘big (SG)’} is used as a modifier to the nominal head \textit{uar ‘stone’}.

(201) \[ \ldots [uar] \text{HEAD} [pere] \text{MOD [uere] \text{DET}] is] \]
\[ 
\text{rock} \text{ big.SG} \text{ 2DEM} \\
\text{3:UND-on.top;RED-straight;RED-sit.SG=LNK1} \\
‘… (he) is sitting right on top of that big rock and then…’ \]
\[ \text{38-083} \]

The two ‘how many’ interrogatives, \textit{teteropa} and \textit{tauropa}, are treated like numerals in that they receive ordinal reading in conjunction with the attributive marker \textit{ki=} (see § 3.2.3.8, p. 171, and § 4.3.4, p. 284), as exemplified in (202). § 3.2.3.8 (p. 171) argues that numerals are verbal; sentences like (202) thus show that the interrogatives asking for quantities belong in the same category.

(202) \[ \textit{Aire’ mu’a-isa ere ki=tauropa’?} \]
\[ 
\text{now ground-go.down 1DEM ATTR-how many} \\
‘The one who was just born now is what number (child)?’ \]
\[ \text{elic1500} \]

Interrogative verbs appear to be incompatible with the negator \textit{nomo}. Apart from \textit{tetepane ‘when’}, which is avalent, they are all divergent verbs. Sentences containing an interrogative verb are obviously interrogative in the unmarked case; this is apparent in all example sentences given so far this section. In being inherently interrogative, these verbs differ semantically from all other verb classes, which are not predetermined as to illocutionary force. An alternative reading found for interrogative verbs is that of an indefinite expression in an assertion. Very frequently, an interrogative verb with such a reading is accompanied by the clitic \textit{=oo ‘too’} (§ 3.5.2.1, p. 248 and § 8.1.3.2, p. 466), as in (203), or reduplicated, as in (204). The two strategies can also be combined. (205) shows, however, that neither clitic nor reduplication are a necessary part of an indefinite construction; the use of an interrogative verb by itself in an assertive sentence is read in the same way.
(203) ... *ei=ni hau la’a tau’=oo ei ni’isi ni-mata ni-nei tepa*

2s=CTR all move where-too 2s simultaneous REFL-child REFL-blood constant

isi-ne’et.
at:RED-think
‘... wherever you go, you always remember your child and your blood.’
(74-128)

(204) *Kiloo la’a tau-tau’ ni-savi haka uai=ni=po tepa nomo*

3s move RDL-where REFL-key search CLS-LNK1=ADVR constant NEG

nese-la’ a.
aim.at:RED-move
‘He looked for his key everywhere, but couldn’t find it.’
(clic1050)

(205) ... *negara taure’=ini tone’ ma’u=ni Timor ere mei=ni*

nation which=CTR perhaps come=LNK1 T. IDEM take=LNK1

lafu’-ini...
live-do:BD
‘... whichever nation comes and rescues Timor...’
(85-14)

Note that *tetepane* ‘when’ is also in use as a conjunction (§ 3.6.5.4, p. 271). This
untypical use is most likely due to outside influence, probably from Portuguese,
where *quando* functions as both a temporal interrogative and conjunction.
Two important interrogatives, *ni’i*- ‘who (BD)’ and *sa’u*- ‘what (BD)’, are
pronominal. They are discussed in § 3.3.1.4 (p. 228).

### 3.2.3.7 Negative verbs

Makalero possesses a group of verbs which are inherently negative in meaning. The
negative verbs found in Makalero are listed in Table 3.21, which also gives the
corresponding positive verbs, where possible.
The juxtaposition of the negative verbs with their positive counterparts shows, first
and foremost, that several negative verbs lack a good positive counterpart. For both
*lesa* ‘not have’ and *na’i* ‘not exist’, for example, the deictic verb *ue* ‘be there’
has been given as a counterpart in brackets. This verb primarily predicates location
(§ 3.2.3.9, p. 180), but it is by extension also used to predicate existence. The
positive counterpart to *lu’a ‘not get’ is a complement-verb complex rather than a
single verb; *ti’a-mei* translates literally as ‘towards-take’. There is no verb
specifically expressing the notion of permission; *rau* ‘good’ is used for this purpose
(see § 3.2.3.10, p.186, for details on the construction). Finally, there is no verbal
expression for something like ‘already’ to complement *oko-na* ‘not yet’. The aspect
marker *hai* (§ 3.4.3, p. 242) is generally used to convey this notion.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Negative verbs</th>
<th>Positive verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>not know, ignore</td>
<td>isipo’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not allowed</td>
<td>irau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not have</td>
<td>lesa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not get</td>
<td>lu’a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not exist</td>
<td>na’an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cannot</td>
<td>nopa’e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not yet</td>
<td>oko-na^7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not want</td>
<td>tule</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Know                  | ma’en                |
| Good                 | rau                  |
| Be there             | te’                  |
| (get, receive)       | ti’a-mei             |
| (be there)           | te’                  |
| Be able              | me’e / hul           |

| Table 3.21: Negative verbs and their positive counterparts |

Note that those negative verbs which have a positive counterpart can be replaced in discourse by the negation of that positive counterpart with *nomo*. The pairs in (206) and (207), and (208) and (209) for *nopa’e* ‘cannot’ and *tule* ‘not want’, respectively, illustrate this. There appears to be no notable difference in meaning between these two variant ways of expression.

(206) **Ani nopa’e kerek-ini...**
1s cannot write-do:BD
‘I cannot write...’ (101-180)

(207) **Dada-uai nomo me’e le’.**
grandparent-HON NEG able read
‘The old man cannot read.’ (elic038)

(208) **... ani haka-hau tule.**
1s all-all not want
‘... I don’t want any of that.’ (101-239)

(209) **... ani haka nomo so’ot.**
1s all NEG want
‘... I don’t want any (of that).’ (122-12)

Among these positive / negative pairings, *tule* ‘not want’ is much more frequent than the combination of *so’ot* ‘want’ with the negation. *Nomo ma’en* ‘not know’, on the other hand, is more common than the corresponding negative verb *isipo*. *Nopa’e* ‘cannot’ and *me’e / hul* ‘be able’, finally, are used in approximately the same proportions.

The negative verbs and their positive counterparts, where present, are morphologically totally unrelated.

---

^7 *Oko* ‘yet’ is a verb-phrase-internal adverbial (§ 3.2.3.3.1, p. 159). It is most frequently combined with the internal negation *nomo* as *oko nomo*, which translates as ‘not yet’. *Na* appears to be a negative verb which is never found except in combination with *oko*; the whole is thus regarded as a lexicalised unit and is, as such, hyphenated.
Unlike other verbs, negative verbs are not compatible with the internal negator *nomo* (§ 3.4.4, p. 242). However, the clause they appear in can as a whole be negated with the clausal negator *nomohaka* (§ 3.6.1, p. 264), as (210) shows.

(210)  *Ani nomohaka tule la’a=po asi-ina=ni sopen.*

1s  CLS.NEG  not.want  move=ADVR.1s:POSS-eye-CTR  sleepy

'It is not the case that I don’t want to go, but I am sleepy.'  (pelic432)

The negative existential *na’an* ‘not allowed’ is clearly intransitive, i.e. is not associated with an undergoer. *Lesa* ‘not have’, *lu’a* ‘not get’ and *tule* ‘not want’, on the other hand, are clearly transitive and include an undergoer participant in their semantic participant frame. The cases of *nopa’e* ‘cannot’ and *oko-na* ‘not yet’ and *irau* ‘not allowed’ are somewhat unclear with respect to transitivity. Used as full verbs, they do not cooccur with non-subject arguments, indicating that they are intransitive. On the other hand, constructions where they are used as complement verbs suggest that they may take an argument expressing an undergoer; the evidence in question is provided in § 3.2.3.10.2.1 (p. 193). Finally, *isipo* ‘not know’ is in all cases used as a clause on its own, without any participants expressed. An example is (211). It is therefore impossible to determine its transitivity.

(211)  *... elehaa ei asar=ve taure-fani?*  -  *Isipo*...

old.man 2s  send=DEF which:RED-be.like  not.know

‘… what was the old man who sent you like? - (I) don’t know…’

(120-115, 120-116)

*Oko-na* ‘not yet’, *nopa’e* ‘cannot’ *irau* ‘not allowed’ and *tule* ‘not want’ are further distinguished from the other transitive negative verbs in that they can take subordinated complement clause extensions (see § 3.2.3.10.2, p. 193, for details on that construction type).

### 3.2.3.8 Numerals

The Makalero numeral system in its present-day form is decimal, though Hull (2004: 87) suggests it was originally quinary. The basic numerals from one to ten are given in Table 3.22.
<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>u / un</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>loloi / loloi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>lolitu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>fat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>lima</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>douh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>fitu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>afo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>siua</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>ruru / ru</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.22: Basic numerals from one to ten

The form *un* of the numeral one is used when a vowel-initial clitic attaches to it, and is favoured at the end of a phonological phrase. However, the exact distribution of the two variant forms is not quite clear. The alternative form of *loloi* ‘two’, *loloi*, occurs only very rarely. I am at this point unable to say what conditions these variants (see also fn 109). The reduplicated form of *ru*, *ruru*, is used only in ‘ten’. In all higher numbers based on this numeral, the simplex *ru* is used.

Table 3.23 shows the formation of two-digit numerals, while Table 3.24 exemplifies numbers in the hundreds and in the thousands.

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>ru resin-u</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>ru resi-loloi</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>ru resi-lolitu</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>ru resi-fat</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>ru resi-lima</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>ru resi-douh</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>ru resi-fitu</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>ru resi-afo</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>ru resi-siua</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>ru loloi</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.23: Formation of two-digit numerals

The numerals from ten upwards are formed transparently, with *rihu* indicating thousands, *rasa* indicating hundreds and *ru* indicating tens. Units of one are
indicated by resi(n) + numeral. Resin is a verb meaning ‘remain’ (§ 3.2.2.2.1, p. 132), borrowed from Tetum resin ‘exceed’. In fact, numerals involving units of one are formed in a parallel way in Tetum, using the same item (see Hull and Eccles 2004: 56). This suggests that the formation of these numerals is copied into Makalero from Tetum. The fact that the reduced form resi- is used in most numerals suggests that they form a verbal complex (see § 3.2.3.2.2, p. 153, for the formally identical structure which expresses a comparative with activity verbs). Note, however, that the free form resin is for some reason used with u ‘one’. It is unclear why this should be the case; the fact that resi-, rather than resin, is used with the other vowel-initial numeral afo ‘eight’, suggests that it cannot be for phonological reasons.

(212) exemplifies some high numerals, combining thousands, hundreds, tens and ones. All of these refer to dates; the use of Makalero numerals to express high numbers is rare (see below).

\[(212)\] rihun u rasa siua ru afo resi-fat 1,984
thousand one hundred nine ten eight remain:RED-four

\[\text{rihun u rasa douh ru fitu resi-douh}\] 1,676
thousand one hundred six ten seven remain:RED-six

\[\text{rihun loloi resi-loloi}\] 2,002
thousand two remain:RED-two

For tens, there are alternative forms which use ate, rather than ru. (213) shows examples found in the corpus.

\[(213)\] ate u 10
ate fat 40
ate lima 50

The element ate is homophonous with ate ‘wood, tree’; it is possible that it refers to some old measurement or unit of counting involving sticks of wood.

When referring to prices, the elements kontu and iskudu, both loans from Portuguese, are also used. Kontu is derived from Portuguese conto, an obsolete term for the sum of 1,000 escudos; the term is today used in Makalero to refer to a unit of 1 dollar. In (214), kontu fitu ‘seven kontu’ is followed by rasa lima ‘500’, which shows that kontu is used as a unit of thousands, equivalent to rihun ‘thousand’. The latter, however, is not used in the corpus for sums of money.

\[(214)\] Asi-nana ki-osan uere’ is’ee kontu fitu
1s:POSS-elder.sibling 3:POSS-money 2DEM.V at-DEF kontu seven

\[\text{rasa lima...}\]
\[\text{hundred five}\]
‘At that time, my elder brother had seven kontu and 500 (7.50$)...’
(101-338)
Iskudu, on the other hand, is derived from the name of the former Portuguese currency escudo, and was equated by speakers to a sum of 10 Indonesian rupiah, roughly the equivalent of 0.1 US cent. An example is given in (215). With independence, the Indonesian rupiah was replaced by the US dollar, and such little sums are barely in use. As such, the term iskudu is now becoming obsolete, and is used in the corpus only in stories about the Indonesian past.

(215) Uatu un=ee iskudu ru loloi.
day one=DEF iskudu ten two
‘In a day (I got) twenty iskudu (200 rupiah).’  (101-390)

Indications of prices and values thus make use of two special numeral terms. (214) above shows that the regular numeral rasa ‘hundred’ is used for an intermediate unit, equalling 10 cents. This special numeral subsystem thus seems to be organised in the way represented in Table 3.25.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>value in IRP</th>
<th>value in USD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>iskudu</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rasa</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kontu</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.25: Monetary units

These units are remnants of the Portuguese colonial times. Though kontu is still in use, it is used interchangeably with dolar ‘dollar’. Smaller sums are nowadays more normally given using sen or sentimus. The former is the English-based, the latter the Portuguese-based form of the unit cent. Sen is generally used with Indonesian numerals,108 sentimus with their Portuguese equivalents. The term dolar can be used with numerals from either language, though with Portuguese numerals greater than one, it generally receives Portuguese plural marking, resulting in dolares. A special term is kuarter ‘quarter’, which denotes a sum of 25 cents. The numerals loloi ‘two’ and lolitu ‘three’ are used for counting non-human referents only. For humans, the forms meih ‘two (HUM)’ and itu ‘three (HUM)’ are used. Examples are given in (216) and (217).

(216) ... ini amu fitu=po meih hai tou-umu...
1pe person seven=ADVR two.HUM NSIT totally-die
‘... we were seven (siblings), but two died...’  (101-015)

(217) ... iurai Iliomar ki-mata-r amu itu were=ni ukun.
king 1.3.POSS-child-PI person three.HUM 2DEM=CTR rule
‘... it was the king of Iliomar’s three children who ruled.’  (55-04)

108 The Indonesian rupiah is subdivided into 100 sen, although this denomination is no longer in use nowadays due to inflation.
The [+HUM] forms can be used with non-humans if they are the main participants in a story. A good example is (218), a section from the frog story, in which several of the main characters are animals.

(218) ... dila k-ali-puna sefar=oo k-ali-puna. Uai=ni=si
frog 3:UND-all.over-look dog=too 3:UND-all.over-look CLS=LNK1~LNK2
uere-la meih e’ atau dada-k-ali-puna.
2DEM-PL two.HUM V1DEM all together-3:UND-all.over-look
‘… the frog looks around and the dog looks around too. So the two of them are here and look around together.’ (38-059, 38-060)

The form itu is also found with non-human reference in some compounded adverbial expressions such as hi’anitu ‘three times’ in (219) and ituhe’e ‘in three days’ in (220). In both cases, itu is paralleled by a reduced form of lolei ‘two’, ei.196 These reduced forms correspond to the long forms of the numerals minus the common element lol-. Fate’e in (221) shows that from four upwards, the regular form of such numerals is used.

(219) hi’anei
hi’anitu
‘twice’
‘three times’
(220) eih’e
ituhe’e
‘in two days’
‘in three days’
(221) fate’e
‘in four days’

Thus, while the [+HUM] form of the numeral ‘three’, itu, corresponds to the reduced form of the numeral lolitú, these forms are distinct in the case of lolei / lolei ‘two’: the reduced form is ei and the [+HUM] form meih. It is possible, though not certain, that the one is in some way related to the other.

The higher numerals are rarely used in Makalero and are generally replaced by their Indonesian or Portuguese counterparts. It appears that Portuguese numbers are favoured when referring to prices, though Indonesian may also be used in these cases. Indonesian numerals, on the other hand, are used often when referring to hours or years. In those cases, they are used within whole phrases in Indonesian, together with the unit of measurement. An example is given in (222); the date in Indonesian is bracketed.

(222) Aire [tahun sembilan.puluh]=te’e ani pinda=ni Tirilolo-isi-la’aa.
now year 90-after 1s move=LNK1 T-at:RED-move
‘Now in 1990 only I moved to Tirilolo.’ (75-03)

196 There is no equivalent form oi derived from lolei. This could suggest that lolei and lolei are functional variants, with lolei applying, apparently, to abstract entities, while lolei applies to concrete entities.
Numerals are here analysed as stative verbs. They frequently function as a clause’s main predicate, as shown in (223) for *raṣa u ate lima* ‘150’ and (224) for the special human form *meih* ‘two’.

(223) \( Ua'i=ni=si \ uatu \ ere \ ra'u=ee \ ho'one \ la'a \ rasa \ u \ ate.lima \)  
CLS=LNK1=LNK2 day 1DEM plate=DEF IFP move hundred one fifty  
raṣa loloi rasa lollitu...  
hundred two hundred three  
’Soo in a day the plates were usually 150, 200 (or) 300...’  
(101-254)

(224) \( Ai \ la'a=ni \ pulisi \ ko-horu \ pulisi=ee \ meih. \)  
1s move=LNK1 police 3:UND-with police=DEF two.HUM  
‘I went to stay with the policemen; the policemen were two.’  
(101-402)

Numerals are also often used in the modifier position of a noun phrase (§ 4.3, p. 279), as in (225) and (226). The two NPs are bracketed. Note that in the latter sentence, that whole NP, consisting of a head and a modifier, is used as a predicate.

(225) \( Aftane' \ [kareta \ loloi]_{SN} \ riapata-isti-dai. \)  
PT car two street-at:RED-pass  
‘Two cars passed on the street before.’  
(elic1765)

(226) \( ... \ uatu warfare \ uatu \ warfare \ anu-asu=ni \ [sirvisu \ lolitu]_{SN}. \)  
daily 1s-for=LNK1 work three  
‘... every day, there were three tasks for me.’  
(101-405)

Numerals are frequently used with the attributive marker *ki* (§ 3.3.5.2, p. 240). Most typically, stative verbs are found in this construction. This suggests that numerals belong to that category as well. (227) shows the attributive construction with *ki* with a typical stative verb, *pere* ‘big’, while in (228), the numeral *loloi* ‘two’ is used in the same position.

(227) \( Uai=te'v=fe \ nana \ ki=pere \ uare \ rei-li'an. \)  
CLS=after=FE snake ATTR=big.SG 2DEM outwards-fall  
‘After that, the big snake fell out.’  
(89-22)

(228) \( Mata \ ka'u \ ki=loloi \ umere' \ asi-nana \ ki-mata. \)  
child small ATTR=two DEM.DIST.V 1s:POSS-elder.sibling 3:POSS-child  
‘These two children are my elder sister’s children.’  
(elic1696)

As discussed in § 4.3.4 (p. 284), the use of the attributive marker *ki* adds some emphasis to the attribute; this construction is used to contrast a given NP with another possible referent. Numerals constructed as *ki*-attributes, however, are most often (though not in every case, see (228) above) read as ordinal. (229) and (230) give two examples. Numerals differ in this respect from other stative verbs.
Lexical categories

(229) ... asi-mata ki=loloi ki-nei Fernandu Alves Donikais.
   1s:POSS-child ATTR=two 3:POSS-name F. A. D.
   ‘... my second child’s name is Fernandu Alves Donikais.’ (105-040)

(230) ... uru ere uru ki=siiua...
   month 1DEM month ATTR=nine
   ‘... the month was the ninth month...’ (101-352)

The crucial difference between the two possible readings of ki= + numeral, either as
a cardinal numeral modifier with contrastive function or as an ordinal numeral, is
that a cardinal reading such as in (231) can be paraphrased using a bare numeral, as
in (232). The same is not possible, however, for ordinal numbers, where the
attributive marker is necessary. A bare numeral can never be read as ordinal.

(231) ![Asi.kareta ki=loloi ki=hoفار ereʃw ki.korʃw putir.
   1s:POSS-cat ATTR=two ATTR=new 1DEM 3:POSS-colour white
   ‘My two new cars are white.’
   (elic321)

   PT car two main:at:RED-pass
   ‘Two cars passed on the street.’
   (elic1765)

An exception to the regular formation of ordinal numbers is ‘first’, which does not
use the numeral u(n) ‘one’ – the phrase *ki=u(n) is ungrammatical – but rather uses
the adverbial verb atanana ‘first’ or the verb tu ‘first, ahead of’, as ki=atanana or
ki=tu. I take this parallel between the verbal elements atanana ‘first’ and tu ‘first,
ahead’ and the numerals higher than one in ordinal constructions as further
supporting the analysis of numerals as a type of verb.
An ordinal phrase with ki= can include a classifier next to the numeral; an example
of such a structure is given in (233).

(233) ... asi-noko [ki=amu douh]ʃuʃd ere mu’a-isa.
   1s:POSS-younger.sibling ATTR=person six 1DEM ground-go:down
   ‘... my sixth younger sibling was born.’
   (126-014)

Note that in the ki=attribute in (229) above, the [-HUM] form of the numeral, loloi
‘two’, rather than the [+HUM] form meih, is used, even though the referent is
clearly human. In fact, the [+HUM] forms of the numerals two and three, meih and
itu, respectively, are never found by themselves in ki=attributes. They can be used
in this construction only together with the human classifier amu, as the equivalent
example in (234), which comes from the same text as (229), shows.

(234) Asi-mata ki=amu itu ki-nei Dontris...
   1s:POSS-child ATTR=person three.HUM 3:POSS-name D.
   ‘My third child’s name is Dontris...’
   (105-050)
The interrogative verbs *teteropa*’ and *tauropa*’, both meaning ‘how many’ (§ 3.2.3.6, p. 167), group with numerals in that they are read as ordinals with the attributive marker *ki*¼. An example is given in (235).

(235)  *Aira* mu’a-isa ere *ki*¼*teteropa*’?
now ground-go.down IDEM ATTR=how many
‘The one who was born just now is what number (child)?’  (elic1500)

The numerals are also part of the names of the days of the week. For Monday, the Portuguese loan *sigunda* (*feira*) is used, while *paandera heil* ‘pull (up) the flag’ was used to refer to Sunday. With the exception of these two, the days between Monday and Sunday are numbered regularly. The fact that Tuesday is *ki-uatu loloi* ‘day two’ shows that Monday is perceived to be the first day of the week, despite the fact that the Portuguese loan *sigunda* (*feira*) literally means the same thing, coming from a system where Sunday is taken to be the start of the week. Note that for the numbered week days, two constructions are in use: in the more common one, the numeral follows the noun *uatu* ‘day’ as its modifier; the whole phrase is obligatorily possessed, as indicated by the possessive pronoun *ki* (see § 3.3.1.1.3, p. 225, and § 3.1.3.7, p. 123): Being a part of a whole, week days qualify as inalienably possessed in Makalero. Less frequently, the numeral can be attributed to the noun *uatu* ‘day’ with the attributive marker *ki*¼, making it ordinal. Hence, while *ki-uatu loloi* could literally be translated as ‘day two’, *uatu ki*¼*loloi* would correspond to ‘the second day’. A combination of the two strategies, with both the ordinal numeral construction and a possessed day, has not been found in the corpus. Table 3.26 summarises the names of the days of the week, showing where variant constructions are found.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Day</th>
<th>Obligatory possessive construction</th>
<th>Ordinal construction</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Monday</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>sigunda (<em>feira</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuesday</td>
<td><em>ki-uatu loloi</em></td>
<td><em>uatu ki</em>¼<em>loloi</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td><em>ki-uatu lolitu</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thursday</td>
<td><em>ki-uatu fat</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friday</td>
<td><em>ki-uatu lima</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saturday</td>
<td><em>ki-uatu douh</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>paandera heil / pasar(^{100})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunday</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.26: Days of the week

According to Hull (2004: 87), all of the Makalero numerals except *u(n)* ‘one’, *loloi* ‘two’ and *ru(ri)* ‘ten’ are of Austronesian origin. Table 3.27 gives the reconstructed

\(^{100}\) Pinto (2007) uses *pasar* for Sunday. In my own data, *pasar* is used for ‘week’ and for ‘market’ only.
forms of the Proto-Austronesian numerals from one to ten (e.g. Blust 2009: 268), followed, for ease of comparison, by their Makalero counterpart.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Proto-Austronesian</th>
<th>Makalero</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>*esa / isa</td>
<td>u(n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>*daSa</td>
<td>loloi / loloi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>*telu</td>
<td>lolitu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>*Sepat</td>
<td>fat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>*lima</td>
<td>lima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>*enem</td>
<td>douh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>*pitu</td>
<td>fitu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>*walu</td>
<td>afo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>*siwa</td>
<td>siwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>*(sa-)puluq</td>
<td>(ru)ru</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.27: Proto-Austronesian numerals and their Makalero equivalents

The Makalero numerals for four, five, seven, and nine directly relate to the reconstructed Proto-Austronesian (PAN) forms, whereas the numerals for one and two are clearly distinct. The numeral lolitu ‘three’ is in fact superficially similar to the PAN form *telu. However, it would involve metathesis, which is not found elsewhere in the borrowed numerals and is rare in the language overall (see § 3.5.3.1.1.3, p. 252, § 3.5.3.1.1.4, p. 253, § 3.5.3.1.1.5, p. 254, § 3.5.3.2.1, p. 262 and § 3.5.3.2.2, p. 263 for instances of metathesis in Makalero). Note, furthermore, that loloi ‘two’ and lolitu ‘three’ appear to share a common initial element lol, which may suggest that they are part of one, probably obsolete, system and hence come from the same source. If the lol-element is left out of consideration, the remainder -itu (which is in fact the [+HUM] as well as the reduced form, see above) is obviously connected to Fataluku utue ‘three’, which Hull (2004: 87) classifies as non-Austronesian. Thus, assuming that the lol-element in lolitu ‘three’ is in fact some kind of detachable prefix (for which there is strong evidence), the remaining element itu does no longer bear an overwhelming similarity to the reconstructed PAN *telu. The fact that both ‘two’ and ‘three’ have special forms for human referents also supports the idea that the two numerals belong to one system and as such probably come from the same source. It is thus likely that lolitu, too, is non-Austronesian. Douh ‘six’ has a cognate doha in Makasae, but does not seem to compare to the other languages, Austronesian or non-Austronesian, of Timor. It is furthermore hard to derive afo ‘eight’ from PAN *walu. Note that Hull (2004: 87) reconstructs the “Old Timorese” (Austronesian) numeral for ‘eight’ as *kapaw, from which Makalero afo, Makasae apo and afo, and Fataluku ikafa can easily be derived. However, he gives no information as to how he arrives at this reconstruction and how it relates to PAN *walu. Many of the Austronesian languages of the island display a clear reflex of *walu, though some have forms that could possibly derive from *kapaw. (Rajru ‘ten’, finally, could conceivably be related to Proto-AN *puluq – in fact, there are several Austronesian languages which changed /U/ to /i/
that lexeme. However, the change from *(sa-)puluq to ru would involve significant reduction of the morpheme. More evidence is thus needed to ultimately determine the source of (ru)ru ‘ten’.

The resulting picture reveals no clear pattern. In my analysis, the numerals for one, two, three, six, and, possibly, eight and ten are non-Austronesian, while the remaining numerals, four, five, seven, and nine are clearly Austronesian borrowings. This holds also for rihum ‘thousand’, which goes back to PAN *tibu, and perhaps for rasa ‘hundred’, which could be connected to PAN *Ratus.

3.2.3.9 Deictic verbs

Makalero uses a deictic system with five distinctions which are based on vicinity and distance to the speech-act participants, on both the horizontal and the vertical axes. However, not all of these distinctions are encoded in all deictics. All five deictics have regularly corresponding nominal and verbal forms. The five deictic verbs in Makalero are given in Table 3.28. Note that all of them end in the glottal pheme (most often, in this case, realised as a glottal stop). These forms relate directly to the nominal forms or demonstratives, which are formed with the -r- formative (§ 3.1.2.1.1, p. 102). The demonstratives are discussed in § 3.3.2.1 (p. 232).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ai’ / e’</th>
<th>‘be here’</th>
<th>near speaker</th>
<th>same elevation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>uai’ / ue’</td>
<td>‘be here’</td>
<td>near hearer</td>
<td>same elevation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umai’ / ume’</td>
<td>‘be there’</td>
<td>removed from both speaker and hearer (near third person)</td>
<td>same elevation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>udai’ / ude’</td>
<td>‘be there above’</td>
<td>higher elevation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ufai’ / ufe’</td>
<td>‘be there below’</td>
<td>lower elevation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.28: Deictic verbs

The /e/ forms appear to be reductions of the more carefully pronounced forms with the /ai/ diphthongs (see § 2.2.5, p. 67). The /e/ forms are more frequent in normal speech. All of these verbs have reduced bound forms (§ 3.2.2.2.2.1, p. 132), which
are derived from the full forms as listed in Table 3.28 through loss of the final consonant, the glottal phoneme /ʔ/.

The first two deictic verbs, e’ and u/e’, are mainly related to the speech act participants, with e’ used for the speaker and u/e’ for the addressee. The other deictic verbs are not specifically related to any person, though u/me’, which literally refers to a location distant from both the speaker and the addressee, may per extension be used as a third person-related deictic.

According to Hull (2004: 84), Makasae and Malakalero are the most conservative of the non-Austronesian languages of Timor with regard to deixis, distinguishing seven degrees in their demonstrative systems. While there are indeed seven degrees in Makasae (see e.g. Brotherson 2004, Huber 2008a), Malakalero uses only five distinctions. This is due to the fact that the demonstratives in Malakalero encode information only about either the horizontal or the vertical axis, but the language does not possess demonstratives which convey information about both these axes at the same time. In this, Malakalero differs from Makasae, which has separate terms for ‘above, no horizontal distance’ (do’o) and ‘below, no horizontal distance’ (ho’o) on the one hand, and ‘above, horizontally distant’ (de’i) and ‘below, horizontally distant’ (be’i) on the other hand (Brotherson 2003: 36). Malakalero conflates these two sets of terms, distinguishing only between higher and lower elevation, whether or not horizontal distance is involved (u/de’ and u/be’, respectively). As a consequence, its deictic inventory is short of two oppositions with respect to the Makasae deictics. Thus, while the deictic system of Malakalero is more conservative than those of Fataluku and Bunak with three and two distinctions in the spatial deictic system, respectively (see Hull 2005: 25 and Schapper 2009: 241), it is less detailed than Makasae.

It is very common in Malakalero discourse to predicate a referent’s location, either in a separate predication with the free form of the deictic verb, or with the bound form in the guise of a complement-verb complex (see § 5.2.2.2, p. 326). (236) through (240) give some contextual examples of the use of these verbs, both as main verbs and as dependent verbs.

(236) ... kiloo ani hai leu “A-jua!” Uai=ni=si ani hai dur “ani
3s 1s NSIT call VOC-J. CLS=LNK1=LNK2 1s NSIT wake up 1s
e’ ere!”

VIDEM 1DEM
‘... she called me: A-jua! So I woke up (and said): I’m here!’

(44-03, 44-04)

Note that all demonstratives except for the first person related ere start with /u/ (see § 2.2.2, p. 60, for the idea that the glide [w] is an allophone of [u]). It is possible that this represents a fossilised morpheme encoding distance from the speaker (which would mean that u/de’ and u/be’, said above to encode distance on the vertical axis only, do originally contain information about horizontal distance from the speaker).
(237) ... amuni ki-mata ere ni-lopu
    person 3:POSS-child 1DEM REFL-house
    k-ia-e-mit=ini  e’=ini...
    3:UND-under:RED-V1DEM:RED-sit.SG=LNK1 V1DEM=LNK1
    ‘... this child sits here in his house, he is here and...’  (38-001)

(238) Ani aire’ isa=ni ue-rata’  aire’ ulangan matematika...
    1s now go.down=LNK1 V2DEM:RED-arrive now test maths
    ‘I went down now and arriving there, there were the maths exams...’  (101-277)

(239) ... uai=te’e fi la’a=ni iskola-omar
    CLS=after 1pi move=LNK1 school-still.house
    ki-lopu-isti-ude’=afta...
    3:POSS-house-at:RED-VDEM.HIGH=COND
    ‘... after that, we go and once there is the school building up there...’  (20-3)

(240) ... muni ma’u=ni ki-nana-isti-ude-ma’u.
    return come=LNK1 3:POSS-elder.sibling-at:RED-VDEM.HIGH:RED-come
    ‘... (I) came back up to his brother.’  (101-287)

The addressee-related deictic verb ue’ is the most widely used demonstrative verb. It functions as a general deictic to refer to remote locations where a person-bound reference frame is not applicable. (238) above, which refers to events taking place in Dili, may be an example of this. Furthermore, ue’ also predicates existence, as in (241) and (242) (see also § 3.2.3.7, p. 169) which gives ue’ as the positive counterpart of the negative existential na’an).

(241) Huma’ ni’isi uari ue’.  
    soul simultaneous still V2DEM
    ‘ Ghosts really exist.’  (elic445)

(242) Omaraha tuumata nomo ta-isi-la’a  muni ta-isi-la’a=oo
    wife.givers wife.takers NEG REC-at:RED-move return REC-at:RED-move=too
    ue’.
    V2DEM
    ‘It also happens that families who did not visit each other start visiting each
    other again.’  (21-057)

A very similar construction, with the sole difference of the subject being modified by a possessor, reads as predicating possession (see also § 3.2.3.12.5, p. 207, for another way to predicate possession).
(243)  Ei-amin  ue’?
  2s-house  V2DEM
  ‘Do you have lice?’  (elic955)

(244)  I  ho’o  ki-nua  ue’...
  and some  3.POSS-eat  V2DEM
  ‘And some had food...’  (17-10)

_ume’_ (VDEM.DIST) as well as _ufe’_ (VDEM.LOW) and _ude’_ (VDEM.HIGH) are
often modified with _hau la’a(=ni)_ (all go=LNK1) to refer to a higher degree of
spatial remoteness than that expressed by the bare deictic verbs. An example is
given in (245).

(245)  _Pusira ume’_.  _Tirilolo  hau la’a=ni  ume’_.
  P.  VDEM.DIST  T.  all move=LNK1  VDEM.DIST
  ‘Pusira is over there. Tirilolo is way over there.’  (elic1785)

On a large scale, _ude’_ (VDEM.HIGH) is used for locations to the east, and _ufe’_ (VDEM.LOW) for west, as exemplified by (246) and (247). In the case of Dili in
(246), the use of the deictic verb referring to a location at a lower elevation than
the point of reference corresponds to the relative elevations of Dili and Lliomar in real
life. This is not the case in (247), however, where Lospalos is referred to as being
located higher than Lliomar. In real life, Lliomar is situated higher than Lospalos. The
world thus appears to be conceptualised as a sloping plane in an east-west direction,
with east higher than west.

(246)  _Asi-upa ki-lopu Dili-isi-ufe’_.
  1s.POSS-father  3.POSS-house  D.at:RED-VDEM.LOW
  ‘My father has a house in Dili.’  (elic261)

(247)  _Loospalos  hau la’a=ni  ude’_.
  L.  all move=LNK1  VDEM.HIGH
  ‘Lospalos is over there to the east.’  (elic1785)

3.2.3.9.1 Derived deictic verbs
Next to the deictic verbs given in Table 3.28, there is a second series of deictic verbs
that are derived from the deictic determiners (demonstratives, see § 3.3.2.1, p. 232).
The derivation is by means of the glottal verbaliser, as seen in Table 3.29.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Demonstrative</th>
<th>Derived Deictic Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>near speaker</td>
<td>ere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>same elevation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>near hearer</td>
<td>uere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>same elevation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>removed from both speaker and hearer (near third person) same elevation</td>
<td>umere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>higher elevation</td>
<td>udere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lower elevation</td>
<td>ufere</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.29: Derived deictic verbs

These prototypical use of these verbs is where the predicate is not a property, but an entity in the form of a spatial deictic expression. In other words, two entities are equated in such sentences, as in the well-known example “Dr. Jekyll is Mr. Hide”. Examples are given in (248) and (249).

(248) *Dotor ini leu ere=ni ere’.*
    Doctor Ipe call 1DEM=CTR 1DEM.V
    ‘The doctor that called us is this one.’ (elc578)

(249) *Lapis ere=ni ani-isi’ e'i-isi’=ini umere’ kiloo*
    pencil 1DEM=CTR 1s-belong 2s-belong=CTR DEM.DIST.V 3s
    k-isi’=ini hau la’a umere’.
    3:UND-belong=CTR all move DEM.DIST.V
    ‘This pencil is mine; yours is the one there and his is the one way over there.’ (elc1419)

The most frequent use of the derived deictic verbs, however, is not that of a main predicate in a clause. Rather, they are used in argument position, as in the examples in (250) and (251). In most of those cases, they appear to recapitulate an object mentioned in an earlier clause, often one which is very long. Note that not the whole set of derived deictic verbs is used in this function, but only ere’ and uere’, the speaker-related one and the addressee-related one, respectively (see also § 3.3.2.1, p. 232). The others are restricted to actual spatial use. The objects that are taken up with the derived locative verbs are bracketed in the examples; subscripts reference the NPs in question and the resumptives.
(250) *Ere [lilin imajj], uai=ni=si ei ere’; k-afu=ni mei*
1DEM candle picture CLS=LNK1=LNK2 2s 1DEM.V 3:UND-carry=LNK1 take
la’a=ni [rate=ua ani=ua ei-asu isi-suma ere’], ei mei la’a
move=LNK1 grave=REL 1s=REL 2s:for at:RED-show 1DEM 2s take move
uire’; ta’a-ini.
2DEM.V count-give
‘These are candles and (religious) pictures, you take these and go to the
graves that I show you, you take them and put them at each of them
(graves).’

(120-075)

(251) *Meestri sa’a kerek uatu ki=atanana ma’u ere=si [meestri]*
teacher thing write day ATTR-first come 1DEM=LNK2 teacher
ue-kerek-ini=ni taure-fami’], ani uere’, me’e
V2DEM.RED-write-do:BD=LNK1 which:RED-be.like 1s 2DEM.V able
mi-kerek.
along:RED-write
‘What the teacher wrote down, (even) on the first day, I was able to copy
that.’

(101-020)

It appears that in all such cases, the derived deictic verbs are replaceable by the
simple demonstrative. An example is given in (252); the fact that the speaker uses
two demonstratives, *ere* and *uire*, on top of one another shows that the second is not
part of the preceding NP, but recapitulates the whole of the very long NP it follows.
No glottal verbaliser is detectable in this case, allowing for the conclusion that the
item used is a demonstrative pronoun. Its use corresponds neatly to the cases with
derived deictic verbs in (250) and (251) above. Again, the object that is recapitulated
is bracketed.

(252) *... [tinaini ki-ula papa-laaw militar Indonesia-laaw hau dasa]*
cooked.rice 3:POSSTail Indonesian-PL military 1-PL all throw.away
ere’], uere, uere’ uere hau sorit u...
1DEM 2DEM V2DEM 2DEM all luck one
‘... the rice left-overs that the Indonesian soldiers threw away, (if I) had
that, that was a great luck...’

(101-111)

In some cases, the derived deictic verbs stand right after an NP, in which case they
look like they are part of the NP, as in (253). However, they function in just the
same way as in the examples in (250) and (251), namely to recapitulate the NP. In
other words, the derived deictic verb is an argument on its own; the object NP it
recapitulates stands in a different position, namely the left-detached position of the
sentence (see § 7.6.1, p. 427).
(253) ... iraku so’ot=ini (...) [lolo-ini Makalero], ure’, uali’=ana
3s want-LNK1 say-NML M. 2DEM.V hear=INT

felun=uai pa’ak=uai...
nice=or bad=or
‘... she wants to come (...) and hear the Makalero language, whether it is
good or bad...’ (98-48)

A very frequent phrase in narratives is ure’-isi’=ee ‘in that (situation)’. An
example is given in (254). This is a subordinated clause in the left-detached position
functioning as an adverbial (§ 7.6.1.1, p. 430). In this phrase, ure’ refers to a time
or situation as set by a preceding clause.

(254) ... ani muni ma’u tone’ asi-nana tone’ ani pase.
1s return come perhaps 1s:POSS-elder.sibling perhaps 1s beat

Uai=ni=isi ani ure’-isi’=ee ria’=ini la’a ala’-mutu-la’a.
CLS=LNK1=LNK2 1s 2DEM.V-at=CMPL run=LNK1 move forest-inside RED-move
‘... if I come back, perhaps my brother will beat me. So at that time, I ran
away and went into the forest.’ (101-048, 101-049)

La’ane’ ‘various’, which is used to mark plurals mainly with [-HUM] nouns,
appears to work in the very same way as the derived deictic verbs. See § 3.2.3.12.7
(p. 210) for details.

3.2.3.10 Verbs with complement clause extensions

A number of verbs in Makalero are commonly found with postverbal clausal
extensions. These extensions may consist of single clauses, but also multi-clause
units (i.e. sentences, see § 7, p. 401). All of these verbs are found in a construction
where the clausal extension follows the main verb in a coordinated construction.
These clausal extensions, called complement clause extensions in the following, are
not to be confused with the complements which are an instantiation of the non-
subject argument in the clause, as opposed to objects (§ 5.2, p. 319). Their syntactic
status is not straightforward. Some constructions suggest that they are not arguments
of the verb (§ 3.2.3.10.1.2, p. 189). On the other hand, some verbs allow for an
alternative construction which involves a nominalised clause equivalent to the
complement clause extension in the preverbal object position. In this case, it clearly
is an argument of the verb. § 8.3.5 (p. 485) gives some more discussion on the
syntactic status of complement clause extensions. On the basis of the variant
constructions that are possible with them, the verbs in question are classified into
distinct groups. The major division is between verbs of saying and modal verbs; the
former are discussed in § 3.2.3.10.1 (p. 187), the latter in § 3.2.3.10.2 (p. 193).
3.2.3.10.1 Verbs of saying
Not all verbs included in this section are in fact verbs of saying; however, this semantic heading covers a significant portion of them. Verbs of saying fall in three separate groups. The first of these, discussed in § 3.2.3.10.1.1 (p. 187), consists of verbs which have the possibility of introducing the complement clause extension with the complementiser =ee ~ =e' ~ =ere. Neither of the verb classes treated in § 3.2.3.10.1.2 (p. 189) and § 3.2.3.10.1.3 (p. 191) are found with the complementiser. Those discussed in § 3.2.3.10.1.2 (p. 189) generally use a clause linker, while those in § 3.2.3.10.1.3 (p. 191) are found in paratactic linkage only. All of these verbs allow for the expression of an NP equivalent to the complement clause extension in object position. This suggests that there is some syntactic interdependence between the verb of saying and a following complement clause extension. The issue is discussed in more detail in § 8.3.5 (p. 485).
The clearest representatives of verbs with postverbal complement clause extensions are those given in Table 3.30. All of these can be constructed either with preverbal nominal argument or with a postverbal complement clause extension.

3.2.3.10.1.1 Verbs with complementiser constructions
The clearest representatives of verbs with postverbal complement clause extensions are those given in Table 3.30. All of these can be constructed either with preverbal nominal argument or with a post-verbal complement clause extension.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>say, mean\textsuperscript{1}\textsuperscript{2}</th>
<th>ain</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>see</td>
<td>ena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ask</td>
<td>heti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>think</td>
<td>ne’et</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>say</td>
<td>lolo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>know</td>
<td>ma’en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>want</td>
<td>so’ot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hear</td>
<td>uali’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.30: Verbs of saying with the complementiser =ee

(255) and (256) exemplify the verbs uali’ ‘hear’ and so’ot ‘want’ with nominal arguments, which stand in square brackets.

(255) \textit{Uere’-isi}=ee ki-uatu douh=ini ani \{informasaim\} uali’.
2DEM.V-at-DEF 3:POS-DAY six=LNK1 1s information hear
‘At that time, on Saturday I heard the information.’ (101-357)

\textsuperscript{1}Ain has in some contexts grammaticalised into a quotative marker (see § 3.2.3.12.3, p. 205).
(256) ... fi\=ua (…) mu’a ki-\=u\=ar [ni-lolo-ini] nomo so’ot...
   1pi=REL ground 3.POSS-master REF=say-NML NEG want
   ‘… we who are (…) the owners of the land do not like our language…”
   (98-15)

Such preverbal arguments can also be made up of nominalised clauses. An example
is given in (257), where the clausal argument nomo hul ‘not able’ is nominalised, as
visible through the presence of the definite marker =ee (see § 3.5.1.1, p. 243) at its
right end.\(^{113}\) The agent of this nominalised clause is expressed as a reflexive
possessive ni- (§ 3.3.1.2, p. 221), showing that it is coreferent with the subject of
the preceding clause. Again, the argument is bracketed.

(257) ... ei hai nomo hul=af\=i [ni-nomo hul=ee] lolo.
   2s NSIT NEG able=COND REF=NEG able=DEF say
   ‘… if you cannot afford it, say so.’
   (74-076)

Complement clause extensions, on the other hand, follow these verbs. Very
frequently, the complementiser =ee \sim =e’ \sim =ere cliticises to the verb of saying in
such constructions, indicating that the verb it is cliticised to is followed by a
complement clause extension. (258) through (260) illustrate the use of the
complementiser in its three variant forms. Note that (258) and (259) use the same
verbs as (255) and (256) above.

(258) Ani uali’=e’=kini [ei=kini hai kauen].
   1s hear=CMPL=IND 2s=IND NSIT marry
   ‘I hear that you are already married.’
   (elic816a)

(259) ... ani so’ot=ee [ki-nua heti].
   1s want=CMPL 3.POSS-eat ask
   ‘… I want to ask for food.’
   (101-128)

(260) Kiloo ini heti=ere [ini so’ot=uai tule].
   3s 1pe ask=CMPL 1pe want=or not.want
   ‘He asks us whether we agree or not.’
   (elic480)

At the present stage, I am unaware of the factors conditioning the use of either one
or another form of the complementiser. All three of them exhibit a relation to a
dectic element: =ee is homophonous to the definite marker =ee (§ 3.5.1.1, p. 243)
and =ere to the near-speaker demonstrative ere (§ 3.3.2.1, p. 232). The third variant
of the complementiser, =e’, is homophonous to the deictic verb e’ (§ 3.2.3.9, p. 180).
See § 3.6.2 (p. 265) for more particulars on this element.

The use of the complementiser is not obligatory with postverbal complement clause
extensions. (261) and (262) illustrate two examples where lolo ‘say’ is followed by a
stretch of direct speech. (261) uses the complementiser =ee, while in (262), the
complement clause extension follows lolo directly.

\(^{113}\) However, see also § 3.6.2 (p. 265), which speculates that =ee is in this case more properly analysed as
the complementiser.
(261) ... asi-nana-raa lolo=ee ["hai la’a=ni asi-tiu-raa
1s.POSS-elder.sibling-PL say=CMPL NSIT move=LNK1 1s.POSS-uncle-PL
ki-lopu-isi-rou’].
3:POSS-house-at:RED-sleep.PL:BD
‘... my brothers said (he) had gone to sleep at my uncles’ house.’
(126-033)

(262) ... elehaa uere ani-asu lolo ["asi-ia isit=isi urau ria’].
old.man 2DEM is-for say 1s:POSS-foot ill=LNK2 not.allowed run
‘... the old man said to me: my leg hurts, don’t run.’
(101-097)

Alternatively, the clause linker =ini (§ 3.5.2.5.2, p. 249) can be used instead of the complementiser. (263) and (264), both with so’ot ‘want’ illustrate contrastive examples with =ini and =e’, respectively.

(263) ... papa koto isit=oo uai=ni ani se so’ot=ini [ualih].
father maybe ill-too CLS=LNK1 1s very want=LNK1 hear
‘... even if you are perhaps ill, I would very much like to hear that.’
(106-13)

(264) Ani so’ot=e’ [mua-ini=na’a].
1s want=CMPL eat-do:BD=INT
‘I want to eat.’
(elic1321a)

§ 8.2.1 (p. 478) argues that there is no evidence for a syntactic hierarchy between two clauses linked with =ini. As such, the complement clause with this linker in (258) shows no sign of being in any way syntactically dependent from so’ot ‘want’. On the other hand, § 8.3.5.1 (p. 487) suggests that the complementiser =ee signals subordination. Note, however, that the latter concept is not straightforward in Makalero; it is elaborated on in § 3.6.2 (p. 265). The fact that a participant of the same semantic role can either be expressed as a preverbal argument or as a postverbal complement clause extension with such verbs (see e.g. (255) and (258)) evidences the existence of a semantic and syntactic relation of some kind between a verb of saying and a following complement clause extension.

3.2.3.10.1.2 Verbs with clause linkers
Like the verbs discussed in § 3.2.3.10.1.1 (p. 187), those listed in Table 3.31 can be found with both preverbal nominal arguments and with postverbal complement clause extensions. Notably, however, they are not found with any form of the complementiser.
Table 3.31: Verbs of saying with clause linkers introducing complement clause extensions

With these verbs, the complement clause extension simply follows the verb, either without any overt linking device, or with the clause linker =ini (§ 3.5.2.5.2, p. 249) elicitised to the verb in lieu of a complementising element. The two options are illustrated in (265) and (266), with fatar ‘oblige’ and leu ‘call’, respectively.

(265)  *Ani isit malaria uai=ni=oo anifatar=ini [la’a=ni ata haka].*  
Even when I had malaria, they forced me to go and find firewood.

(103-08)

(266)  *Radio e’=ini hai ude-leu [Agapitu Barretu hai umu] ain.*  
The radio called up saying that Agapito Barreto had died.

(101-354)

It has been shown above (see (261) and (262)) that both options also exist as alternatives with those verbs that have been found with the complementiser =ee (§ 3.2.3.10.1.1, p. 187).

Note that the verb fatar ‘force’ in (265) has both a preverbal non-subject argument (presumably an object) as well as a complement clause extension following the verb, while leu ‘call’ in (266) has a preverbal complement as well as a complement clause extension. In fact, most of the verbs in Table 3.31 are found in such constructions, where the complement clause extension follows a complete clause with two arguments. This seems to contradict the strictly divalent nature of most verbs in Makalero, which allows for only one argument other than the subject (see § 3.2.3.1.2, p. 143, and § 6, p. 383). Complement clause extensions are thus not syntactic arguments of these verbs: If they functioned as arguments, they would be expected to fill the verb’s argument position. As a consequence of this, the non-subject argument and the verbal complement in such sentences as (265) and (266) would have to be expressed in separate clauses with another verb. The fact that this
is not the case suggests a historical scenario in which such clausal complements originated as arguments to another verb (§ 3.6.2, p. 265); a likely reflex of such a construction is the quotative marker *ain* (§ 3.2.3.12.3, p. 205). (267) shows such a sentence and gives the analysis.

(267)  ... *papa ani-asu lolo ani-asu planu ume’ ere fani’=kini*

Indonesian 1s-for say 1s-for plan VDEM.DIST 1DEM be.like=IND

[ani ei hai hau likut]otu [ain]y...
1s 2s NSIT all chase QUOT
‘… the Indonesian told me that he had a plan for me like this: “I will chase you away”…’

(101-297)

With *der* ‘answer’, *neok* ‘lie’, *ofarana* ‘dream’, *leu* ‘call’, *aka* ‘scared’ and, probably, *fana* ‘teach’ coreference of any participant of the complement clause extension with the non-subject argument is not necessary. The subject of the complement clause extensions to *fatar* ‘force’, *pada* ‘order’ and *huma* ‘order’, on the other hand, is generally coreferent with the main verb’s non-subject argument. An example is (265) above with *fatar* ‘force’. This coreferent participant is not generally repeated in the complement clause extension, such that it usually takes the form of a VP rather than a complete clause including a subject argument. In the case of the remaining verbs, *mot* ‘dare’ and *juin* ‘dare’, the subject of the complement clause is generally coreferent with the subject of the main verb. Again, the coreferent participant is not repeated, resulting in the complement clause taking the form of a VP.

### 3.2.3.10.1.3 Verbs with paratactic linkage

The verbs given in Table 3.32 appear to take their complement either in nominal form, in the object position preceding the verb, or in clausal form following the verb. Unlike the verbs discussed in § 3.2.3.1.2.2 (p. 146), however, no instances where both a preverbal nominal argument and a postverbal complement clause extension are present have been found with these verbs. Also, complement clause extensions following these verbs are generally expressed without any overt linker, be that the complementiser (§ 3.6.2, p. 265) or a clause linker such as *=ini* (§ 3.5.2.5.2, p. 249).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>start</th>
<th>komesa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tell</td>
<td>konta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not want</td>
<td>tule</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.32: Verbs of saying with paratactic linkage

The pairs in (268) through (271) illustrate the variant constructions with either nominal preverbal arguments or postverbal complement clause extensions. These
variant expressions are parallel to the two constructions found with the verbs discussed in § 3.2.3.10.1.1 (p. 187) above, the only difference being the absence of the complementiser in the construction with the postverbal complement clause extension.

(268) ... ani [istoria were] konta.
1s story 2DEM tell
‘... I will tell this story.’ (118-01)

(269) ... asi-noko ani-asu konta=kini (...) Swiiss=ee=kini hai
1s:POSS-younger.sibling tell=IND 1s DEF=IND NSIT
aira rasa fitu resin ni ukun] year hundred seven remain REFL rule
‘... my sister tells me that Switzerland has been independent for more than 700 years.’ (105-009)

(270) Mata ka’u ere [ni uaro’ ere] tule.
child small 1DEM REFL wash 1DEM not.want
‘This child doesn’t want to wash.’ (elic1591)

(271) Asi-pada tule [istuda].
1s:POSS-friend not.want study
‘My friend does not want to study.’ (elic810)

In a few elicited sentences such as (272) and (273), preverbal arguments to the verb tule ‘not want’ have been found with what looks like the complementiser =e’.

(272) Kiloo [seur nua=e’] tule.
3s meat eat=CMPL not.want
‘He does not want to eat meat.’ (elic211)

(273) Nomohako ani [lopu teu=e’] tule...
CLS:NEG 1s house buy=CMPL not.want
‘It is not the case that I don’t want to buy a house...’ (elic535)

These constructions are parallel to those where a nominalised clause is constructed as an object to verbs of saying (§ 3.2.3.10.1.1, p. 187). As such, they shed light on the possible origin of the complementiser as a nominaliser or a marker of subordination; see § 3.6.2 (p. 265) for more discussion.

There appear to be no restrictions on coreference of any of the participants expressed in the complement clause extension with those of the main clause.
3.2.3.10.2 Modal verbs

Modal verbs are similar to verbs of saying in that they, too, are constructed with postverbal complement clause extensions. Again, the semantic label 'modal verb' used in this section captures the majority of verbs in this section, although it includes a number of verbs with other semantics. Within modal verbs, two major groups have to be distinguished based on their behaviour. The first, discussed in § 3.2.3.10.2.1 (p. 193), allows for two variant expressions, one with a postverbal complement clause extension, and another involving a complement-verb complex. The verbs listed in § 3.2.3.10.2.2 (p. 196), on the other hand, are only found with postverbal complement clause extensions.

3.2.3.10.2.1 Modal verbs with complement-verb complex constructions

The complement clause extensions to the verbs listed in Table 3.33 may stand postverbally, parallel to the constructions with verbs of saying discussed in § 3.2.3.10.1 (p. 187). An alternative construction involves a complement-verb complex (§ 5.2.2, p. 320).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>try</th>
<th>fera</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>be able</td>
<td>hul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not allowed</td>
<td>irau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be able</td>
<td>me’e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cannot</td>
<td>nopa’e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.33: Modal verbs with complement-verb complexes

(274) and (276) show constructions with postverbal complement clause extensions with the verbs hul ‘be able’ and fera ‘try’ (see also § 5.2.2.5.5, p. 344, and § 5.2.2.5.3, p. 343), respectively. The complement clause extensions following these verbs are bracketed. (275) and (277), on the other hand, show the alternative complement-verb complex constructions with the same verbs. In this case, it is the

\[14\] Whereas hul seems to have a strong component of physical ability and strength (see e.g. (x)), me’e is used for acquired abilities rather, such as illustrated in (xi).

(x) Ei mata e tina ni ra’u loloi=ee ani haka=ee uari hul.
2s-child 2s cooked.rice plate two–DEF 1s search–DEF still able
‘(For) your child and you, two plates of rice, I am still able to find.’ (74-067)

(xii) Ani me’e ira-lor.
1s able water-fly
‘I can swim.’ (elic191)

Nopa’e ‘cannot’ can be used as a negated counterpart to either of these verbs (see § 3.2.3.7, p. 169). Also, both can be independently negated with nomo.
modal verb which is bracketed and embedded in the clause that corresponds to the complement clause extension in a multi-clause construction.

(274)  
\begin{align*}
& \text{Ani } \text{ua} = \text{nata} \  \text{nomo } \text{hul} = \text{ini} \  \text{[ma’u } e-sivis\text{u]} \\
& 1s \  \text{CLS-CTF(COND NEG able=LNK1 come VDEM:RED-work} \\
& \text{‘Actually I cannot afford to come and work here’ } \quad (125-50)
\end{align*}

(275)  
\begin{align*}
& \text{... heil heil heil =ini tepa nomo } [\text{hu]-sel.} \\
& \text{pull pull pull=LNK1 constant NEG able:RED-pull:BD} \\
& \text{‘… (he) pulls and pulls, but he still cannot pull (it out).’ } \quad (102-100)
\end{align*}

(276)  
\begin{align*}
& \text{Kiloo taure-fani’ =ini } \text{fera } [\text{ani neok} ] \text{ ani tone’ ma’en.} \\
& 3s \  \text{which:RED-be.like=LNK1 try 1s lie 1s perhaps know} \\
& \text{‘In whichever way he tries to deceive me, I will certainly find out.’} \\
& \quad (elic1053)
\end{align*}

(277)  
\begin{align*}
& \text{Mei =ni taure-fani’ } \text{kini=oo kiloo osan } [\text{fera]-nese-la’a nomo} \\
& \text{take=LNK1 which:RED-be.like do-too 3s money try-aim.at:RED-move NEG} \\
& \text{rau.} \\
& \text{good} \\
& \text{‘In whichever way he tries to get money, it does not work.’ } \quad (elic1051)
\end{align*}

In (274), the complement clause extension to hul ‘be able’ is linked to the main clause with the help of the clause linker =ini (§ 3.5.2.5.2, p. 249). In the case of the bicausal construction with fera ‘try’ in (276), no clause linker is used. In fact, it is more common for the clausal complement to follow the modal verb without any making, and of the four verbs in Table 3.33, only hul ‘be able’ and irau ‘not allowed’ are sometimes used with the linker.

The use of the reduced form hve, rather than the free form hul ‘be able’ in (275) shows clearly that the construction in this sentence is a complement-verb complex construction. The other verbs in this group do not have reduced forms. In their case, only differences in constituent order show that two different construction types are used. In the case of a multi-clause construction with a postverbal complement clause extension, these modal verbs are followed by full clauses, while in a complement-verb complex construction, they stand in between a verb and its semantic undergoer, such as osan ‘money’ and nese-la’a ‘find’ in (277). By analogy to the construction in (275), that in (27) can be analysed to involve a complement-verb complex. The fact that the undergoer osan ‘money’ in (277) stands within the same clause as the complement-verb complex fera-nese-la’a ‘try to find’ as a direct object to fera suggests that the latter is a transitive verb (§ 3.2.3.1, p. 141). The same holds for the other modal verbs (see also § 3.2.3.7, p. 169).

Within this group of modal verbs, the case of irau ‘not allowed’ is somewhat uncertain. There are only very few examples that appear to indicate that irau ‘not allowed’ can be used as a complement argument dependent from another verb; one of them is (278), which involves the verb nilu ‘forget’. This verb is listed in § 3.2.3.1.2.2 (p. 146) as a verb which obligatorily has its complement position filled. Irau is the only element that could possibly be analysed to stand in this position in
Lexical categories

(278). This construction parallels that found in the cases of *hul* ‘be able’ and *fera* ‘try’ in (275) and (277) above and is thus a plausible explanation for (278).

(278)  
\[ ... ni-lo-lo-ini ere irau-nilu=na’a... \]
REFL-say-NML 2DEM not.allowed-forget=INT
‘... (we) are not allowed to forget our language...’

(98-34)

The construction of the object argument in the same clause as *irau-nilu* ‘not allowed to forget’ indicates that *irau*, too, is a transitive verb, conflicting to some degree with the evidence from sentences where *irau* is the main predicate (see § 3.2.3.7, p. 169).

A construction found in only one case, with *fera* ‘try’, shows the modal verb to be used twice: In the first instance, it is used as a main verb with a following complement clause extension, as bracketed in (279). It appears again as a verbal complement within that complement clause.

(279)  
\[ Ani fera [ei-sirvisu omar-is’ k-asu ere fera-enj]. \]
1s try 2s-work stilt.house-at 3:UND-for 1DEM try-see
‘I will try to look at your homework.’

(elic482)

*Hul* ‘be able’ is the only modal verb to be found with nominalised object arguments instead of postnominal complement clause extensions. An example of this can be seen in (280).

(280)  
\[ Ei-mata ei tinaini ra’u loloi=ee ani haka=ee uari hul. \]
2s-child 2s cooked.rice plate two=DEF 1s search=DEF still be.able
‘(For) your child and you, two plates of rice, I am still able to find.’

(74-067)

None of the other modal verbs in this group are used in such a construction. With this verb, any of the two predicates involved can thus be constructed as being dependent from the other. In the complement-verb complex construction, the modal

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111 *irau* is the most commonly used form of this verb and is found in all contexts. Apart from this, however, there are two variant forms, *urau* and *verau*. The use of *urau* appears phonologically conditioned; it is favoured after the high and mid front vowels /i/ and /e/, as shown in (xii), though it is sometimes also used in other contexts. *Uerau* occurs only twice in the corpus; one of these cases is given in (xii). The circumstances conditioning its use are unclear.

(xii)  
\[ ... kilo= se’ k-asu lolo=ee urau ani-asu osan manini urau \]
3s 3:UND-forsay-CMPL not.allowed 1s-for money give.to.1s not.allowed

\[ \text{ani-asu sa’ani-sa’ani ani haka-hau tule.} \]
1s-for RDL-what.SUBJ 1s all-all not.want
‘... (the healer) said to him: don’t give me money, don’t give me things, I don’t want all of that’

(101-239)

(xiii)  
\[ ... sefar k-asu lolo-nil=ua ki-sefar urau roko-roko=na’a ere. \]
3:UND-for say=LNK1=REL 3.POSS-dog not.allowed rustle=INT 1DEM

‘... (he) tells his dog not to make any noise.’

(38-113)
verb is dependent from the main verb. The relations are reversed in such clauses as (280). See § 8.3 (p. 481) for some discussion.
All of the modal verbs listed in Table 3.33 involve coreference of the subjects of the two clauses. The subject of the complement clause extension is not usually expressed in a multi-clausal construction.

3.2.3.10.2.2 Modal verbs with postverbal complement clause extensions
The modal verbs given in Table 3.34 are not found in verbal complexes, but only with postverbal complement clause extensions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>must</th>
<th>dadau</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>must</td>
<td>tenki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wrongly think</td>
<td>ma'akini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not yet</td>
<td>oko-na</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Table 3.34: Modal verbs with postverbal complement clause extensions |

With none of these verbs a clause linker is used between the modal verb and the complement clause extension. The linkage is always unmarked. (281) and (282) give examples.

(281)  \textit{Uai=ni=si ini tenki fuere mini}.  
CLS=LNK1=LNK2 1p must 2DEM follow  
‘So we must follow him.’  

(111-10)

(282)  \textit{... ei-dada=ni ei asar=isi ei dadau [mei la'a u'e'}.  
2s-grandparent=CTR 2s send=LNK2 2s must take move V2DEM  
‘… your grandfather sent you, so you have to take (them) there.’  

(120-156)

\textit{Tenki} ‘must’ is ultimately a Portuguese borrowing (\textit{tem que} ‘he / she / it has to’). It may have entered Makalero through Tetum \textit{tenke}, with the same meaning. \textit{Dadau} ‘must’ is a reduplication of \textit{dau}. The simplex occurs only once in the corpus; the relevant example is given in (283). It appears to have just the same meaning as the reduplicated form. The latter is most usually realised as \textit{dadau}, as in (282), although the forms \textit{dudau}, with full reduplication, and \textit{dodau}, with a contraction of the diphthong (§ 2.2.5, p. 67), are also found.

(283)  \textit{Atamana fi dau ni-Makalero lolo...}  
first 1p must REFL-M. say  
‘First we must speak our Makalero language...’  

(98-58)

With all of the modal verbs given in Table 3.34, the subject of the complement clause extension is generally coreferent with that of the main clause. As a
consequence, the subject argument of the complement clause extension is usually left unexpressed. *Tenki* 'must', however, is somewhat exceptional in this respect in that it can be used without a subject as an impersonal construction. In this case, the clausal complement has its own subject, as in (284).

(284) ... tenki iliomar=ee ki-adj=ee we’=konai=ni ini ta fiar...

‘... the traditions of liiomar must endure, so that we honour each other...’

(72-11)

3.2.3.11 Verbs of physical and emotional states

Most physical and emotional states are not expressed by a simple verb, but rather by a collocation involving a noun, generally expressing the seat or locus of emotion, and a verb which expresses the state proper. This is very common in languages of the area (see Klamer 2001). Syntactically, these collocations can be expressed in two distinct ways, namely as clauses on the one hand, with the noun as the subject and the verb as the predicate, or as complex phrasal predicates, with a free choice of subject.

The nouns used most frequently in such expressions are *isa* ‘condition, state’, *mutu* ‘inside’, *amu* ‘person’ and, perhaps, *famu* ‘face’. The physical and emotional states are discussed in the following paragraphs according to the noun involved.

3.2.3.11.1 Physical and emotion predicates with *isa* ‘state’

*Isa* ‘(physical) state’ is the most widely used noun in expressions of emotions and physical states. It occurs in the collocations given in Table 3.35.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>collocation with <em>isa</em></th>
<th>actual verb meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lazy</td>
<td>isa dikar</td>
<td><em>dikar</em> ‘short’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>happy</td>
<td>isa fanai</td>
<td><em>fani</em> ‘nice, sweet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>happy</td>
<td>isa felun</td>
<td><em>felun</em> ‘pretty, nice’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>happy</td>
<td>isa hare</td>
<td><em>hare</em> ‘clean’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>happy</td>
<td>isa ha’e</td>
<td><em>ha’e</em> ‘light’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>isa ra’u</td>
<td><em>ra’u</em> ‘good’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>young</td>
<td>isa su’ul</td>
<td><em>su’ul</em> ‘young’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>like</td>
<td>isa tutu</td>
<td><em>tutu</em> ‘like’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.35: Physical states and emotions with *isa* ‘state’
The exact literal meaning of \textit{isa}, translated here as ‘(physical) state’, is not quite easy to pinpoint. As shown in Table 3.35, most of the verbs that combine with it are not special emotion predicates, but regular state verbs that take on a metaphorical emotive meaning when used together with \textit{isa}. The exceptions to this are \textit{tutu} ‘like’ and \textit{su’ul} ‘young’, which appear to have no other meaning (and use) than the one given.

Two distinct constructions are found with these verbs. On the one hand, \textit{isa} ‘state’ can be constructed as the subject, with the state verb as its predicate. In this case, the experiencer is expressed as a possessor to the subject. Examples of this construction are given in (285) and (286).

\begin{verbatim}
(285) [\textit{Asi-isa}]_{\text{SUBJ}} \text{ hai} \ [\textit{hare}']_{\text{PRED-}}
    \text{1s:POSS-state} \text{ NSIT} \text{ clean}
    ‘I am (already) happy.’
\end{verbatim}
\hspace{2cm} (elic862)

\begin{verbatim}
(286) ... \text{[isi-ni]} \text{ isi-upa} \text{ ere=hi’a=ni} \text{ ki-isa}]_{\text{SUBJ}} \text{ ini} \ [\textit{tutu}]_{\text{PRED-}}
    \text{1pe:POSS-mother} \text{ 1pe:POSS-father} \text{ 1DEM=only=CTR} \text{ 3:POSS-state} \text{ 1pe} \text{ like}
    ‘... only our parents liked us.’
\end{verbatim}
\hspace{2cm} (83-05)

On the other hand, the collocation of \textit{isa} + verb can be used as a phrasal predicate, in which case the experiencer functions as the clause’s subject. (287) and (288) exemplify this construction.

\begin{verbatim}
(287) [\textit{Aji}]_{\text{SUBJ}} \text{ hai} \ [\textit{isa} \ \textit{hare}']_{\text{PRED-}}
    \text{1s} \text{ NSIT} \text{ state} \text{ clean}
    ‘I am (already) happy.’
\end{verbatim}
\hspace{2cm} (elic862)

\begin{verbatim}
(288) \text{Uai=nii=ni=p} \text{ [ani]}_{\text{SUBJ}} \text{ tepa} \ [\textit{isa ha’e}]_{\text{PRED}} \text{ tepa} \text{ la’a sirvisu...}
    \text{CLS=NX1=NX1=ADV} \text{ 1s} \text{ constant} \text{ state} \text{ light} \text{ constant} \text{ move} \text{ work}
    ‘But I was always diligent and always went to work...’
\end{verbatim}
\hspace{2cm} (125-34)

The two construction types differ in the placement of the VP modifiers, which stand between \textit{isa} and the verb in the clausal construction, as shown for the aspect marker \textit{hai} in (285), but precede both \textit{isa} and the verb in the phrasal predicate construction, as in (287). Where \textit{isa} is the clause subject, it is always constructed as possessed, as seen in both (285) and (286), but takes no modifier whatsoever in the phrasal predicate construction illustrated in (287) and (288). Such variant constructions are also recorded in Klafter (2001) for other languages of the area. \textit{Isa rau} ‘happy’, \textit{isa hare} ‘‘happy’, \textit{isa felun} ‘happy’ and \textit{isa dikar} ‘lazy’ have been found to be used in both construction types. \textit{Isa ha’e} ‘diligent, enthusiastic’ and \textit{isa su’ul} ‘young’ occur only in the form of phrasal predicates in the corpus. \textit{Isa tutu} ‘like’ and \textit{isa fon} ‘happy’, however, are only found in the clausal construction, where \textit{isa} functions as the subject.
3.2.3.11.2 Emotion predicates with mutu ‘inside’

Table 3.36 gives the expressions of emotion found with mutu ‘inside’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>collocation with mutu</th>
<th>actual verb meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>goodhearted</td>
<td>mutu hare’</td>
<td>hare’ ‘clean’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>angry</td>
<td>mutu heke</td>
<td>heke ‘hard, difficult’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>angry, sad</td>
<td>mutu isit</td>
<td>isit ‘ill’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>badhearted</td>
<td>mutu ra’i</td>
<td>ra’i ‘dirty’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>want</td>
<td>mutu so’ot</td>
<td>so’ot ‘want’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.36: Emotion predicates with mutu ‘inside’

The expressions listed in Table 3.36 again make use of stative verbs in figurative uses, as is the case with those in Table 3.35 above. Only the first two expressions, mutu heke ‘angry’ and mutu isit ‘angry, sad’ are well attested as standing expressions. All others occur rarely and, being fairly transparent, may be spontaneous coinages. The last of the collocations given in the table, mutu so’ot ‘want’, is found only in the de Almeida’s data, which were collected from the 1950s to the 1970s (see § 1.7, p. 27). The relevant example (in adapted orthography) is given in (289).

(289)  
Ei-mutu so’ot naa-imi?
2s-inside want eat-do:BD
‘Do you have an appetite?’
(lit. ‘do you want to eat?’) (almeida032)

In my own data, so’ot ‘want’ is always used on its own like a regular state verb. It is possible that this construction existed at the time de Almeida’s data were collected, but fell out of use in the meantime.

As illustrated in § 3.2.3.11.1 (p. 197) for the expressions with isa ‘state’, those with mutu ‘inside’ can be constructed either as clauses in which mutu ‘inside’ takes the role of subject, or as phrasal predicates. The two variants are illustrated in (290) and (291); note that the two examples are taken from the same text.

(290)  
... [ki-mutu]subha na’u [heke]pred-3.POSS-inside NSIT just difficult
‘... he was angry.’ (115-011)

(291)  
... [ki-pada dila u ure]=haka hai [mutu heke]pred-3.POSS-friend frog one 2DEM-CTR.PRES NSIT inside difficult
‘... his friend the one frog was angry.’ (115-008)

Only mutu heke ‘angry’ has been found in both constructions; all other emotion expressions with mutu ‘inside’ occur only as phrasal predicates in my corpus.
The emotions expressed by the verbs in Table 3.36 are understood to be directed at a person or thing, i.e. are associated with an undergoer. However, the stative verbs involved in these constructions are intransitive, and thus are not compatible with the expression of an object argument (§ 5.2.2.4, p. 337). As a consequence, the undergoer must be expressed in a clause of its own. In the case of *mutu heke* ‘angry’, it is generally the object of the verb *ena* ‘see’. An example of this construction is given in (292).

(292)  
... *ini* ta-horu rau-rau nomo *ta-ena* mutu heke.
  1pe REC-with RDL-good NEG REC-see inside difficult
‘... we were at peace with each other, and were not angry with each other.’ (101-341)

The other emotion predicates use *(k)-asu* ‘for’ for this purpose. (293) and (294) show examples.

(293)  
... *omulafu* ini-*asu* mutu *hare*=ini *we-dai*=ee rau.
  person 1pe-for inside clean=LNK1 V2DEM:BD.pass=DEF good
‘... (if) a person who is well disposed towards us passes there, it is okay.’ (113-29)

(294)  
*ira*u amuni k-*asu* mutu isit...
  not.allowed person 3:UND-for inside ill
‘Don’t be angry at people...’ (124-37)

### 3.2.3.11.3 Physical and emotion predicates with *amu* ‘person’ and *fanu* ‘face’

Two expressions each have been found with *amu* ‘person’ and *fanu* ‘face’. Tables 3.37 and 3.38 list them, respectively.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>collocation with <em>amu</em></th>
<th>actual verb meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ashamed</td>
<td>amu <em>aka’</em></td>
<td><em>aka’</em> ‘afraid, scared’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>healthy</td>
<td>amu <em>ka’ar</em></td>
<td><em>ka’ar</em> ‘cold, calm’ (?)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.37: Physical states and emotions with *amu* ‘person’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>collocation with <em>fanu</em></th>
<th>actual verb meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>angry</td>
<td><em>fanu ata’</em></td>
<td><em>ata’</em> ‘angry’ (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dizzy, drunk</td>
<td><em>fanu lain</em></td>
<td><em>lain</em> ‘dizzy’ (?)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.38: Physical states and emotions with *fanu* ‘face’
Note that the tables contain one expression of emotion or feeling, and one expression of physical state each. *Amu aka* ‘ashamed’ is again found in the two variant constructions, either as a clause with a subject and a predicate, or as a phrasal predicate, as illustrated in (285) and (286) and (287) and (288) above. *Amu ka’ar* ‘healthy’ and *famu ata* appear to be used as phrasal predicates, while *famu lain* ‘dizzy’ is always used as a clause, with the experiencer as the possessor of the subject *famu* ‘face’.

### 3.2.3.11.4 Other emotion expressions and N + V collocations

Although it is very common for languages of the area to express emotions and related predicates in collocations of body part and state verb, not all emotion predicates found in Makalero take the form of such noun + verb collocations. Table 3.39 lists a few verbs which are constructed regularly with the experiencer as the subject, as illustrated in (295) and (296).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sad, disappointed</th>
<th>hu’at</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>scared</td>
<td>masan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>upset</td>
<td>norororo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sad</td>
<td>susar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sad</td>
<td>terus</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 3.39: Simple verbs expressing emotion**

(295)  ... *irau were’ k-asu=ni hu’at…*

not.allowed 2DEM.V 3:UND-for=LNK1 sad

‘… don’t be sad about that…’  (124-33)

(296)  ... *kilo toutou=ee masan=ini hai mu’a-li’an.*

3s owl-DEF frightened=LNK1 NSIT ground-fall

‘… he is afraid of the owl and falls to the ground.’  (55a-028)

It is notable that several of the lexemes in Table 3.39 are non-native vocabulary: both *susar* ‘sad’ and *terus* ‘sad’ are Austronesian loans (cf. *susar* ‘difficult’ and *terus* ‘suffer’ in Tetum). However, no outside sources have been determined for the other items.

A variety of physical states are expressed with a body part subject; (297) through (299) give some examples with *ina-mana seta* ‘blind’ (lit. eye-hole blind?), *ina sopen* ‘sleepy’ (lit. eyes sleepy), and *masu aran* ‘thirsty’ (lit. throat dry), respectively. Of these, only *ina-mana seta* ‘blind’ appears to have the option of being expressed as a phrasal predicate, as in (297).

(297)  ... *ei=ni tufaraa ki=pa’uk ei=ni ina-mana seta.*

2s=CTR woman ATTR=bad 2s=CTR eye-hole blind

‘… it is you who are a bad woman, you who is blind!’  (74-102)
(298) ... isi-ina hai sopen.
   1pe:POSS-eye NSIT sleepy
   ‘... we are already sleepy.’
   (120-011)

(299) Asi-masu hai aran.
   1s:POSS-throat NSIT dry
   ‘I am thirsty.’
   (elici056a)

In the case of ina pipit ‘be alert’, a state of mind is expressed through metaphorical extension of a normal state verb (pipit ‘fast’) in combination with a body part term (ina ‘eye’). This is reminiscent of emotional and physical state expressions as discussed in § 3.2.3.11.1 (p. 197) and § 3.2.3.11.2 (p. 199).
There are also physical state predicates which consist of only a simple verb. An instance is lepuh ‘hungry’, with which the experiencer is constructed as the subject, as in (300). It thus contrasts with masu aran ‘thirsty’ as illustrated in (299) above.

(300) ... ani teni lepuh...
   1s again hungry
   ‘... I was hungry again...’
   (101-021)

Noun + verb collocations may also express concepts completely unrelated to physical and emotional states. The expressions in question exhibit the syntactic ambivalence, being constructed either as full clauses or as phrasal predicates. Concretely, these are the expressions ira misa ‘expensive’ (lit. price go.up) and ira dikar ‘cheap’ (lit. price short). Note also the metaphorical extension of the two verbs misa ‘go up’ and dikar ‘short’ if collocated with ira ‘price’. (301) shows the clausal construction, while (302) illustrates the use of the collocation as a complex predicate.

(301) [Uere ki-ira]SUBJ hau [misa]PRED.
   2DEM 3.POSS-price all go.up
   ‘That is very expensive!’
   (elici1120)

(302) [Uere]SUBJ se [ira misa]PRED.
   2DEM very price go.up
   ‘That is very expensive!’
   (elici1343)

3.2.3.12 Verbs with grammatical function

A variety of verbs in Makalero has grammatical rather than lexical meaning. First and foremost in terms of frequency and importance among these is mei (as a lexical verb, ‘take’), discussed in § 3.2.3.12.1 (p. 203), followed by uai (§ 3.2.3.12.2, p. 204), ain (§ 3.2.3.12.3, p. 205), hau (§ 3.2.3.12.4, p. 207), (k)-isi’ (§ 3.2.3.12.5, p. 207), ma’akini (§ 3.2.3.12.6, p. 209) and la’ane’ (§ 3.2.3.12.7, p. 210).
3.2.3.12.1 Mei ‘take’

If used as a lexical verb, mei translates as ‘take’, as illustrated in (303).

(303) ... lapizeira were nomohaka ani=ni mei...
   pen 2DEM CLS.NEG 1s=CTR take
   ‘... that pen, it wasn’t me who took it...’  (101-178)

Mei ‘take’ is also the most frequent grammatical verb in Makalero. It is used as a light verb in basically all cases where an undergoer participant cannot be expressed in the same clause as the verb to whose semantic participant frame it belongs. As discussed in § 3.2.3.1 (p. 141), Makalero verbs are syntactically divergent at most, but their semantic participant frame may contain more arguments. In such cases of a mismatch between semantic transitivity and syntactic valency, it is the function of mei ‘take’ to provide an empty argument position in which the main verb’s supernumerary argument can be placed. It has no or very little lexical content. Contexts in which this light mei is used involve, among others, complement-verb complexes expressing adverbial notions of location or manner, as in (304), or semantically ditransitive states of affairs, as in (305). See § 7.1 (p. 402) for a more detailed discussion.

(304) [Sa’a-kini=na’a=oo]ARG ani oko nomo [mei]v=ni [rei]ARG-[lolo].
   what.BD-DO=INT=too 1s NEG take=LKN1 outwards-say
   ‘What (you) will do I am not revealing yet.’  (120-050)

(305) [Uere]ARG hana’e hai [mei]V [ini]ARG [fana]=te’e ini=oo topa
   2DEM REM.PT NSIT take 1pe teach-after 1pe=too constant
   ma’en...
   know
   ‘(They) taught us that in the past, and we too keep remembering it...’
   (123-20)

Note that in such instances, mei can be used either with or without the clause linker =ni (§ 3.5.2.5.2, p. 249). There appears to be no difference in reading between the two constructions.

Another frequent kind of construction is one where mei adds not only an additional argument, but also a motion component to a stative verb (see § 7.1.2, p. 412). A typical example is given in (306).

(306) Ø putil=ee mei=ni ne-daru=te’e dila mei=ni isi’.
   but=DEF take=LKN1 V2DEM/RED-put.BD=after frog take=LKN1 at
   ‘(He) placed a bottle there and put a frog inside.’  (38-002)

The action of putting the frog into the bottle expressed in (306) involves three participants, i.e. an actor, a theme and a location. Dila mei ‘take a frog’ expresses

116 i.e. the verb which carries the main semantic load.
the fact that the actor (O in (306)) manipulates a theme. The following clause with
the verb isi ‘be at’ expresses the location. The argument to this verb, ‘the bottle’,
was mentioned earlier in the discourse and is not repeated. This second clause in the
construction may be understood as expressing the result of the previous clause. The
theme, which functioned as the object argument in the mei-clause, must be
understood as the subject argument of the isi ‘be at’ clause. This construction is
somewhat special in that it involves an unmarked change of subject; in general,
Makalero discourse is characterised through default subject (i.e., in most cases, topic) continuity. A change of subject normally requires some sort of marking
(§ 9.1, p. 49).
Mei ‘take’ retains more semantic content in (306) than in such sentences as (304)
and (305). In fact, the use of mei is vital to add the motion component in such a
construction. This is quite different from (304) and (305), where the only function of
the verb is to provide a syntactic argument position.
Mei ‘take’ is also used to introduce instruments, i.e. circumstantial participants,
which are not part of a verb’s participant frame. (307) and (308) show a near-
minimal pair of examples. Note that in (307), as a direct argument (complement) to
tina ‘cook’, sa’a- ‘what (BD)’ refers to the undergoer, while in (308), as an
argument to mei ‘take’, it is read as an instrument.

(307) Nana-uai  aire’ sa’a-tina=na’a?
elder.sibling-HON now what:BD-cook=INT
‘What will you cook?’

(308) Nana-uai  aire’ sa’a-mei  tina-ini?
elder.sibling-HON now what:BD-take  cook-do:BD
‘With what are you cooking?’

In this case, too, mei ‘take’ retains a substantial amount of lexical meaning.

3.2.3.12.2 The clausal pro-form uai
Uai appears to be a reduced form of uai’ (see § 3.2.3.9, p. 180), the near-speaker
deictic verb. This verb has a reduced form, with loss of the glottal stop, used as a
verbal complement in a complement-verb complex. While this is homophonous with
the grammatical verb uai, the latter’s use is quite different. As a grammatical verb,
uai mainly functions as a clausal pro-form that is used as a docking station for
clause linkers. These elements, discussed in § 3.5.3.1.1 (p. 250) and § 3.5.3.1.2
(p. 257), are clitics at clause level which attach to the right end of the first clause in a
sequence and signal the presence of a following clause and its semantic relation to
the first. Being a clitic, a clause linker cannot stand on its own at the beginning of an
utterance, but needs an element it can attach to. Whenever for some reason a clause
linker is not directly cliticised to a clause, uai is used as a docking station for this
clitic. There is generally a more or less distinct break in the flow of speech before a
uai + linker complex. Text samples are given in (309), where the linker =isi
(§ 3.5.3.1.1.1, p. 250) is linked to uai, and (310), where it stands with the linker =konai (§ 3.5.3.1.1.6, p. 254).

(309) ... ki-tufur-laŋ amuni ki-naŋ-raa uae’ uai=sì ini uere 3:POSS-sister-PL person 3:POSS-elder.sibling-PL V2DEM CLS~LNK2 1pe 2DEM

ko-horu...
3:UND-with
‘… his sisters and his elder siblings lived there, so we stayed with them…’ (67-39)

(310) ... fi-lolo-ini so’at=iní ni-asu mei=ná’a uai=konai iraku-laŋ ma’u. 1pi-say-NML want=LNK1 REFL-for take=INT CLS-CSQ 3s-PL come

‘… (they) want to take our language, that is why they come.’ (98-14)

Rarely, uai is also used on its own, without a clause linker. An example is given in (311).

(311) ... ka’u=te’e filem uae’=afta ani tane=ni uai fi little-after movie V2DEM~COND 1s waken=LNK1 CLS 1pi

ro’u-nonton=elo.
together-watch=EXHORT
‘… in a while when the movie is on, wake me up so we can watch it together.’ (120-019)

The fact that uai can be used on its own suggests it is not a purely grammatical marker, but has some semantic content of its own. I believe this to basically be anaphoric, referring back to the situation as established by the clause preceding it. In other words, the basic meaning of uai could be paraphrased as “the situation being as described”. In sum, thus, uai is comparable to other pro-forms such as pronouns, which refer to a previously named participant. However, while pronouns replace nominal constituent on the phrase level, uai is a pro-form on clause level.

### 3.2.3.12.3 The quotative aïn

Aïn has been listed in § 3.2.3.10.1.1 (p. 187) among verbs with clausal complements; it is translated in Table 3.30 as ‘say’ or ‘mean’. As a verb of saying, it belongs to the group which occurs with the complementiser, as the example in (312) shows. In (313), it is used side by side with lolo ‘say’; the two verbs, whose semantics are very similar, might be used as lexical parallels (§ 9.3.2, p. 510).
(312) Agustu Lopulpul ain=ee Agustu asi-nei Lopulpul=ee ma’a
A. L. mean=Cmpl A. 1s.Poss-name L.==DEF ground
ki-nei...
1s.Poss-name
‘Agusto Lopulpul means to say, Agusto is my name and Lopulpul is the
area’s name...’
(105-203)

(313) Asi-suku ki-nei lolo=ni Ailebere ain=ee lolo=ee
1s.Poss-Suco 3:Poss-name say=lnk1 A. mean=Cmpl say=Cmpl
se-sotemee pere...
separate:RED-alone big.SG
‘My suco’s name is Ailebere, which means that it grew big on its own...’
(35-05)

The most frequent use of ain, however, is not as a full verb introducing a clausal complement as illustrated in (312) and (313), but following a stretch of direct speech as a quotative marker. (314) and (315) give two examples.

(314) ... papa aniasu lolo ani-asu planu une’ ere fani=kini
Indonesian 1s-for say 1s-for plan vdem.dist IDEM like=IND

‘ani eI hai hau likut” ain...
1s 2s NSIT all chase QUOT
‘... the Indonesian told me that he had a plan for me like this: “I will chase
you away’...’
(101-27)

(315) Ani (...) kiloo hai k-asu lolo “hena ani tone’ nomo rau-rau
1s 3s NSIT 3:Und-for say cloth 1s perhaps neg RDL-good
hau kini=po ani-asu rau-rau ni-pakaian ni-ropa lafi lolituu=ee
all do=ADVR 1s-for RDL-good REF=clothes REF=clothes side three=DEF
were manini=p-ani k-uta=ni rau-rau isikola-isila’a=te’e”
2dem give.to.1s=purp-1s 3:Und-wear=lnk1 RDL-good school-at.RED-move=after
ain=isi hai mei ma’u.
QUOT=LNK2 NSIT take come
‘I said to her: “Maybe I won’t finish the cloth quickly, but give me the three
uniforms quickly so that I can wear them to go to school”, so she brought
them.’
(73-33)

There are a few cases where the direct speech preceding the quotative marker ain appears to be nominalised. In (316) and (317), this is indicated by the use of the demonstrative ere after the sentences preceding ain.\(^{117}\)

\(^{117}\) Another possible analysis is for =ere as a form of the complementiser (see § 3.6.2, p. 265).
(316) ...“mata tule=si hai raw=po ani ufe’=ini sefar mata
child not.want=LNK2 NSIT good=ADV 1s VDEM.LOW=LNK1 dog child
u$a fu=ni hai mei ma’u=ni ue’” ere ain.
one carry=LNK1 NSIT take come=LNK1 V2DEM 1DEM QUOT
‘...(he said:) the child refused, so okay, I was there below and took a young
dog with me, it is there.’
(69-032)
(317) Hai umu=ni ere’=ini ani=ni hai taru ere ain
NSIT die=LNK1 1DEM.V=LNK1 1s=CTR NSIT put 1DEM QUOT
ua’i=konai=ni mana were mei=ni k-u-tu-do’i=ni...
CLS=CSQ=LNK1 hole 2DEM take=LNK1 3-UND-cover-dig:BD=LNK1
‘...the one who died is this, and I bury him”, so they dug the hole barring
(our way)...’
(123-23, 123-24)

Such examples are equivalent to those with nominalised clauses in object position
presented for the verbs of saying in § 3.2.3.10.1.1 (p. 187) above, e.g. (257). Note,
however, that in most cases, there is no evidence of nominalisation of the quoted
speech with ain. In such clauses as (314) and (315) above, it looks like a
grammaticalised marker following a full clause.

3.2.3.12.4 The quantifier hau

Hau is a lexical verb meaning ‘all’ or ‘totally’. It is rarely used as the main predicate
of a single-clause sentence, but very frequently in multi-clause units in which it
functions as a quantifier. A typical example is given in (318).

(318) Kiloorra haka-hau k-on-titar.
3p all-all 3-UND-towards-run.PL
‘They all ran towards it.’
(elic1319)

As a quantifier, it is discussed in more detail in § 3.2.3.14 (p. 215).
Hau ‘all’ is also one of the verbs that can stand in the verb-phrase internal adverb
position (§ 3.2.3.3.1, p. 159). In this position, it is read either as a quantifier or as
expressing an aspectual notion, being read as a completer marker with activities
and as high degree with state verbs (§ 3.2.3.2, p. 150). Its uses are discussed at
length in § 5.3.3.2 (p. 369) and § 5.3.3.3.1 (p. 376).

3.2.3.12.5 (k)-isi ‘belong’

(k)-isi’ is an argument-marking verb (§ 3.2.3.4, p. 163) with a very general meaning,
which broadly establishes a relation between the subject and the object. This relation
can be one of possession (see also § 3.2.3.9, p. 180, on u’e’), of origin or of
‘aboutness’. In a way, thus, (k)-isi’ resembles a copula. The three main uses are illustrated in (319) through (321), respectively.

(319)  \[\text{Lapis ere}^=ni \text{ ani-isi’ ei-isi’}^=ini \text{ umere’ kiloo} \]

\begin{align*}
\text{pencil} & \quad 1\text{DEM}^=\text{CTR} \\
& \quad 1\text{s-belong} \\
& \quad 2\text{s-belong}^=\text{CTR} \\
& \quad \text{DEM.DIST.V 3s}
\end{align*}

\[k\text{-isi’}^=ini \text{ hau la’ a umere’}. \]

\begin{align*}
& \quad 3\text{:UND-belong}^=\text{CTR} \\
& \quad \text{move} \\
& \quad \text{DEM.DIST.V}
\end{align*}

‘This pencil is mine, yours is there and his is way over there.’

(eic1419)

(320)  \[\text{Asi-mali Kelekai k-isi’...} \]

\begin{align*}
1\text{s:POSS-cousin} & \quad K. \\
& \quad 3\text{:UND-belong}
\end{align*}

‘My cousin is from Quelequai...’

(101-446)

(321)  \[\text{Asi-istoria ere (…) sa nami k-isi’...} \]

\begin{align*}
1\text{s:POSS-story} & \quad 1\text{DEM} \\
& \quad \text{wife husband} \\
& \quad 3\text{:UND-belong}
\end{align*}

‘My story is about a wife and a husband...’

(74-001)

The third person object form (k)-isi’ is most usually pronounced as [kisi], with no indication of the verbal ending such as a velar fricative or stop, or vowel lengthening. This may indicate some degree of grammaticalisation. (k)-isi’ is likely related to the general locative verb isi’ ‘be at’. Note, however, that the meaning of (k)-isi’ is broader than that of a pure locative. Synchronically, the two verbs are clearly distinct in that the locative isi’ is not an object marking verb and as such does not occur with the third person object marking prefix k-. For instance, in (322) the negator nomo intervenes between the verb and its argument, the reciprocal pronoun ta. An argument-marking verb would have to appear with the default argument marker k- in this context (see § 5.2.2.6.3, p. 349). The fact that isi-does not appear with such a marker shows clearly that it is not an argument-marking verb. The juxtaposition with (k)-isi’ in (323) demonstrates the semantic contrast between these two related verbs.

(322)  \[\text{… fi ta hai nomo isi-la’ a...} \]

\begin{align*}
1\text{p} & \quad \text{REC} \\
& \quad \text{NSIT} \\
& \quad \text{NEG} \\
& \quad \text{at:RED-move}
\end{align*}

‘… we don’t visit each other anymore...’

(55-27)

(323)  \[\text{Ini desa Tirilolo k-isi’}^=po \text{ ini Iliomar kota-isi’}. \]

\begin{align*}
1\text{p} & \quad \text{village T.} \\
& \quad 3\text{:UND-belong=ADVVR} \\
& \quad 1\text{p} \quad \text{l.} \\
& \quad \text{city-at}
\end{align*}

‘We originate from Tirilolo village, but we live in Iliomar city.’

(chat018)
3.2.3.12.6 Ma’akini ‘wrongly think’

Ma’akini functions like a full verb translatable as ‘think / assume wrongly’. It takes a complement clause extension, though the linkage between them is unmarked (see §3.2.3.10.1.3, p. 191). (324) and (325) give examples, with the syntactic structure marked through brackets. Even though ma’akini is never found in combination with such VP modifiers as aspect marking or negation, it is the only possible predicative element in the first clause of (324). It often follows a full clause, without any linking, as in (325).

(324) ... [ki-ni  ki-upa ma’akini]_{CL} [kiloo=ni mei=ni  
  3:POSS-mother 3:POSS-father wrongly.think 3s=CTR  take=LNK1  
  lafu’=inj]_{SENT}...  
  lac-do:BD  
  ‘... her parents thought that it was him who had saved her (but it wasn’t)…”  
  (89-32)

(325) [Ani isi-ne’et]_{CL} [ma’akini]_{CL} [papa were=kin1 taft=ni ani hai  
  1s at:RED-think wrongly.think Indonesian 2DEM-IND true=LNK1 1s NSIT  
  hau likut]_{SENT}  
  all chase  
  ‘I thought the Indonesian really chased me away (but it was only a trick).’  
  (101-300)

The element kini is undoubtedly related to the subordinating clause linker =kini (§3.5.3.1.2.2, p. 258) which marks reported information as such. In fact, ma’akini is optionally combined with =kini, criticism to the complement clause’s subject argument, as seen in (319). Table 3.40 summarises these patterns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>clause 1</th>
<th>clause 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(verb of saying)</td>
<td>(complement clause extension)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>([SUBJ] ma’akini)</td>
<td>([SUBJ] VP)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>([SUBJ] ma’akini)</td>
<td>[SUBJ=kini] VP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.40: Distribution of ma’akini and =kini

Whereas =kini does not make an assertion about the truth content of the reported information, ma’akini marks it as wrong. The origin of the element ma’a is unclear. However, the fact that ma’akini is a free-standing element, and in fact a full predicate, suggests that ma’a is a verbal element making up its own clause.
3.2.3.12.7 La’ane’ ‘various’

La’ane’ is used to mark plural reference. It is most commonly used with [-HUM] nouns, but is also found with [+HUM] nouns in some cases. (326) and (327), where la’ane’ follows the rightmost element of an NP (§ 4, p. 273), show that it stands outside of the NP.

(326) \[Uai=n=si \ an\ i\ [uere]\, \ la’ane’\ nexe-ne’et\ldots\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{CLS=LNI} = \text{LNI} 1s \quad 2\text{DEM} \quad \text{various} \quad \text{aim.at:RED-think}
\end{array}
\]

‘So I thought about these (things)...’

(327) \[\ldots\ aire’ [larin \ falun=ee]\, \ la’ane’\ ta’a-la’a.\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{now} \quad \text{mountain} \quad \text{sacred=DEF} \quad \text{various} \quad \text{count-move}
\end{array}
\]

‘… now (I) went to each of the sacred mountains.’

La’ane’ is not found with any VP modifiers. Also, even though (326) and (327) show it to stand outside the NP, it is not obviously predicative. The classification of la’ane’ as verbal is strongly based on the parallel between this form and the derived deictic verbs discussed in § 3.2.3.9.1 (p. 183). On the one hand, la’ane’ and the derived deictic verbs look formally similar, sharing the e’ ending. On the other hand, even though the derived deictic verbs can be full predicates in utterances of their own, they are most often used to recapitulate an NP within an utterance. An example of such a use of uere’ is given in (328). Despite its verbal status, it looks like it belongs to the object argument. The analogy to such sentences as (326) and (327) with la’ane’ is obvious.

(328) \[\ldots\ papa\ uere\ hai\ nomo\ [asrama\ \ u\ bujang\ a]n\ uere’-isi’.\]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{Indonesian} \quad 2\text{DEM} \quad \text{NSIT} \quad \text{NEG} \quad \text{hostel} \quad \text{one} \quad \text{bachelor} \quad 2\text{DEM.V-at}
\end{array}
\]

‘… the Indonesian was not staying at that bachelor hostel anymore.’

Hull (2004: 77) claims that the plural suffix -laa (§ 3.3.3.2, p. 236) is a shortened version of la’ane’. However, the suffix stands within the NP on its head, while la’ane’ is outside of the phrase. Synchronically at least, the two are thus clearly distinct.

3.2.3.13 Movement verbs

There is no good formal evidence for movement verbs as a separate class of verbs. Though they form a semantic group, they behave in rather dissimilar ways. Nevertheless, a few remarks on them are necessary.

The basic movement verbs of Makalero are given in Table 3.41.
Table 3.41: Basic movement verbs

Following Talmy’s (2000: 496) terminology, all of these verbs express Motion and Path, but not the Co-events of Manner or Cause. These components are expressed in separate verbs. Other movement verbs, such as leto- ‘through’, do not occur in the corpus as full predicates on their own, but only as verbal complements dependent on other verbs expressing some movement; as such, they are not recognised as basic movement verbs. The same holds for semantically restricted movement verbs, such as sa’ul ‘descend’, which is used only in the context of birds coming down from trees, or po’o ‘climb up’, which is found only twice in the corpus, though the exact conditions in which it can be used are unclear.

All of these verbs are frequently used to provide directional information about another action, as in the example in (329). According to Lichtenberk (1991), this is also a very common use of movement verbs in many Oceanic languages. Such constructions are analysed in § 5.2.2.5.6 (p. 345) as complement-verb complexes.

(329) ... pipi.rusa=ee (...) hai toil=ee k-ou-ria’-isa.
     deer=DEF NSIT gorge=DEF 3:UND-towards-run-go.down
     ‘… the deer (…) runs down towards the gorge.’ (38-089)

Furthermore, together with a number of verbs expressing position and location such as (k)-ua’ ‘be on top’, nat ‘stand (SG)’ and mutu ‘be inside’, the basic movement verbs are found in a biclausal construction which expresses the positioning of an object by an agent. This construction is somewhat special in that it does not conform to the principle of default subject or topic continuity and is discussed in more detail in § 7.1.2 (p. 412).

Mara ‘go’ and ma’u ‘come’ are complementary in that the former implies movement away from the deictic centre, while the latter denotes a movement towards the deictic centre. They are often collocated as lexical parallels (§ 9.3.2, p. 510) in a phrase mara ma’u meaning ‘back and forth’, or ‘here and there’. An example is given in (330).

(330) ... dua.ribu.tuiuh ki-mutu’ ani na’u tepa mara ma’u.
     2007 3:POSS-inside 1s just constant go come
     ‘... in the year 2007, I kept commuting (between Dili and Lospalos).’

(126-204)
Mara ‘go’ is not generally used with an overtly expressed goal. In a typical use, mara refers to a goal that has been previously established, whether in the form of an actual toponym or otherwise, as the bit of text in (3231) shows.

(331) 
... iraku ani hai ti’a-kasar=ini misa ko-horu=na’a (...) 
3s 1s NSIT towards-call=LNK1 go.up 3:UND=with=INT

uai=ni=ni ani mara ko-horu=na’a... 
CLS=LNK1 LNK1 1s go 3:UND=with=INT

‘... he called me to come up and stay with him (...) so I went there to stay with him...’ 

(101-189, 101-190)

In a few cases, such as the one given in (332), where it follows a preceding clause with the linker =ini, mara ‘go’ appears to mark a continuing action, or ongoing multiple events.

(332) 
... ki-joven=ee rial=ini uatu.uere.uatu.uere ta 
3:POSS-young=DEF many.HUM=LNK1 daily REC

helur=ini mara. 
change=LNK1 go

‘... there were many youths, and there was a constant coming and going every day.’ 

(101-253) (lit. they kept exchanging each other)

According to Lichtenberk (1991: 491), such a path of grammaticalisation is widespread in Oceanic languages. Another frequent use of mara ‘go’ is to indicate an area of dispersion around a deictic centre. Again, the verb follows the clause that it modifies. An example is given in (333).

(333) 
... ate-hasa=ni ira-mitu-ue-lafu ‘mara. 
tree-leaf=CTR water-inside:RED-V2DEM:RED-live-go

‘... there were leaves living in the water around there.’ 

(55a-047)

Ma’u ‘come’, on the other hand, is quite frequently used with an overt goal location. This can either be expressed in a dependent VP, as in (334), or in a separate clause, as in (335). In this latter construction, the clause expressing the goal must be read as the result of the clause expressing the movement. This is parallel to the construction with mei discussed in § 7.1.2 (p. 412).

(334) 
Juliette hana’e hai Koimbra-i=ma’u=uai na’an? 
J.REM.PT NSIT K.-at:RED-come=or NEG.EX

‘Juliette has been to Coimbra once, hasn’t she?’ 

(chat036)
La’a, glossed here as ‘move’, is either used as the most general verb of movement, or more specifically to mean ‘walk (on foot)’. It is neutral as to the directedness of the motion, though it mostly seems to refer to movement away from the deictic centre. It is sometimes used in the same contexts as mara ‘go’. However, since it stands freely with indications of goal or path, it is less restricted in its use than mara ‘go’, which does not seem compatible with overt expression of a goal in the same clause. As such, la’a ‘move’ is much more frequent in the corpus than mara ‘go’. Typical examples of its use are given in (336) and (337).

\[(335)\]  
\begin{align*}
U \text{ mu’a } & \text{ sele-se}u=\text{ini ma’u}={\text{n}}i \quad \text{Uliomar-isi’}={\text{ini ni-asu tafaraa}} \\
\text{one ground RDL-other=CTR come=LNK1 1-at=LNK1} & \quad \text{REFL-for woman}
\end{align*}  
\begin{align*}
\text{mei}={\text{oo tenki ni-pura kini.}} & \\
\text{take=too much REFL-dowry give.to.3}
\end{align*}  
‘If somebody from somewhere else comes to stay in Lliomar and takes himself a wife too, he has to pay a dowry.’  \(\text{(72-27)}\)

In one construction, oma-la’a ‘go home’, la’a ‘move’ has been found to take the goal as a direct argument, rather than in the form of a dependent VP in a complement-verb complex (see also § 3.1.3.4, p. 120). Examples of this construction are rare and possibly connected to ritual speech – (338) comes from a text on traditional sung dialogues. In everyday speech, it is more common to use the equivalent complement-verb complex oma-is-la’i’a ‘go home’.

\[(336)\]  
\begin{align*}
\text{Ai’}={\text{ini fi Tirilolo-isi-la’a}={\text{ni’a=fata ai’}={\text{ini fi la’}a} \quad \text{la’a la’a}}
\end{align*}  
\begin{align*}
\text{VIDEM=LNK1 1pi T.-at:RED-move=INT-COND} & \quad \text{VIDEM=LNK1 1pi move move}
\end{align*}  
\begin{align*}
\text{la’a}={\text{ni SMP-isi-mu a-sa}={\text{ni...}}}
\end{align*}  
\begin{align*}
\text{move=LNK1 secondary, school-at:RED-ground-go.down=LNK1}
\end{align*}  
‘If we want to go from here to Tirilolo, starting here we walk walk walk and go down by the secondary school...’  \(\text{(20-01)}\)

\[(337)\]  
\begin{align*}
\text{Amuni hi’a} \quad \text{ere-isi’}={\text{ini une-la’a e-la’}a} & \quad \text{ere}
\end{align*}  
\begin{align*}
\text{person street 1DEM-at-LNK1 VDEM,DIST:RED-move V1DEM:RED-move 1DEM}
\end{align*}  
\begin{align*}
\text{holi-puna isi-leu.}
\end{align*}  
face.away.look at:RED-call
‘When somebody walked around on the street, he would call out to him without facing him.’  \(\text{(23-026)}\)

\[(338)\]  
\begin{align*}
... \text{noko nana}={\text{ni}} & \quad \text{(... nomo fuli-dai nomo}
\end{align*}  
\begin{align*}
\text{younger.sibling elder.sibling=CTR} & \quad \text{NEG together:RED-pass NEG}
\end{align*}  
\begin{align*}
\text{fuli-rei-la’a} & \quad \text{oma-la’a ta moru.}
\end{align*}  
\begin{align*}
\text{together:RED-outwards-move house:RED-move REC moru}
\end{align*}  
‘... siblings who don’t walk together, don’t go out together and don’t visit each other sing moru to each other.’  \(\text{(21-048)}\)
La’a ‘move’ is the most general of the movement verbs. In a complement-verb complex such as ika-la’a ‘go up’, it can replace the more specific verb misa ‘go up’. This latter, together with its counterpart isa ‘go down’, specifies the Path component as being on a vertical axis. Both of them take a nominal argument in the complement position (see § 5.2.2.1, p. 321), as illustrated in (339) and (340). While mu’a ‘ground’ in (340) is clearly a goal, utata ‘coconut (tree)’ in (339) could be understood as either a goal or a path. In analogy with isa ‘go down’ and la’a ‘move’, I will assume that the direct argument to misa ‘go up’ is a goal. Note that mu’a ‘ground’ is the default object of isa ‘go down’; this collocation is very frequent.

(339)  ... ho’o utata-misa...
some coconut-go.up
‘... someone climbed a coconut tree...’ (101-055)

(340) Ini meih mu’a-isa...
1pe two.HUM ground-go.down
‘The two of us got down (out of the car)...’ (113-07)

The last movement verb listed in Table 3.41, dai ‘pass’, does not make reference to either the starting or ending point of a movement, but only to the traversed path. It groups with ma’u ‘come’ in that this path is usually expressed in the form of a verbal complement. (341) and (342) may serve as illustrations.

(341) Ini muni ma’u=ni ma’u=ni hau ama-isi-dai.
1pe return come=LNK1 come=LNK1 all garden-at:RED-pass
‘We came back having walked through the garden.’ (67-12)

(342) ... kiloo ma’u=ni ni-ni ni-upa ki-rate-isi-dai...
3s come=LNK1 REFL-mother REFL 3POSS-grave-at:RED-pass
‘... he came passing by his parent’s grave...’ (67-17)

As such, dai ‘pass’ can be combined with all of the other movement verbs, which specify the goal and directedness of the motion. (343) and (344) exemplify such complement-verb complexes.

(343) ... ini ma’u=ni Senira Honira hai dai-ma’u.
... 1pe come=LNK1 S. NSIT pass-come
‘... we came passing through Senira Honira.’ (24-09)

(344) ... hi’a taure-isi-dai-misa...
way which:RED-at:RED-pass-go.up
‘... which way to get up (the tree)...’ (114-09)

Mara ‘go’, ma’u ‘come’ and la’a ‘move’ have in common that they are on their way towards grammaticalisation as markers of sequentiality. Either on their own or elicitised with the clause linker =ini (§ 3.5.2.5.2, p. 249), they are used to propel the action in narratives forward. Examples are given in (345), (346), and (347), respectively.
(345) ... ala'-muta’see  were=hi’a  nua-nua. Uai=ni=ni  mara=ni ah
       forest-inside−DEF 2DEM−only  RDL−eat  CLS−LNK1−LNK1  go−LNK1  mango
       were  na’u  so’o.
       2DEM just finished
       ‘... (when I was) in the forest, I only ate that. Then there were no more
       mangoes.’ (101-051, 101-052)

(346) ... lima mei uai=ni  ma’u=ni  tina=ni...
       five  take  CLS−LNK1  come−LNK1  cook−LNK1
       ‘... (we) took five (leaves), and then we cooked them...’
       (101-118, 101-119)

(347) ... ki-ari  ere  hau  mei  la’a=ni  nua.
       3.POSS-liver 1DEM all  take  move−LNK1  eat
       ‘... (he) took (out) its liver and then ate it.’ (23-010)

The difference between the three verbs in this construction is not quite clear and
requires further investigation. Notably, however, mara ‘go’ is by far the most
commonly used verb in this context. In fact, its use as a marker of sequentiality is far
more frequent than its use as a lexical verb.
All verbs of motion can, it appears, be used in a construction where the goal in the
form of a toponym makes up a clause all of its own; this construction is discussed in
§ 3.1.3.1.2 (p. 111).
In summary, mara ‘go’, ma’u ‘come’ and la’a ‘move’ group together in that they are
grammaticalising as sequence markers in narratives. La’a ‘move’, isa ‘go down’ and
misa ‘go up’ (can) take their goals as nominal arguments, generally in the
complement position. The remaining motion verbs express their goals or directions
in the form of verbal complements. Note, however, that la’a is found with a nominal
goal argument only in one phrase, oma-la’a ‘go home’, and is otherwise used with a
verbal complement.

3.2.3.14 Quantifiers
The majority of quantifiers in Makalero are verbal. The only exception is ho’o
‘some’, which has quantifying semantics, but is analysed as a determiner (§ 3.3.2,
p. 232). Like motion verbs, quantifiers in Makalero do not behave as uniform group;
some of them are found both as full verbs and as modifiers in the VP and can be
classified as floating quantifiers, while others occur only as full verbs. The following
verbal quantifiers have been identified in the corpus.
Table 3.42: Quantifying verbs

Table 3.42 shows that for most items, a variety of lexemes are available to express the same meaning.

Among the quantifiers which denote the whole of a group, the most important one is *hau*. It is a floating quantifier that can stand both within the VP, if modifying the verb or the VP-internal argument, or as a predication of its own if modifying the subject. § 5.3.3.3.1 (p. 376) discusses these constructions in more detail. Note also that *hau* appears to be developing into a marker of completive aspect, as shown in § 5.3.3.2 (p. 369).

*Haka* ‘all’ is most often found together with *hau* in a complement verb complex of the form *haka-hau*. There are a few cases, however, where *haka* occurs on its own as a quantifier. Other items which stand in the same position as *haka* are *kafu*, *felu* and *kopa*. Like *haka*, *felu* and *kafu*-10 occur as quantifiers on their own, without *hau*. The same is not the case, however, for *kopa*, which is only found in the phrase *kopa-hau*. Consequently, it is not listed in Table 3.42 as an independent quantifier. The constructions in question are discussed in more detail § 5.3.3.3.1 (p. 376).

*Ata‘u* appears to mean something like ‘all together, all at once’. It is much less frequent than *hau*, but can also be used within or without the VP as a floating quantifier. It is discussed in more detail in § 5.3.3.2 (p. 380).

*Fanu* ‘all’, finally, is very rare, being found in only one instance in the corpus. This sentence does not make its category clear; however, the /i/-ending strongly suggests it is verbal in category (§ 3.2.2.1.1, p. 128).

Among the quantifiers denoting the majority of a group, *rial* and *roual* ‘many’ are counterparts, the first of which is used with human referents, while the second is reserved for non-human referents. Both are used as full predicates only.

The quantifiers *paum* and *ropu* ‘many’ are associated with non-human subjects and are rarely used in affirmative clauses. However, *ropu* appears in the interrogatives *tauropu* and *teteropa* (both ‘how many’), where it is the only way to ask for a quantity and is used with all kinds of subjects (§ 3.2.3.6, p. 167).

There are no dedicated verbal quantifiers for the concept of ‘some’. *Teteropa* and *tauropu*, which are found in this function, are actually interrogatives (§ 3.2.3.6, p. 167). *Teteropa* is, as a quantifier, sometimes combined with the numeral *u* ‘one’.

---

10 Katana is the reduced form of the quantifier *kafu* ‘all’, which, used on its own as a full verb, is restricted to subjects referring to periods of time.
Lexical categories

*Ka’u* ‘few, small’, finally, can be both a quantifier as well as an indicator of size. In both senses, it can be used either as a nominal modifier, as in (348), or as a separate predicate, as in (349) and is thus ambiguous. Note that in (349), where *ka’u* forms a clause on its own, it is understood as modifying the verb. It is not found as a VP-internal adverbial.

(348) \[ \text{Ani } [\text{ate-} \text{isu } \text{ka’u } \text{ereg}]\text{-sr mei ma’u.} \]
\[ \text{ls tree-seed small IDEM take come} \]
‘I bring these few fruits.’ / ‘I bring this little fruit.’ \hspace{1cm} (pelic010)

(349) \[ \text{... ani } \text{oko } \text{ue’} \text{-ini nonton } [\text{ka’u-} \text{ka’u}]\text{PRED}=-\text{si } [\text{nonton}]\text{PRED}... \]
\[ \text{ls still V2DEM=LNK1 watch RDL-little=LNK2 watch} \]
‘... I was still there watching, watching a little...’ \hspace{1cm} (120-069)

3.3 Grammatical morphemes within the NP

Closed categories within the noun phrase include pronouns, discussed in § 3.3.1 (p. 217), determiners, treated in § 3.3.2 (p. 232), a variety of affixes (§ 3.3.3, p. 235, and § 3.3.4, p. 239) as well as some clitics (§ 3.3.5, p. 239).

3.3.1 Pronouns

Pronouns function as “shifting referring expressions within the context of ongoing speech” (Foley 1986: 66). In other words, they “exhibit a one-to-many relationship” (Foley 1986: 65) with respect to their referents. They contrast in this respect with the situation as found in nouns, which bear a “one-to-one constant relationship” (ibid.) to their referents. Pronouns have in common with nouns that they are referring expressions. Also, they commonly head NPs, though they can also modify nouns and verbs. It appears that pronominal NP heads are not compatible with all of the dependents to a nominal head associated with the noun phrase (see § 3.3.1.1, p. 218).

Pronouns found in Makalero include personal pronouns, as discussed in § 3.3.1.1 (p. 218), as well as reflexive and reciprocal pronouns (§ 3.3.1.2, p. 227, and § 3.3.1.3, p. 228), interrogative pronouns (§ 3.3.1.4, p. 228) and an indefinite pronoun (§ 3.3.1.5, p. 231).
3.3.1.1 Personal pronouns

Table 3.43 shows the personal pronoun system of Makalero.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st person exclusive</td>
<td><em>ani</em></td>
<td><em>ini</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st person inclusive</td>
<td><em>fi</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td><em>ei</em></td>
<td><em>ii</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person</td>
<td><em>kiloo, iraku</em></td>
<td><em>kiloora, irakulaa, uera(laa)</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.43: Personal pronouns

The pronouns in Table 3.43 are free forms used as NP heads. There are special possessive forms for use as possessive modifiers in the NP (§ 3.3.1.1.3, p. 225). Unlike Fataluku and Bunak (see e.g. Hull 2004: 80f), Makalero does not make a distinction between subject and object pronouns. The third person pronouns are, in this and other respects, somewhat exceptional (see § 3.3.1.1.2, p. 221). Makalero pronouns are invariable and are used in both subject and object function, as shown in (350) and (351), where the correct interpretation of grammatical relations relies solely on the word order.

(350) Ani ei pase.
1s 2s beat
‘I beat you.’ (elic013)

(351) Ei ani pase.
2s 1s beat
‘You beat me.’ (elic014)

The first person singular pronoun *ani* and its plural counterpart *ini* (the first person plural exclusive), as well as the second person singular pronoun *ei* and its plural counterpart *ii* seem morphologically related, with the plural forms associated with vowel-fronting and vowel-raising. Such a relation between singular and plural (or non-singular) forms is, in fact, a characteristic feature of the pronominal systems of the Trans-New Guinea family, according to Wurm (1982: 78).120

In the first person plural, Makalero distinguishes between inclusive and exclusive forms. Since Trans-New Guinea languages commonly lack such a distinction (Wurm 1982: 60), its presence has been speculated to be due to Austronesian influence (Klamer et al. 2008: 95). The first person plural exclusive is related through vowel raising to the first person pronoun throughout the Timor-Alor-Pantar group, e.g. in Fataluku (Campagnolo 1975: 136), Bunak (Schapper 2009: 91), Teiwa (Klamer 2010: 77) and Abui (Kratochvil 2007: 77). Also, all of these languages evidence a form related to *fi* (*afiru* in Fataluku and *pi* in both Teiwa and Abui121) for

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120 It also holds for the other Papuan languages of Timor (e.g. Hull 2004: 80f).
121 Bunak *i* may also be related to this form.
the first person plural inclusive, suggesting that this form is of considerable antiquity. *Fi* in Makalero is not only used for first person inclusive reference, but also as a generic pronoun, as shown in (352).

(352)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Fi irau} & \quad \text{loko.} \\
1pi & \quad \text{not allowed} \quad \text{lie} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘One should not lie.’ (elic1407a)

The third person pronouns *kiloo* and *iraku* in the singular and *kiloora* and *irakulaa* in the plural follow a very different number-marking strategy than the first and second person pronouns: the plural forms are transparently derived from the singular through the suffixes *-raa* and *-lau*, respectively, both of which are common nominal plural markers (§ 3.3.3.2, p. 236). The *-lau*-suffix can also be added to the third person plural form *ura*. The third person pronouns differ from the other pronouns in several other respects; they are discussed in more depth in § 3.3.1.1.2 (p. 227). Pronouns have in common with nouns that they are both referring expressions and commonly head NPs. The sentences below show two structurally identical NPs, both consisting of a head followed by a determiner, which differ only in that the NP in (353) is headed by a pronoun and that in (354) by a noun.

(353)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\ldots & \quad [\text{ani ere}] \quad \text{ei-mata…} \\
1s & \quad \text{1DEM 2s-child} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘…I am your child…’ (23-039)

(354)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\ldots & \quad [\text{dila ere}] \quad \text{langsung dos-mitu-se’el.} \\
\text{Frog} & \quad \text{1DEM direct} \quad \text{box-inside:RED-jump:BD} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘…the frog jumped directly into the box.’ (115-004)

The above sentences show that personal pronouns such as *ani* (1s) in (353) are compatible with the demonstrative *ere*. No other demonstrative has been found with personal pronouns,\(^{122}\) suggesting that *ere* is in such cases not used as a pointing device, but has another, pragmatically-based function. Huber (2008a; 85) speculates the use of the cognate demonstrative with personal pronouns in Makasae is connected to the pronouns in question functioning as undergoers. The combination of pronouns with *ere* in Makalero also shows a high correlation with non-agentivity, (353) being a representative example. However, there are also cases where a personal pronoun modified by a demonstrative looks rather more agentive, as in (355).

(355)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ani ere} & \quad \text{la’a polis\ldots} \\
1s & \quad \text{1DEM move} \quad \text{policeman} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘I became a policeman…’ (82-023)

\(^{122}\) The exception is the third person plural pronoun *ura*, which has been found both with *ere* and with *ure*. Its cooccurrence with the addressee-related demonstrative *ure* can be explained as reflecting its origin from the same deictic base; see § 3.3.2.1 (p. 232).
Personal pronouns can be modified with relative sentences (see § 4.3.5, p. 295). However, they are not found with any other adjuncts in the NP (i.e. possessors and modifiers other than relative sentences). Within VPs, personal pronouns are more likely to be constructed as complements than other types of NPs, though they may also be constructed as objects (§ 5.2, p. 319).

3.3.1.1 Forms of address

The second person pronouns, both singular and plural, are actually very rarely used. Both ei and i are appropriate only if talking to younger people and subordinates, but also among people of equal status if they are familiar with each other. The second person pronouns can neither be used to address people of higher status nor people of equal status if the speaker does not have a close relationship to them. Kinship terms such as nana ‘elder sibling’ or dada ‘grandparent’, generally with the honorific suffix -uai (see § 3.1.3.2.1, p. 116), are employed in such circumstances, as in the example in (356).

(356) Ani sa’a u mei=ni dada-uai k-asu-lolo=na’a=po

1s thing one take=LNK1 grandparent-HON 3:UND-for-say=INT=ADV R

dada-uai so’ot=ini mini=ni=uai na’an?

grandparent-HON want=LNK1 follow=LNK1 or NEG EX

‘I will tell you something, grandfather, but do you want to do it or not?’

(120-142)

There are some indications that this politeness strategy might be losing hold with the younger generation. An example is (357), produced by a 23-year old man, who is in this text fragment relating how he addressed his mother at a particular occasion; though he uses ina-uai ‘mother’ with the honorific suffix as a term of address, he continues with the second person singular pronoun ei.

(357) Ina-uai ani tone’ ei hau-suri la’a ni-astu sirisu u hakas=na’a.

mother-HON 1s probably 2s all-release move REFL-for work one search=INT

‘Mother, I will leave you and look for a job for myself.’

(125-29)

The use of kinship terms generally implies some degree of intimacy with the addressee. A more formal politeness strategy, resorted to when this is not the case, is the use of the first person plural inclusive pronoun fi as polite form of address. The same use is found in other languages in the vicinity, e.g. Makasae (Huber 2008a: 17) and Bunak (Schapper 2009: 224), but also in unrelated languages of the area, as in Tetum (Hull and Eccles 2001: 25).123 Hull (2004: 81) reports the use of polite forms

123 Foley (1986: 72f) marks as “an intriguing feature of many Papuan languages (…) the often transparent morphological association between first and second persons, most commonly between the first person nonsingular and second singular”, and cites the example of Suki, a language spoken in the Fly River area, in which the pronouns for the second person singular and that for first plural are formally identical. He goes on to note that a system like this appears to be found only in languages which have no
of address calqued on Tetum *Ita-Boot* (great us) in Bunak and Makasae; however, Huber (2008a) does not make mention of such a form in Makasae, and neither does it occur in Schapper’s (2009: 225) corpus for Bunak or the Makalero corpus that the present thesis is based on.

### 3.3.1.1.2 The third person pronouns

Third person pronouns are rather different from first and second person pronouns, as Foley (1986: 66) points out: unlike the first and second person pronouns, they do not refer to speech act participants, but to participants in the context. As such, they are ‘true’ pronouns, standing for nouns established in the context. Although they share the property of shifting reference with first and second person pronouns, third person pronouns are in fact much closer in function to nouns than first and second person pronouns are. Foley (ibid.) notes that they often participate in grammatical and semantic distinctions with the class of nouns, while the first and second person pronouns often do not.

The Makalero third person pronouns differ significantly from the first and second person pronouns in several respects, and it will be argued that they are likely nominal in nature. The very first thing noticeable from a casual observation of Table 3.43 is that there are variant forms to express third person reference, as opposed to the first and second persons: kiloo and iraku in the singular, and kilooraa, irakulaa, and urefa(laaj) in the plural. Hull (2004: 79) also mentions a third person singular form la’i next to kiloo; however, no such form is attested in my corpus.\(^1\)

Furthermore, kiloo and iraku are the only pronominal forms to form the plural transparently by means of the addition of the nominal plural markers -raa and -laa (§ 3.3.3.2, p. 236). The morpheme -laa is also optionally found in urefa(laaj). The choice of plural morpheme appears to be based on phonological grounds; as § 3.1.3.2.1 (p. 116) observes, -raa is incompatible with stems containing an /i/, in which case -laa must be used.

The most common third person pronoun kiloo exhibits a marked stress pattern, with the main stress on the last syllable. The unmarked case is for a morpheme to be stressed on the penultimate (§ 2.6.1, p. 87). Also, the fact that kiloo has an unpredictable long vowel (as represented in the orthography by the double vowel graph) in the last syllable is remarkable. Long vowel nuclei are regularly found in monosyllabic content words, and § 2.2.3.4 (p. 65) argues that unaccountable long vowels are a sign of compounding. A scenario involving some sort of compounding

---

\(^1\)In Fataluku, though, la’i is attested as a form of address for men of higher status (Valentim 2002).
is indeed very likely for kiloo. This is corroborated by the fact that argument-marking verbs, which take pronominal undergoes as complements, use the regular pronouns an and ei in the case of a first and a second person undergoer, respectively, but a k-prefix for third person undergoers. § 5.2.2.6.3.1 (p. 350) argues that this prefix is a reduced form of ki, which would have been the original form of the third person pronoun. This scenario is further supported by the fact that closely-related Makasae uses a form gi for the third person, both as a free pronoun and as a possessive pronoun (see e.g. Huber 2008a). The presence of a cognate for ki in Makasae, along with the absence for a cognate for kiloo, suggest that ki is the original third person pronoun in Makalero, and kiloo a later formation. The origin of the second syllable loo is unclear.125

The form iraku is very likely connected to the noun raku 'friend / relative'126, with the initial i possibly a second person plural possessive (actually ii-). The whole would thus clearly be nominal in origin, meaning ‘your (pl) friend’.

Uera, on the other hand, is obviously related to the addressee-related demonstrative uere. As laid out in § 3.3.3.2 (p. 236) and § 3.1.3.2.1 (p. 116), -rau is a pluraliser for kinship terms, and -ru- itself is likely an unproductive, but fairly frequent nominaliser. Thus it appears that uera is a fossilised plural form of the demonstrative uere. Though not listed in Table 3.43 as a personal pronoun, uere is in fact frequently used as an NP of its own as a stand-in for a noun phrase. The fact that the -lau plural suffix is sometimes added to uera shows that the form is no longer transparent and fully grammaticalised. Apart from ueralaa, a form ueralaa, with vowel elision, is also found. It is in fact actually more frequent than the long form ueralaa. Also, a regular formation consisting of the demonstrative uere and the plural marker -lau, ueralaa, is used. (358) and (359) show examples of uere and uera, with singular and plural reference, respectively. Note particularly that in (359), uera is, redundantly, used with the demonstrative uere, a further indication for the intransparency and grammaticalisation of the form.

125 It is notable, also, that the third person singular pronouns in the non-Austronesian languages of Timor are widely different (with the exception of Makalero-Makasae, as demonstrated above). Fataluku has clearly recognizable cognates to Makalero in the first and second persons: ama corresponds to Makalero ani (1s), a corresponds to ei (2s), afa corresponds to fi (1pi), ina to ini (1pe), and ia to ii (2p) (the forms given for Fataluku here are subject non-emphatic forms, taken from Hull 2004: 80). However, the third person pronouns in Fataluku are tova and tavor, for singular and plural, respectively, which are clearly unrelated to ki / gi in Makalero-Makasae. Bunak (Schapper 2009: 213), on the other hand, has dual and plural pronouns for the third person based on a form halu, but no singular third person pronoun. The non-uniformity of third person pronouns in the non-Austronesian languages of Timor suggest that there was no common third person pronoun in the ancestor language, and all of the forms cited are language-specific innovations. Note, however, that Ross (2005) does reconstruct a third person pronoun for Proto-Trans New Guinea.

126 This lexeme might relate to the political term firaku (possibly from Makasae fi raku ‘we friends / relatives’). The term stems from Portuguese colonial times and is used to refer to natives of the eastern districts of East Timor. It contrasts with kalau, which denotes the western fraction. The distinction is widely recognised in East Timor and “provides a potent source of factional or community rivalry around by all manner of grievances can be added and expressed.” (McWilliam 2006). The terms were also used in the unrest of 2006 and 2007.
(358) ... *ei=oo hai rau [were ko-horu] ani=oo ni-papa ko-horu.
2s=too NSIT good 2DEM 3:UND-with 1s=too REFL-Indonesian 3:UND-with
‘... it’s okay if you stay with him, and I stay with my Indonesian.’
(101-159)

(359) *Amu itu were ki-nei liurai Fereira, liurai Zuan, liurai
person three.HUM 2DEM 3:POSS-name king F. king J. king

Pedru, mara [uera uere] ukun=ana=po...
P. go 3p 2DEM rule=INT-ADVR
‘These three people’s names were king Fereira, king Joao and king Pedro;
and after they had ruled...’
(55-05)

The use of the third person pronouns is restricted to human referents. For instance,
in the frog stories, kiloo invariably refers to the boy only. (360) shows a fragment of
this story which involves change of subject or topic, from *ki-sefar=ee ‘his dog’ in
the first part to the boy in the second part. Only the pronoun kiloo is used to refer to
the boy. Since he is the only human protagonist in the story, its reference is clear.

(360) *Ki-sefar=ee hai la’a fu-ne-nat kiloo
3:POSS-dog=DEF NSIT move near:RED-V2DEM:RED-stand.SG 3s

ue-poko=mi...
V2DEM:RED-crouch-LNK1
‘His dog goes to stand there near (him), and he crouches there and then...’
(38-012)

The pronoun does sometimes occur in contexts where it refers to non-human
referents, but all of those cases are followed by an NP to clarify the reference of the
pronoun. An example, from the same text as (360), is shown in (361).

(361) ... kiloo na’a.muni sefar=ee na’a muni hai la’a=ni
3s in.turn dog=DEF in.turn NSIT move=LNK1

potil=ce-mutu’...
bottle=DEF-inside
‘It is not the frog that is in the bottle, but him, the dog is inside the bottle...’
(38-029)

It is not clear whether such cases are structures in their own right or should better be
seen as performance errors. Interestingly, *iraku is in one case used with reference to
a pot of porridge on the fire, i.e. an inanimate entity, with no further clarification.
The sentence is given in (362).
(362)  \[\text{Uai=ni  \ iraku=taa  \ k-\wa-\ue-daru=ni} \quad \text{ka'\u-ka'\u} \]

\[\text{CLS=L\kern-.1667emN\kern-.125emK1  \ 3s=PURP} \quad \text{3\kern-.1667emN\kern-.125emD-on.top:RED-V2DEM:RED-put:BD=L\kern-.1667emN\kern-.125emK1  \ \text{RDL-small}} \]

\[\text{mu\kern-.1667emit=ete=si  \ fi  \ mi=ni  \ rei-daru.} \]

\[\text{long=after=L\kern-.1667emN\kern-.125emK2  \ 1pi  \ take=L\kern-.1667emN\kern-.125emK1  \ outwards-put:BD} \]

‘So let it be there on (the fire), and after a little while we take it out.’

(50-10)

Demonstratives can also be used for third person referents, and are indeed the only way of replacing a [-HUM] noun. See § 3.3.2.1 (p. 232) for a short discussion on the demonstrative system.

As argued above, the original form of the most basic third person pronoun in Makalero is probably \textit{ki}, a cognate of which, \textit{gi}, is in use in Makasae. This form was most likely used both as a free pronoun and as a possessive marker. When the probably compounded form \textit{kiloow} was introduced as a free pronoun, \textit{ki} became a bound form, used adnominally to indicate possession (see § 3.3.1.13, p. 225),\(^{127}\) as the example in (363) shows. Apart from that, \textit{ki} also marks the possessive relation in cases where the possessor is expressed as a full NP (see § 4.2, p. 277). In (364), this possessor NP is bracketed.

(363)  \[\text{Po  \ ki-mata  \ ne'\=uai  \ na'\=an?} \]

\[\text{ADVr 3\kern-.1667emN\kern-.125emD-child  \ V2DEM-or  \ NEG.EX} \]

‘But she has children, doesn’t she?’

(chat027)

(lit. her children are there)

(364)  \[\text{[\textit{Asi-mata-r  amu  \ fat  \ ere}  \ ki-nei  \ ki-apalidu=ni  \ were‘.} \]

\[1s\text{-POSS-child-PL  person 4DEM 3\kern-.1667emN\kern-.125emD-poss-name 3\kern-.1667emN\kern-.125emD-poss-name-CTR 2DEM-V} \]

‘My four children’s names are these.’

(105-056)

The free third person pronoun \textit{kiloow} can stand in the same position as the nominal possessor in (356) if special emphasis is required. The resulting structure is shown in (365).\(^{128}\)

(365)  \[\text{Ani  \ kiloo  \ ki-nei  \ hai  \ isi-nilu.} \]

\[1s 3s 3\text{-POSS-name NSIT at:RED-forget} \]

‘I forgot his name.’

(elic1071)

\(^{127}\) In a reduced form, it is also in use as a marker for third person undergoers with a specific class of verbs (§ 3.2.3.4, p. 163).

\(^{128}\) Note that an equivalent structure exists with other pronouns as well. (xiv) shows a sentence in which \textit{ani} precedes the possessive \textit{asi}-, just like \textit{kiloow} precedes its possessive form \textit{ki}- in (365).

(xiv)  \[\text{Ani  asi-lifu  \ hamu  \ pa\kern-.1667emu\kern-.125emp\kern-.1667em\acr{uk}.} \]

\[1s 1s\text{-POSS-life very  RDL-bad} \]

‘My life is very bad.’

(66-32)

The fact that the first person possessive marker \textit{asi}- is used proves that this is something in the way of a topic construction (“as for me, my life…”), rather than an indication of nominal status of \textit{ani}. If \textit{ani} was in fact treated like a noun, the possessive marker \textit{ki-}, rather than \textit{asi}-, would be expected.
*Iraku* is only found as a possessor with *ki-* like a noun or NP, as shown in (366). Cases like (367), where the demonstrative *uere* replaces some unspecified inanimate entity, allow to infer that the same possessive construction with *ki-* is also used with *uera.*

(366) **Taan-la’a na’akini iraku ki-moral tepa felum...**
where:RED-move important? 3s 3:POSS-moral constant nice
‘Wherever she goes, the important thing is that her moral is always good...’
(107-20)

(367) **Uere ki-ira hau misa!**
2DEM 3:POSS-price all go.up
‘That is very expensive!’
(elic1120)

In summary, the items used in the function of third person pronouns exhibit more or less clear noun-like qualities distinguishing them from the pronouns denoting the speech act participants. As such, even though they are presented together with pronouns, following the traditional arrangement, they could possibly be classified as nouns.

### 3.3.1.1.3 Possessive pronouns

A possessor NP headed by a common noun is adjoined to the left of the head noun with the possessive marker *ki-*, as in (368), where it is bracketed.

(368) **[Asi-upa] ki-nei Pedru, katekista.**
1s:POSS-father 3:POSS-name P. catechist
‘My father’s name is Pedro, (he is a) catechist.’
(chat021)

Pronomial possessors are directly adjoined to the head noun, either in a special bound adnominal form or in a bound form that is identical to that of the free pronoun. The bound adnominal forms of the personal pronouns differ from those of the other pronouns (§ 3.3.1.2, p. 227, through § 3.3.1.5, p. 231) in that they are found modifying nominal heads only, but are not found with verbs.120

The possessive pronouns, together with the corresponding free pronouns, are given in Table 3.44.

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120 Again, the third person form *ki-* is an exception in this respect; § 5.2.2.6.3.1 (p. 350) suggests that it is the origin of the third person object prefix *k-*.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>free pronoun</th>
<th>possessive pronoun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st person singular</td>
<td>ani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person singular</td>
<td>ei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person singular</td>
<td>kiloo, iraku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st person plural exclusive</td>
<td>ini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st person plural inclusive</td>
<td>fi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person plural</td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person plural</td>
<td>kilooraa, irakulaa,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.44: Personal pronouns and possessive forms

Only the second person pronouns, as well as the first person plural inclusive, use a form identical to the free pronoun to express possession. The first person singular and the first person plural exclusive pronouns as well as the pronouns of the third persons have special forms. There is no number distinction in the possessive form of the third person (see also § 3.3.1.1.2, p. 221). Also, whereas there are various free third person pronouns, there is only one possessive form, clearly related to the pronoun kiloo.

The possessive pronouns never take a main stress and are bound to an NP head. As such, they are treated as non-free form. This status distinction is most clear in those cases where the free pronouns and the possessive forms are formally identical, such as in the second person. For illustration, (369) illustrates ei (2s) as a subject argument, whereas in (370), the same form functions as a possessor in the noun phrase ei-sefar ki=metan ere ‘your black dog’. In (369), ei is an argument of its own and has distinctive stress, whereas in (370), it is unstressed and clearly dependent on the noun following it. The difference is quite clear and does not leave room for misunderstanding of the function of ei in a particular sentence.

(369)  
\[ Ei \; hiitafu \; ere \; mei=ni \; sa’a-kini? \]  
2s machete 1DEM take=LNK1 what:BD-do  
‘What do you use this machete for?’  
(elic1755)

(370)  
\[ Ei-sefar \; ki=metan \; ere \; aire’ \; ani \; ka’el. \]  
2s-dog ATTR=black 1DEM now 1s bite  
‘Your black dog has just bitten me.’  
(elic1452)

Possessors are bound to the presence of an NP head. They cannot appear with headless noun phrases (see § 4.1, p. 273). For this reason, the possessive pronouns are linked to the head noun with a hyphen, like prefixes, rather than as clitics, which are understood as functioning on phrase-level.\(^{10}\)

\(^{10}\) Additionally, the use of the hyphen to join possessive pronouns to the head noun allows for the distinction between the third person possessive ki- and the attributive marker ki-, which is treated as a clitic (§ 3.3.5.2, p. 240, § 4.3.4, p. 284), and facilitates the reading of NPs where the two cooccur. An example is given in (xiv).
The possessive forms are used with both subject NPs and object or complement NPs, but in the latter case only where the possessor is not coreferent with the subject NP. In those cases where the possessor of an object NP is coreferent with the subject, the reflexive possessive ni- is used (see § 3.3.1.2, p. 227). For the predication of possession, the verbs (k)-isi ‘belong’ or ue’ (V2DEM) are used (see § 3.2.3.12.5, p. 207, and § 3.2.3.9, p. 180).

3.3.1.2 The reflexive ni

The reflexive ni shares with personal pronouns as discussed above the property of shifting reference. Unlike those, however, ni cannot be used as a subject, but is restricted to non-subject argument function, since it refers back to the participant denoted by the subject NP. In other words, its interpretation is dependent on the subject participant that precedes it. (371) gives an example.

(371)  Ani ueri-isi-la’a=ni ni uaro’.
   1s  river-at:RED-move=LNK1 REFL bathe
   ‘I went to the river to wash (myself).’ (elic0006)

Like the personal pronouns (§ 3.3.1.1, p. 218), ni is very commonly constructed as a verbal complement within the VP, but can also stand in the object position (§ 5.2, p. 319). The reflexive ni can also function as the possessor of a noun phrase. Like the possessive pronouns, it is in those cases unstressed and analysed as a dependent form, as indicated by the use of the hyphen in (372).

(372)  … ani hai muni ni-lupu-isi-ma’u.
   1s  NSIT return REFL-house-at-come
   ‘… I came back home.’ (101-187)

The possessive-marking ni- is used where the possessor is coreferent with the clause’s subject, as in (372); this means that it occurs only with non-subject NPs. It cannot be used as a possessor within a subject NP because of its meaning “coreferent with subject”, a restriction it shares with its free pronoun counterpart. This implies that the possessive forms of the personal pronouns described in § 3.3.1.1.3 (p. 225) above stand either with subject NPs or, with non-subjects, in those cases where the subject and the possessor of this second argument are not coreferent.

The reflexive pronoun can be used with reference to subjects which are outside of the clause. (373) and (374) show three consecutive clauses from a retelling of the frog story, labelled CLS1, CLS2 and CLS3. The subject of CLS3 is unexpressed, but is the same as that of CLS1. CLS2 has a different subject. The undergoer of CLS3 is

\[(xv)\]

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{as-i-lafu} & \text{ki=pere} & \text{ki=nani} & \text{ere} \\
\text{1s:POSS-sister} \ ATTR\text{-big} \ 3:POSS-husband \ 1DEM \\
\text{‘My big sister’s husband...’} & & & (101-465)
\end{array}
\]
marked with the possessive reflexive *ni*, which in this case refers to the subject expressed overtly in CLS1.

(373)  
\[ \text{Mara=ni [sor=ee (...) ni-tana hai feil]}_{\text{CLS1}} \]  
g=LNK1 dog=DEF REFL-hand NSIT lick  
‘Then the dog (...) licks his paw.’  
\[(102-107)\]

(374)  
\[ [\text{Ki-tana hai pil}]_{\text{CLS2}=isi}\ [\text{ni-tana hau isi-feil}]_{\text{CLS3}} \]  
3:POSS-hand NSIT wounded=LNK2 REFL-hand all at:REDlick  
‘His paw is hurt, so he tries to lick it.’  
\[(102-108)\]

### 3.3.1.3 The reciprocal *ta*

The reciprocal pronoun *ta* parallels the reflexive *ni* (§ 3.3.1.2, p. 227) in most ways. Since its interpretation is als dependent on the subject participant, it, too, cannot be used in subject function, but only in the role of a non-subject argument. An example is given in (375).

(375)  
\[ \text{Uerlaa ta ena nomo rau.} \]  
3p REC see NEG good  
‘They don’t like each other.’  
\[(\text{elic049})\]

Like the other pronouns, *ta* is commonly constructed as a complement within the VP, rather than as an object. *Ta* differs from all other pronouns in that it has not been found adnominally as a possessor.\(^{131}\)

### 3.3.1.4 Interrogative pronouns

Makalero has only two true interrogative pronouns, namely *mu’a*- ‘who (BD)’ and *sa’a*- ‘what (BD)’. All other interrogatives are verbal (§ 3.2.3.6, p. 167). The behaviour of the pronominal interrogatives is reminiscent of the reflexive pronoun as discussed in § 3.3.1.2 (p. 227) in that their simple forms as given here are used only in non-subject function. If they are to function as subjects, a special form must be used.

#### 3.3.1.4.1 Mu’a- ‘who’

*Mu’a*- ‘who’ has much the same properties as the reflexive *ni*. As a question word, obviously, it does not refer to a particular entity. The form *mu’a*- is only used attributively, both to verbs and nouns. In other words, it is used either as a

\(^{131}\) However, I did not specifically test it; it is hence unclear whether this is an accidental gap in the data, or in fact an exceptional property of *ta*. 
complement within a VP, as in (376), or as a possessor within an NP, as in (377). Again, the hyphen is used to indicate this dependency relation.

(376) Aftane’ ei mu’a-hora lolo-ini?
 PT 2s who BD-with say-do BD
 ‘Who were you talking to before?’

(377) Ere mua-mata?
 IDEM who BD-child
 ‘Whose child is this?’

There is a derived form, mu’ani, used mainly for the subject function. In this, mu’a-differs from the reflexive and the reciprocal pronouns, which cannot occur in subject function at all. The form mu’ani, illustrated in (378), is most likely segmentable into mu’a- and the clause-linker-turned-contrastive marker —ini (see § 3.5.2.5.1, p. 248, § 9.2.3.1, p. 501). The combination is lexicalised in present-day Malakoro, as clearly shown in (379), where mu’ani as a whole is marked with the contrastive marker —ini.

(378) ... mu’ani asin-mina kuda hau mei sa’a-kini...?
 who SUBJ 1s POSS kuda oil all take what BD do
 ‘... who took my kuda oil to do what...?’

(379) Mu’ani=ni ma’u? — Ani=hi’a=ni ma’u.
 who SUBJ=CTR come 1s only=CTR come
 ‘Who (is it that) came? – Only me.’

The combination of mu’a and —ini can be broken up through the use of the reduplicated plural -laa-la or -laa-la (§ 3.3.3.2, p. 236), as shown in (380).

(380) Mu’a-la-la=ni ma’u=oo rau.
 who RDL-PL=CTR come too good
 ‘Everyone who comes is welcome.’

The exact analysis of the forms mu’a and mu’ani is debatable, as there is conflicting evidence in one crucial construction. Either form has been found in the object position within a VP. In (381), mu’ani is used, while in (382), it is mu’a. The former construction suggests that mu’a is a dependent form that can occur only if used in a morphosyntactic unit with either a verbal or a nominal head; in the latter, however, mu’a is analysed as an oblique form, and mu’ani as a subject form.133 Most examples

132 A construction using the possessive marker ki-, as in (xvi), was accepted, but not spontaneously produced.

(xvi) Ere mua ki-mata?
 IDEM who BD 3: POSS child
 ‘Whose child is this?’

133 The latter analysis would also be supported by such examples as (xvi) in fn 132.
supporting the latter view come from only one speaker, who has been living abroad for a number of years. The evidence pointing to the analysis of *mu’a* as a bound form is supported by date coming from a variety of speakers and thus seems more conclusive. For this reason, *mu’a* is in the present work treated like a bound form.

(381)   *Ei mu’ani ko-hora?*
2s who 3:UND-with
‘Who are you with?’  (elic178)

(382)   *Kilo mu hai k-uta?*
3s who NSIT 3:UND-kill
‘Who did he kill?’  (pelic213)

In a very few instances, a form *umani*, used in both subject and object function, was given. All of its occurrences are from elicited sentences. Informants explained it as a regional variant, and in fact it is identical to the Fataluku interrogative pronoun ‘who’.134

3.3.1.4.2  Sa’*a*- ‘what’

The use of *sa’a*- ‘what’ yields a picture very similar to that of *mu’a*- ‘who’, though it is a bit more complicated through the fact that it is also in use as a noun meaning ‘thing’.135 Just like *mu’a*, *sa’a*- ‘what’ has been found as a verbal complement, as shown in (383) with (*k*)-asu ‘for’.

(383)   *... eia a’re iskola sa’a-asu iskola?*
2s now school what:BD-for school
‘... you go to school now, what do you go to school for?’  (54-15)

*Sa’a*- can also be used as an attribute to a noun, as in (384). This structure is very similar to the possessive function of *mu’a*- ‘who’ exemplified in (377) above. However, the reading of this structure with *sa’a*- is not generally possessive, but rather modifying in the sense of ‘what, what kind of’. This difference may be semantically based, since (inanimate) objects do not normally possess things. From a semantic point of view, *sa’a*- looks in this construction like a prototypical modifier. However, the fact that the construction is exactly parallel to that of *mu’a*- allows for an identical analysis of *sa’a*- as a pronoun.

(384)   *Iou sa’a-tufiraa ere’...*
INTERJ what:BD-woman 1DEM.V
‘Oh, what kind of woman is this…’  (74-109)

---

134 Pinto (2007) uses *uma* / *umani* in lieu of the *mu’a* / *mu’ani* used in my corpus.
135 *Sa’a*, alone or in the combination *sa’a-damu* ‘what is it called’, is also very commonly used as a marker of hesitation, as when a speaker is looking for words.
As with μu’a- ‘who’, a form augmented with the contrastive marker =ini, sa’ani, is used for the subject function, as shown in (385). Again, the fact that a contrastive marker can be added to sa’ani, as in (386), shows that it is largely lexicalised.

(385)  \[ Sa’ani \ _were’? \]
what.SUBJ 2DEM.V
\[ ‘\text{What is (that) there?’} \]  (eic664)

(386)  \[ Sa’ani=ni \ _ei-nini \ _ei \ _aka’? \]
what-CTR 2s-DO:BD 2s scared
\[ ‘\text{What frightened you?’} \]  (eic1374)

Again, there is conflicting evidence as to the use of sa’a- and sa’ani in object position (see § 3.3.1.4.1, p. 228). In analogy with the analysis for μu’a- ~ μu’ani, sa’a- is here treated as a bound form for use in a morphosyntactic complex with either a verbal or a nominal head, while sa’ani is the corresponding free form.

3.3.1.5 The indefinite pronoun riparipa

Only one indefinite pronoun has so far been identified in Makalero,\(^{130}\) namely the reduplicated form riparipa ‘any’. It is most often found adverbially, as in (387). There is no clear grammatical evidence that shows it is constructed as a complement; however, the analogy with the pronouns discussed in the previous paragraphs allows for this conclusion.

(387)  \[ ... fi \ _harus \ _ni-lolo-ini-isi-ne’et=ete \ _lolo \ _urau \ _riparipa-lolo... \]
1PI must.REFL-say:NML:at:RED-think=after say not.allowed any-say
\[ ‘... \text{we must think about what we want to say before we speak, and (we) must not speak randomly...}’ \]  (98-20)

A good indication of riparipa’s pronominal status comes from the fact that it can also function adnominally, as in (388), just like the reflexive and reciprocal pronouns as well as the interrogatives (see § 3.3.1.2, p. 227, through § 3.3.1.4, p. 228).

(388)  \[ ... asi-noko \ _riparipa-amula=ni \ _ko-horu \ _rau. \]
1s:POSS-younger.sibling any-person=CTR 3:UND-with good
\[ ‘... \text{my younger sister gets along well with anybody.’} \]  (105-006)

\(^{130}\) Apart from this, there are no special indefinite forms; regular NPs are used in that function. For instance, ‘someone’ is translated as *μu u* (person one) or *amulafo ho’o* (living, person some) and something as *sa’a a* (thing one) or *sa’a ho’o* (thing some). In negated clauses, these phrases fulfill the function of negative indefinites.
3.3.2 Determiners

The most commonly used determiners are the demonstratives, described in § 3.3.2.1 below. There is only one other determiner, ho’o ‘some’, which is discussed in § 3.3.2.2 (p. 233). Both demonstratives and ho’o can constitute NPs of their own (§ 4.1, p. 273). The same is not the case for the definite marker =ee, which is similar in function, but different in status from the determiners. As a consequence, it is discussed in § 3.5.1.1 (p. 243) with NP-level clitics.

3.3.2.1 Demonstratives

Makalero demonstratives encode five distinctions with respect to spatial deixis, as discussed in § 3.2.3.9 (p. 180) for the corresponding verbal forms. Both the nominal demonstratives and the related verbal forms are listed in Table 3.45.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>demonstrative</th>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>deictic verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ere</td>
<td>proximal to first person</td>
<td>e’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>same elevation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uere</td>
<td>proximal to second person</td>
<td>ue’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>same elevation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umere</td>
<td>distant from first and second person</td>
<td>ume’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>same elevation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>udere</td>
<td>higher elevation</td>
<td>ude’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ufere</td>
<td>lower elevation</td>
<td>ufe’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.45: Demonstratives

The demonstratives as given in the left column of Table 3.45 directly relate to the set of deictic verbs, shown in the right column. The verbal forms are derived from the common root with the glottal verbaliser (§ 3.2.2.1.1, p. 128) and the demonstratives through the use of the nominaliser –r (see § 3.1.2.1.1, p. 102). Demonstratives can be used both as determiners of an NP (see § 4, p. 273 for their position) as well as make up full NPs of their own. They are in these latter cases similar in function to third person pronouns (§ 3.3.1.1.2, p. 221). Ere and particularly uere, the near-speaker and near-addressee demonstratives, are frequently used in discourse to mark anaphoric reference. As an example, consider the text fragment given in (389) through (391), an excerpt from the frog story. Observe, particularly, the successive uses of the noun dil’a ‘frog’. It is first introduced, without any determiner, in (389). The second mention, in (390), still has no determiner, but
the third occurrence of dila ‘frog’ is determined with the demonstrative uere in (391). Similarly, sefar ‘dog’ is first introduced without a determiner, taken up in (390) with the definite marker =ee (§ 3.5.1.1, p. 243), and finally, in (391), with the demonstrative uere.137

(389) ... kiloo dila ufal sefar ufal.
     3s  frog  feed  dog  feed
‘... he owns (lit. feeds) a frog and a dog.’ (102-002)

(390) Dila mei=ni putil-mutu-suri=si sefar=ee so’ot=ini
     frog  take=LNK1 bottle-inside:RED-release:BD=LNK1 dog=DEF  want=LNK1
ko-horu=ni murimuri=na’a.
3:UND-with=LNK1 play=INT
‘(He) takes the frog and puts him into a bottle, and the dog wants to play
with it.’ (102-003)

(391) Murimuri=na’a=si kiloo ki=sa se hare’ u’e=ini sefar
     play=INT=LNK2  3s  3:POSS-condition very clean  V2DEM=LNK1 dog
dila uere toton.
2DEM frog 2DEM watch
‘(The dog) wants to play with it, and he (the child) is very happy there, he
watches the dog and the frog.’ (102-004)

Ere and uere are also used in non-embedded nominalisation constructions (§ 7.7.4, p. 450).

3.3.2.2 Ho’o ‘some’

Ho’o is equivalent to English ‘some’, both in the sense of ‘several’, as shown in (392) with a plural referent, and in the sense of ‘any’, as with the singular referent in (393). In rapid speech, it is frequently heard as [ho:] or [o:].138

(392) Asi-noko asi-nana ho’omi ude-rou...
     1s:POSS-younger.sibling 1s:POSS-elder.sibling some=CTR  VDEM.HIGH:RED-sleep.PL
‘Some of my relatives stay up there...’ (70-07)

137 The area of reference and definiteness is a complicated one and could not be resolved satisfactorily within the scope of the present project. See § 3.5.1.1 (p. 243) for more information. Further research is required for a more detailed account of this area of Makalero grammar.

138 As such, it sounds very much like the clitic –oo ‘too’ (§ 3.5.2.1, p. 245). However, the two items differ clearly in status, with –oo a clitic attached phrasal level, and ho’o a determiner in the determiner slot within the NP.
(393) ... k-asu ha’iuein ho’o mei kini...  
   3:UND-for place some take give.to.3  
   ‘... give him a place...’  
   (69-055)

*Ho’o* ‘some’ does not cooccur with other determiners such as the demonstratives discussed in § 3.3.2.1 (p. 232) above, which suggests that they stand in the same slot and are, hence, members of one category. A given NP can thus have one determiner at most.

*Ho’o* is particularly frequent with generic nouns such as *amun* ‘person’, *amulafu* ‘living person’ and *sa’a* ‘thing’; the combination amounts to an indefinite pronoun (see also fn 136). Examples are given in (394) and (395).

(394) ... Maria ki-ist-ne’et ma’akini amulafu ho’oni (... aihaa  
   M. 3:POSS-at:RED-think wrongly.think person some=CTR door  
   hai loke=ini...  
   NSIT open=LNK1  
   ‘... Maria thought that somebody had opened the door...’  
   (44-03)

(395) ... fi-asu sa’a ho’o tina=ni...  
   1pu-for thing some cook=LNK1  
   ‘... cook something for us, and then...’  
   (23-005)

As in the case of demonstratives, *ho’o* ‘some’, too, can constitute an NP of its own. This usage is quite equivalent to that of *ho’o* with a generic noun, i.e. is read as an indefinite pronoun. Notably, *ho’o* can, in these cases, stand for both human and non-human (inanimate) referents, as shown in (396) and (397), respectively.

(396) *Ho’o* nomo mi-ma’en uai=ni=si ani-asu si’ak ani pase.  
   some NEG along:RED-know CLS=LNK1=LNK2 1s-for angry 1s beat  
   ‘Some didn’t understand, so they were angry with me and beat me.’  
   (101-033)

(397) Ani he’ul=afta ho’o mei ni-nana-raa meih=ee kini...  
   1s full=COND some take REFL-elder.sibling:PL two.HUM=DEF give.to.3  
   ‘If I was full, I gave some to my two older siblings...’  
   (101-026)

In combination with the negator *nomo*, *ho’o* is generally read as equivalent to the negative polarity item ‘any’ (shown in (398)), or, in the case of a generic NP such as exemplified in (396) and (397), a negative indefinite, as in (399).

(398) Uai=ni=po Iliomar k-isti’ ho’o nomo hof=ua?  
   CLS=LNK1=ADV 1. 3:UND-belong some NEG know=QM  
   ‘But didn’t you know anybody from Iliomar?’  
   (chat023a)

(399) *Amulafu* ho’o nomo ma’u.  
   person some NEG come  
   ‘No one came.’  
   (elic1029a)
Note, however, that the difference in reading between (399), where the *amulafu ho’o* in subject position translates as ‘nobody’, and (396), where *ho’o* heads the subject NP and is not read as a negative indefinite. This again contrasts with (398), in which *ho’o* is the head of the non-subject NP (and thus within the verb phrase), and translates as the negative polarity item ‘anybody’. It seems, thus, that *ho’o*, if used within the subject argument to a negated clause, can have several readings. *Ho’o* frequently occurs twice within a clause, contrasting two sets of a larger group. (400), for instance, gives information on two contrasting subgroups among the civil war fugitives on Mount Matebian.

(400) ... *aviam u mu’a rekasi=ni ho’o umu ho’o lafa’.*
    plane one ground bomb=LNK1 some die some live
    ‘... a plane came and bombed (the place), and some died and some lived.’
    (17-04)

Often *ho’o* follows a topical NP in the left-detached position (§ 7.6.1, p. 427), which overtly expresses the set to a part of which *ho’o* makes reference, as in (401).

(401) *Uai=ni=si meestri-laar=ee ho’o Flores k-isi’ ho’o*
    CLS=LNK1=LNK2 teacher-PL=DEF some F. 3:UND-belong some

    *Oikasi k-isi’...*
    O. 3:UND-belong
    ‘So of the teachers, some were from Flores and some were from Oecussi...’
    (101-154)

### 3.3.3 Suffixes

There are only very few suffixes in Makalero. These are defined here as morphemes which are phonetically, syntactically and semantically dependent from another, lexical morpheme. As opposed to clitics, they attach on the morpheme level. § 3.3.3.1 (p. 235) and § 3.3.3.4 (p. 238) briefly discuss two derivational suffixes, namely the nominaliser *-ini* and the agent noun suffix *-door*, respectively. § 3.3.3.2 (p. 236) treats the plural suffixes *-laa* and *-raa* and variants thereof. § 3.3.3.3 (p. 238), finally, details the honorific *-uai*.

#### 3.3.3.1 The nominaliser *-ini*

As discussed in § 3.1.2.1.2 (p. 104), *-ini* derives nouns from verbs. Though it is rather infrequent, spontaneous coinages, such as those given in (402), can be found.
(402)  teuh-ini  ‘gift’
    buy-NML

  uatu-teru-ini  ‘parasol’
    sun-shelter-NML

The most frequent, and indeed lexicalised, derivations with -ini are those found in (403).

(403)  mua-ini  ‘food’
    eat-NML

  tina-ini  ‘cooked rice’
    cook-NML

The -ini derivation generally denotes the product of an action, as is the case with teuh-ini ‘gift’ and tina-ini ‘cooked rice’, an instrument, as with uatu-teru-ini ‘parasol’, or, as in mua-ini ‘food’, the undergoer of the action. In other words, it refers to an object that is in a general way involved in the action as expressed by the verb. Note that the same readings are also commonly associated with underived verbal morphemes in argument use (§ 3.2.1, p. 125). This may explain the rare occurrence of the suffix.

-ini is homophonous with the bound form of the verb kini ‘do’, which is used to modify the number of participants expressed with a given verb in a complement-verb complex (§ 5.2.2.5.1, p. 340). It is in fact possible that the two morphemes are related. However, there is evidence that justifies the treatment of nominalising -ini as a separate morpheme; for instance, in (404), the verbal complex heru-ini ‘weaving’ is nominalised with the suffix -ini; i.e. the nominalising -ini is used on top of the verbal -ini ‘do’. This shows that they function as distinct morphological processes.

(404)  Heru-ini-ini  uere  mei  kareta  helur=ini  iskola-isi-la’a...
    weave-do:BD-NML 2DEM take car change=LNK1 school-at:RED-move
  ‘(I) took the earnings of the weaving to pay for transportation to go to school...’  (126-145)

3.3.3.2 The plural suffixes

Plural marking is not obligatory in Makalero. In cases where explicit marking is considered necessary, the suffixes -laa and -raa attach to the head of the NP (see § 4.1, p. 273), as exemplified in (405) and (406).

(405)  isi-sa’e-laa=ua  Timorleste  mutu-diar=ee
    lpe:POSS-hair-PL=REL T.       inside:RED-sit.PL=DEF
  ‘our leaders who sit in Timor Leste’  (65-22)
(406) \textit{asi-upa-raa ki=r\text{\textsuperscript{r}}ial=ee}  \\
1s.POSS-father-PL, ATTR=m\text{\textsuperscript{r}}any.HUM-DEF  \\
‘my many uncles’ (101-013)

The only case where the plural suffixes are found on a morpheme other than a noun is with the demonstrative-based form of the third person plural pronoun, \textit{uera}\textsuperscript{139} \textit{\textendash} \textit{uerlaa \textendash} \textit{ueralaa} (§ 3.3.1.1.2, p. 221).

\textit{-raa} is restricted to kinship terms, though it cannot be used on morphemes containing an /t/. In such cases, \textit{-laa} is substituted (see § 3.1.3.2.1, p. 116, for an example). The noun \textit{mata} ‘child’ is not compatible with \textit{-raa}, but only with what appears to be a short version of this suffix, \textit{-r} (see § 3.1.3.2.1, p. 116, for the various plural marking patterns found with \textit{mata}). This short version is also found in one case with \textit{tala} ‘branch’ (see text 1 in Appendix 1).

\textit{-laa} is found with all other [+HUM] nouns. This includes personal names, with which it is interpreted as an associative plural. An example is given in (407). Very infrequently, a special associative plural suffix \textit{-ara} has been found, as shown in (408). It is possible that this latter is related to the \textit{-raa} plural marker.

(407) \textit{Sabina-laا a hai tu’}.  \\
S-PL NSIT first  \\
‘Sabina and them went ahead.’ (eic1702b)

(408) \ldots \textit{Leni-ar\text{\textsuperscript{a}} na’anu.muni Agustu mi-naser...}  \\
L=ASS.PL in.turn A. along:RED-stand.PL  \\
‘... Leni and them stood alongside Agusto...’ (120-094)

The plural marker \textit{-laa} occurs in a reduplicated form either as \textit{-la-laa}, or with full reduplication as \textit{-laa-laa}. In this use, it is translatable as “all sorts of”, as in (409), or denotes the entirety of a given group, as in (410). It thus has an exhaustivity component.

(409) \ldots \textit{rika-laar\text{\textsuperscript{a}}a=ni u\text{\textsuperscript{-}}=oo ani haka nomo so’ot.}  \\
fortune-RDL-PL-CTR V2DEM-too 1s all NEG want  \\
‘... even though (you may) have all kinds of riches, I don’t want any of those.’ (122-12)

(410) \ldots \textit{mina.kuda-laar\text{\textsuperscript{a}}a mei=ni ni-sa’e-isi’}.  \\
kuda.oil-RDL-PL take=LNK1 REFL-hair-at  \\
‘... (you) put all of the kuda oil on your hair.’ (54-16)

\textit{La’ane} ‘various’ has a similar function of marking plurality, but stands outside of the NP. It is analysed as verbal and is briefly discussed in § 3.2.3.12.7 (p. 210).

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{139} There is no discernible vowel length in this case. See § 3.3.1.1.2 (p. 221), which suggests the form is lexicalised.
\end{footnotesize}
3.3.3.3 The honorific suffix -uai

-uai is a honorific suffix that is found on a subset of kinship terms which is given in (411).

(411)  
dada  ‘grandparent’
ina  ‘mother’
nana  ‘elder sibling’
noko  ‘younger sibling’
upa  ‘father’

Note that in the case of ‘mother’, -uai combines with ina only, rather than the more common term ni. Ina is not otherwise found for ‘mother’; it appears to be an Austronesian loan (i.e. Tetum: inan ‘mother’). -uai is found on noko ‘younger sibling’ only in one text, where the speaker is addressing people younger than himself in general, rather than a particular individual. Otherwise, it is noticeable that -uai is found only on kinship terms referring to individuals older, and hence of higher status, than the speaker. -uai occurs on these terms both when they are used as terms of address as well as in reference.

3.3.3.4 The agent noun suffix -door

The suffix -door is the most productive way of forming agent nouns from activity verbs. -door is borrowed from the Portuguese suffix -dor (possibly through Tetum) with the same meaning. Its Makalero adaptation has a long vowel nucleus, suggesting it might possibly be understood as a content word of its own, and made to conform to the bimoraicity requirement for such lexemes (§ 2.5.1, p. 76); note that Williams and Hajek (2009) suggest a similar analysis for the same item in the local lingua franca Tetum. The suffix is fully integrated in the language and can be used on any activity verb. Examples of the use of -door are given in § 3.1.2.1.3 (p. 105).

3.3.3.5 Combinations of suffixes

The four nominal suffixes discussed in § 3.3.3.1 (p. 235) through § 3.3.3.4 (p. 238) can theoretically be combined in six ways, as listed in (412).

(412)  
-ini + -door
-ini + -lau / -raa
-ini + -uai
-door + -lau / -raa
-door + -uai
-lau / -raa + uai
Only the last of these combinations, that of the honorific -uai and the plural marker -raa, has actually been found in the corpus. As shown in (413), the honorific precedes the plural suffix in such a case.

(413)  ... upa-uaa-raa la'a=ni mana hai to'i.
        father-HON-PL move=LNK1 hole NSIF dig
        ‘... the fathers went to dig a hole.’

Both the nominaliser -ini and the agent noun suffix -door derive nouns from verbs; their combination in one word is thus logically impossible. The same holds for the -ini-nominaliser and the plural suffixes; nominalisations with -ini always refer to objects, while the plural suffixes generally occur with [+HUM] nouns only. Also, combinations of the nominaliser -ini and the honorific suffix -uai are logically excluded, since the honorific is found on kinship terms only. A combination of the agent noun suffix -door with a plural marker is conceivable, but not found in the corpus. Presumably, in such a case, -door would be followed by the plural suffix. The combination of -door and the honorific, finally, is also logically excluded due to the latter’s distribution, which is restricted to kinship terms.

3.3.4 Prefixes

Conforming its basic SOV profile, prefixes are relatively uncommon in Makalero. Apart from the possessive pronouns (§ 3.3.1.3, p. 225), there is only one other putative case of a prefix in the nominal domain, namely the vocative a- found on forms of address. Its occurrence is very much restricted: it is used only when calling out to a person to draw their attention, and only on terms of address that start in a consonant phoneme. It is used both with given names (see § 3.1.3.1.1, p. 109, for examples) as well as, rarely, with kinship terms. An example is given in (414).

(414)  A-dada!
        VOC-grandparent
        ‘Grandfather!’

3.3.5 Clitics

Clitics are defined as phonetically, syntactically and semantically dependent morphemes which attach not at morpheme level, as affixes do, but at a syntactic unit of phrase or clause level. Clitics associated with the noun phrase are the relative marker =nu and the attributive marker ki=, discussed in § 3.3.5.1 (p. 240) and § 3.3.5.2 (p. 240), respectively.
3.3.5.1 The relative marker =ua

The relative sentence marker =ua is most often found on the head of an NP, as in (415). However, (416) shows it on a larger constituent, made up of a nominal head and a modifier. For this reason, it is analysed as an enclitic.

(415) Namirua=ua faru imir k-itu ere ure asi-upa.
   man=REL shirt red 3:UND-wear 1DEM 2DEM 1s:POSS-father
   ‘That man in the red shirt is my father.’ (elic1430a)

(416) [Kareta [ki=mosa] $\lambda_{MDO}$=[ua umere] $\lambda_{MOO}$ anisi’.
   car ATTR=green=REL DEM,DIST.V 1s:belong
   ‘That green car over there is mine.’ (elic466)

Relative sentences with =ua are discussed in detail in § 4.3.5 (p. 295).\(^1\)

The clitic =ua can also be found on clauses. Its function in those cases is much like that of a clause linker; it has a subordinating function in common with its relative-marking use. More discussion on this use of =uai is given in § 3.5.3.1.2.4 (p. 259).

3.3.5.2 The attributive marker ki=

Ki= is a proclitic attributive marker. It stands with attributes denoting permanent properties; as a consequence, there is a high correlation of ki= with stative verbs (see § 3.2.3.2.1, p. 151). The proclitic conveys a notion of contrastivity. In other words, the referent of the NP with the ki= attribute contrasts through that attribute from other possible referents. An example is given in (417).

(417) Kilao sefar ki=pere loloi fan ki=ka'u lolitu.
   3s dog ATTR-big.SG two feed ATTR-small three
   ‘He has 2 big dogs and 3 small ones.’ (elic1455)

\(^1\) While the marking of relative sentences is the main function of =ua, there remains a group of cases where =ua appears to have a different function. For instance, (xvii) could possibly be analysed as a relative clause syntactically, but it cannot be meaningfully interpreted as such. In (xviii), on the other hand, the noun marked by =ua simply lacks anything that could be termed a modifier; in fact, it is directly followed by the predicate.

(xvii) Ere $\betai$=ua la'a-ni mufuru-la=k la,sirius=ua la'a=nii hael hulur,
   1DEM 1pi=REL move=LNK1 woman-PL 3:POSS-work=REL.move=LNK1 cotton spin
   ure mei=nii ere-isii-lolo.
   2DEM take=LNK1 1DEM-at:RED-say
   ‘In this, we are going to talk about women’s work, how to make yarn.’ (62-01)

(xviii) Asii-ni la'a=nii weir li'an ina=ua li'an.
   1s:POSS-mother move=LNK1 river fall water=REL fall
   ‘My mother went and fell into the river (and drowned).’ (101-012)
Attributes with *ki* are discussed in more detail in § 4.3.4 (p. 284). Note that *ki* is homophonous with the third person possessive *ki-* (§ 3.3.1.1.3, p. 225). The two may be related, the common denominator being their connection with NP modifiers. The structures they appear in in present-day Makalero are clearly distinct; compare (417) above with (418), with the possessive *ki*.

(418)  
\[
\text{Asi-lo}de \quad \text{ki-ti’ir} \quad \text{ere kilu ruru.}
\]
\text{1s:POSS-bag 3:POSS-heavy IDEM kilo ten}

‘My bag’s weight is 10 kilos.’  

In (418), *ki* is bound to the NP head, *ti’ir* ‘heavy’. In (417), however, the head of the structure is to the left of the *ki* attribute. The brackets in (419) and (420) serve to illustrate the divergent analyses of the noun phrases *sefar ki=pere loloi* ‘two big dogs’ and *asi-lo*de *ki-ti’ir* ‘my bag’s weight’, respectively.

(419)  
\[
[\text{sefar}]_{\text{HEAD}} \quad [\text{ki=pere}]_{\text{MOD}} \quad [\text{loloi}]_{\text{MOD}} \quad \text{‘two big dogs’}
\]

(420)  
\[
[\text{asi-lo}de \text{ ki}]_{\text{POSS-[ti’ir]}}_{\text{HEAD}}_{\text{SN}} \quad \text{‘my bag’s weight’}
\]

On this basis, the attributive marker *ki* and the possessive pronoun *ki*- are treated as two distinct phonemes.

### 3.4 Grammatical morphemes within the VP

There are fewer grammatical morphemes associated with the VP than with the NP. § 3.4.1 (p. 241) discusses the argument-marking *k*-prefix, § 3.4.2 (p. 242) the negative prefix *ni*, § 3.4.3 (p. 242) the aspect marker *hai* and, finally, § 3.4.4 (p. 242) the negation *nomo*.

### 3.4.1 The third person non-subject argument prefix *k*-

The *k*-prefix is found on a specific class of verbs discussed in § 3.2.3.4 (p. 163). It marks or cross-references a third person non-subject argument. As argued in § 5.2.2.6.3.1 (p. 350), it is part of a paradigm consisting of all personal pronouns and is likely a reduced form of *ki*, the present-day third person possessive pronoun (§ 3.3.1.1.3, p. 225). Note that it is a characteristic property of all pronouns other than personal pronouns (§ 3.3.1.2, p. 227, through § 3.3.1.5, p. 231) that they can be used adnominally, in which case they are read as possessive, and adverbially, in which case they are read as non-subject arguments. The interrogative pronouns (§ 3.3.1.4, p. 228) even have a distinct form for these two functions. The *k*-prefix demonstrates that a form derived from the third person pronoun can also function adverbially; notably, it appears to be a reduced form of the adnominal possessive
pronoun. The pattern exhibited by the third person pronoun thus corresponds to that found with the interrogative pronouns.\(^\text{101}\)

§ 5.2.2.6.3 (p. 349) discusses the argument-marking patterns found with k-prefixed verbs. On the basis of some irregularities in these patterns, it speculates that the k-prefixed verb form may be in a process of reanalysis as a free verb form (as opposed to bound verb forms which appear when the VP’s complement position is filled, § 5.2.2.6.3.4, p. 356).

### 3.4.2 The negative prefix ni-

Ni- is a rare verbal prefix that negates the meaning of the verb it is used with. (421) and (422) show examples of its use.

(421) \[ \text{... ira turu-sa-sat}=ini (…) hai na’u ni-ropa’…} \]
\[ \text{water continue:RED-RDL-dry:BD=LNK1 NSIT just NEG-many} \]
\[ \text{‘… the water dries up continuously (…) (and when) there is just a little left…’ (50-09)} \]

(422) \[ \text{... ki=pere isu loloi, ki=n-ria-rian}=ee e’ un, loloi…} \]
\[ \text{ATTR=big.SG seed two ATTR=NEG-RDL-big=DEF V1DEM one two} \]
\[ \text{‘… (there are) two big ones, and small ones there are one, two…’ (38-128)} \]

### 3.4.3 The new situation marker hai

The aspect marker hai follows the object slot of the VP. To the left of it are slots for adverbials, the negator, the complement, and, finally, the predicate (§ 5, p. 317). It does not appear to be phonetically dependent on either a preceding or a following constituent and is hence analysed as a free particle. Hai marks the beginning of a new situation; its precise semantics and use are detailed in § 5.3.1.1 (p. 361).

### 3.4.4 The negator nomo

The negator nomo stands within the VP between two adverbial slots (§ 5, p. 317). It is not phonetically dependent on either a preceding or a following item; as such it is treated as a free particle. It expresses internal negation, as opposed to external

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\(^{101}\) Note, however, that undergoers of the first and second persons are in the same context expressed with the independent pronoun forms, rather than with the possessive form. The parallel between personal pronouns and other pronouns thus does not go all the way. In fact, this highlights once more the difference in status between the pronouns referring to the speech act participants on the one hand, and the third person pronoun on the other.
3.5 Phrase-level clitics

A variety of enclitic markers are used on different phrase-levels; some are associated with NPs, while others apply to the clause. Some, finally, are found on both levels. There is no good evidence for a separate class of VP clitics. In the following, §3.5.1 (p. 243) introduces clitics which apply to NPs; §3.5.2 (p. 245) lists those which are found on both noun phrases and on full clauses; §3.5.3 (p. 250), finally, discusses clitics which are used only on clause level.

3.5.1 NP clitics

Two clitics, the definite marker =ee and the counter-presupposition marker =haka, are used on NP level exclusively. They are discussed in §3.5.1.1 (p. 243) and §3.5.1.2 (p. 244), respectively.

3.5.1.1 The definite marker =ee

The clitic =ee attaches to the right boundary of an NP, as seen in the representative examples in (423) and (424). In both of these cases, it follows an NP complete with a head and a modifier each.

(423) ... [larin falun]N=Ee la’ane’ ta’a-la’a.
mountain sacred=DEF various count-move
‘... (I) went to each of the sacred mountains.’ (101-315)

(424) ... [amuni ki=rial]N=Ee so’ot=ini dame...
person ATTR=many.HUM=DEF want=LNK1 peace
‘... many people want to make peace...’ (81-12)

=ee does not cooccur with demonstratives, which indicates that it has to do with definiteness. However, it is not analysed as a determiner, since members of that class can constitute NPs of their own, and =ee, being a clitic, cannot.

At present, the exact function of =ee is unclear. The principles of its use, especially as opposed to the use of a demonstratives or no determiner at all, are not understood yet and require extensive further research. It appears the use of =ee is to some degree dependent on the text genres; for example, it is used very frequently in the frog stories, but relatively rarely otherwise. Furthermore, the majority of occurrences are with simple nominal heads; examples with modified NPs, such as those in (423) and (424), are more rare. There is no connection between the syntactic
function of the NP in question and the use of =ee. The fact that it is not found in any case with nouns exhibiting marked stress patterns (such as doutor [dou'tər] ‘doctor’) or nouns that are otherwise prosodically marked (such as elehaa [ele'ha:] ‘old man’, with an unpredictable long vowel in the last syllable) suggest that its use might also be subject to prosodic rules.

=ee is found quite frequently after adverbial clauses, as seen in (425).

(425) ... rousal k-ako=ee papa ki-isa isipera hare'.
many:NONHUM 3:UND-steal=DEF Indonesian 3:POSS-state totally? clean
‘… (if I) stole a lot, the Indonesian was very happy.’ (101-296)

These adverbial clauses appear to be nominalised and set the scene for action described in the following clause. However, note that =ee is also one of the forms of the complementiser; see § 3.6.2 (p. 265) for details on this item and its possible relation to the definite marker =ee.

3.5.1.2 The counter-presupposition marker =haka

(426), where =haka stands on a determiner, shows that the clitic applies to the right boundary of an NP.

(426) ... mata ka'u ere=haka fenu=ee heman...
child small 1DEM+CTRL.PRES turtle=DEF litt
‘... the child lifts the turtle up...’ (102-143)

When cliticised to vowel-final elements, the clitic is sometimes reduced to =ka, as in (427). This example also nicely exemplifies the basic function of =haka, which is generally found in instances where some presupposition or expectation is contradicted. More details on its use are given in § 9.2.3.2 (p. 503).

(427) ... ma'akini fi-dada-raa=po ere=ka ate popok.
wrongly-think 1PI-grandparent-PL=ADVR 1DEM+CTRL.PRES tree rotten
‘… (he) thought they were crocodiles, but they turn out to be rotten tree trunks.’ (38-101)
3.5.2 Clitics compatible with NPs and clauses

Four clitics, =oo ‘too’, =uai ‘or’, =hi’a ‘only’ and the contrastive marker / clause linker =ini are found on both NPs and clauses. Another occasional member of fluctuating status is the Portuguese-based =of(u) ‘or’. Their respective uses are briefly illustrated in § 3.5.2.1 (p. 245) through § 3.5.2.4 (p. 247), respectively.

3.5.2.1 =oo ‘too’

The clitic =oo can be translated as ‘also’, or ‘too’. (428) exemplifies its use on an NP.

(428)  Nama-se’el=ini  uai=ni=taa  femu=ee  ka’el=ana  dila
upwards:RED-jump:BD=LNK1  CLS=LNK1=PURF  turtle=DEF  bite=INT  frog
ere=oo  hai  to-nama-se’el.
1DEM=too  NSIT  accompany:RED-upwards:RED-jump:BD
‘(The dog) jumps up to bite the turtle, and the frog too jumps up.’
(102-162)

=oo quite often receives focal reading. An example is given in (429), where it might be translated as ‘even’.

(429)  ... ei-isarami  la’a=na’a  ani=oo  nomo  k-asu  lolo...
2s-brother  move=INT  1s=too  NEG  3:UND-for  say
‘... your brother was going to go and you didn’t even tell me (didn’t tell even me)...’
(74-038)

It is this focal reading that is generally found if =oo is attached to the right boundary of a clause. This type of clause linkage is read as concessive, as shown in (430).

(430)  Ani=ni  isit=oo  ani  fata=ini  la’a=ni  ata  haka.
1s=CTR  ill=too  is  force=LNK1  move=LNK1  fire  search
‘Even though I was ill, (they) forced me to go and look for firewood.’
(103-09)

§ 8.1.3 (p. 465) gives a more detailed discussion of concessive clauses and other constructions that involve the clitic =oo.

Clause-level =oo can be attached to uai=ni, the clausal pro-form uai (see § 3.2.3.12.2, p. 204) with the shortened form of the linker =ini (§ 3.5.2.5, p. 247), if for some reason it is not directly cliticised to the immediately preceding clause.\[142 The resulting form is uai=ni=oo (usually pronounced as [waj’nɔ:], as illustrated in (431).

\[142 Note that the majority of linkers cliticise directly to uai, without the linker =ini, which is likely present here for phonetic reasons.
(431) \[\text{... asi-nana na’u tepa ani fana uai=ni=oo ani na’u}\]
\[1s:POSS-elder.sibling just constant 1s teach CLS-LNK1=too 1s just\]
\[dekor=hi’a.\]
\[memorise=only\]
\[‘... even though my older brother kept teaching me, I just memorised (things).’\]

The fact that \(=oo\) cannot stand on its own, but needs this clause-level “docking station”, shows clearly that it is a clitic.

### 3.5.2.2 \(=\text{uai ‘or’}\)

\(=\text{uai}\) is cliticised to the first of two or more noun phrases or clauses in a sequence, presenting them as alternatives. (432) shows it on NP level, while in (433), it is used on clause level.

(432) \[\text{... tone’ uatu lolitu=uai uatu loloi k-\text{u}tu-sai=ini...}\]
\[\text{perhaps} day three-or \text{day two} 3:UND-cover-finished.BD-LNK1\]
\[‘... maybe three or two days passed...’\]

(433) \[\text{... uar ho’o koto to’=uai ki-fasu=hi’a=ni}\]
\[\text{stone some maybe accompany=or} 3:POSS-skin=only=CTR\]
\[to-daxa=fata fi hau mei.\]
\[\text{accompany:RED-fall-COND} 1pi all take\]
\[‘... if there are some stones mixed in or empty skins have fallen in, we take those (out).’\]

\(=\text{uai}\) differs from all the other clause linkers through the fact that it is never found cliticised to the clausal pro-form \(\text{uai}\) (§ 3.2.3.12.2, p. 204); this may be due to the fact that the two are basically homophonous, although there is no concrete evidence to support this idea.

A very frequent use of \(=\text{uai}\) is in the tag question \(=\text{uai na’an (=}\text{or NEG.EX)}. An example is given in (434). See § 7.7.2 (p. 438) for more information on interrogative sentences.

(434) \[\text{... ei to-so’ot=\text{uai na’an?}\}
\[2s accompany:RED-want=or NEG.EX\]
\[‘... do you want to (do it) or not?’\]

\(=\text{uai}\) is used by some speakers at the end of an utterance, which may be either declarative, interrogative or imperative. § 7.7.1 (p. 435), § 7.7.2.1 (p. 438) and § 7.7.3.3.1 (p. 449) discusses these uses, respectively.
3.5.2.3 \textit{=o(u)} ‘or’

\textit{=o(u)} ‘or’ is a Portuguese-based conjunction found in the coordination of clauses and of NPs. It is identical in meaning to the native Makalero clitic \textit{=uai} (§ 3.5.2.2, p. 246) and is relatively rare. Its realisation fluctuates between that of a free element and a clitic, with some speakers preferring one and others the other realisation. (435) shows a use of \textit{=o(u)} as a clitic, while in (436), it is a free element. In this latter use, \textit{=o(u)} ‘or’ probably groups with the other Portuguese-based conjunctions, which are likely verbal, as discussed in § 3.6.5.1 (p. 269).

(435) \textit{...fū diki-ate poki ata-lue mei=ni lode-isi’=ou na’an=afla}  
\textit{1pi yarn-wood whorl fire-ash take=LNK1 bag-at=or NEG.EX=COND}  
\textit{mei=ni tokuru-isi’…}  
\textit{take=LNK1 coconut.shell-at}  
‘… we take the stick for rolling up the yarn, the spinning whorl and ash and put (the ash) into a bag, or if not (into a bag), then we put it into a coconut shell…’  
(62-16)

(436) \textit{... meih=ini fuli-na’a-mei fuli-sirvisu o fuli-la’un…}  
\textit{two.HUM=LNK1 together.RED-work-take together.RED-work or together.RED-chat}  
‘… the two of them work together or chat together…’  
(21-033)

3.5.2.4 \textit{=hi’a} ‘only’

\textit{=hi’a} ‘only’ is most commonly cliticised to NPs, as illustrated in (437), but can also be used on clauses, as shown in (438).

(437) \textit{Uai=ni=ni ani kalsa un ere=hi’a k-utu=ni…}  
\textit{CLS=LNK1=LNK1 1s trousers one 1DEM=only 3:UND-wear=LNK1}  
‘Thus I wore only this one pair of trousers…’  
(103-14)

(438) \textit{... mata k’a=ue (…) na’a.muni fanu-utu-puna=hi’a uai=ni nomo}  
\textit{child small=DEF in.turn face-cover-look=only CLS=LNK1 NEG}  
\textit{teni sofa-isu-puna.}  
\textit{again back-at:RED-look}  
‘… the child is looking to the front only, so he is not looking back any more.’  
(115-049)

3.5.2.5 The linker \textit{=ini}

\textit{=ini} is the single most common phrase-level clitic. It is found both on NPs and on clauses, though it is functionally quite different, depending on the phrase level it is used on. § 3.5.2.5.1 (p. 248) briefly describes \textit{=ini} on NP-level, while § 3.5.2.5.2 (p. 249) treats the clitic on clause level. In either case, if cliticised to a vowel-final
element, =ini commonly loses its first vowel, being realised as =ni (see e.g. (439) below). In rapid speech, the final vowel may be elided as well, as a result of which the clitic may be realised only as [n].

### 3.5.2.5.1 =ini on NP-level

The principle function of the clitic =ini on an NP is the marking of that NP’s referent with another possible referent. A typical example is given in (439).

(439) … amuni kirial=ee so’ot=ini dame=na’a=po ini=ni

    person ATTR=many.HUM=DEF want=LNK1 peace=INT=ADVR 1pe=CTR

    nomo so’ot…

    NEG want

    ‘… many people want to make peace, but we don’t want that…’ (81-12)

A more detailed description of =ini’s use as a contrastive marker follows in § 9.2.3.1 (p. 501). From a contrastive marker which can be found on NPs in both subject and object function, =ini appears to be evolving into a subject marker. Concretely, it is found as a subject marker in three types of context; the first involves long NPs which may be considered hard to process. In such a case, =ini marks the end of the subject NP and indicates that the verb phrase follows. (440) gives such an example. In the second instance, =ini is used when the order of subject and object is reversed, as in (441). In such a sentence, =ini is vital for a correct understanding of grammatical roles. Finally, =ini marks untypical subjects (i.e. subjects that are low on the topic-worthiness hierarchy) such as the indefinite NP in (442). See § 6.2.1 (p. 389) for more details.

(440) [Mata-niki tafi-tafi hau rial]=ini nomo manan.

    child-PL RDL=true all many.HUM=CTR NEG win

    ‘Very many children indeed didn’t pass (a test).’ (elic1573)

(441) Mata ka’u ere ki-upa=ni mei=ni dur-ini.

    child small 1DEM 3:POSS-father=CTR take=LNK1 wake.up-do:BD

    ‘This child, his father woke him.’ (elic172)

(442) Amulafu nomo rial=ini kiloo so’ot.

    person NEG many.HUM=CTR 3s want

    ‘Not many people like him.’ (elic1569a)

It is very likely that the use of =ini on NP level is an extension of its clause-level use. See § 9.2.3.1 (p. 501) for a sketch of a possible path of grammaticalisation.
3.5.2.5.2 =ini on clauses

=ini is the most common clause linker, attaching to the right boundary of the first clause in a sequence. Its meaning is very general and only shows the two clauses to be tightly knit together, though the exact nature of the relationship is unspecified. This is reflected by the largely meaningless gloss LNK1, where LNK stands for ‘linker’. The numeral 1 contrasts =ini with =isi (LNK2), which is its counterpart in many ways and is discussed in § 3.5.3.1.1.1 (p. 250). (443) and (444) give typical examples.

(443)  ... hama ki-tala pare uere k-ua-mit=ini hai
       ficus.b 3:POSS-branch big.SG 2DEM 3:UND-on.top:RED-sit.SG=LNK1 NSIT

       mu’a-li’an.
ground-fall
‘… (he) sits on a big branch of the ficus benjamina, and then falls down.’
        (38-066)

(444)  Kiloo (...) kadeira heil=ini la’a=ni aihaa ta-nat=ini...
       3s chair pull=LNK1 move=LNK1 door near-stand.SG=LNK1

‘She pulled a chair and went to stand it close to the door, and then she went…’
        (44-13)

Note that, although =ini generally loses its initial vowel if attached to a vowel-final element, it sometimes retains it, even if criticized to a vowel-final element, as in (445). This does not appear to be connected to rapid versus careful speech, since (445) is from a bit of very rapid speech; neither is it an idiosyncrasy of particular speakers, since the speaker of (445) also uses many elided forms. In-depth study of the distribution of the full form and the elided form of =ini must be left for further research.

(445)  ... pipi roual pure=ini ma’u.
       goat many.NONHUM acquire=LNK1 come

‘… (he) had acquired (so) many goats.’
        (51-17)

Like the other clause linkers, =ini can be attached to the clausal pro-form uai (§ 3.2.3.12.2, p. 204), yielding the form uai=ni. This form is used so frequently that it appears to be lexicalised to some degree, and is in fact often used with an additional =ini on top of it, resulting in the form uai=ni=ni.

More details on the use and meaning of =ini as a clause linker is provided in § 8.1.1 (p. 457).
3.5.3 Clause-level clitics

The clitics discussed in the following sections are found only on clause level. They fall into two classes, namely those that link two clauses, specifying the kind of semantic relation those two clauses have with respect to one another, and, on the other hand, non-linking clitics, which modify the clause they attach to without linking it to another clause, much like =hi ‘a ‘only’ (§ 3.5.2.4, p. 247). Clause linkers are discussed in § 3.5.3.1 (p. 250), while non-linking clitics are treated in § 3.5.3.2 (p. 261).

3.5.3.1 Clause linkers

Makalero has a rich array of enclitics whose function it is to link two clauses, making explicit the semantic relationship between those two clauses. Three of them, =oo ‘too’, =uai ‘or’ and =ini, a linker of very general meaning, are also in use as NP-level clitics and have been briefly discussed in § 3.5.2.1 (p. 245), § 3.5.2.2 (p. 246) and § 3.5.2.5 (p. 247), respectively. The linkers described in the following paragraphs are encountered only on clause level. A characteristic common to most clause linkers (except where the opposite is mentioned) is that they are very frequently found cliticised to the clausal pro-form uai (§ 3.2.3.12.2, p. 204). § 3.5.3.1.1 (p. 250) discusses coordinating clause linkers – the clauses linked by these clitics show no evidence of a hierarchical difference in status – and § 3.5.3.1.2 (p. 257) introduces subordinating linkers. The syntactic evidence for the different nature of these two types of linkage is discussed in § 8.3 (p. 481).

3.5.3.1.1 Coordinating clause linkers

There is no evidence of the two clauses linked by the clitics discussed in the following sections being different in status, hence they are taken to be coordinating. Such coordinating clause linkers constitute the majority of clause linkers. This class includes not only the linkers discussed in the following sections, but also the clause-level uses of =oo ‘too’ (§ 3.5.2.1, p. 245), =uai ‘or’ (§ 3.5.2.2, p. 246) and the general linker =ini (§ 3.5.2.5, p. 247).

3.5.3.1.1.1 The general linker =isi

The clitic clause linker =isi, which is homophonous with the bound form of the locative verb isi ‘be at’\(^{14}\), resembles the linker =ini (§ 3.5.2.5, p. 247) in many ways. =isi, too, is very frequent in use. The first vowel is also commonly elided following a vowel-final morpheme (see (446) below), and in fast speech the last one as well. The meaning of =isi complements that of =ini, though the relation between

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\(^{14}\) Although it is not clear whether there is a historical relationship between the two.
two clauses linked with \textit{=isi} is of a looser knit than that expressed by \textit{=ini}. This looser knit may reflect distance in time, different actors, or a thematic break of some other sort. (446) gives a typical example.

\begin{verbatim}
(446)  ... ki-sefar e\textasciitilde=ini potil=ee hai mutu-puna=si
    3.POSS-dog V1DEM=LNK1 bottle=DEF NSIT inside:RED-look=LNK2
    ki-ouar ere ye-mit=ini ni-se\textasciitilde hai
    3.POSS-master 1DEM V2DEM:RED-sit.SG=LNK1 REFL-chin NSIT
    ti\textasciitilde a-dek\textasciitilde ni hai ne-puna.
    towards= lean=LNK1 NSIT aim.at!-look
    '... his dog is here and looks into the bottle, and his master sits there and
    puts his chin into his hand and looks (at it).'</n
\end{verbatim}

If not cliticised directly to the preceding clause, \textit{=isi} can be found on the clausal pro-
form \textit{uai}, in a rather rare form \textit{uai\textasciitilde=si}, or on the combination of \textit{uai} and \textit{=ini}, \textit{uai=ni}. The form \textit{uai\textasciitilde=ni=si} is much more frequent than simple \textit{uai=si}. § 8.1.1 (p. 457)
gives more detailed information of the use of \textit{=isi}.

3.5.3.1.2 The adversative linker \textit{=po}
\textit{=po} is one of the most frequent clause linkers, second only to the linking devices
\textit{=ini} and \textit{=isi}. It differs from the latter two, however, in terms of its phonetic
substance: there is no reduced form of \textit{=po}, which, in fact, carries its own stress.
\textit{=po} is either directly cliticised to the first clause in a sequence, or to the clausal pro-
form \textit{uai}. In the latter case, it stands more commonly on a combination of \textit{uai} with
the linker \textit{=ini}, either in the form \textit{uai\textasciitilde=ni\textasciitilde=po} (usually pronounced as ['\textasciitildewajn\textasciitildep\textasciitilde=\textasciitilde3]) or
\textit{uai\textasciitilde=ni\textasciitilde=ni\textasciitilde=po}, where \textit{=ini} occurs twice, than on simple \textit{uai}. In most cases, \textit{=po}
conforms to the English adversative conjunction 'but', as shown in a typical example such as (447).

\begin{verbatim}
(447)  ... u doutor ani ki-nei nomo ma\textasciitilde=en\textasciitilde=po peruaat=ee
    one doctor is 3.POSS-name NEG know=ADVR nurse=DEF
    ki-nei Nioman.
    3.POSS-name N.
    '... the one who was a doctor, (I) don't know his name, but the (male)
    nurse's name was Nioman.'  (101-125)
\end{verbatim}

However, \textit{=po} is also found in a number of cases where it cannot be meaningfully
translated as 'but' into English, showing that its semantics are somewhat broader.
(448) may serve as an example of such a case.

\begin{verbatim}
(448)  Aite\textasciitilde ma\textasciitilde=u\textasciitilde=po kiloo rau-la\textasciitilde=a ni uaro\textasciitilde.
    REC.3PT come=ADVR 3s good-move REFL shower
    'Upon arriving, she immediately went to have a shower.'  (elic497)
\end{verbatim}
§ 8.1.2 (p. 461) gives a more detailed discussion of the use of =po.

=po is regularly cliticised to the clausal pro-form uai. However, in a seizable number of cases, it is found utterance-initially, without the pro-form. This shows that its status as a clitic is not quite fixed, and that it occurs also in a non-clitic form. It is unclear, at this point, whether this is evidence of an ongoing change of the item, from a clitic to a free form or vice versa. The former direction might well be possible under the influence of Tetum, Indonesian, or Portuguese, all of which have free-form conjunctions.

3.5.3.1.3 =te‘e ‘after’

The clause linker =te‘e conveys the idea that the action of the clause it attaches to is completed before that of the following clause takes place, or is a prerequisite for the second action to take place. (449) and (450) give examples, showing also that =te‘e is used only after vowel-final constituents, while its metathesised counterpart =ete follows consonant-final ones.

(449)  Asi-pada-laaw hai uru looli fani‘ iskola=te‘e ani isa=ni
1s:POSS-friend-PL NSIT moon two be.like school=after 1s go.down=LNK1

SMA kelas satu.
high.school class one

‘My friends went to school for two month already, only then did I come down and (went to) grade one of high school.’

(126-081)

(450)  Uai=ni=ni dipois haini defut=ete Laapo
CLS=LNK1=LNK1 afterwards NSIT cook=LNK1 boiled=after L.

k-ua-dai-ma‘u...
3:UND-on.top:RED-pass-come

‘And then they cooked it and after it was done, Laapo passed up there.’

(118-33)

=te‘e is also frequently cliticised to the clausal pro-form uai, yielding uai=te‘e. Its use is discussed in more detail in § 8.1.4 (p. 467).

There is evidence that =te‘e might be derived from a locational element. The probably clearest example is given in (451). Note how in this case, the phrase fi-te‘e mu a-dai isa ‘fall down in front of us’ appears to be parallel to lidu-sofi=ee-isi-mua-isa, ‘fall down behind the cotton gin’. Sofi ‘back’, the contrast to te‘e in this clause, is nominal, as apparent from its use with the definite marker =ee (§ 3.5.1.1, p. 243). Based on the largely parallel structure of the two phrases as quoted above, it can be assumed that te‘e, too is nominal in nature, meaning something like ‘front’. The first person plural inclusive pronoun fi is used as a possessor to this noun. The use of spatial terminology for the expression of temporal relations is very common (see e.g. Bybee et al. 1994), supporting such a path of grammaticalisation for the completive linker =te‘e.
3.5.3.1.4 The conditional linker =fata

=fata is a clause linker expressing condition. Whilst in the majority of cases, these are factual conditions, such as in (452), =fata can also be used with counterfactual ones, as in (453). It is furthermore used in contexts that are more conveniently read in a temporal sense, rather than being strictly conditional. An example of such a use is given in (454).

(452) …ei leu-leu=fata ka’u=te’e seur=ee nomo fanisi.
 2s RDL-call=COND small=after meat=DEF NEG nice
‘… if you keep screaming, the meat won’t be good.’ (118-40)

(453) Ani koto.halee osan satu juta nese-la’a=fata ani tone’
 1s maybe money one million aim.at:RED-move=COND 1s perhaps
mondo kaflu k-ali-la’a.
world all 3:UND-all.over-go
‘If I got one million (dollars), I would travel around the world.’
(elic828)

(454) Ani he’ul=afta ho’o mei ni-nana-raa meih=ee kini…
 1s full=COND some take REFL-elder.sibling-PL take=DEF give.to.3
‘When I was full, I used to give some to my two elder siblings…’
(101-026)

The form =fata cliticises only to vowel-final elements. For use after consonant-final elements, there is a metathesised form =afa. However, this form, with an undesired consonant cluster, is relatively rare, and more frequently, a vowel is additionally inserted to break up the consonant cluster, yielding [afata].

=fata is also found cliticised to the clausal pro-form uai. Like =po (§ 3.5.3.1.1.2, p. 251), =fata is in some instances found utterance-initially, without the pro-form. This shows that the item is also used as a non-clitic, free form. It is not clear whether this is evidence for the change of the item from a clitic form into a free one or vice versa. See § 8.1.5 (p. 470) for more information on conditional clauses.

144 In these contexts, the uses of =fata and =nata (§ 3.5.3.1.1.5, p. 254) appear to overlap.
3.5.3.1.1.5 The counterfactual conditional linker =nata

=nata is a rare clitic clause linker expressing condition. Its exact meaning, in particular as opposed to that of the more common conditional linker =fata (§ 3.5.3.1.1.4, p. 253), is not entirely clear. However, it seems that all instances of =nata can be construed as expressing counterfactual conditions, whereas =fata is more frequently used for real conditions. See § 8.1.5 (p. 470) for more information on conditional clauses. (455) gives an example of the use of =nata.

(455)  Satu dua mei=ni Makalero mi-lo=lo=nata klasa un lolo...
       one two take=LNK1 M. along:RED-say=CTF.COND grade one two
       'One and two (in Indonesian), if it were to be said in Makalero, grade one
       and grade two…'

=nata also has a metathesised form =anta, which is often realised as ['anata] to avoid the consonant cluster, following closed syllables.

=nata can be criticised to the clausal pro-form uai, resulting in the forms uai=nata, uai=nata (with vowel elision and loss of the offglide in uai), and, criticised to uai=ni, uai=n(i)=anta.

3.5.3.1.1.6 The consequential linker =konai

Hull (2004: 78) appears to analyse =konai as a topic marker which stands optionally “after adverbiale interrogatives” such as “sa’afani” ‘how, why’. In my own analysis, =konai is a clause linker of much the same status as =ini (§ 3.5.2.5, p. 247), =isi (§ 3.5.3.1.1.1, p. 250), =po (§ 3.5.3.1.1.2, p. 251) etc. It is a clitic attached to the first clause in a sequence and conveys the notion of the clause following it being a consequence of that first clause. Thus, the examples in (456) and (457) would literally translate as ‘I was wrong, and as a consequence of this she is dead’, and ‘you cannot go to school anymore, and as a consequence of this you want to go to the convent?’, respectively.

(456)  Ani=ni sala=koni hai umu.
      1s=CTR wrong=CSQ NSIT die
      'It was me who was wrong, and because of that (my mother) is dead.'
      (114-24)

(457)  … ei-iskola nomo raw=koni=ni ei were’-isi-la’a=na’a=ua?
      2s=school NEG good=CSQ=LNK1 2s 2DEM.V-at:RED-move=INT=QM
      ‘… you can’t go to school anymore, and because of that you want to go to
      that (a convent)?'
      (126-113)

(457) also shows that, just as frequently as not, =konai is followed by the general linker =ini (§ 3.5.2.5, p. 247), which serves to consolidate the idea of the equal status of the two clitics.
Like the other clause linkers, =konai is also frequently found with the pro-form uai, yielding uakonai. See § 8.1.6 (p. 471) for a more detailed discussion of the use of the linker.

3.5.3.1.7 The clitic =fe

The element =fe never occurs on its own, but only in combination with the temporal linker =te‘e ‘after’ (§ 3.5.3.1.1.3, p. 252). The meaning of this combination appears to be the same as that of =te‘e on its own; the contribution of =fe is unclear. Examples of its use are given in (458) and (459).

(458)  ... ni-mata mei la’a ira teuh=ete=fe ira rei-misa.
  REFL-child take move water buy=after=FE water outwards-go.up
  ‘… after (he) bought water using his child as payment, the water came out.’
  (89-05)

(459)  Uere ki-dada were hana’e hai umu=te’e=fe ki-ni
  2DEM 3:POSS-grandparent 2DEM REM.PT NSIT die=after=FE 3:POSS-mother
  ere muni lafu’.
  1DEM return live
  ‘After his grandmother had died, his mother came back to life.’
  (23-018)

Native speakers suggested that the use of =fe is both age-related as well as regional – in fact, most of the speakers in whose natural speech it occurs originate from the village of Tirilolo, about 2 km to the northwest of Ilomar, and all of them are above 50 years of age. Also, it seems, its use is considered genteel by speakers from other areas.

3.5.3.1.8 =mais ‘but’

=mais ‘but’ is a Portuguese-based conjunction. Like the Makalero clause linkers, it is realised as a clause-level clitic; (460) exemplifies its use. Also, =mais is found cliticised to uai=ni, the clausal pro-form with the clitic =ini (§ 3.5.2.5, p. 247), as seen in (461).

(460)  ... fi-nami muni ko-horu namora=mais sala were=taa
  1pi-husband return 3:UND-with affair=but mistake 2DEM=PURP
  hai rau.
  NSIT good
  ‘… (I) had an affair with your husband, but let that mistake be forgiven.’
  (74-117)
(461) Uai=konai=ni muni mei=ni la’a=ni ume-mei.
CLS-CSQ-LNK1 return take=LNK1 move=LNK1 VDEM.DIST.RED-take

uai=ni=mais na’u tepa suku Ailebere k-isi’.
CLS-LNK1=but just constant suco A. 3-UND-belong
‘So (they) brought (one) over there. But (he) still belonged to the suco of Ailebere.’
(76-04, 76-05)

=mais differs from the majority of Portuguese-based conjunctions in use in Makalero, which are free elements. These might be treated as verbal and are briefly discussed in § 3.6.5.1 (p. 269).

3.5.3.1.1.9 Summary

The clause linkers described in § 3.5.2.1 (p. 245) through § 3.5.3.1.1.8 (p. 255) show somewhat different characteristics on a variety of levels. Table 3.46 summarises the coordinating clause-linking clitics. Their characteristics are evaluated in the following.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>=ini</th>
<th>=isi</th>
<th>=po</th>
<th>=fata</th>
<th>=nata</th>
<th>=te’e</th>
<th>=oo</th>
<th>=uai</th>
<th>=kona</th>
<th>=mais</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LNK1</td>
<td>LNK2</td>
<td>ADVR</td>
<td>COND</td>
<td>CTF.</td>
<td>COND</td>
<td>after</td>
<td>too</td>
<td>or</td>
<td>CSQ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.46: Coordinating clause linkers

Table 3.46 does not include the Portuguese-based adversative =o(u) (§ 3.5.2.3, p. 247). This is due to the fact that its status fluctuates between that of a clitic and a free element. In those cases where it is realised as a clitic, it is quite equivalent to the Makalero clitic =uai ‘or’.

The two linkers =ini and =isi differ clearly from all the others with respect to their phonetic substance. Recall that both commonly lose the initial vowel if cliticised to a vowel-final element; also, in rapid speech, they may lose the final vowel and be heard only as [n] and [s], respectively. None of the other linkers occur in a reduced form. Quite generally, they have more phonetic substance; this is most obvious with the disyllabic ones, and among the monosyllabic ones, =uai ‘or’ and the concessive =oo have bimoraic nuclei; =po (ADVR), on the other hand, carries its own stress. The phonetic substance is matched by semantic content. =ini and =isi have very general meaning, expressing roughly close knitting versus loose knitting. On the other hand, a more or less concrete meaning component can be given for each of the other clitics. This is reflected through the largely meaningless glosses LNK1 and LNK2 for =ini and =isi, respectively, as opposed to the more concrete glosses for the other linkers.

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145 Since the meaning and function of =fe (§ 3.5.3.1.1.7, p. 255) are unclear, it remains out of consideration in the following discussion.
Recall that a putative nominal origin has been suggested for =te’e ‘after’ in § 3.5.3.1.3 (p. 252). Based on this evidence, it may be speculated that =ini and =isi are older, original clause linkers, while the others may be later developments. A clear subgroup among clause linkers in morphophonological terms are the metathesising ones. This subgroup includes =te’e ‘after’, =fata (COND) and =nata (CTF.COND), which have metathesised forms =ete, =afa and =anta, occurring after consonant-final elements. Metathesis is also found with the non-linking clitics =na’a (INT) and =fa’a (IMM), resulting in =ana and =afa, respectively (see § 3.5.3.2.1, p. 262, and § 3.5.3.2.2, p. 263, respectively), but is otherwise absent from the language.

The adversative =po and the conditional =fata are the only linkers to occur in free forms as well, such that they can stand on their own sentence-initially, and are not dependent on the presence of a free form such as uai as a docking station. The two items are among the clause linkers with rather more phonetic substance and semantic content, and among these, they are probably the most frequent ones. It is not clear whether this is evidence of an ongoing change from a clitic element to a free one or vice versa.

More information on syntactic properties of clause linkers is given in § 8.3 (p. 481).

### 3.5.3.1.2 Subordinating clause linkers

In contrast to the coordinating clause linkers discussed in § 3.5.3.1.1 (p. 250), a few clitics on clause level are analysed as subordinating. An important fact underlying this analysis is that they affect the structure of the second clause in the sequence, while the other clause linkers do not. Concretely, they can stand not only after the first clause in the sequence, but can be placed, alternatively or additionally, on the subject of the second clause, which is thus analysed as subordinated to the first clause. This distribution is shared by the relative marker =uа, discussed as a clitic within the NP in § 3.3.5.1 (p. 250). Note also that this marker appears to be used much like a clause linker in a variety of cases (§ 3.5.3.1.2.4, p. 259), suggesting that it might have started out as a more general subordination marker. The issue of subordination is elaborated on in § 8.3 (p. 481). The following sections discuss the subordinating clause linkers =taа (PURP), =kini (IND), =p- and =uа, which both appear to express purposiveness much like =taа.

### 3.5.3.1.2.1 The purposive =taа

=taа[^14] links two clauses that are in a purposive relation to each other. The clitic can stand either at the end of the first clause or on the subject NP of the second clause, or in both of these positions. Two of these options are illustrated in (462) and (463), respectively.

[^14]: In rapid speech, the vowel might be rather short.
(462)  *Ei-pada ma’un=fata k-asu lolo=taa ira’=hi’a ke’=ana ere=ni.*  
2s-friend come=COND 3:UND-for say=PURP water=only drink=INT 1DEM=CTR  
‘If your friend comes, tell her she should drink water only!’  
(chat009)

(463)  *Ini Timor=ee isi-so’ot=ee aman=ini isi-mata-r=taa.*  
1pe T=DEF 1pe:POSS-want=DEF safe=LNK1 1pe:POSS-child-PL=PURP  

*livre=ni matenek haka.*  
free=LNK1 clever search  
‘We Timorese want it to be safe so that our children are free to go and find knowledge.’  
(85-15)

Also, *=taa* can be criticized to the clausal pro-form *uai*, yielding a form *uai=taa*, or,  
more frequently, *uai=ni=taa* ([‘wajni:ta:]). It has this in common with the  
coordinating clause linkers. Purposive clauses are treated in more detail in § 8.1.8  
(p. 474).

### 3.5.3.1.2.2 The indirect information marker *=kini*

*=kini* marks the clause that follows it, or the clause on whose subject it stands, as  
indirect information. It is used when reproducing what someone else said, but also  
when recounting events that one cannot personally remember (e.g. what happened  
during the speaker’s infancy), or when retelling the events in a dream. While in the  
former instances, it can be said to reflect the speaker’s lack of commitment to the  
assertion, it marks the events recounted as unreal in the latter.

Like the purposive *=taa* (§ 3.5.3.1.2.1, p. 257), *=kini* is found in two positions: first,  
following an introductory clause (generally with a verb of saying, thinking or of  
hearing, see § 3.2.3.10.1, p. 187), and secondly, following the subject of the clausal  
complement extension expressing the indirect information. Also, it can be used in  
both of these positions at the same time. (464) and (465) illustrate its use.

(464)  *... ani neok=ini ani=ki ni la’a=ni ufe’=ini kooperasi.*  
1s lie=LNK1 1s=IND move=LNK1 VDEM.LOW=LNK1 cooperation  

*hein=ana.*  
wait=INT  
‘... (they) lied to me, (saying) I would go down to wait for a cooperation (to  
be opened).’  
(103-05)

(465)  *Ani uali’=ee=kini ei=ki ni hai kauen.*  
1s hear=CMPL-IND 2s=IND NSIT marry  
‘I heard you had gotten married.’  
(elci816a)

*=kini* is not found with the clausal pro-form *uai*. However, due to its distribution  
pattern paralleling that of the purposive *=taa*, it is nevertheless analysed as a clause  
linker. More information on this type of subordination is given in § 8.3.1 (p. 481).
=kini is also found in ma‘akini ‘wrongly think’, which specifically marks indirect information as wrong. § 3.2.3.12.6 (p. 209) explains the use of this item.

3.5.3.1.2.3 The purposive =p-

=p- is a purposive linker, very much similar in meaning to =taa (§ 3.5.3.1.2.1, p. 257). =p- differs from all the other linkers in not being syllabic, consisting only of a plosive consonant phoneme. As such, it only occurs in combination with a personal pronoun following it, which functions as the subject of the second clause. The pronouns found in combination with =p- are the vowel-initial ones only, namely in the singular the first and second persons, ani and ei, respectively, and in the plural the first person exclusive ini. (466) gives an example of its use.

(466) ... fana-nini ho’o we’ ani-asu asar=ini ma’u uai=p-ani  uali’. 
  teach-de:BD some V2DEM 1s-for send=LNK1 come CLS~PURP-1s hear
  ‘... (if) you have some teaching, send it to me here so that I can hear it.’ (107-27)

As (466) illustrates, =p- is also found on the clausal pro-form uai. This shows quite clearly that it groups with clause linkers. It parallels the subordinating linker =taa in meaning and has an impact on the structure of the second clause in the sequence through effectively linking together the two clauses by leaning both on the last element of the first one and the first element of the second one. As such, it qualifies as a subordinating clause linker. § 8.1.8 (p. 474) elaborates on its use and status.

3.5.3.1.2.4 The purposive =ua

The central function of =ua is that of a relative marker (§ 3.3.5.1, p. 240); the exact patterns of marking are discussed in § 4.3.5 (p. 295). The clitic is furthermore found on clauses. In all such instances, it follows a verb plus the clitic clause linker =ini (§ 3.5.2.5, p. 247). In several cases, =ua marks a purposive relation to the following clause, as (467) and (468) illustrate.

(467) ... sefar k-asu lolo=ni=ua  ki-sefar ierau
  dog  3:UND-for say=LNK1=PURP 3:POSS-dog not.allowed
  rokoroko=na’a  ere.
  rustle=INT 1DEM
  ‘... (he) tells his dog so that the dog doesn’t make any noise.’ (38-113)

\(^{10}\) The second person plural pronoun ii is theoretically included in this group; however, it is itself used extremely rarely and there is no occurrence of (uii)=p-ii in the corpus.
(468) ... tufuraa u=ua ki-ni ki-upa k-asu livre mei=ni
woman one=REL 3:POSS-mother 3:POSS-father 3:UND-for freedom take=LNK1
kini=ni=ua la’a=ni ni-asu ma’en haka ure...
give.to.3=LNK1=PURP move=LNK1 REFL-for know search 2DEM
‘... a girl whose parents give her the freedom so that she goes and looks for
knowledge...’

(105-028)

=ua is in some cases also found on a cluster of clause linkers, viz. uai=ni=ni and
uai=konai=ni. This justifies its categorisation as a clause linker. The whole of such
a linker cluster also appears to express a purposive-like notion. (469) and (470) may
serve as illustration.

(469) ... sa’a-fani-kini uai=ni=ni=ua asi-mali uere
what:BD-be.like:BD-do CLS=LNK1=LNK1=PURP 1s:POSS-cousin 2DEM
mei=ni rei-pada=na’a=ee uere-isi-ne’et.
take=LNK1 outwards-order=INT=DEF 2DEM-at:RED-think
‘... how to do (it) so that he could order my cousin to get out.’

(101-148)

(470) Iskola=ni muni ma’u matenek=ini kini=si uai=konai=ni=ua
school=LNK1 return come clever=CTR give.to.3=LNK2 CLS-CSQ=LNK1=PURP
ma’u=ni e’=ini ni-sa ni-mata hau k-uta...
come=LNK1 V1DEM=LNK1 REFL-wife REFL-child all 3:UND-kill
‘(He) went to school and was given knowledge, so that he came back here
and killed his wife and his child...’

(56-04)

The common property of this purposive-like use of the clitic =ua and its more
frequent relative-marking use is that of the subordination of a clausal unit to a head;
in the case of relative sentences as discussed in § 4.3.5 (p. 295), this head is a noun,
while in the case of such purposive clauses as (467) through (470), it is a clause.
It appears that in these cases, =ua overlaps in usage with =taa, the more generally
used purposive marker (§ 3.5.3.1.2.1, p. 257), which is shown in context in (471).

(471) Lue ka’u-ka’u mei muts-lir=taa (... uai=taa
lime RDL-little take inside:RED-put.in.a.little=PURP CLS=PURP
irau fi-tana=taa pa’uk=ana k-asu.
not.allowed 1pi-hand=PURP bad=INT 3:UND-for
‘(We) put in a bit of lime so that it doesn’t come up, so that it doesn’t hurt
our hands.’

(57-17)

The purposive-like sentences constitute but a subgroup of the cases where =ua is
found on clauses. There is a second group of cases where there appears to be no
purposive connotation. Rather, the clause marked by =ua and the one following it
look like simple sequential clauses. An example is given in (472). Note also that the
immediately following clause is structurally very much the same, but does not make use of =ua. As such, the contribution of the clitic is rather unclear.

\[(472)\]  
\[\ldots \ a\text{-}r e \ ' \ i s i \text{-}n i \quad i s i \text{-}u p a \quad u a i \text{-}k o n a i \text{-}n i \quad p u e \quad u a t a\]
\[\text{now} \quad 1 p e \text{-}P O S S \text{-}m o t h e r \quad 1 p e \text{-}P O S S \text{-}f a t h e r \quad C L S \text{-}C S Q \text{-}L N K 1 \quad a r e c a \quad c o c o n u t \]
\[m e i \text{-}n i = u a \quad u m e \text{-}s o u n \quad \text{ere} \quad l o f o \quad d a n a \quad m e i\]
\[\text{take} \text{-}L N K 1 \text{-}U A \quad V D E M \text{-}D I S T \text{-}R E D \text{-}p l a n t \text{-}B D \quad I D E M \quad g a r d e n \quad g a r d e n \text{ take}\]

\[u m e \text{-}p a u n = e e . \]
\[V D E M \text{-}D I S T \text{-}R E D \text{-}p u l l \text{-}o u t = D E F \]
\[\ldots \text{now our parents plant areca and coconut there and make a garden there.} \quad \text{(56-08)} \]

It is not quite clear if such sentences have to be understood as subordinated, too. Note that many of the cases found in the recordings (among others (469) and (472) above) seem to be nominalised, as can be seen from the determiner at the end of these clauses. A structure similar to subordination through nominalisation is also found frequently with adverbial clauses (see § 7.6.1.1, p. 430), but appears to be playing a role with complement clause extensions too (§ 3.6.2, p. 265).

While the marking of relative sentences is synchronically clearly the main function of =ua, such cases as discussed in the present section suggest it may originally have been a more general marker of subordination. See § 8.3 (p. 481) for a more thorough discussion of subordination in Makalero.

### 3.5.3.2 Non-linking clause-level clitics

Four clitics, =na’a (INT), =fa’a (IMM), =ua (QM) and =elo (EXHORT) are used to modify the meaning of clauses without linking them to other clauses in a multi-clause unit. =na’a and =fa’a are phasal markers, picking out a specific phase of the action as denoted by the verb. =ua and =elo, on the other hand, mark clauses as interrogative and requests, respectively. Through modifying single clauses, rather than linking two clauses, the non-linking clitics differ drastically from the clause linkers as described in § 3.5.3.1 (p. 250).\[^{16}\] The non-linking clitics are always cliticised directly to the clauses they modify, never to the clausal pro-form ua, as is the case with most clause linkers. In the following, the intention marker =na’a is discussed in § 3.5.3.2.1 (p. 262), the immediate action marker =fa’a in § 3.5.3.2.2 (p. 263), the question marker =ua in § 3.5.3.2.3 (p. 263) and the polite imperative marker =elo in § 3.5.3.2.4 (p. 263).

[^16]: Note that =hi’a ‘only’ (§ 3.5.2.4, p. 247), if used on clause level, is also non-linking. Furthermore, =ua ‘or’ (§ 3.5.2.2, p. 246) and =te ‘after’ (§ 3.5.3.1.3, p. 252), though typically clause linkers, occur in non-linking uses in some contexts (§ 7.7.1, p. 435, § 7.7.2.1, p. 438, § 7.7.3.3.1, p. 449, § 7.7.3.2.2, p. 448).
3.5.3.2.1 The intention marker =na’a

=na’a expresses unrealised actions, that is, either intentions or futures, as illustrated in (473) and (474). Like =te’e (§ 3.5.3.1.1.3, p. 252), =fata (§ 3.5.3.1.1.4, p. 253) and =nata (§ 3.5.3.1.1.5, p. 254), =na’a is used only after vowel-final elements. The metathesised form =ana is cliticised to consonant-final phrases.

(473)  ... ani aire’ ma’u=ni aeroportu-isu’ (...) uai=ni=si ani
     1s now come=LNK1 airport-at CLS=LNK1=LNK2 1s

     Portugal-isu-la’a=na’a.
P:at:RED-move=INT
‘... I am now at the airport, and I intend to go to Portugal.’ (74-017)

(474)  Ini haka-hau umu=na’a.
     1pe all-all die=INT
‘We will all die.’ (pelic298)

More information on the clitic’s use is found in § 7.2.1.1.1 (p. 415). There is some evidence to the effect that =na’a may originally be a full verb. The strongest case is given in (475); the negator nomo is always part of a verb phrase (see § 5, p. 317), standing to the left of the full verb, and the adverptic clitic linker =po attaches to full clauses—the only possible analysis is thus for ana to be a full verb in this case, since there is no other element which could carry this function. Note also that it does not metathesise in this sentence, even though it follows the vowel-final negator. This suggests that ana is in this case not a clitic.

(475)  Hai nomo ana=po kiloo ini hai tepa leu.
     NSIT NEG arrive=ADVR 3s 1pe NSIT constant call
     ‘He didn’t come, so we kept calling him.’ (67-20)

The translation of (475) shows that ana is a verb of movement like ‘come’ or ‘arrive’.

An prefixal or proclitic form na’a- is also found in what looks like a reflexive in (476), and, reduplicated as a free morpheme, as a distributive marker in (477). It is not clear whether these two items are related to the intention marker.

(476)  Aire’ na’a-lasi na’a-dafa nomohaka amuni ki=selu=ni fi-uta.
     now alone=-cut alone=-pound.BD CLS.NEG person ATTR=other=CTR 1pi-kill
     ‘Now we cut and beat ourselves, there is nobody else who kills us.’ (23-042)

(477)  ... ni-ni ni-upa-reo k-asu usupadu u na’a-na’a due.
     REFL-mother REFL-father=PL 3-UND-for candle one RDL-alone? light
     ‘... light a candle each for one’s mother and one’s father.’ (124-53)
See § 9.2.3.3 (p. 505) for the pragmatic marker na’a-muni, which also contains an element na’a.

3.5.3.2.2 The immediate action marker =fa’a

=fa’a denotes a very near future, or that a situation is about to happen. Like =na’a (§ 3.5.3.2.1, p. 262), =te’e (§ 3.5.3.1.1.3, p. 252), =fata (§ 3.5.3.1.1.4, p. 253) and =nata (§ 3.5.3.1.1.5, p. 254), it too has a metathesised form =afa which stands after consonant-final phrases. =fa’a is quite rare; examples of its use are illustrated in (478) and (479).

(478)  Irau  la’a, ae  uta=fa’a.
not.allowed move rain fall=IMM
‘Don’t go; it will be raining in a moment.’
(elic050)

(479)  ... hai  mu’a-li’an=ini  hai  la’a  ira-muta-li’an=afa.
NSIT ground-fall=LNK1 NSIT move water-inside:RED-fall=IMM
‘... (the child) falls down and is about to fall into the water...’
(38-092)

3.5.3.2.3 The question marker =ua

The clitic =ua optionally marks polar interrogatives. (480) shows an example; more details are given in § 7.7.2.1 (p. 438).

(480)  Ei  hana’e  Illoomar-isi-la’a=ee  ei  Makalero  lolo=ua?
2s  REMPT L-at:RED-move=DEF 2s  M.  say=QM
‘When you were in Illoomar, did you speak Makalero?’
(chat001)

3.5.3.2.4 The polite imperative =elo

=elo cliticises optionally to imperatives. Its function is not to mark the illocutionary force, but to soften a direct imperative. An imperative with =elo is considered very polite, and speakers characterised it as a request rather than an order. It appears to be more common in the speech of younger speakers.

(481)  Ni  mei=ni  rau-ena=elo!
REFL take=LNK1 good-see=EXHORT
‘Take care of yourself!’
(chat013)

149 The picture in the frog story actually shows the boy in the process of tumbling down from the cliff.
3.6 Other morphemes

A variety of morphemes cannot be easily assigned to any of the lexical categories discussed so far. § 3.6.1 (p. 264) through § 3.6.5 (p. 269) remark on these and present possible classifications.

3.6.1 The clausal negator nomohaka

Nomohaka is the clausal negator. It precedes either the whole of the VP or of a clause, as shown in (482) and (483).

(482) ... umu were nomohaka na’i hau-suri=po umu were mara=ni
die 2DEM CLS.NEG just all-release=ADVR die 2DEM go=LNK1
ki-hai’ ki-heker kini
3:POSS-finish 3:POSS-burial do
‘... the death is not just left alone, this death, (we) make an end and a
ceremony.’ (21-038)

(483) ... nomohaka ani k-asu mutu isit...
CLS.NEG 1s 3:UND-for inside ill
‘... it is not the case that I am angry with him...’ (82-036)

Nomohaka is made up of the normal VP negator nomo (see § 3.4.4, p. 242) and an element haka, which may be identical or related to the counter-presupposition marker =haka (§ 3.5.1.2, p. 244). The combination nomohaka is grammaticalised. The internal negator nomo negates verbs, which suggests that haka could be a verbal element, and the whole nomohaka in fact clausal. Nomohaka precedes the clause it modifies. Alternatively, the modified clause’s subject can be placed in the left-detached position of the sentence, preceding the clausal negator (§ 7.6.1, p. 427). These variant positions are illustrated in (482) and (483) above and juxtaposed again, on a pair of otherwise identical sentences, in (484) and (485). Nomohaka shares these positional variants, either to the left or to the right of the modified clause’s subject, with clausal adverbials (see, again, § 7.6.1, p. 427).

(484) Ki-ni ki-upa nomohaka hai hau umu.
3:POSS-mother 3:POSS-father CLS.NEG NSIT all die
‘His parents are not both dead.’ (elic754)

(485) Nomohaka ki-ni ki-upa hai hau umu.
CLS.NEG 3:POSS-mother 3:POSS-father NSIT all die
‘His parents are not both dead.’ (elic754a)

In fact, the use of a clausal negator implies the contradiction of a presupposition in most cases. Note, however, that =haka is otherwise found only on NPs. See below for a possible alternative analysis.
3.6.2 The complementiser =ee

As discussed in § 3.2.3.10.1 (p. 187), a group of verbs with postverbal complement clause extensions introduce those complement clause extensions by means of a complementiser. This complementiser is related to a deictic element (see § 3.2.3.1, p. 232, for the speaker-related demonstrative and deictic verb) and takes the forms =ee, =e’, or =ere. Typical examples, illustrating each of the variant forms, are given in (486) through (488). In each case, the complementiser attaches to the main verb and introduces the bracketed complement clause.

(486) *Ani uali’=e’=kini [ei=kini hai kauen].
1s hear-CMPL-IND 2s=IND NSIT marry
‘I hear that you are already married.’  (elic816a)

(487) ... asi-nana-raa lolo=ee [hai la’a=ni asi-tiu-raa]
1s:POSS-elder.sibling-PL say=CMPL NSIT move=LNK1 1s:POSS-uncle-PL
ki-lopu-isi-rau.
3:POSS-house-at:RED-sleep-PL:BD
‘... my brother said he had gone to sleep at my uncle’s house.’
(126-033)

(488) *Killoo ini heti=ere [ini so’ot=uai tule].
3s 1pe ask=CMPL 1pe want=or not.want
‘He asks us whether we agree or not.’  (elic480)

The forms =ee and =ere seem to be nominal in origin, conforming to the deictic definite marker =ee (§ 3.5.1.1, p. 243) and the speaker-related demonstrative ere, respectively. If used with constituents other than NPs, these elements commonly signal that the constituents in question are used as arguments. (489) shows such an example; the bracketed constituent followed by the demonstrative ere is a full sentence, consisting of two clauses, which as a whole functions as the subject argument to the predicate ue-rau ‘so good’.

(489) *Sirvisu mei=ni kota-isi-saka] ere nomo ue-rau.
work take=LNK1 city-at:RED-search:BD IDEM NEG VDEM:RED-good
‘Looking for work in the city is not that easy.’  (elic472)

Structurally, (488) and (489) look very similar, suggesting that in (488), too, the constituent followed by ere is used in argument function. It is cross-linguistically common for complement clauses to be nominalised; however, the constructions with the nominally based complementisers as in (487) and (488) would be quite the reverse. It is hard to conceive of the clause with the verb of saying as an argument of the complement clause. Furthermore, note that verbs of saying can be constructed with the direct speech as an argument, which stands in the usual preverbal object position (see § 5, p. 317). (490) shows the definite marker =ee on a clause in argument position.
(490)  ... ei hai nomo hul=afta [ni-nomo hul]=ee lolo.
2s NSIT NEG able=COND REFL-NEG able=DEF say
‘... if you cannot afford it, say that you cannot afford it.’ (74-076)  

In this construction, it is very clear that the direct speech is headed by the verb of saying, being an argument of it. An analysis of the clause with the verb of saying as an argument in such sentences as (487) and (488) would be quite the opposite and thus rather unlikely. Also, such an analysis would not be easy to reconcile with the evidence from the third variant form of the complementiser, =e’. Other than =ee and =ere, =e’ appears to be verbal in origin, being homophonous to the speaker-related deictic verb e’ (see §3.2.3.9, p. 180). It thus cannot be understood as signalling nominalisation of the preceding constituent. Nevertheless, as seen in (486) through (488), =e’ functions in the same way as =ee and =ere and the three forms of the complementiser appear to be interchangeable. The verb tule ‘not want’ gives evidence as to the possible origin of this complementiser. What corresponds to the complement clause to tule ‘not want’ is usually constructed as an argument, as in (491), where it is followed by the definite marker =ee to signal its syntactic function. Similar clauses using the demonstrative ere can also be found.

(491)  Mata ka’u ere [ni uaro]=ee tule.
child small 1DEM REFL wash=DEF not.want
‘This child does not want to wash.’ (elic1591a)  

In a few cases, however, =e’, instead of the definite marker =ee, is used with such a complement clause.

(492)  Kiloo [seur mu]=e’ tule.
3s meat eat=CMPL not.want
‘He does not want to eat meat.’ (elic211)  

It thus seems that these clauses in object position can be marked with all the forms of the complementiser. This shows that there are two construction types in which the complementiser is found. Their schematic representations in (493) and (494) show that they are radically different.

(493)  V=ee [complement clause extension]  

(494)  [clausal argument]=ee V  

Structures like (493), with a preverbal complement clause (which may be analysed as nominalised or not), conform to the typological profile typically associated with SOV languages. In Makalero, too, the VP is consistently head-final, such that postverbal complement clause extensions as in (486) through (488) are somewhat unexpected. Complement clauses of the structure as in (494) look like prototypical argument uses of clausal constituents, provided they use either the demonstrative ere or the definite
marker =ee. I will assume that these represent the original complement clause construction. As discussed above, however, it is not quite easy to reconcile =e’, which seems to be verbal in origin, with this picture. Note, however, the similarity with the derived deictic verbs discussed in § 3.2.3.9.1 (p. 183). Ere’ and the other members of this paradigm are predominantly used to recapitulate longish undergoes. In these occurrences, the verbs in question look like determiners. However, there is clear evidence showing that they are verbal. It is telling that the form =e’ found with some clausal arguments is identical to the verbal ending of such derived demonstrative verbs; it is plausible to assume that the element =e’ is used in such cases in a function very much like that of the derived deictic verbs as described in § 3.2.3.9.1 (p. 183).

Postverbal complement clause extensions and the use of the complementiser on the matrix clause are typologically unexpected. However, sentences such as (495) and (496) provide some insight in the origin of this construction type. In both of them, the end of the complement clause extension is marked by the quotative marker ain (§ 3.2.3.12.3, p. 205).

(495) Radio e’inini hai te-dr-leu [Agapitu Barreto hai
radio VDMM=LNK1 NSIT VDEM,HIGH;RED-call A. B. NSIT
‘The radio here called up there saying that Agapito Barreto had died."
(101-354)

(496) ... asisi-dsen lolo=ee [(...) ei judul hai hatama=si ei tepa
1s.POSS-lecturer say=CMPL 2s thesis NSIT enter=LNK2 2s constant
isai ha’e=ni ma’u=ni ni’isi tepa konsultasi] ain.
state light=LNK1 come=LNK1 simultaneous constant consult QUOT
‘... my lecturer said: “you (can) hand in your thesis already, but you (must)
keep working hard and come for consultations.”’
(126-203)

As shown in § 3.2.3.10.1.1 (p. 187), ain still functions as a full verb, meaning ‘say’ or ‘mean’. It is thus plausible to assume that in such sentences as (495) and (496), the complement clause extension is actually the argument of the verb ain ‘say’. Such a structure conforms to the typological profile of Makalero. Subsequently, ain in this position became grammaticalised as a quotative marker and became optional, leaving a sentence type in which a complement clause follows the verb of saying. While this scenario accounts for the postverbal position of complement clauses, it leaves the position of the complementiser on the verb of saying unexplained. As suggested above, this element originally stood on clausal arguments to verbs of saying. It is possible that the construction where the complementiser stands on the verb of saying to introduce the complement clause extension is due to outside influence; complement clause constructions in which a verb of saying is followed by a complementising element and a postverbal complement clause are found in all of the major contact languages (Indonesian, Tetum as well as Portuguese).
Even though the complementising elements are likely to have emerged from a variety of sources, they function now in the same way as interchangeable members of a paradigm. The function of this complementiser is broadly the linking of two clauses, specifying the relation between them; as such, it might be grouped with the other clause linkers. 

=ere and =ee are found in subordinating function also with adverbial sentences (see § 7.6.1.1). Furthermore, several of the atvalent adverbial verbs (see e.g. § 3.2.3.1.1, p. 141) end in =e’, which is reminiscent of the =e’ form of the complementiser. Note that most of these verbs are incapable of functioning as utterances of their own, and can be used only as parts of sentences together with other clauses.

3.6.3 Lokata

The element lokata follows the NP-level clitic =ini (§ 3.5.2.5.1, p. 248) in (497), which shows that it is outside of the NP. Similarly, in (498), it precedes the leftmost verbal modifier, the aspect marker hai (§ 3.4.3, p. 242) and is consequently not part of the VP. It is not phonetically dependent on either a preceding or a following element. This allows for the conclusion that it is a predicative element comparable to such adverbial verbs as discussed in § 3.2.3.1.1 (p. 141). Its meaning and use, however, are entirely unclear.

(497) ... toutou pere=ni lokata mana-mutu.
owl big=CTR LOKATA hole-inside
‘... it is a big owl which is inside the hole.’

(498) Kiloo tone’ lokata hai hau ma’en.
3s perhaps LOKATA NSIT all know
‘Maybe he already knows it all.’

3.6.4 Isipera(n)

Isipera appears to be used as a verb meaning ‘to try’ or ‘to challenge’. An example is given in (499).

(499) ... ni na’u mei=ni isipera=ini k-ata-ue-nat...
    REFL just take=LNK1 try=LNK1 3:UND-contact:RED-V3DEM:RED-stand:SG
‘... (he) exerts himself (to get in) and stands there leaning on it...’

It is likely, though not absolutely clear, that this is related to isipera, a particle of unclear status indicating perhaps a high degree, as in (500). In combination with the aspect marker hai and the verb (k)-ua’ ‘on top’, it is often translated as ‘gradually more’, as in (501).
(500)  Oi were isiperanomo raun...
INTERJ 2DEM ISIPERA NEG good
‘Oi, this is very bad...’ (120-171)

(501)  ... ki-isit isiperahai k-uamisa...
3-POSS-ill ISIPERA NSIT 3-UND-on.top:RED-go.up
‘... his illness got worse and worse...’ (67-30)

3.6.5 Free conjunctions
Makalero does not originally have free conjunctions, but uses the clitic clause
linkers discussed in § 3.5.3.1 (p. 250) to express the semantic relations between
clauses. Through outside influence (i.e. borrowing), however, some free-
conjunction-like elements have come into the language. § 3.6.5.1 (p. 269) discusses
Portuguese-based conjunctions, § 3.6.5.2 (p. 270) Tetum-based conjunctions,
§ 3.6.5.3 (p. 271) Indonesian-based conjunctions and § 3.6.5.4 (p. 271) rare cases of
apparently native free conjunctions. § 3.6.5.5 (p. 272) gives a brief outlook on their
possible lexical categorisation.

3.6.5.1 Portuguese conjunctions
A variety of conjunctions of Portuguese origin, listed in Table 3.47, are in more or
less frequent use in discourse.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Makalero</th>
<th>Portuguese source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>after</td>
<td>depois</td>
<td>depois ‘afterwards’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>during</td>
<td>durante</td>
<td>durante ‘during’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thus</td>
<td>entaun</td>
<td>então ‘then, thus, so’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and</td>
<td>e(51)</td>
<td>e ‘and’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>because</td>
<td>komu</td>
<td>como ‘since, because’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>when</td>
<td>kuandu</td>
<td>quando ‘when’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or</td>
<td>o(u)</td>
<td>ou ‘or’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>so that</td>
<td>para</td>
<td>para ‘towards, so that’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>because</td>
<td>purke</td>
<td>porque ‘because’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>if</td>
<td>see</td>
<td>se ‘if’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.47: Portuguese loan conjunctions

Other conjunctions, found only sporadically in the speech of a few more lusified
individuals, include portantu ‘however’ and tempu ‘when’.

(51) ‘and’ is not only used to coordinate clause-level units, but also constituents within the NP (§ 4.5, p. 314).
These Portuguese-based conjunctions differ drastically from their Makalero linker counterparts in that they are free forms in clause-initial position, rather than clitics attached to the end of a clause. Two examples are given in (502) and (503).

(502) \[ \ldots \text{amulafu ere } k-asu \ lolo ni-inu } k-eta-kofu \ entaun \]
    person 1DEM 3:UND-for say  REF-eye 3:UND-firm-close thus

    tufiraa ere ni-inu kofu…
    woman 1DEM REFL-eye close
‘… (the snake) told the person to close her eyes firmly, so the girl closed her eyes…’

(64-06)

(503) \[ \ldots \text{ibu=ee dur uere kafe ke’ see kafe uari nomo} \]
    Indonesian.woman=DEF wake-up 2DEM coffee drink if coffee still NEG

    rau ibu=ee dur=ee fi mei rau-pase.
    good  Indonesian.woman=DEF wake-up=DEF 1st take  good-beat
‘… after the Indonesian woman woke up, she used to drink coffee, (but) if the coffee was not ready yet when she got up, she beat us up.’

(101-262)

Another Portuguese conjunction, mais ‘but’, is used in Makalero not as a free element, but as an enclitic on the first of the clauses it connects (§ 3.5.3.1.1.8, p. 255). As such, mais is totally integrated into the Makalero structure and hence not listed in Table 3.47. Similarly, ou ‘or’ is sometimes, though not in all cases, realised as a clitic (§ 3.5.2.3, p. 247).

### 3.6.5.2 Tetum conjunctions

Only two conjunctions originating from Tetum have been found, namely uainhira ‘when’ and tampa ‘because’. Both of these are in very restricted use, found in the speech of only one speaker each. (504) gives an example of uainhira ‘when’, while (505) shows the use of tampa ‘because’. Neither of the two is used as a clitic.\(^{102}\)

(504) \[ \text{Uainhira Portugal ma’u=ni invade (…)} \ tenki suku ere ki-nei \]
    when P. come=LNK1 invade must suo 1DEM 3:POSS-name

    pada se-se’=ana...
    friend RDL-separate=INT
‘When Portugal invaded (…), (they) wanted to give the sucos different names...’

(35-11)

\(^{102}\) Note, however, that uainhira would probably appear to Makalero speakers to be segmentable into the clausal proform uai (§ 3.2.3.12.2, p. 204), the linker =ini (§ 3.5.2.5, p. 247) and an element hira. Clause linkers are regularly found attached to suai~ni; however, there is no instance of a back-formation ~hira.
3.6.5.3 Indonesian conjunctions

Only one conjunction from Indonesian is in regular use, namely kar(e)na ‘because’. Like in colloquial Indonesian, it is in Makalero generally pronounced as [karna]. While (506) shows that it can be used as a conjunction on its own, it is in fact often used in combination with other, native means of indicating causality, such as the verb (k)-asu ‘for’ (see § 5.2.2.6.3, p. 349) and the linker =konai (CSQ; see § 3.5.3.1.1.6, p. 254) in (507).

(506) ... ei-asu hai problema ain karna ei nomo ki-oras ere mini...
   2s-for NSIT problem QUOT because 2s NEG 3:POS-time 1DEM follow
   ‘... (he said) there will be a problem for you because you didn’t follow (his
   instructions about the time...’
   (120-172)

(507) ... isarami tufur=oo ta ena mutu heke karna lolo-ini ure’
   brother sister=to REC see inside difficult because say-NML 2DEM.V

   lolo-ini pa’u-pa’uk=hi’a k-asu=konai=ni fi ta ena mutu heke.
   say-NML RDL-bad=only 3:UND-for=CSQ=LNK1 1pi REC see inside difficult
   ‘... brothers and sisters too are angry with each other because those words
   were very bad words, because of that we are angry with each other.’
   (98-32)

3.6.5.4 Other conjunctions

The interrogative tetepane’ ‘when’ (§ 3.2.3.6, p. 167), a native Makalero item, is used as a temporal conjunction, as in (508).

(508) ... uatu sofifi tetepane’ fi u teni ma’u=ni teni ta ena
   day behind when 1pi one again come=LNK1 again REC look

   uai=te’e=si fi teni k-ra-lola.
   CLS=after=LNK2 1pi again 3:UND-on.top:RED-say
   ‘... in the future, when we meet, we will talk more.’
   (101-488)

This use is synonymous to that of the Portuguese loan kuandu (§ 3.6.5.1, p. 269) and the Tetum loan uainhira (§ 3.6.5.2, p. 270). Note that both of these items also function as question verbs in the donor languages. This suggests that the conjunctive use of tetepane’ is a calque on one of these languages. It is most unlike the
typological profile of Makalero, which uses clitic clause linkers like those discussed in § 3.5.3.1 (p. 250).
Furthermore, there is a clause-initial item tetu, the origin of which is unclear. It is found in the speech of one speaker only, of which (509) gives an example, and appears to be used like a conjunction. It translates as ‘no matter whether...’. Note, however, that it always cooccurs with the concessive linker =oo. As such, it is not quite clear what the actual meaning and contribution of tetu is.

(509) **Tetu fuan nomo fuan=oo ei=ni dadau ei=ni mei=ni la’a**
although? dare NEG dare=too 2s=CTR must 2s=CTR take=LNK1 move

ve’ atn.
V2DEM QUOT
‘(He said) whether you dare or not, it is you who has to go, you must take it there.’
(120-068)

### 3.6.5.5 Summary

The items most similar in Makalero to the borrowed conjunctions discussed in § 3.6.5.1 (p. 269) through § 3.6.5.3 (p. 271) are such phrases as mara=ni (go=LNK1) or la’a=ni (move=LNK1), both of which frequently occur in texts to propel the action forward and translate roughly as ‘and then’ (§ 3.2.3.13, p. 210). Like adverbial expressions, these elements are actually clausal. (510) shows a typical use of mara=ni.

(510) **... ani la’a=ni ala’-mutu=ee uere=hi’a nua-nua. Uai=ni=ni**
1s move=LNK1 forest-inside=DEF 2DEM=only RDL-eat CLS=LNK1=LNK1

mara=ni ah uere na’u so’o.
go=LNK1 mango 2DEM just end
‘... when I was in the forest I only ate these. Then there were no more mangos.’
(101-051, 101-052)

Another verb that is used as a conjunction is the interrogative tetepane’ (§ 3.6.5.4, p. 271). Although there is no context which unequivocally shows the loan conjunctions to be treated like verbs, such analogue cases suggest they may be understood as such. However, at present, their categorial status is conjectural.
4. The noun phrase

The structure of the noun phrase in Makalero is represented schematically in (1).

(1)  

\[
\text{NP} \\
\text{POSS} \quad \text{HEAD} \quad \text{MOD} \quad \text{DET}
\]

The head is preceded by the possessor, while the other dependents, i.e. modifiers and determiners, follow it. The possessor and the determiner slots can hold one element each. The modifier position, on the other hand, can contain several modifiers. (2) gives an example of an NP with all positions filled.

(2)  

\[
\text{NP} \\
\text{POSS} \quad \text{HEAD} \quad \text{MOD} \quad \text{DET}
\]

\[
\text{(asi)-(namora)} \quad \text{(ki=mu’it)} \quad \text{(ere)}
\]

1c.POSS-lover  ATTR=long.ago  IDEM

‘my former boyfriend’

In the following sections, the constituent parts of the noun phrase are discussed in turn, starting with the head in § 4.1 (p. 273), followed by the possessor phrase in § 4.2 (p. 277), modifiers in § 4.3 (p. 279) and determiners in § 4.4 (p. 314).

4.1 The head

The head of the NP is prototypically a noun, a nominal compound, or a personal pronoun. § 3.1 (p. 99) and § 3.3.1.1 (p. 218) give information concerning the classes of nouns and pronouns in general. Nominal compounds are discussed in § 4.1.1 (p. 276). (2) above exemplifies an NP with a nominal head.

A head is defined as such by the fact that it is the locus of such nominal suffixes as the plural markers -laa and -raa (§ 3.3.2, p. 236), shown in (3) and (4) as well as the honorific suffix -uai (§ 3.3.3, p. 238).

(3)  

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
[[n][\text{POSS}]=\text{nana}]/\text{HEAD}=\text{raa} & [\text{meih}]/\text{MOD}=\text{ee} \\
\text{REFL-elder.sibling.PL} & \text{two.HUM=DEF} \\
\text{‘my two older siblings’} & \text{(101-026)}
\end{array}
\]

(4)  

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
[[\text{namira}]\text{HEaad}=\text{laa} & [\text{ere}]/\text{DET}/\text{NP} \\
\text{man-PL} & 1\text{DEM} \\
\text{‘these men’} & \text{(elic630)}
\end{array}
\]
Furthermore, the presence of a head is a prerequisite for the expression of a possessor phrase (§ 4.2, p. 277). However, as shown by the schematic representation of the NP in (1), where it is bracketed, the head is not an obligatory part of the NP. (5) and (6) exemplify headless NPs consisting only of modifiers and determiners.

(5) ... harus [\{ki=pere\}_{MOD} \{ho’o\}_{DET} \{NP to-la’a... must ATTR=big.SG some accompany:RED-move
‘... some grown-up must go along...’ (120-126)

(6) [[[Ei=na hana’e lola]_{DET} \{ere\}_{DET} \{NP ani hai ne ma’a]. 2s=REL REM.PRT say 1DEM 1s NSIT take come
‘I brought (the thing) you once talked about.’ (elic999)

The NPs in (7) and (8) consist only of determiners, namely the demonstrative uere (see § 3.3.2.1, p. 232) and ho’o ‘some’ (see § 3.3.2.2, p. 233), respectively.

(7) ... ani pada=ni misa=ni [[[uere]_{DET} \{NP ko-horu...
1s order=LNK1 go.up=LNK1 2DEM 3:UND-with
‘... (he) invited me to come up and stay with him...’ (101-416)

(8) [[[Ho’o]_{DET} \{NP nomo mi-ma’en... some NEG along:RED-know
‘Some didn’t understand...’ (101-033)

The overall order as shown in (1) must be maintained in all circumstances. Hence, such NPs as (7) and (8) cannot under any circumstances appear with a modifier. Not only nouns, but also verbs can function as NP heads. This property of Makalero is a major reason for the difficulty to classify lexemes into such lexical categories as nouns and verbs, as discussed in § 3 (p. 97). (9) shows an example of a prototypical verb heading an NP: the function of the complement-verb complex isi-ne’et ‘think (of)’ as a noun phrase head is unmistakable through the fact that it is preceded by the first person possessive pronoun asi- (§ 3.3.1.1.3, p. 225); a possessive is necessarily the first element of an NP. For comparison, (10) shows isi-ne’et ‘think (of)’ in its prototypical verbal function.

(9) ... [[[asi]_{POSS} [isi-ne’et]_{HEAD} \{NP ni’isi
1s:POSS-at:RED-think simultaneous heavy
ti’ir.
‘... my mind (thoughts) were still heavy.’ (124-45)

(10) ... ani hai isi-ne’et ani hai rau rei-misa=na’a.
1s NSIT at:RED-think 1s NSIT good outwards-go.up=INT
‘... I thought it would be good for me to get out.’ (101-440)

The pair of sentences in (11) and (12) give equivalent examples with the static verb rau ‘good’: In (11), it is the head of a complex NP with a preposed possessor. The whole of this NP is an argument of the following verb asu ‘for’, and is cross-referenced on it with the k-prefix (see § 5.2.2.6.3, p. 349). On the other hand, in (12), rau is the main predicate in its prototypical verbal function.
(11) \([Fi\text{-}afur\ k]_{POSS}[rau]_{HEAD}\_{NP}\ k\text{-asu}\ f\ text{fi}\ ira\ lor\).\\
1pi-body 3:POSS-good 3:UND-for 1pi water fly\\
‘Swimming is very good for the health.’ (elic469)\\
(lit: For the good of our body, we swim.)

(12) \([\text{asi-nilai}\ muni\ rau}\)\\
1s:POSS-mark return good\\
‘… my marks were good again.’ (126-086)

Full VPs (§ 5, p. 317), clauses (§ 6, p. 383) and multi-clausal units (§ 7, p. 401) can also be used as NP heads. In all of the examples below, the complex NP heads are in square brackets for ease of reading. A relatively straightforward case is shown in (13), where a full VP with the verb -horu ‘with’ and the third person object prefix \(k(o)\)- functions as the NP head. (14) gives a similar case, where the verb phrase which heads the NP includes the aspectual adverbial hau ‘all’. Finally, in (15), a multi-clausal unit consisting of two clauses (the first headed by the light verb mei ‘take’, the second by the complement-verb complex isi-saka ‘search in’), takes the function of the NP head.

(13) \([papa\ uere\ k]_{POSS}[ko\text{-}horu]_{HEAD}\_{NP}\ u\text{e}\).\\
Indonesian 2DEM 3:POSS-3:UND-with V2DEM\\
‘… the Indonesian had a servant.’ (101-416)\\
(lit. the Indonesian’s ‘with-him’ was there)

(14) \([Rata\ ki]_{POSS}[hau\ hai]_{HEAD}\_{NP}\=ini\ ere\).\\
story 3:POSS-all finished=CTR 1DEM.V\\
‘This is the end of the story.’ (elic1144)

(15) \([Serbisu\ mei=ni\ kota\text{-}isi\text{-}saka]_{HEAD}\_{NP}\=ere\_{DET}\_{NB}\ nomo\ u\text{e}\text{-rau}\).\\
work take=LNK1 city=at:RED-search:BD 1DEM NEG V2DEM:RED-good\\
‘Finding work in the city is not that easy.’ (elic472)

In summary, a variety of constituents can fill the head position of an NP, starting from simple nouns in the prototypical case, to verbs, VPs and even full sentences. Especially with internally complex noun phrase heads of a different lexical category, such as the VP in (14) and the sentence in (15), some formal marking of the function of those constituents as noun phrase heads is necessary. That is, the position and function of a given constituent within the NP must be marked through the presence of an item that is clearly associated with a noun phrase, generally a possessor phrase or a determiner. In (13) and (14), these are the preceding possessor phrases (but also the contrastive marker \=ini in (14), which separates the constituent it follows from the rest of the clause, see § 9.2.3.1, p. 501), while in (15), it is the demonstrative \=ere, which follows the clausal head.
4.1.1 Nominal compounds

Makalero nominal compounds consist of two simple nouns which form one nominal head together. The head of the compound follows the determining noun; hence a Makalero nominal compound looks much like an English one. An example is ‘flower pot’, where ‘pot’ is the head and ‘flower’ provides more information, in the present case its purpose or use, concerning that head noun. Nominal compounds in Makalero are clearly distinct from an NP with a nominal head and a noun in the following modifier slot (see § 4.3.1, p. 280), in which the order of the head noun and the determining noun is inverted. Both structures, however, are formally a sequence of two nouns directly following one another.

Nominal compounds in Makalero fall into two semantic types; in the first of these, the two nouns are in a part-whole relationship, whereas in the second, the determining noun specifies a purpose, material, or some other association of the head noun with the preceding determining noun.

A few examples of the first type of Makalero compounds, showing a part-whole relationship between the two constituent nouns, are given in (16). All of these compounds could be paraphrased as possessive constructions, such as pai ki-seur or mu’u ki-fasu, corresponding to ‘pig’s meat’ and ‘banana’s peel’, respectively.133

(16) pai-seur ‘pork’  
    mu’u-fasu ‘banana peel’  
    lopu-aihaa ‘(main) door’  
    meti-ualir ‘beach’

    pai ‘pig’ + seur ‘meat’  
    mu’u ‘banana’ + fasu ‘skin, peel’  
    lopu ‘house’ + aihaa ‘door’  
    meti ‘sea’ + ualir ‘edge’

A noticeable subgroup of such compounds are body parts, of which a few examples are given in (17).

(17) tana-raka ‘finger’  
    ia-raka ‘toe’  
    ia-lefen ‘sole’  
    ina-fasu ‘eyelid’

    tana ‘hand / arm’ + raka ‘finger / toe’  
    ia ‘foot / leg’ + raka ‘finger / toe’  
    ia ‘foot / leg’ + lefen ‘palm’  
    ina ‘eye’ + fasu ‘skin’

The second type of compounds, where the determining noun specifies purpose, material or the like of the head noun, is illustrated in (18). In utatu-teru ‘parasol’, the first noun specifies the type of the shelter, namely one from the sun and similarly, in ira-tu’il ‘water bucket’, the purpose of the container is to hold water. Finally, ira ‘water’ in ira-fereh ‘grass growing in water’ specifies a locative association of fereh ‘k.o. grass’ with ira ‘water’.

133 In fact, both a possessive construction and a nominal compound may be used to refer to the same entity in one text. It is not quite clear which circumstances determine which construction is favoured over the other. There are cases of possessive constructions which are later taken up in the form of nominal compounds, but also compounds which are taken up as possessive constructions.
(18) *uatu-teru* ‘parasol’ \quad *uatu* ‘sun’ + *teru* ‘shelter’

*ira-tu’il* ‘water bucket’ \quad *ira* ‘water’ + *tu’il* ‘bamboo container’

*ira-ferheh* ‘grass growing in water’ \quad *ira* ‘water’ + *ferheh* ‘type of grass’

A special case is presented by *arapau* ‘buffalo’ and *mmu* ‘lips’, which appear to have special reduced forms, *ara*- and *mu-*, respectively, for use as the determining nouns in nominal compounds (§ 3.1.3.4, p. 120). (19) shows several instances of *ara-* *Nu-*, on the other hand, has been found in one compound only, as given in (20).

(19) *ara-horu* ‘buffalo horns’ \quad *arapau* ‘buffalo’ + *horu* ‘horn’

*ara-luan* ‘buffalo stable’ \quad *arapau* ‘buffalo’ + *luan* ‘stable’

*ara-seur* ‘buffalo meat’ \quad *arapau* ‘buffalo’ + *seur* ‘meat’

(20) *mu-namu* ‘moustache’ \quad *nu(mu)* ‘lips’ + *namu* ‘body hair’

No instance of a compound made up of more than two nouns has been found. All of the compounds demonstrated so far are endocentric, i.e. the head of the compound conveys the basic meaning, with the determining noun restricting that meaning to a more specific one. Such compounds contrast with exocentric compounds, in which there is no clear head, but rather the meanings of the two nouns combine to form a new meaning. Such compounds are much rarer in Makalero than endocentric ones. In fact, the only examples that I am aware of at this point are those given in (21).

(21) *omaraha-tuamata* \quad *omaraha* + *tuamata*  
‘traditions, customs’ \quad ‘wife-givers’ + ‘wife-takers’

*Uru-uatu* \quad *uru* + *uatu*  
‘God’ \quad ‘moon’ + ‘sun’

In lexical parallelism, the use of combinations of nouns with related meanings to convey a superordinate meaning is very common; examples are *ni upa* (mother father) ‘parents’ or *kuda arapau* (horse buffalo) ‘livestock’. However, these are not treated as nominal compounds, but form separate NPs; a somewhat more detailed discussion is given in § 9.3.2 (p. 510).

### 4.2 The possessive phrase

The schematic representation of the NP in (1) above shows that the possessive phrase is the only dependent within the noun phrase to precede the head. Though this appears to be at odds with the otherwise head-initial structure of the NP, it does conform to one of the features identified as Papuan in Klamer et al.’s (2008: 95) East Nusantara linguistic area, namely “possessor-possessum order in adnominal possession”.

In the most straightforward case, the possessor is expressed by means of a
possessive pronoun. (22) and (23) give examples of such possessive constructions.
For a more detailed discussion of possessive pronouns, see § 3.3.1.1.3 (p. 225).

(22) \[
[\{I\}{\text{poss}}-[\{isa\}]{\text{head}}]_{NP}={oo} \text{ ni’isi se hare’.
\]
1p.POSS-condition=too simultaneous very clean
‘We are also very happy.’

(chat007a)

(23) \[
...[\{fi\}{\text{poss}}-[\{ouar\}]{\text{head}}]_{NP} \text{ ani-a’-la’a.}
1p.POSS-master 1s-away.from-move
‘... our master left me.’

(115-048)

Nominal possessors are adjoined to the superordinate NP head with the third person
possessive pronoun ki-, which in this case can be said to be a more general
possessive marker, much like nia in Tetum (e.g. Hull and Eccles 2001: 18).
Schematically, this can be represented as in (24).

(24)

```
NP
  └── (POSS) ├── (HEAD) ─── (MOD) ─── (DET)
           └── ki-
```

Examples are shown in (25), with the nominal possessor tufurau ‘woman’, and in
(26), with amuni ‘person’.

(25) \[
[\{Tufurau \{ki\}{\text{poss}}-\{na’a\} \{ere\}]{\text{NP}} \text{ tina-ini mu’a mei hare’-ini...}
\]
woman 3:POSS-work 1DEM cook:BD ground take clean:do:BD
‘The women’s work is cooking, cleaning (the floor)...’

(elic835)

(26) \[
[\{Amuni \{ki\}{\text{poss}}-\{mu’a\}]{\text{NP}}=ni \text{ ama-misa...}
\]
person 3:POSS-banana=CTR garden-inside
‘People’s bananas were in the garden...’

(23-011)

While in both (25) and (26), the possessors are simple nouns, (27) and (28) show
that the possessor can in fact be a full NP of its own and can, as such, contain
modifiers and determiners, just like the superordinate NP. An example of a
possessor NP with a determiner is given in (27). (28) shows a more complex
possessor NP, with two modifiers and a determiner.

(27) \[
...[\{\text{elehaa}\}{\text{head}} \text{ [\{ures\}]{\text{det}}]{\text{NP}} \text{ ki}\{\text{poss}-[\{net\}]{\text{head}}]_{NP} \text{ Iisee...}
\]
old.man 2DEM 3:POSS-name I.
‘... that old man’s name was Iisee...’

(101-093)
A possessor NP can also contain its own possessor NP, and so forth, making the expression of possession recursive. While it is frequent to find pronominal possessors within a possessor NP, as in the examples in (29) and (30) (as well as (28) above), the use of a full possessor NP within another possessor NP is very rare. (31) and (32) show two of the very few points in case. In all examples, the possessive phrases in question are bracketed.

(28) \[\text{[\text{[Asi}}\text{POSS-[kareta]HEAD } \text{[ki=loloi]}\text{MOD } \text{[ki=hofar]}\text{MOD } \text{[ere]}\text{DET}}\text{NP} \]
\(\text{1s.POSS-car} \quad \text{ATTR-two} \quad \text{ATTR-new} \quad \text{1DEM} \]
\text{ki} \text{POSS-[kor]HEAD} \text{NP putir.} \quad \text{3.POSS-colour} \quad \text{white} \\
\text{‘My two new cars are white.’} \quad \text{(elic321)} \\
\text{(lit. The colour of my two new cars is white.)} \\

A possessor NP can also contain its own possessor NP, and so forth, making the expression of possession recursive. While it is frequent to find pronominal possessors within a possessor NP, as in the examples in (29) and (30) (as well as (28) above), the use of a full possessor NP within another possessor NP is very rare. (31) and (32) show two of the very few points in case. In all examples, the possessive phrases in question are bracketed.

(29) \[\text{[\text{[Asi}}\text{POSS-[ni]HEAD} \text{NP}=ee \text{ ki} \text{POSS-[ni]}\text{HEAD } \text{[ere]}\text{DET}}\text{NP}=ni \text{ uari} \text{ lafu’.} \]
\(\text{1s.POSS-mother=DEF} \quad \text{3.POSS-mother} \quad \text{1DEM=CTR} \quad \text{still live} \)
\text{‘My mother’s mother is still alive.’} \quad \text{(elic515)} \\

(30) \[\text{[\text{[Asi}}\text{POSS-[upa]HEAD} \text{NP} \text{ ki} \text{POSS-[nei]HEAD} \text{NP} \text{ Pedro..} \]
\(\text{1s.POSS-father} \quad \text{3.POSS-name} \quad \text{P.} \)
\text{‘My father’s name is Pedro...’} \quad \text{(chat021)} \\

(31) \[\text{…[\text{[iurarai]HEAD} \text{NP} \text{ ki} \text{POSS-[kuda]HEAD } \text{[uere]}\text{DET}}\text{NP} \text{ ki} \text{POSS-[atu]HEAD} \text{NP} \]
\(\text{king} \quad \text{3.POSS-horse} \quad \text{2DEM} \quad \text{3.POSS-faces} \)
\text{loka.} \quad \text{wrap} \\
\text{‘… (he) wrapped the faces of the king’s horse.’} \quad \text{(51-04)} \\

(32) \[\text{Kiloo [[[\text{iskola]}\text{HEAD} \text{NP} \text{ ki} \text{POSS-[topu]HEAD} \text{NP} \]
\(\text{3s} \quad \text{school} \quad \text{3.POSS-house} \)
\text{ki} \text{POSS-[fama]HEAD} \text{NP} \text{ si’ini hau nat.} \quad \text{3.POSS-face-at-LNKJ} \quad \text{all stand:SG} \\
\text{‘He stood in front of the school building.’} \quad \text{(elic1190)} \\

\subsection*{4.3 The modifiers}

The post-nominal modifier slot is where the NP exhibits most complexity: it can hold modifiers of a wide variety of shapes. These modifiers can be either simple nouns or full NPs, simple verbs or full VPs, or clausal. Also, note that an NP can contain one or more modifiers. There are two kinds of modifiers which take an overt marker of attribution, namely those with the attributive \text{ki=} as well as relative sentences with \text{=ua}. The following sections discuss nominal modifiers in §4.3.1 (p. 280), verbal modifiers in §4.3.2 (p. 281), clausal modifiers in §4.3.3 (p. 283),
de-clausal modifiers with the attributive marker \( ki= \) in § 4.3.4 (p. 284), and, finally, relative sentences in § 4.3.5 (p. 295).

### 4.3.1 Nominal modifiers

Nominal modifiers are rather limited semantically, specifying generally either sex or age\(^{154}\), as in (33), or origin / location, as in (34), of the noun phrase head. The resulting structure takes the form of two juxtaposed nouns. As such, this structure looks very much like a nominal compound (see § 4.1.1, p. 276), with the only difference that a nominal modifier construction is head-initial (i.e. the head noun precedes the modifying noun), whereas nominal compounds are typically head-final (i.e. the head follows the modifying noun). Observe the nominal modifier constructions in (33) and (34) as well as, for comparison, the nominal compound in (35); the bracketing shows how the two constructions contrast.

\[ (33) \quad \text{[Asa]_{\text{HEAD}} \, [paru]_{\text{MOD}} \, [an]_{\text{MOD}}]_{\text{NP}} \, e=ee \, ani \, uari \, tepa \, afu. \]

bird female one=DEF 1s still constant carry

‘The one (female) chicken I was still carrying around with me.’

\[(101-045)\]

\[ (34) \quad \ldots \text{muni} \, \text{ma' u} \, [[\mu' a]]_{\text{HEAD}} \, [\text{lIiomar}]_{\text{MOD}}]_{\text{NP}} \, k-ta-e'\ldots \]

return come ground lliomar 3:UND-on.top:RED-VDEM

‘… (we) came back to the land of lliomar up here…’

\[(124-21)\]

\[ (35) \quad \ldots \text{dila} \, \text{sefar} \, ere=x=ha=ka \, \text{na'}a.munu} \]

the frog dog 1DEM=CTR.PRES in.turn

\[[[\text{ira}]_{\text{MOD}} \, [\text{uulir}]_{\text{HEAD}}]_{\text{NP}} \, ixi=ume=mit. \]

water-edge-at:RED-VDEM.DIST:RED-sit:SG

‘… the frog and the dog are sitting at the edge of the lake over there.’

\[(102-111)\]

Even though a noun with a nominal modifier and a nominal compound construction look superficially the same, there is clear evidence that they differ in structure. For instance, nominal modifiers can be expanded into relative clauses with the relative marker =ua (see § 4.3.5, p. 295). The sentence in (36) shows such an example; note how it directly relates to the locative specification in (34).

\[ (36) \quad \text{Uai}=\text{konai}=ni \, \text{ni} \, \text{hau} \, \text{mot}=[ini} \, \text{ma'u}=ini} \, [[\mu' a]_{\text{HEAD}}]=\text{[ua]} \]

CLS=CSQ=LNK1 REL all dare=LNK1 come=LNK1 ground=REL

\(\text{Timorf}_{\text{MOD}} \, [\text{np}] \, ta-rata'}. \]

T. near-arrive

‘That’s why (she) dared coming to the land of Timor…’

\[(98-09)\]

\[^{154}\text{The most common nominal modifier specifying age is mata ‘child’, to designate the young of a species.}\]
The fact that a locative specification such as in (34) can be expanded into a relative clause as in (36) shows that it is a modifier to the preceding head noun, and structurally clearly different from the compound in (35), which cannot possibly be paraphrased in a similar way.\footnote{Nominal compounds, on the other hand, can be broken up into possessive constructions, i.e. in the case of 
emph{ira-udir} ‘water edge’, which can be paraphrased as 
emph{ira ki-udir} ‘edge of the water’. See § 4.1.1 (p. 276).}

The sentence in (37), finally, demonstrates that not only simple nouns, but also full NPs can stand in the modifier slot. In this sentence, 
emph{ma ta ka\’u namiraa} ‘small boy child’, consists of a noun with two modifiers, one of which is a stative verb (see § 3.2.3.2.1, p. 151) while the other is nominal. The brackets in (37) show the structure of this fairly complex NP.

(37) \[\ldots \left( [ki]_{\text{POSS}} [pada]_{\text{HEAD}} \right) \left( [\left( [mata]_{\text{HEAD}} [ka\’u]_{\text{MOD}} [namiraa]_{\text{MOD}} \right)_{\text{NP}} \right. \]
\[\text{ma\’u}=ni...\]
\[\text{come}=\text{LNK1}\]
\[\ldots \text{her friend, a small boy, comes}\ldots\]
\[
(\text{fisquest22})
\]

A specific construction which is often used to introduce a new referent into discourse involves the head noun 
emph{amuni} ‘person’ with an NP modifier, as shown in (38) and (39).

(38) \[\left( [Amuni]_{\text{HEAD}} [ina-ui]_{\text{MOD}} \right)_{\text{NP}} [ki]_{\text{POSS=mat}a-\text{f}} \left( [ere]_{\text{DET}} \right)_{\text{NP}} \text{hai}\]
\[\text{person} \quad \text{mother-HON} \quad 3: \text{POSS-child-PL} \quad 1\text{DEM} \quad \text{NSIT}\]
\[\text{haka-hau ki-iskola hai hai‘.}\]
\[\text{all-all} \quad 3: \text{POSS-school} \quad \text{NSIT} \quad \text{finished}\]
\[\text{‘All of this woman’s children have already finished school.’} \quad (\text{elic272})\]

(39) \[\left( [amuni]_{\text{HEAD}} [tisi-meestri-laad]_{\text{MOD}} \right)_{\text{NP}} \text{nilai taure’ rau uere=hi’a}\]
\[\text{person} \quad 1\text{pe:POSS-teacher-PL} \quad \text{mark which} \quad 2\text{DEM=only}\]
\[\text{huma=ni la’i}=ni \quad \text{IPA-isi‘}.\]
\[\text{order=LNK1 move=LNK1 science-at}\]
\[\text{‘our teachers told only those who had good marks to go to the natural science class.’} \quad (126-096)\]

### 4.3.2 Verbal modifiers

The modifier position of a noun phrase can also contain a verb. Most often, this will be a stative verb describing the head, such as 
emph{pere} ‘big (SG)’ and 
emph{puitir} ‘white’ in (40) and (41), respectively. These types of verbal modifiers are the translational equivalent of adnominal adjectives in English. The NPs in question are bracketed in the examples.
(40) ... [[uari]_{head} [pere]_{mod} [uere]_{det}}_{np}
stone big.SG 2DEM

k-uia-lolo-mit=ini...
3:UND-on.top:RED-straight:RED-sit.SG=LNK1
‘... (he) is sitting right on top of that big rock and then...’ (38-083)

(41) Amuni ete-fua’a=ni motor-ika’ kareta-ika’ [[[lopu]_{head}
person upwards-near:RED-move=LNK1 motorbike-up.in car-up.in house

[[putir]_{mod}}_{np} k-ia’...
white 3:UND-under
‘People around (us) are riding motorbikes and cars, and live in good (lit. white) houses...’ (124-33)

As with nominal modifiers (§ 4.3.1, p. 280), verbal modifiers may be expanded into
relative clauses (§ 4.3.5, p. 295), but also into de-clausal modifiers with the
attributive marker ki= (§ 4.3.4, p. 284). In (42), pere ‘big (SG)’, which is shown
used as a simple verbal modifier in (40), is used in a relative clause, and in (43),
imir ‘red’ is attributed to the head dai-hael ‘cotton’ with the attributive marker ki=.
This contrasts with (41), where a colour term is used as a simple modifier. These
variant constructions are evidence for the fact that the verb stands in the modifier
slot in such cases as (40) and (41).

(42) [[larin]_{head}=uia pere]_{mod} [ere]_{det}}_{np}
mountain=REL big.SG 1DEM
‘this mountain which is big’ (pelic019)

(43) [[[Dai-hael]_{head}=ki=imir]_{mod}}_{np} hai mei...
DAl-cotton ATTR-red NSIT take
‘Take the red yarn...’ (73-32)

In quantification with numerals (§ 3.2.3.8, p. 171), the numeral functions as a verbal
modifier to the head noun, as (44) shows.

(44) ... uai ni [...] [[dila]_{head} [looloi]_{mod} [ere]_{det}}_{np} na‘a.muni ta ena
CLS-LNK1 frog two 1DEM in.turn REC look

tepu nomo rau...
constant NEG good
‘... so the two frogs still don’t like one another...’ (115-051)

It is worth mentioning that in the case of numeral modifiers, the expansion into a
ki= -attribute yields a distinct meaning, namely that of ordinality (see § 4.3.4,
p. 284).

As with nominal modifiers, not only simple verbs, but also more complex verbal
 constituents can be found in the modifier position. In (45), this is a VP complete
with a transitive verb, asar ‘send’, and a non-subject argument ei (2s). Note how the
definite marker =ee follows this complex modifier, marking the right edge of the NP.

(45) \( \ldots uai=ni \ [felehaa]_{\text{HEAD}} \ [e1 \ asar]_{\text{MOD}}=\text{ee} \ taure-fani’? \)
    \( \text{CLS}=\text{LNK}1 \ \text{old.man} \ 2s \ \text{send}=\text{DEF} \ \text{which}=\text{RED}-\text{be}.\text{like} \)
    ‘… so what was the old man who sent you like?’ (120-115)

4.3.3 Clausal modifiers

The modifier to an NP can also be fully clausal or even larger. An example is given in (46), in which the modifier ki-kor rousal ‘its colours are many’ is a full clause with a subject argument and a verb. The relation of this clause to the head noun faru ‘shirt’ is marked as being possessive through the use of the third person possessive marker ki-.

(46) Kiloo so’ot=ee \([faru]_{\text{HEAD}} \ [ki-kor \ rousal]_{\text{MOD}}=\text{NP} \ k-\text{utu.} \)
    \(3s \ \text{want}=\text{CMPL} \ \text{shirt} \ 3:\text{POSS}\text{-colour} \ \text{many}=\text{NONHUM} \ 3:\text{UND}\text{-wear} \)
    ‘He likes to wear colourful shirts.’ (elic659)

The modifiers in (47) and (48) are multi-clause units. In (47), the modifier consists of an adverbial predicate, aftane’ (PT) (§ 3.2.3.1.1, p. 141), and ani lolo ‘I said’. The head noun pai ‘pig’ is the undergoer (theme) participant of that second clause. In a free-standing clause, it would stand in the immediately preverbal position, which is marked by \( \Theta \) in (47). In (48), on the other hand, the head noun jogadoor ‘player’ functions as the subject argument in both clauses which are needed to express the ablative notion of ‘come from outside’; the complement-verb complex le-isi’ ‘be outside’ expresses the origin and the movement verb ma’u ‘come’ (§ 3.2.3.13, p. 210) the direction. Both predicates are analysed as fully clausal.

(47) \([\text{Pai}]_{\text{HEAD}} \ [aftane’ \ ani \ \Theta \ lolo]_{\text{MOD}} \ [ere]\_{\text{DET}}=\text{NP} \ Alfredu \ k-\text{isi}. \)
    \(\text{pig} \ \text{PT} \ 1s \ \text{say} \ \text{1DEM} \ \text{A.} \ 3:\text{UND}\text{-belong} \)
    ‘The pig that I mentioned before is Alfredo’s.’ (elic1445).

(48) \([\text{Jogadoor}]_{\text{HEAD}} \ [le-isi’ \ ma’u]_{\text{MOD}} \ [ere]\_{\text{DET}}=\text{NP} \ hau \ ma’en. \)
    \(\text{play-NAG} \ \text{outside}=\text{RED-AT} \ \text{come} \ \text{1DEM} \ \text{all} \ \text{know} \)
    ‘The foreign players play better.’ (elic1266)
    (lit. the players who were outside and came know better.)

Clausal modifiers look very much like relative sentences to the head noun (compare § 4.3.5, p. 295) without any overt marking.

With clausal modifiers, the head is in a few instances found \textit{in situ}, rather than being left-dislocated as in (47). An example is (49). Semantically, the noun mata ‘child’ clearly functions as the head, although the whole construction actually looks like a nominalised sentence.
(49) \[\text{[Ani osan mei} = \text{ni [mata]} \text{HEAD ka} \text{'u umere' kini} \text{NP ere} \]
\[\text{se so'ot.} \]
\[\text{very want} \]
\[\text{‘The child I gave money to was very happy.’} \quad \text{(elic1424)} \]

Problematically, it is not possible to fit a structure like (49) into the NP schema as given in (1) (§ 4, p. 273), where the head noun precedes all dependents except for the possessor. Very similar constructions, with in-situ heads, are found with =ua-marked relative clauses, as discussed in § 4.3.5.2, p. 303).

4.3.4 Modifiers with the attributive marker \textit{ki=}

The attributive marker \textit{ki=} is homophonous, and likely related to, the third person possessive pronoun (see § 3.3.1.1.3, p. 225). The common denominator of the constructions they are used in is the attribution of an element, either a possessive phrase or a modifier, to an NP head. (50) and (51) show examples of sentences in which the post-nominal modifier slot is filled by a \textit{ki=} + verb modifier phrase.

(50) \[\text{Renu Timor ni-asu [presidente]HEAD [ki=hofar]MODNP haka.} \]
\[\text{populace T. REFL-for president ATTR-new search} \]
\[\text{‘The Timorese people are electing a new president.’} \quad \text{(elic1450)} \]

(51) \[\text{Uai=te'e=fe [nana]HEAD [ki=pere]MOD [uere]OUTNP rei-li'an.} \]
\[\text{CLS-after=FE snake ATTR-big.SG 2DEM outwards-fall} \]
\[\text{‘Only then did the big snake fall out.’} \quad \text{(89-22)} \]

(51) shows that a demonstrative follows the \textit{ki=} + V phrase. Determiners, standing in the right-most position of the noun phrase, mark its right boundary, which proves that \textit{ki=} + V stands in the post-nominal modifier slot. Indeed, where the positions of the determiner and the \textit{ki=} + V complex are inverted, as in (52), the reading of the phrase is fundamentally different. \textit{Ki=} + V could not possibly be interpreted as making part of the noun phrase; rather, it would have to be the predicate of a complete clause.

(52) \[[nana]HEAD [uere]DETNP \text{ki=pere.} \]
\[\text{snake 2DEM ATTR-big.SG} \]
\[\text{‘That snake is a big one.’} \]

Modifiers with \textit{ki=}, as in (50) and (51) above, contrast with those that are directly adjoined to the noun without an attributive marker as described in § 4.3.1 (p. 280) to § 4.3.3 (p. 283) above. An example, which is in fact a near minimal pair to \textit{nana ki=pere uere ‘the big snake’} in (51), is given in (53).
(53) \[ \ldots \text{kilooraa} \, [[\text{mana}]_{\text{HEAD}} \, [\text{pere}]_{\text{MOD}}]_{\text{NP}} \, \text{mei} = \text{ni} \quad \text{ki} \quad \text{asu} \quad \text{isi-suma}. \]

\[ 3p \quad \text{snake} \quad \text{big.SG} \quad \text{take=LNK1} \quad \text{3:UND-for} \quad \text{at:RED-show} \]

\[ \ldots \text{they show him the big snake.} \]

The meaning of the noun phrases in (51) and (53) is very similar, both being translated as ‘the big snake’. The difference between \text{nana ki=pere} in (51) and \text{nana pere} in (53), respectively, appears to be the fact that there is a contrastive notion\(^{156}\) attached to the modifier with \text{ki=} in (51), but not to that without it. The snake in (51) contrasts with a multitude of other snakes that have played a role in earlier parts of the story; (56) repeats (51) and adds the context of the two immediately preceding clauses in (54) and (55). (54) and (55) mention snakes without specifying their size. The fact that (56) introduces a new participant as \text{nana ki=pere} shows that the feature by which this newly introduced snake distinguishes itself from all the others, and hence contrasts with them, is its large size, and that, consequently, the other snakes were rather smaller.

(54) \[ \ldots \text{sefar ere} \, \text{misa} = \text{ni} \quad \text{nana hai} \quad \text{ka’el liurai} = \text{oo} \quad \text{k} = \text{uta} \quad \text{tepa’}. \]

\[ \text{dog} \quad \text{1DEM go.up=LNK1} \quad \text{snake} \quad \text{NSIT bite} \quad \text{king-too} \quad \text{3:UND-kill constant} \]

\[ \ldots \text{the dog came up and started biting the snakes, and the king too kept killing them.} \]

(89-20)

(55) \[ \text{Tepa} \quad \text{ma’u} = \text{xi} \quad \text{kuda uere} \quad \text{teni isi-hihi} = \text{si} \quad \text{misa} = \text{ni} \quad \text{kuda} = \text{oo} \]

\[ \text{constant} \quad \text{come=LNK2} \quad \text{horse} \quad \text{2DEM again} \quad \text{at:RED-call=LNK2} \quad \text{ascend=LNK1} \quad \text{horse-too} \]

\[ \text{nana} = \text{ee} \quad \text{ti’al} \quad \text{sefar} = \text{oo} \quad \text{laxi}. \]

\[ \text{snake=DEF kick} \quad \text{dog-too} \quad \text{cut} \]

\[ \text{‘(The snakes) kept coming, then (she) called the horse, and it came up and the horse as well kicked the snakes, and the dog too cut them.’} \]

(89-21)

(56) \[ \text{Uai=te’e=fe} \, [[\text{mana}]_{\text{HEAD}} \, [\text{pere}]_{\text{MOD}} \, [\text{uere}]_{\text{DET}}]_{\text{NP}} \, \text{rei-li’an.} \]

\[ \text{CLS-after=FE} \quad \text{snake} \quad \text{ATTR-big.SG} \quad \text{2DEM} \quad \text{outwards-fall} \]

\[ \text{‘Only then did the big snake fall out.’} \]

(89-22)

Another example in which the contrastive function of the \text{ki=} attribute may be seen fairly clearly is the text fragment in (57) through (59). The water mentioned in (58) is different from, and thus contrasts with, that referred to in (57). In (59), however, the contrast is no longer relevant, having been introduced in (58); hence the speaker does not repeat the attributive marker \text{ki=} , but uses \text{selu} ‘other’ directly as an adnominal modifier.

---

\(^{156}\) The contrastive notion involved does not correct a presupposition, but choses one of a set of available options over the others.
Hau pane\textsubscript{ni} ki-ira hau kalin\textsubscript{ini} ki=pa\textquoteright uk=ini ira
all wash\textsubscript{LNK} 3:POSS-water all throw.out\textsubscript{LNK} ATTR=bad-CTR water
3:UND-on.top=LNK1 NSIT move move 1pi all throw.down move
‘Having washed them, (we) pour out all the water, and the bad ones which
were floating on the water, we throw these away.’

Hau dasa la\textsubscript{a}=ni uai=te\textquoteright e=si fi [\textit{[ira]HEAD} [ki=selu]\textsubscript{MOD}]=se
all throw.down move=LNK1 CLS=after=LNK2 1pi water ATTR=other

teni na\textquoteright u muni mei isi’.
again just return take at
‘Having thrown them away, we take new water and put it into it (the pan).’

Ira selu muni mei=si ere roual tra nomohaka
water other return take=LNK2 1DEM many.NONHUM water CLS.NEG

\textit{ka\textquoteright u-ka\textquoteright u}=hi\textquoteright a mei=ni...
RDL-small-only take=LNK1
‘Taking other water, it should be a lot, (don’t) take very little water…’

As a matter of fact, the lexeme selu ‘other’ by definition contrasts one entity with
another. This explains why, in the overwhelming majority of cases, selu co-occurs
with ki\textsubscript{=}, as in (58). The only case where selu is regularly found without
this attributive marker is in the phrase \textit{mu\textquoteright a selu} (ground other), which is lexicalised as
‘abroad’. Since there is no contrast involved, the ki\textsubscript{=} construction is not used in
those instances.

Properties attributed to nouns using the attributive marker ki\textsubscript{=} are typically static
verbs (§ 3.2.3.1, p. 151), as in all of the examples given so far. However, activity
verbs (§ 3.2.3.2, p. 153) have been found in this position, though this is the case
quite rarely. An example is (60). However, though ke \textquoteleft drink\textquoteright is prototypically an
activity verb, it is nevertheless used to ascribe a (static) property to the head noun,
namely ‘water that is fit for drinking’.

\begin{center}
\texttt{Ani [\textit{[ira]HEAD} [ki=ke]\textsubscript{MOD} [ere]\textsubscript{DEF}]\textsubscript{NP} heti=ee rau=uai na\textquoteright an?
1s water ATTR=drink 1DEM ask=DEF good=or NEG.EX
‘Could I have some drinking water?’
\end{center}

Neither is the construction with ki\textsubscript{=} restricted to verbal attributes. Nouns have been
found in this construction as well, as shown in (61) with lafi ‘side’ and (62) with uli
‘leather’. Both these nominal modifiers attribute a time-stable property to the head
noun. Note that (61) contrasts a possessive ki- with the attributive ki\textsubscript{=}.

\begin{center}
\texttt{[\textit{[K]POSS-[ina]HEAD} [ki=lafi]\textsubscript{MOD}]=se hai pa\textquoteright uk.
3:POSS-eye ATTR=side NSIT bad
‘He is blind in one eye.’
\end{center}
Finally, (63) shows what appears to be a full VP with a transitive verb and a pronoun undergoer, the reciprocal *ta*.

(63) \( [[\text{Uralaa}]_{\text{HEAD}} \ [\text{ki=} + \text{ta}]_{\text{MOD}} \ [\text{ere}]_{\text{DET}}/_{\text{NP}} \text{ hofe hai} \quad \text{aira un.} \)

The affianced couple (lit. they who have asked each other) have known each other for a year.’

(63) is the only example found to date in which *ki*= is used with a semantically transitive verb. All the other relevant sentences use intransitives only.

In summary, *ki*= introduces noun phrase modifiers of a variety of fashions; verbs, VPs, and nouns have all been found in this function. Nevertheless, there are several restrictions on such attributes. The ungrammatical phrases in (64) and (66) demonstrate that neither adverbials nor aspect marking are allowed with verbs in this position. The corresponding examples in (65) and (67), without adverbial and aspect marking respectively, are perfectly acceptable.

(64) * \( [[\text{larin}]_{\text{HEAD}} \ [\text{ki=} + \text{ta}]_{\text{MOD}} \ [\text{uere}]_{\text{DET}}/_{\text{NP}} \text{ mountain} \quad \text{ATTR=true big.SG 2DEM} \)

intended: ‘that truly big mountain’

(65) \( [[\text{larin}]_{\text{HEAD}} \ [\text{ki=} + \text{pere}]_{\text{MOD}} \ [\text{uere}]_{\text{DET}}/_{\text{NP}} \text{ mountain} \quad \text{ATTR=big.SG 2DEM} \)

‘that big mountain’

(66) * \( [[\text{mata}]_{\text{HEAD}} \ [\text{ki=} + \text{hai}]_{\text{MOD}}/_{\text{NP}} \text{ child} \quad \text{ATTR=NSIT big.SG} \)

intended: ‘the child which is already big’

(67) \( [[\text{mata}]_{\text{HEAD}} \ [\text{ki=} + \text{pere}]_{\text{MOD}}/_{\text{NP}} \text{ child} \quad \text{ATTR=big.SG} \)

‘the big child’

Aspect marking and adverbial modification are inherently verbal features. The fact that they cannot be combined with attributes with *ki*= shows that the construction has reduced verbal (clausal) properties.\(^{157}\) However, it is not the case that all verbal

\(^{157}\) This may reflect the relation and possible origin of the attributive marker with the third person possessive pronoun *ki*, which stands with NP heads only.
modifiers are disallowed in such constructions; notably, the negator *nomo* can be found in a *ki*=-modifier, as (68) shows.

(68)  

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{Kini-kini} & \text{HEAD} & \text{ki=nomo} & \text{rau} & \text{DET} \rightarrow \text{NP} & \text{hau} & \text{mei} \quad \text{na’} \quad \text{ere} \\
\text{RDL-do} & \text{ATTR} & \text{NEG} & \text{good} & \text{1DEM} & \text{all} & \text{take} \quad \text{work} \quad \text{1DEM} \\
\end{array}
\]

se heke.  
very difficult  
‘Working on this bad habit is very hard.’  

clic583

Many languages express what corresponds to relative clauses by means of a deverbalised form, such as a participle (e.g. relative participles in Dravidian languages, Krishnamurti 2003: 333). The reduced verbality of a *ki*=-modifier, as demonstrated through the fact that they are incompatible with aspect marking and adverbs, can be seen along those lines. Makalero speakers tend to translate such attributes into Indonesian with relative sentences using *yang* (notice, too, that the intended meaning of (66) as well as the literal translation of (63) take that form in English). Like other modifiers, *ki*=-modifiers can form noun phrases of their own, without a head noun (see § 4.1, p. 273). The sentence in (69) gives two relevant examples. Such structures are reminiscent of headless relative clauses.

(69)  

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{Amun} & \text{ki-mu’u} & = & \text{ni} & \text{ama-misa} & \text{were’} \quad \text{la’a} \quad \text{[ki=nomo} \\
\text{person} & \text{3:POSS-banana} & \text{CTR} & \text{garden} & \text{inside} & \text{2DEM.V} \quad \text{move} \quad \text{ATTR} \rightarrow \text{NEG} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{amu’} & \text{MOD-HEAD} & \text{[ere]DETF} & \text{ni} & \text{maru} & \text{k-ata’} \quad \text{ni-asu} \\
\text{contain} & \text{1DEM} & \text{take} & \LKNK1 \quad \text{go} & \text{3:UND-contact} \quad \text{REFL-for} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{[ki=amu’]MOD-HEAD} & \text{[ere]DETF} & \text{lasti} & = & \text{ni} & \text{mei.} \\
\text{ATTR} & \text{contain} & \text{1DEM} & \text{cut} & \LKNK1 \quad \text{take} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘Somebody’s bananas were in the garden, (he) would go and put empty ones there and cut down the full ones for himself.’  

(23-011)

On the other hand, a *ki*=-attribute can also be used as the predicate in a clause (see § 5.1, p. 318), in accordance with the fact that basically any lexeme or phrase can function as a predicate if placed in the appropriate slot within a clause. With such verbalised *ki*=-attributes, of course, verbal marking (e.g. adverbs, aspect) is possible, as it is with predicates with prototypical verbal heads. The crucial difference to *ki*=-attributes in NPs is that these verbal markers stand outside the *ki*=-phrase, rather than within it. (70) shows *ki=nomo rau* ‘a bad one’ as a predicate accompanied by the adverbial *hau* ‘all’, while in (71), *ki=popo* ‘a rotten one’ heads the predicate and is marked as a new situation by the aspect marker *hai*.

(70)  

\[
\begin{array}{llllllllll}
\text{Ei-ue-nini-nini} & \text{were} & \text{[hau} & \text{[ki=nomo} & \text{rau]MOD-HEAD} & \text{sv} & \text{]} & \text{vp.} \\
\text{2s-V2DEM:RED-RDL-do:BD} & \text{2DEM} & \text{all} & \text{ATTR} \rightarrow \text{NEG} & \text{good} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘Your attitude is a very bad one.’  

(pelic255)
(71)  \textit{Mu‘u}=ua teuh ere [hai [[ki=popo]_{MOD-HEAD}]_{NP}]/\textit{VP}.
banana-REL buy 1DEM NSIT ATTR=rotten
‘The bananas he bought are already rotten.’ (elic317)
(lit. are already rotten ones)

A VP headed by a \textit{ki=} phrase can, complete with its aspect marking and / or its
adverbs, again be placed in the modifier slot of a noun phrase (see § 4.3.2, p. 281,
for verbal modifiers), with or without a nominal head, as shown in (72) and (73),
respectively.

(72)  [[Asi]_{POSS}=[mama]_{HEAD}=\textit{[ua hai \textit{ki=kau:n}]_{MOD} [ere]_{DET}]/\textit{NP} \textit{oko nomo}]
1s:POSS-elder.brother=REL NSIT ATTR=marry 1DEM yet NEG
\textit{mata-ena}.
child-see
‘My sister who is already married doesn’t have children yet.’ (elic1418)

(73)  [[Hau \textit{ki=la’i}]{\textit{MOD}=\textit{ini kiloraa ki-leetana’}} were \textit{’=ini}
all  ATTR=old-CTR 3p 3:POSS-in.the.middle DEM.DIST.V-CTR
\textit{lolo-ini}.
say-do:BD
‘The oldest one among them spoke.’ (elic1575)

The use of a predicating \textit{ki=} phrase as a verbal modifier to a noun phrase circumvents
the restriction against aspectual distinctions or adverbial expressions
within a \textit{ki=} attribute, as shown in (64) and (66) above. Any verbal modifiers
accompanying a predicating \textit{ki=} phrase are taken along into the modifier slot of the
noun phrase with it; hence this complicated construction allows the expression of
both a contrastive notion and aspectual distinctions and / or adverbials within the
same modifier.

Finally, a somewhat special case is that of a numeral in a \textit{ki=} attribute in which the
numeral is generally read as ordinal, as (74) shows. Apart from the special reading,
the general properties of the \textit{ki=} phrase are the same as described above; thus, (75)
shows a case where the numeral functions as head of an NP on its own, similar to
such headless-relative-clause-like constructions as shown in (69).

(74)  [[\textit{Ki}=\textit{poss}=[mata]_{HEAD} \textit{[ki=lolitu]_{MOD} [ere]_{DET}]/\textit{NP} aite’ umu.}
3:POSS-child ATTR=three 1DEM REC.PT die
‘His third child has just died.’ (elic1694)

(75)  [[\textit{Ki}=\textit{dou}]{\textit{MOD-HEAD}=\textit{ini umu amu lima} =ni e’}.
ATTR=six-CTR die person five-CTR 1DEM
‘The sixth died, and there remained five.’ (30-06)

The modifier construction with \textit{ki=} with numerals is ambiguous in that the ordinal
interpretation is not the only one, although it appears to be favoured. (76) is another
example of an ordinal number, whereas in (77), the very same modifier \textit{ki=loloi}
(ATTR=two) is read as a cardinal, apparently in a contrastive sense. The crucial difference between those two readings of ki= with a numeral is that a cardinal reading such as in (77) can be paraphrased using a bare numeral, as in (78). The same is not possible, however, for ordinal numbers, which can never stand without the attributive marker.

(76) \[
\ldots \{(\text{asi}^\text{POSS}\{-\text{mata}\text{HEAD} [\text{ki}^\text{loloi}\text{MOD} [\text{ki}^\text{POSS}\{-\text{nei}\text{HEAD} [\text{np}]) \text{ATTR}=\text{two} \text{3:POSS-name}}
\]

Fernandu Alves Donikais.
F. A. D.
‘… my second child’s name is Fernando Alves Donikais.’ (105-040)

(77) \[
\ldots \{(\text{asi}^\text{POSS}\{-\text{kareta}\text{HEAD} [\text{ki}^\text{loloit}\text{MOD} [\text{ki}^\text{POSS}\{-\text{hofar}\text{MOD} [\text{ere}\text{DET}\text{NP}})
\]

ki\text{\{POSS\{-kor\}\text{HEAD} [\text{np}]) putir.
3:POSS-colour white
‘My two new cars are white.’ (elic321)

(78) \[
\ldots \{(\text{asi}^\text{POSS}\{-\text{kareta}\text{HEAD} [\text{loloit}\text{MOD} [\text{riapata-isi-dai.}})
\]

PT two main.road-at:RED-pass
‘Two cars passed on the street.’ (elic1765)

4.3.4.1 Attributive ki= vs. possessive ki-
The attributive marker ki= is consistently glossed as ATTR to distinguish it from the third person possessive marker. The similarities between such a possessive construction and the attributive construction are obvious at first glance; (79) juxtaposes the two.

(79) \[
\text{liurai ki-lopu}
\]

king 3:POSS-house

\text{‘the king’s house’}

\text{\text{nana ki=pere}}

snake ATTR=big

‘the big snake’

In fact, in the appropriate context, it would be perfectly possible to interpret \text{nana ki=pere} as a possessive construction, translatable as ‘the snake’s largeness’, in which case it would have to be spelled as \text{nana ki-pere}. Consider (80) and (81), which show just such a pair of examples; the subject participant in (80) is made up of a possessor, \text{namiraa ere} ‘this man’, and a possessee, \text{forit }‘strength’. This latter is prototypically a stative verb meaning ‘strong’, but it is used as the head of a noun phrase in (80), which shows that it functions as an argument in this sentence. In (81), on the other hand, \text{ki=forit} functions as a modifier to the head \text{namiraa}.
(80) \begin{align*}
\text{[Namiraa ere ki-=forit]}_\text{NP} & \text{ hal rei-misa.} \\
\text{man} & \text{ 1DEM 3-POSS-strong NSIT outwards-go.up} \\
\text{‘This man’s strength is extraordinary.’} \\
\text{(elic1776a)}
\end{align*}

(81) \begin{align*}
\text{[Namiraa ki-=forit ere]}_\text{NP} & \text{ me’e uar pera ere mei=ni} \\
\text{man} & \text{ ATTR=strong 1DEM able stone big.SG 1DEM take=LNK1} \\
\text{nama-dane.} \\
\text{upwards:RED-lift} \\
\text{‘This strong man can lift up a big stone.’} \\
\text{(pelic271c)}
\end{align*}

The distinct meanings of these superficially identical constructions must be associated with different structures: the possessum forit ‘strong’ should be the head of the noun phrase in (80), with namiraa ere ki- as a dependent expressing the possessor (see § 4.2, p. 277), whereas in (81), namiraa functions as the head of the phrase, and ki-=forit and ere as its modifier and determiner, respectively. These distinct analyses are represented in the bracketing of the NPs in (82) and (83).

(82) \begin{align*}
\text{[[[namiraa]_HEAD [ere]_DET]_NP ki=POSS=[forit]_HEAD]_NP} \\
\text{‘This man’s strength’}
\end{align*}

(83) \begin{align*}
\text{[[[namiraa]_HEAD [ki-=forit]_MOD [ere]_DET]_NP} \\
\text{‘this strong man’}
\end{align*}

Whether or not the two constructions derive from one source, they are synchronically quite distinct. The most salient difference is illustrated by the sentences in (80) and (81): in a possessive construction, the possessor is a full NP, which can take its own modifiers and determiners (e.g. the demonstrative ere in (80)). An even more complex example is (84), in which the head noun of the possessor phrase is modified with a ki-=attribute as well as the enclitic definiteness marker =ee (§ 3.5.1.1, p. 243).

(84) \begin{align*}
\text{[[[Presiden]_HEAD [ki-=ho=far]_MOD]_NP=ee ki-=POSS=[sirvisu]_HEAD [ere]_DET]_NP} \\
\text{President} & \text{ ATTR=new=DEF 3-POSS-work 1DEM} \\
\text{ti’ir.} \\
\text{heavy} \\
\text{‘The new president’s job will be hard.’} \\
\text{(elic1245)}
\end{align*}

The same, however, is not possible for the head noun of a ki-=attribute. No determiner could possibly stand directly after the head noun, since the determiner marks the right boundary of the noun phrase. Such a construction would necessitate an interpretation of the ki-=phrase as distinct from the noun phrase in question, either as a separate noun phrase on its own or a predicate, as appropriate in the context (see (52) above).

Note also that noun phrases with a ki-=attribute and noun phrases with a bare verb in the modifier slot are used in a parallel way in clauses of identical structure, as in
(85). This strongly suggests that the two noun phrases are parallel in construction, in the sense that in both cases, the head noun is *nana* ‘snake’.

(85)  

\[
\begin{align*}
&[[\text{Nana}]_{\text{HEAD}} [\text{pere}]_{\text{MOD}}]_{\text{NP}} \text{ ki-pik} \quad \text{nomo na’u forit}, \\
&\text{snake} \quad \text{big.SG} \quad 3:\text{POSS-poison} \text{ NUP} \quad \text{just strong}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
&[[\text{nana}]_{\text{HEAD}} [\text{ki=ka’u}]_{\text{MOD}}]_{\text{NP}} \text{ ki-pik} \quad \text{se forit}.
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{snake} \quad \text{ATTR=small} \quad 3:\text{POSS-poison} \quad \text{very strong}
\end{align*}
\]

‘This big snake’s poison is not strong, but the small one’s is very strong.’

(elic1441)

This example further supports the idea that the possessive *ki*- and the attributive *ki=* are to be analysed in fundamentally different ways, and that a noun phrase with a *ki=*-attribute corresponds in structure to one with a simple verb modifier. The text fragment in (57) through (59) above gives the same kind of evidence. The basic parallel between verbal modifiers with *ki=* and those without it is possibly even clearer in sentence (86), in which the postnominal modifier slot is filled by two items. These are a verb, *pere* ‘big (SG)’, and a numeral, *loloi* ‘two’. *Pere* ‘big (SG)’ contrasts with *ka’u* ‘small’ in the following clause and is thus constructed in the form of a contrastive modifier with the *ki=*-attributive marker. *Loloi* ‘two’ however, does not use the attributive marker. The sentence in (87) serves to illustrate that *ki=* can occur twice in the same noun phrase, with each of two attributes individually. Based on this evidence, it can be assumed that *ki=* in (86) does not function as an attributive marker to both *pere* ‘big (SG)’ and *loloi* ‘two’, but only to the first of these elements.\(^{158}\)

(86)  

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{Kiloo} \quad [[\text{sefar}]_{\text{HEAD}} [\text{ki=pere}]_{\text{MOD}} [\text{loloi}]_{\text{MOD}}]_{\text{NP}} \text{ fan}.
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
&[[\text{ki=ka’u}]_{\text{MOD}}]_{\text{NP}} \\
&\text{3s \ dog} \quad \text{ATTR=big.SG} \quad \text{two \ feed} \quad \text{ATTR=small}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
&\left([\text{loli} \text{tu}]_{\text{MOD}}\right)_{\text{NP}}.
\end{align*}
\]

‘He has (lit. feeds) 2 big dogs and 3 small ones.’

(elic1455)

(87)  

\[
\begin{align*}
&[[[\text{Asi}]_{\text{POSS-}[\text{kareta}]_{\text{HEAD}}} [\text{ki=loloi}]_{\text{MOD}} [\text{ki=hofar}]_{\text{MOD}} [\text{ere}]_{\text{DET}}]_{\text{NP}} \\
&\text{1s:POSS-car} \quad \text{ATTR=two} \quad \text{ATTR=new} \quad \text{1DEM}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{ki} [\text{POSS-}[\text{kor}]_{\text{HEAD}}]_{\text{NP}} \text{ putir}.
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{3:POSS-colour} \quad \text{white}
\end{align*}
\]

‘My two new cars are white.’

(elic321)

\(158\) Whenever both an attribute with *ki=*

and one without it are coordinated within an NP, it appears that the *ki=*

attribute stands first, followed by the unmarked attribute. The only exception I am aware of is given in (xix).

(xix)  

\[
\begin{align*}
&[[[\text{Mata}]_{\text{HEAD}} [\text{ka’u}]_{\text{MOD}} [\text{ki=loilo}]_{\text{MOD}} [\text{ume}]_{\text{DET}}]_{\text{NP}} \text{ avi-nana} \\
&\text{1s:POSS-elder sibling} \quad \text{ki-mata.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{child} \quad \text{small} \quad \text{DEM.DIST.} \quad \text{V}
\end{align*}
\]

‘These two children are my nephews.’

(elic1969)

However, *mata ka’u* ‘child’ is lexicalised to some degree, as apparent through the fact that it does not necessarily refer to a truly small child, but is in certain contexts even used to refer to a girl of marriageable age. As such, the rule *ki=*-modifier before bare verb modifier’ basically holds.
All of this indicates that $ki=$-attributes must be analysed in a way similar to bare modifiers (see § 4.3.1, p. 280, through § 4.3.3, p. 283), rather than in a way similar to a possessive construction (see § 4.2, p. 277).

Engelenhoven’s (2009) description of derivational processes in Fataluku is very insightful with respect to this structure in Makalero; pages 352-357 of that work are devoted to the description of the suffix -(n)ana, which the author analyses as an adjectiviser. It appears that adjectives derived by this suffix are frequently used in a construction with the third person possessive marker $i,$19 as in (88) (Engelenhoven’s example (7b)).

(88) $mu\,a\,i\,co\,\text{nana}$
earth 3s far-ANA
‘a far-off land’ (Hull 2005: 34, quoted from Engelenhoven 2009: 355)

Engelenhoven goes on to note that phrases with $i$ and -(n)ana can function both as nominal heads, as shown in (89), and as predicates, as in (90) (Engelenhoven’s (8a) and (8b), respectively).

(89) $[I\,h=iti\,\text{jet-ana}]\,ia\,umani=t\,\text{taratori\,me}.$
3s LNK=deep-fall-ANA DEM who-SEQ tractor take
‘The issue (lit. what falls down) was who is to use the tractor.’
(Fataluku Community, nd, quoted from Engelenhoven 2009: 356)

(90) $Kaka\,i\,sorot\,ara\,en\,\text{en}\,[i\,\text{kapar-ana}].$
elder.sibling 3s book base RDL-DEM 3s bad-ANA
‘This dictionary of yours is no good’
(Fataluku Community, nd, quoted from Engelenhoven 2009: 356)

It appears as if the Fataluku $i + -(n)ana$ construction is functionally very much the same as the $ki=$ + modifier construction in Makalero. (91) and (92) repeat a part of (69) and (the whole of) (71) above, respectively, to illustrate the exact parallel to the Fataluku constructions in (89) and (90).

(91) $\ldots\,ni\,-\text{asu}\,[ki=am\,u\,\text{er}]_{NP}\,\text{la}si=ni\,\text{mei}.$
REFL-for ATTR=contain 1DEM cut=LNK1 take
‘… (he would) cut down the full ones for himself.’ (23-011)

(92) $Mu\,u=ua\,\text{teuh\,ere\,hai}\,[ki=\text{popo}]_{NP}\,-\text{PRES}.$
banana-REL buy 1DEM NSIT ATTR=rotten
‘The bananas he bought are already rotten.’ (elic317)

A further parallel is the fact that Campagnolo (1973, quoted from Engelenhoven 2009: 355) consistently translates such phrases as relative clauses. As mentioned in § 4.3.4 (p. 284), Makalero speakers tend to translate $ki=$-modifiers into Indonesian with relative clauses, too.

19 Although the author does not specify exactly when this is the case, and when the adjective would directly follow the noun.
The only one difference between these structures in the two languages is a very obvious one, viz. the absence of an overt adjectivising morpheme in Makalero. This is consistent with its more isolating nature, as compared to Fataluku, which “still displays agglutinative morphology” (Engelshoven 2009: 340). Whether or not an overt morpheme was at one point present in Makalero cannot be answered at present.

Ordinal numbers are derived from cardinal ones in Fataluku through the substitution of the verbal suffix -(n)je by the nominalising suffix -(n)ju, where appropriate, and the proposed third person possessive *i. However, Engelshoven (2009: 344-345) notes that there is a subset of numerals to which neither the verbal nor the nominal suffix can be applied, and that for these, “the possessive marker is the only formal indication for the ordinal counterparts of the cardinal numerals”. Thus, in these cases, the situation would be identical to that in Makalero, where ordinal numerals correspond to cardinal numerals with the attributive marker *ki=* in front of them. In the absence of either a adjectivising or a nominalising suffix, by which the ordinal numerals differ from cardinal ones in Fataluku, contrastive cardinal and ordinal numeral modifiers look the same in Makalero, as shown by the noun phrases in (76) and (77), repeated below as (93) and (94), respectively. However, as mentioned above, the use of *ki= * with cardinal numerals is basically optional, used to convey contrastiveness; as such, (95) is a viable paraphrase for the attributive reading of (94), but not for the ordinal reading as in (93).

1s:poss-child ATTr-two 3:poss-name
‘my second child’s name’

(105-040)

1s:poss-car ATTr-two ATTr=new 1DEM
‘my two new cars’

(elic321)

(95) [[kareta]head [loloj]mod/nf
car two
‘two cars’

(elic1765)

Fataluku thus has two distinct constructions, one for the expression of verbal modifiers to nominal heads, and the other for ordinal numerals. Both of these use the third person possessive *i, along with distinct derivational morphemes. Makalero uses a form identical to the third person possessive pronoun to express the very same notions; however, it lacks the derivative suffixes used in Fataluku and as such conflates what are two distinct constructions in that language.
4.3.5 Relative sentences with the relative marker =ua

The clitic =ua (§ 3.3.5.1, p. 243) is, similarly to ki= (§ 3.3.5.2, p. 240, § 4.3.4, p. 284), used to add a modifier to a nominal head. The modifiers in question are clausal, as examples (96) and (97) illustrate. The brackets illustrate the structure of the noun phrase as a whole.

(96) …sefar ere fenu=ve meih=ini (...) [dilaf]=ua hai na’u
    dog 1DEM turtle=DET two.HUM=CTR frog=REL NSIT just
    mutu heke[MOD uref[SP hai na’u to-toton.
    inside difficult 2DEM NSIT just RDL=watch
    ‘The dog and the turtle are both there (...) and watch the angry frog.’
    (115-018)

(97) …lolo-ini ki=rau mei (...) [noko-raa]=[ua aite’ lafu]MOD
    say-NML ATTR=good take younger.sibling-PL=REL REC.PT live
    ere[SP ki-e-isi-lolo.
    1DEM 3.POSS-chest-at:RED=say
    ‘... advise our younger siblings who were just born well.’
    (98-24)
    (lit. speak good words to the hearts of our siblings...)

The modifier in (96) takes the form of a complete VP; the head noun functions as its subject participant. It is modified with both the aspect marker hai (§ 3.4.3, p. 242) and the VP-internal adverbial na’u ‘just’ (§ 3.2.3.3.1, p. 159). As such, modifiers with =ua clearly contrast with those with ki=, which, as shown in § 4.3.4 (p. 284), are not compatible with such verbal modifiers. In (97), the modifier is actually a multi-clause unit, since such adverbials as the recent past aite’ are fully predicative by themselves (§ 3.2.3.1.1, p. 141). In fact, all sentence-level units as defined in § 7 (p. 401) can constitute relative modifiers. For this reason, the term ‘relative clause’ is avoided, and ‘relative sentence’ is used instead.

Note that in both of these cases, the NP with the clausal modifier is concluded by a demonstrative, uref and ere in (96) and (97), respectively. Being the rightmost element of an NP (see the schematic representation of the NP in (1) in § 4, p. 273 above), a determiner signals the right boundary of the noun phrase. As such, in the above cases, the position of the determiners with respect to the clausal =ua-modifiers shows clearly that the modifier is part of the NP and helps the hearer to process such fairly complex NPs.

In the majority of cases, the clitic =ua is attached directly to the head of the NP; however, there are a few examples, such as (98), which show that it can also stand following another modifier, in this case one with the attributive marker ki=.

(98) [Kareta [ki=moso]MOD=[ua umere’]MOD]SP ani-isi’.
    car 1-attr=green ➔REL DEM.DIST.V 1s-belong
    ‘That green car over there is mine.’
    (elic466)
Thus attaches to whatever preceding element, whether that be the head itself or, as in the case of (98), the rightmost element of a preceding modifier. The examples in (96) through (98) show that clausal modifiers introduced by “ua” correspond to relative clauses in English. The marking strategies for such relative sentences are fairly complex, as shown by the summary in Table 4.1. Note that the head nouns can be either left-dislocated or in situ within the relative sentence. The marking patterns are centred on both the relative clause head as well as its subject, resulting in double marking in cases where the two do not coincide. Also, it results in a mixture of head-marking and dependent-marking strategies.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>head = subject:</th>
<th>head = non-subject argument:</th>
<th>head = possessor:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“ua” appears on</td>
<td>“ua” appears on</td>
<td>“ua” appears on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>left-dislocated head</td>
<td>- the head</td>
<td>- the subject (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- the head and first element (of a multi-clause modifier)</td>
<td>- the head and on the subject</td>
<td>- the head and the subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- the first element (of a multi-clause modifier) (?)</td>
<td>- the first element (of a multi-clause modifier) and the subject</td>
<td>- the subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in-situ head</td>
<td>- the first element (of a multi-clause modifier) and the head</td>
<td>- subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no head</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>- the subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- the first element (of a multi-clause modifier)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.1: Marking of relative sentences with “ua”

There is also a very small number of cases where “ua” does not stand within the NP, but instead appears to be attached to the right boundary of it, as in (xx) below, where it is cliticised to the demonstrative er. As said above, demonstratives can be said to mark the end of a noun phrase, and only a few noun phrase-external clitics such as “ee” (§ 3.5.1.1, p. 243), “ini” (see § 3.5.2.5, p. 247), “hi’a” (§ 3.5.2.4, p. 247), “wo” (see § 3.5.2.1, p. 245) and “haku” (§ 3.5.1.2, p. 244) are found in this position, cliticised to the NP as a whole. As such, the position of the first “ua” in (xx) is hard to account for. However, note that the NP is repeated right after this, with the “ua” modifier in the regular postnominal modifier slot; hence it is likely that the noun phrase dila er “ua” is a mistake that was subsequently corrected (although there is no noticeable break in the flow of speech).

(xx) ... [[dila][u:oa]] [er] [o:oa-[m] [wo] ]-[sa] [[dila][u:oa]]-”ua se mutu beke]-xoo [er]-[u:oa]-o
frog 1DEM-REL frog-REL very inside difficult 1DEM
ni-moko ki-ia k-eta-ka’el.
REFL-younger.sibling 3.POSS-leg 3:UND-separate-bite
‘... this frog, the very angry frog bites the younger one’s leg.’ (115-021)
§ 4.3.5.1 (p. 297) discusses relative sentences with left-dislocated heads. The section is divided into paragraphs according to the grammatical role of the head within the modifier as either subject (§ 4.3.5.1.1, p. 297), non-subject argument (§ 4.3.5.1.2, p. 299) or possessor (§ 4.3.5.1.3, p. 301). § 4.3.5.2 (p. 303) proceeds to describe relative sentences with their heads in situ, again according to the function of the head as subject (§ 4.3.5.2.1, p. 303) or non-subject argument (§ 4.3.5.2.2, p. 305) of the subordinated clause. There do not appear to be relative clauses on possessors in this construction type. § 4.3.5.3 (p. 306) gives an overview of relative sentences with unexpressed subjects, and § 4.3.5.4 (p. 307) discusses headless relative sentences. § 4.3.5.5 (p. 308) gives a short summary of the marking patterns, and § 4.3.5.6 (p. 309) discusses some general properties of relative clauses apart from marking with =ua. § 4.3.5.7 (p. 311) comments on the behaviour of the NP containing the clausal modifier within the superordinate clause. § 4.3.5.8 (p. 313), finally, gives an outlook on relative sentences with non-nominal heads.

4.3.5.1 Relative sentences with left-dislocated heads

Relative sentences with left-dislocated heads are by far the most common type of such constructions. In other words, the head is followed by a modifier with =ua, conforming to the schematic representation of the noun phrase in (1). The preposed head can function as either the subject or the non-subject argument of this clausal modifier, or it can be a possessor of the relative sentence’s subject. Depending on this factor, the exact construction of the modifier varies and is described separately in the following sections.

4.3.5.1.1 Relative sentences on subjects

Examples (96) and (97) above show relative sentences with semantically intransitive verbs in which, naturally, the head is the subordinate clause’s subject. In both of these cases, =ua is attached to the head noun. Furthermore, the clausal modifier is followed by a determiner which shows the extent of the noun phrase. (99) and (100) give similar examples with transitive verbs; the modifier consists in these cases of a VP with a non-subject argument and a verb.

(99)  [Tifuraa=ua ei so’ot]mod ere]ob hai muni la’a=m Dili-isi’.  
       woman=REL  2s want 1DEM NSIT return move=LNK1 D.-st

‘The woman who likes you has moved to Dili.’

(elic402)
As seen in (100), modifiers with =ua can also be multi-clause units or sentences, as discussed in § 7 (p. 401). The most common type involves an adverbial verb (§ 3.2.3.3.2, p. 162). In such a case, the adverbial first element of this multi-clause unit may additionally be criticised with the relative marker. An instance is shown in (101) with aire ‘now’. In this case, thus, the relative marker =ua occurs twice.¹⁶¹

(101) … [f=in=ua aire ="=ua mu’a ki-amulafu]MOD [lolo-ini ki-ouar]MOD
    lpi=REL now=REL ground 3:POSS-person say-NML 3:POSS-master
    ere fn=ni (…) ni-lolo-ini nomo fiar…
    1DEM=CTR REF-L-say-NML NEG trust
    ‘… we, who are the natives of the land and the owners of the language, do not appreciate our language…’ (98-17)

However, as (100) as well as (102) show, the marking of such an adverbial predicate with =ua is not compulsory.¹⁶² There appears to be little, if any, semantic difference between the two constructions; whether the marking is pragmatically based could not be resolved in the limited scope (and time) of the current thesis and requires further research.

(102) Ful-dai=po [ini=ua aire ‘se-se’]MOD fn=ini ni-lafu=po
    together.RED-pass-ADVNR 1pe=REL now RDL-separate-CTR REFL-life=ADVVR
    lolo-ini…
    say-do:BD
    ‘(We) go together, but we who live separately now talk about our lives…’ (71-4)

It also appears to be possible to drop the =ua on the head and only mark the adverbial predicate in the first position of the multi-clause modifier. In these cases, the =ua on the adverbial is the only formal marker of the relative sentence. Examples are given in (103) and (104), where the heads, telí ‘maize’ and dilá mata ‘little frog’, respectively, are unmarked.

¹⁶¹ Adverbials such as aire ‘now’ can in fact be used as relative sentence heads, as discussed in § 4.3.5.8 (p. 313). A similar reading, with aire‘now’ as a relative sentence head (possibly embedded within another relative sentence), however, makes no sense in (101).

¹⁶² Note also that in the case of (102), there is no demonstrative ending the noun phrase, but only the contrastive marker =ini elicitised to its rightmost element.
(103)  Raunata [ministru]HEAD [aire'=ua parlamentu-isi-ufe-diar
possibly minister now=REL parliament-at:RED-VDEM.LOW:RED-sit:PL

&lgliomar=ee=haka ki-nei umani...
VDEM I-DEF=CTR,PRES 3:POSS-name make-popular?
‘Perhaps the ministers who sit in parliament, the name of lliomar is made
known to them....’ (98-45)

(104)  ... ni-asu ki-tali were-seti-sifa’ ki-nua were [teli
REFL-for 3:POSS-string 2DEM-pass-catch:BD 3:POSS-eat 2DEM maize

[aire'=ua mu'a-isa]MOD werei]SP, isa were na'amuni mata (.....)
now=REL ground-descend 2DEM descend 2DEM in-turn child

k-ua-li’an.
3:UND-on.top:RED-fall
‘... (he) missed the rope, and the food, the maize was going down, fell
on top of the child (...).’ (122-09)

It is not entirely clear how widely acceptable this strategy is. Neither (103) nor (104)
are unproblematic sentences, both being somewhat awkward and bumpy; in fact,
they look a bit like anacoluthons, in which the speaker started an utterance but
changed its structure mid-sentence. There are at this point no clear, unproblematic
sentences using the strategy of only marking the modifier’s adverbial first element.
In summary, in relative sentences on the subject, =ua is generally criticised to the
head, and in some cases also to the adverbial first element of a multi-clause
modifier. It is unclear whether an alternative strategy, in which the clitic appears on
the adverbial first element within the modifier only, but not on its head, is widely
acceptable.

4.3.5.1.2 Relative sentences on non-subjects
There are two ways of realising a non-subject argument in a clause, namely either as
an object or as a complement (see § 5.2, p. 319). In the case of the head noun
functioning as a non-subject of the relative modifier, the most complete marking
strategy is one where both the head of the relative sentence as well as its subject
within the modifier are marked with =ua. (105) and (106) give relevant examples; in
(105), the head heru ‘cloth’, which functions as the object of the modifier clause, as
well as its subject ei (2s) have =ua cliticised to them. The same holds for (106),
where both the head rate ‘grave’, the relative sentence’s complement, and ani (1s),
the relative sentence subject, are marked with =ua.

(105)  Ani sedang [heru=ua ei=ua so’at]MOD erei]SP heru.
1s PROG cloth=REL 2s=REL want 1DEM weave
‘I’m weaving the cloth that you asked for.’ (elic1277)
(106) ... /rate=[ua ami=ua ei-asu isu-suma]_MOD ere]_{SP} ei mei la’a were /
grave=REL 1s=REL 2s-for at:RED-show 1DEM 2s take move 2DEM.V

/ta’a-ini,
count-give
‘... the graves that I showed you, you take these to them respectively.’
(120-075)

The marking of both the modifier’s head and its subject (where those do not
coincide) combines both head-marking and dependent-marking strategies.
There are several instances where the first =ua, that cliticised to the head, is
dropped, leaving only the one attached to the relative sentence’s subject. Examples
of this strategy are given in (107) and (108). In the first of these, the coordinated
head nouns farada ‘uniform’ and ropa ‘clothes’ are unmarked, whereas the
modifier’s subject ei (2s) has the clitic =ua. Similarly, the relative sentence’s head
nana were ki-ifil=ee ‘the snake’s tongue’ in (108) is unmarked, but =ua is cliticised
to the subject liurai ‘king’ within the relative sentence.

(107) ... /ei-faarada ei-ropa ere /ei=ua k-utu-k-utu=mi
2s-uniform 2s-clothes 1DEM 2s=REL RDL-3:UND-wear=LNK1

/iskola-isi-la’at}_MOD]_{NP}=ee ei mei mu’aini....
school-at:RED-move=DEF 2s take give.to who
‘... your uniform and your clothes that you (used to) wear to go to school,
who did you give them to?’
(73-27)

(108) ... /iraku ude=ini ni-asu /nana were ki-ifil=ee
3s VDEM.DIST=LNK1 REF: snake 2DEM 3:POSS-tongue=DEF

/liurai=ua teri=eta were]_{MOD}[NP] hai teuh...
king=REL cut=ETA 2DEM.V NSIT buy
‘... he bought himself the snake’s tongue that the king had cut off...’
(89-28)

Note, however, that in (107), the head of the relative sentence takes a determiner, the
demonstrative ere, which precedes the =ua-modifier. Similarly, in (108), the noun
phrase clitic =ee stands on the head noun. Both of these elements normally occur at
the end of the NP, the demonstrative as its rightmost element, and the clitic attached
to its right edge. In (107), the definite marker =ee actually occurs in the predicted
position at the right edge of the relative sentence, which coincides with the end of
the NP, in addition to the demonstrative which immediately follows the head.
Another example with this marker in the predicted position as an enclitic on the
right-most element of an NP containing a relative sentence is (109).

(109) Ani tina-ini mei=ni /mata-niki-niki=[ua lepuh]_MOD]_{NP}=ee kini.
1s cook-NML take=LNK1 child-RDL-PL=REL hungry=DEF give.to.3
‘I gave rice to the hungry children.’
(elric046)
It is possible that the relative sentences in (107) and (108) are afterthoughts, added to a complete NP only after it has already been uttered (even though there is no actual break detectable in the flow of speech). There being a rather small number of relevant examples, it is not quite clear how acceptable relative sentences with the marker only on the relative sentence’s subject are, or whether a different analysis would be needed to explain such structures.

With multi-clause modifiers, there is an alternative marking pattern where =ua is cliticised to the relative sentence’s leftmost element, generally a time adverbial, as well as to its subject. Equivalent constructions are found with relative modifiers on subjects, as discussed in § 4.3.5.1.1 (p. 297). An example is given in (110), with aire ‘now’ as the relative clause’s adverbial first element.

\[(110) \quad \ldots \text{uerla hai hau tia=te’e filem [aire =ua ini=ua nonton=ana]MOD} \]
\[3p \quad \text{NSIT all sleep=after movie now=REL lps=REL watch=INT} \]
\[\text{eref}_\text{NP} \quad \text{hai hau hai’...} \]
\[1\text{DEM NSIT all finished} \]
‘… they were all already sleeping, the movie that we were going to watch earlier was already finished…’

However, =ua is not cliticised in every case an adverbial predicate is the first element of a multi-clausal relative sentence, as shown in (111), where, quite regularly, the modifier’s head and its subject, but not the relative sentence’s adverbial first element, take the marker.

\[(111) \quad \ldots \text{fira =ua aire’ fi=ua mei=ni rama’]MOD eref}_\text{NP} \quad \text{hau hat...} \]
\[\text{water=REL now 1ps=REL take=LNK1 press 1DEM all dry} \]
‘… (if) the water that we just used for pressing is all dry…’

In summary, so far, it can be said that minimally the relative sentence’s subject is marked with =ua; additionally, also, either the modifiers’s head or its first element, in the case of a multi-clause construction with an adverbial predicate, can take the clitic. However, a combination of the latter two marking patterns appears to be disallowed; there are no combinations of three =ua clitics in one NP.

### 4.3.5.1.3 Relative sentences on possessors

It is possible for a relative sentence’s head to play the role of possessor to the subject NP within the modifier. Again, the most complete marking is one where both the head of the relative sentence as well as its subject are marked, as in (112).
(112) Ei tone’ [ate-isu=ua ki-nei=ua apel]MOD ere]SUB oko nomo ho’o
2s perhaps tree-seed=REL 3:POSS-name=REL apple 1DEM yet NEG some
isi-mua.
at:RED-eat
‘You’ve probably never eaten the fruit called apple yet.’ (elic1664)

Alternatively, it appears to be possible to drop either occurrence of =ua. In (113),
only the NP head is marked, but not the modifier’s subject, whereas in (114), the
head is unmarked, but the subject is.

(113) [Tufuraa u=ua ki-ni ki-upa k-asu livre mei=ni
woman one=REL 3:POSS-mother 3:POSS-father 3:UND-for freedom take=LNK1
kini=ni la’a=ni namiraa ko-horu ue’=ini
give.to.3=LNK1 move=LNK1 man 3:UND-with V2DEM=LNK1
lolo-ini=ni]MOD/sub…
say.do:BD=LNK1
‘A girl whose parents give her the freedom to go and sit and talk with a
man…’ (105-028)

(114) Ini la’a=ni metti-isi’ la’a=ni [mu’a [ki-nei=ua Hilapuna]MOD
1pe move=LNK1 sea-at move=LNK1 ground 3:POSS-name=REL H.
uere]SUB-isi’.
2DEM-at
‘We went to the sea and to a place that is called Hilapuna.’ (67-07)

(113), particularly, is special – in all other kinds of relative sentences discussed
so far, the marking of the relative sentence’s subject with =ua was central. In (113),
however, it is unmarked. I assume this freedom to be possible because of the fact
that the head does not function as an argument within the relative sentence.
Its function is specified through the presence of the possessive marker ki-.
The only pattern found found with pronominal possessors is one where =ua is
liciticised to that possessor, as in (115) with ini (1pe), while leaving the relative
sentence’s subject unmarked. It is thus parallel to the structure in (113). Due to the
scarcity of relevant examples, it is not clear whether all of the same marking patterns
as described for nominal possessors are available.

(115) [[Ini]=[ua isi-famila nomo governu-isi’ nomo kabupaten- isi’]MOD]SUB
1pe=REL 1pe:POSS-family NEG government-at NEG regency-at
(... na’u tepa ni-raku-laa ki-ia-lefong=ee k-ia’.
just constant REFL-friend-PL 3:POSS-foot-sole=DEF 3:UND-under
‘We whose relatives are not in the government or in the regency (...) keep
being inferior to our fellow citizens.’ (86-21)
4.3.5.2 Relative sentences with heads *in situ*

A strategy rather different from that described so far, in which the clausal modifier with *=ua* follows the head noun, is one where the head stands *in situ* within the modifier. In these cases as well, relativisation is possible on both subjects and non-subjects. Similar constructions are found with clausal modifiers without overt relative marking (see § 4.3.3, p. 283); both present a problem with regard to the schematic representation of the NP as given in § 4 (p. 273), in that they do not conform to the largely head-initial NP structure, where modifiers and determiners neatly follow the head. Rather, the head stands within the modifier itself. The following paragraphs describe the structural make-up of such constructions with subjects *in situ* in § 4.3.5.2.1 (p. 303) and with non-subjects *in situ* in § 4.3.5.2.2 (p. 305). The rationale behind the choice of relative sentences with left-dislocated heads as opposed to relative sentences with their heads *in situ* is at this point unclear, and further research is needed. Overall, relative sentences on left-dislocated heads are much more frequent than those on *in-situ* heads. Relative sentences with their heads *in situ* are relatively hard to process, particularly where the non-subject argument must be understood as the head (see § 4.3.5.2.2, p. 305). A further factor contributing to their limited use is, probably, that heads *in situ* cannot take further modifiers. A left-dislocated head, on the other hand, can take more than one modifier (see e.g. (97) above); this type of construction is hence more flexible.

4.3.5.2.1 Relative sentences on subjects *in situ*

The subject is the first argument in a clause (§ 6.1, p. 386). As such, a relative sentence on an *in-situ* subject is distinguishable from one on a left-dislocated subject only in cases of multi-clausal relative sentences, where an adverbial predicate precedes the subject slot of the following embedded clause. In the absence of such an adverbial, the subject is the left-most element in either construction type, and they are indistinguishable. The two structures are schematically represented in Table 4.2 (see below for examples). Note how a relative sentence on a left-dislocated head and one on an *in-situ* head, in the middle column, differ only in the bracketing, unless an adverbial predicate is present in a multi-clause relative sentence.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>single clause construction</th>
<th>multi-clause construction with an adverbial predicate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>left-dislocated head</td>
<td>$S_{HEAD} [(O) V]_{MOD}$</td>
<td>$S_{HEAD} [ADV (O) V]_{MOD}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>in-situ</em> head</td>
<td>$[S_{HEAD} (O) V]^{103}$</td>
<td>$[ADV S_{HEAD} (O) V]$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.2: Relative sentences on subjects with left-dislocated heads and *in-situ* heads

103 No label is attached to this structure because of the impossibility to fit it into the NP schema in (1).
As shown to be the case in the above sections (§ 4.3.5.1.1, p. 297, and § 4.3.5.1.2, p. 299), it is an option to have not only the subject of the relative sentence, but also its left-most element, the adverbial predicate, marked by the =ua-marker. Precisely this is the case too with in-situ subjects preceded by adverbials: the clitic =ua can be attached to both the adverbial as well as the subject. In cases like (116) and (117), thus, the first =ua on the adverbial predicate shows it to stand within the relative modifier. The subject, which is the head of the construction, follows this adverbial and is marked by another =ua.

(116)  … sefar ere=hi’a =haka to aire’ ni-asu uani were=hi’a 
  dog 1DEM=CTR.PRES accompany now REFL-for bee 2DEM-only 

  k-ata-rou-kini, [aire’=ua [uani]]=HEAD=ua ate-ika’ were’=hi’a 
  3:UND-contact-around?do now=REL bee=REL tree-up.in 2DEM.V=only 

  k-ata-rou-kini. 
  3:UND-contact-around?do
  ‘… the dog too is now making the bees angry, making the bees that are now there on the tree angry.’  (102-037)

(117)  … uai=ni=ni [aire’=ua [amulafu]]=HEAD=ua papa were 
  CLS=LNK1=LNK1 now=REL person=REL Indonesian 2DEM 

  ko-horu=ni jerikeen hofe ere is=ni were’=ua hai mei 
  3:UND-with=LNK1 jerrycan recognise 1DEM go.down=LNK1 2DEM.V NSIT take 

  raw-dial. 
  good-kick:BD
  ‘… so the person who was together with the Indonesian now and recognised his jerrycan came down and kicked him.’  (101-035)

For comparison, (118) below repeats (101) from § 4.3.5.1.1 (p. 297), which shows a preposed head and an adverbial marked by =ua as the first element of the multi-clause relative sentence. The two constructions differ only through the inverted order of the head and the adverbial, as shown schematically in Table 4.2.

(118)  … [fii]=ua aire’=ua mu’a ki-amulafu=MOD [lolo-ini ki-ouru]=MOD 
  1pi=REL now=REL ground 3:POSS-person say-NML 3:POSS-master 

  ere’=ua ni=ni (…) ni-lolo-ini nomo fiar… 
  1DEM=CTR REFL-say-NML NEG trust
  ‘… we, who are the natives of the land and the owners of the language, do not appreciate our language…’  (98-17)
4.3.5.2.2 Relative sentences on non-subjects in situ

The non-subjects that are found as in-situ heads of relative sentences are all objects, rather than complements (§ 5.2, p. 319). No clear instances of multi-clause relative sentences on in-situ objects have been found. These constructions are much more clearly distinguishable from their counterparts with left-dislocated heads than those on subjects, where the distinction is dependent on the presence of an adverbial in a multi-clause construction. With relative sentences on in-situ objects, the head of the relative sentence stands in the unmarked object position within its clause, preceded by its subject and followed by its verb. This structure, as well as the contrasting structure with a left-dislocated head, are schematically represented in Table 4.3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>left-dislocated head</th>
<th>OHEAD [S V ( ]_{MOD}</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>in-situ head</td>
<td>[S OHEAD V]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.3: Relative sentences on left-dislocated objects and in-situ objects

As (119) shows, =ua is in a relative sentence on an in-situ object cliticised to the subject, as in the other types of relative clauses.

(119) \[Ei=ua [buka]_{HEAD} manin _ere]\(,\_{\NP} se felum.\)
\(2s=REL\) book give.to.me 1DEM very nice
‘The book you gave me is very good.’

( elic1421)

It appears to be a bit problematic that such constructions as (119) look identical to relative sentences on subjects. An example of the latter is given in (120), in which the subject, cliticised with =ua, functions as the modifier’s head.\(^{164}\) Both the constructions as in (119) and as in (120) are of the form S=ua O V.

(120) \[Tuפרaa=ua [eˈ soˈ ʔot]_{MOD} _ere]\(,_{\NP} hai muni la’a=ni Dili-isi’.\)
woman=REL 2s want 1DEM NSIT return move=LNK1 D.-at
‘The woman who likes you has moved to Dili.’

( elic402)

While relative sentences with in-situ subjects, as recognisable by a =ua-marked adverbial preceding the similarly marked subject, are fairly frequent, single-clause relative sentences such as (119), with in-situ objects as heads, are very rare. This seems to confirm the impression that they are in fact rather hard to process, and prone to being confused with relative sentences on subjects.

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\(^{164}\) In fact, (119), if read as being structurally the same as (120), would result in the following meaning: ‘you, who gave me a book, are very nice.’ Though this has not been tested with native speakers, I assume such a reading to be theoretically possible.
4.3.5.3 Relative sentences with unexpressed subjects

Some speakers like to leave third person pronominal subjects unexpressed, both in main clauses as well as in clausal modifiers. Obviously, in cases where such a subject is unexpressed, the most common relative sentence marking strategy of cliticising =ua to the relative sentence subject is not available. (121) and (122) show such sentences, where, in the absence of an overt subject NP, only the object, which is the head of the modifier clause, takes the =ua marker.

(121) $\text{[Mu}$’$u=\text{ua [teuh]}_{\text{MOD}} \text{ere}_\text{NP} \text{hai ki=popo}$.  
\begin{align*}
\text{banana=REL buy} & \quad \text{1DEM NSIT ATTR=rotten} \\
\end{align*}
‘The bananas (he) bought are already rotten.’ \quad \text{(elic317)}

(122) $\text{[Osan=ua [soohe’ anis-asu manin]}_{\text{MOD}} \text{ere}_\text{NP} \text{hai hau hai’}$.  
\begin{align*}
\text{money=REL yesterday is-for give.to.me} & \quad \text{1DEM NSIT all finished} \\
\end{align*}
‘The money that (he) gave me yesterday is already finished.’ \quad \text{(elic096)}

Such sentences structurally look like as the relative sentences in (96) and (97) above, which relativise on the subject argument of a semantically intransitive verb; (97) is repeated here as (123).

(123) $\text{... lolo-ini ki=rau mei (...) [noko-raa=ua aite’ lafu]}_{\text{MOD}} \text{ere}_\text{NP} \text{ki-e-isi-lolo}$.  
\begin{align*}
\text{say-NML ATTR=good take} & \quad \text{younger.sibling-PL=REL REC.PT live} \\
\end{align*}
‘... advise our younger siblings who were just born well.’ (lit. speak good words to the hearts of our siblings...’ \quad \text{(98-24)}

Compare also the relative sentences in (99) and (100), where the head is a transitive verb’s subject. Relative sentences such as in (121) differ from constructions such as in (123) through the fact that their verb is compatible with an undergoer participant, and from such clauses as (99) and (100), in which both the subject and the object arguments are overt, through the absence of an object NP.

The constructions in (121) and (122) contradict the general rule that =ua-marking is centred on the subject, i.e. that a single =ua is attached to the subject of the relative sentence. As such, their interpretation appears potentially problematic. I assume it is mainly the semantics which make the interpretation clear; denoting inanimate objects, these relative clause heads are unlikely to carry out actions such as buying in (121) or giving in (122), but make good undergoers.
4.3.5.4 Headless relative sentences

In cases where the object of the relative sentence functions as its head and is an indefinite expression (such as ‘somebody’ or ‘something’), that head is often left unexpressed. These structures amount to headless relative sentences. They are also equivalent to structures as described in § 4.1 (p. 273), where, in the absence of an overt nominal head, modifiers and determiners can constitute NPs of their own. There are no instances of relativisation on unexpressed subjects in the corpus. Examples are given in (124) and (125), in both of which an unspecified ‘thing’ is to be interpreted as the head. Apart from the absence of a head, these relative sentences function quite regularly, with =ua criticised to their subjects.

(124) [[Ei=ua hana’e lolo]MOD ere]SP ani hai mei ma’u.
2s=REL once say 1DEM 1s NSIT take come
‘I brought (the thing) you once talked about.’ (elic999)

(125) … [[meestri=ua kerek-ini=ni taure-fani’]MOD]SP ani uere’ me’e
  teacher=REL write-do.BD=LNK1 which:RED-be.like 1s 2DEM.VV able
  mi-kerek.
  along:RED-write
  ‘... (what) the teacher wrote, I could follow that.’ (101-200)

(126) shows an equivalent sentence with an overtly expressed indefinite subject. Note that the above two examples directly correspond to (126), with the exception of the missing head.\footnote{I assume that, in both (124) and (125), the head of the relative sentence could be made explicit through the use of an indefinite expression such as sa’ ani, just as in (126).}

(126) [[Sa’ani=ini [iraku=ua hai so’of]MOD ere]SP iraku dadau tepa
  what.SUBJ=CTR 3s=REL NSIT want 1DEM 3s must constant
  nese-la’a.
  aim.at:RED-move
  ‘Whatever he wishes for, he always gets it.’ (pelic419)

With headless relative sentences as well, there appears to be the option of not only marking the relative sentence’s subject, but also the leftmost adverbial predicate of a multi-clause modifier, as in the case of the adverbial soohe’ ‘yesterday’ in (127).

(127) [[Soohe’=ua fi=ua mei=ni uo-mot]MOD=HEAD ere]SP
  yesterday=REL 1pi=REL take=LNK1 V2DEM.RED-place.on 1DEM
  ‘that which we put there yesterday’ (elic1004)

(128) below shows a noun phrase which combines two special cases: neither its head nor its subject are overtly expressed. In that case, the only possible place for the

\footnote{I assume that, in both (124) and (125), the head of the relative sentence could be made explicit through the use of an indefinite expression such as sa’ ani, just as in (126).}
marker =ua is the time adverbial aire’ ‘now’ in the beginning of the relative sentence.166

(128) … [aire’=ua mei=ni mata k-asu lolo were hai lolo]mod ere]np
now=REL takelnk child 3A/ND-for say 2DEM NSIT say 1DEM
rata=ua aire’ lolo ere amuni Maluhira ki-rata...
story=REL now say 1DEM person M. 3:POSS-story
‘… what is now being told to the children, the story which is told is the story
of the Maluhira clan…” (23-043)

(129) shows an even more complex case, featuring a relative sentence consisting of
a whole string of predcations (starting with aire’=ua) embedded within another
relative sentence, headed by ei (2s). As in (128), the head of the relative sentence
starting with aire’=ua is unexpressed (see § 4.3.5.6, p. 309, for a more detailed
discussion of relative clauses consisting of several predcations).

(129) … hei ei ma’u=te’e, [ei=ua ini [aire’=ua ani=ua aftane’]
INTERJ 2s come=after 2s=REL 1pe now=REL 1s=REL PT
ue’=ini mei=ni ue’=ini raat-nini]mod were]np hena
V2DEM=LNK1 take=LNK1 V2DEM=LNK1 good-make:BD 2DEM cloth
metan-isi]mod=ee]DET]sh k-afu ma’u=ini...
black-at:DEF 3:UND=carry come=LNK1
‘… hey you, come here, you who put that which I prepared before into a
black cloth, bring it here…” (120-051)

4.3.5.5 Summary
The most significant regularity in the relative sentence patterns as described in the
above paragraphs is the marking of the subject with =ua, whether it be the head of
the structure or not. This is common to all constellations, with the exception of some
relative sentences on possessors (see e.g. (113) in § 4.3.5.1.3, p. 301) and such
relative sentences in which the subject is left unexpressed (see § 4.3.5.3, p. 306). In
cases where the subject of the relative sentence and its head do not coincide,
the head is usually additionally marked. Also, in a multi-clause modifier with an
adverbial predicate, that predicate is optionally marked with =ua.167

166 It is unclear what would happen if no time adverbial introduced such a relative clause. Most probably,
some alternative way of expression would have to be chosen.
167 Though the preceding discussion of the marking of relative sentences with =ua covers the
overwhelming majority of the clitic’s uses, there remains a group of cases which cannot be accounted for.
Example (xxi), for instance, violates the maxim that a single =ua marks the relative sentence’s subject. In
this case, the head is the relative sentence’s object; note that it is taken up within the relative clause
through the third person argument prefix on the verb ko-jhora ‘with’. However, this object prefix could
equally well be read as applying to avi-pada-laas ‘my friends’, in which case it would be read as the
construction’s object rather than its subject (see § 4.3.5.1.2, p. 299). I assume it must be the context
within the story from which this sentence is taken which clarifies the reading intended.
The marking patterns for relative sentences with in-situ heads are basically the same for both subjects and non-subjects as heads. The only difference in these cases, allowing a distinction between relative sentences on subjects in situ and relative sentences on non-subjects in situ, is whether or not a non-subject NP is present.

4.3.5.6 The general properties of relative sentences

Relative sentences with =ua are indeed fully clausal, as numerous examples containing both aspect marking and VP-internal adverbs (e.g. (95) and (124)) clearly show. Attributes with ki=, discussed in § 4.3.4 (p. 284), disallow such marking; hence it has been concluded that such attributes have reduced clausal properties. Also, relative sentences can consist of more than one clause, as illustrated in (130), in which the first verb, ume’ (VDEM.DIST), expresses the location of the attributed action, the second, murimuri ‘play’ expresses the actual action, and the third, umere’ (DEM.DIST.V), takes up the locative verb again (see § 3.2.3.9, p. 180, for these two kinds of deictic verbs). The second predication is linked to the first with the help of the clause linker =ini (§ 3.5.2.5.2, p. 249), whereas the final two are juxtaposed with no marker. Other examples with relative sentences consisting of several predications have figured in various of the preceding sections, e.g. (115), (125), or (129). Most of these involve an adverbial predicate (§ 3.2.3.3.2, p. 162).

(130) [Mata-niki=ua ume’=ini bola-isi-murimuri umere’]MOD NP

child-PL=REL VDEM.DIST=LNK1 ball-at:RED-play DEM.DIST.V

isi-mata-r.

1pe:POSS-child-PL

‘The children who play with a ball over there are our children.’

(elic162)

Relative sentences can be embedded within other relative clauses, as (131) shows (see (129) above for another example). In this sentence, I believe the complex noun phrase sefi aldeia aire’=ua hat ki=le-isi’ ‘village chiefs who are now out of office’ as a whole functions as a predicate in the relative clause headed by ini (1pe).

(xii) ... [papa-lau]adu=ua aire’ asi-pada-lau ko-horu]hok ere]q=oo

Indonesian-PL=REL now 1s.POSS-friend-PL 3:AUND-with 1DEM=too

uatu.uatu.uatu.uatu ma’u=ni…

daily . . come=LNK1

‘… the Indonesians that my friends stayed with too came every day and then….’

(101-214)

There is at present no good explanation for such cases.
(131) ... aire’ [ini=ua [sefi aldeia [aire’=ua hai ki=le-isi’]MOD]NP]MOD NP]NP
     now lpe-REL chief village now-REL NSIT ATTR=outside:RED-at

     (...) istadu hai nomo were’ mi-seti.
     state NSIT NEG 2DEM.V along:RED-ask:BD
     ‘… now we who are village chiefs who are no longer in office (lit. who are
     outside), the state does not take care of us.’ (65-25)

The bracketed noun phrase in (132) shows an apparent series of two coordinated relative sentences modifying one head, *ha’auwein‘place*. As evident from this sentence, the head noun does not necessarily play a role in all of the clauses that make up a multi-clause relative sentence. In the first of the relative sentences in (132), *fi=ua bis-ika’=ini ma’u=ni isi’=ini hai au nat=ini ‘we are on the bus and come
and are (at that place) and stand there’*, the head *ha’auwein‘place* is an argument
only to the predication with *isi’=ini ‘be there and then’, but plays no role in any of
the other three predications. The same holds for the second relative clause, where
*ha’auwein‘place* is not a direct argument to the predication *mu’a-isa‘get down’.

(132) Ani [ha’auwein=]ua ho’onese fi=ua bis-ika’=ini ma’u=ni isi’=ini
     1s place=REL IPF 1pf=REL bus-up,=LNK1 come=LNK1 at=LNK1
     all stand:SG=LNK1 1pf=REL ground-descend 1DEM-at=LNK1 wait
     ‘I’m waiting in the spot where we, being on the bus and standing there,
     used to get out.’ (elic1564)

Relative sentences with =ua can be both very complex structures, as in (132), or
very simple ones, as in (133), in which the relative sentence consists only of a
simple verb, which is furthermore not associated with an undergoer participant.

     3s=REL come 1DEM REF=wife NEG 3:UND-with=LNK1 come
     ‘He came without his wife.’ (elic328)
     (lit. He who came did not come with his wife)

Not all clausal modifiers to nouns are expressed in the form of relative sentences
with =ua. (134), for instance, features two NPs with clausal modifiers, yet only one
of them, *kuda=ua Timor-isi‘ere ‘the horses in Timor’, is constructed with =ua.
Apart from this, it corresponds structurally and appears to contrast with *kuda
Portugal-isi=ee ‘the horses in Portugal’, with an unmarked VP modifier in the
modifier slot (for other examples of unmarked clausal modifiers, see § 4.3.3,
p. 283).
(134)  \[ \text{[Kuda=\text{ua Timor-isi}]_{\text{MOD}} \text{ ere}]_{\text{SO}} \text{ [kuda horse-REL T-at IDEM horse}} \]
\[ \text{[Portugal-isi]_{\text{MOD}}} = ee-seti-ka\text{'u.} \]
\[ \text{P-at=DEF-pass-small} \]
‘The horses in Timor are smaller than the horses in Portugal.’  
(pelic056)

At this stage, the principles underlying the choice of either a relative sentence with \(=\text{ua} \) or an unmarked modifier are not quite clear. It is reasonable to assume that more complex subordinated structures are preferably marked with \(=\text{ua} \) to facilitate processing (alternatively, separate clauses with clause linkers (§ 3.5.3.1, p. 250) might be used to express the same). However, examples with very simple relative sentences such as (133), coming from both elicitation and free speech, show that this is not necessarily the case.

Clausal modifiers with \(=\text{ua} \) not only contrast with clausal modifiers without the marker, but also with modifiers with the attributive marker \( \text{ki=} \) (see § 4.3.4, p. 284). In fact, that section claims that \( \text{ki=} \)-attributes often correspond to relative clauses. The \(=\text{ua}\)-construction and the \( \text{ki=} \)-construction differ fundamentally, however, with respect to their clausehood. \( \text{Ki=} \)-attributes, though generally in the form of stative verbs, have reduced verbal / clausal properties, as shown through the fact that they are not compatible with aspect marking or adverbs. The same is not the case for modifiers with \(=\text{ua} \), which are, without doubt, fully clausal, and can even constitutes units larger than the clause. Whereas \( \text{ki=} \)-attributes generally carry a contrastive notion and the nominal head is always the subject of the attributed verb, \(=\text{ua} \)-modifiers do not seem to be associated with contrastiveness. Also, any argument of the modifying clause can head the relative sentence, relative sentences with \(=\text{ua} \) are thus much more flexible syntactically than \( \text{ki=} \)-attributes.

4.3.5.7 The relative sentence head in the matrix clause

The relative sentence’s head can function either as the subject or as non-subject argument (i.e. object or complement) in the matrix clause. (135), showing the appropriate bracketing, is a sentence in which the head functions as the subject. The constituent order in this sentence as a whole conforms to the basic SOV word order.

(135)  \[ \text{[Surat=\text{ua ei=\text{ua haka ere}]_{\text{SUBJ}}} \text{ [aramari]_{\text{COMPLET}}} \text{ [mutu]}}_{\text{VC}} \]
\[ \text{book-REL 2s-REL search 1DEm cupboard-inside} \]
‘The book that you are looking for is inside the wardrobe.’  
(elic444)

In the case where the relative sentence’s head is a non-subject argument of the matrix clause, there are two options: in the first of these, the non-subject argument stands \textit{in situ}, that is, preceding the verb and following the subject argument. (136) gives such an example, again with the main constituents bracketed.
The second option is one where the object is left-dislocated, standing in the left-detached position of the sentence (see § 7.6.1, p. 427), preceding the subject. (137) shows such an example. Note that in this case, a resumptive pronoun, kilooraa (3p), takes up the left-dislocated object in the matrix clause.

(137) [Uerla=ua nonton ere]OBJ [polisi]SUBJ [kilooraa]OBJ [pada]v=xi uai=taa
    3p=REL     watch     1DEM    police     3p   order=LNK2    CLS=PURP
                       NSIT     good     move=INT
    ‘The onlookers (lit. they who were watching) were ordered by the police to leave.’
    (elic464)

However, the left-dislocated object is not in all cases repeated in the matrix clause; two examples, with the empty object position marked by Ø, are given in (138) and (139).

(138) ... [ei-faurda ei-ropa ere ei=ua k-utu-k-utu=ni
    2s-uniform     2s-clothes     1DEM     2s=RELRLD-3:UND-wear=LNK1
                       iskola-isi-la=ære]OBJ [ei]SUBJ ØOBJ [mei]v   mu’aìni....
     school-at:RED-move=DEF 2s   take   give.to.who
    ‘... to whom did you give your uniform and the clothes you used to wear to go to school?’
    (73-27)

    say=NML=REL    friend two     1DEM-CTR    is    NEG    know
    ‘I don’t know the difference between these two words.’
    (elic1233)
    (lit. I don’t know these two different words).

It appears that an important factor determining whether or not a left-dislocated object NP is recapitulated in situ through a resumptive pronoun is the agentworthiness hierarchy, which states that personal pronouns and nouns denoting human referents are prototypical actors (e.g. Payne 1997: 150). That is, a personal pronoun is normally understood to be the agent, even if the unmarked order of subject and object is inverted. Note that in both (138) and (139), the agent is a personal pronoun; hence it is not absolutely necessary for the preposed object to reappear in the guise of a pronoun in situ to ensure the correct interpretation of syntactic roles in the sentence in question. In (137), on the other hand, the left-dislocated object argument is a pronominal form (see § 3.3.1.1.2, p. 221), and thus a
prototypical agent. To ensure the correct reading of the sentence, it is thus necessary to take up the left-dislocated constituent as a resumptive pronoun in situ.
In (140), both participants are full NPs. However, an animate, human entity such as denoted by *amuni namira* ‘male person’ is a far more likely agent-subject than *tali* ‘rope’, and the sentence is correctly interpreted despite the main arguments’ inverted order.\(^{168}\)

\[(140) \quad \text{[}Tali\text{=}ua \text{ue`} \text{ere}\text{]}_{\text{SUB}} \text{amuni namira}\text{[}hau\text{-}sur\text{]}_{\text{RED}}\text{rope}\text{–REL} \quad \text{V2DEM} \quad \text{IDEM} \quad \text{person} \quad \text{man}\text{–CTR} \quad \text{all}\text{-}release \quad \text{elic153}\]

The rope was untied by that man.’

4.3.5.8 Relative sentences on non-nominal heads
The occurrence of *=ua* on adverbial predicates within multi-clause relative sentences is discussed above (§ 4.3.5.1, p. 297, and § 4.3.5.2, p. 303); its use in these constructions appears to mark the beginning of the relative clause. The adverbial predicate does not function as an argument within the relative clause. An example is given in (141), repeated from (110) above.

\[(141) \quad \ldots \text{uerla hai hau tia}\text{=}te`} \text{[}filem \text{[aire`}\text{=}ua ini}\text{=}=ua \text{nonton}\text{=}=ana\text{]}_{\text{MOD}} \quad 3\text{p} \quad \text{NSIT all} \quad \text{sleep}\text{–after movie} \quad \text{now}\text{–REL} \quad \text{1pe}\text{–REL} \quad \text{watch}\text{–INT} \quad \text{ere}\text{]}_{\text{SB}} \quad \text{hai hau hai´...} \quad \text{IDEM} \quad \text{NSIT all} \quad \text{finished} \quad \ldots \quad \text{they were all already sleeping, the movie that we were going to watch earlier was already finished...} \quad \text{(120-808)}\]

It appears, however, that adverbial predicates can in some instances head relative clauses. An example is given in (142), with two coordinated relative clauses, one starting with *fi* (1pi) and the other with *ei* (2s), both of which are headed by *aftane’* (PT).

\[(142) \quad \text{Aftane‘=}ua \quad \text{[}fi\text{=}ua \text{e`}\text{=}=ini \quad \text{nonton} \text{ere}\text{-isi}\text{]}_{\text{MOD}}\text{=}=ee \quad \text{ke}si \quad \text{ere}\text{=}=ni \quad \text{PT}\text{=}=REL} \quad \text{1pi}\text{–REL} \quad \text{V1DEM}\text{=}=LNK1 \text{watch} \quad \text{1DEM}\text{–at}\text{=DEF} \text{lock} \quad \text{1DEM}\text{–CTR} \quad \text{[}ei\text{=}ua \text{mara}\text{=}=ni tia \quad \text{were}\text{-isi}\text{]}_{\text{MOD}}\text{=}=ini \quad \text{ke}si \quad \text{ere}\text{=}=ni} \quad \text{2s}\text{=}=REL \text{go}\text{=}=LNK1 \text{sleep} \quad \text{2DEM}\text{–at}\text{=CTR} \text{lock} \quad \text{1DEM}\text{–CTR} \quad \text{(When did you lock the door?) \quad ‘Before, when we were watching (a movie) (the door) was locked, when you went to sleep it was locked.’} \quad \text{(120-110)}\]

Note that *=ua* has a secondary use as a subordinating clause linker. As discussed in § 3.5.3.1.2.4 (p. 259), the common denominator of these two functions is that of subordination of a clause to a head; while in the case of a relative sentence, this head

\(^{168}\) In the case of (140), the contrastive marker *–ini* contributes to the correct interpretation. Being a clause linker in origin, *–ini* even in its contrastive-marking use signals the beginning of a new predication following it. It is very common for subject-topics to be separated from a predication by this means, but less so for objects. § 6.2.1 (p. 389) argues that *–ini* is in the process of developing into a subject marker.
is a noun, it is a whole clause for the use of =ua as a clause linker. Consequently, § 3.3.5.1 (p. 240) suggests that =ua started out as having a more general, subordinating function. The constructions in which the clitic is found translate differently into English, depending on the syntactic level it is used on. Such cases as (142) are mentioned here because the way they are most appropriately translated into English is similar to the clitic’s use on nouns; however, in Makalero, this type of clause does not seem to be distinguished from such clauses as those discussed in § 3.5.3.1.2.4 (p. 259), where =ua is analysed as a clause linker. That section also mentions a few uses of =ua that cannot at present be accounted for.

4.4 The determiners

The rightmost position in the noun phrase is that of a determiner. It can be filled by either a demonstrative (see § 3.3.2.1, p. 232) or ho’o ‘some’ (see § 3.3.2.2, p. 233). Due to their position, determiners are a good indicator for the end of a noun phrase. It is for this reason that very long, complex noun phrases preferably have their determiner slot filled (see e.g. (100), (106), as well as many other examples in § 4.3.5, p. 295). It appears the determiner slot can hold one determiner at most; no combinations have been found.

4.5 Coordination of noun phrases

Coordination of noun phrases is most often unmarked; the NPs in question are simply juxtaposed, as shown in (143).

(143)  Ani [kafe]_{NP} [dudu-ira]_{NP} mei=ni ta soro.
       1s   coffee  breast-water take=LNK1 REC mix
       ‘I mix coffee and milk together.’  (elic768)

The coordinator i ‘and’, borrowed from Portuguese (see § 3.6.5.1, p. 269), is also used fairly frequently, as exemplified in (144). As opposed to typical Makalero linkers, which are enclitics on clause level (see § 3.5.3.1, p. 250), i is a free-standing element. Its use is strongly idiosyncratic, occurring frequently in the speech of lisified speakers, but it is practically absent from the language of more conservative speakers. Note that it is also used in the coordination of VPs and clauses (§ 5.4, p. 380, and § 8.2, p. 477).
(144)  
\[
\text{Uai}=\text{konai}=\text{ni} \ [\text{problema} \ \text{ki}=\text{lama-lama}]_{\text{NP}} \ \text{i} \ \text{[koonfliitu}} \\
\text{CLS}=\text{CSQ}=\text{LNK1} \ \text{problem} \ \text{ATTR}=\text{RDL}=\text{small} \ \text{and} \ \text{conflict}
\]
\[
\text{ki}=\text{lama-lama}_{\text{NP}} \ \text{nomo} \ \text{na'u} \ \text{ue}'. \\
\text{ATTR}=\text{RDL}=\text{small} \ \text{NEG} \ \text{just} \ \text{V2DEM}
\]
‘So that there are no more petty problems and petty conflicts.’

(65-33)

Not only full NPs, but also modifiers can be coordinated by either juxtaposition or the coordinator \(i\), as shown in (145) and (146), respectively. Note that in (146), the bracketed NP is used as a predicate.

(145)  
\[
[[\text{Kareta}]_{\text{HEAD}} \ [\text{ki}=\text{pere}]_{\text{MOD}} \ [\text{metan}]_{\text{MOD}} \ [\text{ere}]_{\text{DET}}]_{\text{NP}} \ \text{ki-ira} \ \text{tafi hau} \\
\text{car} \ \text{ATTR} = \text{big.SG} \ \text{black} \ \text{1DEM} \ \text{3:POSS-price true all}
\]
\[
\text{misa.} \\
\text{go.up}
\]
‘This big black car is very expensive.’

(elic1584)

(146)  
\[
\text{Kiloo} \ \text{so'ot}=\text{ini} \ \text{kauen}=\text{ana} \ \text{ere} \ \text{dadau} \ [[\text{namira}]_{\text{HEAD}} \ [\text{matenek}]_{\text{MOD}} \\
3s \ \text{want}=\text{LNK1 marry}=\text{INT} \ \text{1DEM} \ \text{must} \ \text{man} \ \text{clever}
\]
\[
i \ [\text{asan}]_{\text{MOD}}_{\text{NP}}. \\
\text{and long}
\]
‘If she wants to get married, it has to be a clever and tall man.’

(elic320)

NP heads can also be coordinated. However, it is difficult to find unambiguous examples. One of these is given in (147); the two personal names \text{Zsaun} and \text{Pedru} appear to be modified together by the [+HUM] numeral \text{meih} ‘two’; the demonstrative \text{ere} marks the right edge of the NP in question. No instance of coordination of NP heads with the coordinator \(i\) has been found.

(147)  
\[
[[\text{Zsaun}]_{\text{HEAD}} \ [\text{Pedru}]_{\text{HEAD}} \ [\text{meih}]_{\text{MOD}} \ [\text{ere}]_{\text{DET}}]_{\text{NP}} \ \text{ho'one} \ \text{ta} \ \text{tuku.} \\
\text{Z} \ \text{P.} \ \text{two.HUM} \ \text{1DEM} \ \text{IPF} \ \text{REC punch}
\]
‘João and Pedro are fighting.’

(elic1679)

NPs are presented as alternatives with the clitic \(=\text{uai}\) (§ 3.5.2.2, p. 246) or the Portuguese-based coordinator \(o(u)\) (§ 3.5.2.3, p. 247), which is either realised as a clitic or as a free-standing element. Both of these have been found on the NP level only.
4.6 Repetition of noun phrases

In very restricted contexts, full noun phrases are repeated. (148) gives two of the most frequent examples.

(148) [\textit{uatu wera}]_{\text{NP}}-[\textit{uatu wera}]_{\text{NP}}
\quad \text{‘every day, daily’}
\begin{tabular}{l}
\text{day} \\
2DEM-day \\
2DEM
\end{tabular}

[kamu wera]_{\text{NP}}-[kamu wera]_{\text{NP}}
\quad \text{‘every night’}
\begin{tabular}{l}
\text{night} \\
2DEM-night \\
2DEM
\end{tabular}

All of the relevant examples involve indications of time in the form of an NP head and a determiner. The repetition of such a phrase indicates a regular occurrence.
5. The verb phrase

The verb phrase consists of a predicate and other constituents syntactically related to it. It excludes the subject, about which it provides information. The term predicate is used to refer only to the predicating element, or the head of the VP, following Van Valin and LaPolla (1997: 26). (1) shows the structure of a verb phrase as found with avalent verbs (§ 3.2.3.1.1, p. 141), while (2) and (3) schematically represent the two distinct forms that a verb phrase headed by a divalent verb (§ 3.2.3.1.2, p. 143) can take.

(1)

```
  VP
  /\  \
 (ASP)  (ADV)* HEAD
```

(2)

```
  VP
  /\    \
  (OBJ) (ASP) (ADV)* (NEG) (ADV)* HEAD
```

(3)

```
  VP
  /\    \
 (ASP)  (ADV)* (NEG) (ADV)* (COMPL)-HEAD
```

In all cases, the verb phrase is strictly head-final, with all modifiers preceding it. The only obligatory part of the VP is its head, the predicate. An avalent verb is compatible only with aspect marking and adverbial modifiers, but does not take any arguments. The modifiers of a verb phrase headed by divalent verbs, on the other hand, include aspect marking, verb-phrase-internal adverbials and negation. There are two positions for adverbials, one preceding and the other following the negation, allowing for the expression of scope differences. Each of these adverbial positions can hold one or more adverbial verbs of the group discussed in § 3.2.3.3.1 (p. 159). The only difference between the two variant schemes for VPs headed by divalent verbs in (2) and (3) is the position of the non-subject argument, which is VP-initial in (2), standing to the left of all modifiers, but immediately preverbal in (3), where it is preceded by all these modifiers. An immediately preverbal non-subject argument as in (2) forms a morphosyntactic unit with the following predicate, as indicated in the scheme by the use of the hyphen. In order to distinguish these two argument positions, the VP-initial position as depicted in (2) is called object position, while the immediately preverbal position as depicted in (3) is termed complement position. Both of these positions can hold several coordinated arguments. The schematic representations in (2) and (3) show that the two positions are mutually exclusive; a
VP with an object argument does not additionally provide a complement position and vice versa. The issue of the two distinct argument positions within the VP is discussed in detail in § 5.2 (p. 319).

(4) and (5) illustrate concrete instantiations of a VP with an object and a VP with a complement, respectively, where the majority of available positions are filled.

   2s is NSIT NEG
   ‘... you don’t follow me anymore.’ (115-076)

dog=DEF NSIT just water-inside:RED-VDEM.LOW~LNK1 white
   ‘... the dog is down there in the water and is whining.’ (102-118)

The following paragraphs treat the constituent parts of the VP one by one, following the schemes in (2) and (3). Starting with the obligatory head, the predicate, in § 5.1 (p. 318), § 5.2 (p. 319) goes on to discuss the non-subject argument and its position and status as either an object or a complement. Finally, § 5.3.1 (p. 361) through § 5.3.3 (p. 367) elaborate on aspect marking, negation and adverbials.

5.1 The head

The only obligatory element of the VP is the predicate, which is thus analysed as its head. The VP differs in this respect from the NP, in which the head is not obligatory (§ 4.1, p. 273). The prototypical predicate is a verb (see § 3.2, p. 125, for information on that lexical category). However, basically any content word can function as a predicate. § 3.1.1 (p. 100) points out the basic meaning correspondence between lexemes classified as nouns if used in argument function as opposed to their use in predicate function. There is one construction, found with verbs of movement and their goals, which suggests even place names can take this function. The construction in question is discussed in § 3.1.3.1.2 (p. 111). This functional flexibility is one of the main reasons for the difficulty to determine lexical categories in Makalero.

Prototypical verbal predicates are illustrated in (4) and (5) above. (6) exemplifies a simple noun in predicate function. (7), for comparison, shows the same noun in argument function. (8) shows a full NP, consisting of a head noun, a modifier and a determiner, in predicate function. (9) shows an equivalent NP in argument function for comparison.

6) ... tentara-laa=ni e’ini [[meestri] _HEAD=K]VP...
military-PL=CTR VDEM=LNK1 teacher
   ‘... soldiers (who) were here were teachers...’ (101-153)

7) ... [[meestri] _HEAD u=ua ki-nei Martinu uere]NP=ni tu-ma’u.
teacher one=REFL 3.POSS-name M. 2DEM=CTR ahead-come
   ‘... the one teacher whose name was Martinho came first.’ (101-171)
5.2 The non-subject argument

The two verb phrase schemes in (2) and (3) show that there are two alternative positions for the non-subject argument. One of these variant argument positions, termed the object position, is on the left edge of the VP, preceding all verbal modifiers. The second one, referred to as the complement position, directly precedes the predicate, standing to the right of all verbal modifiers, and forms a morphosyntactic unit with the predicate. An important criterion for determining whether a given argument is realised as an object or a complement is thus its position relative to the verbal modifiers. The two positions are mutually exclusive; if one is filled, the other position is not available in a given verb phrase. Although there is some degree of flexibility between the two positions, they are quite clearly associated with specific types of arguments. § 5.2.1 (p. 319) discusses object arguments, while § 5.2.2 (p. 320) elaborates on complement arguments.

5.2.1 The object argument

The object position is the leftmost position in a VP, as illustrated in the VP scheme in (2), repeated here as (10). All VP modifiers follow the object position.

(10) VP
    (OBJ) (ASP) (ADV)* (NEG) (ADV)* HEAD

In syntactic terms, the object position can hold NPs of all kinds. Semantically, these can be defined as undergoers. Consequently, the object position is associated with

---

(8) ... ani isi-ne’et ma’akini [[tsfuraa ki=pa’uk ho’a]_{\text{HEAD}} \text{NP}]_{\text{VP}}.
   ‘... I thought (you were) some bad woman.’

(9) ... [[tsfuraa]_{\text{HEAD}} ki=ka’u u]_{\text{NP}}_{\text{ARG}} aire’ hai teni mu’a-isa.
   ‘... another small girl was just born.’

As (6) and (8) show, predicatively used nouns and NPs predicate the property of being the entity denoted by these nouns and NPs. Toponyms in predicate use, on the other hand, inherently convey the notion of the subject participant being located at the place in question (§ 3.1.3.1.2, p. 111).
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semantically transitive verbs, which are defined as including an undergoer in their semantic participant frame (§ 3.2.3.1, p. 141). (11) and (12) give a few typical examples. The undergoers in these examples are very clearly identified as objects through the fact that they precede the negator nomo. Note that the object arguments in (11) are headed by nouns, whereas that in (12) is a pronoun.

     1s-for trousers one NEG buy shirt NEG

     buy shoe NEG buy

     ‘... (he) didn’t buy me one pair of trousers, didn’t buy me shirts and didn’t buy me shoes.’  (101-266)

(12)  ... asi-nana-raa asi-upa-raa  (...) [[ani]obl nomo]neg
     1s:POSS-elder.sibling-PL 1s:POSS-father-PL 1s NEG

     [pase]head/VP...
     beat

     ‘... my cousins and my uncles (...) didn’t beat me...’  (101-103)

The object position can hold several coordinated NPs (see § 4.5, p. 314, for the coordination of NPs and examples).

5.2.2 The complement argument

The complement position is directly to the left of the predicate and to the right of all verbal modifiers, as shown in the schematic representation in (13), repeated from (3) above.

(13)

```
    VP
   /   \
  (ASP) (ADV)* (NEG) (ADV)* (COMPL)-HEAD
```

As opposed to the object position, the complement position can hold both nominal and verbal elements. It is a phrasal position; thus both NPs and VPs are found here. Semantically, noun phrases in the complement position very frequently express goals or locations, but can also be undergoers. In the latter case, they are preferably (but not exclusively) non-referential, or headed by pronouns. Verb phrases in the complement position express location, direction or manner.

The verb and the constituent in the complement position display a special sort of linkage, as seen by the fact that verbs with bound forms (§ 3.2.2.2.2, p. 314) use the bound forms with altered onsets if, and only if, their complement position is filled. Such a morphosyntactic process is unique in Makalero grammar. This linkage
is represented in the present work by a hyphen between the last element of the complement constituent and the predicate head. § 5.2.2.1 (p. 321) discusses nominal elements in the complement slot, while § 5.2.2.2 (p. 326) details verbal complements. Other than objects, which are found with transitive verbs only, complements occur with both transitives and intransitives. The only type of verb that has not been found with a complement are avalent adverbial verbs (§ 3.2.3.1.1, p. 141). This allows for conclusions on the concept of valency in Makalero; a discussion of this issue is given in § 5.2.2.4 (p. 337).

5.2.2.1 Nominal complements

The majority of nominals found in the complement position express locations or goals. This important group is discussed in § 5.2.2.1.1 (p. 321), followed by § 5.2.2.1.2 (p. 324), which treats pronominal and non-referential undergoes. § 5.2.2.1.3 (p. 325), finally, gives a brief remark on other nominal complements found in the corpus.

5.2.2.1.1 Locations and goals

The largest group of nominals found in complement position are those expressing goals or locations. This includes both common nouns, such as *lupu* ‘house’ or *mu’a ‘ground’ in (14) and (15), and toponyms, such as *Dili* in (16). The position of verbal modifiers relative to these arguments, which they precede, makes clear that the arguments in question stand in the complement slot. For comparison, refer to (11) and (12) in § 5.2.1 (p. 319) above with object arguments, which are followed by the verbal modifiers. Whilst most nominal complements are made up of simple nouns, as in (14) and (16), note that they can also be full NPs, as shown by the complement in (14), where *lupu ‘house’* is accompanied by the reflexive possessive pronoun *ni-* (§ 3.3.1.2, p. 227).

(14) \[ \text{Ma’u-}ni \quad [\text{fuari}_\text{ADV} \quad [\text{na’}_\text{ADV} \quad [\text{ni-lupu}_\text{COMPL-}\text{[isi’}_\text{HEAD}]_\text{VP}.. \]
\text{come-LNK1 still just REFL-house-at}
\text{‘Then (he) is still just in his house...’} \quad (38-021)

(15) \[ ... \text{mata ka’u} \quad [\text{[hati}_\text{ASP} \quad [\text{mu’a}_\text{COMPL-}\text{[isa’}_\text{HEAD}]_\text{VP} \]
\text{child small NSIT ground-go-down}
\text{‘... the child is getting down to the ground...’} \quad (55a-007)

(16) \[ \text{Kiloo} \quad [\text{[hati}_\text{ASP} \quad [\text{Dili}_\text{COMPL-}\text{[isi’}_\text{HEAD}]_\text{VP} \]
3s NSIT D-at
\text{‘He is already in Dili.’} \quad (chat105)

Such locative and goal NP complements are associated with verbs denoting position and movement. (17) lists a few common representatives of this group.
(17) 

mutu’  
isi’  
la’a  
isa  
misa  
he’el  
l’im  
‘be inside’  
‘be at’  
‘move’  
‘go down’  
‘go up’  
‘jump (to)’  
‘fall’

He’el ‘jump’ is one of the verbs exhibiting the initial /h/ ~ /s/-variation between a free and a bound form (§ 3.2.2.2.2, p. 135) and as such provides clear illustration of the morphosyntactic link between the complement and the predicate. When used with a goal noun such as mu’a ‘ground’ in (18), he’el ‘jump’ is used in the bound /s/-form. If, however, no goal is expressed, the verb stands in the /h/-form, as in (19) (though it has a somewhat different interpretation in this case).

(18)  

\[
\text{... [\text{mu’}a]_{COMPL-se’el}...}
\]

\text{ground-jump:BD}

‘... (he) jumped to the ground...’  

(115-047)

(19) 

\[
\text{Tufraca ere kanta ni’isi he’el.}
\]

woman 1DEM sing simultaneous jump

‘This woman is singing and dancing.’  

(elic431)

The bound forms of the verbs which participate in this morphosyntactic process are used only if they appear in a VP with a filled complement position, but in no other context. This suggests a particularly close relationship between the predicate and the complement. The exact nature of the linkage between the complement and the predicate is, however, somewhat problematic. Since most locative and goal expressions are simple nouns, incorporation comes to mind; however, (14) above clearly shows a larger constituent, including both a head noun and a possessive pronoun, in this position. With the linkage taking place not at word-level, but at phrase-level, the idea of incorporation is difficult to maintain. It is also difficult to represent in the examples; the hyphen used for this purpose shows only the linkage between the last element of the complement and the predicate, but is not able to capture its scope over the whole of the complement phrase.

Of the verbs given in (17) above, la’a ‘move’ is not generally used with a nominal complement, but is more usually constructed with a VP complement (§ 3.2.3.13, p. 210). Only in one case, given in (20), is it found with a nominal complement. Though no verbal modifier is present in this case to unequivocally identify this argument as standing in the complement position, it is noticeable that the noun expressing the goal in (20) is a reduced form of omar ‘stilt house’. Only very few nouns have reduced forms (§ 3.1.3.4, p. 120); the use of such a reduced form indicates that the noun in question forms a morphosyntactic unit with the following item. In the present case, this is the movement verb la’a ‘move’. Thus, this example confirms the idea of a special link between complement nominals and the verb.
(20) ... noko nana=ni ta-eta-lolo=ni nomo fuli-dai
younger sibling elder sibling=CTR REC-separate-say=LNK1 NEG together=RED-pass

nomo fuli-rei-la’a [oma] COMPL-la’a...
NEG together=RED-outwards-move stilt house=RED-move

‘… siblings don’t talk to each other, don’t walk together, go out together
and (don’t) go to (each other’s) house...’
(21-048)

While the overwhelming majority of locative and goal NPs are used in the
complement position rather than as objects, it appears some slight degree of
flexibility between these two positions is possible. There are a few cases where
locations and goals are found in the object position, as witnessed by (21) and (23),
two examples from spontaneous speech. In both of these, a modifier (the aspect
marker hai in (21), and in (23) the adverbial verb na’u ‘just’) follows the locative
NP, showing it to stand in the object position. (22) and (24) demonstrate the
constructions that would be expected in these cases, with the arguments in the
complement position.

(21) ... ki-ia ki-lafti=hi’a=ni [[[potil=ee] [hai] [mutu’] [HEAD] [VP...]
3:POSS-foot ATTR=side=only=CTR bottle=DEF NSIT inside

‘… only his one leg is inside the bottle...’
(38-008)

(22) ... ki-ia ki-lafti=hi’a=ni [[hai] [poti=ee] [mutu’] [HEAD] [VP...]

‘only his one leg is inside the bottle...’

(23) ... nomo rau=fata ure=ni [[[isi-tana] [na’a] [ADV
NEG good=COND 2DEM=CTR 1pc.Poss-hand just

[mutu’] [HEAD] [VP=ini ka’u=hi’a ...]
inside=LNK1 small=only

‘… if it is not good, then there is only little in our hands...’
(26-05)

(24) ... nomo rau=fata ure=ni [[na’a] [isi-tana] [mutu’] [HEA...[mutu’] [HEAD] [VP=ini ka’u=hi’a...

‘… if it is not good, then there is only little in our hands...’

To date, I am aware of a tiny minority of three such examples, two of which are
those shown in (21) and (23). These three examples were produced by two
individuals both originating in the village of Tirilolo, thus it is possible that this
variation may be regional. The speakers in question are in their thirties and in their
sixties, respectively. Since there is no clear relation to the age of the speaker, I do
not believe that these examples can be read as suggesting an ongoing change in the
structure of the VP, such as the possible loss of the complement position.
Variation between the object and the complement positions is much more
widespread with pronominal undergoers, with argument-marking verbs, and within
VP complements. For a discussion of these constructions, see § 5.2.2.1.2 (p. 324),
§ 5.2.2.6.3 (p. 349), and § 5.2.2.2 (p. 326), respectively.
5.2.2.1.2 Pronominal and non-referential undergoers

Another type of NP commonly found in the complement position are pronouns, as defined in § 3.3.1 (p. 217). This is the case particularly with the so-called argument-marking verbs, which are discussed in detail in § 5.2.2.6.3 (p. 349), but holds also for other verbs. (25) and (26) show examples of pronouns in this position.

(25) \[\text{meihe} \quad [\text{mi}]_{\text{neg}} \quad [\text{ta}]_{\text{compl}} \quad [\text{ini}]_{\text{head}} \quad \text{vp}...\]
\[\text{two.HUM} \quad 1\text{DEM} \quad \text{NEG} \quad \text{REC-fol}\]
‘… the two of them didn't agree with one another...’ (126-192)
(lit. the two of them didn't follow one another)

(26) \[\text{Kiloo} \quad [\text{hat}i]_{\text{asp}} \quad [\text{ni}]_{\text{compl}} \quad [\text{tau}o]_{\text{head}} \quad \text{vp}.\]
\[3s \quad \text{NSIT} \quad \text{REFL-wash}\]
‘He is washing (himself).’ (elci1129)

As in the case of location and goal NPs (§ 5.2.2.1.1, p. 321), there is some flexibility for pronominal undergoers to stand either in the complement or in the object position. This is illustrated in (27) and (28); note that (27) gives the counterpart to (26) (though the latter, with the pronominal undergoer in the complement position, was clearly favoured by speakers). (28) shows the reciprocal pronoun ta in object position; as such, it complements (25) above, where the same element is used as a complement.

(27) \[\text{Kiloo} \quad [\text{mi}]_{\text{obj}} \quad [\text{hat}i]_{\text{asp}} \quad [\text{tau}o]_{\text{head}} \quad \text{vp}.\]
\[3s \quad \text{REFL} \quad \text{NSIT} \quad \text{wash}\]
‘He is showering.’ (elci1129b)

(28) \[\text{ki}=\text{heke} \quad \text{ho'o} \quad \text{ue}='\text{ini} \quad \text{ini} \quad \text{mei}=\text{ini} \quad (...) \quad [\text{ta}]_{\text{obj}}\]
\[\text{ATTR-difficult} \quad \text{some} \quad \text{V2DEM-LNK1} \quad 1\text{pe} \quad \text{two.HUM-LNK1} \quad \text{REC}\]
\[\text{hat}i]_{\text{asp}} \quad [\text{ajuda}]_{\text{head}} \quad \text{vp}=\text{na'a}.\]
\[\text{NSIT} \quad \text{help=INT}\]
‘… (if) there is a problem, we two will tell each other and help each other.’ (106-17)

The positional variation between the object position and the complement position is much more frequent with pronominal undergoers than with nominal ones expressing locations and goals; the latter are found in the object position in only a tiny minority of clearly aberrant cases (§ 5.2.2.1.1, p. 321). With pronominal undergoers, on the other hand, it would seem that in fact the object position is more common, though the complement position is a viable option in most cases. The variation is particularly conspicuous in the case of argument-marking verbs (§ 5.2.2.6.3, p. 349). The second large group of semantic undergoers that can be found in the complement position is constituted by non-referential nouns. Frequently, these are collocations with a fixed meaning as listed in § 3.2.3.1.2.3 (p. 148). A good example is `sa-ena` as exemplified in (29); literally, this means ‘see (the / a) wife’, but as a collocation, its
meaning is ‘to be married’ (in the case of a man). A collocation of similar type is 
*na’a-mei* ‘work’ (literally ‘take work’).

\[\text{(29) } \ldots \text{ papa were hai [sa]}_{\text{compl-ena}} = \text{na’a...} \]
\[
\text{Indonesian 2DEM NSIT wife-see=INT}
\]
\[‘\ldots \text{the Indonesian was going to get married...’} \]  
\[\text{(101-291)}\]

Again, it is particularly frequent to find non-referential nouns as complements of 
argument-marking verbs, which generally take a prefix *k-* if their complement 
position is empty. A good example is (30), where an unspecified slope is in the 
complement position of *(k)-ia- ‘under’ (which is itself in the complement position of 
the deictic verb *ufe*). In (31), for comparison, it is a specific slope that is made 
reference to; it is constructed as an object argument to the same verb (for a 
discussion of argument-marking verbs refer to § 5.2.2.6.3, p. 349).

\[\text{(30) } \ldots \text{ ni-sa mei=ini [pa’an]}_{\text{compl-ia-ufe}} = \text{isi manan.} \]
\[
\text{REFL-wife two,HUM=LNK1 slope-under:RED-VDEM,LOW=LNK2 win}
\]
\[‘\ldots \text{(he) and his wife were there downhill and won.’} \]  
\[\text{(118-27)}\]

\[\text{(31) } \ldots \text{ [pa’an=ee]}_{\text{obl}} \text{ k-ia}=ee \text{ ira}=ni \text{ we‘.} \]
\[
\text{slope=DEF 3:UND-under=DEF water=CTR V2DEM}
\]
\[‘\ldots \text{down the slope, there is a (body of) water.’} \]  
\[\text{(38-091)}\]

Similarly, indefinite expressions can be found in the complement position, as 
illustrated with *sa’a u* ‘something’ in (32). (33), where the same NP stands in the 
object position, shows that some positional flexibility is possible in this case as 
well.\(^{19}\)

\[\text{(32) Kiloo hai nomo [sa’a u]}_{\text{compl-me}}. \]
\[
3s \text{ NSIT NEG thing one-take}
\]
\[‘\text{He isn’t working anymore.’} \]  
\[\text{(elic1254)}\]

\[\text{(33) Kiloo ani pase ani [sa’a u]}_{\text{obl}} \text{ nomo kini.} \]
\[
3s 1s beat 1s thing one NEG do
\]
\[‘\text{He beat me even though I didn’t do anything.’} \]  
\[\text{(elic060)}\]

### 5.2.2.1.3 Other nominal complements

I am to date aware of only one case of a nominal complement which expresses 
neither location or goal nor can fall under the pronominal or non-referential 
undergoer category. Rather, it expresses manner. This special complement-verb 
combination involves the noun *ate* ‘tree’ and the verb *nat* ‘stand (SG)’. As a whole, 
this means ‘stand upright’; an example is given in (34). Whilst manner is an unusual

\(^{19}\) Note, however, that in the case of (32), lexicalisation of *sa’a-mei* (lit. take a thing) as ‘to work’, 
parallel to *na’a-mei* ‘work’ (see above), might be involved.
meaning to be associated with a nominal complement, it is one of the core meanings of verbal complements (see § 5.2.2.2, p. 326).

(34) Ani na’u [ate]COMP- nat.
    1s just tree-stand.SG
    ‘I’ll just stand (upright).’ (clic074)

5.2.2.2 VP complements

Complements also very commonly take the form of VPs. These subordinated verb phrases generally express locative or manner adverbial notions. (35) and (37) illustrate locative verbal complements. *Isi*-, as found in (35), is the reduced complement form of the general locative verb *isi* ‘be at’. This verb takes a locative NP complement itself (see § 5.2.2.1.1, p. 321); in the case of (35), this is the toponym *Dili*. Similarly, in (37), *(k)-ua* is the reduced form of the argument-marking verb *(k)-ua* ‘be on top’. Again, this verb takes a non-subject argument of its own; in the case of (37), the pronominal *ani* (1s) is constructed as a complement. For illustration, (36) and (38) show the two as full verbs in an independent predication.

    1s NSIT D.be.at:RED-go
    ‘… I (…) went to Dili.’ (101-245)

(36) Kiloo hai Dili-isi’.
    3s NSIT Dili-at
    ‘He is already in Dili.’ (chat105)

(37) … mu’a mei [ani-ua]COMP-dasa=na’a…
    ground take 1s-on.top:RED-fall=INT
    ‘… (they) were going to throw soil on me…’ (63-08)

(38) … ki-saapeu mei=ni ki-pualata k-ua’.
    3:POSS-hat take=LNK1 3:POSS-head 3:UND-on.top
    ‘… (they) put his hat on his head.’ (118-42)

(39) and (41), on the other hand, show common verbal complements which add manner information to the clause’s main verb. For comparison, (40) and (42) show the same verbs, *hare* ‘clean’ and *rau* ‘good’, respectively, as independent main verbs.

(39) Tone’ nomo na’u mei=ni [hare]COMP-kena…
    perhaps NEG just take=LNK1 clean-see:BD
    ‘Maybe (he) didn’t see it so clearly…’ (82-032)
Verbs which distinguish free and bound forms as listed in § 3.2.2.2.2 (p. 135) stand in their bound forms if their complement position is filled. This form does not occur in any other contexts. Complement verbs may exhibit morphosyntactic changes as well; all of these changes are instances of reduction, where the verb loses its final consonant. As § 3.2.2.2.2.1 (p. 132) shows, this is in many cases a glottal phoneme, though other consonants may be lost as well. § 3.2.2.2.1.1 (p. 128) analyses the glottal ending as a fairly common verbaliser or marker of verbality. As such, the loss of the final glottal phoneme in complement position could be seen as a reduction in verbality of the verb in question. In the case of verbs derived from nouns with the glottal verbaliser, the reduced form is in fact formally identical to the nominal form (§ 3.2.2.2.2.1, p. 132). Despite of this, in most other respects, VP complements behave like fully functional VPs and show little evidence of being less verbal or less finite than independent VPs (see below).

In a complex consisting of a verbal complement and a verb, all combinations of morphological types are possible: (43) illustrates such a complex where the bound form -sumu of the main verb huma ‘angry’ appears, while the complement verb rau ‘good’ is invariable and has the same form if used as a complement as it has as a main verb (see (42) for comparison).

(43) ... kiloo=ni hai mei [rau]_{compl-sumu}^=na’a...
  3s=CTR NSIT take good-angry/BD-INT
  ‘... he wanted to be very angry at (them)...’ (67-32)

In (44), the main verb mit ‘sit (SG)’ is invariable, appearing in the same form whether its complement position is filled or not. However, the complement verb (k)-ata- ‘contact (RED)’ is in a reduced form; its free form, (k)-ata’, ends in the glottal phoneme.

(44) ... ma’u asi-lai-pun [k-ata]_{compl-mit}...
  come 1s:POSS-back 3:UND-contact:RED-sit.SG
  ‘... come and sit on my back...’ (89-15)
Both the main verb as well as the complement verb in (45) stand in the bound and reduced forms reserved for complement constructions, respectively. The free form of -se’el ‘jump’ is he’el, while the free form of mutu- ‘inside (RED)’ is mutu’.

(45) ... mateneke’ tau-dai-ma’u=oo na’u ma’u [mutu]-COMPL-se’el.

closer VDEM where:RED-pass-come=too just come inside:RED-jump:BD

‘... the wisdom was (suddenly) here, and wherever it came from, it just jumped inside (him).’

(33-08)

In (46), finally, neither verb has a bound or reduced form; both rau ‘good’ and pase ‘beat’ are invariable and appear in the same form, whether they stand in a complement construction or not.

(46) ... ni-mata mei [rau]-COMPL-pase...

REFL-child take good-beat

‘... (he) beat his child up thoroughly...’

(52-12)

In sum, the morphosyntactic linkage between the two constituent parts of the complement-verb complex is marked on the final, superordinate member of the unit in (43). In (44), on the other hand, it is marked on the first verb of the complex. Both members of (45) are marked for the linkage, while in (46), neither is. In all cases, the presence of a complement has wide-reaching repercussions on the expression of verbal participants and clause structure, by which a complement-verb complex can be recognised even if it is not overtly marked on any of its verbal constituent parts. This issue is discussed in detail in § 5.2.2.4 (p. 337).

The complement VP in such a complement-verb complex may be associated with its own object or complement, depending on the semantic nature of its verbal head. Verbs that are associated with either an object or a complement as free verbs retain this property in complement use. (47) gives an example of a complement VP with a semantically intransitive verb, nama- ‘be/move upwards (RED)’. For comparison, in (48), where it is the main verb, nama- ‘be upwards’ stands with only one argument, the subject. The complement in (47) thus is of the same form as the VP in (48). The complement in (49), on the other hand, is internally complex, consisting of the verb mutu- ‘be inside (RED)’ and its argument, asi-puulata ‘my head’, as shown by the bracketing. This argument is with high probability a complement, since it expresses a location (see § 5.2.2.1.1, p. 321). Without any verbal modifiers within the complement VP, however, it is sometimes difficult to say whether a given argument is constructed as an object or as a complement. (50) shows the free verb mutu- ‘be inside’, which is most commonly constructed with both a subject argument and a nominal complement, for comparison. Again, the structure of the VP complement in (49) is identical to that of the VP in (50).

(47) ... mata namiraa wuere kadeira hai mei [nama]-COMPL-seman=ana.

child man 2DEM chair NSIT take upwards:RED-lift:BD=INT

‘... the boy wants to lift the chair.’

(fisquest39)
(48) \( Uai=ni=ni \) lopu ere \([nana]\) _VP...\)

CLS=LNK1–LNK1 house 1DEM upwards
 ‘So the house was a bit elevated...’ 

(101-032)

(49) \( \ldots \) kilo fātīl=\(\)e langsun g mei=\(\)ni \([\{asi-puulata\}\textsc{compl-mutu}]\textsc{compl-dane}.\)

3s gan=DEF directly take=LNK1 1s:POSS-head-inside:RED-put
 ‘... he put the gun to my head straight away.’ 

(120-097)

(50) \( \ldots \) toutou pere=\(\)ni lokata \([\{mana\}\textsc{compl-mutu}]\textsc{compl}.\)

owl big.SG=CTR LOKATA hole-inside
 ‘... a big owl is inside the hole.’

(102-044)

In all cases, the subject referent of both the main verb and the complement verb are necessarily understood to be the same.

It is also possible to coordinate two complement VPs to one verbal head. This is illustrated in (51), where the complement VPs ama isi- ‘in the garden (RED)’ and ira isi- ‘in the paddy (RED)’ are coordinated. Both times, the verb isi ‘be at’ stands in the reduced form, even though in the case of the first of the two complement VPs, it does not directly adjoin to the verb it is dependent on. This fact suggests that both complement VPs are of equal status, standing jointly in the main verb’s complement position.

(51) \([\text{Ira-isi}]\textsc{compl-\{ama-isi\}]\textsc{compl-la’a uatu rai muni ma’u...}\)
paddy-at:RED-garden-at:RED-move day night return come
 ‘(He) went to the paddy and to the garden and came back at night...’

(23-004)

(52) exemplifies a coordination of not two, but three verbal complements. As this sentence shows, a verb with multiple verbal complements can make up a fairly long and complex structure.

(52) \( \ldots \) [k-\(\)af\(\)a]\textsc{compl-\{ira-isi\}]\textsc{compl-\{ama-isi\}]\textsc{compl-la’a}.\)

3:UND-away.from-paddy-at:RED-garden-at:RED-move
 ‘... (he) went away from her to the paddy and to the garden.’

(23-003)

Note that each of the coordinated complements in (52) actually has its own internal complement (for argument-marking verbs such as \(k\)-\(\)fa\(\)- ‘away from’ see § 5.2.2.6.3, p. 349); thus in fact the structure of the whole is more complex than represented through the bracketing in (52). The scheme in (53) attempts to show its full internal structure.
There is no reason why complement verbs should only have nominal complements, to the exclusion of verbal complements. A good candidate for a verbal complement within another verbal complement is given in (54), where nat 'stand (SG)' has a deictic verb complement e- (V1DEM:RED), which in turn appears to stand with a verbal complement with the general locative verb isi-. Used independently as a main verb, the deictic verb e- occurs with a verbal complement very frequently indeed; (56) shows a typical example. In analogy to this, the isi-complement in (54) is analysed as a complement dependent on the reduced complement verb e-, rather than as being coordinated with that complement and directly dependent from the main verb nat 'stand (SG)'. (55) shows this fairly complicated structure schematically. Note, however, that apart from the analogy with (56), there is no immediate grammatical reason to prefer the hierarchical analysis to one where aramari-isi- ‘in the cupboard (RED)’ and e- (V1DEM:RED) are coordinated VPs in the complement position of nat 'stand (SG)'.

(54) ... kiloo ma’u=ni [(aramari-isi/]COMPL-e/COMPL-nat=ini...
3s come=LNK1 cupboard-at:RED-V1DEM:RED-stand.SG=LNK1
‘… she came and stood here at the cupboard and then...’ (44-12)

(55) ... dila=ee na’a.muni hai tu ma’u=ni [ueur-sualir-isi/]COMPL-e’...
frog-DEF in.turn NSIT first come=LNK1 river-edge-at:RED-V1DEM
‘… the frog, on the other hand, goes ahead and is here at the river’s edge...’ (102-089)

The VP complement can not only take its own argument, but also its own modifiers, such as aspect marking, negation and adverbs. Consider the examples in (57) and
(58); note, in particular, the position of the aspect marker hai, which in (57) precedes the whole of the complement-verb complex, while in (58), it stands within it.

(57) ... dila=ee hai [ira-muttu]COMP-li’an...
odıg-DEF NSIT water-inside:RED-fall
‘... the frog has fallen into the water...’ (115-061)

(58) ... səfər ere [dəs=ee hai muttu]COMP-puna...
dog IDEM box-DEF NSIT inside:RED-look
‘... the dog is looking into the box...’ (115-005)

In (57), the position of the aspect marker is, schematically speaking, the following:

(59) ASP
     \   /
     |  |
     COMPL-HEAD

Compare this with the VP template as given in (3) above, repeated here as (60).

(60)
     \   /
     |  |
     VP

     \   /
     |  |
     (ASP) (ADV)* (NEG) (ADV)* (COMPL)*-HEAD

The verb phrase in (57) is thus schematically represented as in (61).

(61)
     \   /
     |  |
     VP

     \   /
     |  |
     ASP

     \   /
     |  |
     COMPL-

     \   /
     |  |
     HEAD

     \   /
     |  |
     hai

     \   /
     |  |
     [ira-

     \   /
     |  |
     muttu]-

     \   /
     |  |
     li an

     \   /
     |  |
     ‘... fell into the water...’

Hence, the aspect marker stands in its predicted position to the left of the complement.

The position of the aspect marker in (58), a sentence from the same text, on the other hand, can only be accounted for if we assume it stands within the complement VP, as in (62). Thus, the complement is itself a full VP, as in (63), which is repeated from (2) above.

(62)
     \   /
     |  |
     COMPL-HEAD

     \   /
     |  |
     OBJ ASP

     \   /
     |  |
     HEAD
The complement-verb complex from (58) is thus analysed in full as in (64).

This implies that the NP within the verbal complement in (58), dos=ee ‘the box’, stands in the object position rather than in the complement position. This is in contradiction to § 5.2.2.1.1 (p. 321), which states that the locative argument to a positional verb such as mutu ‘be inside’ is normally constructed as a complement, not as an object. Recall, however, that there is a small number of aberrant cases where the arguments to such verbs are found in the object position. While this is highly unusual in independent verb phrases, this variant construction is fairly common where the same verbs function as complements to another verb, and appears to be, in fact, on a par with cases where the locational NP stands in the complement position in terms of frequency. There is thus a rather important constructional difference between main predications and this type of subordinate predication (see § 8.3, p. 481). Note, however, that the distinction between a structure where the modifier stands within the complement VP and that where it is part of the matrix clause can be made overt only in cases where the argument to the complement verb stands in the object position and thus precedes that modifier. If it is constructed as a complement NP within the complement VP, sentences with the aspect marker in the matrix clause and those where it stands in the complement VP are indistinguishable, as demonstrated by the schemas in (65) and (66).
The analysis of the variant positioning of modifiers either within the complement VP or outside of it, as part of the superordinate VP, is supported by a clear case of scope difference of the adverbial hau 'all' (see § 5.3.3.2, p. 369) according to its position in such sentences as (67) and (68). Formally a VP-internal adverbial, hau functions in many contexts like an aspect marker, denoting completion with activity verbs, but marking high degree with stative verbs (§ 3.2.3.2, p. 150). In (67), hau is read as completive, hence it can be concluded that it modifies an activity predicate. In (68), on the other hand, where it stands in a position that must be within the complement VP, it is read as marking high degree, as is the case when it modifies a stative verb. The main verb common to both sentences, puna 'look', is clearly an activity, as is the whole of the complex mutu-puna 'look inside'. The predicate of the complement, mutu- 'be inside (RED)' on its own, however, is a stative positional verb. Thus, in (68), where hau is a marker of high degree, it clearly has scope over mutu- 'be inside (RED)' only. This matches the positional evidence, which makes it part of the complement VP (compare (62) above for the analysis of an equivalent example). In (67), hau has scope over the whole of the complement-verb complex, which denotes an activity. Consequently, it is read as marking the completion of the action. Compare (69) and (70) for schematic representations of the structures of (67) and (68), respectively.

(67) Kiloo hai hau [putit=ee-mutu]COMPL-puna.
3s NSIT all bottle=DEF-inside:RED-look
'He has finished looking into the bottle.'

elic1325a

(68) Kiloo hai [putit=ee hau mutu]COMPL-puna.
3s NSIT bottle=DEF all inside:RED-look
'He already looked into the bottle too much.'
elic1325

(69)

(70)

This having been said, it must be pointed out that in most cases, the placement of modifiers within or without the complement VP does not appear to be associated with the expected scope readings. Rather, they seem to be mere positional variants, which, according to speaker judgements, mean the same thing. The pair of sentences in (71) and (72) gives such an example. Note that a translation as the asterisked one given in (72), which attempts to capture the expected complement-internal scope of the negation, was specifically refused.

    3s   NEG church-inside:RED-sit.SG
    ‘He is not sitting in the church.’ (elic1326)

(72) Kiloo [igreja nomo mutu]COMP-mit.
    3s   church NEG inside:RED-sit.SG
    ‘He is not sitting in the church.’ (elic1326a)
    (*He is sitting, (but) not in the church)

This may, perhaps, be compared to Neg-raising in English (see e.g. Croft 2001: 213), where a negation which semantically belongs to a subordinated clause is raised to the main clause. The process involved here, however, appears to be the reverse, i.e. lowering of VP modifiers into a subordinate structure rather than raising. A VP complement is rarely obligatory171 or the only way of expression. In fact, VP-complement-verb complexes can quite freely be broken up into two separate clauses. The pairs in (73) and (74) as well as (75) and (76) illustrate this. (73) shows a complement-verb complex with the verb (ko-)horu ‘with’; note that the main verb, hifa ‘catch’, appears in the bound form -sifa’. This clearly signals that its complement position is filled. In (74), on the other hand, tia ‘sleep’, which stands in the same context as hifa ‘catch’ in (73), appears in the free form, rather than in the bound form -dia. Hence, in this instance, the (ko-)hora-predication is a separate clause, independent from the following verb. Similarly, in (75), ume-sein ‘wait over there’ is a complex as shown by the use of the reduced form of the distal deictic verb ume’ and the bound form of the verb hein ‘wait’. In (76), on the other hand, the deictic verb forms a separate clause on a par with the hein-clause, as illustrated by the fact that both verbs stand in their free forms and the appearance of the clause linker =ini (§ 3.5.2.5.2, p. 249) between them. The semantic difference associated with these variant constructions is subtle at best. It appears that the bi-clausal constructions, as in (74) and (76), can be read as two separate, sequential actions, whereas complement-verb complexes as in (73) and (75) refer to one event. In most instances, the two constructions are used in equivalent ways.172

171 Except with the verbal subgroups discussed in § 3.2.3.1.2.1 (p. 145) and § 3.2.3.1.2.2 (p. 146).
172 Where there is no conclusive evidence that two VPs form a complement-verb complex, such as in cases where neither of the verbs involved have a bound form, these VPs are treated as two separate, independent clauses.
(73)  
Asi-upa were-isí’=ee la’a=ni [haka-hau ni-pada-laa
1s.POSS-father 2DEM-at=DEF move=LNK1 all-all REFL-friend-PL

ko-horu/COMPL-sífa/VP...
3:UND-with:catch:BD

‘At that time, (they) caught my father with all his friends...’ (66-06)

(74)  ...
... kiloo (...) [líirai ki-sá-laa amu itu e re haka-hau
3s king 3:POSS-wife-PL person three.HUM 1DEM all-all

ko-horu/VP [tiáa]/VP.
3:UND-with sleep

‘... he (...) slept with all of the king’s three wives.’ (51-10)

(75)  
Ani mei [[ume]COMPL-sein]/VP!
1s take VDEM.DIST:RED-wait:BD

‘Wait for me over there!’ (eic776a)

(76)  ...
... ki-sá tepa [ude]/VP=ini [hein]/VP...
3:POSS-wife constant VDEM.HIGH=LNK1 wait

‘... his wife was still up there and waited...’ (74-013)

In other words, the whole of a verbal complement can also be constructed as an independent clause of its own.17 The possibility to move a unit to different positions within a sentence or utterance is one of the most basic constituency tests, which the VP complement thus clearly passes. Similar evidence comes from reduplication, the only truly productive morphological process to apply to verbs in Makalero (§ 3.2.2.3, p. 138). It appears a complement verb can be reduplicated independently from the main verb, as illustrated in (77). The complement verb diká= ‘short (RED)’, expressing manner in the first example in (77), is a stative verb and receives the expected high degree reading when reduplicated. (k)-amu= ‘kill’ in the second example specifies a result; its reduplication indicates that this result holds for multiple participants. (78) shows that the reverse is equally possible. The semantic result of the reduplication of the main verb, continuity, appears to have scope over the whole of the complement-verb complex.

(77)  
dika-dika-umu 'cut very short’ (of a story)
RDL.=short-die (35-20)

k.amu-k.amu-lasi 'cut to death’ (multiple referents)
RDL.3.OBJ=kill-cut (33-15)

17 Note that this is not generally the case for complements expressing manner information such as in (xxii), repeated from (41) above.

(78)  ...
ibu=ee dur=ee fl mei [raugu.COMPL.pase.
Indonesian.woman=DEF wake.up=CMPL 1pi take good-beat

‘... the Indonesian lady beat us hard when she woke up.’ (101-262)
(78) \textit{ufai-dia-dia} ‘keep sleeping down there’
\textit{VDEM.LOW:RED-RDL-sleep:BD} \hfill (69-055)
\textit{isi-ne-ne’et} ‘keep thinking about’
\textit{at:RED-RDL-think} \hfill (74-015)

Reduplication of both constituent parts of the complement-verb complex is also possible and seems to have much the same effect as the reduplication of the main verb only, as illustrated in (78). An example is given in (79). The reduplication of this complement-verb complex appears to refer to repetition of the action as necessary with multiple undergoers. Note that the constituent parts of the complex are reduplicated individually, rather than the complex as a whole (see § 4.6, p. 316, and § 7.2.3, p. 419, for the repetition of phrases).

(79) \textit{mi-mi-li’a-li’an} ‘turn over’ (multiple referents)
\textit{RDL-along:RED-RDL-throw} \hfill (61-09)

5.2.2.3 The relationship between verbal and nominal complements

VP complements and nominal complements are equal in status. This is shown by such an example as (80), where two complement-verb complexes, both with the main verb \textit{la’a} ‘move’, are coordinated; the first one, \textit{rei-la’a} ‘go out’ has a verbal complement \textit{rei} ‘move outwards’, while the second one, \textit{oma-la’a} ‘go home’, has a nominal complement \textit{oma}– ‘house’. The two VPs express comparable, but opposite, notions in what are clearly syntactically parallel phrases.

(80) \ldots \textit{noko nana=ni ta-eta-lolo=ni nomo}
\textit{younger.sibling elder.sibling=CTR REC-separate-say=LNK1 NEG}
\textit{together:RED-pass NEG together:RED-outwards-move house:RED-move}
\ldots siblings don’t talk to each other, don’t walk together, don’t go out together and (don’t) go to (each other’s) house…’ \hfill (21-048)

The coordination of complements to one main verb as discussed in § 5.2.2.2 (p. 326) for VP complements is not limited to complements of the same type; it is also possible to coordinate verbal complements and nominal complements to one verb. An example of this is the sentence given in (81), where the movement verb \textit{isa} ‘go down’ has two coordinated complements. The first of those, \textit{SMP-isi–} ‘at the secondary school’\footnote{SMP is short for sekolah menengah pertama, or junior high school in the Indonesian educational system.} is verbal, while the second, \textit{mu’a} ‘ground’, is an instance of a nominal complement expressing the goal of the movement. (82) shows the same
kind of evidence, although in that case, the combination of the nominal undergoer complement na’a ‘work’ and mei ‘take’ is largely lexicalised (§ 3.2.3.1.2.3, p. 148).

(81) ... fi la’a la’a la’a=ni [SMP-cost] [COMP-put] mei=ni...  
    1pl move move move-LNK1 junior.high-school-at.RED-go.down-LNK1  
    ‘... we keep going and then go downwards at the junior high school...’ (20-1)

(82) ... fi [fuli] [COMP-put] [na’a] [COMP-take]  
    1pl together:RED-work-together together:RED-work  
    ‘... we work together and labour together...’ (55-29)

It is thus clear that verbal complements and nominal complements are treated as units of the same syntactic status. Note, however, that combinations of semantically distinct types of complements as in (82), where a manner complement and an undergoer complement are coordinated, are extremely restricted. In fact, all such examples appear to involve a partly lexicalised collocation such as na’a-mei ‘to work’ (see § 3.2.3.1.2.3, p. 148). This may indicate that undergoer complements and location and manner complements were originally distinct entities, which coalesced syntactically to a large degree.

5.2.2.4 Objects and complements as verbal arguments

§ 5.2.2.1.1 (p. 321) and § 5.2.2.1.2 (p. 324) demonstrate that there is, with nominal arguments, some variation as to whether they are constructed as objects or as complements. With pronominal arguments, there is a particularly high degree of constructional flexibility. Another context where prototypical complements are often realised as objects is within a larger verbal complement (see § 5.2.2.2, p. 326). This indicates that the object position and the complement position are basically variant positions for the VP-internal verbal argument and as such instantiations of the same syntactic function. § 5.2 (p. 319) claims that the complement position and the object position are mutually exclusive. No instance of a VP where both positions are filled occur in the corpus. On the contrary, a constructed sentence like (83), in which both an object and a complement appear, was rejected. For comparison, (84) and (85) show that equivalent sentences expressing only one or the other constituent are grammatical.

(83) * Ki-upa [ni-mata] [rau] [COMP-beat].  
    3.POSS-father REFL-child good-beat  
    intended: ‘His father beat him thoroughly.’

(84) Kilo’a aite’ [ni-mata] [pase].  
    3s REC.PT REFL-child beat  
    ‘He just beat his child.’ (elic1114)
(85) ... ni-mata mei[rang]-coproc-pase.
   REFL-child take good-beat
   ‘... (he) beat up his child thoroughly.’

It is thus grammatical for a VP to contain either an object or a complement. Despite their distinct positions within the VP and the different degrees of fusion they undergo with the verb, either of these fill the non-subject argument position associated with the verb. All contexts which involve either more than one participant next to the agent, or both an undergoer and such adverbial information as normally expressed by verbal complements, must be constructed as multi-clause units, or sentences (§ 7, p. 401).

Interestingly, a large part of verbal complements express adverbial notions of location or manner. Being in most cases non-obligatory specifications to an action (but see § 3.2.3.1.2.1, p. 145, for cases where they are obligatory), they would most commonly be classified as adjuncts rather than as arguments. It is a rather unusual trait for adjuncts to exhibit a degree of fusion with the verb not encountered with prototypical arguments (i.e., objects), as is the case in Makalero. Consequently, the reality of a distinction between arguments and adjuncts is dubious. Objects arguments are only found with a specific class of verbs the semantic participant frame of which includes an undergoer (i.e. transitive verbs). For illustration, (86) shows a prototypical undergoer object.

(86) ... na'u tepa [aff-seur]compu nua.
   just constant fish-meat eat
   ‘... (we) kept eating fish.’

Similarly, not every verb is compatible with a nominal complement (see, for instance, § 3.2.3.13, p. 210, on movement verbs). Whether or not it can appear with a nominal complement appears to be a lexical property of a given verb. (87) shows a typical example of a movement verb which expresses the goal as a nominal complement.

(87) Ini meih [mu'a]compl-isa...
   1pe two.HUM ground-go.down
   ‘We got down to the ground...’

Verbal complements, on the other hand, can appear with any type of verb, including both those that are compatible with object arguments (i.e. semantically transitive verbs) and those that are not. The example in (88) shows two stative verbs, kel ‘hard’ and maka ‘firm’, both of which do not have an inherent locative component. Nevertheless, both stand with a deictic verbal complement we-, the reduced form of the addressee-related deictic verb ue’ (§ 3.2.3.9, p. 180). Til ‘noon’ in (89), on the other hand, is one of a group of time of day and weather verbs with fixed subjects (§ 3.2.3.5, p. 164). The example shows that, even though these verbs occur only in a very restricted sort of structure, they can nevertheless take VP complements.
(88)  ... ki-fani-fani’ lolo=ee [ue]compl-kel [ue]compl-maka’
3.POSS-RDL-be.like say=CMPL V2DEM:RED-hard V2DEM:RED-firm
‘... saying a similar thing is ‘to be strong there’ or ‘to be hard there’.’
(21-007)

(89) Uatu hai [Timor-isi]compl-til.
day NSIT T-at:RED-noon
‘It is already noon in Timor.’
(chat084a)

Any Makalero verb, whether semantically transitive or intransitive, thus has the same valency in terms of syntactic structure. However, verbs differ in the kinds of argument that are compatible with them. Any verb can take a complement in the form of a dependent VP giving circumstantial information. The appearance of an undergoer object is restricted to those VPs headed by verbs which are associated with a semantic participant frame including an undergoer. Transitivity is thus defined as a semantic property of a given verb, but has no relevance on the syntactic level. The only difference between VPs headed by semantically transitive verbs as opposed to those headed by intransitives (see § 3.2.3.1, p. 141) is that in the former case, there are two candidates for the function of the non-subject argument, namely the undergoer and such circumstantial information as usually expressed in VP complements, whereas with intransitives, a VP complement expressing circumstantial information is the only possible filler of the syntactic argument position. A detailed discussion of this principle and its repercussions on sentence structure is given in § 7.1 (p. 402).
The only exception to this is the limited group of avalent verbs discussed in § 3.2.3.1.1 (p. 141), which have a syntactic valency of zero.

5.2.2.5 Complement constructions
The VP-complement-verb construction is widely used in Makalero to convey a variety of distinct notions. For instance, it is found in the construction of causatives (§ 5.2.2.5.1.1, p. 340) and in an object-demoting construction (§ 5.2.2.5.1.2, p. 341). Also, it is used to express a conative notion (§ 5.2.2.5.2, p. 342, and § 5.2.2.5.3, p. 343), comparison (§ 5.2.2.5.4, p. 344), and is found in modal expressions (§ 5.2.2.5.5, p. 344). Sentences expressing the directedness of a motion with a movement verb (§ 3.2.3.13, p. 210) following another verb are analysed as making use of the same syntactic structure (§ 5.2.2.5.6, p. 345). § 3.2.3.8 (p. 171) speculates that the same construction type may be used in the formation of numerals with resi- ‘remain’ as well. Also, there are verbs that obligatorily express their undergoer participants in a verbal complement, as discussed in § 3.2.3.1.2.2 (p. 146).
5.2.2.5.1 -ini ‘do (BD)’ with verbal complements

The use of a given verb as a complement to -ini ‘do (BD)’ can function to either add or remove a participant to or from the sentence. Which of these quite opposite effects is associated with a given -ini-construction is dependent on the semantic transitivity of the verb in the complement position. Syntactically, however, there is no change in valency for any of the two verbs involved in such a construction. Causatives with -ini are discussed in § 5.2.2.5.1.1 (p. 340), while object-less sentences with -ini are treated in § 5.2.2.5.1.2 (p. 341).

5.2.2.5.1.1 Causative constructions with -ini ‘do (BD)’

The use of a semantically intransitive verb, i.e. a verb which is incompatible with an undergoer participant, as a complement to -ini ‘do (BD)’ is read as causative. Examples are given in (90) and (92) with da’al ‘break’ and metan ‘black’, respectively. For comparison, (91) and (93) show the same verbs used as main predicates within a clause.

(90) Mata ka’u=ni kopi ere mei=ni [da’al]_compl.-ini.  
child small=CTR glass 1DEM take=LNK1 break-do:BD  
‘The child broke the glass.’ (elic149)

(91) Kopu ere hai da’al,  
glass 1DEM NSIT burst water NSIT ground-go.down  
‘This glass broke and the water spilled.’ (elic147)

(92) … fi tone’ mara=ni hai mei=ni [metan]_compl.-ini.  
1pi perhaps go=LNK1 NSIT take=LNK1 black-do:BD  
‘… maybe we dye it black.’ (62-22)

(93) Kiloa ki-kada pere i metan.  
3s 3.POSS-horse big and black  
‘He has a big black horse.’ (elic318)

Note that in such causative sentences as (90) and (92), the undergoer participant stands in a separate clause with the light verb mei ‘take’. This is due to the fact that the non-subject argument position of -ini ‘do (BD)’ is occupied by the verbal complement. The verb in this complement is intransitive. It is thus incompatibility with the expression of a object argument, and there is no syntactic position available in that subordinated VP for the undergoer of the event expressed by the whole complex, necessitating its expression in a separate clause. This process is discussed in more detail in § 7.1 (p. 402). Thus, the complement verb remains intransitive. The notion of transitivity is added by the main verb -ini ‘do (BD)’. While the effect of

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This light verb appears even in such a case as (92), where the actual undergoer is unexpressed.
this construction is causativising, there is no actual change in valency involved for either of the two verbs. It appears any semantically intransitive verbs can be causativised in a complement-verb complex with -ini ‘do (BD)’. (94) and (95) show how such transparently formed causative complement-verb complex constructions are equivalent to distinct transitive verbs expressing the same notion, if existent (see § 3.2.3.1.4.1, p. 149).

\[(94) \text{ Mata ka' uere ki-upa=ni mei=ni } [dura]_{\text{compl}}-[\text{ini}]. \]
\[\text{ child small 1DEM 3-POSS-father=CTR take=LNK1 wake-do:BD} \]
\[\text{ ‘This child was woken up by his father.’} \quad \text{(elic172)} \]

\[(95) \text{ ... ka' u=ete ani mara ei tane.} \]
\[\text{ small-after=after 1s go 2s waken} \]
\[\text{ ‘... in a while I will go and wake you.’} \quad \text{(120-014)} \]

5.2.2.5.1.2 Object-less sentences with -ini ‘do (BD)’

The effect of the use of a transitive verbal complement to -ini ‘do (BD)’ is quite the opposite from the causativising one found with intransitive verbal complements to the same verb. In such a case, the undergoer is, in a manner of speaking, removed from the event. The resulting whole does not refer to an event with a specific undergoer, but only to the action itself in a general way. Sentence (96), which comes from a text describing the traditional division of labour between Makalero men and women, illustrates this very nicely. Neither of the complement-verb complexes used in this sentence refers to a specific event; rather they denote the activities as such.

\[(96) \text{ Tufuraa k-asu=ni ware=ni omar-ika’ lopu-ika’ } [\text{isa}]_{\text{compl}}-[\text{ini}] \]
\[\text{ woman 3-UND-for=CTR 2-DEM=CTR stilt-house-up.in house-up.in bake-do:BD} \]

\[\text{ [tina]_{\text{compl}}-[\text{ini}] [heru]_{\text{compl}}-[\text{ini}] diki hular [tutu]_{\text{compl}}-[\text{ini}] [tafa]_{\text{compl}}-[\text{ini}].} \]
\[\text{ cook-do:BD weave-do:BD yarn spin grind-do:BD pound-do:BD} \]
\[\text{ ‘(Work) for the women is to stay at home, do the baking, do the cooking,}
\[\text{ weave, spin, grind and pound.’} \quad \text{(21-035)} \]

The sentences in (97) through (100) illustrate the contrast between the reference to a specific event and that to an activity in general using a complement construction with -ini: in (97) and (99), mua ‘eat’ and tina ‘cook’ are used as main verbs, respectively. Note that in either case, they stand with undergoer objects. In (98) and (100), where the same verbs are used as complements to -ini ‘do (BD)’, on the other hand, the activity itself is referred to; an undergoer is neither expressed nor implied.

\[(97) \text{ ... fi-asu [sa' a ho'o]omu tina fi mua.} \]
\[\text{ 1pi-for thing some cook 1pi eat} \]
\[\text{ ‘... cook something for us (so that) we eat!’} \quad \text{(23-045)} \]
(98)  \[\text{Ani ni-nami } k\text{-asu } \text{[tina]}_{\text{COMPL}}\text{-ini.}\]
1s  REFL-husband 3:UND-for cook-do:BD
‘I’m cooking for my husband.’  (elic163)

(99)  \[\ldots \text{uai}=ni=si \text{ na’u tepa } \text{[asi-seur]}_{\text{OBJ}} \text{ nua.}\]
CLS=LNK1=LNK2 just constant fish-meat eat
‘…there is fish in Dili, so we kept eating fish.’  (101-258)

(100)  \[\text{Ani ni-pada ki-lupu-isi’}=ini \text{ hau } \text{[nua]}_{\text{COMPL}}\text{-ini.}\]
1s  REFL-friend 3:POSS-house-at=LNK1 all eat-do:BD
‘I’ve eaten at my friend’s house.’  (chat053)

In (101), a complement-verb complex with a transitive verb, \textit{tina} ‘cook’, and \textit{-ini} ‘do (BD)’ is combined with an overtly expressed undergoer in the object position of the complement verb. Interestingly, this sentence was judged to be ungrammatical. (97) exemplifies the use of \textit{tina} ‘cook’ as a main predicate, where it stands with an object argument, showing that it is compatible with an undergoer object. § 5.2.2.2 (p. 326) shows that complement verbs can have their own non-subject arguments, parallel to their main verb use. (101), analysed as in (102), should thus be perfectly acceptable. The fact that it is not must be a pragmatic, rather than syntactic, property of this particular construction.

(101)  \[\text{* Kiloo seur}=ua \text{ aire’ teuh}=ee \text{ tina}-ini.\]
3s  meat=REL now buy=DEF cook-do:BD
intended: ‘She cooks the meat that she just bought.’  (pelic429b)

(102)  \[[\text{seur}=ua \text{ aire’ teuh}=ee \text{ tina]}_{\text{COMPL}}\text{-ini} ]_{\text{VP}}\]
meat=REL now buy=DEF cook-do:BD

The \textit{-ini} construction with transitive verbs could be paraphrased as ‘do (some) x-ing’. Again, the semantic contribution of \textit{-ini} ‘do (BD)’ is evident.

5.2.2.5.2 Conatives with locative isi-complements

In a relatively rare construction type, an undergoer to a transitive verb is moved from the more usual object slot into a complement verb phrase with the general locative verb \textit{isi}’.\(^{109}\) This construction has been found to convey a conative notion. (104) and (106) show two such sentences. For comparison, (103) and (105) show the same verbs with their undergoers construed as object arguments, demonstrating that these lack the conative meaning component.

(103)  \[\text{Sefar } [asi-tana]}_{\text{OWN}} \text{ feil.}\]
dog 1s:POSS-hand lick
‘The dog licked my hand.’  (elic1671a)

\(^{109}\) The resulting constructions are reminiscent of those found with verbs whose semantic undergoers are obligatorily expressed in complement VPs (§ 3.2.3.1.2.2, p. 146).
(104) Sefar [(asi-tana)_{COMPL-isi}]_{COMPL-feil.}  
dog 1s:POSS-hand-at:RED-lick  
‘The dog tried to lick my hand.’ (elic1671)

(105) Asi-nami [(taapaku)_{COMPL-isi}]_{COMPL-nomo} hai nomo due.  
1s:POSS-husband cigarette NSIT NEG light.up  
‘My husband does no longer smoke.’ (elic494)

(106) Ani ho’o hai [(taapaku)_{COMPL-isi}]_{COMPL-nomo} so’ot.  
1s sometime NSIT cigarette-at:RED-light-ADV 1s NEG want  
‘I tried smoking once, but I didn’t like it.’ (elic920)

This conative construction corresponds neatly to Goldberg’s (1995: 4) conative argument structure construction, which she paraphrases as “X directs action at Y”.

5.2.2.5.3 Conatives with fera ‘try’

Another type of conative uses a specific conative verb, fera ‘try’. § 3.2.3.10.2.1 (p. 193) introduces it as one of the group of verbs which take complement clause extensions. In fact, there are two variant constructions for fera: one involves two coordinated clauses, where fera is the predicate of the first one and seems to introduce the second one. There is no syntactic evidence of any dependency relation between the two clauses. The term ‘complement clause extension’ is used for the second of these clauses based on the similarity between this construction and a similar one which uses a complementiser-like element (see § 3.2.3.10.1.1, p. 187, and § 3.6.2, p. 265). The status of subordinating constructions in Makalero, of which (107), with a complement clause extension, is a possible member, are discussed in § 8.3 (p. 481). In the second type of construction, fera is constructed as the complement verb of the main verb, which corresponds to the verb of the complement clause extension in the other construction. The undergoer of that action appears within the fera-complement, which shows that fera functions like a transitive verb (i.e. is compatible with the expression of an undergoer object). (107) and (108) illustrate these two constructions.

(107) [Kiloo taure-fani]_{CLS=ini} [fera]_{CLS} [ani neok]_{CLS} ani tone’ ma’en.  
3s which:RED-be-like=LNK1 try 1s lie 1s perhaps know  
‘In whichever way he tries to deceive me, I will certainly find out.’ (elic1053)

(108) Mei=ni taure-fani’ kini=oo kiloo [[[losan  
take=LNK1 which:RED-like do=too 3s money  
fera]_{COMPL-nese} [COMPL-la’a]_{VP} nomo rau.  
try=aim-at:RED-move NEG good  
‘In whichever way he tries to get money, it does not work.’ (elic1051)

177 See § 7.2.4 (p. 425) for the various modal uses of the adverbial predicate tone’.
The two conative constructions, that with \textit{fera} ‘try’ and that where the undergoer participant is constructed within a locative VP complement with \textit{isi}– ‘at (RED)’, as discussed in §5.2.2.5.2 (p. 342), can apparently be combined. (109) shows such an example; note, however, that this is very rare.

(109) \[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{... \textit{ei kini} [\textit{ho’o fera}]}_{\text{COMPL}}-\text{isi}_{\text{COMPL}}-\text{nuan.}} \\
2s IMP? \text{some try-at.RED-eat}
\end{array}
\quad \text{‘... try to eat some!’} \quad (118-34)

5.2.2.5.4 Comparatives

As discussed in §3.2.3.2 (p. 150), there are three main ways of forming comparatives, all of which involve complement constructions. Those used most commonly with stative verbs make use of the complement verbs \textit{leto}- ‘through’ and \textit{seti}- ‘pass’. (110) and (111), repeated from (148) and (149) in §3.2.3.2.1 (p. 151), illustrate such sentences.

(110) \[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{Ku\textit{da ere} [\textit{mi-raku} na’u} \textit{leto}}_{\text{COMPL-asan.}} \\
horse 1DEM REFL-friend just through-long
\end{array}
\quad \text{‘This horse is the biggest of them all.’} \quad (almeida009)

(111) \[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{... \textit{ei} tu\textit{furaa} (…) [\textit{noxa} \textit{siniora} seti]}_{\text{COMPL-felum}} nese-la’a… \\
2s woman Holy Virgin pass.pretty aim.at.RED-move
\end{array}
\quad \text{‘… you found a woman who is prettier than our lady...’} \quad (74-138)

The construction most commonly found with activity verbs uses the complement verb \textit{resin} ‘remain’. (112) is repeated from §3.2.3.2.2 (p. 153).

(112) \[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{\textit{Ei} [\textit{kiolo} resin]}_{\text{COMPL-la’a}.} \\
2s 3s remain:RED-go
\end{array}
\quad \text{‘You walk more than him.’} \quad (chat095)

Note that in all of these comparative constructions, the standard of comparison is constructed as an argument within the complement VP. The association of these two types of comparative constructions with the two main event types in Makalero is not absolute; nevertheless, it appears to capture the majority of cases.

5.2.2.5.5 Modality

The modal verbs in Makalero are discussed in §3.2.3.10.2 (p. 193). Only a subgroup of them (those treated in §3.2.3.10.2.1, p. 193) can be used in complement-verb complex constructions. A variant construction, in which the modal verb is in a separate clause that is followed by a complement clause extension is the same as
found in the case of the conative verb *fera* ‘try’ (see § 5.2.2.5.3, p. 343). The two constructions are illustrated with *hul* ‘be able’ in (113) and (114), which are repeated from § 3.2.3.10.2.1 (p. 193). Among the modal verbs listed in that paragraph, this verb shows most clearly that the construction as given in (114) is a complement-verb complex through the fact that it has a reduced complement form which loses the coda consonant of the free form. With the other modal verbs, which do not have such forms, the two constructions types differ merely through the position of the undergoer.

(113)  

\[ \text{Ani } \text{nata} \text{ nomo hul] [ma’u] [ai-sirvisu] [\text{CLS}.} \]

1s CLS-CTF.COND NEG able=LNK1 come VDEM:RED-work

‘Actually I cannot afford to come and work here...’ (125-50)

(114)  

\[ \text{... heil heil heil=ini } [\text{tepa nomo [hul] [COMPL-see][\text{VP}]} [\text{CLS}.} \]

pull pull pull=LNK1 constant NEG able=RED-pull:BD

‘... (he) pulls and pulls, but he still cannot pull (it out).’ (102-100)

The biclausal construction as shown in (113), with or without a clause linker, is common to all modal verbs, including those given in § 3.2.3.10.2.1 (p. 193) and those in § 3.2.3.10.2.2 (p. 196).

### 5.2.2.5.6 Directionality

In a fairly frequent construction, the directedness of an action expressing the manipulation of an object is indicated by a movement verb (see § 3.2.3.13, p. 210) following the verb expressing that action. (115) and (116) show two examples.

(115)  

\[ \text{Ani foto asa taurupa’u asar-mara.} \]

1s photo CLASS some send-go

‘I’m sending a few pictures off (to where you are).’ (chat082)

(116)  

\[ \text{... aviaan pala merah (...) seran lori ma’u...} \]

plane red.cross stuff carry-come

‘... a red cross plane came and brought things...’ (101-091)

In the present thesis, such expressions are treated as complement-verb constructions, the structure of which is as represented in (117) and (118). There is, however, no clear syntactic evidence to either support or refute this analysis, since none of the movement verbs exhibits a special bound form used only in complement-verb complexes; neither has any verb that has a reduced complement form been found in this context.

(117)  

\[ \text{... [foto hasa taurupa’u asar] [COMPL-mara} \]

‘... send a few pictures off...’

\[ \text{Note that this particular modal verb also offers the possibility of expressing the proposition it modifies in the form of a nominalised clause in object position (see § 3.2.3.10.2.1, p. 193).} \]
(118)  ... /seran lori/_{compl=ma’u}
  ‘… brought things...’

All such constructions pertain to one action only; the main semantic load is carried
by the verb of the complement, while the syntactic main verb only adds a notion of
directedness. The same notion of directedness can be expressed in what is clearly a
typical unit, as shown in (119) through the use of the clause linker -ini
(§ 3.5.2.5.2, p. 249) between the two verbs. Note that the context is identical to that
given in (115). This does not contradict the analysis as given in (117) and (118),
since § 5.2.2.2 (p. 326) above shows that most complement-verb complexes can
regularly be broken up into two separate clauses.

(119)  ... /fana-nini ho’o we’/ [ani-asu]_{compl-asar} {ini /ma’u}/_VP
              teach-do:BD some    V2DEM 1s-for-send=LNK1   come
         uai=p-ani
  uali’.  CLS=PRP-1s hearing
  ‘… (if you) have some teaching, send it here to me so that I (can) hear it.’
              (107-27)

A construction such as that given in (120), where the movement verb precedes
another verb, is understood to be different from those given in (115) and (116)
above. Here, neither verb can be understood as modifying the other. Rather, they
seem to express two distinct actions in a sequence. This understanding is supported
by the fact that /tia ‘sleep’ in (120) stands in the free form, showing clearly that /mara
‘go’ does not function as its argument.

(120)  ... /hai rau mara tia=na’a... /
              NSIT good  go    sleep=INT
  ‘… it’s okay, go to sleep...’
              (120-014)

In summary, in the construction discussed in the present paragraph, the movement
verb is the syntactic main verb and the complement is constructed as dependent from
it. Semantically, however, the situation is quite opposite, with the main meaning
component expressed by the VP complement. This situation is comparable to that of
causatives with -ini (§ 5.2.2.5.1.1, p. 340), in which -ini ‘do’ is constructed
syntactically as the main verb, while semantically, the bulk of the meaning is
conveyed by the complement verb.

5.2.2.6 Some problematic cases

The following sections discuss a few difficult cases which do not behave according
to the pattern described above. Many may be due to the moderate degree of
flexibility between the realisation of a given argument as either an object or a
complement. § 5.2.2.6.1 (p. 347) presents some cases where the free forms of verbs
that distinguish free and bound forms are used, despite the fact that their
complement position appears to be filled. § 5.2.2.6.2 (p. 348) gives a brief discussion of the verb hai ‘be finished’. Finally, argument-marking verbs, which appear to be partially reanalysed as exhibiting a free vs. bound form contrast, constitute a particularly important case. These constructions are discussed in § 5.2.2.6.3 (p. 349).

5.2.2.6.1 Complements with free verb forms
A few cases have been found where verbs which have distinct bound and free forms appear in the free form, even though clearly their complement position is filled. Normally, in such a constellation, the bound form of the verb is used (§ 3.2.2.2.2.2, p. 135, § 5.2.2, p. 320). In the case of (121), the reciprocal pronoun ta, clearly identified as a complement by its position relative to the aspect marker hai and the adverbial tepa ‘constant’ (see § 5, p. 317) is followed by the free form huri ‘shoot’. In this context, the bound form of that verb, -suri ‘shoot’, would be expected. (122) exemplifies this form in a typical complement-verb construction with a dependent VP with (k)-umu ‘kill’. Similarly, the position of the NP ni-dila ‘his frog’ in (123) relative to the adverbials uari ‘still’ and na’u ‘just’ shows it to stand in the complement position of haka ‘search’. Again, however, the free form of this verb, rather than its bound form -saka, is used. (124) shows a typical use of this bound form with a complement. In both (121) and (123), the bound verb forms were refused. Variants with the complement NPs in the object position, on the left edge of the verb phrase and preceding the above-mentioned VP modifiers, however, were accepted.

(121) ... amuni Dili-isi’=ee hai tepa [ta] comp-huri...
   person D-at-DEF NSIT constant REC-shoot
   ‘… people in Dili were constantly shooting at each other…’ (126-061)

(122) ... ki-mata tafur huri hau [k-umu] comp-suri...
   3.POSS-child woman shoot all 3UND-kill-shoot:BD
   ‘… (they) shot his daughter, shot her dead…’ (23-014)

(123) ... kiloo=haka uari na’u [ni-dila] comp-haka.
   3s=CTR:PRES still just REF-frog-search
   ‘… he is still looking for his frog.’ (38-081)

(124) ... ani ni-asu ma’u=ni sirvisu mei [e] comp-saka.
   1s REF-for come=LNK1 work take V1DEM:RED-search:BD
   ‘… I came to look for work here.’ (125-40)

Two similar cases were tacitly presented in § 3.2.3.1.2.3 (p. 148), with sa-ena ‘be married’ and mata-ena ‘have children’. The bound form of the verb ena ‘see’ is taken to be -kena (see § 3.2.2.2.2, p. 135). Note, however, that ena is also listed as an argument-marking verb in § 5.2.2.6.3 (p. 349). These verbs appear to be reanalysed in certain contexts as expressing a distinction between bound and free
verb forms. This leads to a situation where such verbs appear to follow a free / bound form pattern in some cases, but an argument-marking pattern in other contexts. While the variant forms of ena ‘see’ are used like the free and bound form of the verbs listed in § 3.2.2.2.2.2 (p. 135) in most cases, it is possible that the largely lexicalised phrase sa-ena ‘be married’ behaves according to the argument-marking pattern.

There is at present no good explanation for cases such as those discussed here, where an argument in complement position is not associated with a bound verb form. There is only a small number of them, hence they are considered aberrant. It is possible that these constructions may be influenced by the behaviour of argument-marking verbs in similar contexts (see § 5.2.2.6.3.4, p. 356). Notice also that in all of the illustrated cases, the complements in question are nominal and refer to undergoer participants. § 5.2.2.1.1 (p. 321) and § 5.2.2.1.2 (p. 324) mention how there is a certain amount of flexibility between the object position and the complement position for nominal undergoers. Examples as given in (121) and (123) support the impression that the distinction between objects and complements is somewhat blurred with this type of argument. § 5.2.2.3 (p. 336) suggests complements expressing undergoers and those expressing location and manner are originally distinct structures that have coalesced; the fact that free verb forms are found with undergoer complements only further supports this.

5.2.2.6.2 Hai’ ‘be finished’

Bound verb forms with altered onsets as listed in § 3.2.2.2.2.2 (p. 135) occur only when the complement position of the verbs in question is filled. In the case of hai’ ‘be finished’, the bound form -sai’ is found not only in complement-verb complexes, but also in environments that are not so easily reconcilable with this structure. (125) shows the bound form -sai’ used in a verbal complex. This is as expected; the use of hai’ ~ -sai’ ‘end’ in these contexts conforms to the use of the free and the bound forms of the other verbs given in §3.2.2.2.2.2 (p. 135).

(125) ... ira ama [ta-mi]COMPL-sai’...
  paddo garden REC-long:RED-finished:BD
  ‘... the paddies are demarcated (along one another)...’ (55-29)

In most cases, however, the use of the form -sai’ appears to be dependent on the semantic nature of the verb’s subject. Concretely, whenever it denotes a span of time, -sai’ appears. Examples are given in (126) and (127). With all other semantic types of subjects, hai’ is used, as the comparison with (128) shows.

(126) Aira u [hai]COMPL-sai’ ani ufe’=mi ani muni na’u
  year one all-finished:BD 1s VDEM.LOW~LNK1 1s return just

  pasa=ni ma’u=ni Loospala.
pasa=LNK1 come=LNK1 L.
  ‘After one year, I moved from down there back to Lospalos.’ (103-18)
The verb phrase

(127) "... pasar loloi [hauˌCOMPL-saiˈ hai na’an.
week two all-finished BD NSIT NEG.EX
‘... after two weeks, there was no more (water left.)’ (89-07)

(128) Latino ki-iskola hai hau hai’isi hai Timor-isli-la’a=na’a.
L. 3.POSS-school NSIT all end-LNK2 NSIT T-at:RED-move=INT
‘Latino’s education is already finished, he is planning to go back to
Timor.’ (chat032)

It is noticeable that in all cases where -sai’ is used with time spans, it is combined with the adverbial verb hau ‘all, totally’ (see § 5.3.3.2, p. 369). It would thus seem that hau is in the complement position of hai ‘be finished’ in those cases, which would explain the use of the bound form; this is how (126) and (127) are analysed above. In fact, § 3.2.3.3.1 (p. 159) mentions that adverbial verbs are sometimes constructed as complements. Notice, however, that (128) is exactly parallel in that it, too, is preceded by hau ‘all’, yet the form of the verb that is used is the free form hai’, not -sai’. This means that in cases like (128), where the subject does not denote a time span, hau would have to be analysed as an adverbial, whereas in such cases like (126) and (127), the same item would function as a verbal complement. Apart from the semantics of the subject NP, the contexts of (126), (127) and (128) are very much similar and it is difficult to see a reason for this syntactic differentiation other than the semantic content of the subject.

5.2.2.6.3 Argument-marking verbs

Tables 5.1 through 5.3 repeat the subgroup of vowel-initial verbs that take the third-person argument-marking prefix k- as listed in § 3.2.3.4 (p. 163), dividing them into three groups. The first of these, in Table 5.1, shows the verbs which occur on their own as full verbs only; the second, in Table 5.2, lists those verbs which are found both as full verbs and as verbal complements to other verbs; and finally, the third, in Table 5.3, lists those verbs which are found in the corpus as dependent verbs in verbal complements only.

| see | (k)~-ena |
| smell | (k)~-amu’ |
| hit (a target) | (k)~-ene |
| do, make | (k)~-ini |
| bake | (k)~-isa |
| belong to, originate from | (k)~-isi’ |
| fetch (water) | (k)~-otu |
| bigger than | (k)~-uan |
| kill | (k)~-uta |

Table 5.1: Argument-marking verbs used as free verbs only
sideways
carry
for
be in physical contact
with, accompanying
be on top
cover, block from view

\( (k)-af\)
\( (k)-afs\)
\( (k)-asu\)
\( (k)-ata'\)
\( (ko)-jhoru\)
\( (k)-ua'\)
\( (k)-utu'\)

Table 5.2: Argument-marking verbs used both as free verbs and as verbal complements

away from
all over
downwards
onto
firm
?
apart
towards
around
kill
partly hidden
hidden from view

\( (k)-afa-\)
\( (k)-ali-\)
\( (k)-ati-\)
\( (k)-a'a-\)
\( (k)-e-\)
\( (k)-eri-\)
\( (k)-eta-\)
\( (k)-ou-\)
\( (k)-ue-\)
\( (k)-umu-\)
\( (k)-uri-\)
\( (k)-uta-\)

Table 5.3: Argument-marking verbs found in complement VPs only

Despite the different distributions of the three groups of \( k \)-prefixing verbs, the principles of the use of the prefix are the same. The vowel-initial form is used when the verb’s complement position is filled by a first and second person pronominal argument or a non-referential nominal argument, as discussed in § 5.2.2.6.3.1 (p. 350) and § 5.2.2.6.3.2 (p. 353). In all other cases, the \( k \)-prefix is used. The following analysis corresponds largely to that given in Huber (2008b).

5.2.2.6.3.1 Pronominal arguments

In general, pronominal undergoers stand in the complement position directly to the left of the verbs given in Tables 5.1 through 5.3, as shown in the examples in (129), with the first person singular pronoun \( ani \), and (130), with the second person singular pronoun \( el \). The verb appears in those cases without the \( k \)-prefix.

\[ (129) \quad Ei=ni \quad ani \quad mei \quad pa’uk-ini=si \quad \{ani\}_{compl} \quad uta=si... \]
\[ 2s=CTR \quad 1s \quad take \quad bad-do:BD=LNK2 \quad 1s-kill=LNK2 \]
\[ ‘It was you who destroyed me and killed me...’ \]

\[ (23-008) \]
(130) ... \text{[ei]}_{\text{COMPL}}\text{-asu namiraa}=ni hai na’an...
\text{2s-for} \quad \text{man-CTR} \quad \text{NSIT} \quad \text{NEG.EX}
‘... there is no man left for you...’ \quad (74-016)

Not only personal pronouns, but also other pronouns, i.e. the reflexive \text{ni}, the reciprocal \text{ta} and the interrogatives \text{mu’a}- ‘who (BD)’ and \text{sa’au}– ‘what (BD)’ (§ 3.3.1, p. 217), are treated in the same way, as (131) and (132) show.

(131) Aftane’ ei \text{[mu’a]}_{\text{COMPL}}\text{-horu lolo-ini}?
\text{PT} \quad \text{2s who:BD-with}
\text{say-do:BD}
‘Who did you talk to before?’ \quad (elic1490)

(132) Mata ka’u ere so’ot=ini [ni]_{\text{COMPL}}\text{-asu ki-mua heti.}
\text{child small IDEM want=LNK1 REFL-for 3:POSS-eat ask}
‘This child wants to ask for food (for himself).’ \quad (101-127)

Note that pronouns are frequently constructed as complements also with other verbs, which are not compatible with the \text{k}-prefix (§ 5.2.2.1.2, p. 324).

Third person undergoers are marked on argument-marking verbs with a \text{k}-prefix. This prefix is analysed as standing in the verb’s complement position, parallel to the construction with pronominal undergoers shown in (129) through (132). (133) shows such an example.

(133) Hai nomo rau-rau hau [k]_{\text{COMPL}}\text{-nta}=<ni...
\text{NSIT} \quad \text{NEG} \quad \text{RDL-good all 3:UND-kill=LNK1}
‘(He) didn’t manage to kill them (all), so then...’ \quad (89-19)

It is not possible to use the third person pronoun \text{kiloo} in a construction like that shown in (129) and (130), where the pronoun stands directly in front of the vowel-initial form of the verb. Rather, \text{kiloo} always cooccurs with the \text{k}-prefix, as in (134). It shares this property with referential nominal undergoers (§ 5.2.2.6.3.2, p. 353). This fact has, among others, been taken as indicative of nominal properties and possibly nominal origin of the third person pronoun in Makalero (§ 3.3.1.1.2, p. 221).

(134) ... anii=ni (...) kiloo k-asu lolo uta ira mei.
\text{1sg-CTR} \quad \text{3s 3:UND-for say coconut water take}
‘... I told him to get young coconuts.’ \quad (67-13)

The construction of argument-marking verbs with pronominal non-subject arguments can be summarised as follows:

(135) \text{PRON} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{PRON-V}
\text{3.PRON} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{(3.PRON) k-V}

The \text{k}-prefix for third person undergoers can be directly related to the 3rd-person possessive pronoun \text{ki-}. For illustration, Table 5.4 gives the Makalero personal
pronouns, with the possessive forms, where distinct from the free pronoun forms, in brackets (see § 3.3.1.1, p. 218, and § 3.3.1.1.3, p. 225). In all other cases, the same form functions as both independent and possessive pronoun.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st person exclusive</td>
<td>ani (asi)</td>
<td>ini (isi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st person inclusive</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>fi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>ei</td>
<td>li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person</td>
<td>kiloo (ki)</td>
<td>kiloora (ki)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.4: Personal and possessive pronouns

§ 3.3.1.1.2 (p. 221) proposes that ki-, whose function is now restricted to that of a third person possessive marker, was originally an all-purpose third person marker, while the present-day independent pronoun kiloo is a compound that developed at a later stage. This is supported by the evidence from closely related Makasae, which has gi for both functions. The original third person marker ki was retained in certain contexts, namely as a possessive marker as well as with the argument-marking verbs given in Tables 5.1 through 5.3, which take pronominal arguments in the complement position. With frequent use, the ki- complement appears to have grammaticalised into a prefix k-. Thus, originally, the third person argument-marked forms would have been constructed in a way directly analogous to the other pronouns as demonstrated in (129) through (132) above, with the third person pronoun ki in the complement position of the verb. This paradigm, showing the putative development of the third person argument form, is summarised in (136). Note that there is no number distinction in the third person, which uses ki- or k- for both singular and plural reference.

\[(136) \quad \begin{align*}
& ani-uta \quad \text{‘kill me’} \\
& ei-uta \quad \text{‘kill you’} \\
& ki-uta \rightarrow k-uta \quad \text{‘kill him / her / it / them’} \\
& ini-uta \quad \text{‘kill us (excl.)’} \\
& fi-uta \quad \text{‘kill us (incl.)’} \\
& ii-uta \quad \text{‘kill you (pl.)’}
\end{align*}\]

In a variant construction, pronominal arguments can stand in the object position on the left edge of the VP. In such a case, the argument-marking verb does not stand in its vowel-initial form, but is prefixed with k-. Examples with (k)-asu ‘for’ are given in (137) and (138).

\[(137) \quad \text{Kiloo} \ [\text{ani}]_\text{subject} \ \text{tepa} \ \text{k-asu} \ \text{lolo}=\text{ni} \ \text{ki-sirvisu} \ \text{mei}=\text{na’a}.\]

\[
\begin{array}{ccccccc}
3s & 1s & \text{constant} & 3:\text{UND-for} & \text{say}=\text{LNK1} & 3:\text{POSS=}\text{work} & \text{take}=\text{INT} \\
\text{He always makes me do his work.} & \text{(elic413)}
\end{array}
\]

\[(138) \quad \text{… uai}=\text{ni} \ \text{teni} \ \text{mei}=\text{ni} \ [\text{ini}]_\text{subject} \ \text{nomo} \ \text{k-asu} \ \text{lolo}.
\]

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
\text{CLS}=\text{LNK1} & \text{again} & \text{take}=\text{LNK1} & \text{1pe} & \text{NEG} & 3:\text{UND-for} & \text{say} \\
\text{‘… but (they) didn’t let us know.’} & \text{(81-08)}
\end{array}
\]
(139) and (140) juxtapose the two variant constructions, with a pronominal argument in the complement position in (139), but in the object position in (140). I have not been able to work out a difference in reading between the two variants; if one is present at all, it is very subtle.

(139) Ani hai [fi]_{COMP} horu la’a.
    1s NSIT 1pi-with move
    ‘I went with you (pol.).’  (elic991)

(140) Ani [fi]_{OBJ} hai ko-horu la’a.
    1s 1pi NSIT 3-with move
    ‘I went with you (pol.).’  (elic991a)

In examples (137) through (140), the $k$-prefix does clearly not mark third person arguments. The preceding pronominal objects directly contradict the third person meaning of the prefix. This bespeaks an advanced degree of grammaticalisation of the prefix; in fact, I claim the $k$-prefixed form of these verbs is being partly reanalysed as a free verb form, in an opposition between a free and a bound verb form as exhibited by the verbs in § 3.2.2.2.2.2 (p. 135), rather than as an argument-marked form. § 5.2.2.6.3.4 (p. 356) elaborates on this idea.

5.2.2.6.3.2 Nominal arguments

Within the domain of nominal arguments, a distinction has to be made between referential and non-referential nouns or NPs. Non-referential nouns can be placed in the complement position, just like pronominal arguments, in which case the verb again appears without the $k$-prefix. Examples are given in (141) and (142).

(141) ... nana pere=ni muni k-afu=ni [mu’a]_{COMP}=la’a.
    snake big-SG=LNK1 return 3:UND-carry=LNK1 ground-under:RED-move
    ‘… having become a large snake, he carried her under the earth.’  (64-05)

(142) ... ma’u=ni Topolope-isi’ [lopi]_{COMP}=ini [omar]_{COMP}=ini.
    come=LNK1 T-at house-do stilt-house-do
    ‘… (our grandfather) came to Topolope and settled there.’  (70-02)
    (lit. made house)

Referential nominal arguments, like the free form of the third person pronoun, kiloa, always cooccur with the $k$-prefix on the verb. Examples are given in (143) and (144).

(143) ... mara=ni la’a [inifimeira-la’a] k-asu lolo...
    go-LNK1 move nurse-PL 3:UND-for say
    ‘… then (I) went to tell the nurses…’  (58-03)
Such referential nominal arguments to argument-marking verbs vary in position between the VP-initial object position, preceding all VP modifiers and the complement position, which directly precedes the verb (see § 5, p. 317). The former solution, which appears to be more frequent, is illustrated in (145), where the object NP papa=ee ‘the Indonesian’ precedes the aspect marker hai. In (146), on the other hand, the NP meestri-laam amu lima ‘the five teachers’ follows the aspect marker, which shows it to be standing directly in front of the verb in the complement position. Note that the two positions can only be distinguished when verbal modifiers are present; in (143) and (144) above, where none are present, it is impossible to determine whether the nominal arguments are constructed as either objects or complements.

For non-referential nouns, too, there is the option of placing them in the object position rather than the complement position. In this case, the verb must also be prefixed with k-. These two options are very much like those discussed in § 5.2.2.6.3.1 (p. 350) above for pronominal arguments. As an actual third person argument marker, the k-prefix fills the verb’s complement position, in analogy to the other personal pronouns; this is summarised in (136) above. Sentences like (145), where a nominal argument stands in the object position and is cross-referenced on the verb with the prefix, would consequently have to be analysed as making use of both the object position and the complement position. This is in direct contradiction to § 5.2.2.4 (p. 337), which claims the complement position and the object position are mutually exclusive, and only one of them can appear in a given VP. The only way to explain this pattern is by assuming a partial reanalysis of the k-prefixed forms not as argument-marking, but as free verb forms, as opposed to bound verb forms which stand with a filled complement position. This conforms to the evidence provided by sentences with pronominal objects, rather than complements, where the k-prefix appears to lose its third person reference. The reanalysis idea is elaborated on in § 5.2.2.6.3.4 (p. 356).
5.2.2.6.3.3 Special cases

While most of the verbs listed in Tables 5.1 through 5.3 follow the principles as outlined in § 5.2.2.6.3.1 (p. 350) and § 5.2.2.6.3.2 (p. 353) above, (k)-umu- ‘kill’ and (k)-afu- ‘carry’ deviate to a certain degree.

The free verb umu ‘die’ is intransitive, as seen in (147). The obviously related object-marked form (k)-umu- ‘kill’ has only been found used as a complement. As opposed to the intransitive umu, (k)-umu- is associated with an undergoer participant. This is illustrated by (148), where it takes its own object NP. Semantically, thus, (k)-umu- ‘kill’ corresponds to the free verb (k)-uta ‘kill’, rather than to umu ‘die’.

(147)  
Kı-ıni ki-upa hai hau umu....
3:POSS-mother 3:POSS-father NSIT all die
‘(Both) his parents were already dead...’ (64-02)

(148)  
... [ni-saserere hau k-umu]COMPL-lasi=ni [k-afa]COMPL-la’a...
REFL-wife DEM all 3:UND-kill-eat=LNK1 3:UND-away.from-move
‘... (he) cut his wife to death and then left her...’ (23-044)

Used as a verbal complement, (k)-umu- ‘kill’ follows the same pattern as discussed in § 5.2.2.6.3.1 (p. 350) and § 5.2.2.6.3.2 (p. 353) above, with pronominal and non-referential arguments normally in the complement position and the vowel-initial form -umu-. This transitive version of the verb umu ‘die’ is limited to occurring in verbal complements; as a main verb, it is always intransitive. Together with the pair of intransitive umu ‘ripe, smelly’ and transitive (k)-umu ‘smell’, umu ‘die’ might thus represent the only case of a verb with labile transitivity in Makalero.

Although the two forms of (k)-afu ‘carry’, with and without an initial k-, suggest membership in the group of argument-marking verbs, the actual pattern of their use is confused. The vowel-initial form afu occurs most frequently as a simple, free verb. It is found quite regularly with pronominal undergoer complements, but its range of use is broader than that of the vowel-initial form of a typical argument-marking verb. For instance, in (149), the position of the undergoer ni-sefar ‘his dog’ relative to the aspect marker hai clearly shows that it stands in the object position; with a regular argument-marking verb, one would expect to find the k-prefixed form in such a context, where the complement position is empty (see § 5.2.2.6.3.2, p. 353).

(149)  
... ni-sefar hai afu...
REFL-dog NSIT carry
‘... (he) holds his dog in his arms...’ (38-033)

All occurrences of the k-prefixed form k-afu, on the other hand, make reference to third person undergoers and are hence regular. The k-prefixed forms occur most often in complement-verb complexes, as exemplified by (150), but can in some cases be found as the main and only verb in a clause, as in (151).
In sum, while all cases of the $k$-prefixed form can be explained as marking third
person undergoer reference, the range of occurrences of the vowel-initial form $afu$ is
much broader than expected in the case of a typical argument-marking verb.
A special construction altogether, in several respects, is the verb ‘to give’, the use of
which is outlined in § 7.1.1 (p. 406).

5.2.2.6.3.4 Reanalysis of $k$-prefixed forms as bound forms

§ 5.2.2.6.3.1 (p. 350) points out how pronominal arguments, which are
prototypically realised as complements of argument-marking verbs, can also be
placed in the object position of these verbs. (152) and (153), repeated from (139)
and (140) above, show these two options.

(152) $\text{Ani hai} [fi]\text{COMP-horu la'a.} $

1s NSIT 1p with move
‘I went with you (pol.).’

(153) $\text{Ani [fi]}_{obj} \text{ hai ko-horu la}'a. $

1s 1p NSIT K with move
‘I went with you (pol.).’

If the pronominal argument stands in the object position, as in (153), the $k$-prefix
appears on the verb. In § 5.2.2.6.3.1 (p. 350), this prefix has been analysed as
marking a third person argument. Such marking on the verb in (153), where a first
person plural inclusive argument is overtly expressed, is contradictory and rather
unintuitive.

Similarly, nominal arguments can be placed either in the complement position or in
the object position. In either case, the $k$-prefix stands on the verb. (154), repeated
from (145), gives an example of a sentence where a nominal undergoer is
constructed as an object argument.

(154) $\ldots \text{ani hai ma'ua [papa=ee]}_{obj} \text{ hai k-asu lolo...} $

1s NSIT come Indonesian-DEF NSIT 3:UND-for say
‘... I came and said to the Indonesian...’

Whereas this type of construction can be analysed as cross-referencing an argument
on the verb, it is nevertheless problematic in that it appears to be making use of both
the object position as well as the complement position in the verb phrase. Recall that
the k-prefix is analysed as a grammaticalised form of the third person pronoun, which stands in the verb’s complement position. § 5.2.2.4 (p. 337), however, makes quite clear that these two argument positions within the VP are mutually exclusive. If one is filled, the other is not available in the same VP.

Such examples suggest an ongoing reanalysis of argument-marking verbs along the lines of an opposition between bound and free forms, as found with the verbs discussed in § 3.2.2.2.2 (p. 135). The vowel-initial form appears to be used as a bound form in contexts where the verb’s complement position is filled, whereas the k-prefixed form, now apparently understood as unsegmentable, would be the free form. In cases like (153) and (154), where the complement position is empty, the k-form appears. (155) and (156) show this reanalysis on the example of two sentences repeated from (132) and (138) above. Analyzed as a third person argument marker, the k-prefix on asu ‘for’ in (156) contradicts the overtly expressed first person plural exclusive argument in the object position. If it is seen as an unanalysable free form occurring in all instances where the complement position is empty, on the other hand, the use of kasu in this sentence is easily explained.

(155) *Mata ka’u ere so’ot=ini [ni]COMP-asu ki-nua heti.*
    child small 1DEM want=LNK1 REFL-for:BD 3:POSS-eat ask
    ‘This child wants to ask for food (for himself).’

(156) ... *uai=ni te’ni mei=ni [imif]OBJ nemo kasu lololo.*
      CLS=LNK1 again take=LNK1 one NEG for say
      ‘... but (they) didn’t let us know.’

Not only can such a reanalysis explain the unintuitive use of the k-prefix in such sentences as (156); the sentence also no longer presents a problem concerning the simultaneous use of the object position and the complement position.

This proposed reanalysis is, however, by no means complete. Most importantly, if the vowel-initial form of the verb were really fully reanalysed as the bound form, this form would also be expected to be used in cases where these verbs occur with verbal complements; yet with the majority of verbs, it does not appear. (157) and (158) show sentences with verbal complements in which the main verb stands with a k-initial, thus putatively free, form. (159) and (160), for comparison, show the same verbs with nominal complements, illustrating that in this context the vowel-initial form behaves like the bound form.

(157) *Ei so’ot=ini ani mei=ni la’a=ni [hi’a-isti]COMP-k-uta.*
    2s want=LNK1 is take=LNK1 move=LNK1 street-at:RED-K-kill
    ‘You want to kill me on the road.’

    (elic988)

(158) *Kiloa mata ka’u mei [raui]COMP-k-agu.*
    3s child small take good-K-carrys
    ‘She carried her child safely (lit. well).’

    (elic1477)
(159) ... nomohaka amuni ki=selu=ni [fi]_compl-uta.
   CLS.NEG person ATTR=other-CTR lpi-kill:BD
   ‘... noone else is killing us.’  (23-042)

(160) ... ki-nua-nua lori [mata]_compl-afu uai=ni
   3:POSS-BDL-eat carry child-carry CLS=LNK1
   larin-ika-la'au...
   mountain-up.in:RED-move
   ‘... carrying food and carrying children, (we) went up the mountain...’  
   (84-03)

Whereas in (158), the k-prefix could be analysed as cross-referencing the third
person undergoer, this is not very well possible in (157), where the undergoer is a
first person.
This pattern differs from the one found with verbs with an actual opposition between
free form and bound forms (see § 3.2.2.2.2, p. 135, and § 5.2.2, p. 320). In these
cases, the bound form is found with all kinds of complements, both verbal, as in
(161), and nominal, as in (162). The free form is found in all cases where the
complement position is empty, as in (163).

(161) ... dila pera langsung (...) [gapadan leto]_compl-se'el...
   frog big.SG direct window through-jump:BD
   ‘... the big frog jumped through the window straight away...’  (115-097)

(162) Kiloo fimu'a]_compl-se'el.
   3s ground-jump:BD
   ‘He jumped down to the ground.’  (pelic371)

(163) Tufuaraa ere kanta ni'isi he'el.
   woman 1DEM sing simultaneous jump
   ‘This woman is singing and dancing (at the same time).’  (elic431)

The reanalysis of argument-marking verbs appears to have progressed further, and in
different directions, with some verbs. For instance, the k-prefix form of ena 'see',
tentatively grouped with argument-marking verbs in Table 5.1, occurs only with
verbal complements, as in (164). There is no indication of this form referring to a
third person argument. The vowel-initial form occurs in all other contexts; a typical
example is illustrated in (165). In this case, thus, the k-prefix form appears to be
used like a bound form, while the vowel-initial form behaves like a free form.

(164) Tone' nomo na'u mei=ni [hare']_compl-kena...
   perhaps NEG just take=LNK1 clean-see:BD
   ‘Maybe (he) didn’t see it clearly...’  (82-032)

(165) Iraku aire' [ni-mata]_obl na'u ena.
   3s now REFL-child just see
   ‘She is now just taking care of her child.’  (elic1112)
Note, however, that the vowel-initial form is also used in some instances with verbal complements, as in (166).

(166) \[ Ni \text{ mei} = \text{ni [rau]} \text{COMPL-ena=elo!} \]
\[ \text{REFL take=LNK1 good-see=EXHORT} \]
‘Take good care of yourself!’

(chat013)

This situation is quite the reverse of that found with the majority of argument-marking verbs, where it is generally the \( k \)-prefixed form which appears to be reinterpreted as the free form. \( Kini \) ‘do’ follows the more regular pattern, namely generalisation of the \( k \)-prefixed form as the free form, and the vowel-initial form as the bound one, as illustrated in (167) and (168).

(167) \( \ldots \text{ani [sa’a} \text{ u]} \text{OBJ nomo kini.} \]
\[ 1s \text{thing one NEG do} \]
‘I didn’t do anything.’

(elico060)

(168) \( \text{Uere’=ini aire’=ua sina Fernandu hai mei [lupu]} \text{COMPL-ini ere.} \]
\[ 2DEM.V=LNK1 now=REL Chinese.F NSIT take house-do:BD 1DEM \]
‘It is that (place) where the Chineseman Fernando made (his) house.’

(101-143)

Again, however, the picture is not entirely consistent, and the \( k \)-prefixed form can sporadically be found with a complement argument; an example is given in (169), where the use of the bound form of the interrogative pronoun \( sa’a- \) shows that it is constructed as a complement.

(169) \( \text{Juliette [sa’a]COMPL-kini?} \]
\[ J. \text{what:BD-do} \]
‘What are you doing?’

(chat016)

Despite such inconsistencies, the reanalysis in terms of a free / bound opposition with \( ena \) ‘see’ and \( kini \) ‘do’ is much more complete and systematic than it appears to be with the other verbs in Tables 5.1 through 5.3. §5.2.2.6.3.2 (p. 353) shows how argument NPs to argument-marking verbs can appear either in the object position or in the complement position; (170) and (171), repeated from (145) and (146) above, illustrate these variants. While the use of \( kasu \) ‘for’, reanalysed as a free form, is as predicted in (170), where its complement position is empty, it is unexpected in (171), where the argument NP stands in the verb's complement position. In this case, normally, a bound verb form would be used – under the reanalysis proposed here for argument-marking verbs, this would be the form \( horu \) ‘with’.

(170) \( \ldots \text{ani hai ma’a [papa=ee]OBJ hai kasu lolo…} \]
\[ 1s NSIT come Indonesian=DEF NSIT for say \]
‘… I came and said to the Indonesian…’

(101-441)
§ 5.2.2.6.1 (p. 347) gives similar cases of syntactic complements combined with free verb forms as an aberrant structure. These structures are analogous to that of (171). While they are rare with other verbs, they are fairly frequent with argument-marking verbs. In fact, it is difficult to establish whether it is more common for the argument to stand in the object position, as in (170), or in the complement position, as in (171). It is thus likely that the corresponding construction with other verbs is directly influenced by the parallel way of expression found with argument-marking verbs.

The vowel-initial form of argument-marking verbs is used not only where these verbs’ complement positions are occupied, but also in very restricted – contexts where no reference to an argument, either referential or non-referential, is implied, as in the reduplication of \( (k) \)-\( ako \) ‘steal’ in (172) or the -\( ini \)-derivation of \( (k) \)-\( isa \) ‘bake’ (see § 5.2.2.5.1.2, p. 341) in (173). These sentences thus follow the argument-marking pattern. In a free / bound form paradigm, a free form (thus with initial \( /k/ \)) would be expected in these contexts, since the complement positions of these verbs are empty.

(172)  \( Ak\-a\-ko=ee \ nemo \ rau. \)

RD\-steal=DEF \ NEG \ good

‘Stealing is bad.’ (chat110)

(173)  \( Tufuraa \ k\-as\-u=ni \ u\-re=ni \ o\-m\-ar\-ika’ \ l\-op\-u\-ika’ \ is\-a\-ini \)

woman \ 3:UND\-for\-CTR \ 2DEM\-CTR \ stilt\-house\-up\-in \ house\-up\-in \ bake\-do\-BD

\( tina\-ini... \)

cook\-do\-BD

‘(Work) for the women is to stay at home, do the baking, do the cooking...’

(21-035)

In summary, thus, the use of the third person argument-marking \( k \)-prefix on verbs where the argument is constructed as standing in the object position rather than in the complement position can be accounted for by a reanalysis of the \( k \)-prefixed form as a free verb form, which appears when the complement position is empty. Analogously, the vowel-initial form would be understood as the bound form. In fact, in the cases of \( ena \) ‘see’ and \( kini \) ‘do’, this opposition appears to be largely grammaticalised. The behaviour of argument-marking verbs with verbal complements is, however, in most cases inconsistent with this picture and is not captured very well by either analysis. It is telling that the grammaticalisation patterns found with \( ena \) ‘see’ and \( kini \) ‘do’, are direct opposites: in the case of \( ena \), the vowel-initial form is used like a free form and the \( k \)-prefixed form is the bound one; on the other hand, in the case of \( kini \), the \( k \)-prefixed form is the free one and the vowel-initial one is bound.

It appears that this group of verbs is in a transitory stage of grammaticalisation. This is reflected in the rather confusing situation where they behave like they follow the
free / bound form opposition outlined in § 3.2.2.2.2 (p. 135) in a number of contexts, while in other ways they are used like argument-marking verbs.

5.3 The verbal modifiers

The verb phrase templates in (2) and (3) (§ 5, p. 317) list only three types of VP modifiers, namely aspect, negation and adverbials. § 5.3.1 (p. 361) through § 5.3.3 (p. 367) discuss these in turn.

5.3.1 Aspect marking

Makalero has only one aspect marker, *hai*, which is discussed in § 5.3.1.1 (p. 361). § 5.3.1.2 (p. 365) gives an outlook on some other, periphrastic ways of expressing aspectual notions.

5.3.1.1 The aspect marker *hai*

*Hai* is used in a variety of ways, quite consistent with the uses of its Makasae equivalent (*hjai*). This latter has been described in most detail in Brotherson’s (2003: 33) short grammar overview of the language as being “used to indicate an action begun (inchoative) or an action which must have occurred although has not been witnessed, and is also frequently used in the narration of a series of events which have been witnessed”. Carr (2004: 29, fn 24), in her analysis of Makasae riddles, glosses *ai* as *CONT* and adds that “although the marker *ai* *CONT* typically denotes continuing aspect, in some cases it also has the sense of inceptive, signalling the beginning of a continuing action”. Hull (2004: 92) analyses *hai* in both Makasae and Makalero as inceptive. These fairly confusing quotes illustrate the obvious difficulty of attaching an appropriate label to the Makasae marker, which appears to be used in very much the same way as its Makalero cognate. By way of a summary, the major uses of *hai* in Makalero are those of an inchoative and to mark events in series. The remainder of this section shows the different uses of *hai* with examples, and in the end proposes a way to unify these seemingly diverse senses under one common heading.

*Hai* is often read as marking the beginning of an action (inchoative); this is clearly visible in (174) and (175), where it is used with activity verbs. With these verbs, which have an inherent starting and ending point, *hai* thus seems to focus on the starting point.

(174) Kiloo hai *sirvisu.*
3s NSIT work
‘He starts to work.’ (elic233)
(175) **Kiloo hai kanta.**

\[
3s \quad \text{NSIT sing}
\]

‘He started to sing.’ (elict234)

The marker has a similar effect when combined with stative verbs; in those cases, it refers to the state as having come into being, or, in other words, to a new situation as having come about, as (176) and (177) show.

(176) **Ani hai lepuh.**

\[
1s \quad \text{NSIT hungry}
\]

‘I am (already) hungry.’ (elict055)

(177) **Uai=ni=ni mata ka’u hai pere...**

\[
\text{CLS=LNK1=LNK1 child small NSIT big.SG}
\]

‘So the child is already big...’ (74-136)

Sentences such as these show that *hai* adds an initial boundary to the meaning of stative verbs; the actual verbal semantics include only a situation, with no reference to any boundaries (see § 3.2.3.2.1, p. 151). This is the case also with nominal predicates, which predicate a time-stable property, such as the common noun *amulafu* ‘(living) person’ in (178), or, in the case of toponyms, the location of a participant, as in (179).

(178) **... nana uere (...) hai teni muni amulafu...**

\[
\text{snake 2DEM NSIT again return person}
\]

‘... the snake (...) became a human again...’ (64-07)

(179) **... bis-ika’=ini hai Dili.**

\[
\text{bus-up=LNK1 NSIT D.}
\]

‘... (he) got on the bus and went to Dili.’ (101-233)

In many cases, *hai* is translated as ‘already’; on the other hand, there are many sentences, such as (180), where this translation does not seem appropriate. Rather, the notion expressed is similar to that of an English present perfect: the act of the buying was carried out in the past, but has present relevance in that the gift is now here and ready to be fetched by the addressee.

(180) **Asa ei-asu (...) seran natal k-asu hai teuh=ini ma‘u=ni e’...**

\[
\text{A. 2s-for stuff Christmas 3:UND-for NSIT buy=LNK1 come=LNK1 V1DEM}
\]

‘Asa bought you a Christmas present and brought it here...’ (74-088a)

Similar examples with a resultative reading are (181) and (182), in which *hai* conveys the idea of an action being relevant at reference time in having led to the situation in question. More clearly, in (181), the subject thought somebody had entered the house and, as a consequence, was inside the house at reference time. In (182), the action of taking a seat results in a state of being seated. This latter is best translated as a progressive into English.
(181) \( \ldots \) *ki-isi-ne’et-e’* amulafu ho’o=ni hai ma’u=ni
3:POSS-think-COMPL person some=CTR NSIT come=LNK1

*lopu-mutu-ma’u=si...*
house-inside:RED-come=LNK2
‘\( \ldots \) she thought that somebody had come and had entered the house (and
was now in the house...\)’ (44-14)

(182) *Fi hai ue-diari.*
lpi NSIT V2DEM:RED-sit.PL
‘We are (already) sitting there.’ (elic072)

The above examples, which include inchoative readings of *hai* as well as a
progressive and a resultative one, can be summed up as selecting the initial (left)
boundary of a situation, along with the resulting state.

Apparently rather contrary to this, *hai* in many cases also has simple completive
meaning, where it is not obvious that there should be any relevance to the present.
In this completive function, *hai* is the marker that occurs in the narration of a series of
events (if a marker is used at all), as illustrated by (183).

(183) \( \ldots \) *kiloo hai dur=ini hai ue-poko=ni dila hai*
3s NSIT wake-up=LNK1 NSIT V2DEM:RED-crouch=LNK1 frog NSIT

*haka-puna.*
search-see
‘\( \ldots \) he (the boy) wakes up and crouches there and looks out for the frog.’
(38-010)

In rare instances, *hai* can be said to have some sort of imminent reading, as in (184).

(184) *Afiane’ isi-so’ot hai mini-ni uai=te’e ei muni mei pa’uk-ini.*
PT lpe:POSS-want NSIT follow-LNK1 CLS=after 2s return take bad-do:BD
‘He was going to agree with us, then you spoilt it.’ (elic627)

*Hai* can thus mark the left boundary of an action and the ensuing state, which results
in an inchoative interpretation on the one hand, but also focus on the whole of a
situation, such as in the narration of a series of events, and mark that as completed.
Puzzling though this broad range of possible meanings might seem, it appears that
such a constellation is not unique in the wider area. In fact, the different uses of *hai*
occur to a remarkable degree to Jenny’s (2001: 125) summary of the functions
ascribed to the Thai marker *leeu3*:
1. full verb ‘finished’
2. TAM marker
   a. completive
   b. inchoative
   c. imminent
   d. new situation
3. conjunctival verb (sequential marker)

Not only do the aspecl functions of hai largely coincide with those of the Thai marker, it is also remarkably similar to the full verb hai ‘be finished’, which is exemplified in (185).

(185) *Hai lale=ni mara=ni hau hai’ (...) fi tone’ mara=ni all wind.up=LNK1 go=LNK1 all finished lpi perhaps go=LNK1

hai mei=ni metan-ini.
NSIT take=LNK1 black=do:BD
‘We coil it up, and when that is finished, we could then dye it black.’

(62-22)

However, the nature of the relation between the aspect marker hai and the verb hai ‘be finished’ is not very clear. The glottal stop is a relatively frequent verbalising morpheme, used to derive verbs from nouns (§ 3.2.2.1.1, p. 128); however, it seems highly unusual for a full verb to be derived from a grammatical aspect marker.

To cover all these seemingly conflicting uses, Jenny proposes the term NEWSIT, or new situation. He defines this as a new gram type which “indicates that any boundary has been passed and focuses on the ensuing state (...) The context is the main factor determining which limit is the one that has been passed” (Jenny 2001: 131). He argues that the use of the Thai NEWSIT marker as a sequential marker (or conjunctival verb) can be explained as “‘final boundary has been passed’, i.e. ‘a new situation/event can follow’” (ibid). In the same volume, Ebert postulates a similar gram type for the Kiranti languages of Nepal, as a more accurate description of forms that were earlier analysed as perfects. She argues that “(t)he perfect is a postterminal form. It is therefore not applicable to statives, nor to atelic verbs in general. It is totally excluded for events taking place at reference time. These restrictions do not hold for the NEWSIT forms, which can apply to any situation following a limit, whether inherent or temporal, whether initial or final” (Ebert 2001: 155). She then goes on to state that “(i)t seems natural that a NEWSIT meaning develops from verbs like ‘finish’ or ‘attain’” (ibid: 156).

The situation described by these two researchers for their respective languages coincides to a large degree with the state of affairs as found in Makalero; I will hence adopt their analysis for the aspect marker hai, which is in the present work glossed as NSIT (new situation) and understood to focus on a boundary and an ensuing state. The boundary in question can be either the initial or the final one, depending on the context. Consequently, hai can give rise to both inchoative and completive readings.
Syntactically, hai is the leftmost of the verbal modifiers, preceded only by the object position. The VP templates in (186) and (187), repeated from (2) and (3), show its exact position.

\[
\text{(186)}
\]
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{VP} \\
| \text{ (OBJ) (ASP) (ADV)* (NEG) (ADV)* } HEAD \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\text{(187)}
\]
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{VP} \\
| \text{ (ASP) (ADV)* (NEG) (ADV)* (COMPL)-HEAD } \\
\end{array}
\]

As the first verbal modifier, hai has all following modifiers within its scope (see § 6.6 (p. 393) for more discussion of the scope interactions among the VP modifiers).

### 5.3.1.2 Other aspectual notions

Hai is the only real aspect marker in Makalero. Its wide variety of uses cut across the traditional perfective / imperfective opposition. A perfective notion can be said to be implied in the use of the VP-internal adverbial hai ‘all, total’, although that is better described as completive. This item and its equally wide variety of uses are discussed in § 5.3.3.2 (p. 369). Continuative or progressive may be expressed with the adverbial uari ‘still’, discussed in § 5.3.3.1 (p. 368), with the movement verb mara ‘go’ in a multi-clause sentence (§ 7.2.2.3, p. 419) or through repetition of the verb, as in (188).

\[
\text{(188)} \quad \ldots \text{fi la’ a la’a la’a=ni SMP-isi-mu’isa=ni...} \\
\quad \text{‘... we keep going and go downwards at the junior high school...’}
\]

(20-1)

Iterativity can be expressed by the use of reduplication (§ 3.2.2.3, p. 138). Another possibility is an adverbial clause such as hai lar teteropa ‘several times’. The clausal adverbial verb bo’one (na) appears to cover the semantic domains usually associated with imperfective aspect, including the mentioned continuative and iterative aspectual notions. To specifically express habituality, the Indonesian loan biasa(nya) ‘habitually’ is frequently used. The elements used to convey these latter notions are equivalent to adverbial verbs and fully predicative. The sentences they are used in are hence multiclausal units and are consequently discussed in detail in § 7.2.2 (p. 417).
5.3.2 Negation

The negator *nomō* is the only VP-internal negator. It contrasts with the compounded *nomohaka*, which negates whole clauses. The latter is discussed in more detail in § 3.6.1 (p. 264) and § 6.6.3 (p. 398). Both are illustrated in (189) and (190), respectively.

(189)  ... mana uere-matu-puna e’=ini dila nomo ena.
hole 2DEM-inside:RED-look V1DEM=LNK1 frog NEG see
‘... (he) looks inside that hole, (but), being here, he doesn’t see the frog.’
(38-065)

(190)  Ma’u=ni mana-matu’-ee na’a.mumi nomohaka dila=ni mutu’=ini
come=LNK1 hole-inside:DEF in.turn CLS.NEG frog=CTR inside=LNK1
rei-misa=po  (...) toutou=ini mutu’=ini rei-misa
outwards-go.up=ADVR owl=CTR inside=LNK1 outwards-go.up
‘Then inside of the whole, there is not a frog that comes out of it, but an
owl comes out of it.’
(38-067a)

The position of *nomō* within the VP is illustrated by the VP templates in (191) and (192), repeated from (2) and (3). Both immediately to its left and immediately to its right are the positions for the VP-internal adverbials.

(191)

```
| OBJ | (ASP) | (ADV)* | (NEG) | (ADV)* | HEAD |
```

(192)

```
| (ASP) | (ADV)* | (NEG) | (ADV)* | (COMPL)-HEAD |
```

The position of the adverbial with respect to the negator reflects the intended scope. See § 6.6 (p. 393) for more detail on the scope readings associated with the VP modifiers.

*Nomo* is used very frequently with the adverbial *oko* ‘still’; the resulting combination *oko nomo* translates as ‘not yet’, as shown in (193) and (194).

(193)  Sa’a-kini=na’a=oo ani oko nomo mei=ni rei-lolo.
what:BD-do=INT=too 1s still NEG take=LNK1 outwards-say
‘What (you have to) do, I’m not telling (you) yet.’
(120-050)
5.3.3 VP-internal adverbials

The verbs which can appear as VP-internal adverbials are listed in § 3.2.3.3.1 (p. 159). Adverbials are found within the VP either to the left or to the right of the negation nomo, as shown in (195) and (196), repeated from (2) and (3).

\[(195)\]

```
 VP
   \(\text{OBJ}\)  \(\text{ASP}\)  \(\text{ADV}^*\)  \(\text{NEG}\)  \(\text{ADV}^*\)  \(\text{HEAD}\)
```

\[(196)\]

```
 VP
   \(\text{ASP}\)  \(\text{ADV}^*\)  \(\text{NEG}\)  \(\text{ADV}^*\)  \(\text{COMPL-HEAD}\)
```

Whereas they are mostly found together on one side of the negation, § 6.6.2 (p. 396) shows that it is possible for some adverbials to stand to the left and others to the right of the negator at the same time. This suggests that there are indeed two separate slots for adverbials in the verb phrase. (197) shows a case in point.

\[(197)\]

```
Timor ki-renu hai na’u tafi nomo se roual.
```

T. 3:POSS-populace NSIT just true NEG very many:NONHUM

‘The population of Timor is already truly not very large.’

Either of these adverbial slots can hold several adverbial verbs.

As argued in § 3.2.3.3.1 (p. 159), the items that can be used as VP-internal adverbials are a subclass of verbs and can be used predicatively on their own. An example is given in (199), where tafi ‘true’ is sentence-initial and linked to the following clause with the clause linker =ini. (198) shows tafi’s more common use as a VP-internal adverbial.

\[(198)\]

```
Ki-loo aite’ [ni-mata tafi pase]_VP.
```

3s REC.PT REFL-child true beat

‘He truly just beat his child.’

(elic1114d)
(199) Tafl=ni kiloo aite’ ni-mata pase.  
t=LNKL 3s REC.PT REFL-child beat  
‘It is true that he just beat his child.’ (ellic1114c)

The analysis of the adverbial verbs in such sentences as (198) as VP-internal, rather 
than separate predications as in (199), is supported by examples like (200) and 
(201), which are identical in meaning, except for the presence versus absence of tafl 
‘true’. If tafl were a separate predication, the sentence in (200) would be biclusal. 
The reflexive pronoun ni would presumably have to be an argument of tafl, rather 
than of (k)-utu ‘wear’. Furthermore, the aspect marker hai would only modify tafl, 
and hau the second verb (k)-utu (see § 5.3.3.2, p. 369, for hau). Consequently, I 
would expect these two sentences to have radically different meanings.

(200) Kiloo ni hai tafl hau k-utu.  
3s REFL NSIT true all 3:UND-wear  
‘He has really already finished dressing.’ (pelic279b)

(201) Kiloo ni hai hau k-utu.  
3s REFL NSIT IPF 3:UND-wear  
‘He has already finished dressing.’ (pelic278a)

All items used as VP-internal adverbials are all simple morphemes without internal 
complexity, with the important exception of quantifier combinations such as haka-
hau, felu-hau and the like (see § 5.3.3.3.1, p. 376, for details). In the following, 
some particularly important adverbial verbs and their uses are discussed 
individually.

### 5.3.3.1 Uari ‘still’

The verb-phrase internal adverbial uari literally translates as ‘still’, as in (202).

(202) ... asi-mali uari lafu’...  
1s:POSS-cousin still live  
‘... my cousin was still alive...’ (101-485)

This adverbial is sometimes used in a less-than-literal meaning to mark an action as 
progressive. This reading is particularly prominent in the case of the putative class 
of punctual verbs (§ 3.2.3.2.3, p. 155). (203) repeats (160) from that section.

(203) Kopu uari da’al.  
glass still break  
‘The cup is breaking.’ (chat086)

The progressivity reading is also found with activities, although in that case it is 
essentially indistiguishable from the literal reading. It was, however, rejected with 
stative verbs, where only the literal ‘still’ interpretation is possible (see § 3.2.3.2.1,
p. 151). A similar reading does not occur with oko, an adverb with very much the same meaning as uari ‘still’. Adverbials of this meaning are good candidates for grammaticalisation into markers of progressivity. In present-day language use, uari is alternatively read in its literal meaning or as marking progressivity. There appear to be no specific circumstances under which either one or the other reading is predictable. This suggests that uari is only just at the beginning of a possible grammaticalisation process as an aspect marker.

5.3.3.2 Hau ‘all’
The verb hau ‘all’ is very frequent and has a wide variety of functions. Most basically, it is a quantifying verb meaning ‘all’, or ‘totally’ (§ 3.2.3.14, p. 215). Its two most important uses are as an adverbial within the VP or as a full verb, heading a predication of its own. Also, in some cases, it forms a verbal complex with the following verb. The use of hau as a VP-internal adverbial and as a verbal complement are described in § 5.3.3.2.1 (p. 369) and § 5.3.3.2.2 (p. 374), respectively. Its full verb use, finally, is discussed in § 5.3.3.3 (p. 376) on floating quantifiers.

5.3.3.2.1 Hau as an adverbial within the VP
Hau ‘all’ is one of the few verbs which can function as a verb-phrase-internal adverbial (§ 3.2.3.3.1, p. 159). In this position, it is understood to quantify the undergoer of a transitive verb, as in (204).

(204)  ... ei=ni (...) teli ere hau mē telu-dasa...
      2s=CTR maize IDEM all take perpendicular-throw
‘... it was you who (…) broke all the maize plants...’ (52-12)

In instances where the undergoer is not compatible with a plurality reading, hau is understood as referring to the entirety of the undergoer. (205) exemplifies this with a mass noun, iira ‘water’.

(205)  ... ki-ira hau kalim...
      3:POSS-water all pour
‘... (we) pour out all of the water...’ (50-05)

As a quantifier, hau is most commonly accompanied by such items as haka, kafu and felu, all of which probably mean something like ‘all, completely’ too. These constructions are detailed in § 5.3.3.3.1 (p. 376). As a VP-internal adverbial on its own, hau is more commonly interpreted as a marker of completion of an action rather than as an actual quantifier to the undergoer of the action. As a completive marker, it modifies the verb rather than its non-subject argument. It interacts with the verbal meaning in a way very similar to an aspect marker. In fact, the distinction
between activity verbs and stative verbs relies mostly on the very different readings
hau has with either type of verb: with stative verbs, hau is read as denoting a high
degree of the quality described by the verb, whereas with activities, it denotes the
attainment of the right boundary of the action and thus marks it as completed.
Though amply illustrated in § 3.2.3.2 (p. 150), the sentences below provide some
more examples. (206) and (207) show the high degree reading with the stative verbs
rousal ‘much’ and pere ‘big (SG)’, while (208) and (209) exemplify the completion
reading with the activities mu’a-isa ‘be born’ and taru ‘put, place’, respectively.

(206) Sirvisu hau rousal=isi uai=konai kiloo nomo ma’u.
work all many.NONHUM=LNK2 CLS=CSQ 3s NEG come
‘He has a lot of work, so he couldn’t come.’ (elic1515)

(207) Uru-uatu ere tafi hau pere...
moon-sun 1DEM true all big.SG
‘The lord is really very powerful (large)…’ (33-33)

(208) ... ki-mata hau mu’a-isa.
3:POSS-child all ground-go.down
‘... her child has already been born.’ (elic145)

(209) ... asi-upa hau taru=ni ma’u tepa Matebian-isi’...
1s:POSS-father all place=LNK1 just constant M-at
‘... after my father was buried, (we) were at Mount Matebian all the time...’
(101-008)

An action carried out to the point where the entirety of the undergoer is affected, as
in (205), basically equals a completed action; the motivation of this extension of the
meaning of hau with activity verbs thus requires no further explanation. Statives,
however, have no inherent boundaries and as such cannot be said to be ‘finished’ or
‘completed’ in any sense. Hence with this type of verbs, hau takes on a high or
excessive degree reading, and could possibly be paraphrased as ‘all over’, or
‘totally’. The reading of hau is thus intimately connected to the temporal boundaries
inherent in the semantics of the verb it modifies. This property of being sensitive to
the presence or absence of boundaries to a situation is characteristic of aspect
markers; it thus appears that hau is in the process of grammaticalising into an actual
aspect marker. Note also that it is used with both transitive and intransitive verbs;
(206) and (207) exemplify the latter. In its original use as a quantifier of a verb’s
undergoer, VP-internal hau is obviously restricted to transitive verbs, which have
quantifiable arguments. The fact that it has been extended to intransitive verbs is
further evidence of its grammaticalisation.

In its function as a completive marker, hau is most frequently used in sentences such
as (209), which can be translated into English with ‘after x...’. It is also found very
commonly in procedural texts explaining a series of steps, as in the fragment in
(210), which is part of a text describing the process of making yarn. In this context,
hau can be read both literally as a quantifier or as a grammatical marker of
completion.
(210) *Maran=ni hael hau hular, hau hular=ini mara=ni hai’ fi*  
go=LNK1 cotton all spin all spin=LNK1 go=LNK1 finished 1pi  
*mara=ni ena=ni hael-na’uk=ee hau hular=ini hai hau na’an=afta*  
go=LNK1 look=LNK1 cotton-cotton=DEF all spin=LNK1 NSIT all NEG.EX=COND  
fi ena, ena=ni fi hau omu.  
1pi look look=LNK1 1pi all ball  
‘Then, after spinning the cotton, when the spinning is done, then we look if  
the cotton (that was in the spinning basket) has been completely processed,  
and if there is none left, we look and then we ball it all.’  
(62-18)

Apart from declarative sentences, *hau* also very commonly occurs in imperatives  
(see § 7.7.3, p. 444). There does not appear to be a special emphasis on the  
completeness of the action, i.e. something like ‘throw the water out completely’,  
or ‘throw out all of the water’ in the case of (211).

(211) *Ira hau kalin!*  
water all take.out  
‘Throw the water away!’  
(elic148)

(212) *Asi-ropa hau pane!*  
1s:POSSES=clothes all wash  
‘Wash my clothes!’  
(pelic388)

This use of *hau* in imperatives seems to relate to the use of the aspect marker *ona* in  
similar contexts in Tetum, as exemplified in (213). Note, however, that the Tetum  
marker *ona* corresponds to Makalero *hai* (§ 5.3.1.1, p. 361) rather than *hau*, in  
the sense that Eccles (1998: 50) characterises it as marking ‘inchoative aspect’.

(213) *Ö sa’e kuda ne’e, ö bà ona!*  
2s mount horse this 2s go INCH  
‘Mount the horse and be on your way!’  
(Eccles 1998: 45)

The meaning of *hau* partly overlaps with that of the aspect marker *hai* (§ 5.3.1.1,  
p. 361); this latter is analysed as focusing on either the initial or the final boundary  
of a situation and the ensuing state. Where it picks the final boundary, it expresses a  
notion very similar indeed to that expressed by *hau* as a completer marker. Only  
*hai*, however, can pick out an initial boundary. In this constellation, the two markers  
can be said to be complementary in meaning. A good illustration of this is, perhaps,  
(214), where these complementary meanings are juxtaposed.

(214) *... hau ke’ ira hai na’an.*  
all drink water NSIT NEG.EX  
‘... (they) had drunk (it) up, and then there was no more water.’  
(89-06)

The two markers can easily be combined; this combination in principle amounts to a  
combination of their respective meanings. This is most easily illustrated with static
verbs, where the reading of hau is clearly distinct from that of hai. In such a case, the high degree meaning of hau is applied to the verb first. The whole phrase of hau + V that is then supplied with an initial boundary through the use of the new situation marker hai. In other words, hai as the leftmost of all verbal modifiers has scope over the hau-modified verb. (215) gives an example; for comparison, (216) shows an equivalent sentence which lacks the new situation marker.

(215) Ki-mata hai hau pere.
3s-child NSIT all  big.SG
Her child is already very big.’

(216) Karna pipi.rasa hau pere...
because deer all  big.SG
Because the deer is very big.’

The effect of the combination of the two markers is less clear with activity verbs such as omu ‘ball (yarn)’ in (217). Here, the reading of hau omu is ‘ball the yarn (till it’s all used up)’, thus denoting the transgression of the final boundary. In the narration of a series of actions, hai focuses on the final boundary as well. The additional meaning component hai adds in this situation is that it presents this final boundary as the beginning of a new state. Thus, the hai hau marking denotes the beginning of the state where the right boundary of the situation is achieved, or, to put it more simply, the beginning of the state of all the yarn being balled up. This opens the stage, so to speak, for the next action.

(217) ... mara=ni hai haka-hau hai=ini hai hau omu, omu=fata
fi mara=ni lale.
1pi go=LNK1 NSIT all=all finished=LNK1 NSIT all ball ball=COND
... then, when we have finished all, and have balled (all the yarn), then we coil it up (around the length of the forearm).’

As such, the combination of the aspect marker hai and hau used as a VP-internal adverbial with activity verbs, as opposed to the use of either of the two markers separately, only adds a subtle meaning component, but does not change the semantics of the sentence very much. As a consequence, the combination of these two markers with activity verbs is not very frequent in the corpus. With stative verbs, however, where the use of either of the markers on its own as opposed to the use of the two of them combined has a clearly distinct interpretation, their combination is fairly frequent.

While hau functions very much like an aspect marker, it is formally still clearly distinct from the aspect marker hai. This is, firstly, visible from the comparison of their positions in the verb phrase: hai is the only real aspect marker in Makalero and is fixedly the first of the preverbal modifiers, directly following the object argument (if present). As one member of a larger group of VP-internal adverbials, hau can be preceded and followed by other adverbial verbs. An example, where hau is the
middle one of a sequence of three adverbials, tafti ‘true’, hau ‘all’ and se ‘very’, is given in (218).

(218)  \[ Ha'awen umere' tafti hau se pere... \]
      place DEM.DIST.V true all very big.SG
      'That bed is really very big...'

As pointed out in § 6.6.2 (p. 396), adverbials can be placed either preceding or following the negator, according to the intended scope. As illustration, consider (219) and (220). In the former, hau precedes nomo tutu ‘not like’; as a consequence, its high degree reading has scope over both the negation and the verb tutu ‘like’, resulting in the translation ‘dislike most’. In (220), on the other hand, the negation has scope over the whole of hau le’ ‘finish reading’.

(219)  \[ ... ani=ua asi-isa=ee hau nomo tutu were' uatu til \]
      1s=REL 1s:POSS-condition=DEF all NEG like 2DEM.V day noon
      papa=ee na'a.muni deskansa.
      Indonesian=DEF in.turn rest
      '[The thing] I didn’t like most was that at noon, the Indonesian rested.'

(101-434)

(220)  \[ Ani so'ot=ini livru hau le'=ana=po asi-pada ma'u=si nomo \]
      1s want=LNK1 book all read=INT~ADVR 1s:POSS-friend come=LNK2 NEG
      hau le'.
      PFV read
      'I wanted to read (through) this book, but my friend came over so I didn’t read it through.'

(elic1303)

Whereas hau can very easily be negated, as shown above, this is not the case for hai, as pointed out in § 6.6.1 (p. 394). Another instantiation of the disparity between hai and hau is that the former adds an initial boundary to verbs that do not include one in their semantics. Conversely, if hau is used with a stative verb, it is not the case that a final boundary is added to the verb in question. (221) and (222) show how hau and hai contrast with the stative verb ma'en ‘know’; in (221), as shown above, hau denotes a high degree of the property expressed by the verb, whereas in (222), the new situation marker hai provides ma'en ‘know’ with a left boundary, which is not originally part of the verbal meaning.

(221)  \[ Kiloo=ni ini leetana'=ini hau ma'en. \]
      3s=CTR 1pe in.the.middle=LNK1 all know
      'It’s him who is the cleverest among us.'

(elic338)
(222)  
\[ \text{Ei asi-noko hai ma’en=uai na’an?} \]
\[ 2s 1s:POSS-younger.sibling NSIT know=or NEG.EX \]
\[ ‘Have you met my younger brother?’ \]
\[ \text{(elic377)} \]
\[ \text{(lit. do you already know my younger brother)} \]

The attainment of the final boundary of a state is not expressed through the use of \textit{hau}, but with \textit{hai} and the negated state. In other words, what is actually expressed is the beginning of the absence of that state. (223) gives an example.

(223)  
\[ \text{... papa were=ni ani ena hai nomo rau.} \]
\[ \text{Indonesian 2DEM=CTR 1s see NSIT NEG good} \]
\[ ‘... the Indonesian didn’t like me any more.’ \]
\[ \text{(101-308)} \]

The adverbial \textit{hau} is much more frequently repeated in tail-head linkage (§ 9.3.1, p. 507) than the aspect marker \textit{hai}. An instance is illustrated in (224): the last verb of the first utterance, \textit{rial} ‘many (HUM)’, is modified by both the aspect marker \textit{hai} and the adverbial verb \textit{hau}. Yet in the tail-head linkage that introduces the second utterance, only \textit{hau} is repeated with the verb.

(224)  
\[ \text{... renu ere hai hau rial. Hau rial=ana=po...} \]
\[ \text{population 1DEM NSIT all many.HUM all many.HUM=INT=ADVR} \]
\[ ‘... the population had already grown very large. Having grown very large...’ \]
\[ \text{(55-05, 55-06)} \]

### 5.3.3.2.2 Hau as a verbal complement

In some instances, \textit{hau} is found in the complement position of another verb, as clearly visible if said verb is one of the subgroup of verbs which distinguish bound from free forms (§ 3.2.2.2.2.2, p. 131). (225) shows a case where \textit{hau} is analysed as the complement of \textit{huri} ‘release’, which appears in its bound form -\textit{suri}.

(225)  
\[ \text{... asi-upa ini hau-suri i ini-afa-numu.} \]
\[ 1s:POSS-father 1pe all-release:BD and 1pe-away.from-die:BD \]
\[ ‘... my father left us all behind and died, leaving us.’ \]
\[ \text{(125-10)} \]

It is not entirely clear how \textit{hau} as a verbal complement as in (225) differs from its aspect-marking use as an adverbial in the VP. Notably, however, the verb \textit{huri} in its sense as ‘release’ is in the vast majority of cases the head of a verbal complex with \textit{hau}. This fact is suggestive of a certain degree of lexicalisation. Observe also that in (225), the undergoer \textit{ini} (1pe) stands in the same predication as the \textit{hau-suri} complex. Yet \textit{hau} ‘all’ surly is an intransitive verb, being incompatible with an undergoer; see the examples showing \textit{hau} as a full verb in § 5.3.3.3.1 (p. 376), none of which gives any indication that it might be transitive. As such, \textit{ini} must be the undergoer to \textit{huri} ‘release’ and should not be allowed in the same clause as the verbal complex (see § 7.1, p. 402). Thus, a construction as (225) is in all likelihood lexicalised.
Also very commonly, hau forms a complex with hai ‘be finished’. An example is shown in (226).

(226)  
\[
\text{La’a Dili-isi’ uru u hau-sai’ ani la’a=ni ministru}
\]
move  D-at  moon one all-end:BD 1s move=LNK1 ministry

interior ki-kantor-isi’...  
interior  3:POSS-office-at

‘(I) went to Dili, and after one month was over I went to the office of the ministry of internal affairs...’  
(125-32)

As elaborated in § 5.2.2.6.2 (p. 348), this is always the case with subjects denoting time spans, but not other entities. The exact motivation behind this is unclear. The distinction between hau used as a VP-internal adverbial and a verbal complement is overt only in the minority of cases where the main verb has a bound form. All in all, the use of hau as a complement appears to be rare, and I would like to claim that this is a rather marginal phenomenon. The only example of hau in a complement complex for which there is no clear evidence of lexicalisation is hau-sole ‘spoon all out’ in (227), with a contrastive example, showing the free form of the verb, hole, in (228). Note, however, that in (227) hai hau-sole appears to paraphrase hai na’an ‘does not exist anymore’, hai losan ‘already empty’ and hai susar ‘already sad’, all of which are marked with the aspect marker hai only. The fact that these VPs are not constructed in a parallel way with hau could also be read as evidence for the lexicalisation of hau-sole.

(227)  
\[
\text{... aire’ mua=ee (...) hai na’an hai losan hai hau-sole}
\]
now  ground-DEF  NSIT  NEG.EX  NSIT  empty  NSIT  all-spoon.out:BD

hai susar...

NSIT  sad

‘... now there is nothing in the land, it is empty, exploited, and sad.’  
(21-040)

(228)  
\[
\text{... fi-asu tina-ini ra’u u hole=ni mei=ni fi-ia-daru...}
\]
1pi=for cook-NML  plate  one  spoon.out=LNK1  take=LNK1  1pi-under:RED-place:BD

‘... (they) spoon out a plateful of rice for us and put it in front of us...’  
(124-09h)

Other VP-internal adverbials have also been found as complements in some instances, as noted in § 3.2.3.3.1 (p. 159). However, no specific meaning distinct from their construction as adverbials within the VP appears to be associated with such structures.
5.3.3.3 Floating quantifiers

§ 3.2.3.14 (p. 215) identifies *hau* ‘all’ and *ata'iu* ‘all’ as floating quantifiers, which can be constructed as either predications of their own within multi-clause sentences or as adverbials within a VP. When they stand in the adverb slot within a VP, they are read as quantifying the VP-internal argument. As separate predications within a sentence, however, the quantifiers in question are understood to predicate a property of the subject of that sentence. The different constructions are thus clearly associated with distinct readings. The two floating quantifiers are discussed in § 5.3.3.3.1 (p. 376) and § 5.3.3.3.2 (p. 380), respectively.

5.3.3.3.1 Hau ‘all’

The most commonly used floating quantifier is *hau* ‘all’. Standing on its own, it is most commonly interpreted as marker of completion. § 5.3.3.2.1 (p. 369) discusses how *hau* ‘all’ was in this position extended from a VP-internal quantifier to an aspect marker. As an actual quantifier, it is generally combined with *haka*, *kafu-* and *felu* or *kopa* into complement-verb complexes of the form *haka-hau*, *kafu-hau*, *felu-hau* or *kopa-hau*. (229) and (230) illustrate some of these quantifier complexes.

(229)  ... *ini namirau=hi-a=po haka-hau sa-ena.*  
\(\text{1pi man=only=ADVR all-all wife-see}\)  
‘... we were only boys, but we are all married.’  
(72-05)

(230)  ... *hai felu-hau mei=ni ni-sa’e-isi’...*  
\(\text{NSIT all-all take=LNK1 REFL-hair-at}\)  
‘... (I) put all of it on my hair...’  
(54-13)

*Haka*, *felu* and *kafu*- can be found on their own, without *hau*, suggesting that they are quantifiers of the same status as *hau*. Examples are given in (231) and (232).

(231)  ... *asi-tufur Lilia asi-tufur Leni uere’=isi haka ue’...*  
\(\text{1s:POSS-sister L. 1s:POSS-sister L. 2DEM V=LNK2 all V2DEM}\)  
‘... my sister Lilia, my sister Leni, at that time were all there...’  
(120-005)

(232)  ... *ki-atu ere felu hai koi.*  
\(\text{3-POSS-faece 1DEM all NSIT hide}\)  
‘... (they) hid all his faeces.’  
(118-32)

Notably, *kafu-* is the reduced form of the independent quantifier *kafu*, which is used only with subjects expressing periods of time. The fact that the combination *kafu-hau* uses its reduced form shows that the complex quantifiers take the forms of complement-verb complexes as discussed in § 5.2.2.2 (p. 326).
The most frequent quantifier complex is haka-hau. All others are relatively rare. The semantic differences between these complexes are very subtle. Haka-hau seems to be unmarked, and is usable as a quantifier in all contexts. Felu-hau appears to refer to the entirety of a mass or a group of things or people perceived as an entity, as in (233). Kafu-hau, on the other hand, seems to have a connotation of “all at once”, as shown in (234). Kopa-hau, finally, is the rarest quantifier complex. Some informants suggested it is a regional variant used by speakers from the north of the Makalero-speaking area and in Luro. An example is given in (235).\[179\]

(233) \textit{Amulafu-laa ere hai felu-hau ma’u.} 
person-PL 1DEM NSIT all-all come ‘Everybody is already here.’ (elic904)

(234) \textit{Kiloo ate-hasa ere kafu-hau mosal.} 
3s tree-leaf 1DEM all:RED-all swallow ‘He took all the tablets at once.’ (elic1208)

(235) \textit{...mua nomo nu=a=oo kopa-hau k-ua-ma’en} 
eat NEG eat=too all?all 3:UND-on.top:RED-know 
\textit{k-ua-sofe} 
3:UND-on.top:RED-know:BD ‘… whether or not (they) eat, (they) observe it all.’ (55-24)

Note that these quantifier complexes are the only items found in one of the adverbial slots of the VP to be internally complex; all others are simple morphemes (see § 3.2.3.3.1, p. 159). The two variant positions for the hau-collocations, either as predicates of their own or within a VP as adverbials, are illustrated in (236) and (237), respectively. In (236), haka-hau is shown to be outside of the following verb phrase by the fact that it is followed by the aspect marker hai, the leftmost of the verbal modifiers (see § 5, p. 317). This shows clearly that the verb phrase headed by ma’u ‘come’ starts only after haka-hau. In all such instances, the quantifier modifies the subject participant. In (237), on the other hand, haka-hau quantifies the object participant. The aspect marker hai is in such instances never found following the quantifier, but only preceding it, which is taken as evidence for the fact that the quantifier stands within the VP.

(236) \textit{... uerlaa ala’-mutu’ were nat [haka-hau]$_{SV}$ [hai ma’u]$_{SV}$.} 
3p forest-inside 2DEM stand:SG all-all NSIT come ‘… they who were in the forest have all come (back) already.’ (101-100)

\[179\] Note, however, that the speaker of (235) comes from the village of Osuhira, somewhat to the west of Ilimamar, rather than from the north of the language area. The text from which (235) is taken focuses on wedding customs and uses a lot of lexical parallelism apparently taken over from the genres of ritual speech associated with those ceremonies. It is possible that the case of kopa-hau is similar, and that it is an expression associated with a particular genre rather than a regional variant.


(237) Kiloo-raa [ate-ysu=ee hai [haka-hau]_ADV mei]_VP.

‘They took all the fruit.’ (elic1400)

Though semantically, the quantifier provides information about an argument of the sentence, it is in neither of these cases analysed as a modifier of the argument NP. Sentences such as (237) as well as (238) below show that haka-hau follows the NP clitic =ee (§ 3.5.1.1, p. 243). Hence an analysis of the quantifier as a modifier within the NP it quantifies is ruled out.

(238) Seru-seran=ee haka-hau hai we’.

‘The things are all there already.’ (elic343)

A quantifier phrase as in (238), which has been shown to stand outside both the NP preceding it and the VP following it, can take its own hai aspect marker, as in (239). This shows that it is a predicate in its own right. In fact, in (239), what follows the quantifier phrase is a full clause with its own subject.

(239) Ki-mata-rere [hai haka-hau]_VP [ki-mata]_VP [we']_V2.

‘All of his children have children of their own.’ (elic1764)

There are, however, no instances of the two predications in a sentence like (239) being linked by a clause linker such as =ini (§ 3.5.2.5, p. 247). Also, there is no clear case of hau ‘all’ occurring as the only verb in an utterance.

The use of hau as a verb-phrase internal adverbial and that of hau as a separate predication are not always easy to distinguish. In very many cases, sentences with hau are constructionally ambiguous, and both an analysis of hau as a separate predication and as an adverbial within the VP headed by the final verb would theoretically be possible. This fact can explain the semantic ambiguity of such sentences as (240), in which felu-hau can be understood either as modifying the subject or the verb.

(240) Li hai felu-hau mua?

‘Have you all eaten already?’ or ‘Have you eaten up everything already?’

(elic1087)

In the first case, translated as ‘have you all eaten already?’?, hau heads a predication of its own; the pronominal subject is common to both predications making up the sentence, and both VPs make an assertion about this subject. On the other hand, the second reading of the above sentence, ‘have you eaten up everything already?’ requires felu-hau to function as an adverbial to the verb. Only in such a construction can it be understood to modify the (unexpressed) undergoer. (241) and (242) give the proper bracketing of the two alternative syntactic analyses.
These alternative analyses for the quantifier *hau* also account for such sentences as (243) and (244) below. The sentence in (243) was on one occasion rejected by native speakers as ungrammatical; they claimed *hai hau* implied plurality of the subject and gave (244) as the correct way of expression, with both subject and verb marked for plural. On another occasion, however, (243) was accepted by other speakers.

(243)  
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{Ki-mata} \quad \text{hai} \quad \text{hau} \quad \text{pere.} \\
\text{3:POSS-child NSIT all big.SG}
\end{array}
\]

‘Her child is already very big.’  
(elic803)

(244)  
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{Ki-mata-r} \quad \text{hai} \quad \text{hau} \quad \text{helar.} \\
\text{3:POSS-child-PL NSIT all big.PL}
\end{array}
\]

‘Her children are all grown up.’  
(chat074b)

Again, the explanation for this phenomenon lies in the different possible constructions of *hau*. Obviously, when the speakers rejected (243), they had in mind an analysis such as given in (245), with *hau* as a full verb. In its literal meaning of ‘all’, it is not compatible with a singular subject and verb, and the sentence was rejected. The structure of (244), which is shown in (246) is identical to that of (245), but has the correct agreement.

(245)  
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{Ki-mata} \quad \text{[hai hau]}_{VP} \quad \text{[pere]}_{VP}. \\
\text{*[Her child is all grown up.]*}
\end{array}
\]

(chat074)

(246)  
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{Ki-mata-r} \quad \text{[hai hau]}_{VP} \quad \text{[helar]}_{VP}. \\
\text{‘Her children have all grown up.’}
\end{array}
\]

(chat074b)

Other speakers, however, when confronted with (243), spontaneously analysed *hau* as a VP-internal adverbial, thus as modifying the verb meaning. In this interpretation, *hau* is read as high degree of the quality denoted by the verb, and does not imply plurality. As such, the sentence was accepted. (247) gives the correct analysis.

(247)  
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{Ki-mata} \quad \text{[hai hau]}_{ADV} \quad \text{pere}_{VP}. \\
\text{‘Her child is already very big.’}
\end{array}
\]

(elic803)
5.3.3.2 Ata’u ‘all’

Though the evidence is rather slim, it appears that the quantifier ata’u ‘all’ functions in a way comparable to that illustrated for hau in § 5.3.3.1 (p. 376). (248) shows it as what looks to be an independent VP, as demonstrated by the fact that the following verb phrase begins with the aspect marker hai. In (249), on the other hand, ata’u appears to be within the VP, as suggested by the fact that it follows the coordinated object NPs ia ‘foot’ and tana ‘hand’.

(248) \[ \text{ini famil}a=ua \text{ Loospalos-isi’=ee ini [ata’u]}_{\text{VP}} \text{ [hai ma’u]}_{\text{VP}}. \]
\[ \text{1pe family=REL L-at=DEF 1pe all NSIT come} \]
‘… we, the family who lived in Lospalos, we all came (to Lloomar).’
(101-361)

(249) \[ \text{Uai mata ka’u ere ni-lepa’ hai mei isan ni fiia tana} \]
\[ \text{CLS child small 1DEM REFL-middle NSIT take go.down=LNK1 foot hand} \]
\[ \text{ata’u mei}_{\text{VP}}=ni \text{ [nama-dane]}_{\text{VP}}. \]
\[ \text{all take=LNK1 upwards:RED-lift} \]
‘So the child goes down with his middle (first), lifting all his arms and legs upwards…’
(38-095)

Just like in the case of hau, ata’u quantifies the subject where it is a separate predication, but the object where it stands within the VP.

5.4 Coordination of verb phrases

The most common means to coordinate VPs is with clause linkers, taking advantage of the fact that a predicate is the only obligatory element of a clause. The use of these linkers is detailed in § 8.1 (p. 455).

Other than that, unmarked juxtaposition of VPs is often found. Note, however, that this seems to imply a very close semantic connection between the two VPs in question, such as when they pertain to one situation or event, as in (250) (see also § 8.1, p. 455). The juxtaposed VPs in (251), on the other hand, list a variety of congenial sentences.

(250) \[ \text{... amulafu ho’o=ini ki-tana defu’=uai ni lasi ere [ma’u]}_{\text{VP}} \]
\[ \text{person some=CTR 3:POSS-hand break=or REFL cut 1DEM come} \]
\[ [\text{ani-asu]}_{\text{VP}} \text{ [lolo]}_{\text{VP}}. \]
\[ \text{1s-for say} \]
‘… (if) somebody broke his arm or cut himself, he would come and tell me.’
(25-1)
(251)  *Tafuraa k-asu=ni were=ni [omar-ika]_{VP} [lopu-ika]_{VP} [isa-ini]_{VP}
woman 3:UND-for-CTR 2DEM=CTR stilthouse-up in house-up in bake-do:BD

[tina-ini]_{VP} [heru-ini]_{VP} [diki hular]_{VP} [tutu-‘ini]_{VP} [tafa-ini]_{VP}

‘(Work) for the women is to stay at home, do the baking, do the cooking, weave, spin, grind and pound.’

Very frequently, such coordination involves lexical parallels (§ 9.3.2, p. 510); in (251), for instance, *omar* ‘stilt house’ and *lopu* ‘house’ function as lexical parallels. Lexical parallels are always constructed in coordinated structures, mostly either on VP-level or on clause level.

Units below the VP level can also be coordinated. (252) shows the coordination of two complement-verb complexes. Presumably, in this case, the negation *nomo* has scope over both *fuli-rei-la’a* ‘go out together’ and *oma-la’a* ‘go home’.

(252)  ... noko nana=ni ta-eta-lo=ni nomo fuli-dai
younger.sibling elder.sibling=CTR REC-separate-say=LNK1 NEG together:RED-pass

nomo [fuli-rei-la’a] [oma-la’a]...
NEG together:RED-outwards-move house:RED-move

‘... siblings don’t talk to each other, don’t walk together, go out together and (don’t) go to (each other’s) house...’

It is furthermore possible to coordinate VPs with the Portuguese conjunction *i* ‘and’. However, the use of this element is heavily idiosyncratic; while it is used fairly frequently in the speech of some speakers, it is entirely absent in texts from other speakers. An example from a text which makes heavy use of the coordinator is given in (253). Notably, the speaker in question insisted on preparing the text in writing in advance, reading it out. In a text that was spontaneously produced by the same speaker, *i* does not occur at all. This suggests that the use of the conjunction *i* is connected to formal education-like settings.

(253)  ... asi-ni ni-asu sotemee la’a=ni ama-paun i osan
1s:POSS-mother REFL-for alone move=LNK1 garden-pull.out and money

haka...
search

‘... my mother used to go alone to work in the garden and find money...’

(125-12)
6. The clause

Following Payne (1997: 25f.), a clause is defined here as the linguistic expression, or formal morphosyntactic instantiation, of a proposition, a conceptual notion normally involving one or two entities and a relation, activity, or property concerning them. Van Valin and LaPolla (1997: 25f.) introduce a distinction within the clause between a core and a periphery part. The former contains the predicate and its argument(s), i.e. is equivalent to the clause in Payne’s minimal definition as quoted above, while the latter includes those elements which are not arguments of the predicate. Within the core, the predicing element is further distinguished as being the nucleus. Graphically, the structure of the clause (following Van Valin and LaPolla 1997: 31) is represented as in (1).

(1) 
```
   CLAUSE
    | 
   CORE ── PERIPHERY
   | 
 (ARG) (ARG) NUCLEUS
   | 
 XP  XP  X(P)  XP / ADV
```

Representing the Makalero clause in a similar scheme is somewhat problematic. This is mainly due to the fact that the Makalero VP provides two mutually exclusive positions for the non-subject argument, one to the left of all verbal modifiers, which makes it the leftmost element in the VP, and the other directly in front of the verb, following its modifiers. If one of these positions is filled, the other is no longer available. The first of these argument positions is associated with undergoes of all kinds, while the second may hold such diverse things as pronominal and non-referential nominal undergoes, nouns and NPs expressing goals and locations, or VPs. § 5 (p. 317) adopts the term ‘object’ for the first, and the term ‘complement’ for the second type of argument. The best candidates in Makalero for an analysis as the clause periphery are the verb-phrase-internal adverbials. (2) shows an attempt at a schematic representation of the clause in Makalero following Van Valin and LaPolla’s specifications.
Whereas the schema in (2) includes both VP-internal argument positions, it fails to show the relationship between them – i.e. that they are mutually exclusive and can essentially be seen as variant expressions of the same abstract notion (§ 5.2.2.4, p. 337). Consequently, it is more insightful to use two separate clause structures, representing either type of VP-internal argument, rather than to combine them into one scheme.
This clause structure represents the maximum clause and is very rigid, imposing strict syntactic constraints on the expression of participants. Consequently, somewhat more complex states of affairs, such as those involving a predicative adverbial expression or those with more than two participants, must be expressed in two clauses, while they constitute, both semantically as well as phonologically, a single event or utterance. Such sentences are discussed in § 7.1 (p. 402). The bicausal expression of a ditransitive state of affairs qualifies as one argument structure construction in Goldberg’s (1995) terminology.

In natural speech, a minority of clauses fill all the positions provided by the clause templates in (3) and (4). In fact, the nucleus of the clause, or its predicate, is the only obligatory element. Both verbal arguments as well as any kinds of periphery elements are readily omissible, given an appropriate context. As such, a single verb can make up a complete clause. Examples are shown in (5) and (6), which show the negative existential na’an and the modal verb so’ot ‘want, like’, respectively, used as minimal answers to polar questions. Both are full verbs, which can take a subject argument and aspect marking, as shown for na’an in (7), and a subject argument, an aspect marker, and a complement argument, as shown for so’ot in (8).

(5)  
\[ \text{Ei la’a rau-kole}=uai na’an? – Na’an.} \]
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\hspace{1cm} 2s \text{ move good-tired=or NEG.EX NEG.EX} \\
\hspace{1cm} \text{‘(If) you walk, do you tire quickly or not? – No.’ (almeida034, almeida035) }
\end{array}
\]

(6)  
\[ ... \text{e i so’ot=ini ueri leuk? – So’ot}. \]
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\hspace{1cm} 2s \text{ want–LNK1 bottom drill want} \\
\hspace{1cm} \text{‘… do you want (your) bottom to be drilled?’ – (Yes, I) want (that).’} \\
\hspace{1cm} \text{(118-38, 118-39)}
\end{array}
\]

(7)  
\[ \text{Ki-tinaini hai na’an.} \]
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\hspace{1cm} 3:\text{POSS-cooked.rice NSIT NEG.EX} \\
\hspace{1cm} \text{‘There is no rice left.’} \\
\hspace{1cm} \text{(chat059a)}
\end{array}
\]

(8)  
\[ ... \text{iraku-la= hai ta-so’ot...} \]
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\hspace{1cm} 3s-PL \text{ NSIT REC-want} \\
\hspace{1cm} \text{‘… they wanted (to marry) each other…’} \\
\hspace{1cm} \text{(69-024)}
\end{array}
\]

One-word answers two polar questions, as in (5) and (6), are not the only context in which clauses made up of single verbs are found. On the contrary, participants that are retrievable from the context are readily left unexpressed. (9) and (10) show sentences with unexpressed subject arguments, the positions of which are marked by O. In (9), which comes from a spoken text, the speaker assumes the hearer to be able to infer the intended subject referent, since it has been the topic in previous sentences. (10), on the other hand, comes from a context-less elicited clause. In this example, apparently the speaker deemed a third person pronominal object to be at

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180 As found with dative verbs; the class of a valent verbs (§ 3.2.3.1.1, p. 141), on the other hand, is not compatible with any arguments. In a clause centred on an a valent verb, the core is made up of only the predicate.
the same time highly unfocal as well as easily accessible, and hence left it unexpressed.

(9) \[\text{Dili-isi}=\text{ini, hala}=\text{ni, O}_{\text{SUBJ}}=\text{title}=\text{ini...}\]
\[\text{D}_{\text{sat}}=\text{LNK1, war}=\text{LNK1, num.PL}=\text{LNK1}\]
‘In Dili, there was war, and (we) fled...’ (81-03)

(10) \[\text{O}_{\text{SUBJ}}=\text{nama-miti}=\text{ini, ni-ia, koi-koi.}\]
\[\text{upwards:RED-sit.SG}=\text{LNK1, REFL-foot RDL-shake}\]
‘(He) sat on a chair swinging his legs.’ (elics533)

Not only subjects, but also objects and complements can be omitted. Both misa ‘go up’ and mei ‘take’, in the second and third clauses of (11), contain neither a subject nor a non-subject argument. Their empty positions are marked in (11) with \(\emptyset\). In the case of misa ‘go up’, the non-subject argument is a prototypical complement (§3.2.3.13, p. 210), while with mei ‘take’, it is a prototypical object. The referents of both of these are retrievable from the earlier narrative.

(11) \[\text{Ki-oar jerikeen ma’en}=\text{isi, O}_{\text{SUBJ}}=\text{O}_{\text{COMPL}}=\text{misa}=\text{ni, O}_{\text{SUBJ}}=\text{O}_{\text{OBJ}}\]
\[3:\text{POSS-master jerryican know}=\text{LNK2, go.up}=\text{LNK1}\]
\[\text{hai, muninyin...}\]
\[\text{NSIT, return take}\]
‘Its owner recognised the jerryican and went up and took (it) back...’ (101-304)

Quite apart from these cases, where participants are left unexpressed, a variety of temporal verbs such as aire ‘now’, and soohe ‘yesterday’, which are commonly used to indicate adverbial information in the form of a separate clause, have a syntactic valency of zero. As such, they are not compatible with the expression of any argument and always form clause cores of their own (see §3.2.3.1.1, p. 141). Since either verbal argument can be left unexpressed, the interpretation of the grammatical role of an overt NP is not trivial. The problem, as well as some disambiguating strategies, are discussed in §9.1 (p. 491).

In the remainder of this section, basic constituent order is explained in §6.1 (p. 386), followed by a description of the constituent parts of the clause. Starting in §6.2 (p. 387), subject arguments are discussed; §6.3 (p. 391) briefly treats the non-subject argument, §6.4 (p. 392) the predicate, and §6.5 (p. 393) the clause periphery. §6.6 (p. 393) discusses operators functioning at clause level or below. §7.7 (p. 399), finally, gives a short summary.

### 6.1 Basic constituent order

The basic constituent order in a clause in Makalero is SOV. This overall order holds for both kinds of verb-phrase-internal arguments. Thus, O has to be understood here as a cover term for both object and complement arguments as introduced in §5.2
(p. 319). For illustration, (12) shows a clause with a semantically intransitive verb with SV order, and (13) one with a transitive verb, with SOV order.

(12) \[ \text{\texttt{U}ru-natu ere} \text{\texttt{SUBJ}} \text{\texttt{ta\texttt{fi hau pere}}} \text{\texttt{PRED...}} \]
moon-sun 1DEM true all big.SG
‘The lord is truly great...’ (33-33)

(13) \[ ... \text{\texttt{asi-pada Timor\texttt{SUBJ}}} \text{\texttt{a\texttt{ni jura}}} \text{\texttt{PRED...}} \]
1s.POSS-friend T. 1s beat
‘... my fellow Timorese beat me...’ (101-037)

With very limited morphology to clarify a given NP’s function in the sentence and its relation to the verb, word order is the main device to indicate the grammatical role of an NP. While such word order changes as dislocation of a constituent into the left-detached position are possible (see § 9.2.1, p. 495), they are in fact rarely used, overall.

### 6.2 The subject argument

The subject, if overtly expressed, is an NP, which can be headed either by a noun or pronoun, as illustrated in (14), or a constituent of other nature, i.e. either a verb, a VP, a whole clause, or an even larger unit. (15) gives an example of a multi-clause subject.

(14) \[ ... \text{\texttt{asi-pada\texttt{SUBJ}}} \text{\texttt{ani jura.}} \]
1s.POSS-friend 1s trust
‘... my friends trusted me.’ (101-485)

(15) \[ \text{\texttt{Sirvisu mei=ni kota-isi-saka ere}} \text{\texttt{SUBJ}} \text{\texttt{nomo u-e-rau.}} \]
work take=LNK1 city-at:RED-search:BD 1DEM NEG 2DEM:RED-good
‘Looking for work in the city is not that easy.’ (elic72)

Semantically, the subject generally expresses the most agent-like participant involved in the state-of-affairs in question (but see § 7.1, p. 402). The subject has only restricted repercussions on the other parts of the clause. On the one hand, it triggers number agreement with a small group of verbs which have different forms for singular subjects and plural subjects (see § 3.2.2.2.1, p. 130). (16) and (17) give examples with the verb ‘sit’, mit in the singular in (16), and ‘diar in the plural in (17). Note that in (17), the subject ministru ‘minister’ is not plural-marked itself; it is the verb form which makes the plurality meaning explicit.

(16) \[ \text{\texttt{Mu\texttt{a-li\texttt{an-isa=ni ani ue-mit.}}} \text{\texttt{ground-fall-go.down=LNK1 1s V2DEM:RED-sit:SG}} \]
‘Having fallen down to the ground, I sat there.’ (120-185)
(17)  ... ministru ai.e=ua parlamentu-isi-ufe-diay  e’...
    minister now-REFL parliament-at:RED-VDEM.LOW:RED-sit.PL VDEM
    ‘... the ministers who sit in parliament down there are here...’
    (98-45)

On the other hand, the reflexive marker ni, whether used adverbially as a participant as in (18) or adnominally as a possessor as in (19), marks its referent as coreferent with the subject (§ 3.3.1.2, p. 227). Note that in (18), ni is translated as referring to the first person, but to the third person in (19), thus showing clearly that its reference is determined by that of the subject.

(18)  Ani ni teru’.
    1s  REFL shelter
    ‘I cover myself with an umbrella.’
    (elic941)

(19)  Ini-auai ni-mata lu’.
    mother-HON REFL-child put.to.sleep
    ‘The mother put her child to sleep.’
    (elic832)

In (20), ni is used to refer back to an unexpressed subject that has last been used several clauses earlier. The immediately preceding clauses have different subjects, yet it is assumed that the subject referent in question, to which ni makes reference, can be identified. This is probably the case because this subject, the child in the frog story, is a human and as such highly topic-worthy and recoverable. The subject of the immediately preceding clause, ki-sefar ‘his dog’, is nearly identical to the non-subject argument of the following clause, ni-sefar ‘his dog’. However, the use of the reflexive possessive ni- with the latter makes clear that this NP must be a non-subject, whereas the third person possessive ki- is often (though not exclusively, see § 3.3.1.1.3, p. 225) associated with subjects.

(20)  Hai nomo uie=ini ki-sefar ere=oo isi-nu’at=ini
    NSIT NEG VDEM=LNK1 3:POSS-dog 1DEM=too at:RED-astonished=LNK1
    ni-sefar ko-horu=nir hai haka-hau isi-nu’at=ini...
    REFL-dog 3:UND-with=LNK1 NSIT all-all at:RED-astonished=LNK1
    ‘(The frog) is no longer there, and the dog is astonished too, and (he) and his dog are both astonished...’
    (102-013)

Subject NPs are very commonly moved into the topic position in the left-detached position in the sentence. This is an operation on sentence level, rather than clause level; consequently, it is discussed in detail in § 7.6.1 (p. 427). For the present purpose, two examples must suffice: In (21), the subject argument of the complement-verb complex ili=ee k-ua-nat ‘stand on top of the rock’ precedes the adverbial predicate aire’ ‘now’. This latter is an avalent adverbial predicate (§ 3.2.3.1.1, p. 141) and completely clausal on its own. Even more clearly, in (22) a full clause, complete with subject, aspect marker and clause linker, intervenes between the verb ma’u ‘come’ and its subject argument kiloo, which stands in the LDP.
6.2.1 =ini as a subject marker

Subjects are in some cases specifically marked as such with the help of the clitic contrastive marker =ini (§ 3.5.2.5.1, p. 248), which appears to be in the process of developing into a subject marker. This is the case, on the one hand, with unlikely agents, or participants which are low on the topic-worthiness hierarchy. This includes non-human referents and inanimates, but also, for example, indefinite expressions such as ‘someone’ or ‘something’. Examples are given in (23) and (24).

Note that =ini commonly loses the initial vowel if elicitised to a vowel-final element.

(23) Sefar metan umere’=ini kiloo ka’el.
    dog  black DEM.DIST.V=CTR 3s bite
    ‘That black dog there bit him.’  (elic1566)

(24) Amulafu nomo rial=ini kiloo so’ot.
    person   NEG many.HUM=CTR 3s want
    ‘Not many people like him.’  (elic1569a)

In both of these sentences, a prototypical human agent in the guise of the third person singular pronoun kiloo is being acted upon by a less topic-worthy entity; in (23), this is a dog, and in (24), an unspecified group of actors, expressed by the NP amulafu nomo rial ‘not many people’. The use of the canonical SOV word order is apparently not perceived to be sufficient to clarify the grammatical roles in these particular sentences, and the subject is additionally marked with =ini. Examples as (25) below, where a third person nominal agent acts upon a first person singular patient, show that not only non-human referents and indefinite expressions are understood to be unlikely agents, but, given the right context, also a human agent such as asi-upa ‘my father’. Obviously, the first person singular pronoun, which expresses the undergoer in (25), is an even better agent than an NP with a human referent for Makalero speakers; consequently, the latter has to be marked to show that it acts on the first person pronoun rather than vice versa.

(25) ... asi-upa=ni ani mei ira teuh...
    1s:POSS-father=CTR 1s  take water buy
    ‘... my father used me to buy water with...’  (89-14)
On the basis of the usage of the subject marker =ini, the topic-worthiness hierarchy shown in (26) can be deduced.

(26) \[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Personal pronouns} > \text{Nouns (specific)} > \text{Nouns (indefinite)} \\
1 > 2 > 3 \quad [+\text{HUM}] > [-\text{HUM}]
\end{array}
\]

In other words, personal pronouns are more likely to be interpreted as agents or topics than nouns, and nouns with a specific referent are in turn more likely agents than nouns with indefinite referents. Within the domain of personal pronouns, the speech-act participants are better subjects than the third person pronouns, and a first person pronoun is higher in the hierarchy than a second person pronoun. With specific nouns, human referents are preferred as agents and topics over non-human referents. As such, the Makalero agentivity hierarchy conforms neatly to the general topic-worthiness hierarchy as shown e.g. in Payne (1997: 150).

Note, however, that this hierarchy is not grammaticalised. In other words, whether or not to mark a low-ranking topic as such is up to the speaker in Makalero, and in an appropriate context, which helps clarifying the grammatical roles, atypical constellations may be unmarked. Hence sentences as (27), with an unmarked nominal agent and a pronominal patient, are found alongside such examples as (25) above.

(27) \text{Asi-meestri ani nomo pase...} \\
\text{1s:POSS:teacher is NEG beat} \\
‘My teacher didn’t beat me...’ (elic093)

Another group of cases where the subject is commonly marked with =ini consists of very long and complex subject NPs. In these cases, =ini could be said to function as a boundary marker showing the right end of the subject NP to facilitate the processing of the sentence by the hearer. Examples with such complex subject NPs are given in (28) and (29), where square brackets indicate the extent of the NPs in question. In (28), the subject’s head noun mataniki ‘children’ is accompanied by a lengthy verbal modifier tafiri tafirial ‘really very many’; similarly, in (29), the head noko ‘younger sibling’ stands with a verbal modifier. This particular case is complicated by the fact that the nominal predicate of this modifier is actually identical to the head noun itself. The processing of both of these sentences is significantly facilitated through the presence of the subject marker =ini.

(28) \text{[Mata-niki tafiri tafiri hau rial] =ini nomo manan.} \\
\text{child-PL RDL-true all many.HUM—CTR NEG win} \\
‘Very many children indeed didn’t pass (the test).’ (elic1573)

(29) \text{... [ki-noko hau noko uere] =ni ma’u=ni lolo...} \\
\text{3:POSS-younger.sibling all younger.sibling 2DET—CTR come=LNK1 say} \\
‘... her youngest brother came and said...’ (69-061)
Lastly, the subject marker =ini is vital for the correct interpretation of sentences which deviate from the usual SOV constituent order, as in (30). § 9.2.1 (p. 495) gives a more detailed discussion of non-canonical word orders.

(30)  
\[
\text{Mata ka'}u\text{ ere}_{[\text{AEI}]}\text{ sefar}_{[\text{SUB}]}=\text{ini} \text{ [ka']ei'}\text{PRED uai=konai iar.}
\]
\[
\text{child small 1DEM dog=CTR bite CLS-CSQ cry}
\]

‘This child was bitten by a dog, that’s why he is crying.’ (elic1512)

6.3 The non-subject argument

The term ‘non-subject argument’ is used as a cover term subsuming both objects and complements; see § 5.2 (p. 319) for a detailed discussion of these two types of verbal arguments. A typical non-subject argument is an NP headed by either a noun or pronoun, or alternatively by a verb phrase or full clause. Examples of either structure are given in (31), where ni-mata ‘her child’ is a prototypical undergoer, and (32), where the argument to k-asu ‘for’ is a whole clause, respectively.

(31)  
\[
\text{Ina-uai} \ [\text{ni-mata}]_{\text{ARG}} \text{ uaro'}. \quad \text{mother-HON REFL-child wash}
\]

‘The mother is washing her child.’ (elic056)

(32)  
\[
\text{Ini ni'isi forit=ini na'a-mei uai=konai=ni} \ [\text{isi-nasau} \text{ CLS-CSQ-LNK1 lpe:POSS-nation}
\]

\[
\text{fami-uttu-la'a=na'a} \text{[ARG k-asu. face-cover-move=INT 3:UND-for}
\]

‘We work hard for the development (lit. the going-forward) of our nation.’ (elic1258)

NPs can be constructed both as objects and as complements (§ 5.2.1, p. 319, and § 5.2.2.1, p. 321). Another possible type of non-subject argument is a dependent VP. Such VPs can only be constructed as complements. § 5.2.2.4 (p. 337) argues that syntactically, such VP arguments in complement-verb complexes are treated in the same way as nominal arguments in that either fill the predicate’s syntactic non-subject argument position. An example of this is given in (33), where rau ‘good’ fills the complement position of the transitive verb pase ‘beat’, causing the semantic undergoer of the beating action, ani (1s), to be expressed in a separate clause with mei ‘take’.

(33)  
\[
\ldots \text{papa uere ani tafi mei=ni} \ [\text{rau}]_{\text{COMP-pase.}} \text{ Indonesian 2DEM 1s true take-LNK1 good-beat}
\]

‘… the Indonesian beat me thoroughly.’ (101-270)

This shows that the nature of the syntactic second argument to the verb is unspecified, and it need not be a participant of the action expressed by the predicate in question. Rather, it can also be a dependent VP giving circumstantial information
of various kinds (in (33), this is manner). Thus, what would correspond to arguments and adjuncts in English are not distinct in status in Makalero, but are treated equally as non-subject arguments. These arguments can be mapped onto the clause template in a variety of ways (see § 7.1, p. 402, for a more detailed discussion).

A nominal non-subject argument is preferably lower on the topic-worthiness hierarchy than the subject. If the reverse is the case, and there are no contextual clues to help the hearer interpret the clause correctly, the subject is generally marked as such with the subject marker =ini (see § 6.2.1, p. 389 above). However, there is no way to specifically mark an object as such.

Just like subjects, objects can be left-dislocated into the left-detached position in the sentence for pragmatic purposes. For a more in-depth discussion, see § 9.2.1 (p. 495) on non-canonical word orders.

### 6.4 The predicate

In Van Valin and LaPolla’s (1997: 26) usage, the term ‘predicate’ includes only the predicating element, i.e. either a verb, an adjective (in languages that distinguish them), or a nominal. Adjectives being absent as a separate word class in the language (see § 3, p. 97), Makalero predicates can be either verbal or nominal. (34) exemplifies a prototypical transitive verbal predicate, *mua* ‘eat’, while (35) shows a nominal predicate. Note that *lupu pere* ‘big house’ is a full noun phrase consisting of a head and a modifier, rather than a simple noun.

(34) \[ \ldots \text{fi-asu sa’a ho’o tina fi [mua]\text{\textsubscript{PRED.}}} \]
1pi-for thing some cook 1pi eat
‘… cook something for us (so that) we (can) eat!’
(23-045)

(35) \[ \text{Uere}=\text{ini} [\text{lupu pere}]\text{\textsubscript{PRED.}} \]
2DEM=CTR house big
‘It is that one which is a big house.’
(elic715)

Verbal and nominal predicates have in common that they assign a property to the associated subject argument. Another option is for the predicate to be not a property, but an entity (e.g. Mikkelsen 2005). Makalero has a special type of predicate for those cases, where the entity involved is expressed as a deictic. In such an event, a verbalised form of the corresponding demonstrative, derived from the latter by the common stop verbaliser (§ 3.2.2.1.1, p. 128), is used. Two examples of this derivation are given in (36).

(36) \[ \text{ere} \quad (1\text{DEM}) \quad \text{ere’} \quad (1\text{DEM.V}) \]
\[ \text{umere} \quad (\text{DEM.DIST}) \quad \text{umere’e} \quad (\text{DEM.DIST.V}) \]

Typical instances of the use of such verbalised demonstratives are given in (37) and (38). These sentences are equational ones, where both the subject and the predicate are entities, as opposed to the more normal case of ‘predicational’ sentences, where
the predicate is a property (see § 3.2.3.9.1, p. 183, for more details on the use of these derived deictic verbs).

(37)  Asi-mata-ɾ amun fat ore ki-nei ki-apalidu-ɾi were'.
   1s.POSS-child-PL  person  four  DEM-Poss-name  DEM-Poss-name  2DEM.V
   ‘The names of my four children are these.’  (105-056)

(38)  ... fi-amaⁿi udere'.
   1pi-garden=CTR  DEM-HIGH.V
   ‘... our garden is the one up there.’  (118-19)

6.5 The periphery

The clause periphery is defined in Van Valin and LaPolla (1997: 26) as comprising non-arguments within the clause, i.e. generally adverbials. In Makalero, this description applies to the VP-internal adverbials. There are two separate positions for such adverbials within the VP, one preceding and the other following the negator nomo (see § 5, p. 317). They are placed in either of these positions according to the intended scope of the negation. Hence, in terms of position, the periphery adverbials are in the middle of the clause. The elements used as adverbials in these positions are discussed in § 3.2.3.3.1 (p. 159), which argues that there are strong indications that these lexemes are verbal in nature. In fact, some of them have clear full verb uses. Thus, their use as VP-internal adverbs in the clause periphery is only a part of their function. These adverbials hence form a distinct subgroup within the class of verbs due to their ability to appear in the clause periphery.

-Clause periphery adverbials are only a subset of verbs giving adverbial information. However, the other adverbial predicates are not part of the VP, but are analysed as making up their own clauses, combining with other clauses into sentences. The peripheral adverbial verbs as listed in § 3.2.3.3.1 (p. 159) clearly differ from the latter in position. Note, however, that in full verb use, the clause periphery verbs can be used in the same manner as the adverbial full predicates, which are discussed in more detail in § 3.2.3.3.2 (p. 162).

6.6 The operators

Van Valin and LaPolla (1997: 40) define a class of operators to account for elements representing “grammatical categories which are qualitatively different from predicates and their arguments (...) they modify the clause and its parts.” Aspect, negation, directionals, modality, status (including such things as epistemic modality, external negation and realsis and irrealis), tense, evidentials, and illocutionary force make up their class of operators. Not all of these categories are relevant for Makalero; the representation in (39), adapted from Van Valin and LaPolla (1997: 47), shows only those that are more or less grammaticalised in the language
as well as the level of clause structure they universally apply to, according to the authors.

(39)  
\[
\begin{array}{c}
V \\
| \quad \text{aspect} \\
| \quad \text{modality} \\
| \quad \text{negation (internal)} \\
| \quad \text{status} \\
\quad \text{illocutionary force} \\
\quad \text{SENTENCE}
\end{array}
\]

According to Van Valin and LaPolla (1997: 46), the “basic principle of scope assignment governing operators is clausal > core > nuclear, where ‘>’ means ‘has scope over’.”

Among Van Valin and LaPolla’s operators listed above but not shown in (39) are directionals, tense and evidentiality. These are not grammaticalized categories in Makalero and are consequently not discussed here (some remarks on directionality can be found in § 5.2.2.5.6 (p. 345); on the anchoring of a state of affairs in time in § 7.2.1 (p. 414); and on the expression of indirect information in § 8.1.9 (p. 476). Of the operators that are listed in (39), only aspect, negation and status are relevant at clause level or lower in Makalero; they are treated in § 6.6.1 (p. 394), § 6.6.2 (p. 396), and § 6.6.3 (p. 398), respectively. As their discussion in the following sections makes apparent, Makalero operators do not conform to Van Valin and LaPolla’s proposed hierarchy as reproduced partially in (39) and the associated scope readings. Furthermore, modality and illocutionary force operate on levels other than the clause in Makalero. Illocutionary force works on the sentence level and is discussed there (§ 7.7, p. 435), while the expression of modality may take either the form of a complement VP or of a separate predication or clause and is thus hard to place in a schema as (39). It is treated in detail in § 7.2.4 (p. 420) and § 7.3 (p. 421; see also § 3.2.3.10.2, p. 193).

6.6.1 Aspect

There is in Makalero only one aspect marker, hai. This marker denotes the beginning of a new situation (see § 5.3.1.1, p. 361, for details). Its position is fixed following the object position, but preceding all other verbal modifiers, including negation, the periphery adverbials, and the VP complement. (40) and (41) give schematic representations of this ordering.
Hai has scope over all modifiers to the right of it, including negation. According to Van Valin and LaPolla (1997: 46), the aspect operator is nuclear and should therefore be under the scope of the core operator negation (see (39) above). However, the very opposite is the case in Makalero: as (42) shows, hai marks the beginning of the negated situation (i.e. the beginning of the absence of stomach pain).

(42) ... asi-atupusi hai nomo ist.
1s.POSS-belly NSIT NEG ill
‘... my belly did not hurt anymore.’ (101-137)

It is not possible to negate a new situation with hai using the internal negator nomo. For this purpose, the clause negator nomohaka (see § 6.6.3, p. 398) must be used. Makalero speakers will, however, make sense of the clause given in (43) as in (44), by interpreting hai not as an aspect marker, but as the reduced form of the speaker-related deictic verb in a complement-verb complex. In this process, the initial /h/ of the aspect marker, which is often very faint indeed, is dropped completely.

(43) * Ani nomo hai li’an.
1s NEG NSIT fall
Intended: ‘I have not fallen.’ (elic916b)

(44) Ani nomo ai-li’an.
1s NEG VIDE:RED-fall
‘I didn’t fall here.’

Hai also has scope over verb-phrase internal adverbials, which are equalled in § 6.5 (p. 393) above to the clause periphery. An example is shown in (45). If a speaker wishes to specifically exclude the adverb from the scope of hai, he must use it as a separate clause, as (46) shows.

(45) Kiloo hai tafti tia.
3s NSIT true sleep
‘He already really sleeps.’ (chat066a)
(46) Kiloo tafi=ni hai tia.
   3s true=LNK1 NSIT sleep
   ‘It is true that he already sleeps.’  (chat066)

The VP complement in a complement-verb complex can take its own aspect marking. Examples are given in (47), where hai is outside the verbal complex and modifies the VP as a whole, and in (48), where it stands within the VP complement and has scope only over the dependent verb. The extent of the VPs in question is signalled by square brackets. Note, however, that there appears to be no marked difference in reading between the two constructions.

(47) Kiloo [hai putil=ee-mutu-punaj]_{vp}.
   3s NSIT bottle=DEF-inside:RED-look
   ‘He is already looking inside the bottle.’  (elicit06)

(48) Kiloo [putil=ee hai mutu]_{vp-puna}.
   3s bottle=DEF NSIT inside:RED-look
   ‘He is already looking inside the bottle.’  (elicit06a)

Summing up, hai as the leftmost verbal modifier has scope not only over the negator, directly contradicting Van Valin and LaPolla’s (1997: 46) prediction, but also over the periphery adverbs.

Another item that functions very much like an aspect marker is hai ‘all’, which differs in many respects from the aspect marker hai; for instance, it may or may not be placed under the scope of the negation. § 5.3.3.2 (p. 369) argues that it is a VP-internal adverbial that is grammaticalising into an aspect marker. Hence it is part of the periphery rather than an operator and is not further discussed here.

6.6.2 Negation

According to Van Valin and LaPolla (1997: 47), internal negation is a core operator, and as such has scope over the aspect operator, which works on the nucleus level. In Makalero, however, the situation is quite the opposite. The only real aspect marker, hai, is outside of the negation’s scope. On the contrary, it is the negator nomo which is within the scope of the new situation marker, as (49) shows; in this clause, hai marks the beginning of the negated state. The corresponding positive sentence is given in (50) for comparison.

(49) Mu’a-isa-e-puna=po ki-sefar hai nomo e’.
    ground-go.down-V1DEM:RED-look=ADV'R 3:POSS-dog NSIT NEG V1DEM
    ‘(He) looks down to the ground, but his dog is not here anymore.’  (38-085)

(50) Ki-sefar hai e’.
    3:POSS-dog NSIT V1DEM
    ‘His dog is (already) here.’
With the unmarked negator *nomo* invariably within the scope of the new situation marker *hai*, the only way to negate a new situation with *hai* is by using the clausal negation *nomohaka*, as shown in (51).

(51)  
\[Timor \ ki-renu \ nomohaka \ hai \ rial.\]

T. 3:POSS-populace CLS:NEG NSIT many.HUM

‘The population of Timor is not already large. / It is not the case that the population of Timor is already large.’

(elic405)

However, there is one instance where, contrary to this rule, *hai nomo* is used in just such a context, disregarding the actually rather marked scope reading of this combination; (52) gives the sentence in question. Note that *hai nomo ma’u* is translated as ‘he did not come’, rather than as the predicted ‘he did already not come.’

(52)  
\[... \ ini \ wae’ini \ hein \ hein \ hein=ini \ hai \ nomo \ ma’u.\]

1p e V2DEM=LNK1 wait wait wait=LNK1 NSIT NEG come

‘... we were there and kept waiting (for him), but he did not come.’

(67-18)

The negator *nomo* can be placed before or after VP-internal adverbials and thus has variable scope either including or excluding the periphery verbs. Examples are shown in (53) and (54).

(53)  
\[Kiloo \ nomo \ tepa \ sirvisu.\]

3s NEG constant work

‘He does not work often.’

(elic1395a)

(54)  
\[Kiloo \ tepa \ nomo \ sirvisu.\]

3s constant NEG work

‘He keeps not working.’

(elic1395b)

While it is most common for all the VP-internal adverbials in a VP that contain several of them to stand on one side of the negator, (55) and (56) show that other permutations are also possible.

(55)  
\[Timor \ ki-renu \ hai \ na’u \ nomo \ tafi \ se \ roual.\]

T. 3:POSS-populace NSIT just NEG true very many.NONHUM

‘The population of Timor is already not truly very large.’

(elic1398a)

(56)  
\[Timor \ ki-renu \ hai \ na’u \ tafi \ nomo \ se \ roual.\]

T. 3:POSS-populace NSIT just true NEG very many.NONHUM

‘The population of Timor is already truly not very large.’

(elic1398b)
6.6.3 Status

Status, according to Van Valin and LaPolla (1997: 41), includes epistemic modality, external negation and categories like reals and irrealis. Epistemic modality is first and foremost expressed in Makalero by the adverbial predicate *tone* ‘maybe, possibly, perhaps’. As a predicate of its own, it is not discussed here, but in § 7.2.4 (p. 420). Reals and irrealis seem to be of no consequence in Makalero grammar. As such, the only representative of status in Makalero is external negation. This concept is expressed by *nomohaka*. It is possible that the element *-haka* is connected to *-haka*, a clitic marker expressing the contradiction of a presupposition (§ 3.5.1.2, p. 244). Indeed, clausal negation (translatable as ‘it is not the case that…’) appears to involve the contradiction of an expectation or presupposition in all cases. The categorial status of this negator is discussed in § 3.6.1 (p. 264).

*Nomohaka* is found both clause-initially, as in (57), or following the subject argument, as in (58). It thus behaves much like the avalent adverbial predicates (§ 3.2.3.1.1, p. 141). As argued in § 7.6.1 (p. 427) for similar constructions with that type of predicates, the subject of (58) can be analysed as standing in the left-detached position.

(57) *Nomohaka* ki-ni ki-upa hai hau umu.
    CLS.NEG 3:POSS-mother 3:POSS-father NSIT all die
    ‘His parents are not both dead.’ (elic754a)

(58) Kiloo nomohaka ni-sa na’u tepa pase.
    3s CLS.NEG REFL-wife just constant beat
    ‘It is not the case that he constantly beats his wife.’ (elic1368d)

*Nomohaka* has scope over the clause that immediately follows it. (59) and (60) may serve to demonstrate this: in both cases, *nomohaka* only negates the temporal expressions, *soohe* ‘yesterday’ and *aite* ‘recently’, respectively. In (59), *soohe* clearly constitutes a clause of its own, being linked to the following one with the linkers *=te’e* and *=isi* (see § 3.5.3.1.1.3, p. 252 and § 3.5.3.1.1.1, p. 250); as such, it is not surprising that *nomohaka* is not read as having scope over the clause which follows this linker. In (60), on the other hand, the temporal predicate *aite* ‘recently’ is directly adjoined to the following clause; nevertheless, the scope of *nomohaka* does not extend beyond this one-word clause.

(59) Ani nomohaka [soohe/]eti=isi Timor-isi-ma’u.
    1s CLS.NEG yesterday-after=LNK2 T-at:BD-come
    ‘I came to Timor not only yesterday.’ (elic756)

(60) Iliomar ki-adat nomohaka [aite/] CLS kini.
    I 3:POSS-custom CLS.NEG REC.PT do
    ‘The customs of Iliomar were created not just recently.’ (elic755)
Nomohaka thus clearly operates on the level of the clause, as indeed predicted by
Van Valin and LaPolla (1997: 47). Syntactically, however, it does not appear to be
part of the clause it modifies, but stands outside of it, like an adverbial verb, which
would make such examples as (57) and (58) multiclausal units. However, nomohaka
differs from such adverbial predicates in that its scope extends only over a single
clause that immediately follows it, for which reason it is treated as an operator on
clause level. Avalent adverbial verbs, on the other hand, can modify multi-clause
units and are accordingly discussed in § 7.2, p. 413, on sentence level.
The discussion of hai in § 6.6.1 (p. 394) makes mention of the fact that the new
situation aspect marker has scope over the internal negator nomo, as in (61), while
the reverse, as in (62) (repeated from (43) above), is ungrammatical.

(61) Ani hai nomo mu’a-li’an.

\[ 1s \text{ NLIT NEG ground-fall} \]
‘I am not falling down anymore.’

(62) * Ani nomo hai li’an.

\[ 1s \text{ NEG NLIT fall} \]
Intended: ‘I have not fallen.’

(elic916b)

The only way to express a meaning as the intended one in (62) is to use the clausal
negator nomohaka. An example is given in (63).

(63) Ani nomohaka hai mu’a-li’an.

\[ 1s \text{ CLS.NEG NLIT ground-fall} \]
‘It is not the case that I fell down.’

(elic1405a)

6.7 Summary

Expressing Makalero clause structure in the terms proposed by Van Valin and
LaPolla’s Role and Reference Grammar is problematic in several respects. One
major difficulty is the fact that the VP-internal argument can be realised in two
distinct ways, namely either as an object or as a complement (§ 5.2, p. 319). These
two realisations are clearly distinct in their positions relative to both the clause
periphery and the aspect and negation operators. As a result, two separate schemes
(repeated in (64) and (65) from (3) and (4), respectively) are needed to represent the
Makalero clause.
Furthermore, the description of operators as proposed in Role and Reference Grammar has encountered a number of problems. A large part of these operators do not work on clause level in Makalero, but on a higher level of organisation, the sentence; consequently, they have been excluded from the present section, which deals with phenomena on the clause level only. First and foremost among such higher-level phenomena is modality, which can be expressed either as a separate clause or as a complement (§ 7.3, p. 421), but also the epistemic modality part of the status operator, which is always expressed as a separate clause. Another one, illocutionary force, also operates on sentence level (§ 7.7, p. 435). This left only aspect, (internal) negation, and the external negation part of the status operator to be treated in the present chapter. In Van Valin and LaPolla’s analysis, these would be a nuclear operator, a core operator, and a clause operator, respectively. My analysis of the level of operation of these operators agrees with Van Valin and LaPolla’s only in the case of the clausal negator nomohaka, while the ordering of aspect and negation is inverted.
7. The sentence

A consequence of the very rigid structure of the clause in Makalero (see § 6, p. 383) is that a great many states of affairs, among them all including more than two participants, cannot be expressed but in a multi-clause structure. Nevertheless, such structures describe one event. These, I would like to maintain, form a unit of different status than the clause chains making up utterances as discussed in § 8 (p. 453), and a term to designate such units that are intermediate between simple clauses and utterances is needed. A frequently-used term for units larger than clauses, but generally smaller than utterances, is ‘sentence’. However, a good, universally valid definition of this concept is hard to come by in the literature (see e.g. Matthews 1981, Crystal 1991). For instance, in Van Valin and LaPolla’s massive 1997 work, it is very loosely defined as a “larger syntactic unit [than the clause, JH], which may contain multiple clauses in complex sentences” (ibid: 29). Since I make no use of the term ‘sentence’ otherwise, I adopt it in this study for a unit intermediate between clause and utterance as described above. A sentence may consist of either a single clause, or of more than one (mostly two) clauses which pertain to the same extralinguistic event. As such, a sentence differs from an utterance, which, if made up of more than one clause, describes separate events, but can also consist of non-clausal units, such as phrases or interjections (see also Payne 1997: 378). For a more detailed discussion of the utterance, see § 8 (p. 453).

The term ‘sentence’ is in the present study mainly intended to capture the following kinds of multi-clause structures: The first type involves structures which display a mismatch between the semantic participant structure of a predicate and the rigid frame provided by the syntactic clause template in Makalero. States of affairs which involve more participants than there are syntactic slots in a clause cannot possibly be expressed in single clauses. § 7.1 (p. 402) discusses such constructions. The second type involves adverbial predicates, which, though fully clausal, are never found on their own, but only in conjunction with other clauses. Generally, these clauses express information pertaining to anchoring in time, aspectual properties of the action, as well as mood (§ 7.2, p. 413). Similar notions may be expressed by such adverbial clauses as briefly discussed in § 7.6.1.1 (p. 430). Furthermore, the expression of (deontic) modality (§ 7.3, p. 421) generally involves sentence units, in much the same way as constructions involving verbs of saying and their complement clause extensions (§ 7.4, p. 425). Lastly, the conative with fera ‘try’ parallels the latter two types in many ways (§ 7.5, p. 427).

All of these sentence types can be found constituting relative sentences within a noun phrase (§ 4.3.5, p. 295). This shows that the sentence as defined here is indeed a syntactically relevant unit. The sentence unit is also used to account for the left-dislocation of participants for the purpose of topicalisation or focalisation, which is elaborated on in § 9.2.1 (p. 495). Formal evidence for the sentence’s validity as a unit of analysis, such as the left-detached position involved in such constructions, is discussed in § 7.6 (p. 427).
7.1 Semantics / syntax mismatch

The most important reason to express an event in the form of a multi-clausal sentence is a mismatch between the semantic participant structure of the predicate involved and the rigid syntactic frame dictated by the clause structure. Such cases include, on the one hand, all states-of-affairs with more than two participants. (1) gives such an instance: the verb *fana* ‘teach’ logically involves an agent, a recipient or undergoer, and a theme. The clause structure as discussed in § 6 (p. 383), however, allows for the expression of two participants at most. The first argument position is reserved for the agent-subject. In the case of (1), this is the pronoun *ini* (1pe).

The non-subject argument position of the verb *fana* ‘teach’ in (1) is occupied by the recipient *ni-mata ere* ‘our children’. There is no possibility to additionally fit the theme *were* (DEM.DIST) into the clause headed by *fana* ‘teach’; both its argument positions are accounted for. Consequently, a separate clause is needed in order for the theme to be expressed. For this purpose, the verb *mei* ‘take’ is used. Its sole function in such clauses as (1) is to provide an open argument position in which to express the supernumerary participant to the main verb *fana* ‘teach’. *Mei* could thus be called a light verb (see also § 3.2.3.12.1, p. 203). The two clauses share the same subject.

(1)  

```
... ini tone’ were mei=ni ni’isi ni-mata ere fana.  
1pe perhaps 2DEM take=LNK1 simultaneous REFL-child 1DEM teach  
‘... we will perhaps teach that to our children.’  (106-11)
```

The two clauses in (1) are conjoined using the clause linker *=ini* (§ 3.5.2.5.2, p. 249). (2), however, shows that this is optional. In fact, sentence units are among the few contexts where unmarked clause linking can be found.

(2)  

```
... k-asu ha’uuein ho’o mei kini...  
3:UND-for place some take give.to.3  
‘... give him some place...’  (69-055)
```

The most prototypical ditransitive verb, ‘give’, presents a somewhat special case in that it is expressed in fused forms, which incorporate the recipient. § 7.1.1 (p. 406) discusses the constructions found with it. A second large group of sentence units which are due to a mismatch between semantic and syntactic structures involve those where transitive verbs, which are associated with an undergoer participant, are constructed with a verbal complement expressing locative or manner information. As § 3.2.3.1.2 (p. 143) shows, basically any verb can be combined with a complement expressing such circumstantial information. Also, § 5.2.2.4 (p. 337) argues that such complements are treated like verbal arguments in that they are possible fillers of the clause's non-subject argument position. This fact is illustrated by a sentence like (3), in which a transitive verb’s undergoer must be expressed with the light verb *mei* ‘take’ if that verb is

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181 Since it is common to both clauses in (1), the subject is expressed only once, sentence-initially.
182 But see below for the mapping of semantic participants on syntactic positions.
combined with a VP complement. If that complement is removed, or its content expressed as a separate clause rather than in the form of a complement, as in (4), the undergoer can again be constructed as an argument of the transitive verb.

(3) Kiloo teli mei lopu-is' sa'al.
   3s maize take house-at:RED-fry:BD
   ‘She is frying maize in the house.’

(4) Kiloo lopu-is'i'ni teli ha'al.
   3s house-at=LNK1 maize fry
   ‘She is frying maize in the house.’

The mechanism is the same as that discussed for ditransitive verbs above: In cases where all of the argument positions available in a clause are occupied, all further arguments must be expressed in separate clauses with other verbs which can provide an argument position for them. Like (1) and (2), (3) uses the light verb mei ‘take’ for this purpose. Clauses like (5), which contain both an undergoer object and an adverbial verbal complement, are ungrammatical.

(5) * Kiloo teli lopu-is' sa'al.
   3s maize house-at:RED-fry:BD
   Intended: ‘She is frying maize in the house.’

This proves that an object expressing an undergoer and a complement expressing circumstantial information are mutually exclusive. A given clause can express only one or the other, but not both at the same time. Constructions like (3), where the presence of a verbal complement forces the undergoer of a transitive verb to be expressed in a separate clause, show that verbal complements function syntactically like arguments in that they fill the non-subject argument position associated with a given verb. It thus looks as though there is no distinction between arguments and adjuncts in Makalero (see § 5.2.2.4, p. 337). Another type of sentence, which makes use of the same light verb as (1) through (3), involves a peripheral instrument role. An example is given in (6).

(6) Asi upa mara=ni kus mei ani kas=ana...
   1s:POSS-father go=LNK1 blow take 1s blow=INT
   ‘My father then was going to shoot me with his blowpipe...’

In summary, thus, objects and complements as discussed in § 5.2 (p. 319) are instantiations of the same syntactic function. Either an object or a complement can fill a verb’s syntactic non-subject position. Since no more than one non-subject argument can be expressed in a clause, complements and objects are mutually exclusive. Nevertheless, the semantic participant frame of a verb may include more than two participants; there is thus a mismatch between a verb’s semantic participant frame and the syntactic possibilities provided by the clause. If a speaker wishes to overtly mention more than one argument (which includes verbal complements), he

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118 The use of the clause linker =ini in (4) is again optional. Also, it could optionally appear in (3).
has to express one of them in a separate clause, most frequently using the light verb *mei* ‘take’ whose main function it is to provide an open object position for the supernumerary argument to appear in (see § 3.2.3.12.1, p. 203). This semantics / syntax mismatch is the most basic principle underlying the organisation of Makalero discourse into clauses and sentences. In construction-grammar terms (see e.g. Schulze-Berndt 2000: 27), it is described as a mismatch between semantic participants as profiled by the lexical verb, and argument slots as provided in the syntax of the construction. The lexically profiled participant roles appear to include a locative or manner specification for all verbs. It has been shown in § 5.2.2.4 (p. 337) that basically every verb is compatible with a verbal complement expressing location, goal or manner. Additionally, the lexically profiled participant roles may include one or two non-agent participants, in the case of semantically transitive or ditransitive verbs. These participant frames clash with the very limited syntactic frame provided by the Makalero clause. Goldberg’s (1995: 53f) heading “mismatch of number of roles” appears to aptly capture this situation. According to her, “all profiled participant roles must be accounted for by the construction”, while “it is not necessary that each argument role of the construction correspond to a participant of the verb.” That is, in Goldberg’s view, an argument structure construction must be able to accommodate all of the verb’s semantically profiled participants. Note that this is not the case for the Makalero clause, which does not offer enough syntactic slots for all of a given verb’s participants. It is thus the multi-clausal units bracketed in the example in (7) as wholes which count as constructions in Goldberg’s terminology.

(7) *numata dadan [pai mei k-ou-sei]ararg constraint [arapau mei* 
wife.takers must pig take 3:UND-towards-take:BD buffalo take

$k-ou-sei$]ararg constrain...
3:UND-towards-pull:BD
‘… the wife-taker clan has to bring pigs and buffalos...’ (55-21)

It appears the mapping of the semantics onto the syntactic structure is relatively free. This is exemplified, for instance, by such sentence pairs as (3) and (4) above. As discussed in § 5.2.2.4 (p. 337), a verb’s syntactic non-subject position is filled either by a complement VP, as in (3), or by an object NP, as in (4). Either of these can be constructed in the same verb as the main verb, while the other has to stand in a separate clause.

(8) and (9) give two examples with the ditransitive verb *heti* ‘ask’, which logically involves three participants, namely the agent, the addressee and the theme. The subject is always mapped onto the first, VP-external, argument. In (8), the object slot is filled by the theme, while in (9), in a syntactically identical structure, it is the goal (addressee).

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184 It has been noted that Papuan languages prefer having only one modifier with a given lexical head. This leads to systematic distribution of nominals over series of clauses and of modifiers over serialised phrases; De Vries (2005: 367) notes that “[t]he distribution tendency is not a set of grammatical constraints but a discourse preference” (ibid.). In Makalero, however, this type of distribution is a rigid rule.
(8) Ani [sa’a u]_obl-theme heti]_vp uai=ni ere=ni ani-asu dadau
    1s  thing one ask CLS=LNK1 1DEM=CTR 1s-for must
    manini.
give.to.1s
     ‘(When) I asked for something, (they) had to give it to me.’  (101-474)

(9) Ani (...) [ni-ni]_obl-goal heti]_vp ina-uai ani aire’ SMA185 hai
    1s  REFL-mother ask mother-HON 1s  now high.sch. NSIT
    hau mei...
    all take
     ‘I asked my mother: Mother, I have now graduated from high school...’  (125-20)

Note that in the above sentences, either one or the other non-subject participant of a
ditransitive verb is expressed, but not both at the same time. In such a case, the non-
subject participant can be mapped onto the object position, irrespective of its
semantic role. If, on the other hand, all three participants in a ditransitive state of
affairs are to be expressed, the one highest on the animacy hierarchy is generally
realised as the non-subject argument of the main verb, while the other stands in a
clause with mei ‘take’. (10) gives a typical example.

(10) Mee stri were matematika mei=ni ani fana.
    teacher 2DEM mathematics take=LNK1 1s  teach
     ‘That teacher teaches me maths.’
     (chat 112)

A reversal of this order is taken to be significant. That is, (11) cannot be understood
to be a variant expression of (10). Instead, the animated participant, if expressed in a
separate clause with mei ‘take’, is in this case understood to function as a peripheral
participant.

(11) Mee stri were ani mei=ni matematika fana.
    teacher 2DEM 1s  take=LNK1 mathematics teach
     ‘That teacher uses me to teach maths.’
     * ‘That teacher teaches me maths.’  (chat 112a)

Usually, the subject slot does not participate in this semantic-to-syntax-mapping
flexibility. There are, however, rare instances where a participant that would
otherwise have to be expressed in a separate clause can stand in an unoccupied
subject position. The pair in (12) and (13) exemplifies such a case. In the more
normal construction in (12), the verbal complement nama- ‘upwards (RED)’ fills the
verb’s syntactic argument position; as a consequence, the theme participant is
expressed as an object in a separate clause with mei ‘take’ (see § 3.2.3.12.1, p. 203).
In (13), the theme participant of the same complement-verb complex is expressed as
the clause subject. This is visible from the fact that the light verb mei is absent from

185 In the Indonesian education system, SMA (sekolah menengah atas) is equivalent to senior high school.
this sentence, and also from the use of the third person possessive ki-, rather than the reflexive ni- (see § 3.3.1.2, p. 227).

(12)  \( \text{Saapatu ki-laaf=ee hai mei nama-dane...} \)
    shoe ATTR=side-DEF NSIT take upwards:RED-lift
    \( \text{‘(He) lifts one shoe up...’} \)  
    (38-016)

(13)  \( \text{...ki-tana na’u tepa nama-dane ki-ia na’u tepa} \)
    3:POSS-hand just constant upwards:RED-lift 3:POSS-foot just constant
    \( \text{nana-dane.} \)
    upwards:RED-lift
    \( \text{‘... his hands are constantly lifted and his feet are constantly lifted.’} \)  
    (55a-045)

Impressionistically speaking, such structures are very rare indeed. It is in fact, not certain whether they would be generally accepted.

An interesting, rather complex case of the effects of the one-argument condition is provided by the verb ‘to give’, discussed in § 7.1.1 (p. 406). Note that all of the sentences discussed in the present section share the same subject. This is a logical consequence of the fact that they pertain to one event. A special case of sentence, which shares the semantic property of describing one event, but involves a change in the subject participant, is discussed in § 7.1.2 (p. 412).

7.1.1 The case of ‘give’

Makalero has no single verb ‘to give’, but instead a paradigm of seven items, which vary according to the person of the recipient argument. The paradigm is as shown in Table 7.1. These forms relate directly to the personal pronouns, as given in Table 7.2 along with the corresponding forms of the verb ‘give’ and the appropriate segmentation of these forms.

All except the third person and the first person plural inclusive forms consist of the actual personal pronoun preceded by an element \( m- \) and followed by an element \(-i\text{-ni}\). The initial \( m- \) is absent in both the third person form as well as the first person plural inclusive form. Additionally, the third person form does not employ the full personal pronoun form, but only the form ki, as is the case with argument-marking verbs (see § 5.2.2.6.3, p. 349). Another point concerns the long vowel in the first person plural inclusive form, which is pronounced as [f:i:ni]. This long vowel might be explained as the result of the convergence of the pronoun’s vowel with the initial vowel of the \(-i\text{-ni} \) element. Note, however, that all the other pronouns end in the vowel /i/ too, and none of the corresponding verb forms exhibit long vowels.

It is also worth pointing out that the third person form does not distinguish singular from plural, whereas all the other persons do. Again, this parallels the pattern of argument-marking verbs (§ 5.2.2.6.3, p. 349). Pinto (2007: 5, 6) additionally lists a form \( \text{weraini} \) (\( \text{ueraini} \) in the orthography used in the present thesis), which consists
of the demonstrative-based *uera* for third person plural reference (see \(\S\) 3.3.1.1.2, p. 221) and the element -*ini*. This form is not supported by my own data.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Recipient</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1(^{st})</td>
<td>singular recipient</td>
<td><em>manini</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>('give to me')</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2(^{nd})</td>
<td>singular recipient</td>
<td><em>meini</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>('give to you')</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3(^{rd})</td>
<td>person recipient</td>
<td><em>kini</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>('give to him/her/it/them')</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1(^{st})</td>
<td>plural exclusive recipient</td>
<td><em>minini</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>('give to us (excl.)')</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1(^{st})</td>
<td>plural inclusive recipient</td>
<td><em>fiini</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>('give to us (incl.)')</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2(^{nd})</td>
<td>plural recipient</td>
<td><em>miini</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>('give to you (PL)')</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7.1: ‘give’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Personal Pronoun</th>
<th>‘Give’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>ani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>ei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s / p</td>
<td>kiloo / kilooraa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pe</td>
<td>ini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pi</td>
<td>fi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7.2: Pronominal recipients in ‘give’

By the evidence presented so far, it can be concluded that the actual meaning ‘give’ is carried by the element -*ini*; since the formative *m-* is absent in several of the forms of the paradigm, it is not likely to carry part of the meaning. This is further supported by the existence of such forms as *mu’aini* ‘give to whom’, in which another pronominal recipient, *mu’aa- ‘who (BD)’, is combined with the root -*ini* ‘give’. (14) gives an example. Also, there are some scattered occurrences of forms with personal pronouns lacking the initial *m-*; an example is *ei-ini* ‘give to you’, shown in (15). The form *meini* is a much more common way of expression. In the following, the *m*-forms as listed in Table 7.1 are treated as fully lexicalised and are not segmented in the glosses. Such formations as *ei-ini* ‘give to you’ in (15), however, are understood to be productive formations consisting of the root -*ini* ‘give’ and a personal pronoun; consequently, they are hyphenated.
(14) ... ei-ropa ere ei=ua k-ulu-k-ulu iskola-isi-la’a=ee ei mei
clothes 1DEM 2s=REL RDL-3:UND-wear school-at:RED-move=DEF 2s take
mu’aini ain.
give.to.who QUOT
‘... (I asked:) your clothes that you used to wear to school, who did you
give them to?’ (73-27)

(15) Ani kiloo asar ere were’ mei mara=ni ei-ini=na’a.
send 1DEM 2DEM.V take go=LNK1 2s=give-INT
‘I ordered him to take that to you.’ (elic1686)

Sentence (16), with a verb form similar to that in (15), gives a good indication as to
the origin of the initial m-. The syntactic valency of -ini ‘give’ is in this example
filled by the recipient argument ani (1s). Conforming to the one-argument limitation
of the Makalero verb phrase, the theme participant stands in a separate clause with
the verb mei ‘take’ (§ 3.2.3.12.1, p. 203).

(16) ... lilin fitu hena metan fitu uai=ni mei=ni ani-ini...
candle seven cloth black seven CLS=LNK1 take=LNK1 1s=give
‘... (he) gave me seven candles and seven pieces of black cloth...’
(120-118)

In (16), this separate VP is followed by the clause linker =ini (§ 3.5.2.5.2, p. 249),
marking it as a separate clause. However, the linker is not obligatory. I would thus
like to propose that the m-initial forms given in Table 7.1 are contractions of what
were initially two clauses of the form mei + pronoun + -ini, supporting the analysis
of Goldberg’s (1995: 53f.) argument structure construction as a multicialusal unit as
discussed in § 7.1 (p. 402). Notably, this contraction is found only in cases where
the recipient pronouns are vowel-initial; for this reason, the m- element is absent
with the third person form kini and the first person plural inclusive form fimi. In
some cases, these contracted forms can be broken up into their constituent parts, as
shown in (16). Another example is provided in (15) above, where an additional
clause, mara=ni ‘go there and then’, intervenes between the clause expressing the
theme argument and that expressing the verb of giving and the recipient.

There are a variety of ways in which the three participants logically involved in an
act of giving can be expressed. As shown above, the verb is most often used in a
form with an incorporated recipient. The theme participant can be added directly as
an object to that verb, as in (17) and (18).

(17) ... asi-osan hai muni manini...
1s:POSS-money NSIT return give.to.1s
‘... (he) gave my money back to me...’ (126-121)

(18) Sefar u meini.
dog one give.to.2s
‘Give a dog to you’ (Pinto 2007: 6; spelling adapted)
Another option is for the theme to be placed within a separate clause with the light verb *mei* ‘take’. Examples of this type are given in (19) and (20). The use of the light verb shows clearly that the contraction of *mei* + recipient + *ini*, resulting in *manini* ‘give to me’ and *minini* ‘give to us’ in (19) and (20), respectively, is completely lexicalised and unanalysable to the speakers who produced the constructions in question.

(19)  *apa-uai  ki-fana-nini  ho’o  we’-=ini  ho’o  mei  manini.*
      father-HON 3.POSS-teach-do  some  V2DEM=LNK1  some  take  give.to.1s
      ‘… if you have some teachings, father, give some to me.’  
      (105-058)

(20)  *papa  na’u  tepa  apoio  mei=ni  minini.*
      dad  just  constant support  take=LNK1  give.to.1pe
      ‘… keep giving us (your) support, father.’  
      (106-16)

The variants as given in (17) and (18), in which the theme participants stand in the same predication as the verb of giving, are quite rare. Pinto’s (2007: 6) data seem to suggest that this monoclusal construction is particularly frequent with second person singular recipients. It is conspicuous that the verb of giving for a second person singular recipient is *meini*, which is homophonous with *mei=ni*, i.e. the verb ‘take’ with the clitic clause linker *=ini* (§ 3.5.2.5.2, p. 249). Constructing the theme in a separate predication with *mei* thus may, in combination with a verb of giving with a second person singular recipient, lead to a sequence of two homophonous verbs; this could be the reason why this construction is generally avoided in Pinto’s data. Note, however, that in my own data the second person singular recipient form *meini* is found together with the light verb *mei*, as in the example in (21). However, in no case is the clause linker *=ini* used on that verb, such that the situation where two homophonous verb phrases follow one another does not arise.

(21)  *Ani  osan  mei  meini.*
      1s  money  take  give.to.2s
      ‘I give you money.’  
      (elic720)

Another very frequent construction involves the additional expression of the recipient in a separate clause with the verb *(k)*-asu ‘for’. Concretely, the recipient with *(k)*-asu ‘for’ is given first, followed by the theme argument either as a direct object to the verb of giving or in a separate clause with *mei* ‘take’ (i.e. the same variants as given in (17) through (20) above). In the last case, thus, the act of giving is expressed in a triclausal unit. A few examples are given in (22) through (25).

(22)  *Papa  were’-isi’=ce  ani-asu  osan  tepa  manini.*
      Indonesian 2DEM.V-at-DEF 1s-for  money  constant  give.to.1s
      ‘At that time, the Indonesian kept giving me money...’  
      (101-206)

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As a result, such clauses as (18) are potentially ambiguous in that the verb could be interpreted either as ‘to take’ with the clitic clause linker (hence one would expect a continuation), or as the second person singular recipient form of ‘give’.
(23) Mu’ani=ni ei-asu faru=ee meini?
who.SUBJ-CTR 2s-for shirt=DEF give.to.2s
‘Who gave this shirt to you?’  (elc131)

(24) … asi-noko Julieta ki-upa were’=ini ani k-asu
1s:POSS-younger.sibling J. 3:POSS-father 2DEM.V=CTR 1s 3:UND-for
obrigadu roul mei=ni kini…
thanks many:NONHUM take=LNK1 give.to.3
‘…my sister Julieta’s father, I give him many thanks…’  (105-001)

(25) … amuni isi-sefi e’ ni’isi ini-asu ijin=ee nomo
person 1pe:POSS-boss V1DEM simultaneous 1pe-for permission=DEF NEG
mei minini…
take give.to.1pe
‘…our boss was there and didn’t give us the permission…’  (126-210)

Though the object of the verb (k)-asu ‘for’ is in most cases identical with the recipient incorporated in the verb of giving, this is not necessarily the case. (26) shows a sentence where the ultimate recipient is not identical with the recipient as expressed by the verb of giving. Thus the construction with (k)-asu allows for the expression of one more oblique participant.

(26) … surat=kini hai mei we’=isi anti-asu manini asi-ni
letter=IND NSIT take V2DEM=LNK2 1s-for give.to.1s 1s:POSS-mother
asi-upa k-asu manini.
1s:POSS-father 3:UND-for give.to.1s
‘… (he said he) put letters here, so give (the one) for me to me, and give (the one) for my parents to me…’  (74-049)

Table 7.3 summarises these constructions schematically. To denote the non-fused form of the verb of giving -ini, give (in lower-case letters) is used. GIVE, on the other hand, represents the forms of the verb ‘give’ with incorporated recipients as listed in Table 7.1 above. Note that the GIVE forms derive from a complex construction of the form take REC (i.e. recipient) give; the same construction is found with the non-fused form as shown on top of the right column. The make-up of the fused form is spelled out in the table in brackets. In this representation, it can be seen clearly that the monoclausal THEME GIVE construction is essentially the same as that with the non-fused verb form. In those constructions where the theme is expressed in a separate clause, the auxiliary verb ‘take’ is actually doubly expressed, which shows that the fused form is not transparent to speakers. In those constructions, finally, where the recipient stands in a separate clause, the recipient is doubly expressed as well.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-fused verb of giving</th>
<th>Theme in the same clause</th>
<th>Theme in a separate clause with <em>mei</em> ‘take’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fused verb of giving; recipient not separately expressed</td>
<td>THEME GIVE (THEME [take REC give])</td>
<td>THEME take GIVE (THEME take [take REC give])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fused verb of giving; recipient in a separate clause with <em>(k)-asu</em> ‘for’</td>
<td>REC for THEME GIVE (REC for THEME [take REC give])</td>
<td>REC for THEME take GIVE (REC for THEME take [take REC give])</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7.3: ‘give’ constructions

The variant constructions found with the verbs of giving as represented schematically in Table 7.3 demonstrate different stages in the process of grammaticalisation of these verbs. Such sentences as (15) and (16) above show regular segmentable structures, where the verb of giving is not fused into a complex form incorporating the recipient argument and the auxiliary verb *mei* to introduce the theme. Sentences which use the fused forms, on the other hand, fall into two large groups, i.e. those where the theme argument stands in the same predication as the fused verb of giving, and those where it stands in a separate clause with *mei* ‘take’. In those cases where the theme argument is constructed as an argument to the verb of giving, as for example in (17) and (18) above, the complex verb of giving is still to some degree perceived as analysable. In other words, speakers who produce such constructions apparently see the m-formative as originating from the verb *mei* ‘take’, to which the theme participant is the object. Thus, though a fused form such as *maunini* ‘give to me’ is one word on phonological grounds, it still behaves like a biclausal unit. On the other hand, those cases where the theme argument stands with the verb *mei* ‘take’, as e.g. (19) and (20), show that the m-formative is no longer understood to be identical to the verb *mei*, which immediately precedes it. The fact that the theme object is not placed in the same clause as the verb of giving demonstrates that the verb is nevertheless understood to have its complement position occupied by the recipient participant, such that there is no free position for the theme participant in the syntax of that clause. However, the fused form is no longer understood to be a contracted biclausal unit, but has become monoclausal. Cases as (22) through (25) finally, appear to show that the recipient participant incorporated in the fused verb of giving loses its status as the syntactic equivalent to the recipient participant, such that some speakers feel the need to express that again in a separate clause. The Makalero verb thus shows a variety of stages of grammaticalisation, from a fully analytic biclausal structure to a monoclausal verb.
7.1.2 Sentences without subject continuity

The multi-clause constructions subsumed under this heading have a causativising effect, even though there is no change of valency for any of the verbs involved. An example of such a construction is demonstrated by the pair in (27) and (28). (27) shows a typical use of the general locative verb isi’. This verb’s argument frame includes two participants, namely an unagentive subject (in analogy to the sentence in (28), it is analysed as a theme here), as well as a location, which is normally realised as a nominal complement. In (28), on the other hand, an agent is added to this argument frame; the whole construction is read as a causative, i.e. ‘put / place x in y’. Literally, this construction can be understood as a sequential one, translated as ‘you take my shirt and (it) is inside what’. The argument frame of the locative verb isi’ is the same as in (27); that is, the theme argument of the preceding clause, where it is the syntactic object, must be understood as its subject. A parallel pair of cases exemplifies the construction with the verb mutu’ ‘inside’ in (29) and (30).

(27)  Euriku ki-noko un=ini Koimbra-isi’...
  E.  3:POSS-younger sibling one=CTR K.-at
   ‘One of Eurico’s younger siblings is in Coimbra...’

(28)  Ei asi-faru mei sa’a-isi’?
  2s 1s:POSS-shirt take what:BD-at
   ‘What did you put my shirt into?’

(29)  ... ki-paulata uari na’u putil=ee-mutu’.
  3:POSS-head still just bottle=DEF-inside
   ‘... his head is still inside the bottle.’

(30)  Ni-surat mei=ni lode-mutu’.
  REFL-book take=LNK1 bag-inside
   ‘(He) put his book into the bag.’

§ 7.1 (p. 402) argues that sentence units involving a mismatch between semantic and syntactic arguments normally involve subject continuity. The fact that this is not the case in (28) and (30) thus makes this type of causative construction special. While it appears to be relatively frequent, it is restricted to verbs expressing movement, as those in (31), or position, as those in (32).

(31)  isa
  ‘go down’
  la’a
  ‘move’
  li’an
  ‘fall’
  mara
  ‘go’
  ma’u
  ‘come’
  misa
  ‘go up’
(32) **isi’**  
**mutu’**  
**nat**  
**tau’**  
**to’e**  
**ue’**  
**ume’**  

‘at’  
‘inside’  
‘stand (SG)’  
‘where’  
‘inside’  
(V2DEM)  
(VDEM.DIST)

Causative constructions with other verbs normally involve verbal complexes with -ini ‘do’, as discussed in § 5.2.2.5.1.1 (p. 340).

### 7.2 Sentences with adverbial clauses

The present study does not recognise a distinct lexical category of adverbs. Instead, § 3.2.3.1.1 (p. 141) argues for the analysis of such lexemes as **aire’** ‘now’, **tone’** ‘maybe, perhaps’ and **atamana’** ‘in the beginning, first’ as full verbs. These adverbial predicates are distinct from all other verbs in having a syntactic valency of zero. They are thus incompatible with any type of argument and most often stand as one-word clauses, as **aire’** ‘now’ in (33) and **kamunéi’** ‘tomorrow, the next day’ in (34). Also, they are not usually found forming utterances of their own, but are always combined with other clauses, indicated by the bracketing in the below examples, into multi-clause sentences. However, the fact that they can be linked to the following clause with a clause linker and may take their own modifiers, as discussed in § 3.2.3.1.1 (p. 141), justifies their analysis as separate predicates.

(33) ... **tai=ni=po**  
**[aire’]**<sub>CLS</sub>  
**[ani so’ot]**<sub>CLS</sub>=ee  
**[fi meih=ini]**  

CLS=LNK1–ADVR  
now  
1s want–CMPL  
1pi two.HUM–CTR

**ma’u**<sub>CLS</sub>=ini  
**[pas dame]**<sub>CLS</sub>...

come=LNK1  
peace peace

‘... but now I want us two to make peace...’  
(74-117)

(34) **[Kamunéi]**<sub>CLS</sub>  
**[kilo mara]**<sub>CLS=ni</sub>  
**[mei]**<sub>CLS=ni</sub>  
**[ni-mata k-asu-lolo]**

tomorrow  
3s  
go=LNK1  
take=LNK1  
REFL-child 3UND-for-say

‘The next day he went and told it to his child...’  
(52-09)

These predicates are positioned in front of the clause or clauses that they provide background information to. Adverbials expressed by such verbs express a variety of notions, among them the anchoring of a state of affairs in time (§ 7.2.1, p. 414), several aspectual notions (§ 7.2.2, p. 417), as well as epistemic modality (§ 7.2.4, p. 420). Note that these fall under Van Valin and LaPolla’s operator categories (§ 6.6, p. 393). See also § 7.6.1.1 (p. 430) for adverbial sentences in the left-detached position.
7.2.1 Adverbial clauses expressing time

Makalero has no grammaticalised means to express tense categories. An action or state is anchored in time through the use of adverbial predicates. These may be general temporal expressions which divide time into past, present and future (§ 7.2.1.1, p. 414), or more specific ones, which make reference to a specific point in time (§ 7.2.1.2, p. 416).

7.2.1.1 General time adverbials

The most important adverbial predicates expressing time are listed in (35).

(35)  

\[ \text{hana’} \quad \text{remote past} \\
\text{aite’} \quad \text{past} \\
\text{aire’} \quad \text{recent past} \\
\text{tone’} \quad \text{present} \\
\text{future}^{107} \]

These adverbial verbs belong to the class of avalent verbs as defined in § 3.2.3.1.1 (p. 141). Although they are clausal, they are not normally found constituting utterances of their own, but make part of a larger sentence. (36) and (37) illustrate typical constructions.

(36)  

\[ \ldots \text{hana’ e hau atanana asi-suku Ailebere ki-nei o ko nomo} \]
\[ \text{REMPI:PT all} \quad \text{1s.POSS-suco A} \quad \text{3.POSS-name yet NEG} \]
\[ \text{mei=ni Ailebere tamu...} \]
\[ \text{take=LNK1 A. name} \]
\[ \ldots \text{a long time ago, at first, my suco Ailebere was not called Ailebere yet...} \]

(35-09)

(37)  

\[ \ldots \text{komu Timor aite’ ni ukun were’ ki-mutu’ ere ki-heke} \]
\[ \text{REC:PT REFL rule 2DEM.V 3.POSS-inside 1DEM 3.POSS-difficult} \]
\[ \text{uari se roual-ual.} \]
\[ \text{still very RDL-many.NONHUM} \]
\[ \ldots \text{since Timor became independent only recently, there are still very many problems in it.} \]

(65-14)

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107 See § 7.2.1.1.1 (p. 415).
7.2.1.1 Future

Future time reference can be expressed in a variety of ways. One of these involves the adverbial predicate tone’ as listed in (35) above. This item is actually a marker of deontic modality (discussed in more detail in § 7.3, p. 421). In a small number of cases, however, it appears to express not the speaker’s commitment to the truth content of the sentence, but rather marks future time reference. (38) and (39) illustrate two such cases.

(38) *Ani hai ma’en kiloo tone’ nomo teni muni ma’u.*
   1s NSIT know 3s perhaps NEG again return come
   ‘I know that he will not come back.’ (elic1587)

(39) *Ani tone’ ei nomo isi-nilu.*
   1s perhaps 2s NEG at:RED-forget
   ‘I will not forget you.’ (elic1068)

*Tone’ shares future time reference with the phrasal clitic =na’a (see § 3.5.3.2.1, p. 262). This clitic’s main function is to mark an action as an intention, as in (40).

(40) ... *ani aire ma’a-ni aeroporto-isi’ (...) vai=ni=si ani*
   1s now come:LNK1 airport-at:RED CLS=LNK1=LNK2 1s
   *Portugal-isi-la’a=na’a.*
   Portugal-at:RED-move=INT
   ‘... I am now at the airport, and I intend to go to Portugal.’ (74-017)

However, frequently, the intention component is less dominant, in which case =na’a simply refers to an action that has not yet happened at the time of reference. Generally, the action in question is set in a relatively near future, as (41) illustrates. In fact, ‘be about to’ is often an appropriate translation.

(41) ... *fi lafu’=ana=uai umu=na’a=uai fi oko nomo ma’en.*
   1pi live=INT=or die=INT=or 1pi yet NEG know
   ‘... whether we are going to live or die we don’t know yet...’ (17-12a)

The grammaticalisation process of =na’a seems to be progressing in a direction in which the requirement for the future to be relatively near is being lost: in (42), =na’a refers to an unspecified, and possibly rather remote, point in time.

(42) *Ini haka-hau umu=na’a.*
   1pe all-all die=INT
   ‘We will all die.’ (pelic298)

=na’a is not restricted to sentences with present or future reference, but can equally well occur in sentences with past time reference, which results in a future-in-the-past reading. In such a context, =na’a very frequently, though not always, has the
connotation that the action was intended, but did in the end not come to pass, as exemplified in (43) and (44).

(43)  ... ma’akini k-ua-iskola=na’a uai=ni=si la’a
       wrongly.think 3:UND-on.top.RED-school=INT CLS=LNK1=LNK2 move
e’=ini muni na’an…
      V1DEM=LNK1 return NEG.EX
       ‘... (I) thought (I) would continue schooling, but (then we) went and it didn’t happen.’ (59-03)

(44)  I depois Lerenene were rei-misa=na’a ere heke…
      and then L. 2DEM take.out-go.up=INT 1DEM difficult
       ‘Then Lerenene wanted to go out, but it was difficult...’ (64-14)

Also, the modal verb so’ot ‘want’ has been found to denote a future time, as shown in example (45). Such cases are rare; it does not seem as if this way of expression is anywhere near grammaticalisation.

(45)  Ei ate-hasa ere nemo ke’ ere ei so’ot=ini umu.
       2s tree-leaf 1DEM NEG drink 1DEM 2s want=LNK1 die
       ‘If you don’t drink this medicine, you will die.’ (eic245)

7.2.1.2 Adverbials denoting a specific point in time

Apart from the general time adverbials discussed in § 7.2.1.1 (p. 414), there are also valent adverbial predicates which express specific points in time. A small selection of these is given in (46).

(46)  raine’  ‘last night’
      ituhe’  ‘in three days’
      soohe’  ‘yesterday’
      kamunei  ‘tomorrow, the next day’

Their use is the same as that of adverbial predicates expressing general notions of time; they cannot constitute utterances of their own, but generally form one-word clauses within a larger sentence. They are usually unmarked, but may take modifiers and clause linkers. (47) and (48) give typical examples.

(47)  ... kamunei upa-ului mara=ni heman.
       tomorrow father=HON go=LNK1 take
       ‘... tomorrow you take it away with you, father.’ (52-10)

(48)  ... ei-nana Agapitu Baretu raine’=ini hai umu.
       2s-elder.sibling A. last.night=LNK1 NSIT die
       ‘... your brother Agapito Barreto died last night.’ (101-356)
7.2.2 Adverbial clauses expressing aspect

The only grammaticalised aspect marker hai and its use are discussed in § 5.3.1.1 (p. 361). Apart from this item, the verb-phrase internal adverbials uari ‘still’ and hau ‘all, totally’ are relatively commonly used to express aspctual notions, as described in § 5.3.1.2 (p. 368) and § 5.3.2 (p. 369), respectively. Yet other aspectual notions are expressed with clausal adverbial predicates, grouped in the following sections according to their semantics. These share with the time adverbials discussed in the above sections the inability to make up utterances of their own, even though they are fully clausal, as well as the position to the left of the clauses whose semantics they modify.

7.2.2.1 Imperfective

The most important adverbial expressing an aspectual notion is ho’onese or ho’onese’, which is made up of the determiner ho’o ‘some’ (§ 3.3.2.2, p. 233) and the verb nese ‘aim at, hit’. Its internal structure is unclear; it may be a full clause with a subject and a verb, or a complement-verb complex, or something else entirely. Whatever its internal make-up, the whole behaves like the avalent adverbial verbs discussed in § 3.2.3.1.1 (p. 141) and is as such treated as a unit. Semantically, ho’onese covers the domain of an imperfective marker: it can mark an action as ongoing at the time of reference, or as happening repeatedly or habitually. (49) through (51) give such examples.

(49) Ei ho’onese’ sa’a-kini?
    2s IPF what:BD-do
    ‘What are you doing (right now)?’

(50) Asi-ni ho’onese’ ue-mit=ini iar...
    1s:POSS-mother IPF 2DEM:RED-SG:LNK1 cry
    ‘My mother would often sit there and cry...’

(51) ... ho’onese uatu fat uatu lima la’a=ni Dili-isi’ na’a.muni ma’u...
    IPF day four day five move=LNK1 D-at in.turn come
    ‘... (I) used to go to Dili for four or five days and then come back...’
7.2.2.2 Habituality

Houdai, or houdainisi, is used to express habituality. An example of its use is given in (52). The item's length suggests internal complexity; however, its exact internal make-up is unclear.\(^{108}\)

(52) \text{Amulafu umu ere } e’ ere houdainisi=ee\(^{108}\) dele.
\begin{tabular}{llll}
person & die & 1DEM & V1DEM 1DEM HAB=CMPL
\end{tabular}
\text{ lament}
\text{‘If somebody dies, we usually sing laments here.’ (21-041)}

A very similar notion is expressed by raaropa’. This item includes an element -ropa’, which must be identical to the quantifier ropa’ ‘many’ discussed in §3.2.3.14 (p. 215). The meaning of the element raru-, on the other hand, is not clear. No comparable formative is found elsewhere in the language. Raaropa’ can be translated either as ‘regularly’ or as ‘often’, as exemplified in (53). Again, note the occurrence of a clitic=ee on the adverbial. This element is analysed as identical to the complementiser discussed in §3.6.2 (p. 265; see also §7.6.1.1, p. 430).

(53) \text{... ere asi-ama ani raaropa’=ee tepa ma’u ama paun}
\begin{tabular}{llllllll}
1DEM & 1s:POS&-garden & 1s & HAB=DEF & constant & come & garden & pull.out
\end{tabular}
\text{ e’.
V1DEM}
\text{‘... this is my garden, I came here regularly to weed.’ (118-22)}

Another element covering the habitual meaning is ho’one. As discussed in §7.2.2.1 (p. 417), this item is broader in its applicability, covering largely the semantic domain generally labelled imperfective. A further frequently used marker of habituality is the Indonesian loan biasa(nya), as illustrated in (54), where, as a matter of fact, it cooccurs with ho’one.

(54) \text{... ini lopu u k-ia’=ini biasanya ini filem toton=ini ini}
\begin{tabular}{llllllllll}
1pe & house & 1pe & 3:UND-under=LNK1 usually & 1pe & movie & watch=LNK1 & 1pe
\end{tabular}
biasa & ini & ho’one & ta & tane-tane.
\begin{tabular}{llllllllll}
usually & 1pe & IPF & REC & RDL-waken
\end{tabular}
\text{‘... we who were staying in one house usually watched movies and we usually woke each other up (in time for the movies).’ (120-004)}

\(^{108}\) The houdai part might be the verb dai ‘pass’ (§3.2.3.13, p. 210) with the complement verb (h)-ori- ‘towards’, though the semantic motivation of the use of such a complex as a marker of habituality is not immediately obvious. If this analysis is correct, the element isi in the variant form houdainisi may be the clause linker =isi (§3.5.3.1.1.1, p. 250), confirming the clausal nature of this adverbial expression. Note, however, that this leaves the n-element in houdainisi unexplained.

\(^{108}\) See §7.6.1.1 (p. 430) for the element =ee on houdainisi.
7.2.2.3 Continuative

In a few cases, the movement verb mara ‘go’ appears to be used like a continuative marker. Even though this construction does not make use of an adverbial predicate as those discussed in § 7.2.1 (p. 414) through § 7.2.2.2 (p. 418), it results in a similar multi-clause construction pertaining to one state of affairs and thus qualifies as a sentence unit. However, whereas the aspectual adverbial predicates precede the clauses they modify, the continuative mara ‘go’ follows it, as in (55).

(55) ... ki-joven=ee rial=ini uatu.uere uatu.uere ta helur=ini
3:POSS-young=DEF many.HUM=LNK1 daily
REC change=LNK1

mara.
go
‘... there were many youths, and there was a constant coming and going every day.’ (101-253)
lit. they kept exchanging each other)

This construction is rare, and it is unclear whether mara ‘go’ can in fact be considered to be grammaticalised in a continuative function.

7.2.3 Other adverbial clauses

Any clause may be used in the same way as the adverbial predicates discussed in the previous paragraphs to provide circumstantial information modifying another clause. The whole forms a sentence unit. (56) and (57) show two such cases; in (56) a clause involving a time-of-day predicate with a fixed subject (§ 3.2.3.5, p. 164) provides the temporal anchoring of the following clause. In (57), it is kamunei tuku ru resi-loloi ‘tomorrow at 12 o’clock’, a free combination of elements. Both of these indications of time are fully clausal and can make up utterances of their own.

(56) ... mu’a kamu na’u tepa filem tifi-mutu’...
ground night just constant movie TV-inside=LNK1
‘... at night, there were always movies on TV...’ (120-003)

(57) ... kamunei tuku ru resi-loloi fi meih la’a...
tomorrow punch ten remain:RED-two lpi two.HUM move
‘... the two of us go tomorrow at 12 o’clock...’ (120-127)

Such non-lexicalised adverbial clauses may be placed in the left-detached position (§ 7.6.1.1, p. 430), in which case they are marked with the complementiser (§ 3.6.2, p. 265). Alternatively, they may be constructed as separate clauses in either paratactic linkage or with clause-linking clitics (§ 3.5.3.1, p. 250). An example, with unmarked linkage, is given in (58).
(58)  
\[ \text{Ei so’ot=ini heru-ini ei dadau dai-haei teuh.} \]
\[ 2s want=LNK1 weave-do:BD 2s must DAI-cotton buy \]
‘If you want to weave, you have to buy yarn first.’

(elic1446)

Such adverbial clauses as shown in (56) can be repeated, as whole units, to indicate regular intervals of time. (59) gives such an example. Similar repetition of phrases is found with NPs (§ 4.6, p. 316).

(59)  
\[ \ldots \text{mu’a.kamu.mu’a.kamu ani huma=ni ani la’a=ni ako-ini.} \]
\[ \text{every.night 1s order=LNK1 1s move=LNK1 steal-do:BD} \]
‘… every night (he) ordered me to go stealing.’

(101-291)

7.2.4 Epistemic modality

The semantic domain of epistemic modality is largely carried by only one adverbial predicate, *tone*, which is glossed in the present work as ‘perhaps’. It covers a wide range of meanings, ranging from highly uncertain predications to near certainty. (60) and (61) illustrate the opposite ends of this scale.

(60)  
\[ \text{Aira ki=xelu=fata tone’ jaringan liiomar=isi=ee hai uc’.} \]
\[ \text{year ATTR=other-COND perhaps network 1-at-DEF NSIT V2DEM} \]
‘Next year there will perhaps already be net coverage in Lliomar.’

(elic814)

(61)  
\[ \text{Kiloo taure-fani=ini fera ani neok ani tone’ ma’en.} \]
\[ 3s which:RED-like=LNK1 try 1s deceive 1s perhaps know \]
‘In whichever way he tries to deceive me, I will certainly find out.’

(elic1053)

§ 7.2.1.1.1 (p. 415) points out that *tone*: ‘perhaps’ can also be used with future reference. This must be an extension of its modal use. (62) shows that *tone* is also used to render an optative clause.

(62)  
\[ \text{Kiloo tone’ ma’u.} \]
\[ 3s perhaps come \]
‘Hopefully he will come’

(elic1741a)

*Tone* partly extends into the domain of deontic modality; it frequently occurs in the sense of ‘should’, generally in questions either to the self or to another person; (63) gives such an instance. Similarly, *tone* also occurs in advice or instructions to another person, as in (64).
A higher degree of uncertainty is expressed by *kato* or *koto*. This adverbial is sometimes found with an element *halee* as *koto halee*, though the meaning and contribution of the latter is unknown. Most generally, this expression, which functions like an adverbial predicate, presents a situation as hypothetical, as shown in (65). As (66) demonstrates, however, it is also frequently used to mark uncertainty. Its modal meaning is much more restricted than that of *tone’*.

### 7.3 Deontic modality

The modal verbs given in Table 7.4 deal with the speaker’s commitment as to the expressed proposition’s believability, obligatoriness, desirability, or reality.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>group  I</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>dadau</em></td>
<td>must</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>tenki</em></td>
<td>must</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>group  II</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>so’ot</em></td>
<td>want</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>tule</em></td>
<td>not want</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>group  III</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>me’e</em></td>
<td>be able</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>nopa’e</em></td>
<td>cannot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>iru’</em></td>
<td>not allowed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>group  IV</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>huit</em></td>
<td>be able</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7.4: Modal verbs
All of these modal verbs can be used in a construction where they are followed by a syntactically independent clause or sentence expressing the proposition whose content they modify. Due to its resemblance to a complement clause, this is called the complement clause extension in the discussion in § 3.2.3.10 (p. 186). With these modal verbs, the clauses involved always share the same subject, which is expressed in the modal verb clause. (67) through (69) give a few examples.

(67) Ani ua=nata nomo hus=ini ma’u ai-sirvisu...
1s CLS+CTF,COND NEG able=LNK1 come V1DEM,RED-work
‘Actually I cannot afford to come and work here...’ (125-40)

(68) Ei hai rau sotemee se-dai irau ini teni kohoru=ni
2s NSIT good self alone-pass not.allowed lpe again with=LNK1
fuli-dai.
together;RED-pass
‘You had better go by yourself, don’t walk with us any more.’ (115-038)

(69) Asi-ni se me’e ki-nua-nua haka.
1s:POSS-mother very able 3.POSS-RDL-eat search
‘My mother could find food very well.’ (101-055)

Note, however, that in the case of tule ‘not want’, such a multi-clause construction is found in the speech of one individual only, who has been living in Portugal for several years and is thus separated from the larger speech community. It is not clear how widely acceptable this structure is.

There is some variety as to the nature of the linkage between the modal clause and the clause or clauses expressing the proposition modified by it. On the one hand, the clause linker =ini (§ 3.5.2.5.2, p. 249) may be used for this purpose, as in (67), (68) and (69) show sentences where no linker is used between the clauses. Whether or not a linker can be used appears to be a lexical property of individual modal verbs; Table 7.5 gives an overview over the patterns found.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paratactic linkage</th>
<th>tule</th>
<th>not want</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>me’e</td>
<td>be able</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nopa’e</td>
<td>cannot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dadau</td>
<td>must</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tenki</td>
<td>must</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paratactic linkage / linkage with =ini</th>
<th>lhu</th>
<th>be able</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>so’ot</td>
<td>want</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>irau</td>
<td>not allowed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7.5: Modal verbs: types of linkage

The modal verbs are classified in four groups in Table 7.4, depending on what kind of variant constructions, if any, are possible. Note that these subgroups appear to be...
semantically based; group I involves verbs expressing necessity, group II verbs expressing volition or lack thereof, and group III consists of a variety of verbs associated with possibility, both internal (as with ‘can’ and ‘cannot’), and externally imposed (as with ‘not allowed’). Group IV, finally, consists of only one verb; the question of the internal semantic consistency of the group is thus moot.

The modal verbs of group I are only found in such multi-clause sentences as exemplified in (67) through (69). Those in group II, on the other hand, allow for the expression of the modified proposition in the form of an object argument. In this case, the modal verb clearly heads the structure. (70) and (71) give examples.

(70)  Ani [papa-hornu]sub hai tule...
1s  Indonesian-with
‘I didn’t want to stay with Indonesians (as a servant) any more...’

(71)  Ani [semalae]sub hau so’ot=po [mu’u]sub nomo so’ot.
1s  pineapple  all want-ADV banana  NEG want
‘I like pineapples better than bananas.’
(lit. I like pineapples very much, but I don’t like bananas.)

So’ot ‘want’ and tule ‘not want’ are also found with the complementiser, although the ordering of elements in the two constructions differs significantly. See § 3.6.2 (p. 265) and § 3.2.3.10.1.1 (p. 187) for more discussion.

The variant construction found with modal verbs of group III is quite the opposite, in terms of the syntactic hierarchy of constituents, of that of the verbs in group II. To wit, these verbs allow for a construction where they stand in the complement position of the modified proposition’s verb. In this construction, thus, the modal verb is a syntactic dependent of the content verb. (72) and (73) exemplify this construction type.

(72)  ... ani [were’ me’e]sub-compl-mi-kerek.
1s  2DEM.V  able-long:RED-write
‘... I could write that along.’

(73)  Fi [wire e’ ere nopa’e]sub-compl-seti-la’a.
1pi  river  VDEM  IDEM  cannot-pass-move
‘We cannot cross the river here.’

Note that in these cases, it is only the position of the undergoer relative to that of the modal verb which distinguishes the two constructions. (74) and (75) show the same verbs in multi-clause sentences with unmarked linkage. In these, the undergoer arguments follow the modal verb, whereas in (72) and (73) they precede them. The fact that in these constructions, the undergoers stand in the same predication as the complement-verb complex, rather than in a separate clause with the light verb mei ‘take’ (§ 3.2.3.12.1, p. 203), suggests that the modal verbs are understood to be semantically transitive and compatible with an object argument.
(74) Asi-ni se me’e ki-mua-mua haka.
1s.POSS-mother very able 3.POSS.RDL-eat search
‘My mother could find food very well.’ (101-055)

(75) Namira nomo forit ere nopa’e ate mei nama-dane...
man NEG strong 1DEM cannot wood take upwards:RED-lift
‘This man who is not strong cannot lift the wood...’ (elic1777)

The single modal verb of group IV, finally, combines the properties of group II and group III. Not only can hul appear in a multi-clause construction as demonstrated in (67) above, it can also either head the modal construction, as in (76), where the modified proposition is expressed as its object argument, as well as be a dependent, as in (77), where it is the complement in a complement-verb complex, as evident through the use of its reduced form and the bound form of the content verb.

(76) ... ani [ira u dane]emo oko nomo hul...
1s.paddy one lift yet NEG able
‘... I was not yet able to maintain a paddy...’ (31-05)

(77) ... heil heil heil=ini tepa [nomo hul]COMP-seil.
pull pull pull=LNK1 constant NEG able:RED-pull:BD
‘... (he) keeps pulling, but does not manage to pull (him out).’

The two constructions, although they are syntactically quite opposite, do not seem to involve any semantic differences.

7.3.1 Other modal notions

Note that there is no reference in Table 7.4 to modal verbs specifically expressing necessity or permission. The semantic field of necessity is covered in Makalero by dadau ‘must’ and tenki ‘must’. While dadau is always constructed as discussed in § 3.2.3.10.2.2 (p. 196), tenki can be found with no subject of its own in an impersonal construction, as in (78). In this case, it translates as ‘it is necessary’.

(78) ... ma’u=ni tenki Iliomar=ee ki-adat=ee ue’...
come=LNK1 must L=DEF 3.POSS-customs=DEF V2DEM
‘... then it is necessary that the traditions of Iliomar exist (be upheld)...’ (72-11)

There is also Portuguese loan precisa ‘need to’, which, however, is only found with nominal arguments in the object position, as in (79), not with clausal structures. As such, it appears to be a regular transitive verb that is not associated with a structural unit above clause level and is omitted from the present discussion.
(79) *Amun isul-isi’ini ma’u koto fi-lolo-iti persiza...*
   person nation ATTR=other-at=LNK1 come maybe 1pi-say-NML need
   ‘...a person from another country comes and needs our language...’

The notion of permission is most often expressed with the verb *rau* ‘good’, in two distinct constructions which parallel the variants exhibited by the modal verbs of group III. On the one hand, the proposition which is modally modified by *rau* can be constructed as that verb’s argument – note that this is the subject, rather than the object argument, due to the fact that *rau* ‘good’ is semantically intransitive. An example of this construction type is given in (80). On the other hand, the two clauses or sentences involved can be constructed as two independent clauses in a sequence. In this case, it is possible to use the clause linker =ini between them, as in (81).

(80) *[Ani rau-rau ei ira-tu’il mei=eej] rau=uai na’an?*

   1s RDL-good 2s water-bamboo.container take=DEF good=or NEG.EX
   ‘Can I borrow your water container for a moment?’
   (elic325)

(81) *Rau=ni ani feesta-isi-la’=uai na’an?*

   good=LNK1 1s party-at:RED-move=or NEG.EX
   ‘May I go to the party?’
   (elic124)

The opposite meaning, prohibition, is expressed by *ira* ‘not allowed’. It looks like the initial vowel of this verb is a prefix that makes *rau* ‘good’ negative; however, since no such element is found elsewhere in the language to confirm this idea, it must remain speculative.

Another option for the expression of a permissive-like notion is the use of a purposive linker (either =taa or =p-; see § 8.1.8, p. 474). Note that in (82), the clitic =taa stands with a single clause only and can hence not be said to function as a linker between two clauses.

(82) *Uai=ni iraku=taa k-u-u-ue-daru=ni...*

   CLS=LNK1 3s=PRP 3:UND-on.top:RED-V2DEM:RED-place:BD=LNK1
   ‘So let it stand on (the fire), and then...’
   (50-10)

### 7.4 Verbs of saying and their complement clause extensions

Verbs of saying and their complement clause extensions are found in multi-clause sentences very much like those shown for modal verbs in § 7.3 (p. 421). In these sentences, the complement clause extension follows the verb of saying, as exemplified in (83) through (85).
(83) \textit{Uai=ni asi-nana ki=pere lolo=ni \textasciitilde{}eiiskol\textasciitilde{} nomo}  \\
\textit{rau=konai=ni ei uere\textasciitilde{}isi-la\textasciitilde{}a=na\textasciitilde{}a=ua?}  \\
\textit{CLS=LNK1 1s.POSS-elder.sibling ATTR=big.SG say=LNK1 2s school NEG}  \\
\textit{good=CSQ=LNK1 2s 2DEM.V-at:RED-move\textasciitilde{}INT=QM}  \\
\textit{‘So my older brother said, ‘you can’t go to school, and as a consequence of}  \\
\textit{that you want to join this?’’}  \\
\textit{(126-113)}

(84) \textit{Papa aftane’ ani pada=ni ama-isi-la\textasciitilde{}a}.  \\
\textit{father PT 1s order=LNK1 garden-at:RED-move}  \\
\textit{‘Father ordered me to go to the garden.’}  \\
\textit{(elic1524a)}

(85) \textit{Ina-ua \textasciitilde{}ei-isi-leu ma’u=te\textasciitilde{}e=na\textasciitilde{}a}.  \\
\textit{mother-1ON 2s-at:RED-call come=after\textasciitilde{}INT}  \\
\textit{‘Mother called to you to come over.’}  \\
\textit{(elic1057)}

Again, both paratactic linkage, as in (85), as well as the use of the linker \textit{=ini}, as in (83) and (84), are possible. Table 7.6 summarises the patterns found with individual verbs in the corpus.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paratactic linkage</th>
<th>komesa</th>
<th>start</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>konta</td>
<td>tell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ma’akini</td>
<td>wrongly think</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>oko-na</td>
<td>not yet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paratactic linkage / linkage with \textit{=ini}</td>
<td>lolo</td>
<td>say</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>aka’</td>
<td>afraid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>huma</td>
<td>order</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>isi-der</td>
<td>answer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>leu</td>
<td>call</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fana</td>
<td>teach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ofarana</td>
<td>dream</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linkage with \textit{=ini}</td>
<td>fatar</td>
<td>force, oblige</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fain</td>
<td>dare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mot</td>
<td>dare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>neok</td>
<td>lie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pada</td>
<td>order</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7.6: Verbs of saying: types of linkage

Several of these verbs also allow for the expression of the quoted speech as an object argument. For more information, see § 3.2.3.10.1 (p. 187).
7.5 The conative with fera ‘try’

As discussed in § 3.2.3.10.2.1 (p. 193), the conative construction with fera ‘try’ may take the form of a multi-clause sentence, much like those found with modal verbs and verbs of saying. An example is given in (86). In such a construction, fera is not found in combination with a clause linker, but only in paratactic linkage. See § 5.2.2.5.3 (p. 343) for more discussion on this conative construction.

(86)  Kiloa taure-fani=ini [fera]_{CLS} fani neok]_{CLS} ani tone’ ma’en.
   3s which.RED-be.like=LNK1 try 1s lie 1s perhaps know
   ‘In whichever way he tries to deceive me, I will certainly find out.’
   (elic1053)

7.6 The formal characteristics of the sentence

§ 7 (p. 401) gives the rationale for the unit ‘sentence’ as a unit intermediate between a clause and an utterance in semantic terms: a sentence consists of one or more clauses pertaining to one extralinguistic state of affairs or event. The types of multi-clause structures that this definition is meant to capture are illustrated in § 7.1 (p. 402) through § 7.5 (p. 427). On a formal level, these units are defined by the presence of a so-called left-detached position as discussed in § 7.6.1 (p. 427); this position can either hold dislocated arguments or non-argument topics, or adverbial information. § 7.6.2 (p. 434) briefly reviews the evidence for the presence of a right-detached position.

7.6.1 The left-detached position

Formally, sentences can be defined through the presence of what Van Valin and LaPolla (1997: 36) call the left-detached position, or LDP, which is “outside of the clause but within the sentence”. This position can account for such discontinuous sentences as (87) and (88), in both of which a clause expressing adverbial information intervenes between the subject and the object of another clause, as represented by the bracketing. This happens with both pronominal as well as nominal subjects, as shown in (87) and (88), respectively. The adverbial clause in (87) is one with its own dummy subject, mu’a ‘ground’. Clearly, kilo plays no role in this clause, but belongs to the following clause, the predicate of which stands after the linker =isi. The same holds for (88), where the adverbial predicate aire ‘now’ is valent (§ 3.2.3.1.1, p. 141) and constitutes a one-word clause.

(87)  Kiloa [mu’a oko noma kamu]=isi muni-ma’u.
   3s ground yet NEG night=LNK2 return-come
   ‘He came home before night(fall).’
   (elic632)
(88)  *Mata ka’u ere  [aire’] ili=ee  k-uA-nat=ini...*
    child small 1DEM now rock=DEF 3:UND-on.top:RED-stand:SG-LNK1
    ‘The child is now standing on top of the rock and then...’  (102-056)

Not only such temporal adverbial expressions as discussed in § 7.2 (p. 413) appear in this type of construction, but in fact any type of adverbial clause. Examples with non-temporal adverbial clauses are given in (89) and (90). Again, the adverbial clause intervenes between the subject and the predicate of the clause it modifies, making it discontinuous. Note that the two clauses can either be linked paratactically, as in (88) above, or with a clause linker, as in (89) and (90).

(89)  *Ae [fi ena]=si hai uta=fa’a.*
    rain 1pi see=LNK2 NSIT fall=IMM
    ‘It looks like it’s about to start raining.’  (elic243)

(90)  ... *ani [komu fi importante]=si uere lolo.*
    1s since 1pi important=LNK2 2DEM say
    ‘... I say this because it (we?) is important.’  (101-314)

This process transcends clause boundaries and hence clearly functions above clause level. Van Valin and LaPolla’s LDP seems appropriate to deal with this phenomenon. In their representation, the sentences in (88) and (89) would look as follows.

(91)  SENTENCE

    LDP
     /  \
    CLAUSE CLAUSE
     /  \
    CORE CORE
     /  \
    NUC ARG NUC
     /  \
    PRED PRED

    Mata ka’u ere  [aire’] ili=ee  k-uA-nat=ini...
    child small 1DEM now rock=DEF 3:UND-on.top:RED-stand:SG
    ‘The child is now standing on top of the rock...’
Not only subjects, but also object arguments can stand in the LDP. Examples are given in (93) and (94). Again, the NPs in questions are separated from the clauses with the verbs in whose participant frame they are by adverbial clauses marked with square brackets.

(93) *Faru ere [uatu pere]=te’e ani k-itu.*

shirt 1DEM day big.SG=after 1s 3:UND-wear

‘This shirt, I wear only on holidays.’ (elic642)

(94) *Ki-resin ere [ani ma’u]=ini mei=ni ni-noko-raa kini...*

3:POSS-rest 1DEM is come=LNK1 take=LNK1 REFL-younger.sibling-PL give.to.3

‘The rest I gave to my siblings when I came...’ (101-112)

Placing an NP in the LDP can apparently have both a topicalising as well as a focalising effect, although topicalisation is much more common (see § 9.2.1, p. 495). The LDP is, of course, also available in one-clause sentences, of which two examples are given in (95) and (96). The constituents in the LDP are bracketed.

(95) *[Asa-paru un=ce]LDP anu uari tepa afu.*

bird-female one=DEF is still constant carry

‘The female one I still carried around with me...’ (101-045)

(96) *[Tufuraa ere]LDP ki-nami tepa pase.*

woman 1DEM 3:POSS-husband constant beat

‘This woman is often beaten by her husband.’ (elic1290)

The left-dislocation of an argument into the LDP leaves a gap in its original position in the clause. In some instances (to be further investigated), the dislocated
participant is taken up in its position inside the clause by a resumptive element. Again, this is possible with both subject arguments, as in (97), as well as object arguments, as in (98). Whereas in (97), the personal pronoun is repeated as such, the lengthy noun phrase in (98) is replaced by the derived deictic verb *vere*, whose main function is that of recapitulating long arguments (see § 3.2.3.9.1, p. 186).

(97) ... *ani wattu ure. wattu ure. ani ni-mali ajuda...*
   1s daily 1s REFL-cousin help
‘... every day I helped my cousin...’ (101-472)

(98) *Asi-tufur ki=pere ki-nami ere ani vere ko-horu.*
   1s:POSS-sister ATTR=big 3:POSS-husband 1DEM 1s V2DEM 3:UND-with
   ‘My big sister’s husband, I stayed with him.’ (101-465)

Not only NPs that are syntactic arguments and semantic participants of the main clause predicate can be found in the LDP, but also NPs which are neither. In (99), the negative existential *na’an* is intransitive, thus not associated with an undergoer; its subject is the coordinated NP *ki-nua ki-ke* ‘food and drink’. The first person exclusive pronoun *ini* thus has no grammatical role in the clause, but can be said to set the frame of validity for the following clause. Similarly, in (100), the deictic verb *ue* is intransitive, its subject argument being *afa=hi’a* ‘only bones’. The NP *asi-afur=ee* ‘my body’ has no grammatical role in this clause, but sets the frame for the following clause, determining its range of applicability. In both cases, the non-argument NP in the left-detached position is bracketed.

(99) *[Ini]106 *ki-nua ki-ke* tepa na’an.
   1pe 3:POSS-eat 3:POSS-drink constant NEG.EX
‘We had no food or drink.’ (101-104)

(100) *Uai=ni=ni=po [asi-afur=ee]106 afa=hi’a=ni ue’*
   CLS=LNK1=LNK1=ADV 1s:POSS-body=DEF bone=only=CTR V2DEM
   *ulit=hi’a=ni ue’...*
   skin=only=CTR V2DEM
‘But my body was only skin and bones...’ (101-034)

Such non-arguments in the LDP are clear instances of topics. The LDP can thus hold both argument topics as well as non-argument topics.

### 7.6.1.1 Adverbial sentences in the LDP

A special type of constituent analysed as standing in the LDP are adverbial clauses. They are similar to non-argument topics as discussed in § 7.6.1 (p. 427) in that they are not arguments of the following clause or clauses, but provide circumstantial information about them. In fact, it could be said that these, too, set the frame for the following clause. Such adverbial sentences are followed by a form of the
complementiser (§ 3.6.2, p. 265), thus either =ere, =ee, or =e’, as illustrated in (101) through (103). Note that the adverbial in the LDP in (101) is itself a complex sentence involving an adverbial predicate, *hana e* (REM.PT).

(101)  
\[\text{[Ani hana’e ka’u-ka’u=ere]}_{\text{LDP}} \text{ asi-ni asi-upa} \]
\[\text{1s REM.PT RDL-small=CMPL 1s:POSS-mother 1s:POSS-father} \]
\[\text{ani-afa-umu...} \]
\[\text{1s-away.from-die} \]
‘When I was very small, a long time back, my parents died, leaving me (alone)...’    (124-01)

(102)  
\[\text{... [ani ena=ee]_{\text{LDP}} asi-isi-ne’et hau asan ani upa lesa...} \]
\[\text{1s see=CMPL 1s:POSS-at:BD-think all long 1s father not:have} \]
‘... when I see (this), I am sad (because) I don’t have a father...’    (16-08)

(103)  
\[\text{Uai=ni=si [asi-upa umu=e’]}_{\text{LDP}} \text{ ani nomo na’u hu’at.} \]
\[\text{CLS=LNK1=LNK2 1s:POSS-father die=CMPL 1s NEG just sad} \]
‘So when my father died, I was not suffering so much.’    (101-007)

The other main use of the complementiser is with verbs of saying and their complement clause extensions (§ 3.2.3.10.1.1, p. 187). (104) exemplifies this with a clausal object, as bracketed. The proposition expressed by this object is embedded within a superordinate clause and is hence analysed as subordinated (see § 8.3, p. 481).

(104)  
\[\text{Kiloo fsur ma=ee’]}_{\text{OBJ}} \text{ tule...} \]
\[\text{3s meat eat=CMPL not.want} \]
‘He does not want to eat meat...’    (elic211)

In analogy, the adverbial sentences in (101) through (103) are also analysed as subordinate to the main clauses, which follow them. In this, adverbial sentences marked with the complementiser differ from those treated in § 7.1 (p. 402) through § 7.5 (p. 427), which are syntactically free clauses found in coordination with another clause to form a sentence unit. Syntactic evidence supporting the distinct analyses of these two types of adverbial constructions comes from the fact that adverbial clauses with the complementiser in the LDP appear not to be compatible with a left-dislocated clause argument. In the case of a sentence involving a coordinated adverbial clause, as that in (105) (repeated from (89) above), however, an argument from the content clause can readily be left-dislocated into the LDP.

(105)  
\[\text{[At} \text{]=si hai uta=fa’a.} \]
\[\text{rain 1pi see=LNK2 NSIT fall=IMM} \]
‘It looks like it’s about to start raining.’    (elic243)

The fact that left-dislocation of arguments and adverbial clauses with the complementiser are not compatible with one another shows that these adverbial
sentences occupy the left-detached position. There are thus two quite distinct ways to construct adverbial clauses; on the one hand, they can be subordinated to a main clause in the LDP. On the other hand, they can be constructed as coordinated to what semantically corresponds to the main clause. This latter construction leaves the LDP free for the left-dislocation of arguments from the main clause. For illustration, the syntactic make-up of the sentence in (101), with a subordinated adverbial expression in the LDP, is shown in (106) below. As a comparison, (107), repeated from (92), gives the structure of (105), where an adverbial clause is coordinated to the main clause.

(106)

```
  SENTENCE
     /   \   
   LDP   CLAUSE
     / \     /  \  
    NP   CORE   ARG
          /\   \  /  \
         ARG NUC PRED
            /\      /  \
           NP  VP  V

`ANI hana' e ka' u-ka' u=ere`
1s REM.PT RDL-small-CMPL

`asi-nil asi-upa`
1s.POSS-mother 1s.POSS-father

`ani-afa-umu`
1s-away, die from-

‘When I was very small, a long time back, my parents died, leaving me (alone)…’
```
A very frequently used narrative device, *(u)ere-isi′=ee* or *(u)ere-isi′=ere*, is an instantiation of an adverbial clause with the complementiser in the LDP. It literally translates as ‘being in this (situation)’. A typical example of its use is given in (108).

```
108  Ma′u=ni *(ere-isi′=ee)* LDP ki-ouar e′=ini
    come=LNK1 1DEM-at=CMPL  3:POSS-master V|DEM=LNK1

    ni-ha′iuein-isi′=ini tia...
    REFL-place-at-LNK1 sleep
‘Here, the master is in his bed and sleeps…’  (38-004)
```

Adverbial clauses made up of avalent adverbial predicates (**§ 3.2.3.1.1, p. 141**) are normally constructed as coordinated. However, they can also be placed in the LDP. As (109) shows, in this case they stand with the complementiser.

```
109  ... hana′e hau atanana asi-suku Ailebere ki-nei
    REM.PT all first 1s:POSS-suco A. 3:POSS-name

    oko nomo mei=ni Ailebere tamu *[hana′e=ere]* LDP Leorai.
    yet NEG take=LNK1 A.  name REM.PT=CMPL L.
‘… first of all, long ago, my suco Ailebere was not yet called Ailebere; a
long time ago, it used to be called Leorai.’  (35-09)
```
7.6.2 The right-detached position

Parallel to the LDP at the left of the sentence, Van Valin and LaPolla (1997: 37) recognise an RDP, a right-detached position, at the right of the sentence. Evidence for the existence of such a position in the Makalero sentence is weak, with a very limited number of relevant examples. Such cases include questions with right-dislocated interrogative pronouns (§ 3.3.1.4, p. 228), such as (110), as well as assertions as in (111).

(110)  *Ei ena mutu heke mu'ani?* - Ina-uai.

This see inside difficult who.SBJ mother-HON

‘Who is angry with you? – Mother.’

(111)  ... *aramari manini uai=ni=ni ale manini kalsa faru...*

wardrobe give.to.1s CLS=LNK1=LNK1 rice give.to.1s trousers shirt

‘... (he) gave me a wardrobe, and gave me rice, and trousers and a shirt...’

With the very limited evidence, it is unclear whether the RDP should be seen as a structural position in its own right.

7.6.3 Summary

Summarising the results gained from § 6 (p. 383) and § 7 (p. 401) so far, the unit ‘sentence’ in Makalero may be represented as in (112) and (113). In order to keep these schemas simple, both (112) and (113) show monoclausal sentences. It is an important property of the sentence, however, that it can be made up of two or more clauses, which may or may not be linked by a conjunction.

(112)      

```
SENTENCE
   ↓
  LDP
   ↓
   CLAUSE
  ↓
  PERIPHERY → CORE
      ↓
     ARG  ARG
       ↓
      NUC
         ↓
        PRED
         ↓
        (NP)
   ↓
NP/CLAUSE
S
OBJ
ADV
V
(NP)
```
7.7 Sentence types

Van Valin and LaPolla (1997: 41, 47) define illocutionary force as an operator on clause level. In Makalero, illocutionary force operates on sentence level rather than on clause level. As such, it was not discussed with clause-level operators in § 6.6 (p. 393), but only at this point, with sentence-level units. Crystal (1991: 314) gives declarative, interrogative, imperative and exclamative as sentence types. Van Valin and LaPolla (1997: 41) do not include exclamative, but add optative instead as a type of illocutionary force. In the following, declaratives are discussed in § 7.7.1 (p. 435), interrogatives in § 7.7.2 (p. 438), imperatives in § 7.7.3 (p. 444), and exclamations in § 7.7.4 (p. 450). Optatives do not seem to play much of a role in Makalero grammar; nevertheless, for the sake of completeness, a brief discussion is given in § 7.7.5 (p. 452).

7.7.1 Declaratives

Declarative sentences at the end of an utterance are characterised by falling intonation. A typical example is illustrated in Figure 7.1. It shows the last two words of the sentence in (114), *liurai Iliomar* ‘the king of Iliomar’. The pitch contour of this constituent is roughly level with a distinct fall on the last syllable.

(114) Dili atanana lafu’-ee ta amuni mu’a ouar ere liurai Iliomar.
D. first live=CMPL TA person ground master IDEM king 1
‘When Dili first came to be, the owner of the land was the king of Iliomar.’

(89-01)
Figure 7.1: Liurai Iliomar ‘the king of Iliomar’, pitch

Declaratives in the middle of an utterance have a level or slightly rising intonation. An example is given in Figure 7.2, which represents the bracketed bit from (115).

(115) ...sefar uere ki-mani poo-pase=ni [ki-neri hau lesu=ni]
dog 2DEM 3:POSS-neck hard?-beat=LNK1 3:POSS-bottom all open=LNK1
mei=ni ki-atumatar hau mei le-isi’.
take=LNK13:POSS-intestines all take outside:BD-at
‘... (they) hit the dog hard on the neck and opened its bottom and took out the intestines.’ (118-31)
Declaratives are not usually marked as such by an overt morpheme. However, some speakers use the clitic "u'ai 'or' at the end of a declarative. This morpheme is more commonly a question marker and its use in declaratives is an idiosyncracy of individual speakers. (116) gives an example, including the sentence ending in "u'ai as well as the following sentence. Note that the particle is not repeated in tail-head linkage (§ 9.3.1, p. 507). The pitch contour of the bracketed part in (116), shown in Figure 7.3, demonstrates that such declaratives end in a distinctive rising intonation, similar to questions marked by the same morpheme (see § 7.7.2.1, p. 438).

(116) ... [liurai Iliomar hai isa=u'ai]. Liurai Iliomar hai isa=ni
king I. NSIT go.down=UAI king I. NSIT go.down=LNK1
nama-nat=ni hai lolo "Hei Pirisistu!"
upwards:RED-stand.SG=LNK1 NSIT say INTERJ P.
'... the king of Iliomar came down. After the king of Iliomar had come
down, he stood up there and said “Hey Pirisistu!”' (89-12)
Figure 7.3: Liruai Iliomar hai isa=uai ‘the king of Iliomar came down’, pitch

7.7.2 Interrogatives

There are two kinds of interrogatives, namely polar questions (yes/no-questions) and interrogative word questions (wh-questions). In the following, § 7.7.2.1 (p. 438) gives a short discussion of polar questions, followed by § 7.7.2.2 (p. 443) on interrogative word questions.

7.7.2.1 Polar questions

Polar questions do not involve a question word. They consist of a full sentence and expect an answer in terms of yes and no. Polar questions in Makalero need not be marked morphologically as such. In such cases, it is only the rising-falling intonation contour that marks them as interrogatives. An example is given in (117), with the corresponding pitch contour shown in Figure 7.4. Note that the overall pitch contour gently rises, reaching a peak on the final syllable; following this pitch peak, there is a distinctive drop on that same syllable.

(117)  ... ei so’ot=iini ueri leuk?
  2s want=LNK1 bottom drill
  ‘... do you want to have (your) bottom drilled?’ (118-38)
Na’an, the negative existential, and oko-na ‘not yet’ are frequently used as one-word answers to yes/no-questions. There is, however, no good positive one-word answer. The Portuguese loan sim ‘yes’ is found in that function very occasionally. Also, speakers accepted the verb tafi ‘true’ as a one-word answer upon questioning, though such a structure was not produced in natural speech. In general, the most common reply to a polar question is the repetition of a part of or the whole sentence. Two examples are shown in (118) and (119).

(118)  
\textit{Ei tafi isit?} – \textit{Ani tafi isit.}  
\textit{Are you really ill?} – \textit{Yes.}  
\text{\textcolor{red}{(elic871)}}

(119)  
\textit{Kiloo hai nami-ena?} – \textit{Tone’ hai nami-ena.}  
\textit{Is she married already?} – \textit{Maybe.}  
\text{\textcolor{red}{(elic1152-1152a)}}

In the case of verbs with complement clause extensions, such as so’ot ‘want’ in (117) above, it is these superordinate verbs that are repeated as one-word answers two polar questions. That is, a positive answer to a question as (117) is so’ot ‘(I) want’.

Polar questions can be overtly marked as such by the markers =ua and =uai (na’an), both of which are elicitised to the right end of the question. Note that =ua is homophonous with the relative marker (§ 3.3.5.1, p. 240). While a historical relationship between the two is unproven, it is a fact that relative markers very commonly derive from interrogative words cross-linguistically. (120) and (121) give
examples of the use of =ua as a question marker (see § 7.7.1, p. 435, above for the use of the same particle with declaratives).

(120)  
\textit{Ei hanu’e Iliomar isi-la’a=ee e i Makalero lolo=ua?}

\begin{tabular}{ll}
2s & REM.PT 1. \\
& at:RED-move=CMPL 2s \\
\end{tabular}

\textit{say=QM}

‘When you were in Iliomar, did you speak Makalero?’  (chat001)

(121)  
\textit{Umere nomo mei ka’a=ua?}

\begin{tabular}{ll}
DEM.DIST NEG & take put.on=QM \\
\end{tabular}

‘(She is) not recording that (yet), is she?’  (86-01)

The pitch contour of (121) in Figure 7.5 displays some similarity to that of the unmarked question in Figure 7.4: There is a pitch peak on the penultimate syllable followed by a distinct fall. This corresponds to the peak on the ultimate in the unmarked question in Figure 7.4. This pitch peak is followed by another, smaller peak, on the question marker =ua. In other words, the intonation of a =ua-marked question appears to be the same as that of an unmarked question, with the addition of a smaller intonation peak for the question marker, following the main peak on the verb.

![Figure 7.5: Umere nomo ka’a=ua ‘not recording that, is she?’, pitch](image)

=uai na’an is a tag question, translated literally as ‘or not?’. An example is given in (122).
The intonation of a question with the =uai na’an question tag is similar to that of a question with the =ua marker or an interrogative word. Figure 7.6 shows that the overall pitch rises slightly, culminating on =uai ‘or’, before falling on the negative existential na’an.

The final na’an is also frequently dropped, resulting in the clitic =uai ‘or’ being used as a de-facto question marker similar to =ua. An example of this use is given in (123).

(123) ... teli=ee to hai ki-uasir-isi’=uai?
     maize=DEF TO NSIT 3.POSS-harvest-at-or
     ‘... is the maize ready to harvest?’  (118-18)

The pitch curve of this sentence in Figure 7.7 shows that the intonation of a =uai-question resembles that of the question with the =uai na’an tag in Figure 7.6, with the exception that it is cut short, so to speak, right after the pitch peak reached on the clitic =uai. While there is a slight lowering of the curve on the last syllable, it lacks the distinctive fall found on unmarked questions and those with the marker =ua. This confirms that the question marker =uai is a shortened from of the =uai na’an question tag rather than an interrogative marker in its own right.
Figure 7.7: *Teli=ee to hai ki=ugas-i'si'=uai* ‘is the maize ready to harvest?’ , pitch

The use of a phrase meaning ‘or not’, as well as simple ‘or’, as a question tag is fairly common in Timorese languages, being also found e.g. in Tetum and in Fataluku. The examples in (124) and (125) are from Tetum.

(124) *Mestra bolu André ka lae?*
teacher.FEM call A. or no
‘Did the schoolmistress call André (or not)?’ (Hull and Eccles 2001: 90)

(125) *Sira fa’an jornál portugés ka?*
3p sell newspaper Portuguese or
‘Do they sell Portuguese newspapers (or)?’ (ibid.)

Hull and Eccles (2001: 90) consider *ka* to be a loan from the Malay question marker *-kah* of the same use. However, the Makalero data, which show the same semantic pattern but without the homophony, do not support this hypothesis, but rather suggest a reading along the lines of a shortened form of the *ka lae* ‘or not’ question tag, as suggested above for =uai and =uai na’an.
7.7.2.2 Interrogative word questions

As discussed in § 3.2.3.6 (p. 167) and § 3.3.1.4 (p. 228), question words in Makalero fall into two separate lexical classes. *Sa’a*- ‘what (BD)’ and *mu’a*- ‘who (BD)’ have been categorised as pronouns, while all other question words are verbal.

(126) shows a monoclausal question with the pronominal interrogative *sa’a*- ‘what (BD)’, while (127) exemplifies a question with the interrogative *taure*- ‘which (BD)’ functioning as the complement to *fani* ‘be like’. The whole of this complement-verb complex translates as ‘how’. Notwithstanding the different syntactic status of the interrogatives used, the corresponding pitch contours show that the intonation is largely the same, i.e. gently falling. Notice, however, the very slight peak on the (pen)ultimate in both cases.

(126)  
... ah mata-niki ii sa’a-seur nua?  
INTERJ child-PL 2p what:BD-meat eat  
‘... ah, children, what kind of meat are you eating?’ (118-33)

Figure 7.8: *Li sa’a-seur nua* ‘what kind of meat are you eating?’, pitch

(127)  
... teli=ee taure-fani?’  
maize=DEF which:RED-like  
‘... how is the maize (doing)?’ (118-14)
Questions with interrogative words and polar questions (§ 7.7.2.1, p. 438) are thus clearly distinct structures in all respects, including such aspects as presence of question markers, syntactic structure, and intonation.

### 7.7.3 Imperatives

There are a variety of forms an imperative sentence can take in Makalero. It can be either unmarked, as discussed in § 7.7.3.1 (p. 444), make use of a special construction to mark the imperative illocutionary force, shown in § 7.7.3.2 (p. 447), or, finally, use an imperative particle, as described in § 7.7.3.3 (p. 449).

#### 7.7.3.1 Unmarked imperatives

Unmarked imperatives have the same syntactic structure as declaratives. While it is very common for the subject (addressee) to be unexpressed, as in (128), it can be overtly expressed in the sentence, resulting in a normal declarative sentence structure used with imperative force. This is illustrated in (129). Figures 7.10 and 7.11 show their respective pitch contours.

\[\text{(128)} \quad \ldots \text{ho’o mei ni-mata hau kini!} \]
\[
\quad \text{some take REFL-child all give.to.3}
\]
\[
\quad \text{‘... give some to your child!’}
\]

\[\text{(101-073)}\]
Figure 7.10: Ho‘o mei ni-mata hau kini ‘give some to your child!’

Agus [ei Dili-iši-l’a asi-noko ko-horu]!
A. 2s D.at:RED-move 1s.POSS-younger.sibling 3s.UND-with
‘Agus, you go to Dili to stay with my brother!’

Figure 7.11: Ei Dili-iši-l’a asi-noko ko-horu ‘you go to Dili to stay with my brother!’

pitch
Figures 7.10 and 7.11 show that the intonation of the two sentences in (128) and (129) is roughly the same, whether or not a subject is expressed.\footnote{The speaker of (129) was suffering from a throat condition, which made his voice very harse and resulted in the jagged pitch contour of Figure 7.11. Nevertheless, an overall relatively level intonation pattern comparable to that of (128) is recognised in the Figure.} Both exhibit a relatively level intonation contour with a little peak on the (pen)ultimate. That is, though syntactically identical to declaratives, unmarked imperatives differ from declaratives in intonation. Recall that declaratives at the end of an utterance have a clear falling intonation, whereas in the middle of an utterance, they exhibit a level or slightly rising intonation (see § 7.7.1, p. 435).

Very frequently, the VP-internal adverbial hau ‘all’ is used in imperatives. This verb seems to be evolving into an aspect marker denoting the completion of an action (§ 5.3.3.2, p. 369). An example of its use in an imperative sentence is (128) above.

Prohibitives are formed with the modal verb ivau ‘not allowed to’ (§ 3.2.3.10.2.1, p. 193). Like other imperative sentences, they can stand with or without an overtly expressed addressee, as shown in (130) and (131), respectively.

\begin{align*}
(130) & \text{Irau \quad ka’el=ete!} \\
& \text{not.allowed \quad bite=after} \\
& \text{‘Don’t bite (it just yet)!'} \quad \text{(102-095)}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
(131) & \text{Ei \quad ivau \quad rei-la’a.} \\
& \text{2s \quad not.allowed \quad outwards-move} \\
& \text{‘You don’t go out! / You are not allowed to go out.’} \quad \text{(elic1154a)}
\end{align*}

The pitch contour of (130) shows a roughly level intonation with a peak on the penultimate and a fall at the end, which looks roughly similar to the intonation given in Figure 7.10 for (positive) imperatives.
7.7.3.2 Imperative constructions

A variety of special constructions to signal imperative force are in use. Among them are the use of *hai rau* (NSIT good), described in §7.7.3.2.1 (p. 447), the clause linker *=te’e*, detailed in §7.7.3.2.2 (p. 448), the particle *kini*, as discussed in §7.7.3.2.3 (p. 448), and, finally, the use of the movement verb *ma’u* ‘come’ in first-person imperatives, as laid out in §7.7.3.2.4 (p. 449).

Few such imperatives occur in the recordings, thus the following sections do not provide intonation curves. Nevertheless, from the limited evidence, it appears none of these constructions has a very distinctive intonation pattern which sets it apart from the imperatives as discussed in §7.7.3.1 (p. 444).

7.7.3.2.1 *Hai rau* ‘it is good’

*Hai rau* literally translates as ‘it is good / okay’. It is sometimes found preceding the actual imperative VP. Note that where it cooccurs with an overtly expressed addressee, it follows that addressee. Its function appears to be the softening of a direct order. Examples are given in (132) and (133).
(132)  ... hai rau mara tia=na’a ka’u=te’ete ana mara ei tane.
       NSIT good go sleep=INT little=after=after 1s go 2s wake
       ‘... (please) go ahead and sleep, in a while I will come and wake you.’
       (120-014)

(133)  ... hai rau la’a!
       NSIT good move
       ‘... go!’
       (120-071)

7.7.3.2.2 =te’e ‘after’

=te’e is actually a clause linker expressing completion of the action of the first clause before the onset of the action of the following clause (§ 3.5.3.1.13, p. 252). With imperatives, it attaches to a simple sentence (with no follow-up, as would be expected of a clause linker). However, it can be read as implying a following action, along the lines of ‘do x first, before you...’. The effect of the use of =te’e is similar to that of hai rau, in that it softens the order and makes it more polite.

(134)  Muni lolo=te’e!
       return say=after
       ‘(Please) repeat!’
       (elicit033b)

(135)  Titu ma’u=te’e!
       T. come=after
       ‘Tito, come along!’
       (101-421)

7.7.3.2.3 The imperative marker kini

In a few cases, an element kini is found with imperatives. Notably, all of the sentences in question involve an overt second person singular addressee. Kini, the exact nature of which is hard to determine due to the scarcity of examples, is homophonous with the indirect information marker =kini (§ 3.5.3.1.2.2, p. 258) as well as with the verb kini ‘do’. It always follows the second person singular pronoun ei, as shown in (136) and (137).

(136)  ... ei kini ma’u=ni mei=na’a...
       2s IMP? come=LNK1 take=INT
       ‘... you come and fetch it...’
       (74-089)

(137)  ... i ka’u=te’e hai mua=te’ei kini asi-ueri to-leuk.
       1pi little=after all eat=after 2s IMP? 1s:POSS-bottom accompany:RED-drill
       ‘... after we finish eating in a while, you drill my bottom too.’
       (118-035)
7.7.3.2.4 Ma’u ‘come’ in first person plural cohortives

First person plural cohortives, equivalent to English ‘let’s’, are generally formed with the movement verb ma’u ‘come’. Two examples are given below.

(138) Ma’u fi duka!
come 1pi play.cards
‘Let’s play cards!’ (elic285)

(139) Ma’u fi Makalero lolo!
come 1pi M. say
‘Let’s speak Makalero!’ (Pinto 2007, title)

Such structures are only found in elicited sentences (as (138)), or in the unnatural setting of a written grammar sketch, as (139). Hence it is quite possible that this structure is actually a calque on one of the contact languages used. In the latter case, this would be an identical structure in Tetum (with mai ‘come’, see Hull and Eccles 2001: 129), and for the former mari in the contact language Indonesian (see Sneddon 1996: 332).

7.7.3.3 Imperative particles

Two clausal clitics, =uai and =elo, have been found to mark imperatives. They are discussed in § 7.7.3.3.1 (p. 449) and § 7.7.3.3.2 (p. 450), respectively. Again, these constructions appear very rarely in the recorded corpus, for which reason I dispense with intonation curves.

7.7.3.3.1 =uai on imperatives

=uai on imperatives appears to be the same element that marks questions (§ 7.7.2.1, p. 438) and is used by some speakers on declaratives as well (see § 7.7.1, p. 435). It is thus a very multifunctional device. If criticised to the right end of an imperative, it serves to make the imperative more polite; in fact, one speaker characterised (140) as closer to a request than an order.

(140) Hau kuku=uai!
all silent=UAI
‘Please be quiet!’ (pelic387a)

(141) Ue-mit=uai!
V2DEM:RED-sit:SG=UAI
‘Have a seat!’ (pelic385)
7.7.3.3.2 Impératives with =elo

=elo, too, is found cliticised to the right end of an imperative sentence. Again, it considerably softens the order. One speaker suggested its use was more typical with the younger generations. Note that after the verb pane ‘wash’ in (142), the final vowel of which is identical to the initial vowel of the clitic, =elo loses its initial vowel. It is not quite clear if the same happens when =elo is cliticised to elements ending in vowels other than /e/.

(142)  Asi-ropa   hau pane=lo!
      1s:POSS-clothes all  wash=EXHORT
     ‗(Please) wash my clothes!‘  (pelic388b)

(143)  ... ka‘u-te‘e filem  te‘=afla  ani  tane=ni  uai  fi  nonton=elo.
      little-after movie  V2DEM-COND  is  waken=LNK1  CLS  lpi  watch=EXHORT
     ‗... in a while when the movie is on, wake me so that we can watch!‘
     (120-019)

It appears that =elo can be combined with =te‘e to form an imperative, as in (144). No other marking combinations have been found so far.

(144)  Umere‘  mei=ni  ma‘u-te‘e=lo!
      DEM.DIST.V  take=LNK1  come-after=EXHORT
     ‗Bring that here, okay?‘  (elic1021)

7.7.4 Exclamations

Exclamations can be either unmarked or expressed in the form of non-embedded nominalisations. Two instances of unmarked exclamations are given in (145) and (146). Note that (146) is introduced by an interjection, which is in fact a very frequent feature of exclamatives.

(145)  ... ei  ere  ei=ni  tu‘uraa  ki=pa‘uk!
      2s  IDEM  2s=CTR  woman  ATTR-bad
     ‗... you, is it you who is a bad woman!‘  (74-100)

(146)  Hei  anu  aka‘  lesa.
      INTERJ  person  afraid  not.have
     ‘Hey, you have no morals (shame)!‘  (74-107)

The pitch curves show very level intonations with a peak at the end, very similar, in fact, to unmarked questions (§ 7.7.2.1, p. 438). Note, however, the even higher peak on the interjection in Figure 7.14, which can be said to mark the following sentence as an exclamation.
Figure 7.13: *Ei ere ei=ni tufuraa ki=pa ’uk* ‘you, it is you who is a bad woman!’, pitch

Figure 7.14: *Hei amu aka’ lesa* ‘hey, you have no morals!’, pitch

An exclamative can be nominalised as a whole, either with a bare demonstrative (mostly the near-speaker demonstrative *ere*, though the near-hearer demonstrative *uere* has also been found; see § 3.3.2.1, p. 232), or with a demonstrative and the
clitic contrastive marker =ini (§ 9.2.3.1, p. 501). In this latter case, only the near-speaker demonstrative ere has been found, not the near-hearer demonstrative uere. (147) and (148) exemplify the two variants.

(147) ... ho’o mi-seti-seti=oo na’an ere!
    some along:RED-RED-ask:BD=too NEG.EX DEM
‘... (you) didn’t even ask around a bit!’
(lit. there wasn’t even any asking around)

(148) Eh aflane’ fi mua se fami ere=ni!
    INTERJ PT 1pi eat very nice 1DEM=CTR
‘Eh, what we ate before was very good!’

The term non-embedded, or stand-alone, nominalisation is used for comparable phenomena in Himalayan languages, where, it seems, the phenomenon has been reported first. In Makalero, the function of stand-alone nominalisations seems to be both mirative and contrastive focus (as “a particular instantiation of a variable as one that competes with other possible instantiations”, Bickel 1999: 279). The two are not necessarily mutually exclusive; e.g. (148) could be read as either mirative or contrastive focus. Note that the contrastive marker =ini in fact overtly marks contrastivity. Schapper and San Roque (2009) report on the same phenomenon in several languages of the area.

7.7.5 Optatives

There is no distinct optative sentence type in Makalero. In elicitation, optatives have been translated in a variety of ways, which are exemplified in (149) through (151) below. (149) uses the purposive clause linker =taa (§ 3.5.3.1.2.1, p. 257); in (150), it is the very general modal verb tone ‘maybe, perhaps, probably’ which conveys the optative component (see also § 7.2.1.1.1, p. 415, and § 7.2.4, p. 420); and finally, (151) again uses the purposive clause linker =taa, but also, somewhat mysteriously, the (nominal?) clitic =oo ‘too’ (§ 3.5.2.1, p. 245). No sentence that could be termed optative has been found in the corpus of recorded speech.

(149) Uai=taa ma’u.
    CLS=PURP come
‘Hopefully he will come.’

(150) Kiloo tone’ ma’u.
    3s perhaps come
‘Hopefully he will come.’

(151) Uai=taa ma’u=oo.
    CLS=PURP come=too
‘Hopefully he will come.’
8. The utterance

An utterance is an actual instance of language in use. It is often made up of one or more clausal units, but not necessarily so (see Payne 1997: 378, fn 1: “propositions are not always expressed in the form of clauses, but also frequently in shorter linguistic forms, such as phrases, interjections, or incomplete structures”). An utterance is commonly defined as a “stretch of speech preceded and followed by silence or a change of speaker” (Crystal 1991: 367). A potentially problematic aspect of this definition (ibid.) is that the term thus comprises a wide variety of speech units, ranging from one-word answers to complete sermons. A more serviceable definition is given in Staden (2000: 207): an utterance is a “language product, bounded by a final intonation contour”\(^{10}\). Though some utterances under this definition are still rather lengthy, it generally yields much more manageable chunks of speech and is thus appropriated in the present work. The final intonation contour of a declarative, shown in Figure 8.1 (repeated from Figure 7.1 above), is distinctly falling and in clear contrast with the rising intonation of a declarative in the middle of an utterance. For comparison, the bracketed clause in (2) and the corresponding pitch contour in Figure 8.2 give an example of the latter (for intonation contours of other sentence types, see § 7.7, p. 435).

(1)  
\[Dili\ atanana\ lafu’=ee\ ta\ amuni\ mu’a\ ouar\ ere\ liurai\ llimar.\]
D. first live=CMPL TA person ground master 1DEM king 1.
‘When Dili first came to be, the owner of the land was the king of llimar.’
(89-01)

(2)  
\[...\text{sefar uree ki-mani}\ \text{poo-pase} = ni [ki-ueri hau lesu} = ni]\]
dog 2DEM 3:POSS-neck hard? beat=LNK1 3:POSS-bottom all open=LNK1
\[\text{mei} = ni\ ki-atumatar\ hau\ mei\ le-	ext{isi}.\]
take=LNK1 3:POSS-intestines all take outside:BD-at
‘... (they) hit the dog hard on the neck and opened its bottom and took out the intestines.’
(118-31)

\(^{10}\) This definition does not make mention of the initial boundary of an utterance, which is here defined as following either another utterance with a final intonation contour or a silence.
Figure 8.1: *Liurai Iliomar* ‘the king of Iliomar’, pitch

Figure 8.2: *Kuere hau lesa=ni* ‘opened its bottom’, pitch

Whereas some utterances in Makalero discourse are still rather lengthy under this definition, it nevertheless parcels most spoken texts into manageable bits of the type given in (3) and (4).
(3) *Hau dasa-la’a=ni uai=te’=si fi ira ki=selu teni*  
all ‘throw.out-move=LNK1 CLS=after=LNK2 1pi water ATTR=other again

na’a.muni mei isi’.  
in.turn take at
‘After we’ve poured it out, we put different water into it.’  (50-06)

(4) *Entaun Ailebere k-isi’=ere hana’e hau atanana asi-suku*  
thus A. 3:UND-belong=CMPL REM.PT all first 1s:POSS-suco

Ailebere ki-nei oko nomo mei=ni Ailebere tamu hana e=ere  
A. 3:POSS-name yet NEG take=LNK1 A. name REM.PT=CMPL

Leorai.
L.
‘Thus about Ailebere, in the very beginning, the name of my suco Ailebere was not called Ailebere yet, but before that (it was called) Leorai.’  (35-09)

8.1 Clause linking

An utterance is in most cases made up of several clauses, and in some cases in fact quite a large number of them. An array of clitic clause linkers (§ 3.5.2, p. 245, and § 3.5.3.1, p. 250) is used to indicate the relations between the clauses making up an utterance. These types of linkage are discussed in detail in § 8.1.1 (p. 457) through § 8.1.9 (p. 476). The majority of clauses within an utterance are linked to one another with these linkers. Unmarked linkage of clauses within an utterance may occur, however, at sentence level (§ 7, p. 401). Two very prominent types of multi-clause sentences often constructed without linkers are those involving avalent adverbial verbs (§ 7.2, p. 413) as well as those involving a mismatch between semantic participants and syntactic structure (§ 7.1, p. 402). The former is exemplified in (5); note how the clause *kiloo mara* ‘he went’ is directly joined to the adverbial predicate *kamunei* ‘tomorrow, the next day’. An example of the latter type is (6), where the undergoer to the verbal complex *afunasi-kini* ‘make pregnant’, *faanda* ‘young woman’, stands in a separate clause with *mei*. Note that in either type of case, a clause linker (most commonly =*ini*, see § 3.5.2.5, p. 247) can optionally occur. The two constructions, with or without a linker, are used without any apparent difference.

(5) *Kamunei kiloo mara...*  
tomorrow 3s go
‘The next day he went there...’  (52-09)

(6) *... papa were (...) fanaraa u mei afunasi-kini.*  
Indonesian 2DEM young.woman one take pregnant-do
‘... the Indonesian made a young girl pregnant...’  (101-226)
Other instances of unmarked clause linkage involve the coordination of verb phrases (§ 5.4, p. 380), as where a list of similar or congenial actions is given. An example is (7), where the verb meli is repeated with varying objects. The actions expressed like this are variants of one type of action repeatedly carried out by the speaker, i.e. searching for food in (7).

(7) ... ani la’a=ni fasa’ meli-meli tinaini ki-ula meli mu’u
    1s move=LNK1 rubbish RDL-pick cooked rice 3:POSS-tail pick banana
    seta ki-fasu meli...
    ripe 3:POSS-peel pick
    ‘... I went and looked through the rubbish, for the dried-in rice thrown out
    of a pan, the peels of ripe bananas...’

A similar type of unmarked clause linking involves lexical parallelism, a stylistic device which is discussed in somewhat more detail in § 9.3.2 (p. 510). Briefly put, it involves the expression of the same idea in two more or less synonymous words or phrases. In (8), these are two complement-verb complexes, lopu-ini ‘make a house’ and hat-ini ‘make a shelter’. The two halves of a lexical pair are generally adjoined with no marking.

(8) ... ni-asu osan haka uai=ni=taa ni-asu mei=ni lopu-ini
    REFL-for money search CLS=LNK1=PURP REFL-for take=LNK1 house-do:BD
    hat-ini=ni k-la’=ana=po (...) ni’isi nomo rau...
    shelter-do:BD=LNK1 3:UND-under=INT-ADVR simultaneous NEG good
    ‘... (we) were looking for money for ourselves so we could build ourselves
    a house and a shelter to live in, (...) but it did not work either...’

Other semantic relations between two clauses that may be unmarked are (close) temporal sequences, as shown in (9) with (k)-isa ‘bake’ and mua ‘eat’, and coordinated adverbial clauses as in (10) and (11) (see also the discussion in § 7.2.3, p. 419).

(9) ... nami=ee k-isa mua.
    male=DEF 3:UND-bake eat
    ‘... (I) baked the male one and ate it.’

(10) ... ani muni ma’u tone’ asi-nana tone’ ani pase.
    1s return come perhaps 1s:POSS-elder.sibling maybe 1s beat
    ‘... (when/if) I come back, maybe my brother will beat me.’
(11) ... ho’o uata misa ani k-ia-dai=ni  k-uata
           some coconut go.up 1s 3:UND-under.RED-pass=LNK1 3:POSS-coconut
    k-afu-ria’.
            3:UND-carry-run
‘… (when/if) somebody climbed a coconut tree, I passed underneath it and
ran away with the coconuts.’ (101-055)

Note, however, that all of the cases of unmarked linkage between two clauses
exemplified above may be said to pertain to one situation or event, and as such
would conform to the semantic definition of a sentence (§ 7, p. 401). In all other
cases, paratactic clause linkage is much rarer.
It is much more common to overtly mark the relationship between clauses within an
utterance with the help of a clause linker, a clitic particle that attaches on clause
level to the first clause in a sequence of two. Clauses linked by clause linkers can
make up fairly long utterances. These clause combinations are discussed in detail in
§ 8.1.1 (p. 457) through § 8.1.9 (p. 476), based on their semantics. § 8.2 (p. 477),
finally, gives a note on the linking of clauses with free conjunctions (§ 3.6.5,
p. 269). The individual clause linkers are also briefly discussed in § 3.5.3.1 (p. 250),
where they are grouped into two classes. The first of these, comprising the majority
of clause linkers, may be called coordinating. There is no evidence, with these
linking devices, of a hierarchic relation between the clauses. The second, much
smaller, class of clause linkers, does involve a hierarchical structure. The concepts
of coordination and subordination are treated in more detail in § 8.3 (p. 481).

8.1.1 =ini and =isi: close and loose knitting
As mentioned in § 3.5.2.5 (p. 247) and § 3.5.3.1.1 (p. 250), =ini and =isi are the
two most frequent clause linkers in Makalero. Both are highly general in meaning.
The type of linkage marked by =ini can be paraphrased as establishing a very close,
but semantically underspecified, connection between the two clauses linked
together. This covers, for instance, both notions of simultaneity as well as
sequentiality, as shown in (12) and (13), respectively.

(12) Ni-safar ni-dila ko-horu=ni la’a...
        REFL-dog REFL-frog 3:UND-with=LNK1 move
    ‘(He) goes together with his dog and his frog…’ (102-144)

(13) ... hama ki-tala pere uere k-ua-mit=ini hai
     ficus.b 3:POSS-branch big.SG 2DEM 3:UND-on.top:RED-SIT.SG=LNK1 NSIT
    mu’a-li’an.
            ground-fall
‘… (he) sits on a big branch of the ficus benjamina, and then falls down.’
(38-066)
(14) and (15) are two alternative expressions of more or less the same state of affairs. Because of the limitations of the Makalero clause, which allows for the expression of only two arguments (see § 6, p. 383, and § 7.1, p. 402), either the location, as in (14), or the patient, as in (15), have to be expressed in a separate predication. Whereas in (14), this is done with the general locative verb isi’, (15) uses the light verb mei ‘take’. Note how in both cases, =ini is used to link the two predications together. Whereas (14) can plausibly be read as sequential (‘first I am in Lospalos, and then I meet my friend’), the same is not possible for (15). The first clause, translated literally as ‘I take my friend’, cannot possibly be read as a separate action, but only makes sense with the following clause. The juxtaposition of these two sentences shows that time- iconicity (and thus sequentiality) is not part of the semantics of =ini. Also, since =ini can be used on either part of the sentence, it shows that there is no asymmetry between the two clauses involved.

(14) Ani Loospalos-isi’=ini ni-pada hai rata’.  
1s L-at=LNK1 REFL-friend NSIT meet  
‘I met my friend in Lospalos.’ (chat051)

(15) Ani ni-pada hai mei=ni Loospalos-isi-rata’.  
1s REFL-friend NSIT take=LNK L-at:BD-meet  
‘I met my friend in Lospalos.’ (chat051a)

In a given context, =ini can also be read as causal (see (17) below) or contrary to expectation (see e.g. (42) in § 8.1.2, p. 461). With this broad range of interpretations, it appears that =ini is more or less equivalent to the coordinate conjunction ‘and’ in English.

=ini is also very frequently criticiised to the clausal pro-form uai (§ 3.2.3.12.2, p. 204). This process yields the form uai=ni, as in (16). This form is so common that speakers seem to perceive it as unanalysable, as evidenced by the fact that an additional =ini is often criticised to it, yielding uai=ni=ni. (17) may serve as an example. Further evidence for the fusion of uai=ni comes from the fact that it is also often used with the linker isi’ (§ 3.5.3.1.1.1, p. 250) as uai=ni=si, whereas =ini and isi’ do not otherwise combine. Both can be translated as ‘and then’, or ‘and so’.

(16) ... kail=ee na’a.mun la’a fenu pere u kene uai=ni  
hook=DEF in.turn move turtle big.SG one hit CLS=LNK1

hai la’a fenu pere ki-ha’a-mana-to’e.  
NSIT move turtle big.SG 3:POS-mouth-hole-inside  
‘... the hook hit a big turtle, and was inside the big turtle’s mouth.’  
(102-090)

(17) ... feesta=si uai=ni=ni arapau lasi tina-inti.  
party=LNK2 CLS=LNK1=LNK1 buffalo cut cook-do:BD

‘... there was a party, and so they butchered a buffalo and cooked (the meat).’  
(101-031)
A concomitant of the close semantic relationship between two clauses expressed by
*i\-ini* is the fact that the majority of clauses linked by this clitic share the same actor.
In fact, this is the case in sentences (12) through (16) given above, and conceivably
also in (17), though the actor intended is not expressed in either clause.
Nevertheless, *i\-ini* is not *per se* a same subject marker, but can be found linking two
clauses with different subjects too, as for example in (18).

(18)  *Hai dur=i\-ini  ki-sefar=ee  hai  ma’u fis-ue’...*
    NSIT  wake.up=LNK1  3:POSS-dog=DEF  NSIT  come  near:RED-V2DEM
    ‘(He) woke up, and his dog came close (to him)...’

A particular type of construction that regularly involves subject discontinuity is the
sentence type discussed in § 7.1.2 (p. 412), which essentially causativises positional
or movement verbs.

The second general clause linker, *i\-isi*, is associated with clauses with different
subjects, as opposed to the predominance of same subject clauses which are linked by
*i\-ini*. (19) gives two typical examples of the use of *i\-isi*. In both cases, the use of
the linker coincides with a change of subject. Notice the contrast with the three uses
of *i\-ini* in the same text section, which link clauses with the same subject.

(19)  *Dila mei isi’=isi  ki-sefar  e’=ini  potil=ee  hai*
    frog  take  at=LNK2  3:POSS-dog  V1DEM=LNK1  bottle=DEF  NSIT

    *mutu-puna=si  ki-ouar  ere  ue-mit=ini  ni-se’*
    inside:RED-look=LNK2  3:POSS-master  1DEM  V2DEM.RED-sit.SG=LNK1  REFL-chin

    *hai  ti’a-dekih=ni  hai  ne-puna.*
    NSIT  towards= lean=LNK1  NSIT  aim.at?=look
    ‘(He) put the frog into (the bottle), and his dog is here and looks into
    the bottle, and his master sits there and puts his chin into his hand and looks (at
    it).’

In fact, the different-subject connotation of *i\-isi* is so strong that, even where
the subjects of the two clauses in question are unexpressed, the use of *i\-isi* is clear
enough an indicator to ensure a correct understanding of the sentence. An example is
given in (20), where the answer to the question ‘why is this child crying?’ basically
consists of two verbs only, namely *pase* ‘beat’ and *iar* ‘cry’. The linker *i\-isi* between
these two predicates indicates that these actions are not carried out by the same
agents, while *uai=konai* (see § 8.1.6, p. 471) shows that the second is to be
understood as a consequence of the first. The overall interpretation is thus as shown in
(20).

(20)  *Mata ka’u ere  sa’a-fanti-iar?  –  Pase=si  uai=konai  iar.*
    child  small  1DEM  what:BD-be.like:RED-cry  beat=LNK2  CLS=CSQ  cry
    ‘Why is this child crying?  –  (Somebody) beat him, that’s why he cries.’
Through its strong association with subject changes, =isi is an important device aiding reference tracking in texts (see § 9.1, p. 491). However, the marking of a subject change is an associated, rather than the main function of =isi. This is shown by the occurrence of such sentences as (21), where =isi is used as a linker between clauses with the same agent.

(21) Amu lima=ni e’=isi hai haka-hau hamar hai haka-hau
sex five-CTR V1DEM~LNK2 NSIT all-all married.FEM NSIT all-all
sa-ena...
wife-see
‘Five (children) are here (i.e. alive), and they are all already married…’
(30-07)

While the subjects of the constituent clauses of (21) are the same, they specify two quite distinct and unrelated states of affairs. As such, I would like to argue that the main function of =isi is the linking of clauses expressing actions which are perceived to be loosely related to one another. (22) demonstrates the difference between =ini and =isi: note that the first and the second verbs, ue’ (V2DEM) and ena ‘see’, are linked by =ini, showing that they are perceived to be closely connected. In fact, they pertain to one event, as ue’ can be seen to give locative information for the action of seeing. Horu ‘bark’, however, is linked to ena ‘see’ by =isi, showing that the two are distinct actions, one following the other.

(22) Sefar ere=haka ue’=ini ena=si horu.
dog 1DEM-CTR.PRES V2DEM~LNK1 see~LNK2 bark
‘The dog is there and sees (them), and (starts to) bark.’
(102-032)

A rather large proportion of uses of =isi is found in the following three contexts: firstly, the linker occurs very often in conjunction with =te’e, the completive linker (§ 3.5.3.1.1.3, p. 252), thus clearly expressing a sequence of separate events. A good example is (23).

(23) … aran=ete=si tafa. Tafa=ni uai=te’e=si mei=ni hael
dry=after~LNK2 pile.up pile.up=LNK1 CLS=after~LNK2 take=LNK1 cotton
mei=ni ko-horu=ni tafa.
take=LNK1 3UND-with~LNK1 pile.up
‘… (when the tree bark) is dry, (we) pile it up. After that, (we) take the yarn and pile it up with it.’
(62-26, 62-27)

Secondly, =isi often connects two clauses in a causal relationship. In this case, it can optionally be combined with the consequential linker =konai (see § 3.5.3.1.1.6, p. 254). (24) and (25) show such instances, the former with =konai, the latter without it.
(24) ... kasi\-an mundo ki-raranini na'\-an=isi=konai ini la'a=nii
poor world 3:POSS-decoration? NEG.EX=LNK2=CSEQ 1pe move=LNK2

omara\-ha ko-huru.
wife.givers 3:UND-with
‘... (we are) poor and there is no beauty to the world, so we go to stay with
our in-laws.’

Thirdly and lastly, =isi is frequently found with clauses giving adverbial
(cumstantial) information. Note that in (26), this adverbial clause is actually
embedded within the constituent parts of the main clause, between its subject kiloo
(3s) and the VP muni ma'\-u 'come back’, showing that they form a sentence. While
such adverbial clauses may be said to pertain to the same event as the clause they
modify, they generally conform to the different subject connotation of =isi – in (26),
the subject of the adverbial clause is m\-u 'ground’ (§ 3.2.3.5, p. 164), while the
third person pronoun kiloo is the agent of the modified clause.

(25) Mara\-ni sefar=ee ki-tana hai isit=isi ni-tana hai feil.
go=LNK1 dog=DEF 3:UND-hand NSIT ill=LNK2 REFL-hand NSIT lick
‘Then the dog’s paw hurts, so he licks it.’

(33-29)

(26) Kiloo m\-u'\-a oko nomo kam\-u=isi muni ma'\-u.
3s ground still NEG night=LNK2 return come
‘He came home before nightfall.’

(elic632)

Whereas most cases of clauses linked with =isi are time-iconic, there is a small
number of instances which suggest that the reverse order is possible. This possibility
is also found with the consequence marker =konai (§ 8.1.6, p. 471). (27) is an
example, with (28) showing the more frequent time-iconic way of expression. It is
not quite clear how to account for a case such as (27).

(27) Ani hai tafi hau lepuh, a\-fiane' kamuu\-mu nomo nu\-i\-ni=si.
1s NSIT true all hungry PT early.morning NEG eat-do=BD=LNK2
‘I am very hungry because I didn’t eat earlier in the morning.’

(elic1545)

(28) Ani a\-fiane' kamuu\-mu nomo nu\-i\-ni=si hai tafi hau lepuh.
1s PT early.morning NEG eat-do=LNK2 NSIT true all hungry
‘I didn’t eat earlier in the morning, so I am very hungry.’

8.1.2 Adversative clause linkage
An adversative relationship between two clauses, in which the second clause is in
some way contrary to the expectation based on the state of affairs expressed in the
first clause, is most often expressed with =po, which is one of the most frequent
clause linkers. (29) gives a typical example.
(29) ... u dou tor ani ki-nei nomo ma’en=po pera=at=ee
       one doctor 1s 3:POSS-name NEG know=ADVR nurse=DEF

       ki-nei Nioman.
       3:POSS-name N.
       ‘... the one who was a doctor, I don't know his name, but the nurse’s name
       was Nioman.’ (101-125)

Another linker with adversative meaning is the Portuguese loan =mais, as
exemplified in (30). Note that it is the only Portuguese-based conjunction to be used
as a clitic.192

(30) Ki-tufar oko nomo ma’en=mais ude’=ini ma’u.
       3:POSS-sister yet NEG know=ADVR VDEM.HIGH—LNK1 come
       ‘His sister did not know yet, but came from up there.’ (74-026)

While the meaning of =mais is unambiguous, it must be noted that the semantics of
=po are broader than those of the English adversative conjunction ‘but’ are, as
shown clearly in a variety of sentences where ‘but’ is inappropriate as a translation.
The lengthy extract from a retelling of the frog story given in (31) through (36) may
serve as an example.

(31) Uai=ni=ni ma’u=ni toil=ee k-ua’=ama=po pipi.rusa
       CLS—LNK1—LNK1 come=LNK1 cliff=DEF 3:UND-on.top:RED—INT—ADVR deer

       kiloo hai mei ue-mu’a-li’an-isa ki-sefar=oo hai toil=ee
       3s NSIT take VDEM.RED-ground-fall-go.down 3:POSS-dog=too NSIT cliff=DEF

       k-ia-mu’a-li’an-isa.
       3:UND-under:RED—ground-fall-go.down
       ‘Upon arriving on top of the cliff, the deer throws him down there, and his
dog too falls down the cliff.’ (55a-042)

(32) Uai=ni=po toil were k-ia’=ee i=na toil were
       CLS—LNK1—ADVR cliff 2DEM 3:UND-under—CMPL water=CTR cliff 2DEM

       k-ia-te-te-liu.
       3:UND-under:RED—VDEM.LOW—RED—stagnant
       ‘At the bottom of the cliff, there is a lake.’ (55a-043)

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192 Of(a) ‘or’ is alternatively realised as a free element or as a clitic like =mais ‘but’.
(33)  
\[ Ki=ru \  resi-fitu, \  pipika \ na\'u \ tepa \ larin \]
\[ k-ua-ude-na=ini \]
\[ mata \ ka\'u \ sefar=ee \]
\[ mi-pua. \]

Along:RED-look.at

'The seventeenth (picture), the deer is still standing on top of the cliff and watches the child and the dog.'  
(55a-044)

(34)  
\[ Isa=ni \  uai=ni=po \ mata \ ka\'u=ee \ la\'a=ni \  ira \]
\[ go\-down=LNIK1 \  CLS=LNIK1-ADVRL child \  small=DEF \  move=LNIK1 \  water \]
\[ mutu-ufe-mu\'a-li\'an=ee \]
\[ ki-tana \ na\'u \ tepa \ nama- dane. \]

Inside:RED-VDEM-LOW:RED-ground-fall=CMPL  3:POSS-hand just constant

'Falling down to the bottom, the child’s hands and feet go up.'  
(55a-045)

(35)  
\[ Sefar=ee \  isa=ni \  mata \ ka\'u \  k-ua-li\'an \  ki-tana \]
\[ dog=DEF \  go\-down=LNIK1 \  child \  small 3:UND-on.top:RED-fall 3:POSS-hand \]
\[ ki-ula \  ki-ia \  na\'u \  tepa \  nama-dane. \]

3:POSS-tail 3:POSS-foot just constant upwards:RED-lift

'The dog falls on top of the child, and his legs and his tail go up.'  
(55a-046)

(36)  
\[ Uai=ni=po \  ate \ patan=ee \  ira \  liu=ee \  lafi-ue'=ini(...) \]
\[ CLS=LNIK1-ADVRL \  tree \  trunk=DEF \  water \  stagnant=DEF \  beside:RED-V2DEM=LNIK1 \]
\[ ate-hasa=ni \  ira-mutu-ue-lafu\'-mara. \]

Tree.leaf=CTR \  water\-inside:RED-V2DEM:RED-live-go

'And there is a tree trunk in the side of the lake, (...) and there are leaves living inside the water.'  
(55a-047)

It is noticeable that in the sequence of sentences in (31) through (36), sentences introduced by \[ uai=ni=po \] alternate with sentences starting without that conjunctive element. Two of the \[ uai=ni=po \] sentences, (32) and (36), give background information, without an apparent notion of contrariness to expectation. The third of the \[ uai=ni=po \] sentences, (34), gives very much the same kind of information as (35), but whereas (34) is introduced by \[ uai=ni=po \], (35) is not. This might suggest that the use of this element is not connected to the nature of the information given in these clauses and the relationship between them, but to the structuring of the narrative.

In some cases, \[ =po \] appears to be sequential in usage, expressing the notion of the second action occurring immediately after the end of the first action, again without a notion of contrariness to expectation. An example is given in (37). Note that this
sentence was elicited without context, thus the use of =po cannot very well be linked to narrative structure, as has been suggested for its use in (31) through (36). On the other hand, it looks very similar to =po as in (31) above.

(37) Aite’ ma’u=po kiloo ra‘u-la’u ni uaro’;  
RCT.PT come=ADVR 3s good-move REFL shower  
‘Upon arriving, she quickly went to have a shower.’  (elic497)

Example (38) serves to represent a group of sentences in which =po links two apparently simultaneous actions.

(38) Asi-hu’at uc’=ini misa=po aki-isa hai na’u dikar  
1s:POSS-sad V2DEM=LNK1 go.up=ADVR 1s:POSS-condition NSIT just short  
uai=ni=si ani ni senti nomo rau...  
CLS=LNK1=LNK2 1s REFL feel NEG good  
‘My sadness increased, and I was also annoyed, so I didn’t feel good...’  (101-387)

In a variety of examples relating direct speech, =po is used to introduce a new piece of direct speech, or a change of speaker. An example is given in (39). Note, however, that the second change of speaker in (39), following the question rau ere ‘is that good’, is not marked by =po.

(39) Eh in=lipa ni-asa ni-ni ki-teri leuk=ini tina  
INTERJ 1pe=CTR.PRES REFL-for REFL-mother 3:POSS-bottom drill=LNK1 cook  
nua=po o1 rau ere? – rau tai...  
eat=ADVR INTERJ good 1DEM good clearly?  
‘Eh, we drilled open our mother’s bottom and cooked (it) and we are eating (it); (so Laapo said) oi, is that good? (they replied) sure it is good...’  (118-34)

The examples given in (31) to (39) cannot clearly be linked to =po’s most frequent usage marking an adversative relation between two clauses it links, but represent distinct subclasses of its use. (40) and (41), on the other hand, show two of the examples which are, at present, totally unclear. In (40), =po links two clauses in a causal relationship, while in (41), it stands at the end of an exclamation, as the last element of an utterance.

(40) Ina pipit=po akor tone’ fatil heman.  
eye fast=ADVR thief perhaps gun take  
‘Be careful, that criminal may be armed.’  (elic688)

(41) Ei se matene=k=po!  
2s very clever=ADVR  
‘You’re very clever!’  (chat095)


On the other hand, there are also examples where a clause contradicts an expectation based on a previous clause, such that an adversative linker might be expected, but =po is not used. One such sentence is given in (42); notice that the very general linking element uai=ni is used, rather than uai=ni=po.

(42) ... ma’akini ki-dila=ee ure’-mutu’ uai=ni sura=ni wrongly.think 3.POSS-frog=DEF 2DEM.V-inside CLS=LNK1 mouse=CTR

mutu’=ini...
inside=LNK1
‘... (he) thinks his frog might be in there, but it is a mouse that is inside…’
(102-035)

In sum, =po is a frequently used linker of broad semantics and seems to intersect into the domains of several other clause linkers, such as =ini and =isi for the sequential uses. Makalero speakers appear to equate it with tetapi, the Indonesian equivalent of ‘but’. More research into its elusive semantics is clearly required. For the present work, a broad description of its various uses must suffice. For lack of a better term, the gloss ADVR is used here, even where such a translation is clearly not appropriate.

A very frequent combination, which is in fact partly lexicalised, involves the intention marker =na’a (§ 3.5.3.2.1, p. 262) and =po. This combination is discussed in more detail in § 8.2.1.1.2 (p. 479).

### 8.1.3 Concessive clause linkage

The clitic =oo ‘too’, if used on clause level, links two clauses in a concessive relation. (43) and (44) give typical examples.

(43) Ani=ni isit=oo ani fatar=ini la’a=ni ata haka.
1s=CTR ill=too 1s force=LNK1 move=LNK1 fire search
‘Even if I was ill, they forced me to go and gather firewood.’
(103-09)

(44) ... anu aire’ mesin.ketik=ua kontu ru lolit-u-litu k-isi’=ee
1s now typewriter=REL 10,000RP ten RDL-thirty 3:UND-belong=DEF

heti=oo anu-asu teuh.
ask=too 1s-for buy
‘... and even though I asked for a typewriter that cost about 300,000 rupiah, (they) bought that for me.’
(101-476)

Apart from its most general concessive use, =oo can be found with clauses in a variety of specific constructions. The clausal host to =oo is in these cases of a clearly delimitable kind, and its semantics are rather distinct from that of the general use of the clitic as laid out above and restricted to the construction in question.
§ 8.1.3.1 (p. 466) through § 8.1.3.3 (p. 467) give short descriptions of such constructions as evidenced in the corpus.

8.1.3.1 ‘no matter whether... or not...’
A special construction, found several times in the corpus, is one where =oo is cliticised to a sequence of two clauses, the first of which is positive and immediately followed by the same VP in the negative. This construction is to be translated as “no matter whether x is the case or not, ...”. (45) and (46) are cases in point.

(45) \(Ua\i=te'=ete\ \dil\ \nomo\ \dil=oo\ \ ei\ \ere=ni\ \ dadau\ \ mei=ni\ \ la'a.\)
CLS-after=after startled NEG startled-too 2s DEM-CTR must take=LNK1 move
‘Whether you are scared or not, it is you who has to go with it.’
(120-059)

(46) \( ... \ ki-isa=taa\ \ fi\ \ tutu\ \ fi\ \ nomo\ \ tutu=oo\ \ nomo\ \ sa'a\ \ u.\)
3:POSS-condition-PURP 1pi like 1pi NEG like-too NEG thing one
‘... so that no matter whether they like us or not, it’s no problem’
(124-47)

8.1.3.2 Interrogatives with =oo ‘too’
Sentences where =oo is cliticised to an interrogative word question (§ 7.7.2.2, p. 443) make up another group with distinct semantics. In such cases, the question word is interpreted as an indefinite pronoun, i.e. whoever, wherever, however, etc.; (47) and (48) may serve to illustrate.

(47) \(Ani\ \ tau-la'a=oo\ \ ani\ \ na'u\ \ tepa\ \ pada\ \ ki=rau\ \ nese-la'a.\)
1s where:RED-move=too 1s just constant friend ATTR=good aim:RED-move
‘Wherever I go, I always find good friends.’
(elic1048)

(48) \(Uai=na'a=po\ \ fi\ \ Timor\ \ ere\ \ ei=ni\ \ hau\ \ la'a\ \ tau'=oo\ \ ei\ \ ni'isi\)
CLS=INT-ADV 1pi T. 1DEM 2s=CTR all move where=too 2s simultaneous
\(ni\-mata\ \ ni-uei\ \ tepa\ \ isi-ne'et.\)
REFL-child REFLE-blood constant at:RED-think
‘But in the case of us Timorese, wherever you go, you’ll always remember your own flesh and blood.’
(74-128)

In other instances, interrogative clauses with =oo are indirect questions, and, more specifically, questions to which the speaker does not know the answer. The following clause generally contains the verb ma'en ‘know’ and is negated, expressing the speaker’s ignorance on the subject. The indirect question can be understood as a left-dislocated object to that clause’s verb of knowing. Examples are given in (49) and (50).
... there help must come to me, (although) wherever it comes from I don’t know.’ (113-28)

‘... whatever is in it I don’t know.’ (120-052)

While the left-dislocated object in most of these constructions is a question, as in (49) and (50), this is not necessarily the case, as (51), with what looks like an affirmative, demonstrates. Note that =oo is used twice here; the first occurrence marks the clausal object to ma’en ‘know’, whereas the second, cliticised on NP level to the first person plural exclusive pronoun ini, corresponds to English ‘too’ (see § 3.5.2.1, p. 245).

(51) Hai haka-hau iar iar=ini mara=ni la’a=oo ini=oo nomo ma’en.
NSIT all-all cry cry=LNK1 go=LNK1 move=too lpe=too NEG know
‘(They) all cried, and then (they said) that he left, we too didn’t know it.’ (74-052)

8.1.3.3 =oo with the negative existential na’an
A construction where a clause with =oo cliticised to it is followed by the negative existential na’an expresses the idea of something not being the case at all, or not a bit, as (52) and (53) show.

(52) Ani Juliette ki-mu’a kai ma’en=oo na’an ere=ni.
1s J. poss-language small know=too NEG.EX 1DEM=CTR
‘I don’t even know a bit of your language.’ (chat045)

(53) ... ni-ue-raa ho’o ko-horu lolo-ini=oo na’an.
REFL-sister.in.law-PL some 3:UND-with say-do.BD=too NEG.EX
‘... (she) didn’t speak a word with her sisters-in-law.’ (74-033)

8.1.4 Completive clause linkage
The clitic clause linker =te’e conveys the idea that the action of the clause it is cliticised to is completed before the following clause happens (§ 3.5.3.1.1.3, p. 252). Examples are given in (54) and (55). In fact, the completion of the action expressed by the first clause is often understood to be a prerequisite without which the action expressed by the second clause cannot occur. (55) shows such a case.
(54)  
\textit{Uai=nì=nì depois hai tína=nì dafu=ete Laapo}  
\textit{CLS=LKN1=LKN1 afterwards NSIT cook=LKN1 boiled=after L.}

\textit{k-ua-dai-ma’u...}  
3:UND-on.top:RED-pass-come

‘And then they cooked it and after it was done, Laapo came passing up there…’  
(118-333)

(55)  
\textit{... ei dadau ni-pada hau haka=nì hau nese-la’a=te’e}  
2s must REFL-friend all search=LKN1 all aim.at:RED-move=after

\textit{ani mini.}  
1s follow

‘… you must look for your friend and find him, only then (can you) follow me.’  
(115-077)

\textit{=te’e} occurs very often on clauses denoting an indication of time, as in (56).

(56)  
\textit{Mu’a hai kamu=te’e fi lopu-isi-la’a.}  
\textit{ground NSIT night=after 3pi house-at:RED-move}

‘We went home after nightfall.’  
(elic1126a)

In many instances, such as (54) and (56), \textit{=te’e}-clauses are translated as adverbal clauses. In Makalero, however, there is no evidence of a syntactic asymmetry between the two clauses involved.

Like most other clause linkers, \textit{=te’e} is also frequently cliticised to the clausal pro-form \textit{uai}, yielding \textit{uai=te’e}, as in (57).

(57)  
\textit{... k-ia-dai mei=nì uai=nì=nì ani la’a=ni}  
3:UND-under:RED-pass take=LKN1 CLS=LKN1=LKN1 1s move=LKN1

\textit{uai=te’e=si nua.}  
CLS=after=LKN2 eat

‘… passing underneath, I took (the mangoes) and went away and then after that I ate them.’  
(101-057)

In fact, it appears this combination is largely lexicalised as ‘afterwards’. A clear indication of this is shown in (58), where the linker (in its metathesised vowel-initial form, see § 3.5.3.1.1.3, p. 252) is used on top of \textit{uai=te’e}, suggesting that this conjunctive element is not segmentable to the speaker in question.\textsuperscript{193}

\textsuperscript{193} The loss of the final vowel of the clitic in (58) suggests it is an echo vowel. As elaborated in § 1.9 (p. 32), echo vowels are not represented in writing. However, \textit{=te’e} loses its final vowel only in circumstances where it appears to be undergoing grammaticalisation and a non-grammaticalised version of it is additionally used. In other clitic combinations, such as that of \textit{=te’e} and the general linker \textit{=isi} (see below), it is the latter which loses its initial vowel, as it normally does if cliticised to vowel-final items. This suggests the final vowel of \textit{=te’e} is part of the morpheme rather than an echo vowel. Its loss in such circumstances as in (58) can be interpreted as grammaticalisation-related reduction.
(58) \[ Uai=te=ete \] \[ dil \] nomo \[ \text{dil}=oo \] ei \[ eri=nı \] dadau \[ mei=nı \] la’a.

\text{CLS=}after\text{after} \text{startled} \text{NEG} \text{startled} \text{too} \text{2s} \text{1DEM}=\text{CTR} \text{must} \text{take}=\text{LNK1} \text{move} ‘Whether you are scared or not, it is you who has to go with it.’

\text{(120-059)}

Similarly, \text{=te’e} appears to be on the brink of lexicalisation with \text{ka’u ‘little’} as \text{ka’u=te’e} ‘in a little while’, as in (59). (60) is equivalent to (58), in that the vowel-initial form of the clitic, \text{=ete}, is used on top of \text{ka’u=te’e}, demonstrating the lexicalisation of the combination.

(59) \[ ... \text{ka’u=te’e filem uc’=afta} \] \[ ani \] \[ tane \] \[ uai=konai=nı \] \[ fi \]

\text{small=after} \text{movie} V2\text{DEM}=\text{COND} \text{1s} \text{waken} \text{CLS}=\text{CSQ}=\text{LNK1} \text{1pi}

\text{ro’u-nonton.}

together=watch

‘... in a while, when the movie is on, wake me, so that we can watch it together.’

\text{(120-012)}

(60) \[ ... \text{ka’u=te’e anina mara \(\text{ei}\) tane.} \]

\text{small=after} \text{after} \text{1s} \text{go} \text{2s} \text{waken}

‘... in a while I will go and wake you.’

\text{(120-014)}

\S 7.2.1.1 (p. 414) introduces the form \text{aite’} as an adverbial predicate denoting a recent past. This element is usually pronounced as [ \text{ai’te’e}], but in analogy with the other adverbials in this group, the final vowel has been analysed as an echo vowel and is not represented in writing. \text{Aite’} is strikingly similar in form to \text{uau=te’e} as discussed above. In analogy to \text{uau}, the \text{ai} element is likely based on the speaker-related counterpart to the deictic verb \text{uai’}, \text{ai’}, though equally grammaticalised (see \S 3.2.3.9, p. 180); the \text{te’} element would then be a short version of the linker \text{=te’e} (see fn 193). Whereas \text{uai=te’e}, with the addressee-related deictic base, refers to a point in the past, the near-speaker deictic base in \text{ai=te’e} points to a time near the here and now. The use of \text{aite’} is exemplified in (61).

(61) \[ ... \text{Ilomar=ee ki-adat=ee nomohaka aite’ kini=po hana’e} \]

\text{Ilomar=DEF 3:POSS-custom=DEF CLS.NEG REC.PT}\text{ do=ADV}\text{ REM.PT}

\text{portu hana’e fi-dada fi-upa uere’ k-afu lafu’=ini...}

\text{Portuguese REM.PT 1pi-grandparent 1pi-father 2DEM.V 3:UND-carry live=LNK1}

‘The traditions of Ilomar were made not just recently, but they existed already during Portuguese times, and our parents and our grandparents were here and lived with them...’

\text{(72-23)}

\text{=te’e} is often combined with the linkers \text{=isi} (\S 3.5.3.1.1.1, p. 250) and \text{=ini} (\S 3.5.2.5, p. 247). An example with \text{=isi} can be seen in (57) above. \text{=te’e} is also often used with imperatives (\S 7.7.3.2.2, p. 448), as well as in assertions as when a speaker is excusing himself, such as (62). In both cases, \text{=te’e} stands at the end of an utterance and is understood to make it more polite.
(62) Anî la’âr=ni ni-uxisi hau sia=te’e.
1s move—LNK1 REFL-tooth all brush=after
‘I’ll just brush my teeth (so excuse me for a moment).’

As discussed in § 3.5.3.1.1.7 (p. 255), the putative linker =fe is sometimes used on top of =te’e. The semantic contribution of this element is unclear.

### 8.1.5 Conditional clause linkage

There are two clause linkers expressing condition, namely =fata and =nata (§ 3.5.3.1.1.4, p. 253, and § 3.5.3.1.1.5, p. 254, respectively). The distinction between the two linkers is not entirely clear. =fata is by far the more frequent one. In the majority of cases, it expresses real conditions, such as in (63). However, =fata can also be used with counterfactual ones, as in (64). It is furthermore used in contexts that are more conveniently read in a temporal sense, rather than strictly conditional (see e.g. (65)).

(63) ... ei leu-leu=fata ka’u=te’e seur=ce nomo fami.
2s RDL-call=COND small=after meat=DEF NEG nice
‘... if you scream, the meat won’t be good.’

(118-40)

(64) Anî koto.halee osan satu.juta nese-la’â=fata ani tone’ mondo
1s maybe money one.million aim.at:RED-move=COND 1s perhaps world
kafa k-ali-la’a.
entire 3:UND-all.over-move
‘If I got one million (dollars), I would travel around the world.’

(elic828)

(65) ... ka’u=te’e filem uc’=afa ani tane=ni uai fi nonton=elo.
small=after movie V2DEM=COND 1s waken—LNK1 CLS 1pli watch=EXHORT
‘... in a while when the movie is on, wake me so we can watch it (together).’

(120-019)

=nata, on the other hand, is quite rare. It seems that all instances of =nata can be construed as expressing counterfactual conditions, whereas =fata is more frequently used for real conditions. (66) gives an example of the use of =nata. Indeed, many of its occurrences are in the context of giving a translation of something previously said into another language.

(66) Satu dua mei=ni Makalero mi-loko=nata klasu un lolo...
one two take—LNK1 M. along:RED-say=CTF.COND grade one two
‘(In Indonesian) one and two, if it were to be said in Makalero, (it would be) grade one and grade two…”

(66-17)
As discussed in § 3.5.3.1.1.5 (p. 254), =nata is often found criticised to the clausal pro-form uai or uai=ni, with the general linker =ini (§ 3.5.2.5, p. 247). These combinations are in fairly frequent use, as opposed to simple =nata. In fact, they appear to be lexicalised to a certain degree and could probably best be translated as ‘as if’, like in (67), or as ‘like, such as’, as in (68), where it introduces a list of possible referents.

(67)   ... teli=ee (... ) ua=nata\textsuperscript{94} hai tor:helar.  
maize=DEF CLS=CTF COND NSIT ripe  
‘… the maize (looked) as if it was already ripe…’   (118-17)

(68)   Uere=ini uai=n=anta Muenira Naunira Tafarira Pusaulu  
2DEM.V=CTR CLS=LNK1=CTF.COND M. N. T. P.  
Punakosi Dirimuni Loorasa Maluhira Darapu’u Inameli i  
P. D. L. M. D. I. and  
roual=ini uari ue’.  
many.NONHUM=CTR still V2DEM  
‘(The clans) that are here are such as Muenira, Naunira, Tafarira, Pusaulu, Punakosi, Dirimuni, Loorasa, Maluhira, Darapu’u, Inameli, and many others.’   (21-004)

8.1.6 Consequential clause linkage

In a clause linkage with =konai, the action of the second clause is presented as a consequence of the action of the first clause. As Hull (2004: 78), who analyses =konai as a topic marker, rightly observes, it occurs very frequently with sa’a-fani’ ‘how, why’; an example is given in (69). This interrogative is, however, not adverbial in status, as Hull claims, but verbal (see § 3.2.3.6, p. 167), being made up of the interrogative pronoun sa’a- ‘what’ in its bound form (§ 3.3.1.4.2, p. 230) and the verb fani’ ‘be like’; the full phrase, thus, is a separate predicate and translates as ‘it is like what’. As such, =konai functions as a clause linker.

(69)   Ei sa’a-fani’=konai ani neok?  
2s what.BD-like=CSQ 1s deceive  
‘Why are you lying to me?’   (elic962b)

Strictly speaking, =konai is not necessary in such questions as (70), since the interrogative phrase sa’a-fani’ ‘how, why’ inherently asks for a reason of an action. In fact, it is not obligatory in this context, as (70) shows.

\textsuperscript{94} Note the use of uai, rather than uai, for the clausal proform. This is not found with other clause linkers, and is also rather restricted with =nata. It appears to be indicative of the degree of lexicalisation of the form.
(70) ... sa’a-fani’ ani nomo isi-la’a?

‘... why do (you) not come to visit me?’

(21-059)

In affirmative clauses too, =konai is sometimes used even if there is another element in the clause expressing the idea of one action causing the other. Examples are given in (71) and (72); in the former, the verb (k)-asu ‘for’ expresses causation, while in the latter, the Indonesian loan gara-gara ‘because (negative affectedness)’ is used.

(71) ... so’ot=ini fi-lolo- ini=ua Makalero ain ere so’ot=ini uere’

rekom, aprende=na’a k-asu=konai=ni traku ma’u=ini...

‘... she wants to learn and record our Makalero language, that’s why she came...’

(98-61)

(72) Garagar a ei=konai=ni aire’ (...) fi-ouar ani-afa-la’a...

because 2s=CSQ-LNK1 now 1pi-master 1s-away.from-move

‘It is because of you that our master now leaves me...’

(115-048)

Note that =konai can be combined with other clause linkers. The combination with =ini, yielding =konai=ni, is most frequent. Both simple =konai as well as the combination =konai=ni are often used together with the general linker =isi as in (73).

(73) ... kasion mundo ki-raranini na’an=isi=konai ini la’a=ni

omaraha ko-horu.

poor world 3:POSS-decoration NEG.EX-LNK2=CSQ 1pe move=LNK1

‘... (we) are poor, and there is no beauty to the world, so we went to stay with our in-laws.’

(33-29)

The combination of =konai with other clause linkers is very frequent, particularly if it stands on the clausal pro-form uai. This can result in rather complex conjunctive elements with multiple linking elements, as in the example in (74), which uses the form uai=ni=si=konai=ni. The elements =ini and =isi that are used next to =konai in this complex are very unspecific in meaning, as discussed in § 3.5.2.5 (p. 247) and § 3.5.3.1.1.1 (p. 250). The whole complex is more or less equivalent in meaning to simple =konai, thus taking on the meaning of the most specific of its constituent parts.
(74) ... hala=ni kini funu=ni kini uai=ni=si=konai=ni in

  war=CTR do war=CTR do CLS=LNK1=LNK2=CSQ=LNK1 1pe

  titar=ini la’a=ni Kupang-isı...

run.PL=LNK1 move=LNK1 K-at

‘... it was the war that made (us flee), so we fled to Kupang...’

(124-18, 124-19)

There are a few instances where =konai, either on its own or in combination with another linker, occurs at the end of an utterance. An example is given in (75).

(75) Asi-in=ni hai sopen=isi uai=konai.

1s:POSS-eye=CTR NSIT sleepy=LNK2 CLS=CSQ

‘Because I was already sleepy.’

(elic1147a)

This sentence gives the reason that caused another action; this action, however, is not expressed. In fact, (75) is the answer to the question in (76). As such, (75) could be seen as an elliptical sentence, where a clause expressing the consequence as given in the question is left unexpressed after uai=konai. A complete version of the answer, with expression of the consequence clause, would presumably look like (77).

(76) Ei sa’a-fami’=konai=ni ei hai muni ma’u?

2s what.BD-be.like=CSQ=LNK1 2s NSIT return come

‘Why did you come back already?’

(elic1147)

(77) Asi-in=ni hai sopen=isi uai=konai ani hai muni ma’u.

1s:POSS-eye=CTR NSIT sleepy=LNK2 CLS=CSQ 1s NSIT return come

‘I was already sleepy, that is why I came back already.’

Another – though very small – set of rather curious instances is where the normal time-iconic order of reason and consequence, as found in all previous examples, does not seem to be maintained. An example is given in (78).

(78) ... amuni ki=rial=ee tone’ uari ma’u (…) fi-lo-lo-ini

person ATTR=many HUM=DEF perhaps still come 1pi-say=NML

Makalero haka=konai iraku-laau (…) so’ot=ini lolo-ini taure’ uari

search=CSQ 3s-PL want=LNK1 say=NML which still

oko-na ma’en iraku-laau so’ot=ini were’ aprende=na’a...

not.yet know 3s-PL want=LNK1 2DEM.V learn=INT

‘... many people will perhaps come to look for our Makalero language, because they (…) want to learn a language that they do not know yet...’

(98-53)

Even though the translation into English using ‘because’ in (78) appears to be in line with translations for =konai as given so far, this sentence does not tie in with the meaning proposed here for =konai, which links a first clause, expressing a cause,
and a second clause, expressing a consequence of the first clause. In (78), however, the fact that people might come and look for the Makalero language is not the cause of them wanting to learn a new language. Rather, the reverse order would be logical, namely that people’s desire to learn a new language causes them to come and look for Makalero. To date, only three such ‘reversed’ examples have been found. As such, this phenomenon can be considered marginal for the time being, though future research might shed more light on it.

8.1.7 Alternative clause linkage

The clause linker =uai ‘or’ presents two clauses as alternatives, as in the example in (79). The Portuguese loan ou may be used as a clitic linker as well. (80), exemplifying such a use, is repeated from § 3.5.2.3 (p. 247). All further relevant information on such alternative clauses can be found in that section.

(79) ... ni-sa ere hau k-umu-lasi=ni k-afa-la’a
   REFL-wife 1DEM NSIT 3:UND-kill-cut=LNK1 3:UND-away.from-move

   ama-isi-la’a=uai taw-la’a.
   garden-at:RED-move=or where:RED-move
   ‘... (he) cut his wife to death and then left her to go to the garden or to go wherever.’

(23-044)

(80) ... fi dikî-tate poki ata-lue mei=ni lode-isi’=ou na’an=a’fi
   1pi yarn-wood whorl fire-ash take=LNK1 bag-at=or NEG.EX-COND

   mei=ni tokurut-isi’...
   take=LNK1 coconut.shell-at
   ‘... we take the stick for rolling up the yarn, the whorl and ash and put them into a bag, or if not (into a bag), then we put them into a coconut shell...’

(62-16)

8.1.8 Purposive clauses

The most important purposive marker is the clitic =taa. It can occur in two positions: either at the end of the first clause, or on the subject NP of the second clause. As (81) shows, it can also be used in both of these positions at the same time. Similarly, =taa can be found both on the clausal pro-form nai as well as on the subject of the follow-up clause, as shown in (82).
(81) O mata ka’u ere tone’ lafu’=isi muni afu=ni muni la’a
INTERJ child small 1DEM perhaps live=LNK2 return carry=LNK1 return move
ki-ni
k-ata-suri=taa
ki-ni=taa
rau-rau
3:POSS-mother 3:UND-contact;RED-release;BD=PURP 3:POSS-mother=PURP RDL-good
dudu mei kini=ni...
breast take give.to.3=LNK1 ‘Oh, this child is probably alive, bring her to her mother, so she feeds her quickly…’ (63-13)

(82) Uai-nini uai=taa Timor ki-lafu=ee=taa rau felun.
V2DEM;RED-do;BD CLS=PURP T. 3:POSS-life=DEF=PURP good nice ‘I will do this so that Timorese life will become better.’ (107-24)

All of the possible positions of =taa and their various combinations result in a wide variety of marking patterns for purposive clauses. The patterns found in the corpus are summarised in Table 8.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>clause 1</th>
<th>clause 2</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[CLS]=taa</td>
<td>[CLS]</td>
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<td>[CLS]</td>
<td>[SUBJ=taa VP]</td>
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<tr>
<td>[CLS]=taa</td>
<td>[SUBJ=taa VP]</td>
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<tr>
<td>[CLS] uai=taa</td>
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<td>[CLS]</td>
<td>[SUBJ uai=taa VP]</td>
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<td>[CLS] uai=taa</td>
<td>[SUBJ=taa VP]</td>
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<tr>
<td>[CLS]=taa uai=taa</td>
<td>[CLS]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[CLS]</td>
<td>[SUBJ=taa uai=taa VP]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8.1: Marking patterns of purposive clauses with =taa

Since =taa can be marked within the clause expressing the purpose, this clause can be used without an antecedent clause. Such sentences are read as a kind of permissive, as in (83), or as optative (see also § 7.7.5, p. 452), as in (84).

(83) Uai=ni iraku=taa k-ua-ue-daru=ni ka’u-ka’u
CLS=LNK1 3s=PURP 3:UND-on-top;RED-V2DEM;RED-place;BD=LNK1 RDL-little
mu’it=ete=si fi mei=ni rei-daru.
long.ago=after=LNK1 1pi take=LNK1 outwards-place;BD ‘So let it stand on (the fire), and after a while, we take it out.’ (50-10)
(84) \( Uai=tue \ ma’u. \)
\( \text{CLS-PURP} \ \text{come} \)
‘Hopefully (he) will come.’
(elic1741)

A less common way of expressing a purposive relation between two clauses is with the element \( =p- \) (§ 3.5.3.1.2.3, p. 259). This element is a clause linker in the literal sense of the word; it is cliticised to the right boundary of the first clause in the sequence, and at the same time combines with the second clause’s subject. An instance, where \( =p- \) is used on the clausal pro-form \( uai, \) is given in (85).

(85) \( \ldots \ anu \ hai \ teni \ ni-asu \ amulafu \ haka \ uai=p-ani \ l’a=ni \)
\( 1s \ NSIT \ again \ REFL-for \ person \ search \ CLS-PURP-1s \ move=LNK1 \)
\( ko-horu... \)
\( 3:\text{UND-with} \)
‘… I looked for somebody again so that I could stay with him...’
(125-16)

The \( =p- \) element can also be used on \( uai \) without making reference to an antecedent clause, in which case it is read as permissive; (86) gives an example.

(86) \( Aftu \ uai=p-ani \ misa=ni \ ho’o \ ena=te’ani \ asu \ loko=p-ani \)
\( \text{COND} \ CLS-PURP-1s \ go.up=LNK1 \ some \ see=after \ 1s-for \ open=PURP-1s \)
\( misa=ni \ ho’o \ ena. \)
\( \text{go.up}=LNK1 \ some \ see \)
‘In that case, let me go up and see, open a way for me so I can go up and see.’
(89-36)

The last linker to express a purposive relation between two clauses is \( =ua, \) as in (87). Note that it is homophonous to the relative marker \( =u. \)

(87) \( Ni-dila \ haka=si \ uai=konai \ ni-sefar \ k-asu \ lolo=ni=ua \)
\( \text{REFL-frog} \ search=LNK2 \ CLS-\text{CSQ} \ \text{REFL-dog} \ 3:\text{UND-for} \ say=LNK1=\text{PURP} \)
\( ki-sefar \ irau \ rokoroko=na’a \ ere. \)
\( 3:\text{POSSESS-dog} \ not\text{-allowed} \ \text{rustle}=\text{INT} \ \text{IDEM} \)
‘He is looking for his frog, so he tells his dog so that the dog doesn’t make any noise.’
(38-113)

### 8.1.9 Reported speech

Reported speech can be marked as such by the use of the indirect information marker \( =ki, \) (§ 3.5.3.1.2.2, p. 258), which can be found in two positions: first, following an introductory clause (generally with a verb of saying, thinking or hearing), and second, following the subject of the clause expressing the reported speech. The two strategies can be combined, resulting in double marking. Unlike the
other clause linkers, =kini is not used with the clausal pro-form uai. Table 8.2 summarises the distribution patterns of =kini.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>clause 1</th>
<th>clause 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[CLS]=kini</td>
<td>[CLS]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[CLS]</td>
<td>[SUBJ=kini VP]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[CLS]=kini</td>
<td>[SUBJ=kini VP]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8.2: Marking patterns of reported speech with =kini

Like =tao (§ 8.1.8, p. 474), =kini needs no antecedent clause if it is criticised to the reported speech clause’s subject. (88) and (89) give two such examples.

(88) Ah... ei=kini sirvisu=na’a.
INTERJ 2s=IND work=INT
‘Ah, (you said) you wanted to work.’ (101-442)

(89) Asi-alit ere=kini hai muni pada se’…
1s:POSS-skin 1DEM=IND NSIT return friend separate
‘(They said) my skin changed again…’ (64-10)

The element =kini is also found in the grammatical verb ma’akini (§ 3.2.3.12.6, p. 209).

8.2 Coordination of clauses with free conjunctions

Other than these clause linkers, a number of borrowed free conjunctions, from Portuguese, Tetum and Indonesian, are in use in Makalero. These are discussed in § 3.6.5 (p. 269). They differ drastically from Makalero clause linkers in being free elements. (90) shows a string of clauses coordinated with the Portuguese-based conjunction i ‘and’. Note, however, that such extensive use of this conjunction is rare; it is far more common to use the Makalero clause linkers discussed in § 3.5.3.1 (p. 250) for the purpose.

(90) ... asi-nana umu i asi-noko hau noko umu
1s:POSS-elder.sibling die and 1s:POSS-younger.sibling die
i ini=hi’a ni meih=ini lafu’...
and 1pe=only=CTR two HUM=LNK1 live
‘... my elder brother died and my youngest sibling died, and only the two of us survived...’ (125-09)

There is also one free conjunction, tetepane ‘when’, which is derived language-internally from an interrogative verb (§ 3.2.3.6, p. 167) with the same English
8.2.1 Summary
The large majority of clause linkage types discussed in the previous sections show no syntactic evidence of a hierarchical relation between the clauses involved. The clause linkers used in these constructions basically combine two independent clauses, without affecting them otherwise. § 8.3.6 (p. 488) argues that the same sentences, including the linkers, may alternatively be used in subordinating constructions. Hence the linkage between two clauses as expressed by this one group of clause linkers is really indeterminate as to the syntactic relation between them. In general, a time-iconic ordering of the clauses in question is preferred, although some linkers, such as =isi (LNK2, § 8.1.1, p. 457) and =konai (CSQ, § 8.1.6, p. 471), exhibit a very moderate degree of positional freedom. The linkers =taa (PURP, § 8.1.8, p. 474) and =kini (IND, § 8.1.9, p. 476) differ from the majority of clause linkers in that they can not only be placed between the two clauses they link, but, alternatively or additionally, also within the second clause of the structure. As such, in these cases, the second clause is structurally affected by the linkage and can be analysed as subordinated (see § 8.3, p. 481, for more discussion). For this reason, the two linkers in question are treated in § 3.5.3.1 (p. 250) apart form all the others. That section also includes the purposive elements =p- and =ua. There is, however, no syntactic evidence for the latter two as subordinating and their grouping with the aforementioned subordinating linkers is based on their similar semantics. Several of the clause linkers can be combined. § 8.2.1.1 (p. 478) briefly discusses the most common combinations.

8.2.1.1 Combinations
A variety of combinations of clause linkers are found to occur in texts, most of which involve =ini and =isi. This is consistent with their very general semantics; since they do not contradict the meaning of any of the other linkers, they are easily combined with them. Some such combinations are mentioned in the above sections. The only combinations involving other linkers besides these are that of =konai=ni (CSQ=LNK1) + =po (ADVR), and that of =te’e ‘after’ + =fe. Since the last element is only ever found in combination with =te’e, and its function is unknown, no further consideration will be given to this combination. Linkers that never occur in combination with any other linkers are the conditional =fata, the concessive =oo and the coordinator =uai ‘or’.
§ 8.2.1.1.1 (p. 479) briefly discusses the linker combination of =po and =konai(=ni). § 8.2.1.1.2 (p. 479) treats the combination of =na’a and =po. Note that
$=na'a$ is not a clause linker, but a non-linking clause-level clitic (§ 3.5.3.2, p. 261). Its combination with $=po$ is very frequent and exhibits signs of lexicalisation, thus meriting some remarks in a separate section.

8.2.1.1 Adversative $=po$ and consequential $=konai(=ni)$

The combination of the clause linkers $=po$ (ADVR) and $=konai(=ni)$ (CSQ=LNK1) is found in both orders, as (91) and (92) show. Note, however, that in both those instances $=po$ does not seem to translate as an adversative, but must be used in one of its functions that are hitherto not understood (see § 8.1.2, p. 461).

(91) ... sa’ani=fata ei tu-lole=konai=ni=po tafi (...) see dada-uai
ami-isines’et ei dadau mini=ni...

is-at:RED-think 2s must follow=LNK1
‘... ‘you say first what it is’, so (I said) ‘if you really love me, grandfather, you must follow’...’

(120-144)

(92) ... ason=po=konai=ni ei asu namiraa hai na’an=ini ei la’a=ni

witch=ADVR-CSQ=LNK1 2s-for man NSIT NEG.EX=LNK1 2s move=LNK1

amonii kini-nami k-utu-la’a-la’a.
person 3:POSS-husband 3:UND-cover-RDL-move
‘... (you’re) a witch, because of this there is no man for you and you go and steal other people’s husbands!’

(74-110)

No evidence has been found to the effect that the position of the linkers is in a fixed order.

8.2.1.2 Intentional $=na’a$ and adversative $=po$

The adversative linker $=po$ is found very frequently with the non-linking clause clitic $=na'a$, which expresses intention (§ 3.5.3.2.1, p. 262). Originally, I believe, the semantics of $=na a=po$ are a transparent combination of the individual meanings of the two markers; thus $x=na a=po$... would mean something like ‘was going to $x$, but then...’. This precise reading can be seen in a variety of cases, such as (93) and (94). In the first of these examples, a separate predication, of the same content, follows hai mei rau-suma=$na a=po$ ‘wanted to confront them’. This shows that hai mei rau-suma=$na a$ expresses only the intention, and the following predication is needed to make clear that it did actually become reality. Note that $=po$ is used in a non-adversative meaning (§ 8.1.2, p. 461). In (94), the predication following ini-horu dame=$na a=po$ ‘wanted to make peace with us’ shows that this intention was not realised.
(93) *Indonesia-laa ma'u we'=isi ma'u-ni kiloo hai mei*  
Indonesian-PL come V2DEM=LNK2 come=LNK1 3s NSIT take  
rau-suma=na'a=po hai mei rau-suma.  
good-angry:BD=INT=ADVR NSIT take good-angry:BD  
‘The Indonesians were here, and he wanted to confront them, and he did  
confront them.’ (67-32)

(94) *Uai=ni=ni aire' muni ma'u=ni ini-horu dame=na'a=po ini=ni*  
CLS=LNK1=LNK1 now return come=LNK1 1pe-with peace=INT=ADVR 1pe=CTR  
na'u tepa tule...  
just constant not, want  
‘And now they come and want to make peace with us, but we don’t want  
(that)...’ (81-16)

In many examples, however, the *=na’a=po* combination seems to be lexicalised  
to some degree as a simple sequential marker, such that there is no implication  
of the action expressed in the first clause being unrealised. Consequently, it is in  
the following no longer represented as segmentable. (95) gives a clear example showing  
that *=na’a*po cannot meaningfully be split up into its parts as in (93) and (94) above.  
It is unlikely that *umu* ‘die’ was an unfulfilled intention, and indeed the following  
clauses show that its completion is implied. The same holds for (96), which is from  
a procedural text describing the production of coconut oil as a sequence of actions.  
In the later course of the text, reference is made to the coconut halves, thus making  
clear that the action as described in (96) was fully carried out. This latter example  
does show that, despite the lexicalisation of the complex, the *=na’a* component still  
metathesises if elicitised to a consonant-final lexeme.

(95) *Asi-dada umu=na’a apo mei=ni Haakesar ira*  
1s:POSS-grandparent die=afterwards take=LNK1 H.  
paddy  
keta-misa ufe-daru.  
paddy-go.up VDEM.LOW-position:BD  
‘My grandfather died and (they) took him up to the ricefield in Haakesar  
and buried him there.’ (70-03)

(96) *Hau karo=anapo fi hai mei na’a-isi’=ini...*  
all split=afterwards 1pi NSIT take basket-at=LNK1  
‘Having split (the coconuts), we put them into a basket and then...’ (57-05)

Like the other clause linkers, this complex can be attached to the clausal pro-form  
*uai*, as shown in (97). Since the same is not possible with simple *=na’a* (see  
§ 3.5.3.2, p. 261), this is further proof of its lexicalisation.

(97) *I mara=ni uai=n=anapo ki-upa hai so’ot...*  
and go=LNK1 CLS=LNK1=afterwards 3:POSS-father NSIT want  
‘So after that, his father agreed...’ (52-11)
8.3 Subordination

There are three construction types that can confidently be classified as subordinating in Makalero. The first of these groups includes relative sentences as well as purposive sentences with =taa and reported speech with =kini. These cases, as well as the syntactic motivation for their classification as subordinating, are discussed in § 8.3.1 (p. 481). A second group involves VP complements and is briefly treated in § 8.3.2 (p. 483). A third group of subordinated constructions involves clausal arguments as well as adverbial sentences in the LDP, as detailed in § 7.6.1.1 (p. 430). Verbs of saying as well as modal verbs and their complement clause extensions present a challenge to this typology of clauses; the reasons for this are detailed in § 8.3.5 (p. 485).

8.3.1 Relative sentences, purposives and reported speech

Relative sentences are discussed in detail in § 4.3.5 (p. 295). For the present purpose it must suffice to say that the relativiser =ua cliticises to the relative clause head, if it is the clause’s subject. If not, and the subject stands within the relative clause, =ua attaches to this subject, and the head may optionally be marked by the same element. (98) and (99) give examples of this.

(98) … fasi-nana=ua (...) afitane’ tu perauat i doutor
    1:POSS-elder.sibling=REL PT ahead nurse and doctor

    ko-hora=MOD ere=NP hai lolo...
    3:UND-with 1DEM NSIT say
    ‘… my brother who was earlier staying with a nurse and a doctor said…’
    (101-159)

(99) … frate=ua ani=ua ei-asu isi-suma=MOD ere=NP ei mei la’a were’
    grave=REL 1s=REL 2s-for at:RED-show 1DEM 2s take move 2DEM.V

    ta’a-ini.
    count-give.
    ‘… the graves that I told you, you take this to them respectively.’
    (120-075)

Relative sentences are fully-fledged sentences embedded within a noun phrase. As such, they represent the clearest case of subordination in Makalero. The marking pattern of relative sentences, with the possible loci of the marker being the construction’s head and the embedded sentence’s subject, is reminiscent of those of the purposeful =taa and the reported speech marker =kini, discussed in § 8.1.8 (p. 474) and § 8.1.9 (p. 476), respectively. These markers can be cliticised to the
first of two clauses in a sequence, and to the subject of the second clause. The first clause can thus be interpreted as the structure’s head, while the purpose clause and the clause expressing the indirect speech, respectively, are its dependants. This is in line with the semantics of these constructions. As such, the structures in question are exactly parallel to those shown above for relative sentences. For a direct comparison, (100) and (101) repeat examples from § 8.1.8 (p. 474) and § 3.5.3.1.2.2 (p. 258), respectively.

(100)  O mata ka’u ere tone’ lafu=iisi muni afa=nii muni la’a
       INTERJ child small 1DEM perhaps live=LNK2 return carry=LNK1 return move

ki-ni k-ata-suri=taa ki-ni=taa rau-rau

dudu mei kini=nii...

breast take give.to.3=LNK1

‘Oh, this child is probably alive, take her and bring her to her mother, so she feeds her quickly…’

(63-13)

(101)  Ani uali’=ee=kini ei=kini hai kauen.
       1s hear=CMPL=IND 2s=IND NSIT marry

‘I heard you had gotten married.’

elic816a)

Note that the position on the subordinate sentence’s subject makes the clitic the second element of that sentence. This position is well-known in Indo-European studies as the Wackernagel position (Wackernagel 1953, 1979).

Interestingly, an element homophonous to the relative marker =ua is in use as a clause linker expressing a purposive relation (§ 3.5.3.1.2.4, p. 259). However, there are no instances of its use as a purposive marker that show it to be subordinating in this context, too.

While the parallels between the relative sentences on the one hand and purposive and reported speech constructions on the other are evident, it must be pointed out that there is also an important difference between them: with relative sentences, the position of the marker =ua on either the head or the subject of the subordinated clause is grammatically relevant, serving to distinguish relative sentences on subjects from relative sentences on objects. In the case of the clause linkers =taa and =kini, however, the two positions do not seem to entail different readings; rather, they appear to be simple alternatives.

Notwithstanding this difference, the syntactic parallelism between the three constructions is significant. Relative sentences are very obviously embedded in a superordinate clause and thus conform to one major traditional criterion for subordination (see e.g. Cristofaro 2003: 16). On the basis of their syntactic analogy, purposives with =taa and reported speech with =kini can confidently be classified as subordinating structures.
8.3.2 VP complements

The second type of clearly subordinated constructions involves VP complements; these structures are discussed in detail in § 5.2.2.2 (p. 326). (102) and (103) may serve as illustration.

(102) ... ani [Lilia hai k-atagi\_\text{COMPL}-dia.]
1s L. NSIT 3:UND-contact:RED-sleep:BD
‘...I fell asleep leaning against Lilia.’ (120-016)

(103) ... sefar ere [\text{dos}=ee hai mutagi\_\text{COMPL}-puna...]
dog 1DEM box=DEF NSIT inside:RED-look
‘...the dog is looking into the box...’ (115-005)

An important characteristic of such complements is that their predicates are in a dependent, or perhaps less finite, form; these VPs can thus not constitute clauses on their own. Furthermore, they cannot contain a subject of their own, but are dependent for the interpretation of their subject referent on the main clause. Also, they satisfy the criterion of embedding, standing as arguments within another VP. On several levels, thus, complement VPs qualify as subordinated clauses. They are headed by the superordinate clause’s predicate.

In many cases, a state of affairs expressed in a VP-complement-verb complex can equally well be expressed in the form of two separate and independent predications within a sentence, as illustrated by the pair in (104) and (105). In (104), (ko-)horo ‘with’ and its argument are constructed as a complement to hifa ‘catch’, as seen by the fact that that verb appears in its bound form. In (105), on the other hand, (ko-)horo is constructed as a separate clause and the following verb, tia ‘sleep (SG)’, stands in its free form.

(104) Asi-upa \=uere-is\text{\texttt{e}} \=la\=a=ni [haka-hau ni-pada-laa
1s:POSS-father 2DEM-at-CMPL move=LNK1 all-all REFL-friend-PL

ko\text{-}horo\_\text{COMPL}\text{-}sifa\_\text{VP}...
3:UND-with-catch:BD
‘At that time, (they) caught my father with all his friends...’ (66-06)

(105) ... kiloo (...) fiurai ki-sa-laa amu \textit{itu} ere haka-hau
3s king 3:POSS-wife-PL person three.HUM 1DEM all-all

ko\text{-}horo\_\text{VP} [tia],\text{VP}.
3:UND-with sleep
‘...he (...) slept with all the king’s wives.’ (51-10)
8.3.3 Clausal arguments and adverbial clauses in the LDP

As discussed in § 4.1 (p. 273), constituents of various kinds, including full clauses and sentences, can function as NP heads, and thus as arguments in a clause. (106) shows a multi-clause sentence standing in the subject argument slot, while in (107), a clause functions as the object.

(106) \[ \text{Sirvisu mei=ni kota-isi-saka ere\_sub nomo we-rau.} \]

\( \text{work take=LNK1 city-at:RED\_search:BD 1DEM NEG V2DEM:RED\_good} \)

‘Finding work in the city is not that easy.’

(107) \[ \text{ei hai nomo hul=afta [ni-nomo hul=ee\_sub] lolo.} \]

\( \text{2s NSIT NEG able\_COND REFL\_NEG able\_DEF say} \)

‘… if you cannot afford it, say so.’

(74-076)

Being arguments in a clause, these constituents are embedded and thus subordinated to it. Full clauses can also stand in the LDP to supply adverbial information to the main clause or sentence. The adverbial clauses in question are cliticised with a form of the complementiser, whose function in these cases seems to be a more general subordinating one, marking the clausal unit it is attached to as a constituent within a sentence (see § 7.6.1.1, p. 430). Two examples are given in (108) and (109). Such adverbial clauses are equivalent to topic NPs, which are also commonly found in the left-detached position of the sentence. Such topics in the LDP may either be arguments of the following clause or not.

(108) \[ \text{Hai ma\'_u=ere\_LDP tana loloi mei=ni simu...} \]

\( \text{NSIT come\_CMPL hand two take=LNK1 receive} \)

‘… if (they) come, (we) receive them with open arms...’

(33-32)

(109) \[ \text{[ani ena=ee\_LDP ani-isi-ne\_et hay asan ani upa lesa...} \]

\( \text{1s see\_CMPL 1s\_POSS\_at:BD think all long 1s father not have} \)

‘… seeing (this), I am sad (because) I don’t have a father...’

(16-08)

There is some evidence to the effect that argument clauses or sentences such as those in (106) and (107) are subordinated with the complementiser too.\(^{195}\) In any case, both clausal arguments and clausal topics function as constituents embedded within a larger, superordinate clause or sentence.

\(^{195}\) In which case the demonstrative in (106) should be transcribed as a clitic and, together with the definite marker in (107), be glossed as a form of the complementiser more correctly. See § 3.6.2 (p. 265) for more details.
8.3.4 Summary
The three subordinate construction types as discussed in the previous paragraphs, and particularly those treated in § 8.3.1 (p. 481) and § 8.3.2 (p. 483), have little in common. While relative, purposive and reported speech constructions rely on clitic markers, the relationship between a VP complement and its head is expressed through morphophonological means. Also, the two construction types differ with respect to the ordering of elements: In the case of relative, purposive and reported speech constructions, the head precedes the subordinate clause, while the VP complements are followed by their head. Argument and adverbial clauses group with relative, purposive and reported speech constructions in that they make use of a clitic marker, but with verbal complements in being head-final.

8.3.5 Complement clause extensions to verbs of saying and modal verbs
A problematic case for the classification of clause linkage types into either coordinating or subordinating ones is presented by verbs of saying and modal verbs (§ 3.2.3.10, p. 186) and their, for lack of a better term, complement clause extensions. A common characteristic of all these constructions is that they can be expressed in the form of a coordinative clause linkage either without a marker, or using =ini, as shown in (110) and (111), respectively.

(110) ... ei-dada=ni ei asar=isi ei dadau [mei la’a u’e].
2s-grandparent=CTR 2s send=LNK2 2s must take move V2DEM
‘... your grandfather sent you, so you have to take (them) there.’
(120-156)

(111) Ani isit malaria uai=ni=oo ani fatar=ini [la’a=ni ata haka].
1s ill malaria CLS=LNK1=too 1s force=LNK1 move=LNK1 fire search
‘Even when I had malaria, they forced me to go and find firewood.’
(103-08)

Syntactically, constructions such as those in (110) and (111) show little signs of being in a hierarchical relationship. § 3.2.3.10.1.2 (p. 189) shows that such verbs as fana ‘teach’, fuan ‘dare’, pada ‘order’ and der ‘reply’ allow for the expression of a preverbal undergoer object alongside a postverbal complement clause extension. This shows that the complement clause extension does not function as an argument to the verb in question; if it did, such constructions would violate the maximal clause template, which allows for the expression of two arguments at most in a clause (§ 6, p. 383). § 3.6.2 (p. 265) speculates that such postverbal complement clause extensions originate as regular arguments to a separate verb, reflected in today’s quotative marker ain (§ 3.2.3.12.3, p. 205). The clausal complement would then
have been the object argument to that verb of saying in the regular preverbal non-subject argument position. There is, however, one use of such constructions which does seem to indicate some hierarchical relation between the two clauses involved. It involves polar questions and the answers to them. As (112) shows, a reply to a polar question generally repeats the VP of the question. The reply to a polar question involving a modal verb and its complement clause extension in a coordinated construction, however, repeats only the modal verb, as shown in (113).

(112) Kiloo hai nami-ena? – Tone’ hai nami-ena.

3s NSIT husband-sec perhaps NSIT husband-see
‘Is she married already? – Maybe.’ (elic1152, elic1152a)

(113) ... ei so’ot=ini veri leuk? – So’ot.

2s want=LNK1 bottom drill want
‘... do you want (your) bottom to be drilled? – I do.’ (118-38, 118-39)

For some of the verbs with complement clause extensions discussed in § 3.2.3.10 (p. 186), this coordinating construction is the only way of expressing a clausal complement. Others, however, allow for a variety of alternative constructions which clearly involve syntactic dependency between the two parts. On the one hand, the clausal complements to some verbs can be expressed in the form of a preverbal argument, as shown in (114) and (115).

(114) ... ei hai nomo hul=afta [n-nomo hul=ee]ob lolo.

2s NSIT NEG able=COND REFL-NEG able=DEF say
‘... if you cannot afford it, say that you cannot afford it.’ (74-076)

(115) Ani [fi-is-ne’et taure-fani’ ere]ob ma’en.

1s 1pt-at:RED-think which:RED-be.like 1DEM know
‘I know what your feelings are like.’ (elic479)

In these cases, clearly, the verbs of saying head the structure. What corresponds to the complement clause extension is constructed as an object argument. Some modal verb constructions, on the other hand, involve a complement-verb complex, where the modal verb is subordinated to the proposition it modifies. Examples are shown in (116) and (117).

(116) Mei=ni taure=fani’ kini=oo kiloo [osan fera]comp-nese-la’a

take=LNK1 which:RED-be.like do=too 3s money try-aim.at:RED-move

nomo rau.

NEG good
‘In whichever way he tries to get money, it does not work.’ (elic1051)
(117)  ... *ani [uere’ me’e]* COMP=mi-kerek.
      1s 2DEM.V able-along:RED-write
‘... I could write that along.’

In both of these construction types, one of the constituent parts is dependent from
the other. However, the dominance relation between the parts involved are quite
opposite. On the one hand, a group made up predominantly of verbs of saying (see
§ 3.2.3.10.1, p. 187) can construct the quoted speech which corresponds to the
complement clause extension in the coordinated construction as a non-subject
argument. Another group, consisting mainly of modal verbs (§ 3.2.3.10.2.1, p. 193),
can be constructed as subordinated to the verb of the proposition corresponding to
the complement clause extension. The two groups do not overlap (but see below for
an exception). The clausal complements to all of these verbs can alternatively be
expressed in a coordinated construction, as exemplified in (110) and (111) above.
A notable exception is the modal verb *hul* ‘be able’, which allows for all three of the
constructions in question. (118) exemplifies a sentence where the modal verb and its
complement clause extension are coordinated; in (119), *hul* is the main verb in a
clause with a nominalised clause as an argument; in (120), finally, the modal verb is
subordinated to the clausal complement’s main verb. Thus, the same meaning can be
expressed in three ways, involving very different types of syntactic dependency.

(118)  *Ani ua=nata nomo hul=ini [ma’u ai-sirvisu]*...
      1s CLS=CTF:COND NEG able=LNK1 come VDEM:RED-work
‘Actually I cannot afford to come and work here...’

(119)  ... *ani [ira u dane] oko nomo hul...*
      1s paddy one lift yet NEG able
‘... I was not yet able to work a paddy...’

(120)  ... *heil heil heil=ini tepa nomo hu-[seif].*
      pull pull pull=LNK1 constant NEG able:RED-pull:BD
‘... (he) pulls and pulls, but he still cannot pull (it out).’

There appears to be no difference in interpretation associated with the different
constructions. With some verbs, furthermore, the complement clause extension can
be constructed with the complementiser. There is some evidence for such
constructions being subordinated, as discussed in § 8.3.5.1 (p. 487).

8.3.5.1 Complement clause extensions with the complementiser

Some verbs, generally verbs of saying, are criticised with the complementiser *=ee,
=ere*, or *=e* when followed by a complement clause extension (§ 3.2.3.10.1.1,
p. 187). (121) and (122) give examples.
(121) ... asi-nana-raa lolo=ee [hai la’a=ni asi-tiu-raa
1s:POSS-elder.sibling-PL say=Cmpl NSIT move=LNK1 1s:POSS-uncle-PL

ki-lupu-isi-rou].
3:POSS-house-at:RED-sleep-PL:BD
‘… my brothers said that (he) had gone to sleep at my uncles’ house.’

(122) Kilo in heti=ere [ini so’ot=uai tule].
3s 1pe ask=Cmpl 1pe want=or not.want
‘He asks us whether we agree or not.’ (elic480)

The use of the complementiser is not obligatory; both paratactic clause linkage as well as coordination with =ini are possible alternatives.
§ 8.3.3 (p. 484) argues that adverbial clauses in the LDP, which make use of the complementiser, are clearly subordinated to the main clause or sentence. Furthermore, with the verb tule ‘not want’, the complementiser is found on a clausal argument in the object position, as shown in (123) and (124). As such, the clausal complement is embedded in the tule-predication. Note, in fact, that the complementiser, in its =ee form, could also be interpreted as the homophonous definite marker (§ 3.5.1.1, p. 243).

(123) Nomohaka ani [lupu teuh=ee’] tule...
CLS.NEG 1s house buy=Cmpl not.want
‘It is not the case that I don’t want to buy a house...’ (elic535)

(124) Mata ka’u ere [ni uaro=ee] tule.
child small 1DEM REFL wash=Cmpl not.want
‘This child does not want to wash.’ (elic1591a)

In both the construction type illustrated in (121) and (122) as well as in that exemplified by (123) and (124), the complementiser is attached to the first element in the construction. In (121) and (122), this is the verb of saying, while in (123) and (124), it is the clausal non-subject argument. Whereas constructions such as (123) and (124), being head-final, fit the typological profile of Makalero, those shown in (121) and (122) are untypical. § 3.6.2 (p. 265) suggests that, while using native material, the order of elements in such sentences may be calqued on Austronesian languages like Tetum and Indonesian.

8.3.6 Coordinating and subordinating clause linkage
The clause linkage types discussed in § 8.1.1 (p. 457) through § 8.1.7 (p. 474) exhibit no signs of syntactic dependence. Interestingly, however, combinations of such coordinating linkers with linkers classified as subordinating in § 8.3.1 (p. 481) can be found. An example is shown in (125), where the coordinating linker =ini (§ 3.5.2.5, p. 247) is used on neok ‘lie’ to introduce that verb’s complement clause
extension. Additionally, however, the subject of the complement clause extension is
criticised with the indirect information marker =kini, which is classified in
§ 3.5.3.1.2 (p. 257) as a subordinating linker. For comparison, (126) shows a clause
linkage with the same verb with =ini only, which exhibits no sign of syntactic subordination.

(125) ... ani neok=ini ani=kini la’a=ni  ufe’=ini kooperasi
    1s lie=LNK1 1s=IND move=LNK1 VDEM.LOW=LNK1 cooperation

    hein=ana.
    wait=INT

    ‘... (they) lied to me, (saying) I would go down to wait for a cooperation (to
    be opened).’

(103-05)

(126) Liurai were ki-sa-taa neok=ini liurai-isi-leu.
    king 2DEM 3:POSS-wife-PL lie=LNK1 king-at:RED-call

    ‘(He) lied to the king’s wives (saying) that the king had called them.’

(51-08)

Similarly, subordinating linkers can be added to sentences involving a paratactic
coordinative linkage between a verb of saying and its complement clause extension.
(127) and (128), both with the verb lolo ‘say’, illustrate this. In (127), the indirect
information marker =kini is criticised directly to the verb of saying. In (128), it is the
purposive linker =taa. Again, a comparative example exemplifying a paratactic
linkage, which exhibits no sign of syntactic subordination, is shown in (129).

(127) ... liurai aire’ lolo=kini haka-hau ini-horu tia=na’a.
    king now say=IND all-all lpi-with sleep=INT

    ‘... the king had now told (him) to sleep with all of us.’

(51-12)

(128) Ei-pada ma’u=fata k-asu lolo=taa ira=hi’a ke’=ana ere=ni.
    2s-friend come=COND 3:UND-for say=PURP water=only drink=INT 1DEM–CTR

    ‘When your friend comes, tell her she should drink water only!’

(chat009)

(129) ... asi-mali Konsalwere hai lolo so’ot.
    1s-cousin K. 2DEM NST say want

    ‘... my cousin Conçal said that he wanted (that).’

(101-130)

Such constructions seem to indicate that the clause linkers that have been termed
coordinating do not imply any hierarchy between the clauses they link. However,
they are not positively marked as coordinating, and are also compatible with clearly
subordinating constructions.
9. Discourse structure

The term ‘text’ is used in the present thesis to refer to a self-contained stretch of speech larger than the utterance. The present corpus of recordings mostly consists of monologues in the form of narratives or procedural texts (see § 1.8, p. 28), hence the following discussion covers only a limited set of text types and registers. A large part of the texts in the corpus can be stylistically defined through the presence of an opening sentence and / or a closing sentence. In an opening sentence, such as (1), the speaker announces the topic of his narrative (often using a non-canonical word order, see § 9.2.1, p. 495), while he marks its end with a closing sentence such as (2).

(1) Ere nomohaka sa’a ki=selu konta=po ere la’a=ni=ua mina
IDEM CLS.NEG thing ATTR-other tell-ADVR IDEM move=LNK1=REL oil
tina k-isti’=ee lolo.
cook 3:UND-belong=DET say
‘This is not telling anything else but how to go and make oil.’ (57-01)

(2) Hai were’.
NSF 2DEM.V
‘It is that already.’ (81-19)

The following gives a brief treatment of some issues on the text level, namely the determination of grammatical roles (§ 9.1, p. 491), information structure (§ 9.2, p. 495), and a few stylistic devices (§ 9.3, p. 506).

9.1 The determination of grammatical roles

In discourse, the expression of both subject and object participants is in principle optional (see § 6, p. 383). Either may be omitted if the speaker assumes the hearer can infer the intended referent from the linguistic or the extra-linguistic context. It follows that in a sequence of an NP and a transitive verb, it is not necessarily clear which function the NP has within the clause: since both the subject and the non-subject arguments are preverbal, an NP preceding a transitive verb could theoretically be either its subject, with an unexpressed object as in (3), or an object or complement argument with its verb (or, in other words, a full VP) as in (4). In either case, Ø marks the locus of the omitted constituent.

(3) Ani napa’e kerek-ini uai=ni [ani]SUBJ Ø OBJ mei=ni sa’a-kin? tak=LNK1 what:BD-do
1s cannot write-do:BD CLS=LNK1 1s ‘I cannot write, so what would I do with (it)?’ (101-180)
(4) ... uatu.uere.uatu.uere [...] $\Theta_{\text{SUBJ}}$ na'u tepa  $[\text{ki}=\text{rau-rau}=\text{hi'}a]$$_{\text{OBJ}}$
    daily just constant ATTR=RDL-good-only
    mua.
    eat
    ‘... every day (...), (we) ate good things only.’ (101-134)

The following attempts to show some of the principles underlying reference tracking as well as some strategies which help with the correct interpretation of grammatical roles. Note, however, that these are strong tendencies rather than absolute rules.

In a sequence of clauses in running text, the default organising principle is subject or topic continuity; the subject referent is most commonly the same over a chain of clauses and is left unexpressed. A change of subject, being a departure from this rule, requires explicit mention. As such, an NP preceding a transitive verb is generally interpreted as the verb’s object. This principle is illustrated in the sequence in (5), where a constant subject referent is left unexpressed after the initial clause. The following clauses are invariably of the form OV; the position of the unexpressed subject is marked by $\emptyset$ in those clauses.

(5) ... liurai ni-asu ki-ifil hai teri=uai. $\Theta_{\text{SUBJ}}$ $[\text{ki-ifil-far}=\text{ee}]$
    king REFL-for 3.POSS-tongue NSIT cut=UA1 3.POSS-tongue-face=DEF
    hai teri=ni $\Theta_{\text{SUBJ}}$ $[\text{Pirisistu ki-vistidu ere} \text{ ki-ualir}=\text{ini} \text{ fis'a}=ak=ini$ NSIT cut=LNK1 P. 3.POSS-dress 1DEM 3.POSS-edge tear=LNK1
    $\Theta_{\text{OBJ}}$ hai mei $\Theta_{\text{SUBJ}}$ isi-loka=ni $\Theta_{\text{OBJ}}$ hai mei=ni $\Theta_{\text{OBJ}}$
    NSIT take at.RED-wrap=LNK1 NSIT take=LNK1
    $[\text{faru-lode}=\text{ini}]$ $\Theta_{\text{SUBJ}}$ hai la'a=uai. NSIT move=UA1
    shirt-bag-inside=LNK1 ‘... the king cut its tongue off for himself. Having cut off the tip of its tongue, (he) tore off the edge of Pirisistu’s dress, wrapped it in it, put it in his shirt pocket and left.’ (89-23, 89-24)

In cases of a deviation from the general principle of topic continuity, there are several strategies to ensure the correct interpretation of grammatical roles. Obviously, a new subject participant cannot generally be omitted and implied, but needs to be overtly expressed. Relevant examples are given in (6) and (7). In (6), the subject of the first two clauses is mata ka’u ‘the child’; in the first of these, it is overtly expressed, but omitted in the second. Its position is marked by $\emptyset$. The following clauses have a different subject, namely ki-sefar ‘his dog’. This new subject is expressed as an overt NP in the first of these clauses, but omitted in the following ones. In (7), the pronominal subject kiloo that is common to the first three clauses is overtly expressed only in the first of these. It is replaced as a subject and topic by dila ki=pere ki-matu ‘the big frog’s inside’ in the last clause. Note that in the context of both (6) and (7), the referents of the new subjects are not entirely new participants, but have been established earlier on in the discourse. In (7), this is actually visible; dila pere ‘the big frog’ functions as a circumstantial participant in
the first clause, i.e. as a possessor within the complement VP. In the last clause, where it is part of the subject NP, it is repeated as a whole.

(6) ... [mata ka’u]subj ate popok=ee hai k-ua-lolo-la’a child small tree rotten=DEF NSIT 3:UND-on.top:RED-straight:RED-move


tu=ni Θ hai la’a Θ ate popok k-ua-lolo-nat. first=LNK1 NSIT move tree rotten 3:UND-on.top:RED-straight:RED-stand.SG

‘... the child goes straight up onto the rotten tree trunk and crouches up there and his dog precedes him and stands right on top of the rotten tree trunk.’ (38-114, 38-115)

(7) ... [kilo]subj mara=ni Θ dila pere ki-laipun k-ua’=ini 3s go=LNK1 frog big.SG 3:POSS-back 3:UND-on.top=LNK1

Θ nama-se-se ‘el=ini [dila ki=pere ki-mutu]subj upwards:RED-RDL-jump:BD=LNK1 frog ATTR-big.SG 3:POSS-inside

ki=heke=hi’a. ATTR=difficult=only

‘... he then sits on the big frog’s back and jumps up and down, and the big frog is very angry.’ (115-107)

Among the concrete grammatical devices facilitating the correct interpretation of the grammatical roles in a sentence, the clause linkers =ini and =isi, which express close knitting as opposed to loose knitting between two clauses, are very important. § 8.1.1 (p. 457) points out that the linker =ini often coincides with clauses with same subject reference, whereas clauses linked with =isi frequently have different subjects. Note the use of =ini to link the same-subject clauses in (5) above. (8), on the other hand, gives an example of =isi with different subjects. In the first clause of that example, the first person singular pronoun ani functions as a complement within a verbal complement. In the following clause, it is the only participant mentioned with the verb ma’en ‘know’. The fact that this second clause is linked to the first by the linker =isi shows that it is likely to have a different subject than the preceding clause, in which asi-upa ‘my father’ functioned as the subject and ani was the non-subject argument. As such, the most likely interpretation of the ma’en-clause is that where ani is the new subject participant.

(8) ... asi-upa ani-afo-numu=si ani nomo ma’en. 1s:POSS-father 1s-away.from-dic:BD=LNK2 1s NEG know

‘... my father died leaving me, so I didn’t know (him).’ (31-15)

Intransitive movement or positional verbs are often used to consolidate the status of a new subject as such. Intransitive verbs include no undergoer in their semantic participant frame; hence an NP followed by an intransitive verb can only be interpreted as its subject. Following the general principle of subject continuity, this
NP will be interpreted as the following clause’s subject, too, unless there is some specific marking to contradict this expectation. In (9), the movement verb ma’u ‘come’ follows the new subject amulafu ‘person’, while in (10), the same function is carried out by the addressee-related deictic verb ue’. In both sentences, the location of the action is actually clear and was in fact not rendered in their translations as provided by native speakers, which suggests that the main function of these verbs is not the specification of the location of an action.

(9) ... kuandu suku ere lafu’=ere sotemee ni ukun amulafu nono
    when suco 1DEM live–CMPL self REFL rule person NEG

    ma’u ukun.
    come rule

    ‘... when this suco was founded, it ruled itself, no-one (else) ruled it.’
    (35-01, 35-02)

(10) ... dila=ni k-ou-dai-ma’u=ni ki-fanu hau kapar. Ki-fanu
    frog=CTR 3:UND–towards-pass–come=LNK1 3:POSS-face all scratch 3:POSS-face

    hau kapar=isi mata ka’u namiraa na’a.muni ue’=ini ni-fanu
    all scratch=LNK2 child small man in.turn V2DEM–LNK1 REFL-face

    hai a’fi-dane.
    NSIT carry-lift

    ‘... the frog comes towards him and scratches his face. After (it) scratched
    his face, the boy raises his face.’
    (38-054, 38-055)

Another important grammatical device clarifying the grammatical status of an NP is
the reflexive pronoun ni- (§3.3.1.2, p. 227). This element indicates coreference of a
participant with a preceding subject participant. By definition, consequently, an NP
containing ni cannot be a subject, but must be a a non-subject participant. In (11),
ki-tana ‘his paw’ is the subject of the first clause; the use of adnominal ni- with the
same noun in the second clause shows clearly that it is used as an object in that
clause, implying a subject change.

(11) Marar=ni sefar=ee ki-tana hai isit=isi ni-tana hai feil.
    go=LNK1 dog=DEF 3:POSS-hand NSIT ill–LNK2 REFL-hand NSIT lick

    ‘Then the dog’s paw hurts and he licks his paw.’
    (102-107)

Subjects can be specifically marked as such either with =ini, a contrastive marker
which appears to be evolving into a subject marker (§ 9.2.3.1, p. 501, § 6.2.1, p. 389).
Another marker, =hiaka, which marks the contradiction of a
presupposition (§ 3.5.1.2, p. 244) is only found with subjects. This marker is
relatively rare and hence not very important in reference tracking. Nevertheless, any
NP marked by =hiaka is necessarily a subject. See also § 9.3.1 (p. 507) for tail-
head linkage, which, too, contributes to reference tracking.
9.2 Information structure

The terminology used in the present short discussion of information structure follows Lambrecht (1996) in most respects. In that work, information structure is defined as “that component of sentence grammar in which propositions as conceptual representations of states of affairs are paired with lexicogrammatical structures in accordance with the mental states of interlocutors who use and interpret these structures as units of information in given discourse contexts” (ibid: 5). A referent is interpreted as the topic of a proposition “if in a given situation the proposition is construed as being about this referent, i.e. as expressing information which is relevant to and which increases the addressee’s knowledge of this referent” (Lambrecht 1996: 131). Focus, on the other hand, is defined as “[t]he semantic component of a pragmatically structured proposition whereby the assertion differs from the presupposition” (Lambrecht 1996: 213). In discourse, the correlation between subject and topic is generally very strong. In a typical clause, the predicate asserts new information about this topic; it is thus the focus. This neatly describes the unmarked case, in which the subject is the topic and the object part of the focus, in Makalero. However, other constellations of topic and focus structure and the grammatical expression of a sentence are possible. These are discussed below in so far as they find grammatical expression in discourse. § 9.2.1 (p. 495) gives some observations on non-canonical word orders, § 9.2.2 (p. 500) treats a specific focus construction, and § 9.2.3 (p. 500) discusses some particles related to the structuring of information.

9.2.1 Non-canonical word orders

Non-canonical word orders are overall relatively rare; the overwhelming majority of clauses found in natural discourse conform to the unmarked SOV word order. In sentences with non-canonical word orders, a constituent is generally left-dislocated. The syntactic position involved in left-dislocation is the LDP, discussed in detail in § 7.6.1 (p. 427). Note that this position is on sentence-level, rather than clause-level; as such, left-dislocated constituents can be separated from the clause they belong to by an intervening adverbial or other clause.

9.2.1.1 Topics in the LDP

 Constituents in the LDP are most usually topics. That a subject-topic is in the LDP rather than in its normal clause-initial position is visible only in multi-clause sentences, where an adverbial or other clause intervenes between the dislocated constituent and the rest of its clause. An example is given in (12), where aire ‘now’ separates the subject-topic ani (1s) from its predicate.
(12)  \[[\text{Ani}]_{\text{TOP}} \text{ aire' } isa=ni \text{ we-rata}’\ldots\]
    \[\text{1s now go.down=LKN1 V2DEM:RED-arrive}\]
    ‘I now went down and got there…’  \((101-277)\)

It does not seem, however, that the placement of the subject in this topic position has a specific force; in the present context, the first person narrator was the subject-topic already in the preceding sentences. Rather, with such short adverbial predicates as \textit{aire’ ‘now’}, the LDP and the normal clause-initial subject position amount to equivalent alternatives of expression.

In some cases, the topical subject in the LDP is repeated in the following sentence; (13) shows such an example. In all of these cases, the adverbial clause is relatively long. As such, repetition of the topic re-establishes it in the hearer’s memory and helps him with the processing of the sentence.

(13)  \[\ldots\  [\text{ani}]_{\text{TOP}} \text{ uatu.uere.uatu.uere ani ni-mali ajuida=ni…}\]
    \[\text{1s daily 1s REFL-cousin help=LKN1}\]
    ‘… every day I helped my cousin…’  \((101-472)\)

With non-subject arguments, however, the positioning in the LDP is meaningful. In the unmarked case, the subject corresponds to the topic, while the non-subject argument is part of the focus. In a clause like (14), however, it is the non-subject argument (in this case an object) which is the topic under discussion. Its position in the LDP marks it as such.

(14)  \[\text{Uai=ni=ni } [\text{lapizeira } uere]_{\text{TOP}} \text{ nomohaka ani=ni mei…}\]
    \[\text{CLS=LNK1=LKN1 ballpoint.pen 2DEM CLS.NEG 1s=CTR take}\]
    ‘The pen, not I took it…’  \((101-178)\)

Note that not only direct non-subject arguments can be left-dislocated into the LDP, but also the arguments of complement VPs (§ 5.2.2.2, p. 326). In (15), for instance, \textit{asi-papa Swiss isi’ ‘my father in Switzerland} is an argument of the \textit{nese- ‘aim at (RED)’; the verbal complement to \textit{ne’et ‘think’}.

(15)  \[\ldots\  \text{uai=ni=si } [\text{asi-papa Swiss-isi’}]_{\text{TOP}} \text{ ani na’u tepa}\]
    \[\text{CLS=LNK1=LKN2 1s:POSS-father S-at 1s just constant}\]
    \text{nese-ne’et…}\]
    \[\text{aim.at:RED-think}\]
    ‘… so my father in Switzerland, I keep thinking about you…’ \((106-12)\)

The fact that the clause’s object is topicalised does not mean, however, that the subject automatically becomes the focus. Rather, a sentence like (14) contains multiple topics; the first person narrator is the topic of the whole of the narration, while \textit{lapizeira ‘ballpoint pen} is the topic under discussion in this specific part of the narration. Lambrecht (1996: 146ff.) allows for sentences with multiple topics, claiming that what they assert is the relation between these multiple topics. This claim seems to apply to such Makalero sentences as (14). The topic-status of the object is atypical, hence it is made explicit by its position in the LDP. The subject,
on the other hand, is in its normal position, clause-initially, as well as in its normal function, i.e. as a topic. Lambrecht (1996: 176) introduces a number of topic promotion strategies, which are “pragmatically motivated structural devices whose basic function is to promote referents on the Topic Acceptability Scale from non-active (i.e. brand-new, unused, or accessible (sic)) to active state in the discourse and hence from lexical to unaccented pronominal coding in the sentence (…) [The] grammatical function [of such topic promotion strategies, JH] is to match the requirements of syntactic structure and information structure in cases where the two do not naturally coincide.” Typical examples of topic promotion strategies in Makalero are often seen in text-initial sentences as in (16), where the existence of the topic of the discourse, the village of Ailebere, is predicated in the very first clause to make it discourse-active. In the following sentence, it stands as a topic in the LDP.

(16) *Ere asi-suku, [suku Ailebere]n kunda uainhira lafu’ aira
1DEM 1s:POSS-suco suco A. when when live year

rimum u rasa douh ru fitu resi-douh=ini lafu’…
thousand one hundred six ten seven rest-six=LNK1 live

‘This is my suco, when the suco of Ailebere was founded in 1676…’
(35-01)

In other cases, the brand-new topic may be directly placed in the LDP, without an activating clause. An example of this is (17).

(17) *Asi-noko Julieta ki-upa were=ini ani k-asu
1s:POSS-younger.sibling 3:POSS-father 2DEM.V=CTR 1s 3:UND-for

obrigadu roual mei=ni kini…
thanks many.NONHUM take=LNK1 give.to.3

‘My sister Julieta’s father, I thank him much…’
(105-001)

Whether or not they include an activating clause, text-initial clauses, which introduce a brand-new referent as a topic to the discourse, are pragmatically very marked and conspicuously often involve non-canonical word order in Makalero. A special, quite frequent subtype of topics in the left-detached position are non-argument topics, which play no grammatical role in the sentence that follows them, but can be said to set a frame for the validity of said sentence. An example is given in (18).

(18) *Ini ki-nua ki-ke’ tepa na’an.
1pe 3:POSS-eat 3:POSS-drink constant NEG.EX

‘We had no food or drink.’
(101-104)
9.2.1.2 Foci in the LDP

In (19) and (20), the LDP appears to hold constituents which are part of the focus (i.e. that part of the proposition by which the assertion differs from the presupposition, see Lambrecht 1996: 213), rather than topics. Note that in both cases, the left-dislocated constituent is quite long and complicated. Also, in both sentences, it is taken up again in the clause it is left-dislocated from in the form of the resumptives *uere* or *uere‘* (§ 3.3.2.1, p. 232, and § 3.2.3.9.1, p. 183).

(19)  
... [filem tītif-mutu’ ki=febu-felun]FOC ini *uere‘* nonton=ana...  
movie TV-inside ATTR=RDL-nice 1pe 2DEM.V watch=INT  
‘... nice movies that were on TV, we always watched these...’  
(120-003, 120-004)

(20)  
Uai=ni=si tafi=ni la’a=ni [asi-pada u kolega u  
CLS=LNK1=LNK2 true=LNK1 move=LNK1 1s:POSS-friend1 colleague one  
ki-nei Karlitu uere=oo asi-ma[j]FOC ani uere hai k-asu lolo...  
3:POSS-name K. 2DEM=too 1s:POSS-cousin 1s 2DEM NSIT 3:UND-for say  
‘So then my friend called Carlito, my cousin, I told him...’  
(101-454)

The overwhelming majority of focal constituents in the left-detached position are long and complex and taken up again with a resumptive pronoun in their position in the VP; as such, I believe their length is a more important reason for their left-dislocation than any pragmatic motivation. Further evidence for this view comes from such sentences as (21) and (22), where it appears the speaker started a regular SOV clause, but chose to repeat the subject and a resumptive object pronoun when the object NP turned out to be too long for easy processing. In (21), *uere‘* is used as a resumptive, while in (22), it is the object prefix *k*- on the verb *(k)-ako* ‘steal’. The resulting structures can be represented as SO-SOV.

(21)  
1s REFL-feel-NML=REL 1s:POSS-life small NSIT good 1DEM 1s  
[uere‘]SUB mei=ni isi-kerek,  
2DEM.V take=LNK1 at:RED-write  
‘My feeling that my life started getting a bit better, I wrote this in (the letters.)’  
(101-205)
There are, however, a few instances of focal NPs in the LDP which are not particularly long at all. A bit of discourse where this is the case is shown in (23) (though it is unclear whether, and, if yes, how much, the marker =oo contributes; see § 9.2.3.4, p. 506, below for some more information on this somewhat enigmatic clitic).

It would thus appear that foci are also acceptable in the LDP. However, it must be stressed that this is infrequent; the main function of the LDP is to hold topicalised constituents.

Since mu’ani ‘who (SUBJ)’ can be used predicatively, (24) could also be analysed as a normal SV sentence, where the subject is a headless relative clause ei ena mutu heke ‘(the person who) is angry with you’. Right-dislocation is thus a very marginal phenomenon rather than a pervasive pattern and will not be discussed any further.
9.2.2 The insertion focus construction

The default focus is on the non-subject argument or the whole of the VP, with no special construction or marking. There is, however, one specific construction to mark foci. In this construction, a sentence with an empty position is directly followed by the same (or a very similar) sentence where the previously omitted constituent is inserted as the focus. The resulting structure somewhat resembles a question word interrogative (§ 7.7.2.2, p. 443), which includes a variable to be filled in the answer. Two examples are given in (26) and (27), with the empty position in the first sentence marked by $\emptyset$.

(26) $\emptyset$ $\text{la'a}=ni$ $\text{ko-horu}=ni$ $\text{fuli-lafu}=\text{ana}$ $\text{ani}=ni$ $\text{ko-horu}$
move=LNK1 3:UND-with=LNK1 together:RED-live=INT 1s=CTR 3:UND-with

$\text{la'a}=\text{na'a}$.
moved=INT

‘... the one who will go and live with him is me.’ (69-056)

(27) $\text{Uere}$ ki-mini $\emptyset$ uar pere-fu-ne’ kuda un
2DEM 3:POSS-follow rock big.SG:near:RED-V2DEM horse one

fu-ne-nat.

near:RED-V2DEM:RED-stand.SG

‘Following that, what is standing near the rock is a horse.’ (fisquest35)

As a matter of fact, this construction quite precisely implements the definition of focus as given by Lambrecht (1996: 213) as “[t]he semantic component of a pragmatically structured proposition whereby the assertion differs from the presupposition”: it gives an open proposition with an empty position, which is then filled. Note that in both of the illustrated cases, these foci are subjects, which are preferentially interpreted as topics. It is possible that this marked mapping of pragmatic relations on grammatical relations causes the focus to be expressed in this specific construction. However, it is overall quite rare.

9.2.3 Markers of information structure

There is a variety of markers of different categorial status which function in ways that help structuring the information given in a text. The following sections give short discussions on the clitic contrastive marker $=\text{ini}$ (§ 9.2.3.1, p. 501), the counter-presupposition clitic $=\text{haka}$ (§ 9.2.3.2, p. 503), the adverbial expression na’a.muni (§ 9.2.3.3, p. 505) and finally the somewhat enigmatic clitic $=\text{oo}$ (§ 9.2.3.4, p. 506). Another marker of contrastiveness, the attributive $ki=\text{,}$ stands within the NP and is discussed in § 4.3.4 (p. 284).
9.2.3.1 The contrastive marker =ini

The NP-level clitic =ini (§ 3.5.2.5.1, p. 248) functions as a marker of contrastiveness. Its principle function in such contexts is the marking of the referent of its NP host as contrasting with another possible referent. Typical examples are given in (28) and (29).

(28) 
... amuni kírrial=ee so’ot=ini dame=ná’a=po ini=ni
  person ATTR=many.HUM-DEF want=LNK1 peace=INT-ADV.R 1pe=CTR
  nemo so’ot...
  NEG want
  ‘... many people want to make peace, but we don’t want that...’
  (81-12)

(29) Uere=ini ani masan.
  2DEM-CTR 1s fear
  ‘That’s what I was afraid of.’
  (elic671)

In (28), ini=ni (the first person plural exclusive pronoun with the contrastive marker cliticised to it) contrasts with an explicitly mentioned set of other people (amuni kírrial=ee ‘many people’), whereas in (29), the contrast is not expressed, but only implied. Also, (28) and (29) show that the contrastive marker can both lose its initial vowel if cliticised to a vowel-final element or retain it; it shares this characteristic with the clause linker =ini (see § 3.5.2.5.2, p. 249).

A context where the contrastive =ini appears particularly frequently is in interrogative word questions and their answers, as exemplified in (30). Note that mu’ani ‘who’ and sa’ani ‘what’, the subject forms of the interrogatives mu’a- ‘who (BD)’ and sa’a- ‘what (BD)’, respectively, are actually grammaticalised combinations of the stem and the contrastive marker =ini, as shown by the fact that both mu’ani ‘who’ and sa’ani ‘what’ can be marked as contrastive with another =ini, yielding mu’ani=ini and sa’ani=ni, respectively (see § 3.3.1.4, p. 228).

(30) Ei-sa’ani isit? – Asi-puulata=ni isit.
  2s-what.SUBJ ill 1s:POSS-head=CTR ill
  ‘What hurts? – My head hurts.’
  (lit. Your what is ill)
  (almeida016, almeida017)

The marking of asi-puulata ‘my head’ with =ini in (30) can be perceived as contrasting with all other body parts which constitute possible answers to the question.

While (31) below (as (28) above) marks only one element of the overtly expressed contrasting pair of referents, (32) shows that it is also an option to mark both members of the pair.
(31) Pedru ki-mata=ni hai we’=ini amu fitu=po nomohaka
P. 3:POSS-child=CTR NSIT V2DEM=LNK1 person seven=ADVR CLS.NEG

Agustu ki-mata.
A. 3:POSS-child
‘It is Pedro who has seven children, not Agusto.’ (elic1602)
(lit. Pedro’s children are there and are seven, not Agusto’s children)

(32) ... kiloo=ni tu ani=ni sofit=ini...
3s=CTR first 1s=CTR behind=LNK1
‘... she went first and I went afterwards...’ (44-12)

NPs marked by =ini can be both contrastive topics as well as contrastive foci. The constituents marked with =ini in (28) and (32) are clear topics; (28) comes from a text describing the difficult relations among the speaker’s clan members; thus, the different groups within the clan, expressed in (28) as amuni ki=rian=ee ‘many people’ and ini ‘we (excl.),’ respectively, are clearly topical. Also, the text from which (32) is taken describes a night-time adventure by the speaker and her sister, who, being the protagonists of the narrative, are topical. The NPs marked by =ini in (29) and (30), on the other hand, are preferably interpreted as foci in that they fill an empty position in the proposition. In the question in (30), this empty position is overt in the form of the question word sa a- ‘what (BD).’ This shows that =ini is a marker of contrastiveness rather than a marker of either contrastive topics or foci.

The contrastive marker is identical in form to the most general clause linker =ini (§ 3.5.2.5, p. 247), and in fact most likely an extension of it. This fact makes the contrastive construction with =ini obviously comparable to a cleft construction: as a linker, =ini stands between two clauses, marking the boundary between them. As a contrastive marker, too, =ini separates the nominal constituent it is cliticised to from the rest of the clause. Recall that NPs can freely be used as predicates (§ 5.1, p. 318); in such a case, a noun phrase x is generally interpreted as ‘it is (an) x’. The noun phrase separated from the rest of the clause by the contrastive =ini can thus be seen as a full clause consisting only of a nominal predicate. The presence of the VP-internal adverbial na’u ‘just’ in front of the NP ripa-ripa-ate ‘any tree’ in (33) supports this analysis.

(33) Asa nama-la’a=ni uari mei=ni ate-ata-nini
bird upwards=RED-move=LNK1 nest take=LNK1 tree-contact=RED-do:BD

uai=ni=po nomohaka na’u ripari-pate=ni k-ata-nini.
CLS=LNK1=ADVR CLS.NEG just any-tree=CTR 3:UND-contact=RED-do:BD
‘This bird nests in particular trees only.’ (elic185)

Thus, illustrated on (32) above, the first contrastive subject, kiloo (3s), translates as ‘it is her’ if seen as the nominal predicate in a minimal clause of its own. This is followed by the predicate tu ‘go first’; the clause combination of kiloo=ni tu would thus translate as ‘it was her (and she) went first’. Similarly, ani (1s) in the second sentence as a nominal predicate translates as ‘it is me’. It is followed by the predicate sofit ‘go behind’, and the two combine as something like ‘it is me (and I)
went behind’. Note how these literal translations resemble English cleft constructions.
It has been elaborated in § 6.2.1 (p. 389) that =ini appears to be evolving into a
subject marker. As such, it is found frequently in sentences with non-canonical word
order. Particularly in cases where the object is left-dislocated and the grammatical
roles are not clarified by other criteria (such as world knowledge or the topic-
worthiness hierarchy, see § 6.2.1, p. 389), it is important to mark the subject
participant as such, since both an SOV sentence as well as a sentence with OSV
order look superficially identical, namely NP – NP – V. In such cases, it is the
marker =ini which ensures the correct interpretation of the sentence. Examples
where the object precedes a subject marked as such by =ini are given in (34) and
(35).

\[(Mata ka’u ere) [ki-upa=ni]_\text{SUBJ} mei=ni dur-\text{ini}.
 \text{child} \text{ small 1DEM 3:POSS-father-CTR take=LNK1 wake.up-do:BD}
‘This child, his father woke him.’ (elic172)
\]

\[(Lode ki=uli ere) [asi-nana=ni]_\text{SUBJ} mei=ni manini.
 \text{bag} \text{ ATTR=leather DEM.1 1s:POSS-elder.sibling-CTR take=LNK1 give.to.1s}
‘This leather bag, my sister gave it to me.’ (elic322)
\]

It is possible to find multiple occurrences of =ini, in different functions, within one
sentence. An instance is (36), where the first NP, ki=isu siua ‘the ninth’, is marked
by contrastive =ini (the contrast is with eight other frogs featured in the preceding
sentence); the second instance of =ini, on the third person pronoun kiloo, marks it as
the subject. This results in a sequence of two NPs which are both marked with =ini.

\[(Ki=isu \ siua=ni \ kiloo=ni \ hai \ mei \ ni-tana-mutu=ini...\]
\text{ATTR=seed nine=CTR 3s=CTR NSIT take REFLECT-hand-inside=LNK1}
‘The ninth one, he put into his hand...’ (55a-067)

=ini thus shows an interesting development from a coordinating clause linker to a
contrastive marker, and from there is in the process of further evolving into a subject
marker.

9.2.3.2 The counter-presupposition marker =haka
The clitic =haka, commonly shortened to =ka, is criticised to the subject NP in a
clause and marks the fact that the clause it is found in contradicts in some way a
presupposition or an expectation. Particularly clear examples of its use are given in
(37), where the speaker contradicts an assertion made in the preceding clause, and in
(38), where he corrects a wrong assumption.
(37) ... *asi-upa nana ani-horu nomo rau. Asi-upa=haka*
   1s:POSS-father elder.sibling 1s-with NEG good 1s:POSS-father–CTR.PRES

\*ani-horu rau=po asi-upa ki-sa ere ani-horu nomo rau...*
   1s-with good–ADVR 1s:POSS-father 3:POSS-wife 1DEM 1s-with NEG good
   ‘… my uncle didn’t treat me well. Actually my uncle did treat me well, but
   his wife didn’t treat me well…’
   (101-398, 101-399)

(38) ... *ere=haka nomohaka fi-dada-raa=po (…) ere=haka*
   1DEM–CTR.PRES CLS.NEG 1pi-grandparent-PL–ADV.R 1DEM–CTR.PRES

\*ate popok.
   tree  rotten
   ‘… these are not crocodiles (…) but they turn out to be rotten tree trunks.’
   (38-101)

*haka* is found in a variety of contexts. For instance, it is used frequently where a
participant behaves in some unexpected, uncharacteristic way. This type of marking
is found very frequently in the frog story, where many of the main characters are
anthropomorphised animals which behave in very human-like ways. An example of
this is shown in (39), where a turtle is described as standing upright and even
speaking.

(39) *Uai=ni mara=ni mu’i-mu’it fenu ere=haka ete-nat=uai,*
   CLS–LNK1 go–LNK1 RDL-long.ago turtle 1DEM–CTR.PRES upwards-stand.SG–UAI

\*ete-nat=ini mata ka’u hai k-asu lolo…
   upwards-stand.SG–LNK1 child small NSIT 3:UND-for say
   ‘Then after a while the turtle stands up and says to the child…’
   (115-058)

*haka* is also often used to convey a contrast between two participants, such as in
(40).

(40) *Ini=haka la’a=ni uma-rata’ iraku-la=haka hai*
   1pe=CTR.PRES move–LNK1 VDEM.DIST.RED-arrive 3s-PL–CTR.PRES NSIT

\*la’a=uai.
   move–UAI
   ‘We arrived and they left.’
   (pelic431)

*haka* is restricted to occurring on subjects. Hence, an associated function of the
clitic is the marking of the subject constituent as such.

The clausal negation nomohaka is most probably made up of the normal predicate
negator nomo and the counter-presupposition marker =haka. In fact, most cases
where a clause is negated imply the contradiction of a presupposition (§ 6.6.3,
p. 398). This would be the only case where =haka does not stand on a subject NP.
9.2.3.3 *Na’a-muni* marking a new event

*Na’a-muni* is syntactically an adverbial predicate analogous to those discussed in § 3.2.3.3.2 (p. 162). Its make-up is not entirely clear; *muni* is a verb meaning ‘return’, which is used both as a full predicate and as a VP-internal adverbial. The element *na’a*, on the other hand, is unclear. It could possibly mean something like ‘each to himself’. The combination *na’a-muni* could perhaps be translated as ‘however’ or ‘in turn’. Its occurrence often coincides with the introduction of a new event or a new topic, generally contrasting it with a previously mentioned topic. The sentences in (41) illustrate the transition from the description of one picture to the next in a retelling of the frog story. The beginning of the description of the new picture is marked by *na’a-muni*, a very obvious instance of it signalling the beginning of a new scene. In (42), on the other hand, a new participant, *papa uere ki-ko-horu* ‘the Indonesian’s servant’ is introduced in the focal part in the first sentence; in the following sentence, marked by *na’a-muni*, that participant starts functioning as a topic.

(41)  \[
\text{Uai}=ni=ni \quad \text{mata ka’u ere} \quad \text{la’a}=ni \quad \text{ate popok}=ee \quad \text{se} \\
\text{CLS}=\text{LNK1}=\text{LNK1} \quad \text{child \ small \ 1DEM \ move}=\text{LNK1} \quad \text{rotten}=\text{DEF} \quad \text{very} \\
pere=si \quad \text{hai} \quad k-ua-lolo-mi=ini \quad \text{ki-isa} \\
\text{big.SG}=\text{LNK2} \quad \text{NSIT} \ 3:\text{UND-on.top}/\text{RED-straight}/\text{RED-sit.SG}=\text{LNK1} \ 3:\text{POSS-condition} \\
\text{hai na’u hare’} \ dila \ ena=si \ \text{ki-sefar}=ini \ \text{hai tu.} \ \text{Ma’u}=ni \\
\text{NSIT just \ clean \ frog \ see}=\text{LNK2} \ 3:\text{POSS-dog}=\text{CTR} \ \text{NSIT first \ come}=\text{LNK1} \\
\text{ere’-isi-e’} \quad \text{ere} \ \text{na’a-muni ate popok aftane’ na’a-muni} \\
1\text{DEM.V-at.RED-V1DEM} \ 1\text{DEM in.turn} \ \text{tree rotten \ PT \ in.turn} \\
aftane’ \ ere. \\
P\text{T} \ \text{1DEM} \\
\text{‘The child goes to sit up on that very big rotten tree trunk, and he is very happy to see the frogs, and his dog precedes him. Then in this one, in turn, there is the rotten tree trunk from before.’} \ (38-123, 38-123)
\]

(42)  \[
\text{... ani misa}=ni \quad \text{[...] ko-horu}=na’a \ \text{papa uere ki-ko-horu} \\
1s \ \text{go.down}=\text{LNK1} \quad 3:\text{UND-with}=\text{INT} \ \text{Indonesian} \ 2\text{DEM} \ 3:\text{POSS-3:UND-with} \\
\text{ue’.} \ \text{Papa uere ko-horu}=ee \ \text{na’a-muni asi-mali} \\
\text{V2DEM Indonesian} \ 2\text{DEM} \ 3:\text{UND-with}=\text{DEF in.turn} \ 1s:\text{POSS-cousin} \\
\text{ki-nei} \quad \text{Titu uere’}=ini \ \text{ko-horu...} \\
3:\text{POSS-name} \ T. \ 2\text{DEM.V}=\text{CTR} \ 3:\text{UND-with} \\
\text{‘... I went down to stay with him, but the Indonesian (already) had a servant. The Indonesian’s servant was my cousin called Tito, he stayed with him...’} \ (101-416, 101-417)
\]
9.2.3.4 New events with =oo

A clitic =oo is in some cases found in a function quite similar to that of na’a-muni described in § 9.2.3.3 (p. 505). The element is probably the same as =oo ‘too’ (§ 3.5.2.1, p. 245), though in the sentences presently under discussion, it does not generally surface as such in translations given by native speakers. Its function appears to be the marking of a new scene or event involving a new topic. It is generally found cliticised to subject NPs, but can stand on object NPs, too. An example of =oo marking a new scene is given in (43), where the new topic participant dila ‘frog’, following a stretch of quoted speech by another participant, is marked with =oo. Often, the use of =oo implies a contrast with another topic, in which case it can be found either on the second one of the two topic participants or on both of them. The latter case is illustrated in (44).

(43) Ate-tafu ere=ni ei-asu ain uai=ni=si dila ere=oo komesa

Nar.HUM tree-half 1DEM=CTR 2s-for QUOT CLS=LNK1=LNK2 frog 1DEM=too start

hai holi-mit...

face.away-sit.SG

‘This piece of wood is for you, so the frog starts sitting with his back towards (him)…’ (115-040)

(44)... fi meih la’a=ni e’ ei=oo la’a=ni

1pi HUM move=LNK1 VDEM 2s=too move=LNK1

roum-muto-ume-poko uae’=ete ituruu ani=oo [...] mei=ni

growth inside:RED-VDEM.DIST:RED-crouch UA=-after after? 1s=too take=LNK1

la’a=ni rate fitu=ee ta’a.

move=LNK1 grave seven=DEF count

‘... we two go, and when we are (at the place) you go and hide in the grass and then I (...) take (it) to the seven graves respectively.’ (120-027)

More research into this contrastive function of =oo, as opposed to its ‘too’-meaning on the one hand and the functionally similar adverbial predicate na’a-muni on the other hand, is required, but is beyond the scope of the present work.

9.3 Style

Narrative and procedural texts in Makalero, which make up the bulk of text types in the corpus, are characterised by the frequent use of variety of special stylistic devices; among others, these are the use of introductory sentences specifying the topic of the following narration as well as a closing sentence, by which the speaker overtly marks the end of the narration. An example of the former is given in (45), while (46) illustrates a typical closing formula (see also § 9, p. 491).
(45)  Ere nomohaka sa’a ki=selu konta=po ere la’a ini=ua mina  
1DEM CLS.NEG thing ATTR-tell ADVR 1DEM move 1pe=REFL oil

  tina k-isi’=ee lolo.  
cook 3:UND-belong=DEF say
‘This is not telling anything else but how to go and make oil.’ (57-01)

(46)  I asi-lolo ini hai hau uere’ obrigadu roual-ual  
and 1s:POSS-say-NML NSIT all 2DEM.V thanks RDL-many.NONHUM

  mei=ni fi mei=ni taini.  
take=LNK1 1pi take=LNK1 give.to.one-another
‘And these are all of my words, (I) thank all of us very much.’ (65-36)

Apart from that, the two most salient features in Makalero narratives are tail-head linkage and lexical parallelism. The following paragraphs, § 9.3.1 (p. 507) to § 9.3.2 (p. 510), give preliminary accounts of these phenomena.

9.3.1 Tail-head linkage
Tail-head linkage (THL) is a way to connect utterances in which the last clause of an utterance is partially or completely repeated in the first clause of the next utterance. It is very widespread all over the New Guinea area, occurring in both Austronesian and Papuan languages. Its function, according to De Vries (2005: 378), is the establishment of “thematic continuity and referential coherence”. The phenomenon is used in different text genres in different languages; in Makalero, it is found in both narrative and procedural texts, but not, it seems, in dialogues. An example of THL in Makalero is given in (47).

(47)  ... ki-fasu=hi’a=ni to-dasa=fata fi hau mei. Hau  
3:POSS-skin=only=CTR accompany:RED-fall=COND 1pi all take all

  mei=ni uai=te’e mei=ni pusi-isi’.  
take=LNK1 CLS-after take=LNK1 pan-at
‘... if there are empty skins (of beans) inside, we take them out. Having taken them out, we then put (the beans) into a pan.’ (50-02, 50-03)

The corresponding pitch curve shows that the final clause of the first sentence, fi hau mei ‘we take (them)’, has final, falling intonation (see § 7.7.1, p. 435), whereas its repetition at the beginning of the next chain has a rising intonation, signalling that the sentence goes on.
Figure 9.1: *Fi hau mei. Hau mei=ni ‘we take them out. Having taken them out...’*,

Constituents of several kinds can stand in the repeated bit in THL in Makalero. First of all, it is important to note that not only clauses, but whole sentences can be repeated, as (48) illustrates, where it is a biclausal sentence unit.

(48) Potil=ee mei=ni we-daru=te’e dila mei=ni isi’. Dila bottle=DEF take=LNK1 V2DEM:RED-put:BD=after frog take=LNK1 at frog

  
  mei=ni isi’=isi ki-sefar e’=ini potil=ee hai take=LNK1 at=LNK2 3:POSS-dog V1DEM=LNK1 bottle=DEF NSIT

  
  *mutu-puna=si...*

  inside:RED-look=LNK2

  *(He) puts a bottle there and puts a frog inside. Having put a frog inside, his dog is here and looks into the bottle...* (38-002, 38-003)

The most common option, however, is to repeat only the final VP as it appears in the preceding clause (i.e. with or without an overtly expressed object, aspect marking, negation or adverbial predicates). (49) gives an example of such a case.
... sefar=ee [... ] uani=ee hai hour. Uani=ee hai hour ki-ouar
dog=DEF bee=DEF NSIT bark bee=DEF NSIT bark 3:POSS-master

na’muni ni-sefar=ee ki-sofi-isi-ume-nat=ini...

in.turn REFLE-dog=DEF 3:POSS-back-at:RED-VDEM.DIST:RED-stand.SG=LNK1

‘... the dog starts barking at the bees. (He starts) barking at the bees, his
master, on the other hand, is standing there behind his dog...’

(38-041, 38-042)

It is, however, not obligatory to repeat the object NP, and cases where all of the VP
except for the object NP are repeated are found, as in (50).

... ki-ouar e’=ini [... ] hai dur=ini e’=ini dila
3:POSS-master V1DEM=LNK1 NSIT wake.up=LNK1 V1DEM=LNK1 frog

k-ue-keil. K-ue-keil=ini hai ena.
3:UND-around-peep 3:UND-around-peep=LNK1 NSIT see

‘... his master wakes up there and peeps at the frog. Peeping at the frog, he
sees.’

(38-006, 38-007)

While it is very common to use a clause linker on the repeated part of the THL pair,
as in (47) and (48), this is not necessary, and cases without any linker, such as (49)
can be found. Among the linkers used in THL are =ini (§ 3.5.2.5, p. 247), =isi
(§ 3.5.3.1.1, p. 250) and =po (§ 3.5.3.1.1.2, p. 251).
In most instances, the repeated part of the clause is a faithful copy of the preceding
one. However, this is not necessarily the case, and it is possible for the speaker to
slightly adjust the repeated clause from what he previously said. An example is
given in (51), where the speaker uses the repetition of the clause to specify a
location in a multi-clause sentence.

(51) Ini meih=ini ta hofe pas ini ufe’=ini hala=ni
1pe two.HUM=LNK1 REC know precisely 1pe VDEM.LOW=LNK1 war=LNK1

titar=ini ma’u. Dili-isi’=ini hala=ni titar=ini ma’u=ni e’
run.PL=LNK1 come D:at=LNK1 war=LNK1 run.PL=LNK1 come=LNK1 V1DEM

er=ni ini meih=ini ta hofe.
1DEM=CTR 1pe two.HUM=LNK1 REC know

‘The two of us met each other just at the time we were down there, it was
war and we fled here. Having been in Dili, there was war and we fled here,
and when we were here, we met each other.’

(81-02, 81-03)
9.3.2 Lexical parallelism

Lexical parallelism is a phenomenon “widely attested in the oral poetry and elevated speech of a variety of peoples in the world” (Fox 1988: 1). It involves “a pair of parallel words, one in each section of the text” (Aronoff and Rees-Miller 2003: 463) and is commonly supported by syntactic parallelism. Generally, the lexical pairs are made up of synonyms or words with related meanings and form an ordered, conventional set. According to Fox (1988: 1), the phenomenon is particularly prominent in Eastern Indonesia. East Timor and Makalero present no exception to this. However, lexical parallelism is very much connected to high and / or ritual registers of speech, and most of the Makalero corpus that forms the basis of the present study consists of everyday speech. Nevertheless, some instances of lexical parallels have found their way into everyday speech; other texts, such as clan histories or accounts of wedding customs, draw heavily on ritualised speech. As such, the present corpus does allow some insight on lexical parallelism in Makalero. Lexical parallels in Makalero involve both nouns and verbs; also, full parallel VPs are found. Parallel pairs of these categories are exemplified in (52), (53) and (54), respectively, where // is used to indicate the parallel.

(52)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>omar // lopu</td>
<td>‘house’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stilt.house // house</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hala // funu</td>
<td>‘war’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>war // war</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(53)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>na’an // lesa</td>
<td>‘poor’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG.EX // NEG.have</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lasi // teri</td>
<td>‘cut’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cut, chop with a machete // cut with a knife</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(54)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ira pure // ana paun</td>
<td>‘work in the field, plantation’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>work in the paddy // weed the garden</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hi’a loke // setur hasa</td>
<td>‘clear a way’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>open a road // demolish a fence</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Furthermore, characters and toponyms in ritual stories commonly have parallel names (see e.g. Engelenhoven 1997). The personal name exemplified in (55) is the person from whose name the language name Makalero is said to derive, while the place name comes from an account of the migration route of the Loorasa clan. The meaning of the majority of the elements found in those names is unclear. Note, however, that in every case, there appears to be a recurring element, i.e. lero in Hilero // Lualero and ira in Pusira // Panaira.
(55) Ililero // Lusalero
    ili 'stone, rock'

    Pusira // Panaira
    ira 'water'

Whereas the ordering of most parallel pairs seems fixed, some are found in both orders. An example is (56). (57) and (58) show two sentences where the words making up this pair occur in reversed order.

(56) hi’an // hat
    shelter // dry.place

    ‘home, shelter’

(57) Tone’ nainai la’a-la’a hat // hi’an tone’ uari nese-la’a...
    perhaps slow RDL-move dry.place // shelter perhaps still aim.at:RED-move

    ‘Maybe in due time (we) will find a home…’

(124-44)

(58) ... ni-asiu hi’an-ensi // hat-ensi...

    lpe REFL-for shelter-do:BD // dry.place-do:BD

    ‘… we build ourselves a home…’

(26-06)

Pinto, in his 2004 monolingual Makalero dictionary, provides numerous parallel pairs.

There are two basic semantic types of lexical parallels. The most frequent one in Makalero by far is that of synonyms or words with related meanings. The meaning of the combination is the same or similar as that of its constituent parts. Examples can be seen in (52), (53) and (54) above. Note that for the purpose, both native and borrowed words are used, as in hala // fumu in (52), where hala is the native Makalero term for ‘war’, while fumu is a borrowing from Tetum with the same meaning.

The other semantic type of lexical parallels is that where two words with different, sometimes opposite, meanings are combined to denote a superordinate concept combined out of the meanings of the constituent parts of the pair, as in (59).

(59) ni // upa
    mother // father

    kuda // arapau
    horse // buffalo

    teuh // elin
    buy // price

‘parents’

‘livestock’

‘bride-price’

Syntactically, the lexical pairs or the phrases containing them are generally juxtaposed without any kind of linker. (60) through (62) illustrate this with a nominal, a verbal and a phrasal pair, respectively. Note that on first glance, (61) seems to contradict the above statement, since the first verb of the pair, li’an ‘fall’ is cliticised with the clause linker =te’e ‘after’ (§ 3.5.3.1.1.3, p. 252). However, the
second verb, *suri* ‘release’, stands with the same linker, showing that *=te’e* does not serve as a linker between the two parallel verbs, but is part of the parallel syntactic structure in which the verbal pair is found, and links the complete parallel structure to the following clause.

(60)  
\begin{verbatim}
Atamana mata-niki anu itu ki-ni //  
first child-PL person three.HUM 3:POSS mother 3:POSS father  
\end{verbatim}  
\begin{verbatim}
V2DEM  
‘At first, the three children had parents…’
\end{verbatim}  
\begin{verbatim}
(118-02)
\end{verbatim}

(61)  
\begin{verbatim}
... uai=te’e k-asu kuda arapau lauan uere’ mei=ni
\end{verbatim}  
\begin{verbatim}
CLS=after 3:UND for horse buffalo precious metal 2DEM V take=LNK1
\end{verbatim}  
\begin{verbatim}
tufuraa ere  ki-ha’auein li’an=ete //  ki-ha’auein suri=te’e=si...
\end{verbatim}  
\begin{verbatim}
woman 1DEM 3:POSS place throw=after 3:POSS place release=after=LNK2
\end{verbatim}  
\begin{verbatim}
‘… then (they) give (them) livestock and gold and such things to replace
the girl…’
\end{verbatim}  
\begin{verbatim}
(55-17)
\end{verbatim}

(62)  
\begin{verbatim}
U teni lafu-lafu=ua ira pure // ama paun
\end{verbatim}  
\begin{verbatim}
one again RDL live=REL paddy cultivate garden pull out
\end{verbatim}  
\begin{verbatim}
ki-k-ata-la’a fi-dada fi-upa fi-namu
\end{verbatim}  
\begin{verbatim}
3:POSS 3:UND contact:RED move 1pi-grandparent 1pi-father 1pi-great great-grandparent
\end{verbatim}  
\begin{verbatim}
fi-hoden hana’e fi-asu lolo...
\end{verbatim}  
\begin{verbatim}
1pi-great-grandparent REM.PT 1pi for say
\end{verbatim}  
\begin{verbatim}
‘There is one more thing about living and growing things that our fathers
and our ancestors told us…’
\end{verbatim}  
\begin{verbatim}
(55-28)
\end{verbatim}
Appendix 1: Text samples

The texts in this section give one example each of the most common text types in the corpus that this thesis is based on. These are a folk tale (text 1), a procedural text (text 2), an exposition on the local traditions (text 3) and a life story or personal memoirs (text 4).

The following graphic conventions are used in the transcripts: Full stops <.> indicate the end of an utterance as marked by a final intonation contour (see § 7.7.1, p. 435). <[ ]> denotes a break in the flow of speech, usually at the end of a sentence, with non-final intonation contour (ibid.). <[ ]> is used to mark non-structural breaks in the flow of speech, as where the speaker stumbles, is looking for words, or is interrupted. “Filled pauses” are given in square brackets.

Text 1: The tale of the king of Iliomar and the snake

A folk tale
Speaker: Olimpia Jerónimo
Age: approximately 50
Origin: Ailebere (Marafaal subvillage)
Date of recording: May 3, 2007

This folk story is one of two in which liurai Iliomar ‘the king of Iliomar’ is the protagonist. It ends somewhat abruptly, and, unusually, without a closing sentence. A second speaker, Adélina Fereira (of the same origin and approximately the same age as the main speaker), was sitting by and interjected some remarks here and there. These are represented in round brackets.

Dili... Dili atanana lafu‘ete | amuni mu‘a-ouar ere [a... ] liurai Iliomar.
D. D. first live-after person ground-master 1DEM king 1.
‘After Dili was first founded, the owner of the land was the king of Iliomar.’

Liurai Iliomar = ini la’a=ni Dili-isi‘ini e=ini la’a kilooraa=haka
king 1-LNK1 move=LNK1 D-at=LNK1 V1DEM=LNK1 move 3p=CTR.PRES

meih.
two.HUM
‘It was the king of Iliomar, and he went to Dili, he was here and went, and there were two of them.’
Ni-noko meih uai=ni=ni... ta-pati=ni u Lakuloo... u
REFL-younger.sibling two.HUM CLS=LNK1=LNK1 REC-divide=LNK1 one L. one

Loore hai dai | un=ini ai=ini lolo-la’a=ni | la’a=ni  Laituai
L. NSIT pass one=CTR V1DEM=LNK1 straight:RED-move=LNK1 move=LNK1 L.

Dili-isi’=ini amuni... Dili e’ ira na’an.
D-at=LNK1 person D. V1DEM water NEG.EX
‘In Dili, the people... there was no water in Dili.’

Ira... ira na’an.
water water NEG.EX
‘There was no water.’

Ira na’an=ini kilooraa ira nomo ke’-ke’=’isi | ira ere... pasar loloi
water NEG.EX=LNK1 3p water NEG RDL-drink=LNK2 water 1DEM week two

ki-matu’=ete=fe | uai=te’e ira Dili-isi-la’a.
3:POSS-inside=after=FE CLS=after water D-at:RED-move
‘There was no water, and they kept not drinking water, and the water... after two weeks only did water come to Dili.’

Dili-isi-la’a=po | ueralaa Dili-isi’=ini aire’ ki-helar-la’a
D-at:RED-move=ADV R 3p D.-at=LNK1 now 3:POSS-big.PL-PL

ki=ufe’=eta | uere ni-mata mei la’a ira teuh.
ATTR-VDEM.LOW=ETA 2DEM REFL-child take move water buy
‘It came to Dili, but they who were in Dili, the leaders who were down there, they took their children and used them to buy water.’

Ni-mata mei la’a ira teuh=ete=fe ira rei-misa.
REFL-child take move water buy=after=FE water outwards-go.up
‘They took their children to buy water with them, and only then did water come out.’
Uai=ni ira ere... kilooraa amulafu afar u ere | ni-asu
CLS=LNK1 water 1DEM 3p person body one 1DEM REFL-for

k-o-tu=ni ma’u=ni mei=ni tu’il | toron
3:UND-fetch.water=LNK1 come=LNK1 take=LNK1 put.in.bamboo k.o.bamboo.container

ue’ la’ane’-isi-kalin ue’=ini uai=te’e ke’.
2DEM.V various-at:RED-pour.out V2DEM=LNK1 CLS=after drink
‘Then the water... they drew it one by one, and came and poured it into various kinds
of bamboo containers, and only then could they drink.’

La’a hau ke’ ira hai na’an.
move all drink water NSIT NEG.EX
‘Then, when they had drunk, there was no more water.’

(Pasar u loloi hau-sai’ hai na’an.)
week one two all-finished:BD NSIT NEG.EX
‘One, two weeks were over and there was no more (water).’

Hai na’an=ini mara=ni | uai=te’e ki-helar-laa ni-mata teni mei
NIST NEG.EX=LNK1 go=LNK1 CLS=after 3:POSS-big.PL-PL REFL-child again take

la’a ira uere teni teuh | mei la’a=ni ili.heke=ua
move water 2DEM again buy take move=LNK1 cave=REL

mutu-ude’ ere mutu-suri=si ira uai=te’e rei-misa.
inside:RED-VDEM.HIGH 1DEM inside:RED-release:BD=LNK1 water CLS=after outwards-go.up
‘There was no more (water), and then afterwards the leaders took (one of) their
children again and bought water again, they took the children and put them in a cave
up there, and after that water came out.’

Uai-uai-nini mara=ni amuni ki=pere uai=nata guvernu
RDL-V2DEM:RED-de:BD go=LNK1 person ATTR=big.SG CLS=CTF.COND government

ki=pere | uai=te’e uere ki-mata=ni ran=ini ki-nei Pirisistu.
ATTR=big.SG CLS=after 2DEM 3:POSS-child=CTR ready-LNK1 3:POSS-name P
‘They kept doing it like this, and then there was one important person, like a big
government official, and then it was that person’s child’s turn, and her name was
Pirisistu.’
Uere ran=ini  mei la’a ili-mutu-ude-suri=ni  
2DEM read=LNK1 take move rock-inside:RED VDEM.HIGH:RED release:BD=LNK1

mata ka’u ere  ue-mit=ini  hein.
child  small  1DEM V2DEM:RED-sit.SG=LNK1 wait
‘It was her turn, and they took her and let her into the cave up there, and the child sat there and waited.’

Hein hau ran  |  k-asu seur  |  tinaini  |  ale tafa=ni
wait  all ready  3:UND-for meat  cooked.rice  uncooked.rice  pound=LNK1

ale era mei=ni  laalun=ini  la’a ili-mutu-ude’  pai
uncooked.rice  3p  take=LNK1 provision=LNK1 move rock-inside:RED VDEM.HIGH pig

ha’a’al=ini na’u salakadu  |  uai mei la’a ili-mutu-ude’.
fry=LNK1 just  k.o.dish  CLS take move rock-inside:RED VDEM.HIGH pig
‘She waited and was all ready, and they had given her meat, and both cooked and uncooked rice as provisions to go into the cave up there, and they had fried pork and made salakadu, and had put that into the cave up there.’

Mata ka’u were... fanarav=ee  tepa  ue-mit  |  mara=ni tuku
child  small  2DEM young:woman=DEF constant V2DEM:RED-sit.SG  go=LNK1 punch

lolo’... isi-ria’  |  nana hai rei-misa=si  [a...] ira hai ma’u=uai.
two  at:RED-arrive snake  NSIT outwards-go.up=LNK2  water  NSIT  come=UAI
‘The child... the young girl kept sitting there, and then when it was two o’clock, snakes started coming out, and water started coming out.’

Ira hai ma’u=ni  nana were  ki-tala-r  ere roual  |  uere
water  NSIT  come=LNK1 snake  2DEM  3:POS-branch-PL  1DEM  many.NONHUM  2DEM

hai ma’u=ni  [a... ] mata ka’u  u  hai masan.
NSIT  come=LNK1 child  small one NSIT scared
‘Water started to come, and that snake, it forked into many branches, that started coming out, and the child was scared.’

Mata ka’u ere  |  hai masan [e’... ] mara=ni mata ka’u  hai  masan=po
child  small  1DEM  NSIT  scared  go=LNK1 child  small  NSIT  scared=ADV

Iurai Iliomar hai  isa=uai.
king  I.  NSIT  go.down=UAI
‘The child was scared, she was scared, but then the king of Iliomar came down.’
Liurai Iliomar hai isa=nī nama-e-nat=ini hai lolo
king 1. NSIT go.down=LNK1 upwards=RED=V1DEM:RED-stand.SG=LNK1 NSIT say

“hai Pirisistu!”
INTERJ P.
‘The king of Iliomar came down and stood up there and said: “Hey Pirisistu!”’

Sa’a-fani’ ei ma’u at-mit?” ain.
what:BD-like 2s come V1DEM:RED-sit.SG QUOT
‘Why did you come to sit here?”’

“Ai, ani asi-upa=nī ani mei ira teuh=ini | Dili-isì’ ira
INTERJ 1s 1s:POSS-father=CTR 1s take water buy=LNK1 D.-at water
na’an=isi were k-asu=nī ani mei ira teuh.”
NEG.EX=LNK1 2DEM 3:UND-for=LNK1 1s take water buy
‘“Ai, my father bought water using me, there is no water in Dili, that is why he took me to pay for water.”’

“(Hai rau=po ma’u) ma’u asi-laipun k-ata-mit” ain=isi...
NSIT good=ADVR come come 1s:POSS-back 3:UND-contact:RED-sit.SG QUOT=LNK2
Pirisistu hai mara=nī [sa’a...] liurai Iliomar ki-laipun k-ata-mit.
NSIT go=LNK1 thing king 1. 3:POSS-back 3:UND-contact:RED-sit.SG
‘“Okay then, come and sit on my back” he said, and Pirisistu went to sit on the king of Iliomar’s back.’

Liurai lolo “ka’u=te’e ani nana ere lasi=nī | mara=ni=ua ani
king say small=after 1s snake 1DEM cut=LNK1 go=LNK1-UA 1s
hai nomo hul=ana fani=ere | ei asi-laipun k-ata-mit=ini
NSIT NEG able=INT like=Cmpl 2s 1s:POSS-back 3:UND-contact:RED-sit.SG=LNK1
asi-sefar-isi-suat | asi-kuda... isi-hihi | nai=tua ma’u.
1s:POSS-dog:at=RED-call 1s:POSS-horse at=RED-call CLS-PURP come
‘The king said “in a while, I’ll cut the snakes, and when I don’t have the strength anymore, you sit on my back and call out to my dog, and call out to my horse so they come.”’
Mara=ni kiloo... hai la’a liurai ki-laipun k-ata-mit nana uere come–LNK2 3s NSIT move king 3:POSS-back 3:UND-contact:RED-sit.SG snake 2DEM

hai ma’u=si lasi liurai Lliomar nana uere lasi lasi lasi=ni nana uere NSIT come–LNK2 cut king I. snake 2DEM cut cut–LNK1 snake 2DEM

hai na’u k-ue-dasa lafi-dasa-la’a=po | hai nomo rau-rau hau NSIT just 3:UND-around-fall beside:RED-fall-move=LNK1 NSIT NEG RDL-good all

k-uta=si uai=te’e | minina Pirisistu uai=te’e=fe | kiloo ki-sefar...
3:UND-kill–LNK2 CLS-after miss P. CLS-after=FE 3s 3:POSS-dog

isi-uat.
at:RED-call

‘Then she went to sit on the king’s back, and the snakes came and he cut them down, the king of Lliomar kept cutting the snakes down, and snakes were scattered everywhere, but he didn’t manage to kill them all, so then Miss Pirisistu called his dog.’

Sefar=ee-isi-uat=ini sefar ere misa nana=ee ka’el liurai=oo k-uta
dog–DEF-at:RED-call–LNK1 dog 1DEM go.up snake–DEF bite king=too 3:UND-kill

tepa’.
constant

‘She called his dog and the dog came up and bit the snakes, and the king also kept killing them.’

Tepa ma’u=si kuda uere teni isi-hihi=si misa=ni kuda=oo constant come–LNK2 horse 2DEM again at:RED-call–LNK2 go.up–LNK1 horse=too

nana=ee ti’al | sefar=oo lasi | uai=te’e=fe aire’ nana ki=pere uere snake–DEF kick dog=too cut CLS-after=FE now snake ATTR-big.SG 2DEM

rei-li’ian.
outwards-fall

‘(The snakes) kept coming, so she called the horse and it came up, and the horse kicked the snakes, and the dog too cut them, and now finally the big snake fell out.’
Rei-li’an=isi uai=te’e nana=oo ti’al | sefar=oo ka’el | liurai=oo
outwards-fall-LNK2 CLS=after snake=too kick dog=too bite king=too

lasi=ni nana ere=haka hai umu=si | liurai ni-asu ki-ifil hai
cut=LNK1 snake 1DEM=CTR.PRES NSIT die=LNK2 king REFLE-for 3:POSS-tongue NSIT
teri=uai.
cut=UA1
‘It fell out, and then the snake’² too kicked, and the dog too bit, and the king too cut, until the snake died, and then the king cut off its tongue for himself.’

Ki-ifil-famu=ee hai teri=ni | Pirisistu ki-vistidu ere ki-ualir
3:POSS-tongue-face=DEF NSIT cut=LNK1 P. 3:POSS-dress 1DEM 3:POSS-edge

fisa’ak=ini hai mei isi-loka=ni | hai mei ni-faru-lode-mutu’=ini
tear=LNK1 NSIT take at:RED-wrap=LNK1 NSIT take REFLE-shirt-pocket-inside=LNK1

hai la’a=uai.
NSIT move=UA1
‘He cut off the tip of its tongue and tore off the edge of Pirisistu’s dress, wrapped it in it, put it into his shirt pocket and then left.’

Hai la’a | mataroos aire’... guvermu ki-mataroos ere=haka
NSIT move servant now government 3:POSS-servant 1DEM=CTR.PRES

e’=ini | ira uere hai tepa isa=ni Dili-mutu’=ee
V1DEM=LNK1 water 2DEM NSIT constant go.down=LNK1 D.-inside-CMPL

k-o’u=ni hai mei hai kali-kalin=oo hai nomo para=ua.
3:UND-fetch.water=LNK1 NSIT take NSIT RDL-throw.away=too NSIT NEG stop=UA1
‘He left, and now a servant of the government was here, the water kept flowing down, and in Dili they kept drawing it and pouring it out, but there was no end to it.’

Hai nomo para=si mataroos=haka hai na’u mi-ma’u=ua | ira
NSIT NEG stop=LNK2 servant=CTR.PRES NSIT just along:RED-come=UA1 water

ki-hi’a hai mi-ma’u.
3:POSS-street NSIT along:RED-come
‘There was no end to it, so the servant came following the water’s course.’

² The use of nana ‘snake’ is a mistake here; it should say kuda ‘horse’.
Mi-ma’u=ee misa=po... Pirisistu hai
along:RED-come=CMPL go.up=ADVR P. NSIT
le-isi-ude-mit=isi hai lole | “hai
outside:RED-at:RED-VDEM.HIGH:RED-sit:SG=LNK2 NSIT say NSIT

taure-fani’=ini... ei hai tepa ai-mit?” a=ini “isipo’ ani
which:RED-be.tike=LNK1 2s NSIT constant V1DEM:RED-sit:SG QUOT=LNK1 not.know 1s

nomo ma’en” ain=isi nat iraku ude’=ini ni-asu nata uere |
NEG know QUOT=LNK2 stand.SG 3s VDEM.HIGH=LNK1 REFL-for snake 2DEM

ki-ifil=ee luirai=ua teri=eta uere’ hai teni mi-deri=ni
3:POSS-tongue=DEF king=REL cut=ETA 2DEM.V NSIT again along:RED-cut:BD=LNK1

ki-tafa hai mei.
3:POSS-half NSIT take
‘He came following it and came up, and Pirisistu was sitting up there outside, and he said to her “how come you keep sitting here?”’, and she said “I don’t know”, so standing there he cut himself a bit off of the snake’s tongue that the king had cut and took half of it.’

Ki-tafa hai mei | Pirisistu ko-horu hai...
vila-isi-la’a=uai.
3:POSS-half NSIT take P. 3:UND-with NSIT city-at:RED-move=UAI
‘He took half of it and went to the city with Pirisistu.’

Isa=ni la’a=ni hai mei=ni governu nesen=isi aire’ ki-nei
go.down=LNK1 move=LNK1 NSIT take=LNK1 governement show=LNK2 now 3:POSS-name

Dili-mutta’=ini=ua uai-ropa’ ere hai haka-hau fuli-la’a=ni | D.-inside=LNK1=UA V2DEM:RED-many 1DEM NSIT all=all together:RED-move=LNK1

aie’ sinora ere k-asu ere mei vistidu osan | sa’a-sa’a |
now lady 1DEM 3:UND-for 1DEM take dress money RDL-thing

ue’ ere hai haka-hau horu=ni hei... mataroos mei=ni
V2DEM 1DEM NSIT all-all gather?=LNK1 INTERJ servant take=LNK1

kauen=ana=uai.
marry=INT=UAI
‘He went down and showed (the snake’s tongue) to the government, and all those many people there who had a name in Dili got together, and now they took clothes and money and everything that was there and gathered it all (for the bride price) for the lady, and the servant was going to marry her.\textsuperscript{197}

\textsuperscript{197} This utterance is somewhat unclear.
Kauen=ana=si hai la’a igreja.
marry=INT=L NK1 NSIT move church
‘He was going to marry her, and they went to church.’

Hai la’a igreja-isi’=ini kauen=ana.
NSIT move church-at=LNK1 marry=INT
‘They went and were at church and they were going to be married.’

(Uai=ni=po mata ka’u kiloo tule).
CLS=LNK1=ADVR child small 3s not.want
‘But the child didn’t want him.’

Tule=po amuni hai... ki-ni ki-upa ma’akini kiloo=ni
not.want=ADVR person NSIT 3:POSS-mother 3:POSS-father wrongly.think 3s=CTR

mei=ni lafu’-ini=si | hai la’a=ni ude’=ini kauen=ana
take=LNK1 live-do:BD=L NK2 NSIT move=LNK1 VDEM.HIGH=LNK1 marry=INT
altar-isi’=ini kauen=ana.
altar-at=LNK1 marry=INT
‘She didn’t want him, but her parents thought it was him who had saved her, so they
went up there to be married, they were at the altar and were going to be married.’

Liurai lliomar=haka tau’=ini... ma’en=isi hai isa=uai.
kling 1~CTR.PRES where=LNK1 know=LNK2 NSIT go.down=U AI
‘The king of Lliomar knew where it was and went down.’

Hai isa=ni le-isi-uai’ heti “taure-fani?”’ uai=te’e “igreja
NSIT go.down=LNK1 outside:RED-at:RED-VDEM ask which:RED-be.like CLS=after church
ere taure-fani?’=ni amuni [a...] “government ki-mata=ua la’a=ni
1DEM which:RED-be.like=LNK1 person government 3:POSS-child=REL move=LNK1
take water buy 1DEM=CTR person servant=CTR REF=for return move=LNK1

nese-la’a | lafu’-ini=si | hai kauen=ana.”
aim.at:RED-move=LNK1 live-do:BD=L NK2 NSIT marry=INT
‘He came down and was outside there and asked “what is it like?”’, and “what
is going on in the church?”, and people (said) “the governor’s child who they used to
buy water with, the servant went and found her and saved her, so they will be
married.’
“After we had come home, we entered the house and opened the gate for some reason.

Mina=nai  |  [a...]  ena=na’ai  |  ude’=ini  |  e-puna=nii  
go.up=LNK1  |  see=INT  |  VDEM.HIGH=LNK1  |  V1DEM:RED-look=LNK1

hai  tu-en=nis  |  nat  “oi  asi-nami=nii  hai  ufere”

Mina=nai  |  ena=na’ai  |  ude’=ini  |  e-puna=nii

Hai  lu’as=si  |  la’a=nii  |  meih=ini  |  hai  la’as  pulis-isi’=ini

problema  lolo=po  |  kiloo=haka  ifil-fanu  hai  mei=nii...  fanu-isi’  “ani=nii

la’a=nii  nana  paun=ee  k-u=konai=nii  |  ira=ua

Dili-isti-rei-misa=nii  hai  kafu’ira  ere  ani=nii  nana=ee  k-u=ana.

Uai=konai=nii  Dili  hai  lafu’.

Uere’=ini  nana...  nana=ee  ki-iffi=ini  ere’.”
"Ain=ini | liurai=haka hai lolo "nana-ifil=ini taure?’” ain.
QUOT=LNK1 king=CTR.PRES NSIT say snake-tongue=CTR which QUOT
‘He said that, and the king replied ‘which is the snake’s tongue?’”

"Nana-ifil were hai mei rei-misa liurai=haka=ni taure-fani”
snake-tongue 2DEM NIST take outwards-go.up king=CTR.PRES=CTR which:RED-be.like

"faru-lode-mutu-dane=ni=po "ere na’a.muni sa’a-k-isi’?” ain.
shirt-pocket-inside:RED-lift=LNK1=ADVR 1DEM in.turn what:BD:3-UND-belong QUOT
‘He took out the snake’s tongue, and the king likewise took the snake’s tongue out of his shirt pocket (and said) “this is from what then?””

"Mara=po hai muni liurai ki-nana-ifil ere=ni ki-fanu | kiloo"
go=ADVR NSIT return king 3:POSS-snake-tongue 1DEM=CTR 3:POSS-face 3s

"ki-nana-ifil ere=haka ki-lepa... hai teri ure=uai.”
3:POSS-snake-tongue 1DEM=CTR.PRES 3:POSS-middle NSIT cut 2DEM=UAI
‘Then (it turned out that) the king’s snake tongue was the tip of the tongue, and the other’s tongue was cut from the middle.’
Text 2: How to cook mung bean porridge

A procedural text
Speaker: Joana da Silva
Age: 28
Origin: Tirilolo
Date of recording: February 10, 2007

The present short procedural text is a cooking recipe. Notable features of this genre are the use of the first person inclusive pronoun fi as a generic pronoun (§ 3.3.1.1, p. 218), and the frequent occurrence of the adverbial-turned-completive marker hau ‘all’ (§ 5.3.3.2, p. 369).

Kerierî fi utamata po’or=ere | [e...] utamata ere fi hau kiut.
first 1pi mung.beans cook=CMPL mung.beans 1DEM 1pi all clean
‘First, if we want to make mung beans, we clean the mung beans.’

Hau kiut=ini ena=ni | ki=pa’uk=ini to’=uai uai uar ho’o koto
all clean=LNK1 see=LNK1 ATTR=bad=CTR accompany=or UAI1 rock some maybe
ki-fasu ho’o=ni to-dasa=fata fi hau mei.
3:POSS-skin some=CTR accompany.RD=fall=COND 1pi NSIT take
‘Having cleaned them, we look, and if there are bad ones mixed in, or maybe some stones or some empty skins have fallen in, we take them out.’

Hau mei=ni | uai=te’e mei=ni pusisi.’
all take=LNK1 CLS=after take=LNK1 pan-at
‘Having taken them out, we put them in a pan.’

Hau mei pusisi’=ini fi hai... hau pane.
all take pan-at=LNK1 1pi NSIT all wash
‘Having put them in a pan, we wash them.’

Hau pane=ni | ki-ira hau kalin | ki=pa’uk=uai ki... ira
all wash=LNK1 3:POSS-water all pour.out ATTR=bad=REL 3:POSS- water

k-ua’=ini hai la’a-la’a ere fi were hau dasa-la’a.
3:UND-on.top=LNK1 NSIT RDL-move 1DEM 1pi 2DEM all throw.out-move
‘Having washed them, we throw out the water, and the bad ones which were floating about on the surface, we throw those away.’
Hau dasa-la’a=ni | uai=te’e=si... fi ira ki=selu teni na’a.muni
all throw.out-move=LNK1 CLS=after=LNK2 1pi water ATTR=other again in.turn

mei isi’.
take at
‘Having thrown them away, after that we take different water and put it in (the pan) again.’

Ira selu muni mei isi’ ere | roual.
water other return take at 1DEM many.NONHUM
‘The different water that we put inside should be a lot.’

Ira... nomohaka ka’u-ka’u=hi’a mei isi’=po | roual mei isi’=ini
water CLS=NEG RDL=small=only take at=ADV R many.NONHUM take at=LNK1

ka’u=te’e ira isi-sat.
small=after water at:RED-dry:BD
‘The water... don’t put in only very little, but put in a lot, and after a short while the water dries up inside.’

Ira mara=ni isi-sat=ini | fi ena=po | hai dafut | hai
water go=LNK1 at:RED-dry:BD=LNK1 1pi see=ADV R NSIT cooked NSIT
dafut=po ni’isi ira uari roual=fata | fi ni’isi uari hein.
cooked=ADV R simultaneous water still many.NONHUM=COND 1pi simultaneous still wait
‘Then when the water dries up inside, we look if (the beans) are already done, and if they are done but there is still a lot of water, then we still wait.’

Hein=ini | ira hai sa’a-fa... ira... turu-sa-sat=ini
wait=LNK1 water NSIT what:BD-FA water follow:RED-RDL-dry:BD=LNK1

isa=ni hai ka’u-ka’u | hai na’u ni-ropa’ uai=n=afta
go.down=LNK1 NSIT RDL=little NSIT just NEG=many CLS=LNK1=COND

uai=te’e=si... fi... [e... kasi lema’ ka’u-ka’u mei isi’ | kasi ka’u-ka’u
CLS=after=LNK2 1pi salt sweet RDL=little take at salt RDL=small
mei=ni isi’ | uai=te’e dudu-ira mei=ni isi’.
take=LNK1 at CLS=after breast-water take=LNK1 at
‘We wait, the water dries up continuously and goes down, and when there is very little left, in that case we put in a little bit of sugar and a little bit of salt, and then we put in milk.’
Uai=ni  irau=taa  k-ua-ne-daru=ni  ka’ir-ka’u
CLS=LNK1  3s=PURP  3:UND-en.top:RED-V2DEM:RED-position:BD=LNK1  RDL=small

mu’it=ete=si  uai=te’e  fi  mei  rei-daru.
long.time=after=LNK2  CLS=after  1pi  take  outwards-position:BD
‘And we let it stand there (on the fire), and after a little while we take it out.’

Hai  hau  mere’.
NSIT  all  2DEM.V
‘This is it.’
Text 3: The history and traditions of Iliomar

An account of the local customs
Speaker: Alexandre Serba Rosa
Age: 30
Origin: Pusira (Osuira)
Date of recording: March 10, 2007

Makalero speakers are very eager for the customs of Iliomar to be transmitted and recorded. The central pillar of these customs is the marriage procedure, including the bride wealth, and a number of texts focus exclusively on these. The present text also includes a short account of the early history and development of Iliomar in the first part, and a résumé on the respective obligations of the wife-giver and the wife-taker clans in an event of death at the end.

Iliomar ki-lafu-lafu’ ere | hana’e | aira ki=tu tu-pere tu-selar
I. 3:POSS-RDL-live 1DEM REM.PT year ATTR-first-big.SG first-big-PL-BD

er e lolo=e’ | suku u=hi’a.
1DEM say=CMPL suco one=only
‘The history of Iliomar, a long time ago, in the first years, the ancestors said there was only one suco.’

Mara=ni uere ki-mini=na’apo | tu-selar=ee mi-puna |
go=LNK1 2DEM 3:POSS-follow=afterwards first-big-PL-BD=DEF along:RED-look

reufuku Iliomar ere hau rial | hai hau pere | depois mara uere
population I. 1DEM all many.HUM NSIT all big.SG afterwards go 2DEM

ki-mini | renu ere hai rial=anapo uera ere | amulafu
3:POSS-follow population 1DEM NSIT many.HUM=afterwards 3p 1DEM person

ni-renu ere hai pati | pati=ni mei=ni meih=ini | suku lima
REFL-population 1DEM NSIT divide divide=LNK1 take=LNK1 two.HUM-CTR suco five

kini.
do
‘After that, the ancestors looked over (it and saw that) the population of Iliomar was very numerous and very big, and after the population had become numerous, they divided their subjects; they divided them and the two of them formed five sucos out of them.’

1⁹⁸ An administrative unit of East Timor.
Suku lima kini | liurai Lliomar ki-mata-r | amu itu uere=ni |
  suco five do king 1. 3.POSS-child-PL person three.HUM 2DEM-CTR

ukun.
rule

‘They made five sucos, and it was the king of Lliomar’s three children who ruled (them).’

Amu itu uere ki-nei | liurai Fereira | liurai Juau | liurai...
person three.HUM 2DEM 3.POSS-name king F. king J. king

Pedru.
P.

‘These three people’s names were king Fereira, king João, and king Pedro.’

Mara uera uere ukun=anapo | mi-puna renu ere hai hau
go 3p 2DEM rule=afterwards along:RED-look population 1DEM NSIT all

rial.
many.HUM

‘Then, after they had ruled, they looked over (it and saw that) the population was already very numerous.’

Hau rial=anapo uere ki-mini | kilooraa fali-diar=ini |
  all many.HUM=afterwards 1DEM 3.POSS-follow 3p together:RED-sit.PL=LNK1

uai=te’e=si | suku ere u teni lolo=ni | uai=ni=konai kilooraa
CLS=after=LNK2 suco 1DEM one again=LNK1 CLS=LNK1=CSQ 3p

fali=ini | suku douh.
together=LNK1 suco six

‘It was very numerous, so then they sat down together and talked about one more suco, so as a consequence they would be six sucos all together.’

Uere ki-mini | ma’u=ni ere’ ta-rata’-la’a | suku douh uere hai
2DEM 3.POSS-follow come=LNK1 1DEM.V near-arrive-move suco six 2DEM NSIT

tepa k-ta-kesi=ni | na’u tepa’.
constant 3:UND-on.top:RED-lock=LNK1 just continuous

‘After that up to the present, these six villages persist.’
Uere’=ini fali’=ini lolo=ni | uai=ni=konai Iliomar ere ki-nei |
2DEM.V=LNK1 together=LNK1 say=LNK1 CLS=LNK1=CSQ 1. 1DEM 3:POSS-name
tamu=ni Iliomar...=ua.. sede Loospalos ere ki-renu.
name=LNK1 1. =REL jurisdiction L. 1DEM 3:POSS-population
‘Then they got together and talked, and as a consequence they gave Iliomar its
name, the population of Iliomar, which is in the sphere of influence of Loospalos.’

Uere’ meke’=ini ere ta-ma’u | mara=ni | fi ni ukun.
2DEM.V break.up=LNK1 1DEM near-come go=LNK1 1pi REFL rule
‘Starting from that time until now, we are independent.’

Ni ukun=ee ta-rata’-la’a | fi... hai ma’u=ni ni ukun=ee-mutu-rata’ |
REFL rule=DEF near-arrive-move 1pi NSIT come=LNK1 REFL rule=DEF-inside:RED-arrive
rouala-uala=ni hai e’ | mara=ni fi hai ma’u=ni |
RLDL-NONHUM=LNK1 NSIT V1DEM go=LNK1 1pi NSIT come=LNK1
iskola=oo loke | saude k-isi’ | fi hai mutu-laifu’ | po lafu
school=too open health 3:UND-belong 1pi NSIT inside:RED-live ADV life
ki=muit ki=ti ere fi ni’isi na’u tepa nese-ne’et
ATTR-long.ago ATTR=first 1DEM 1pi simultaneous just constant aim:at:RED-think
na’u tepa ha’e-ne’et | uere’=ini taure’ | uere’=ini fi
just constant light(?)-think 2DEM.V=LNK1 which 2DEM.V=LNK1 1pi
ta halin ta lepa | ta nese-ne’et | uai=konai fi fali’=ini
REC come.together REC middle(?) 1DEM.REC aim.at:RED-think CLS=CSQ 1pi together=LNK1
sirvisu na’a-mei ere | rau famu-utu-la’a.
work work-take 1DEM good face-block-move
‘We are independent until now, and (when) we became independent, there were
many things already here, and then we opened schools and health institutions and we
live in it’\(^{10}\), but we keep remembering and thinking about life in the old days and
what it was like; it was (such that) we were united and cared for one another so that
we worked together and went forward and progressed.’

\(^{10}\) This appears to refer to the independence, making the expression mutu-laifu’ ‘live in it’ parallel to the
earlier ni ukun=ee-mutu-rata’ ‘(we) arrived at independence’.
[A...] istoria... uere ki-mi... rata=ua ere’ ki-mini ere  lafu=ua
story 2DEM 3:POSS-... story=REL 1DEM.V 3:POSS-follow 1DEM  live=REL

Lliomar k-isi’
era 3:UND-belong 1DEM 1s say=INT 1s perhaps take=LNK1
| ani lolo=na’a | ani tone’ mei=ni

rau-rau-mi-ne’et=ete  | uai=te’e=si ani tone’ lolo.
RDUR-good-along:RED-think=after  CLS=after=LNK2 1s perhaps say
‘The continuation of this story about the history of Lliomar, I would like to tell (it),
but I will think it through thoroughly first, and only then will I tell it.’

Lliomar lafu’=ere  | tufuraa namiraa | fanaraa mata namiraa | ta
I. live=DEF woman man young woman child man  REC

heiti=na’a  ta mei=na’a  | ki-ni  ki-upa  fidi-diari=ini
ask=INT  REC take=INT  3:POSS-mother 3:POSS-father together:RED-sit.PL=LNK1

ta-asu lolo  | ki-uru  ki-uatu  kae  ki-pasar  kae  | uai=te’e=si  uera
REC-for say  3:POSS-moon 3:POSS-day set 3:POSS-week set  CLS=after=LNK2 3p
era  dadau mei=ini ta mei.
1DEM must two.HUM=LNK1 REC take
‘The traditions of Lliomar, if a woman and a man, a girl and a boy want to get
married, their parents sit down together and talk to each other to set the month and
the day and the week, and only then can the two of them get married.’

Uere-laa tufuraa u namiraa u ta mei=na’a=ere  | tufuraa namiraa
2DEM.PL woman one man one REC take=INT=COMEPL  woman man

ki-ni  ki-upa  dadau fidi-diari=ini  | lolo-ini parlaki

ni-teuh ni-elin mei=ni  ta-asu lolo  | uai=te’e=si mei=ni uere
REFL-buy REFL-price take=LNK1 REC-for say  CLS=after=LNK2 two.HUM 2DEM

mei=ni  | tata-hau-ari=ni  | mei=ni eri fali-lau’.
take=LNK1 unite-all-release=LNK1 two.HUM 1DEM together:RED-live
‘If they, a woman and a man, want to get married, both their parents have to sit
down together and talk, to discuss the dowry with each other, after that the two of
them are released (by their families) to be united and the two of them live together.’
Meih=ua  fali-lafu’  ere=ni  taure’  |  uere’=ini=ua  lafu’=ua...
two.HUM=REL  together.RED-live  1DEM=CTR  which  2DEM.V=CTR=REL  live=REL
lafu’=ua  fali’=ini  omar  u  lopu  u  k-ia’=ini=ua
RDL-live=REL  together=LNK1  stilt.house  one  house  one  3:UND-under=LNK1=REL
turu-lafu’=ana  ere  turu-la’a=na’a  ere  k-isi’.
continue.RED-live=INT  1DEM  continue.RED-move=INT  1DEM  3:UND-belong
‘What is the couple’s living together like? It is about living together under one roof
and continue life (have children).’

Po  fi-ni  fi-upa  na’u  tera  nese-ne’et  lolo=ee  |  fi-ni
ADVR  1pi-mother  1pi-father  just  constant  aim.at:RED-think  say=CMPL  1pi-mother
fi-upa  ere  hana’e  kole  |  maka  |  uere’=isi-uai’  k-asu  kuda
1pi-father  1DEM  REM.PT  tired  tired  2DEM.V=at:RED-V2DEM  3:UND-for  horse
arapan  lauan  |  uere’=mei=ni  |  tusuraa  ere  ki-ha’auein  li’an=ete
buffalo  money  2DEM.V  take=LNK1  woman  1DEM  3:POSS-place  fall=after
ki-ha’auein-surir=te’e=si  uai=te’e  |  namiraa  |  ki-ni  ki-upa
uere  uai=te’e  ma’i=ni  ni-asu  |  fanaraa  ere  ko-horu
2DEM  CLS=after  come=LNK2  REFL-for  young.woman  1DEM  3:UND-with
ni-omar-isi-la’a.
REFL-stilt.house=at:RED-move
‘Our parents kept thinking (about us), and they said they used to be tired and
exhausted (caring for us), so in this situation, (we) take horses, buffaloes and money
to replace the girl, and after that, the man’s parents come and take the young girl
with them to go to their house.’

Fanaraa  hau  ko-horu  ni-omar-isi-la’a=na’apo  |  uatu  fitu
young.woman  all  3:UND-with  REFL-stilt.house=at:RED-move=afterwards  day  seven
kamu  fitu  hau-sai’  |  ki-ni  ki-upa  |  kola  utur  rapi
night  seven  all-finished:BD  3:POSS-mother  3:POSS-father  tais  men’s.tais  women’s.sarong
paata  |  pai  |  uere’=mei=ni  |  ki-omar-isi-la’a
men’s.sarong  pig  2DEM.V  take=LNK1  3:POSS-stilt.house=at:RED-move
ki-hi’ar-li-la’a
3:POSS-street-sideways.RED-move  2DEM.V=CTR=REL  say=LNK1
‘After they go to their house with the girl, and then seven days and seven nights
have passed, (then) her parents take women’s and men’s tais200  and pigs and go to
her house; this is called barlak.’

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200 Traditional woven cloth.
Uere’ teni ki-mini | uatu fitu kanu fitu | ki-hi’a
2DEM.V again 3:POSS-follow day seven night seven 3:POSS-street

hau-afi-la’a=na’a apo | uai=te’e=si | k-asu | ki-nua-nua | teli
all-sideways:RED-move=afterwards CLS=after=LNK2 3:UND-for 3:POSS-RED-eat maize

ale muuta’u same mu’u | uere la’ane’ mei=ni | tufur mata ere
rice taro sweet potato banana 2DEM various take=LNK1 sister child 1DEM

ta’aua’=isi uai=te’e k-asu | hutir mei=ni kini.
?=LNK2 CLS=after 3:UND-for knife take=LNK1 give.to 3:UND
‘Following that, after seven days and seven nights they go to her house, and afterwards they bring food for her, (such as) maize, rice, taro, sweet potatoes, bananas, they bring this to the girl and then they\(^{201}\) give them the hutir (knife).’

Hutir ere | aire’ hai muni nomohaka hutir=po | hai muni | osan
knife 1DEM now NSIT return CLS.NEG knife=ADVR NSIT return money

mei=ni | ki-ha’auein-isi.
take=LNK1 3:POSS-place-at
‘The hutir is now no longer a knife, but money, which is used in its place.’

Teni muni | fi=ua lafu’=ini=ua la’a=ni umu-ata-la’a ere | lliomar
again return 1pi=REL live=LNK1=REL move=LNK1 die-contact:RED-move 1DEM I.

ere | ki-lafu’ ere | ta helu-helur | uai=ni=si | omaraha=ni
1DEM 3:POSS-live 1DEM REC RDL-change CLS=LNK1=LNK2 bride.givers=CTR

umu tuumata dukau | pai mei k-ou-seman arapau mei
die bride.takers must pig take 3:UND-towards:bring:BD buffalo take

k-ou-seil | pipi mei k-ou-seil.
‘And then again, when we lived up to the point where we reach death, the traditions of lliomar (are such that we have to) replace (things) to each other, so when someone of the wife’s family dies, the husband’s family has to bring pigs, buffaloes and goats there.’

Omaraha=ni... tuumata=ni umu omaraha k-asu kola | ki-nua-nua
wife.givers=CTR wife.takers=CTR die wife.givers 3:UND-for tais 3:POSS-RED-eat

ua’=ini ni-mata | ki-omar ki-lopu-isi-la’a.
‘The wife’s family... if someone from the husband’s family dies, the wife’s family has to bring tais and food to their child’s house.’

\(^{201}\) This seems to refer to the wife-taker clan (the family of the groom).
La’a uere ‘isi-uai’=ere | ki-mata tufuru | ki-paakin | 
ni-paaki-raa ni-mali-raa uere | pada=si ki-loru | ki-riaria
tara-lafi ere k-ia-uai-diar | uere ‘isi-uai’
noko nana | omar e’ uere du e’ uere k-is’
younger sibling older.sibling stilt.house V1DEM 2DEM roof V1DEM 2DEM 3:UND-belong
ere | na’a.muni | ni-omaraha ti’a-puna.
1DEM in.turn REFL-wife.givers towards-look
‘When they have arrived there, their daughter’s parents-in-law ask their family-in-law to sit in the house or the tent, and then the brothers and sisters who originate from that house in turn observe the wife-giver family.’

Nua nomo nu=oo | ki-paakin ki-mali ere=ni
eat NEG eat-too 3:POSS-parent.in.law 3:POSS-sibling.in.law 1DEM CTR
uai’=ni ena.
V2DEM=LNK1 see
‘Whether they eat or not, their in-laws are there and see it.’

Po | tufur mata=ua’a muak total ere k-is’ ere | nami
ADVIR sister child=REL village entire 1DEM 3:UND-belong 1DEM male
noko nami nana haka-hau ina mei is’i-puna | uali mei
younger sibling male elder.sibling all-all eye take at:RED-look ear take
isi-liar | uai=ni=konai nua nomo nua kopa-hau k-ua’sa’en
at:RED-perceive CLS=LNK1=CSQ eat NEG eat all-all 3:UND-on.top:RED-know
k-ua-sofe.
3:UND-on.top:RED-know:BD
‘So the girl and the entire clan, the male siblings all observe them so that they know if they eat or not.’
Po tufur mata ere nomo k-ua... nua-ini ira ke’ nomo nua
ADVR sister child 1DEM NEG 3:UND-on.top:RED eat:do:BD water drink NEG eat
nomo ke’=a-hta  | muni la’a  | ni-omar  | ni-lupu-isi=ere  | fi=ua’a
NEG drink=COND return move REFL-stilt.house REFL-house-at:COMPL 1pi=REL
ki-upa   ki-isarami ere  | fi muni mei=ni rau-suma.
3:POSS-father 3:POSS-brother 1DEM 1pi return take=LNK1 good:angry:BD
{(But the girl doesn’t…) eating and drinking water, if they don’t eat and drink, they
will be angry with us, who are their parents and their siblings, when they go back to
their houses.)

Uere’-isi-uai’  | ta mei rau-suma=na’apo  | lolo-ini roul
2DEM.V-at:RED-V2DEM REC take good:angry:BD=afterwards say:NML many:NONHUM
k-ua-rei-misa  | ho’onese la’a=ni  | ta-horu nomo rau.
3:UND-on.top:RED-outwards-go:up IPF move=LNK1 REC-with NEG good
‘In this situation, (we) are angry with one another, and many words come up and
sometimes (we can end up) hating each other.’

Ni-noko  | ni-nana  | ko-horu nomo rau  | ni-omaraha
REFL-younger.sibling REFL-elder.sibling 3:UND-with NEG good REFL-wife.givers
ni-tuunata ko-horu nomo rau  | mara=ni hi’a=ee-isi-dou=anapo
REFL-wife.takers 3:UND-with NEG good go=LNK1 street=DEF-at:RED-break.up=afterwards
fi ta hai nomo isi-la’a  | ta hai nomo nese-ne’et.
1pi REC NSIT NEG at:RED-move REC NSIT NEG aim.at:RED-think
‘(We end up) hating our brothers and sisters, or our wife-giver families and wife-
taker families, and the way (between us) might be broken so that we don’t visit one
another any more and are not thinking about one another any more.’

U teni lafu-lafu’=ua ira pure ama paim ki-kata-la’a
one again RDL-live=REL paddy cultivate garden tear.out 3:POSS-3:UND-contact:RED-move
fi-dada  fi-upa  | fi-namu  fi-hoden  | hana’e fi-asu
1pi-grandparent 1pi-father 1pi-great.grandparent 1pi-great.grandparent REM.PT 1pi-for
lolo fi fana ere fani-lolo.
say 1pi teach 1DEM like:RED-say
‘There is one more thing about agricultural customs that our grandparents and fathers
and our ancestors used to tell us and teach us, saying like this.’
"Ira ere mei=ni fuli-pure | ama ere mei=ni
paddy 1DEM take=LNK1 together:RED-cultivate garden 1DEM take=LNK1"

"fuli-paun | uai=ni=konai | ira ama ta-mi-sai’ | lofo
together:RED-tear.out CLS=LNK1-CSQ paddy garden near-along:RED-finished:BD enclosure"

"dana ta-mi-sai’ | uai=te’e=si fi fuli-na’a-mei |
garden near-along:RED-finished:BD CLS=after=LNK2 ‘Ipi together:RED-work-take"

"fuli-sirvisu | uere’=ini na’u tepa ta ha’e-ne’et ta nexe-ne’et |
together:RED-work 2DEM.V=CTR just constant REC light(?)=think REC aim.at:RED-think"

"ki-amelafu.
3:POSS-person"

‘(We) cultivate the paddy together and work in the garden together, so we demarcate
the paddies and the gardens and the enclosure and then we work together and labour
together; in this way, (we are) people who keep thinking about each other and
remember each other.’
Text 4: My life
A life story
Speaker: Filomena Seixas
Age: 32
Origin: Lliomar I
Date of recording: May 1, 2007

Personal memoirs are the most common text genre in the Makalero corpus that this thesis is based on. Pervasive themes in such texts are the Indonesian occupation and the guerilla war as well as poverty; the present example is a rather short and basic account and features only the last of these topics. Note that the speaker was about to end her narration with a closing sentence (ele uere ‘it is only this’) when she changed her mind and added another couple of sentences.

Ani pertama lafu’ | ani hau kasi an | asi-ni | asi-upa | kasi an.
1s first live 1s all poor 1s:POSS-mother 1s:POSS-father poor
‘(When) I first lived, I was very poor, and my parents were poor.’

[M.] ani mara=ni pere | asi-ni | asi-upa | ani mei
1s go=LNK1 big:SG 1s:POSS-mother 1s:POSS-father 1s take
iskola-isi-sur | ani ki-kutu ki-kasi=oo na’an.
school-at:RED-release:BD 1s 3:POSS:3:UND-wear 3:POSS-take.off=too NEG.EX
‘When I grew up, my parents sent me to school, (but) I... there weren’t even clothes (for me).’

Ani iskola=ni la’a=ni | SD202 tamat | ani la’a SMP203
1s school=LNK1 move=LNK1 elementary:school graduate 1s move junior:high:school

[e... k-ua-iskola=na’a na’an.
UND-on.top.RED-school=INT NEG.EX
‘I went to school and then I graduated from primary school and then I went (on) to junior high school, and then I wanted to continue schooling, but didn’t.’

Osan=oo na’an.
money some NEG.EX
‘(We had) no money either.’

202 SD is short for sekolah dasar, the elementary school in the Indonesian education system.
203 SMP is short for sekolah menengah pertama, the junior high school in the Indonesian education system.
Appendix 1: Text samples

Uai=t’e isi-nuak-matu’=ee ki-isa haka-hau ini nomo tutu |
CLS=after 1pe:POSS-clan-inside=CMPL 3:POSS-condition all-all 1pe NEG like

tafì-taì isi-nì isi-upa ere=hi’a=ni ki-isa ini tutu.
RDL-true 1pe:POSS-mother 1pe:POSS-father 2DEM=only=CTR 3:POSS-condition 1pe like
‘And then in our clan, no-one liked us, really it was only our parents who liked us.’

Amuni ki-sa’o=sa’a ho’o=ni molu=oo ini=ni nomo mei=oo | mei.
person 3:POSS-RDL-thing some=CTR lose=too 1pe=CTR NEG take=too take
‘If someone lost something, even though it wasn’t us who had taken it, (they said we) had taken it.’

[E...] ele uere’.
only(?) 2DEM.V
‘It is only this.’

U teni | ani la’a=ni iskola | SMP hau tamat ani nomo
one again 1s move=LNK1 school junior.high.school all graduate 1s NEG

k-ua-iskola.
3:UND-on.top:RED-school
‘One more thing, I went to school and graduated from junior high school, but I didn’t continue schooling.’

Osan=ini na’an asi-ni asi-upa ki… hul nomo ue’
money=CTR NEG.EX 1s:POSS-mother 1s:POSS-father 3:POSS- able NEG V2DEM

uai=ni=si ani nomo tutur=ini ani nomo k-ua-iskola.
CLS=LNK1=LNK2 1s NEG push=LNK1 1s NEG 3:UND-on.top:RED-school
‘(We) didn’t have money, my parents couldn’t afford it so they didn’t support me and I didn’t continue schooling.’

Uai=konai=ni ani SMP=hi’a tamat | ani aire’rei-misa=ni |
CLS-CSQ=LNK1 1s junior.high.school-only graduate 1s now onwards-go.up=LNK1

la’a=ni | hamar.
move=LNK1 married
‘For this reason, I finished junior high school only, and then I got out and got married.’
Amuni ni-asu ma’u=ni ani mei=si ani la’a=ni amuni ki-omar-isi’ | 
person REFL-for come=LNK1 1s take=LNK2 1s move=LNK1 person 3:POSS-stilt.house-at

amuni ki-omar-isi’=oo ki-isa ani nomo tutu. 
person 3:POSS-stilt.house-at=too 3:POSS-condition 1s NEG like
‘Someone came to marry me and I went to live at that person’s house, but at his house too, they didn’t like me.’

Uai=ni=si ini ni-asu [e...] usaha=ni | alaka’.
CLS=LNK1=LNK2 1pe REFL-for open.a.business=LNK1 far
‘So then we opened a business for ourselves and live far away.’

Sudah.
already
‘That’s it.’
Appendix 2: Makalero-English word list

A - a

-a'a  vd. put on. See: (k)-a'a.

aalaka  n. k.o. bamboo. Used to make walls for houses.

aalasa  n. k.o. tree. Used to make an alcoholic beverage from.

aarua  n. orphan.

aarmadila  n. separating wall. Aarmadila un=ini hai k-utu-nat=isi uai=konai=ni ini nomo mara ma'u. There is a separating wall blocking the way, so that we don't visit any more. From: Portuguese armadilha 'trap'?


abó  n. grandfather. From: Portuguese avô 'grandfather'.

afif  n. produce. See: uta; lor.

afis  n. rain. See: uta; lor.

aeropu  n. airport. From: Portuguese aeroporto 'airport'.

=a'ata  clit. IMM (immediate action). See: =fa'a.

=a'ata-  vd. away from, leave. See: (k)-a'ata.

afi  n. fish. Afi nama-se-se'el  flying fish. Lit: 'fish that repeatedly jumps upwards'. See: nama'; he'el.

=afi  vd. sideways, to the side. Reduced form: -afi-. See: (k)-afi'.

=afiná  va. finally. From: Portuguese afinal 'finally'.

=afo  vd. eight.


afitane'  va. Variant: afatane'. PAST. A general past, neither recent nor remote. Ei afitane' ani ara-uan-mutu-li'an. You threw me into a buffalo pen before.

=afu  vd. carry (a child), with. See: (k)-afu.

afunasi  vd. pregnant. Papa uere amuní Loospala ki-mata u mei afunasi-kini. The Indonesian got a girl from Lospalos pregnant.

afur  n. body. Afur is also used as a classifier for relatively big, roughly round things (e.g. cakes, papaya fruits). Iskudu ru loloj dosi afur afu. Twenty escudos equalled 8 cookies.

=agora  va. now. From: Portuguese agora 'now'.

=ah  n. mango.

ahana'e  va. the day before yesterday, two days ago. See: hana'e.
ai'  
  
  v.d. Variant: e'. V1DEM. Speaker-related deictic verb. Reduced form: ai-, e-. Doutor uere hai Dili-isi-la'a ani e'. The doctor went to Dili and I was (stayed) here.

aihha  
  
  n. door. Aihha is likely a compound. The second syllable, -hha, is probably identical to ha'a 'mouth'; see e.g. Fataluku le o'o 'door' (lit. house mouth).

Aileberere  
  
  n. a toponym. situated in the Lliomar subdistrict. According to Chamberlain (2008), Aileberere is also the name of a clan. See: Leorai.

ailemi  
  
  v.d. sour.

ain  
  
  v.d. say, mean, QUOT (quotative). Possibly the lexical parallel to lolo 'say'. As a full verb, it is compatible with a complement clause extension and the complementiser =ee. Ili ain=ere uar. 'Ili' means stone.

Radius  
  
  c'=ini hai ude-leu Agapitu Barretu hai umu ain. The radio here called up there saying that Agapito Barreto had died.

Ainaro  
  
  n. a toponym. Capital of the Ainaro district.

aira  
  
  n. year.

aire'  
  
  va. now, just before. Irau aire' rei-misa. Don't go out now.

airula  
  
  va? until now. Also found combined with ate 'until' as ate airula. See: ate. Kasi ere hai mu'iti=isi uc'=ini airula uari tepa uc'. Kasi (an Indonesian soap opera) has been (on TV) long ago and still is until now.

aite'  
  
  va. REC.PT (recent past). Kilo aite' ni-mata pase. He just beat his child.

ajar  
  
  n. event, incident. Source unclear.

ajuda  
  

aka'  
  
  v.d. afraid, scared. ... ki-aka'=taa irau uc'. ... so that he doesn't have to be afraid. Pairs: masan.

amu aka'  
  
  ashamed. Can be constructed both as a a phrasal predicate and as a clause. See: amu.

akan  
  
  v.d. yawn.

Akara  
  
  n. a toponym. Situated in the Lliomar subdistrict.

akir  
  
  n. end. From: Indonesian akhir 'end, finish'.

-ako  
  
  v.d. steal. See: (k)-ako.

akontese  
  
  v.d. happen. From: Portuguese acontecer 'happen'.

akor  
  
  n. Variant: akor-teul. thief. The meaning of the element teul is unclear. See: (k)-ako; teul.

al  
  
  n. twins.

ala'  
  
  n. Variant: alah. forest.

ala-  
  
  va? far away. ala-la'a go far away ala-se'el jump far away. Also used with tia 'sleep' as ala-dia 'sleep soundly'. ala- is possibly a reduced form of alaka'. See: alaka'.

alaka'  
  
  v.d. far away. Reduced form: alaka-. Ate u mei=ni nana hau mei=ni ala-likut. (He) took a stick and chased the snake far away with it. Ala- may be a second reduced form of alaka'. See: ala-.

alapau  
  
  n. mind (?). Naikini ni popa mata-full'=ini isi-ne'et un alapau un... What's important is that the parents are together with the children and of one thought and in one mind...
aldeia n. village. An administrative unit below the suco level. See: sukú.  
From: Portuguese aldeia 'village'.

ale n. uncooked rice, hulled rice.

ale tafa hull rice, thresh rice. See: tafa.

alfersi n. office, function, duty, position. Source unclear.

-ali- vd. all over. See: (k)-ali-.

alin vd. carry (a bag).

altar n. altar. From: Portuguese, Indonesian, Tetum altar 'altar'.

alu n. head strap. Strap of a basket (na') worn around the forehead. Inalienable. See: na'.

ama n. garden, field. ama paun work in, cultivate a garden Pairs: ira. See: paun.

ama pau-paun farmer.


ama n. mum. Ama is found only once, and is replaced right afterwards by ina-ui. See: apa; ni; ina.

amaan n. gate.

amah n. breadfruit, artocarpus altilis.

amar vd. old. Used with [-HUM] nouns.

amat vd. carry thrown over the shoulder. Kiloo tuaila u amat. He had a towel thrown over the shoulder.

amin n. louse.

amu n. person. Generally used as a classifier for [+HUM] nouns or with some emotion predicates. See: aka'; ka'ar.


amu' vd. Variant: amuh. ripe, smelly. Found with maize and bananas. Note the parallel to (k)-amu', which suggests 'smell' is a rare case of a verb with labile transitivity. See: (k)-amu'; seta; titil. Amuni ki-teli amu' ani la'a=ni teli uere k-ako. (If) people's maize was ripe, I went and stole that maize.

-amu' vd. smell. See: (k)-amu'.

amuni n. person, human being.

amu-resin n. birthmark (?). Lit: 'amu 'person' + resin 'left over'?'. See: etu.


=anapo clit. afterwards. See: =na'apo.

ani pron. 1s.

animál n. animal. From: Portuguese animal 'animal'.


antigu vd? long ago. Hana' e mu'a antiqu=ere hala u=ce'. In former times, there was war. From: Portuguese antigo 'old, antique, former'.

apa n. psoriasis.

apa n. dad. Found only once; it was immediately afterwards replaced by upa-ui. See: ama; upa.

apadan n. window.

apika vd. apply, promote. From: Portuguese aplicar 'use, apply'.

ara n. gravel.

ara ki-su pebble. See: isu.

-ará suff. ASS.PL (associative plural). Used on personal names. Rare. Leni-ara na'a-muni Agustu-mi-naser. Leni and them on the other hand stood in a row behind Agusto.
arami vD phone. Source / original meaning unclear.
aran vD dry. Atu-uli uatu=nI aran=ete=si tafa. (We) dry the bark in the sun, and when it is dry, then (we) pound it.
masu aran thirsty. Lit: 'throat dry'. Masu is constructed as the subject of aran.
arapau n. buffalo. Reduced form: ara-.
ara-luan buffalo pen. See: luan.
ara-seur beef. See: seur.
Arapauluopu n. a toponym. Lit: 'buffalo-house'.
araraka vD be noisy.
arbiru vD. any, random. ...
amulafu nomo muni arbiru=taa helur. ... so that no random person replaces (him).
From: Portuguese arbitario 'arbitrary'.
are' vD. Variant: arch. dusk. Constructed with mu'a 'ground' as a subject. Mu'a hai are'. Night is falling. See: mu'a.
ari n. liver. Inalienable.
ari' n. root. Inalienable.
armari n. Variant: aramari. closet. From: Portuguese armario 'closet'.
asa n. bird, chicken.
asa nama-la'a bird. Lit: 'bird that goes upwards'. As opposed to asa 'chicken'.
asa-namu feather. Lit: 'bird-body hair'. See: namu.
asa-liah wing. See: liah.
asa-masu k.o. flute. Lit: 'bird-song'. Made from ulu' bamboo. See: masu; ulu'.
asaltu n. attack, assault. From: Portuguese assalto 'assault'.
asan vD. long, tall.
asar vD send. El-dada=ni ei-asar=isi ei dadau mei la'a uc'. It was your grandfather who sent you, so you have to take (them) there.
asi n. shrimp.
asi-poss.pron. 1s:POSS-.. asi asina vD. sign. From: Portuguese assinar 'sign'.
asir vD. restrain, keep back. Asi-pai-raa na'u tepa ani asir...
My relatives kept holding me back...
ason n. witch, sorceress.
asu n. flea.
asu vD. for. See: (k)-asu.
ata n. fire.
ata-ho'o flame. Could ho'o possibly be cognate with the determiner ho'o? See: ho'o.
ata-teur smoke. See: teur.
ata-li'a fireplace, cooking zone. The meaning of li'a is unclear.
ata-uru December. Lit: 'fire-month'. According to speakers, there are many forest fires in December. See: uru.
ata n. firewood.
ata' vD. angry. Generally used as a phrasal predicate with fanu 'face'. See: fanu.
ata'- vD. be in physical contact, stick to. Reduced form: -ata-. See: (k)-ata'.
atai vD. hatch.
atana n. herder. From: Tetum atan 'slave, servant'.
atanana va. first. Uai-te'e klas ki-atanana uere tama. After that (I) entered first grade.
ata'u  v.d. all. A floating quantifier; can be used within the VP or without it.
ate  n. tree, wood.
  ate-fu  flower.
  ate-fun  tree trunk, tree. See: fun.
  ate-furu  dead tree, stick. The meaning of the element furu is unclear.
ate-hasa  leaf, foliage, medicine. See: hasa.
  ate-isu  fruit. See: isu.
  ate-lepen  board, plank. See: lefen.
  ate-patan  tree trunk that has been felled, uprooted. See: patan.
  ate-poka  chest, coffer. See: poka.
  ate-tatu  piece of wood. Can refer to a piece of wood of the size of a splinter as well as to a board. See: tatu.
  ate-tene'  levelling board. The meaning of tene' is unclear.
  ate-ual  statue. The meaning of ual is unclear.
ate  conj. until. From: Portuguese até 'until'.
  ate a data  until now. See: airula.
ate  n? a unit of ten. Possibly related to ate 'wood'. See: ate.
ate  u  ten. See: u.
ate  lolo  twenty. See: lolo.
ate  fat  forty. See: fat.
  ate-matu  n. cassava. Lit: 'tree-tuber'. See: matu.
aten  n. thigh. Inalienable.
Atenuur  n. a toponym. Situated in the Lliomar subdistrict (?).
  Pairs: Komil.
  ate-ra'ab litì  n. k.o. lizard. ate 'tree', raka 'finger', litì unclear.
  -ati-  v.d. downwards. See: (k)-ati-.
  atih  n. front beam of a loom, at the end where the weaver sits. The backstrap is attached to the atih.
  atu  n. faeces. The initial vowel is occasionally lengthened (holds also for all compounds with atu).
  atu-matar  intestines. Lit: 'faeces-children'. See: mata; -r.
  uali-atu  earwax. See: uali.
    Liurai ki-kuda atu' kiloo ki-kuda uere ki-atu loka.
    (When) the king's horse defecated, he wrapped up the horse's faeces.
  atuhana'e  va. three days ago. See: hana'e.
  aumenta  v.d. augment, add.
    Asi-ma'en aumenta. Increase my knowledge. From: Portuguese aumentar 'raise, add'.
aviaun  n. airplane. From: Portuguese avião 'airplane'.

B - b

Ba'agia  n. Variant: Ba'aka;
  Pa'akia. a toponym. Capital of the Bagua subdistrict of the Baucau district.
  badaen  n. Variant: padaen;
  padain. expert. From: Tetum badain 'clever, expert'.
  tana-badaen  healer, witch-doctor.
  bahasa indonesia  n. Indonesian language. From: Indonesian:
bahasa Indonesia 'Indonesian language'.
bainaka n. guest. See: konvidatu.
From: Tetum bainaka ‘guest, visitor’.
Bairupite n. a toponym. An urban district of Dili.
balija n. Variant: baliza. boundary.
From: Portuguese baliza ‘gateway, buoy’.
bandu n. Variant: tara-bandu.
Taboo. The meaning of the element tara is unclear.
Tara-bandu tradisaun u we'.
There is a taboo and a tradition.
bare bere n. November. Bare was translated into Indonesian as kemara ‘dry season', although this lexeme is not found anywhere else in the corpus. Bare presumably corresponds to pere 'big'. Note that the names of months conform to a special phonological subsystem distinguishing itself from the normal one through the presence of the voiced plosive [b]. See: bare bere; mata.
bare mata n. October. Bare was translated into Indonesian as kemara, although this lexeme is not found anywhere else in the corpus. Mata refers to the young of a species and contrasts in this context with bere in bare bere, thus bare mata is 'small bare' and bare bere is 'big bare'. Note that the names of months conform to a special phonological subsystem distinguishing itself from the normal one through the presence of the voiced plosive [b]. See: bare bere; mata.
barlake n. Variant: parlake.
batsimu n. baptism. From: Portuguese batismo ‘baptism’.
beik vd. Variant: peik. stupid. From: Tetum beik 'stupid'.
bero n. k.o. small boat. From: Tetum bero ‘small boat, canoe’.
besi n. iron. Used only in the context of weightlifting. See: mumu'.
besi hema-heman weightlift
From: Indonesian besi ‘iron’.
biafa? Variant: biasanya. usually, normally. From: Indonesian bias(a)nya ‘usually’.
bis n. bus. From: Indonesian bis ‘bus’.
Buabere n. a clan name. According to Chamberlain (2008).
butaun n. button. From: Portuguese botão ‘button’.
C - c

cek  vd. check. From: Indonesian cek 'check' (ultimately English check).

cerita n. rata. story. From: Indonesian cerita 'story'.

D - d

da'a  vd. talk about (?).
da'ad  vd. all together. Uera-laa meih c' ata'u dada-k-ali-puna. The two of them are here and look around them together.

da'ad  n. grandparent, grandchild. Dada la'it, with the addition of la'it 'old' and dada su'ul, with the addition of su'ul 'young', may be used to disambiguate the reciprocal meaning of dada. Fidada 'our grandfather' is a taboo term for 'crocodile'. See: la'it; su'ul. dada-ua'ei namiraa grandfather. See: namiraa; -uai.
da'ad-ua'ei tufuraa grandmother. See: tufuraa; -uai.

da'dau  vd. Variant: daudau; dodau; dau. must. Used with a complement clause extension without any overt marking. Dadau does not seem to be compatible with any verbal modifiers, but may be negated with the clausal negator nomohaka. See: nomohaka; tenki. Ei da'dau ni-pada hau haka... You have to look for your friend...
dadi  vd. worship. Refers to non-Christian (animist) practices. The undergoer is constructed in a verbal complement with isi-.
See: isi'. Hana'e mu'u-patan mei=ni isi-dadi... A long time ago, (they) took a the stem of a banana plant and worshiped it...
da'dil  vd. play a k.o. metal drum. See: tipal.
da'dorok  n. bed. Segmentation / source unclear.
-dafa  vd. pound (BD), prick (BD), prod (BD). See: tafa.
da'fan  n. heel. Inalienable. See: ia.
da'fut  vd. cooked. Ka'u=te'e ira isi-sat=ini fi ena=pou hai da'fut. In a while when the water has dried up, we look and it is already cooked / done.
da'i  n. net.
da'ai  vd. pass (through).
da'ai  n. king. The Tetum loan liurai is used much more frequently. See: liurai. Amuni dai=ni ma'u=ni renu ukun=ana. (He was) a king, so he came to rule the people.
da'ai-ate  n. sugar apple, sugar apple tree, annona squamosa. Lit: 'king-tree / net-tree (?)'.

APPENDIX 2: MAKALERO-ENGLISH WORD LIST
dai-hael n. yarn. Lit. 'net-cotton' ('?'). See: hael.
-daka v/d. close (BD). See: taka.
dakar v/d. step, walk. Namiraa-laa meih=ini k-asu tu-dakar. The
two men walk in front of them.
dame v/d. be peaceful, make peace. Ani so'o=ee fi meih=ini ma'u=ni
pas dame... I want the two of us
to make peace... Pairs: pas.
From: Tetum dame 'peace'.
-damu v/d. name (BD), call
(BD). See: tamu.
dana n. garden. Pairs: lofo.
dane v/d. move, manipulate, lift. atak
dane rob attack ira dane ama
dane cultivate maintain a garden
afu-dane touch ki-ke' ki-nua
k-ou-dane bring (earn) drink
and food ta seti-dane exchange
See: atak, ira, ama; (k)-afu, ta;
seti.
danik v/d. strong, vigorous. Pairs:
forit.
dansa v/d. dance. From: Portuguese
dançar 'dance', Tetum,
Indonesian dansa 'dance'.
dapur n. kitchen. From: dapur
'kitchen'.
dara n. town. Any urban centre, as
opposed to the countryside.
dara' n. gum tree, eucalyptus.
daran n. twig.
Darap'u n. a clan name.
Dare n. a toponym. An urban district
of Dili.
-daru v/d. put (BD), position (BD).
See: taru.
darunako v/d. dark blue.
Segmentation unclear.
dasa v/d. fall. Nua-ini ki-ula u
dasa=ni uere meli nua. (When)
a rice leftovers fell down, I
scavenged those and ate them.
Pairs: kori.
daik v/d. resent, hate. The undergoer is
constructed with (k)-asu 'for'.
Irau amuni k-asu dauk. Don't
resent people.
deu v/d. create. Asi ouar ani hai de.
My lord (God) created me.
dede v/d. implant, embed.
Uraakdapun mei=ni ma'u=ni
mu'u-patan dede... (They) took
palm fibres and embedded them
in the stem of the banana tree...
defu' v/d. break. Ki-tana defu'. His
arm is broken. Used only for
bones or limbs.
dei v/d. turn over earth, plough.
Using a stick or rod. Constructed
with mu'a 'ground' as an object.
Mu'a laki mu'a dei uai=ni=ni
fuli'=ini lara. (When they)
plough, they sing lara songs
-dekih v/d. lean on (BD), base on
(BD). See: tekih.
dekor v/d. memorise. From: Portuguese
decorar 'memorise'.
dele v/d. perform a dele burial song.
Preceded by a lailai song. See:
lilai.
Deni n. a clan name. According to
depois conj. afterwards. From:
Portuguese depois 'afterwards'.
der v/d. answer. Obligatorily takes a
verbal complement with isi-,
which may express the
undergoer or theme. der may
take a following complement
clause extension linked to it by a
clause linker such as =ini. See:
isi; =ini. Ani elehua
ki-lolo-ini-isi-der: uai=ini=po
ani uari mata ka'u... I replied
to the old man's words: but I am
still small...
dere  *vd.* knock. *aihā dere* knock at the door

derepenti  *va?* suddenly.
Sa' a-fani' = konai = ni fi aire' derepenti hai muni Dili-is-i-a' = na' a? Why are we now suddenly going back to Dili? *From:* Portuguese repente 'suddenly'.

-deri  *vd.* cut (BD), cut across (BD), kill (BD). *See:* teri.

-deru'  *vd.* shelter (BD). *See:* teru'.

desa  *n.* village. *From:* Indonesian desa 'village'.

deskansa  *vd.* rest. *From:* Portuguese descansar 'rest, relax'.

deskulpa  *va?* sorry.
deue  *vd.* borrow, owe. *Ani ni-ada u ki-osan deue...* I borrowed a friend's money... *From:* Portuguese dever 'must, owe'.

-deuh  *vd.* buy (BD). *See:* teuh.

-dl'  *vd.* Variant: dlh. pour (a drink) (BD). *See:* tl'.

-dia  *vd.* sleep (SG) (BD). *See:* tia.

-dl'al  *vd.* kick (BD). *See:* tl'al.

diar  *vd.* sit (PL). ministrum aire' = ua parlamento-isi-ufe-diar ministers who sit down there in parliament now *See:* mit.

dikar  *vd.* short. *Reduced form:* dika-.

isa dikar  lazy, bored. Isa dikar can either be constructed as a phrasal predicate or as a full clause, in which case isa functions as the subject and dikar as the predicate. *See:* isa.

ira dikar  cheap. Ira dikar can be constructed either as a full clause, with ira as the subject and dikar as the predicate, or as a phrasal predicate. *See:* ira.

diki  *n.* yarn. *diki ular* spin yarn *See:* ular.

diki-ate  stick around which the newly spun yarn is wound. *See:* ate.

dil  *vd.* be startled. *Kiloo ena = si hai na' u dil mari'*. She saw him and was startled and screamed.

dila  *n.* frog.

Dili  *n.* a toponym. The capital of East Timor, situated in the district of the same name.

dina  *vd.* cook (BD). *See:* tina.
diri'  *n.* k.o. tree.

Dirimuni  *n.* a clan name.

Dirnu  *n.* a toponym.
do'  *vd.* shake (a tree) to make fruit fall down.

-do'i  *vd.* dig (BD), make a hole (BD). *See:* to'i.
doil  *vd.* hang. *Ani ate = ee k-ata-doil.* I hung from the tree. *Ini ni-pada nomo k-ata-doil.* We are not dependent from our friends / equals.

doku  *vd.* spill, throw out. *Ira hai hau doku.* The water spilled.

Dolomara  *n.* a clan name. *Pairs:* Liusoru.
domin  *vd.* love. *From:* Tetum domin 'love'.

dominan  *vd.* dominate, rule over. *From:* Portuguese dominante 'dominate, ruling'.

-door  *suff.* NAG (agent noun suffix). The fact that the suffix is realised with a long vowel nucleus suggests it may be treated as a lexical morpheme of its own. *From:* Portuguese -dor (agent noun suffix).

dosi  *n.* dessert, cookie, cake. *From:* Portuguese doce 'dessert'.
dotór n. Variant: dotór. doctor. 
From: Portuguese doutor, Tetum doutór 'doctor'.
dout v.d. break (up),
du'ál v.d. drop, let go. Kiloo ni-ate hau du'ál. He dropped his (fishing) rod.
dudu v.d. Breastfeed. 'breast' if used as an argument.

dudu-isu nipple. See: isu.
dudu-ira milk. See: ira.
due v.d. ignite, smoke.
duh v.d. sting, bite. Fenu ere=haka sefar=ee ki-tana tou-duh. The turtle bites the dog's paw.
duir v.d. explode. See: fatit.
duka v.d. play cards.
dukal v.d. fall down with a thud or a hard impact.
duke ? (rather) than. Hau ki=rau ki=lolor lolo duke ki=lolo lolo.

It is better to speak the truth rather than to lie. From: Portuguese do que 'than' (with comparatives).

dukel v.d. tickle (?). Kiloo ani-eri-dukel. He tickled me suddenly.

dukul v.d. bow. Kiloo ni-nana taru=na'a nomo rau=si k-ua-dukul... She was going to bury her brother, but couldn't, and she was bowing over (his body)...

dula v.d. be dizzy, lose consciousness, pass out. Ini lepu'=hi'a=ni ini dula. We were hungry all the time and passed out.


-dupi v.d. pound (BD), thump (BD), hit (BD). See: tupi.
dur v.d. waken. Ani hai muni dur. I woke up again.

durupasa n. interpreter. From: Indonesian juru bahasa 'interpreter'.

---

e n. chest. Ani noko-rau=ua aite' lafu' ere ki-e-isi-lolo. I advise my younger siblings who were just born. Inalienable.
e' v.d. VIDEHM. Reduced form: e-. See: a'.
-e v.d. firm. See: (k)-e.
=ee clit. DEF (definiteness marker). Its exact function, as opposed to the demonstratives ere and ure as well as unmarked nouns,

requires further research. See: ere; ure.

=ee clit. CMPL (complementiser). The complementiser introduces the complement clause extension with number of verbs of saying, and is also used to mark adverbal clauses. See: -e'.

-e'e suff. in X days. ei-he'e the day after, tomorrow in two days itu-he'e in three days fat-e'e in four days. The element -(h)e'
may be related to the complementiser, which is also used to mark adverbial clauses. Ei is also found as 'the day after tomorrow' without the suffix -he'e. Note that ei is the reduced form of the numeral loloi. itu is the reduced as well as the [+HUM] form of the numeral lolitu. See: =ee; loloi; lolitu; itu; fat.

cetete v.d. cry (out).
ei v.d. two (reduced form). See: loloi.
ei' v.a. the day after tomorrow. Also found with the suffix -e'e as eihe'e, with the same meaning. Note that ei is the reduced form of the numeral loloi 'two'; see also itu-he'e 'in three days', which uses the reduced form of the numeral lolitu 'three'. See: -e'e; loloi; lolitu.

ei- poss.pron. 2s:POS.
ekonomi n. economy. From: Portuguese economia, Indonesian, Tetum ekonomi 'economy'.

ele v.a? only. Rare; found only with uere (2DEM) and uere' (V2DEM).

clehaa n. Variant: ele'aa. old man.

cleitu v.d. elected, chosen. From: Portuguese eleito 'elected'.


ki-teuh ki-elin bride price. See: barlak.

elo n. wave.

=elo clit. EXHORT (exhortative).

=elo is a request rather than a direct imperative, and is used when coaxing someone into doing something. Ni mei-ni rau-ena=elo! Take care of yourself!

cember n. bucket. See: paaldi.

From: Indonesian: ember 'bucket'.

Likely originally an argument-marking verb (k)-ena; in contemporary language use, however, the k-prefix ed form is used like a bound form. It is used to introduce the undergoer with mutu heke 'angry' and other emotion predicates. See: heke.

sa-ena be married, have a wife. with male subjects. See: sa.

mu'a-ena be married, have a wife. with male subjects. See: mu'a.

hani-ena be married, have a husband. with female subjects. See: hani.

cene v.d? around, about? cene-la'a go around cene-likut chase around

entaun conj. so, thus. From: Portuguese então 'so, at that time'.

entre conj. with. From: Portuguese entre 'between, among, with'.

entrega v.d. entrust. From: Portuguese entregar 'hand over, deliver'.


crau v.d. not allowed. See: irau.

det 1DEM. A demonstrative referring to locations close to the speaker. See: af'; c'ere.

cre' v.d. 1DEM.V. Derived from the speaker-related demonstrative ere. See: ere. Doutor ini leu ere=ni ere'e. The doctor we called is this one.

-eri- v.d. sudden (?). See: (k)-eri-.
Eropa n. Europe.
eropa n. Variant: eropa. sword, machete.
esar v.d. throw down forcefully. mu'a k-eta-esar throw to the ground forcefully
estraga v.d. dishonour. From: Portuguese estragar 'destroy, spoil'.
=eta clt. ETA. Meaning unknown.
=eta- v.d. break apart, impact forcefully. See: (k)-eta-.
=ete clt. after. See: =te'e.

ete- v.d. upwards. Mata-niki haka hau ete-naser. All the children got up. ete-la'a go up, climb
etu n. birthmark. See: amu-resin.
eu-laun n. September. Speakers translated eu as 'an oily substance found on a coconut shell'; the meaning of laun is unclear. The name of the month was explained as the time when the coconut shell gets shiny and secretes oil.

F - f

=fa'a clt. IMM (immediate action). Metathesised form: =afa. Ani nua-ini=fa'a ani ni-tana pane. (When) I'm about to eat, I wash my hands.
faarda n. uniform. From: Portuguese, Tetum farda 'uniform'.
faet v.d. waste.
fah n. arm. Lit: 'arm on the far side and on the near side of the body'.
fah ume-te'e e-te'e left and right arm
faian-kalantor n. February. Faian was translated as sedge, kalan as 'planting certain kinds of seeds'. Neither lexeme occurs independently in the corpus.
fain n. brother-in-law, sister-in-law. The spouse of one's spouse's opposite-sex sibling (?)
faka n. drinking place for livestock.
fala n. cat.
Falintil n. Falintil. An acronym of Forças Armadas de Liberação Nacional de Timor-Leste (National liberation of East Timor armed forces), the military wing of Fretilin. See: Fretilin.
falta v.d. lack. From: Portuguese faltar 'lack'.
falun v.d. sacred, taboo.
famila n. family, relatives. From: Portuguese, Tetum familia 'family'.
fan v.d. feed.
fana v.d. teach, convey (a message).
fana-nini school subject. See: kini.
fana-nini-door teacher, trainer. The Portuguese loan meestri 'teacher' is normally used. See: -door; meestri.
fanar n. female. For animals other than birds, where paru 'female' is used. See: paru; fanaraa.
fanaraa n. young, unmarried woman. Often heard as fanda or faanda. A similar phenomenon is found with nana 'elder sibling' and mali 'brother/sister-in-law' if pluralised. See: nana; mali.
fani v.d. tasty, nice, sweet. See: lema'.
fani' *vd.* Variant: fanih; pani'; panih. be like, alike, resemble. **Reduced form:** fani-, pani-. The p-initial forms are found only with the reciprocal pronoun ta.

*Mata-niki meihere ta-pani-asan.* Those two children are of the same height.

*fanu* *n.* face, front. Fanu is used as a subject with some physical state and emotion verbs.

*fanu-utu-la'a* fanu k-utu-la'a go forward advance progress **See:** la'a; (k-)utu-.

*fanu ata'* angry. Found only as a phrasal predicate. **See:** ata'.

*fanu lain* lose consciousness. Fanu is normally constructed as the subject to lain. **See:** lain.

*fanu-fanu* appearance, looks.

*fanu' *vd.? Variant: fanuh. all, total. **See:** felu.

*fara* *n.* ship.

*fara lo-lor* airplane. *Lit:* 'ship that flies around'. **See:** lor.

*fari* *vd.* abuse, swear at.

*faru* *n.* clothes, shirt.

*fasa' *n.* dirt, filth.

*fasa'=ee mini-mutu-paran* mucus. The meaning of paran is unclear.

*fasih* *n.* step-parent.

*upa fasih* step-father. **See:** upa.

*fasin* *vd.* sneeze.

*fasu* *n.* skin of a fruit, peel, shell. Inalienable ina-fasu eyelashes mu'u-fasu banana peel uata-fasu coconut shell. **See:** ina, tou.

*fat* *vd.* four.

=fata *clit.* COND (conditional). **Metahesised form:** =afta, =afata. *Ira uari rouala=fata fi ni'iisi uari hein.* If there is still a lot of water, we still wait. Generally expresses real, as opposed to counterfactual, conditions. **See:** =nata.

*fatar* *vd.* force, compel. **See:** obriga.

*fatil* *n.* Variant: faatil. gun, weapon.

*fatil-isu* bullet. **See:** isu.

*lo'oon-fatil* lightening. **See:** lo'on.

*fatit* *vd.* explode. **See:** diir.

*fatu* *vd.* swell.

*Fatamaka* *n.* a toponym. A region situated in the Baucau district.

*faut* *vd.* descend into. Found only in the context of descending into a valley or ravine.

*favór* *n.* Variant: favoor. favour.

*From:* Portuguese favor, Tetum favór 'favour'.

=fe *clit.* FE. This clause-level clitic is found only with =te'e. Its contribution is unclear. **See:** =te'e. *Uere ki-dada uere hana'e hai umu=te'e=fe ki-ni ere muni lafu'.* After his grandparent had died a long time ago, his mother came back to life.

*feesta* *n.* Variant: peesta. party. **From:** Portuguese, Tetum festa 'party', Indonesian pesta 'party'.

*Fehira* *n.* a clan name. According to Chamberlain (2008).

*fei' *vd.* sew. **See:** suku.

*feil* *vd.* lick.

*fel* *n.* spear. **See:** oro'.

*felu* *vd.?* all, all at once, entire. Frequently in a complement-verb complex with hau 'all'. **See:** hau.

*felun* *vd.* nice, pretty.

*fenu* *n.* turtle.

*fera* *vd.* try. Can be used with a following complement clause extension or as a verbal complement to a superordinate verb.
fereh  n. high grass. See: munu.
feri  v.d. take a holiday, go for a holiday. From: Portuguese férias 'holiday, vacation'.
feriadu  n. holiday. From: Portuguese feriado 'holiday'.
fi  pron. lpi. Also used as a polite form of address.
fi-  poss.pron. lpi:POSS-.
fiar  v.d. honour, trust, polite. From: Portuguese fiar 'rely on'.
figir  n. cliff.
fiini  v.d. give to us (inclusive). See: manini; meini; kini; minini; miini.
filem  n. film.
fin-semana  n. weekend. From: Portuguese fim-de-semana, Tetum finsemana 'weekend'.
fiša'ak  v.d. tear. Segmentation unclear.
fitu  v.d. seven.
fo'ol  v.d. kill. Apparently without external injury, thus by poisoning etc.
foorsa  n. military strength, army, army member. From: Portuguese força 'strength'.
formasi  n. hospital. Source unclear.
fot  v.d. dry and cracking open. For cotton buds: dried out and cracked open to reveal the cotton.
fransés  n. French. From: Portuguese francês 'French'.
Fretilin  n. Fretilin. Since the end of the colonial period the major political party; Falintil is an acronym for Frente Revolucionária do Timor-Leste Independente (Revolutionary front for an independent East Timor). See: Falintil.
fu  n. flower. Inalienable. Only the reduplicated form fufu is found in a nominal compound with ate 'tree'. See: ate-fufu.
fu'  v.d. near. Reduced form: fu-.
Fuat  n. a toponym. Situated in the lliomar subdistrict.
fun  v.d. dare.
fuk  v.d. fart.
fukal  v.d. smooth, slippery.
fuker  v.d. turn (round), rotate.
fula  n. k.o. bird.
fuli  v.d. together. Reduced form: fuli-. See: ro'uh.
fuluk  v.d. firm, fixed.
fulun  v.d. spit.
fun  n. tree, trunk, stem. Inalienable. See: ate.
fundu  v.d. Variant: foudu. found, establish. From: Portuguese fundar 'found, establish'.
funu  n. war. See: hala. From: Tetum funu 'war'.
futuru  n. future. From: Portuguese futuro 'future'.

G - g

gambar  n. Variant: kambar. picture. From: Indonesian gambar 'picture, drawing'.
garantia  v.d. give security. From: Portuguese garantia 'guarantee, security'.
geger

*vt.* run riot, naughty, mad.

*From*: Indonesian *geger* 'be in tumult, commotion'.

governu

*n.* *Variant*: gobernun; kouvernu. government. *From*: Portuguese *governo* 'government'.

h

ha' a

*n.* mouth.

ha'a-mana


ha'a-huma


ira-ha'a


amuni ki-ha'a-mutu-lolo

quarrel with someone.

ha' afu

*vt.* complete, whole, intact. Used only as a full verb.

Haakesar


ha'al

*vt.* fry. *Bound form*: -sa' al.

haale

*vt.* other. Selu is much more frequent. *See*: selu.

Haarira


ha'auein

*n.* place. Segmentation unclear.

hadia

*n.* present. *From*: Indonesian hadiah 'reward, gift'.

ha'e

*n.* ladder.

ha'e

*vt.* light. ... *sirvisu ha'e*. ... the work was light.

isa ha'e

enthusiastic, diligent, happy. Only found as a phrasal predicate. *See*: isa.

ha'e-ne'et


hael

*n.* cotton, cotton boll.

hafa

*n.* bone.

hafal

*vt.* memorise, know by heart.

*From*: Indonesian *hafal* 'know by heart'.

hafil

*vt.* old. with [-HUM] subjects.

hai

part. NSIT (new situation). The only real aspect marker in Makalero.

hai'

*vt.* end. *Bound form*: -sai'.

ha'i

*n.* k.o. tree, thespesia populnea.

haka


haka


=haka

*clit.* CTR.PRES (counter-presupposition). Marks the contradiction of a presupposition. ... *asi-upa nana anii-horu nomo rau*. *Asi-upa=haka anii-horu rau=po asi-upa ki-sa ere anii-horu nomo rau*. My uncle didn't treat me well. My uncle did treat me well, but my uncle's wife didn't treat me well.

hakaas

*vt.* starve, be malnourished.

haka-mana

*n.* cave. The meaning of the element haka is unclear. *See*: mana.
hakur

vd? unintentional (?).

hal

vd. be unlucky, have an accident.

hala

n. war. See: funu.

halafi

n. enemy.

halee


me=n rei-lolo Maybe you will give it away.

halin

vd. come together, unite (?).

hama

n. ficus benjamina.

hamar

vd. be married, take a husband. For female subjects. See: ena; kauen.

hana’

n. pillar supporting a stilt house. The hele disks sit on top of the hana' pillars. See: hele.

hana’e

va. REM.PT (remote past).

ahana’e

two days ago.

atuhana’e

three days ago. Atu appears to be segmentable into an element a-, also found in ahana’e, and tu 'first, ahead'. See: tu.

hanu

va. very. Used verb-phrase-internally as an adverbial. vfd. fell, cut down.

hapil

vd. cut short (i.e. grass, trees). Reduced form: hapi-

hara’

n. part of the floor of a stilt house.

hare’

vd. clean.

isa hare’
happy. Can be constructed as both a full clause, with isa as the subject, or as a phrasal predicate. See: isa.

mutu hare’
goodhearted. See: mutu.

mu’a hare’
early morning, before dawn. See: mu’a.

haris-fatim

n. bathroom. From:

Tetum harris-fatim 'bathroom'.

hasa

demolish, dismantle.

hasa

n. leaf. Inalienable. Also in use as a classifier for flat things (paper, photographs etc.).

afal-hasa

rotten leaves. The meaning of afal is unclear.

ate-hasa

deaf, foliage, medicine. See: ate.

ate-hasa ki-ira

liquid medicine. See: ira.

ate-hasa pik, ate-hasa ki=pik

poison. See: pik.

hasa kauaili

storage area right under the top of the roof in a stilt house. Above the ou-pu'u area. See: ou-pu’u.

hat


Mete=ee afi hai ta-sat. The sea has gone dry near / around the fish. Ini ni-asu (...) hat-ini ini k-ia-ue-diari. We make (...) a shelter for ourselves to sit under.

Pairs: hi’an.

hatama

vd. put in, hand in. From: Tetum hatama 'put in, hand in'.

hau

vd. all. A floating quantifier; can be used within and without the VP. Hau is developing into a completable marker with activity verbs. With stative verbs, it is read as marking high degree. When used in its quantifying sense, hau is most often combined with such quantifiers as haka, felu, kafu, and kopa in a complement-verb complex. See:

haka; felu; kafu; kopa. Ini haka hau misa. All of us went up. Asi ni hau unu... After my mother died... Asi isa tafi hau hare’. I am really very happy.

he’el

d. jump, hop, dance. Bound form: -se’el.

he’i

cut with a small knife. Bound form: -se’i.

heil

d. pull. Bound form: -seil.
hein  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>From:</td>
<td>Tetum hein 'wait'.</td>
</tr>
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</table>

heke  

<table>
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<th>English</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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heke-la'a  

<table>
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<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>angry.</td>
<td>Lit: 'difficult-move'.</td>
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mutu heke  

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<tr>
<th>English</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>angry.</td>
<td>Can be constructed as a clause, with mutu as the subject, or as a phrasal predicate. The undergoer is introduced in a separate clause with ena 'see'. See: ena; mutu.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Asi-mama ani ena mutu heke.  

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<tr>
<td>My mother was angry with me.</td>
<td></td>
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ili-heke  

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heker  

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>n. burial ceremony.</td>
<td>Umu=mere mara=ni ki-hai' ki-heker kini.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When someone dies, (we) make an end and a burial ceremony for him.</td>
<td>Pairs: hai'.</td>
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helar  

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hele  

<table>
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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>n. wooden disk inserted on top of a stilt to prevent vermin from entering a stilt house.</td>
<td></td>
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helur  

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>v.d. change, pay.</td>
<td>From: Tetum selu 'pay'?</td>
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heman  

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<th>English</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>v.d. bring, carry.</td>
<td>Bound form: -seman. Also 'to ride a motorbike, drive a car'. Tumata dadau pai mei k-ou-seman. The wife-takers have to bring pigs. Kiloo motor heman. She rides a motorbike.</td>
</tr>
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hena  

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>n. cloth.</td>
<td></td>
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hero  

<table>
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<th>English</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>n. packet of steamed rice wrapped in a banana leaf.</td>
<td></td>
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heru  

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<tr>
<th>English</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>v.d. weave.</td>
<td>'loom' if used as an argument.</td>
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herukai  

<table>
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<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>n. heddle loop. A part of the loom.</td>
<td></td>
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hese  

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>v.d. wrap (?).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

hesi'  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>v.d. discuss (?).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

heti  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Hearcd once as hiti rather than heti. Pairs: uei. |

heti-ni  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>question.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

heu-  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>v.d. not far away. Frequently combined with (k)-afa- 'away from'. See: (k)-afa-. Iskola ere asi-lopu nomo hau kafa-heu-nat. The school stands not so far away from my house.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

he'uI  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>v.d. full, have eaten one's fill. Sometimes heard as hi'u.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

hi'a  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>n. street, road, way. See: rianpata.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ki-hi'a-afa-la'a  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bring dowry gifts.</td>
<td>Lit: 'go sideways (along) the road'. A part of the wedding ceremony; a week after the bride moves into her husband's house, her parents (relatives) come bringing hand-woven cloths, food and pigs; for these, the groom's family pays an amount of money called huti.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

=hi'a  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>clit. only. Used on both NPs and on clauses.</td>
<td>Iraku molu ki-sa ki-mata=hi'a=ni ue'. He disappeared and only his wife and his child were left there.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

hian  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>v.d. shelter.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

hi'an  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>n. time.</td>
<td>hi'an u once some time ago hi'an ei twice hi'an itu three times hi'an fat four times Occurs with the reduced forms of the numerals two and three. See: loloi; lolitu; itu; -c'e.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

hiaoleh  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>v.d. vomit. Segmentation unclear.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

hi'e  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>v.d. laugh.</td>
<td>Bound form: -ni'e.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

hifa'  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>v.d. catch.</td>
<td>Bound form: -sifa'. Kiloo pipi-rusa ki-horu=ee k-e-sifa'. He holds on firmly to the deer's antlers.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

hifal  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>v.d. wet.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
hihi *vd.* call (a horse). *Ei asi-kuda ishihi uai=taa ma’u.* You call to my horse so that it comes.

Hi’ilarin *n.* a toponym. Situated in the Lliomar subdistrict.

Hi’ima *n.* a toponym. Located in the Lliomar subdistrict (?). *Pairs: Manifuru.*

hiitafu *n.* machete.

hil *vd.* let compete, pit someone (against). *Found only in the context of cockfighting. asa hil let a cock compete in a cockfight.*

Hilapuna *n.* a toponym. A beach located in the Tutuala subdistrict of Lautém district.

hir *n.* wall.

hir-tutu *pillar in the corner of the living quarters in a stil house.*

hir-tekih *cross piece stabilising the walls of a stil house.*

hir‘*n.* bat.

hisu *n.* k.o. tree.

hisu‘*n.* one of two wooden sticks at each side of the loom backstrap that spreads the backstrap.

hiul *vd.* praise.

hi’un *n.* thorn.

ho *conj.* with. *From: Tetum ho ‘with’.*

hoden *great-grandfather, great-grandchild. Pairs: nanu.*

hofar *vd.* new.

hoge *vd.* know. *Bound form: -sofe.*

hokir *vd.* cover, wrap.

hole *vd.* throw down. *Bound form: -sole.*

mu’a-sole *throw to the ground, be born [-HUM]. See: mu’a.*

holic *vd.* face away.

ho’o *det.* some. Ho’o can also be used in a temporal sense as ‘ever, before’. In such a context, it must probably be analysed as a nominal predicate giving adverbial information. *Amulafu ho’o nomo ma’u.* No-one came. *Ei ho’o hai ma’u=ni e’? Have you been here before?*

ho’o *vd.* finished, over, exhausted. *Bound form: -so’o. Ah uere na’u ho’o.* The mangos were finished (i.e. their season was over).

ho’onese *va.* IPF (imperfective). *Segmentation unclear.*

Hoonira *n.* a toponym. *Pairs: Seenira.*

ho’oru *n.* shoulder. It is unclear how ho’oru relates to uarifa ‘shoulder’. *See: uarifa.*

hopun *vd.* make a sound. ‘issue, problem’ if used as an argument.


horu *n.* horn.

-horu *vd.* with, accompanied by. *See: (ko)-horu.*

houdai *va.* habitually. *Segmentation unclear.*


hour *vd.* bark.

hu’at *vd.* sad.

Hudilaran *n.* a toponym. Located in the Dili district (?).

huhur *vd.* separate cotton fibres from the seeds.

hul *vd.* be able. *Reduced form: hu-. Associated with physical ability or strength. See: me’e.*

hular  vd. spin. *Hael aire' fi hular=ee*
diki-ate hai pênu=fata fi hau
omu. The cotton which we spun
now, if the stick we wound it
around is full, then we ball it up.
hulu  n. spoon.
huma  vd. sing. Ini fuli'=ini masu
huma. We sing a song together.
See: kanta; rusu'.
huma  vd. order, be angry with. *Bound
form: -suma. Aihaa taka=ni ani*
huma=si le-isi-ume'. (He)
closed the door and ordered me
to be (wait) outside. *Ki-upa
ki-isarami ere fi muni mei=ni*
rau-suma. Her relatives are very
angry with us again.
(k)utu-suma forbid.
huma'  n. soul, ghost, spirit.
ha'a-huma' voice. Lit: 'mouth-
spirit'. See: ha'a; masu.

hur  vd. plant. *Ale hur* plant rice
Associated with ale 'rice'.
huri  n. brush. See: hur'i.
huri  vd. release, shoot. *Bound form:
-suri. ki-ha'aein ii'an
ki-ha'aein suri substitute
replace Pairs: li'an.
huri'  vd. brush, comb. See: hur'i.
hut  vd. crawl, go on all fours.
hut  n. clothes. Pairs: *kutu. See:*
ropa.
husir  n. knife, bride price. A bride
price paid to the bride's family
by the groom's family when they
come to the groom's house
bringing cloths, food and pigs. It
appears the husir originally
contained one or more knives
and was named after them; today
it is replaced by money. See:
hi'a.

I - i

i  *conj. and. From: Portuguese e,
Tetum i 'and'.
ia  n. leg, foot. See: (k)-jia'.
ia-dafan  heel. See: dafan.
ia-fari-fari  sandal. Normally,
sinelus is used for 'sandal'. The
meaning of the element fari is
not quite clear. See: fari;
sinelus.
ia-ilu  toe nail, claw. See: ilu.
ia-itu'  knee. See: itu'.
ia-lafen  sole. See: lepen.
ia-masu  hollow of the knee. See:
masu.
ia-raka  toe. See: raka.
ia-torok  lower leg, calf.
-la'  vd. under. *Reduced form: -ia-.*
See: (k)-la'.
iaia  n. glass, mirror. Looks like a
reduplicated form of an
unrecorded simplex. A
connection with ia 'leg, foot'
seems improbable.
iar  vd. cry.
ibu  n. Indonesian woman. In
Indonesian, ibu is a polite term
of address for married women. *From: Indonesian ibu 'mother'.
ifi  n. star. Also used as a classifier
for small animals (insects).
ifi-susuuk  firefly. *Lit: 'star-
mosquito'. See: susuuk.
ifil  n. tongue. Inalienable.
igreja  n. church. *From: Portuguese,
Tetum igreja 'church'.
ii  pron. 2p.
ii-  poss.pron. 2p.POSS.
ika'  vcl. be up in. Reduced form: ika'.
Hai haka hau lo'on-ika-la'a...
They all went up into the sky...
Ani ma'u=ere Fransisku
ki-kareta-ika'. Coming here, I
rode in Fransisco's car.
ile'  vcl. itchy.
ili  n. rock, stone. Larger than uar;
also part of the toponym lliomar.
See: uar; lliomar.
ili-heke  cave. Lit: 'rock-
difficult?'.
lliomar  n. a toponym. Situated in
the lliomar subdistrict (?).
Larisula.
ili  n. umbilical cord, womb (?)
Inalienable. It is unclear how
this relates to ili 'nail, claw'.
ili-mana  navel, belly button. Lit:
'umbilical cord-hole'.
ili  n. nail, claw. Inalienable. It is
unclear how this relates to ili
'umbilical cord'. See: ia; tana.
ilupana  n. armpit. Segmentation
unclear.
imini'  vcl. Variant: imimi.
small. Ani uari mata imimi'. I
am still small. found only with
mata 'child'. See: mata; ka'u.
imir  vcl. red.
importante  vcl. important. From:
Portuguese, Tetum importante
'important'.
imosa  vcl. light blue (?). The
origin of this lexeme is
unknown. On another occasion,
it was translated as pink, or light
red. The presence of the mp
consonant cluster suggests it is
either a borrowing or a
compound. However, neither a
possible source of borrowing nor
any of the constituent parts of a
putative compound are clear.
impresta  vcl. borrow. From:
Portuguese emprestar 'lend',
Tetum empresta 'borrow, lend'.
ina  n. mother. Used as a term of
address or to express
endearment. Only ina, not ni
'mother', is found with the
honoric suffix -uai. See: ni;
-ua. ina-ua ki=ka'u aunt
(mother's younger sister) ina-ua
ki=pere aunt (mother's older
sister)
inai  n. eye. Inalienable.
inai-fasu  eyelashes (?). Lit: 'eye-
skin'. See: fasu.
inai-ira  tear. Lit: 'eye-water'. See:
ira.
inai-isa  eyelid. See: isu.
inai-mana eye socket. Lit: 'eye-
hole'. See: mana; seta.
inai-pi-pit  careful. Lit: 'eye RDL-
fast'. See: pit.
inai-pisi  forehead. The meaning of
pisi is unclear.
inai-taran  eyebrow. The meaning of
taran is unclear.
inai-ta'al  glasses. The meaning of
ta'al is unclear. Usually ókul is
used for 'glasses'. See: ókul.
Inameli  n. a clan name.
indepedensia n. independence. Often,
the phrase ni ukun 'rule oneself'
is used. See: ni; ukun. From:
Portuguese independência
'indepedence', Tetum
independência 'independence'.
Indonesia  n. Indonesia, Indonesian.
informasaun n. information. From: Portuguese informação, Tetum informasaun, Indonesian informasi 'information'.

ini 

=ini clit. Variant: =ni; =n. CTR (contrastive). It was me who broke that glass. Used on NPs to mark contrastiveness; the NPs in question can be either topics or foci. The NP clitic =ini is an extension of the clause level clitic =ini. See: =ini. Ani=ni

kopere mei=ni da'alini.

=ini clit. Variant: =ni; =n. LNK1 (linker1). =ini is used on clause level and is one of the most general clause linkers. As opposed to =isi, it expresses close knitting, or a clause temporal or other relationship between the two clauses linked by it. It is most generally associated with subject continuity. See: =isi. Ini la'a=ni

ude=ini lepuh=hi'a=ni... We went and were up there and were only hungry and...

-ini suff. NML (nominaliser).

lolo-ini word conversation

-heti-ni question. See: lolo; heti.

-ini vd. give. -ini is mainly used in fused forms with a recipient pronoun. The paradigm is as follows: 1s: manini. 2s: meini. 3s: kini. 1p: fini. 1p: minini. 2p: miini. 3p: kini.


intentasaun n. intention (?!). From: Portuguese intenção 'intention' (?!).

inuk n. sand.

invade vd. invade. From: Portuguese invadir, Tetum invade 'invade'.

ipitulu n. lesser yam, Dioscorea esculenta. Segmentation unclear.

ira n. water.


ira-tu'il bamboo container for water. See: tu'il.

ira-uh flood, inundation. The meaning of the element uha is unclear.

ira n. price.

ira-misa expensive. That is very expensive. Can be used both as a clause, with ira as the subject, or as a phrasal predicate. See: misa. Uere ki-ira hau misa. That is very expensive. Uere se ira misa.

ira dikar cheap. Can be used both as a clause and as a phrasal predicate. See: dikar.

ira n. paddy field, rice field. ira pure grow rice work in the rice field Pairs: ama; Pairs: ama paun. See: pure.

iraku pron. 3s. Perhaps analysable as 'your friend'. It is considered more refined than kiloo by most speakers. See: ii; raku; kiloo.

iralolo vd. straight. Used for hair. Segmentation unclear. See: sa'e.

Iraltur n. a toponym. Situated in the lliomar subdistrict (?).

ira-mumus n. dragonfly. The meaning of the element mumus is unclear. See: ira.

Irasu'ul n. a toponym.

irau vd. Variant: erau; urau; uerau. Not allowed. Can be constructed either as a full verb with a following complement clause
extension, or as a verbal complement to a main verb.

irih  
*vd. urinate.*

isa  
*n. condition, (physical) state. Used as the locus of emotion with several expressions of emotions and physical states.*

isa dikar  
*Lit: 'state short'. Found both as a clause, with isa as the subject, and as a phrasal predicate. See: dikar.*

isa fani  
*Lit: 'state nice'. Only found as a full clause, with isa as the subject. See: fani.*

isa felun  
*Lit: 'state pretty'. Found both as a clause, with isa as the subject, and as a phrasal predicate. See: felun.*

isa hare'  
*Lit: 'state clean'. Found both as a clause, with isa as the subject, and as a phrasal predicate. See: hare'.

isa ha'e  
*happy, enthusiastic, diligent. Only found as a phrasal predicate. See: ha'.

isa rau  
*Lit: 'state good'. Found both as a clause, with isa as the subject, and as a phrasal predicate. See: rau.

isa su'ul  
*young. Only found as a phrasal predicate. See: su'ul.

isa tutu  
*like. Only found as a full clause, with isa as the subject. See: tutu.*

isa-isa  
*age.

isa  
*vd. go down, descend.*

mu'a-isa  
*go down to the ground, be born. As a euphemism for 'be born', mu'a-isa is considered more appropriate for [+HUM] subjects. See: ula.*

-is  
*vd. bake. See: (k)-isa.*

isarami  
*n. brother, (male) cousin. Both younger and older than the speaker. Inalienable.*

Pairs:

**tufur. isarami ki=pere**  
elder cousin

isi'  
*vd. Variant: isih. be at, be in. Reduced form: isi-. The most general locative verb.*

=isi  
*clit. Variant: =isi; =s. LNK2.Together with clause-level =ini, =isi is the most general clause linker. It expresses a more loose connection between the two clauses linked by it, which may involve temporal distance, change of subject etc. See: =ini. Ei-dada=ni ei asar=isi ei dadau la'a. It was your grandfather who sent you, so you will have to go.*

isi-  
*poss.pron. lpe:POSS.*

-isi'  
*vd. Variant: (k)-isi'.

isinei  
*apparently. Segmentation unclear. Often combined with fan'. See: fan'. ... uar pera u isinei lari ho'o=ni we-nat. ... a big stone, like a mountain, stands there.*

isiperu  
*va? totally. Uere isiperu nomo rau... That is absolutely not good... Ki-isit isiperu hai k-ua-misa... His illness grew continually worse...*

isiperan  
*vd. try, challenge. Kiloo ani isiperan. He tried / challenged me. The element -peran could possibly be a variant form of fera 'try', similar to the p-initial form found in certain contexts with fan'. Its relation to isiperu is unclear. See: fera, fan'i, isiperu.*

isipo'  
*vd. not know.*

isit  
*vd. be ill, be sick.*

mutu isit  
*angry, sad, hate. Can be constructed both as a clause,
with mutu as the subject, or as a phrasal predicate. The undergoer is constructed in a separate clause with (k)-asu. See: mutu; (k)-asu. Kiloo ani-asu mutu isit. He hates me.
iskola vd. go to school. Used as an argument, it translates as 'school'. From: Portuguese escola, Tetum eskola 'school'.
ani la'a=ni iskola SMP hau tamat ani nomo k-ua-iskola. I graduated from junior high school and then I did not continue going to school.
iskudu n. escudo. Timorese currency during the colonial period from 1959, when it replaced the Pataca, till 1976. See: Pataaka.
isoru vd. administer intravenously. Source unclear.
ispada n. spades. In a suit of cards. From: Portuguese espadas 'spades (in a suit of cards)'.
istoria n. story. From: Portuguese história, Tetum istória 'story'.
istraga vd. destroy. From: Portuguese estragar, Tetum estraga 'destroy, break'.
istuda vd. study. From: Portuguese estudar, Tetum estuda 'study'.
isu n. seed, stone. Also used as a classifier for small round things (e.g. eggs, teeth, frogs).
ina-isu eyeball.
isu-isu freckles.
itu vd. three [+HUM]. mata-niki amu itu three children See: lolitu.
itu' n. knee. Inalienable. See: ia.
itun n. crown of the head.
ituruu va? then, afterwards. Always follows the linker =te'e. See: =te'e. Ani la'a=ni ni-tiu ko-horu ufe'=ini uai=te'e ituruu ani ni senti ka'u-ka'u rau. I went to stay with my uncle down there, only after that did I start feeling a bit better.
iu' vd. Variant: iuh. extremely hot, boiling hot. See: nene'; peri'.

J - j

Jaua n. Java, Javanese. Also used generically as 'Indonesians'.
Amuni Indonesia Jaua k-uta. The Indonesians killed him.
jerikeen n. Variant: zerekeen; serikeen. jerrycan. From: English jerrycan, Indonesian jerigen, Tetum jerikán 'jerrycan'.
jogadór n. Variant: sokadór. player. From: Portuguese jogador, Tetum jogador 'player'.
jok vd. Variant: zok. plug in, recharge. From: Indonesian kok, mengecok 'charge'.
K - k

k- pref. Variant: ko-. 3:UND (third person undergoer argument). Used on a subgroup of mostly vowel-initial verbs, listed in the present dictionary with a bracketed (k)-. The variant ko- is only found with (ko-)horu 'with'. See: (ko-)horu.

(k)-a'a v.d. put on. Most often used as a verbal complement, in which case it may express a literal locative notion or a figurative benefactive one. It is furthermore found in such expressions as (k)-a'a-numu 'nearly dead' and (k)-a'a-sopen 'very sleepy', the semantics of which seem difficult to connect to the literal meaning of (k)-a'a.

Ani hi'un hai ka'a-siu. I stepped on a thorn. Ki-nami ni-mata-r k-a'a-saka. Her husband looked (for food, a living) for his children.

(k)-a'a-numu nearly dead.
(k)-a'a-sopen very sleepy.

kaalma v.d. calm. From: Portuguese calma 'calm, composure'.

kaanselamuntu n. curfew. From: Portuguese cancelamento 'annulment, cancellation'.

ka'ar v.d. cold. Ka'ar is rather ambivalent; in the expression amu ka'ar 'healthy', it has a positive connotation, while it may also be used as 'feel cold', and thus be interpreted as 'be ill'. It is possible hat ka'ar and kauar are variants of one item. See: kauar.

amu ka'ar healthy. Found only as a phrasal predicate.

ka'ar-uru cold season.

ka'ar oruoru malaria. This expression was produced in an attempt to avoid the Portuguese (?) loan malária, which is normally used.

kadeia n. prison. See: komarga. From: Portuguese cadeira 'chair, prison'.

kadera n. chair. From: Portuguese cadeira, Tetum kadeira 'chair'.

kaderno n. exercise book, notebook. From: Portuguese caderno 'notebook'.

kae v.d. set (a date).

ka'el v.d. bite.

kael- v.d. often (?). Kiloo ni-upa mei=ni kael-neok... He often lied to his father...

kafé v.d. brown.

kafé n. coffee. From: Portuguese café, Tetum kafé 'coffee'.

(k)-afa- v.d. away from, leave. Kiloo ni-sa ere hau k-unu-lasi=ni k-afa-la'a ama-isì-la'a... He killed his wife and then went away leaving her, went to the garden...

kafar v.d. pull out, tear out. Ki-uasi-ni mana=sì uai=konai hau kafar. (He) had a cavity in his tooth, so it was torn out.

(k)-afi' v.d. sideways, to the side. Reduced form: (k)-afi-. Kuda
ate k-afi-ume-nat. A horse is standing beside the tree.

kafu' vd. all, all at once, full. Reduced form: kafu-. The reduced form kafu- is found frequently with the quantifier hau. The full verb is found only with subjects referring to periods of time, and can thus in most instances be translated as 'during'. See: hau.

...uatu ru siua kafu' kursus inggris mini... follow an English course for 90 days.

(k)-afu vd. carry (a child), with. Asi-ni-raa ani na'u afu. My aunts were carrying me.

kai' vd. yelp.

kail vd. catch with a hook, 'hook' if used as an argument. One speaker used a bound form -nail, though he usually corrected himself afterwards. From: Indonesian, Tetum kail 'fish hook'.

kaila n. papaya. kaila-fun papaya tree

kailele n. k.o. tree. Produces a fibrous substance used as stuffing for cushions etc.

Kainliu n. a toponym. Situated in the Lliomar subdistrict.

(k)-ako vd. steal. Ani la'a=ni teli uere kako=ni nua. I went to steal that maize and ate it. See: akor.

kalah vd. yellow, orange.

kalen n. (corrugated) metal sheet, (corrugated) metal roof. From: Indonesian kaleng, Tetum kaleen 'tin'.

(k)-ali- vd. all over. Kiloo seran haka-hau k-ali-dafa. He throws down his things all over the place. Pai=ee ni-ali-nat=ini hai muni amulafu. The pig turned into a person.

(k)-ali-nini stir.

kalin vd. pour out, spill.

kalsa n. trousers. From: Portuguese calças, Tetum kalsa 'trousers'.

kama n. bed. From: Portuguese cama, Tetum kama 'bed'.

kamata vd. lay around undistily.

kambar n. picture. See: gambar.

kamera vd. take pictures. 'photograph' if used as an argument. See: fotografi.

kampu aviasaun n. airport. See: aeroportu. From: Portuguese campo 'field', aviação 'aviation'.

kamu vd. be night. Obligatorily takes mu'a 'ground' as the subject. See: mu'a; kamur.

kamu-kamu Variant: kamu-amu. be early morning. Is never constructed with an overt subject such as mu'a 'ground' and thus appears to be atavent. The loss of the initial k- in kamu-amu is unclear, but is reminiscent of that found with keri-eri. See: keri.

(k)-amu' vd. Variant: (k)-amuhata. smell. The element -hata in kamuhata is unclear. The parallel with amu' 'ripe, smelly' suggests 'smell' is a rare case of a verb with labile transitivity. See: amu'. Iruku ani seti-mu'a-isa=ni uait'e ani kamuhata... He went down passing me and then he smelled me...

kamunei va. ma'a buti. noon, tomorrow.

kamur n. Variant: kamu. night. Lit: 'big night'. kamu pere middle of the night midnight See: kamu; pere.

kan vd. light.
kan  ? isn't it?, as you well know. From: Indonesian kan 'isn't it, as you well know'.
kaneka  n. small pot, small can. From: Portuguese caneca 'small pot, cannikin'.
kaneta  n. (ball) pen. From: Portuguese caneta, Tetum kaneta 'ball' pen'.
kankun  n. water spinach, ipomoea aquatica. From: Tetum kankun, Indonesian kangkung 'water spinach'.
kantina  n. shop. From: Portuguese cantina 'canteen'.
kapar  v.d. scratch.
kapat  n. traditional Timorese necklace made of orange beads. Part of the bride wealth.
kapela  n. chapel. From: Portuguese capela 'chapel'.
kapidal  v.d. big. From: Portuguese capital 'considerable, important'.
kareta  n. kareta. car. From: Tetum kareta 'bus'.
karoh  v.d. split, cleave.
karol  n. large sack. Often made of polypropylene.
karteira  n. wallet. From: Portuguese carteira 'wallet', Tetum karteira 'handbag'.
kasar  v.d. call, invite.
kasi  n. salt.  
kasi lema' sugar. Lit: 'sweet salt'. See: lema'.
kasi-ira  sea water, salt water. See: ira.
kasi  v.d. take off (clothes). 'clothes' if used as an argument. Pairs: kutu.
kasian  v.d. poor, suffering. Pairs: tasam (?). From: Indonesian kasihan 'pity, poor', Tetum kasian 'unfortunate'.
kastigu  v.d. Variant: kaastigu. punish, arrest. From: Portuguese castigo 'punishment', Tetum kastigu 'punish'.
kasu  v.d. bad, ugly (?).
kasu-kin  harm.
(k)-asu  v.d. for. Ani papa=ee hai k-asu lolo... I said to the Indonesian...
(k)-ata'  v.d. be in physical contact, stick to. Reduced form: (k)-ata-.  
Ropa=ee mei=ni ni-ata'... (She) took the clothes and put them on herself...
kata-ne'et  believe. See: ne'et.
katal  v.d. cut into small pieces, chop into small pieces.
katar  v.d. rude.
katekista  n. catechist. From: Portuguese catequista 'catechist'.
kateri  n. scissors. From: Tetum kateri 'scissors'.
(k)-ati-  v.d. downwards (?). Kiloo masan=ini hai muni k-ati-puna. He is scared and looks downwards again.
katoliku  n? Variant: katolika. catholic religion.
ka'u  v.d. small.
ka'u=te' in a while. See: =te'.
ka'u pitipiti very small, tiny. Pitipiti ('small') does not occur in the corpus on its own, but only in combination with ka'u.
kauili  n. k.o. small gecko.
hasa kauili  storage space right under the top of the roof in a stilt house. See: hasa.
kauar v. cold. 'wind' if used as an argument. See: ka'ar.
Kauar-ete uai-te'e fi mei=ni putil-isit. Once it is cold, we put it into a bottle. Ae=taa isi-nuta
kauar=taa isi-rutu... May rain fall there and wind blow...

kaue n. loop by which the backstrap is attached to the lower loom bar.
See: ath.

kauen v. get married. From: Indonesianskawin 'be married', Tétum kaben 'get married'.

kaul v. howl.

kaur v. grate, rasp, scratch.

kazamentu n. wedding, marriage. From: Portuguese casamento 'marriage'.

ke conj. CMPL (complementiser), REL (relativiser). Rarely used.
Ini nomo ni ma'en en ini tasang. We weren't aware that we were suffering. Komunidadeke
maiornia hau muda. The majority of the community had changed. From: Portuguese que
(COMPL, REL).

ke' v. Variant: keh. drink.

(k)-e- v. firm. Found most frequently in the combination (k)-e-sifa' 'hold on to'. See: hifa'. Mata
ka'u pipi-rusa ki-horu=e
ek-e-sifa'. The child is firmly holding on to the deer's antlers.

keil v. manipulate with a stick.

keil v. look, peek. Used most often in a complement-verb complex with (k)-ue-. See: (k)-ue-
Kamunei misa=n=n ki-ue-keil...
The next day (they) went up there and looked around...

kel v. hard, firm, tight, close, strong. Ili ain=ere uar=ua kel...
'Ili' means a rock that is hard...

Kiloo hi'e=ini hanu ke-kel... He laughed hard...

Kelipiti n. a toponym. Pairs:
Sopititi.

ken v. lie down (?)?

-kena v. see (BD). See: ena.

kene v. hit, strike. It is possible that the initial k- is actually an argument marker, and that the verb is more correctly represented as (k)-ene. Hena
uatu kene. The cloth was exposed to the sun. From: Indonesians kena 'strike, hit' (?)

kepit v. nip, pinch.

kerk v. write. According to some speakers, it translates as 'colour' if used as an argument.

kererekere v. bark.

keri va. Variant: keri-eri. at first. The loss of the initial k- in the keri-eri variant is reminiscent of kamu-amu 'early morning'. See:
kamu.

(k)-eri- v. sudden (?). Sa'anin=ni
ue=ini ei ho'o k-eri-ka'el=oo
irau nat dil. (If) something that is there suddenly bites you, don't be afraid.

kesar v. show, check with someone.

kesi v. lock.

ket v. love, hold dear.

(k)-eta- v. break apart, impact forcefully. Ani odamata
k-eta-pase... I broke the window pane...
Ki-upa ni-inapsi
k-eta-pasal... Her father smacked his forehead...

keuh v. rasp.

ki- poss. pron. 3:POSS. Used in some cases like a definiteness marker. Ani-asu ki-nua ki-ke'
na'an. There was no food and drink for me.
ki’a  *vd?* often. Ki’a is always negated in the corpus. *Dosi=ee amuni nomo ki’a teuh...* Those cakes, people didn’t buy them often...

**(k)-ia’** *vd. under. Reduced form: (k)-ia-. Ini lopu u k-ia?=ini biasanya ini filem toton. We who lived in (under) one house used to watch movies. See: ia.*

**kilo** *pron. 3s. See: iraku.*

**kiloora** *pron. 3p. Consists of the third person singular pronoun kilo and the plural suffix -raa. See: kiloo; -raa.*

**Kiltau** *n. a clan name. According to Chamberlain (2008).*

**kili** *n. kilo. *From: Portuguese quilo ‘kilo’.*

**kini** *vd. do. Bound form: -ini, -nini.* Kini likely started out as an argument-marking verb (k)-ini, but the k-prefix is now used like a free form. The vowel-initial form -ini is mostly used in grammatical function (e.g. as a causativiser), while -nini is more lexical. *Asa nama la’a ni-urai mei=ni ate-ata-nini...* The bird makes its nest in a tree...

**kini-kini** behaviour, traditions.

**ue-nini-ni** behaviour, attitude, demeanour.

=**kini** *clit. IND (indirect information).* A subordinating clause linker that can be cliticised to the first clause in the sequence or to the subject of the second clause. =**kini** marks the information expressed by the second clause as not coming from the direct experience of the speaker (hearsay etc). *Kiloo ani neoko=ini ani=kini la’a=ni ufe’=ini kooperasi hein=ana.* He lied to me, saying I was going to go down there and wait for a cooperation. *See: ma’akini.*

**kios** *n. kiosk, booth. From: Indonesian kios ‘kiosk’.*

**(k)-isa** *vd. bake. Ani kulat=ee k-isa=ni nua. I baked the mushrooms and ate them.*

**(k)-isi’** *vd. Variant: (k)-isih. belong to, be about. Ini mina tina kisi’=ee lolo. We talk about cooking oil.*

**kitu** *vd. skewer, prong.

**kitu-kitu** fork, prong.

**kiut** *vd. clean. With beans, rice or grain, to pick out dirt or spoilt ones.*

**kofu** *vd. close (eyes). Tufuraa ere ni-ini kofu...* The girl closed her eyes...

**(ko)-horu** *vd. with, accompanied by. Papa ure ki-noko uere=ni ani-horu hai Dili. It was the Indonesian’s younger brother who went to Dili with me.*

**koi** *vd. hide.

**koikoi’** *vd. dance, move legs.

**koir** *vd. mix.

**koko’** *vd. croak. Of a frog.

**kokor** *vd. hold, carry.

**kol** *vd. hug, embrace.

**kola** *n. tais sarang.

- **kola-rapi** women’s sarong. See: rapi.

- **kola-utur** men’s sarong. See: utur.


**kolega** *vd. be friends, be colleagues. ‘colleague’ if used as an argument.*
komarga n. prison. From: Tetum komarka 'prison', Portuguese comarca 'administrative district'?

komesa vd. start. Constructed with a complement clause extension linked to it paratactically (unmarked). From: Portuguese começar 'start', Tetum komesa.

komik vd. funny, humoristic. From: Indonesian komik 'comic, humorist'.

Konil n. a toponym, a clan name. Situated in the lliomar subdistrict (?). Pairs: Atenuur.

kompromi n. compromise, agreement. From: Indonesian kompromi 'compromise'.

komu conj. since, as. From: Portuguese como 'since, as'.

komunidade n. community, municipality. From: Portuguese comunidade 'community'.

kon vd. narrow. 'narrow way, passage' if used as an argument. Paidubudubur k-ua=ini ma'u=ni kon-ise-ude=ini Arapaulo-isi-ta-pati. From Paidubudubur up there, (we) came through a narrow passage up there and parted in Arapaulo.

=konai clít. CSQ (consequential). =konai marks the action of the second clause in a sequence as a consequence of the first one. Ei-isikola nomo rau=konai ni e lure-i-isi-la=a=na=a ua? You are not doing well at school, that's why you want to go into that?

kondisaun n. condition, circumstance. From: Portuguese condição 'condition'.

konsekuensa n. consequence. From: Portuguese consequência 'consequence'.

konsiderasaun n. Variant: kooniderasaun. consideration. From: Portuguese consideração 'consideration, deliberation'.

konta vd. Variant: koonta. tell. From: Portuguese contar 'tell (a story)', Tetum kohta 'tell, relate'.

konto-kutu n. Variant: koonta-kutu. resistance, cooperation with the guerilla in the forest, establishing contact between them and the local population. The make-up of this expression is unclear. Asi-ni konto-kutu k-ou-la'a. My mother worked together with the guerillas in the forest.

kontra vd. oppose. From: Portuguese contrariar 'oppose' (?).

kontu n. Variant: koontu. unit of 1,000. Found only with indications of price. The term is used today as an equivalent for the sum of 1 US dollar. From: Portuguese conto '1,000 escudos' (obsolete).

konvida vd. Variant: koonvida. invite. From: Portuguese convidar, Tetum konvida 'invite'.

konvidia guest. See: bainaka. From: Portuguese convidado 'guest'.

koomata n. baby. The element koo could possibly be a contraction of ka'u 'small'; mata is 'child'. See: ka'u; mata.

koondotôr n. driver. See: sufer. From: Portuguese condutor, Tetum kondotôr 'driver'.

kopa vd. dead. Used for animals only (?). See: umu.
kopa  *vd?* all. Found only in a complement-verb complex with hau. See: hau.
kopon  *n.* Variant: kopoon. room.
kopás  *n.* hearts. In a suit of cards. From: Portuguese copas 'hearts (in a suit of cards)'.
kopu  *n.* glass, cup. From: Portuguese copo 'glass, beaker', Tetum kopu 'cup'.
kor  *n.* colour. From: Portuguese cor, Tetum kór 'colour'.
kor  *vd?* wide open (eyes).
Koraamil  *n.* Koramil. An Indonesian acronym for komando rayon militer (military subdistrict unit).
koran  *vd.* newspaper. From: Indonesian koran 'newspaper'.
kore'  *vd?* dishonour, disrespect. The undergoer is expressed in a verbal complement with isi-. See: isi'. Fi pura lesa tufuraa namiraa na'u ta-isi-kore'. If we don't give a dowry, (it means) women and men do not respect one another. ... amuni ki-paadufu-isi-kore' dishonour widows (i.e. get them pregnant)
korenti  *n.* necklace. Source unclear.
kori  *vd?* lease (?), mu'a ki=kori ki=dasa leased land *Pairs: dasa.*
kota  *n.* town, city. From: Indonesian kota 'town, city'.
koto  *va?* maybe, suppose. Used often together with halee 'maybe'. See: halee. *Koto halee* Maromak=ini ani te-dai... Maybe the Lord walked next to me...
(k)-otu  *vd.* fetch (water). Ini dadau ira mei paril un loloi uere'-isi-k-otu. We had to pour the water into one or two barrels.
(k)-ou-  *vd.* towards. *ki-ke' ki-nua k-ou-dane* bring (earn) food and drink *Ani aire' aite' ni-asu k-ou-na-nat=ini sirvisu haka... I am still just learning (standing around near it) to find work...
koumeme'  *vd.* greedy. Segmentation unclear. It is possible that kou is (k)-ou-, but there is no indication as to the meaning of meme'. See: (k)-ou-
kovernu  *n.* government. See: governu.
kozineiru  *n.* cook. See: mainatu. From: Portuguese cozineiro 'cook'.
krisma  *vd.* Variant: kirisma. get one's confirmation. From: Portuguese crisma 'confirmation'.
(k)-ua'  *vd.* on top. Reduced form: (k)-ua-. ... *ki-sapeu mei=ni ki-puulata k-ua'. (They) put his hat on top of his head. *Hala u hai tepa muni k-ua-ma'u-ma'u...* A war is gradually coming up again...
(k)-uan  *vd.* bigger than. *Kiloob ki-loo bopu asi-loo k-uan.* His house is bigger than my house.
kuandu  *conj.* when. From: Portuguese quando, Tetum kuandu 'when'.
kuaze  *va?* almost. From: Portuguese quase 'almost'.
kuda  *n.* horse. From: Indonesian, Tetum kuda 'horse'.
(k)-ue-  *vd.* around. *Lilipaka ere ki-puulata hai k-ue-lor-la'a.* The butterfly flew around his head.
kuit  *n.* octopus.
kuitadu  v.d. poor, pity. From: Portuguese cuidado 'care, concern'.
kuku  v.d. be silent. See: tepa-tepar.
kukus  v.d. steam. From: Indonesian kukus 'steam, vapour'.
kular  n. clan. Pairs: nuak.
kulat  n. mushroom. kulat (ki=)pik poisonous mushroom See: pik.
kulia  n. study at university. 'university' if used as an argument. From: Indonesian kuliah 'university'.
kulsaun  n. mattress. From: Portuguese colchão 'mattress'.
(k)-umu-  v.d. kill. Found only as a verbal complement to other verbs. (k)-umu is transitive and compatible with an undergoer argument, while umu is intransitive and found as a main verb only. The two could be interpreted as variants of one verb umu with labile transitivity. See: umu. Kiloo ni-sa ere hau k-umu-lasi. He cut his wife to death.
kupe  v.d. hand over. Refers to the part of the wedding ceremony where the bride is officially handed over to the groom. It is always constructed with tufuraa as its object. See: tufuraa.
(k)-uri-  v.d. behind, but visible. (k)-uri- thus contrasts with (k)-utu, which means 'behind, covered or hidden by it'. See: (k)-utu.

(k)-utu

ni-uri-  openly, on purpose. See: ni-.
kuru  n. teacher. See: guru.
kurun  n. combs. Dry, without honey in them (?)
kuruus  n. Variant: kurus. cross. From: Portuguese cruz 'cross'.
kus  n. shoot with a blowpipe.
kusa-  v.d. near to. possibly (k)-usa-. [Note: occurs in a text and was translated as given; however, all attempts to elicit more examples of its use failed.]
kustumi  n. customs, traditions. From: Portuguese costume 'custom'.
kut  v.d. blow, play a flute.

(k)-uta  v.d. kill. Ei=ni ani mei pa’uk-ini=sì ani-uta. It was you who destroyed me and killed me.

(k)-uta-  v.d. behind, hidden from view. Namira a ate-uta-nat. A man is standing behind a tree.

(k)-utu  v.d. block from view, hinder. Ni-tana mei=ni ni-ha’a k-utu-dane. (He) puts his hand over his mouth. Uatu loloi k-utu-sai’ after two days (k)-utu-nini hinder.

(k)-utu-suma  be angry at, forbid.

(k)-utu  n. wear, put on (clothes). Namira a=ua faru imir k-utu ere the man who wears the read shirt See: (k)-utu

kutu(-ini)  clothes, clothing.

ki-kutu ki-kasu meini kini... give them clothes... Pairs: kasi.

(k)-utu’  v.d. look after, guard. Kiloo uari ufe’=ini ama-utu’... He was still down there minding the garden...

kuulpa  n. duty, task, obligation. From: Portuguese culpa 'fault, blame'.
la'a \textit{vd.} move, walk on foot. La'a is the most general movement verb and does not specify the directedness of the movement. With the clause linker =ini, la'a is in the process of grammaticalising into a marker of sequituality. The same development is found with mara 'go' and with ma'u 'come'. \textit{See}: \textit{=ini; mara; ma'u.}

-laa \textit{suff.} PL. Used preferentially on [+HUM] nouns, though examples where the suffix is used on [-HUM] nouns can be elicited. Can be reduplicated, in which case it is read as 'all sorts of'. Not used on kinship terms. \textit{See}: \textit{-raa.}

la'akafu \textit{va.} in the future.

la'a\textit{n}e' \textit{vd?} various. Used to mark plurality with [-HUM] referents.

laanter \textit{n.} torch. \textit{From}: Portuguese lanterna 'lantern, torch'.

Laapo \textit{n.} name of the Makalero trickster figure.

la'ar \textit{n.} time. \textit{La'ar muni-muni ni-mata-isi-muni}. (She) kissed her child repeatedly.

lafaek \textit{n.} crocodile. The crocodile is taboo; note the taboo expression fi-dada 'our grandparent'. \textit{See}: \textit{dada}. \textit{From}: Tetum lafaek 'crocodile'.

lafi \textit{n.} side. Inalienable. \textit{Ani hai ata-lafi-isi-ume-mit}. I am sitting next to the fire. \textit{Ki-ina ki-lafi hai pa'uk}. He is blind in one eye.

lafi' \textit{vd.} beside. \textit{Reduced form}: lafi-.

Note that the reduced form lafi-

is formally identical to the noun lafi 'side'. \textit{See}: lafi. \textit{Uata-fun isi-lopu-lafi'}. A coconut palm is next to our house. \textit{Lopu k-ue-la'a lafi-la'a uere the houses around (it)}


lafu \textit{n.} life.

lafu-lafu traditions, customs.

amulafu (living) person.


lafu-lafu' life, ideals, aspirations, traditions, customs, history. \textit{See}: lafu.

Laga \textit{n.} \textit{Variant}: Laka. a toponym. A city and subdistrict within the Baucau district.

Lahane \textit{n.} a toponym. An urban district of the capital Dili.

la'i \textit{vd.} open (mouth).

laidaa \textit{n.} aged woman. Possibly related to la'i 'old'. \textit{See}: la'iit.

laik \textit{n.} basket holding unspun fibres. In handspinning, the cotton fibre to be spun is held in a small basket with an opening at the bottom through which the fibres to be spun are drawn out.

laik \textit{vd.} sow, plant.

ki-piti laik plant flowers on the grave. Traditionally performed one week after the burial. \textit{See}: piti.

lailai \textit{vd.} perform a lailai burial song. Followed by dele songs. \textit{See}: dele.

lailaik \textit{n.} small machete.

lain \textit{vd.} dizzy, unconscious. Used with fanu 'face' as a subject. \textit{See}: fanu.
laipun n. back (of the body).
Laiuai n. a toponym. Situated in the lliomar subdistrict (?).
lak vd. afternoon. Constructed with mu'a 'ground' as a subject. See: mu'a.
laki vd. turn over earth, plough. Using a stick or rod. Pairs: dei.
laku vd. be in effect, sell well. From: Indonesian laku 'in effect, sell well'.
lakulaku vd. half ripe (coconuts).
Lakuloo n. a toponym. In the corpus, Lakuloo appears to be used to refer to the Fatuluku-speaking area. This is at odds with the location of the Laelo (or Laculo) subdistrict in the Manututo district.
lala' vd. boil (water).
lalaka n. spider.
lale vd. wind (yarn) around the length of one's forearm.
lalehan n. sky, heaven. From: Tetum lalehan 'sky'.
Laleno n. a toponym. A mountain in the Lautém district.
lalun n. provisions, supplies.
lamalama vd. small, be in small pieces.
lana vd. go out (?).
(k)-afa-lana hide in the forest like a guerilla. Lit: 'go out and away'.
langsung va? Variant: lansun. directly. From: Indonesian langsung 'direct, straight, immediately'.
lapa n. cockroach.
lapan vd. burn.
lapilapi vd. repeat (?).
lapizeira n. ballpoint pen. From: Portuguese lapiseira 'mechanical pencil'.
lapis n. pencil. The stress shift is notable. From: Portuguese lápis 'pencil'.
Lapulai n. a toponym. Situated in the lliomar subdistrict (?).
lara vd. perform a lara song. A kind of work song that might be sung during work in the field.
Lari n. Makasae-speaking area. See: Lero.
lari vd. aslant, crooked.
Larikua n. a toponym.
larin n. mountain, island, slope, side.
Ini larin=ee-ika-la'a. We went up the mountain. omar-larin slope of the house roof Ki-lopu hai nomo asi-lopu ki-larin k-ata-nat. His house is no longer beside my house.
Larisula n. a toponym. Situated in the Baguia subdistrict of the Baucau district. Pairs: lliomar (?).
larupik n. millipede. The element pik is presumably the same as pik 'bitter'. See: pik.
lasi vd. cut. Using a sword or a big knife.
latu n. k.o. succulent plant.
lauan n. precious metal, money, k.o. earrings. Refers to a type of earrings that makes part of the traditional bride price. In this sense, lauan is normally used with the classifier ripu. See: ripu.
lauan kalah gold. See: kalah.
lauan putir silver. See: putir.
lauan-lepen large gold disk worn on the chest. See: lefen.
Lauateri n. a toponym. Situated in the Baguia subdistrict of Baucau district.
laun vd. talk, converse.
le'  
*vd.* Variant: leh.  
*read.* From:  
Portuguese ler, Tetum lee 'read'.

ledo  
*vd.* set up the loom.

leetana'  
*vd.* in the middle, among.  
*Reduced form: leetana-.*  
Dili  
Loospalos k-ou-la'a vila  
Manatutu=ni leetana'. Going from Dili to Loospalos, the city of  
Manatuto is situated in the  

lafen  
*n.* Variant: lepen. disk, sole,  
palm. Inalienable. The nature of  
the [f]/[p] variation is unclear; it  
could perhaps be regional.  

ia-lefen  
sole. See: ia.

tana-lefen  
palm. See: tana.

lauan-lefen  
large gold disk worn on  
the chest. See: lauan.

Leiloo  
n. a toponym. Situated in  
the lliomar subdistrict.

leka  
*vd.* bald.

leki  
n. flat bamboo panel. Produced  
by opening up a length of  
bamboo and flattening it. Used  
for walls or as surfaces for beds,  
seats etc.

Lekur  
n. a toponym.

lele'  
*vd.* outside. *Reduced form: le-.*  
The vowel of the reduced form  
is lengthened.

leleer  
*vd.* tremble. Asi-adan tepa leleer. My heart was trembling (I was very worried).

lelen  
*vd.* calm down.

lema'  
*vd.* Variant: lemah. sweet. See:  

kasi lema'  
sugar. See: kasi.

lensol  
n. Variant: leensol. bed sheet,  
blanket. *From:* Portuguese  
lençol 'bed sheet'.

Leorai  
n. a toponym. According  
to the village chief of Ailebere,  
Leorai is the old name of  
Ailebere. See: Ailebere.

lepa  
*n.* Variant: lepa' (?). middle of  
the body.

lepuh  
*vd.* hungry.

lepuh-uru  
hunger season. The  
months of the year before the  
main harvest is ready.

Lero  
n. Makalero-speaking area. See:  
Lari.

leru'  
*vd.* lie down flat.

lesa  
*vd.* not exist. Fi pada lesa. We  
don't have friends. May be used  
figuratively as 'be poor'. *Pairs:  
na’an.*

lesu  
*vd.* open up.

let  
*vd.* summon to a ceremony.  
Found only with hi'a 'way, road'  
functioning as its object. See:  
hi'a. ... ki-ni ki-upa ma'u=ni  
hi'a let.... ... his parents came to  
summon (me) to a ceremony...

lete  
*vd? between.

leteroo  
n. large sack.

leto-  
*vd.* through. ... apadan  
leto-se'el. ... jump through the  
window. *tufuraa nosa.siniora*

seti-felun  
a girl prettier than the  
Holy Virgin. Found only as a  
dependent verb in complement-  
verb complexes. Expresses  
comparative with stative verbs.

leu  
*vd.* call.

masu leu  
sing. See: masu.

le'u  
*vd.* encircle. *From:* Tetum le'u  
'encircle, roll up, fence in'.

leuk  
*vd.* drill a hole into (?),  
perforate.

le'uk  
*vd.* stir uncooked rice in a flat  
basket in order to pick out dirt  
and stones.

le'ur  
*vd.* black. Le'ur is used in the  
corpus to refer to someone's skin  
turning black in an unnatural  
way. It is unclear how le'ur  
relates to the much more
frequent metan 'black'. See: metan.
liah n. wing. Inalienable.
asa-liah wing (of a bird). See: asa.
li'an vd. fall. The noun expressing the
goal of the movement can be
expressed either directly in the
verb's complement position, or
within a verbal comlement.
Asi-ni la'a=ni uier-li'an. My
mother went and fell into the
river. Ani uier-mutu-li'an. I fell
into the river.
ki-ha'auen l'ian replace,
substitute.
ki-nei l'ian pay a tax. See: nei.
lidu vd. separate cotton fibres from
the seeds using a cotton gin.
lih n. slave, servant.
listrick n. electricity. From:
Indonesian listrik 'electricity'.
litru n. litre. jerikeen=ua litru lima
a jerrycan that (holds) five litres
From: Portuguese litro 'litre'.
likadora n. encirclement (?). Used
only in conjunction with militár,
as likadora militar, to mean
encirclement (?). See: militár.
From: Portuguese ligadura
'band, bandage, ligation'.
likut vd. chase (away).
lili vd. grab.
lillin n. candle. From: Indonesian lillin
'candle', Tetum lilin 'wax'.
lilipaka n. butterfly.
lima vd. five.
lina n. line. Dila ki=roual=ini hai
na'u lina-diari... The many frogs
sit lined up... From: Portuguese
linha 'line'.
liiri vd. add a small amount.
liu vd. stagnant (water). Pairs:
mu'a. 
(ira) liu lake. Kiloo hai ira
liu-mutu-la'a. He went into the
lake. See: ha'a.
liur vd. add water.
liurai n. king, local leader. See: dai.
From: Tetum liurai 'king'.
Liusoru n. a clan name. Pairs:
Dolomara.
livre vd. free. From: Portuguese,
Tetum livre 'free'.
From: Portuguese livro, Tetum
livru, libru 'book'. See: surat;
buku.
lode n. bag.
lo'e vd. excoriate, take (skin / bark)
off. ... la'a=ni k-asu ate-uli lo'e.
... (we) go to gather bark for it.
lofo n. enclosure. Mainly an
enclosure to keep pigs in, but
may also be used to denote a
patch of garden. Pairs: dana.
lo'i n. k.o. basket. A type of round
basket, woven with little pimplies
on the underside that function as
feet; generally include a lid.
Alike to poka, although larger in
size. See: poka.
loka vd. pack, wrap up.
lokata va? all (?), most (?). The
meaning and use of lokata are
unclear.
loke vd. open. From: Tetum loke
'open'.
loko vd. lie. As opposed to neok, loko
does not take an undergoer. See:
neok, puripuri; pa'uk; fasä'.
loko pa'uk lie Lit: 'lie bad'.
loko fasä' lie Lit: 'lie dirt'. Both
phrases were given to render the
agent noun.
lola vd? tall. Asan 'long' is normally
used. See: asan.
lolitu  *vd.* three [-HUM].  *Reduced form:* itu.  *itu-he’e* in three days  
*See:* itu.

lolo  *vd.* say, speak. The complement clause extension to lolo may be introduced either with a clause linker or with the complementiser *ee.  See:* eee.

k-ia-lolo  flatter, persuade.  *See:* (k)-ia‘.

lolo-ini  word, words.  *See:* -ini.

masu lolo  sing.  *See:* masu.

loloi  *vd.* Variant: loloi. two [-HUM].  
*Reduced form:* ei.  *ei-he’e* in two days  
*See:* meih.

lonon  *n.* corn cob.

lolor  *vd.*  
straight, right, right up to,  
true.  *Reduced form:* lolo-.  
*Ma ta ka’u a te popok=ee hai k-ua-lolo-la’a.* The child goes straight up on that rotten tree trunk.  
*Ki loo hai lolo-ue-nat.* He stands upright.

lulu  *n.* eagle.

lulu’  *vd.* praise.

lo’o  *n.* readiness (?). Only found in the phrase ni-lo’o kini ‘getting ready to’.  
*Se far=ee na’a-muni hai ni-lo’o kini hai ufe-se=el=afa.* The dog in turn is getting ready to jump down there.

lo’on  *n.* sky.

lo’on-fatil  lightening.  *Lit:* ‘sky-gun’.  
*See:* fatil.

Loopupul  *n.* a clan name.

Loorasa  *n.* a clan name.

Loore  *n.* a toponym. Situated in the Lospalos subdistrict of the Lautém district.

lopolopor  *vd.* continue, non-stop.

lopu  *n.* house.  
Lopu refers to a house that stands on the ground, rather than on stilts.  
*See:* omar.

lopu falun  church. The Portuguese loan igreja is commonly used.  
*See:* falun; igreja.

Lopuleetana  *n.* a toponym.  
*Lit:* ‘presumably lopu ‘house’ + leetana’ in the middle’. Situated in the Liiomar subdistrict (?).

Lopuofar  *n.* a toponym.  
*Lit:* ‘presumably lopu ‘house’ + hofar ‘new’’. Situated in the Liiomar subdistrict (?).

lor  *vd.* fly.

*See:* ira; meti.

lor  *vd.* heavy. Used to describe heavy rainfall only.  
*ae lor* heavy rain  
*See:* peran.

lori  *vd.* carry.  
*Fi mata mei lafi-k-afu seran mei lafi-lori.* We carried our children on one side and our possessions on the other.  
*See:* (k)-afu.  
*From:* Tetum lori ‘carry’.

lori  *vd.* flow.

Loromonu  *n.* western part of East Timor.  
*From:* Tetum loromonu ‘west’.

los  *n.* beater. In a backstrap loom, a piece of wood that is used to push the weft yarn into place.

losan  *vd.* empty, naked.  
*Reduced form:* losa-.  
*Putil=ee hai losan.*  
The bottle was already empty.  
*Fi-nana tufuraa un=ini na’u losan=ini ni uaro’.* A sister of ours was showering, naked.

losir  *n.* side of the body.

Lospalos  *n.* Variant: Loospalos;  
Loospala.  
*A toponym. Capital of the Lautém district. Its official name is Lospalos, though Fataluku speakers use the form Loospala.*

lou  *n.* cuscus, phalanger orientalis.

lu’  *vd.* put (a child) to bed.
lu'a  n. monkey.
lua  vd. not get.
luan  n. stable, pen. ara-luan buffalo pen See: arapau.
Luanira  n. a clan name. According to Chamberlain (2008).
luar  n. abroad, overseas. From: Indonesian luar 'outside, beyond'.
Luarai Amaha  n. a toponym.
lue  n. ash, lime that is chewed with betelnut.
lue-lue  grey.
lue-teur  dust. See: teur.
lue-uru  August. According to speakers, this refers to plants withering and looking grey. See: uru.
lue'e  vd. cut. Using a knife.
lue'ihi  vd. purple. Segmentation unclear.
lukidara  vd. crawl, creep. Segmentation unclear.
luma  vd. tame.
lumek  vd. healthy, good.
lumur  vd. sign up, register.
Luruiru  n. a clan name.
lutu  vd. very old, ancient. Lu'a lutu pere ure=mni hai ma'u uc'. This great old monkey appeared there.
lutur  n. stone wall delimiting gardens or fields. Pairs: setur.
lu'un  n. heddle stick. Part of the backstrap loom.

M - m

Ma'adarira  n. a toponym. Situated in the Liomar subdistrict.
ma'akini  vd. wrongly think. See: =kini.
Ma'aluec  n. a clan name. According to Chamberlain (2008).
madar  vd. teach (?). Only found with the reflexive pronoun ni in ni madar 'study'.
ma'en  vd. know, clever. Ani ki-nei nemo ma'en. I don't know his name. Abilio fransés ki-loloini ma'en. [Note: Abilio knows (speaks) French.]
maibé  conj. but. From: Tetum maibé 'but'.
mainatu  n? cook? Occurs only once in the corpus in conjunction with kozineiru and may be used as a lexical parallel to it. Its segmentation and/or origin are unclear. See: kozineiru.
maiória  n. majority. From: Portuguese maioria 'majority'. =mais clit. but. Ki-tufur oko nomo ma'en=mai ude=ini ma'u. His sister didn't know yet but came from up there. From: Portuguese mas, Tetum mais 'but'.
maka  vd. tired. Pairs: kole. From: Tetum maka 'limp, be tired'.
maka'  vd. firm, stick to. From: Tetum maka'as 'strong' (?).
Makalero n. Makalero. According to one speaker, the element maka conforms to maka 'firm' and the element lero is taken from the name of the founding ancestor Ilileru Laualero. The whole is meant to signify a people that is headstrong and independent. See: maka'; Lero.
makulesu vd. hiccup. Segmentation unclear.
malai n. foreigner. Ani na'u tepa malai ko-horu fuli-sirvisu. I kept working together with the foreigners. From: Tetum malae 'foreign'.
malar vd. broad. ... ei-ei-ne'et-ta malar... ... so that your mind is broad (steady)...
male' vd. near. Reduced form: male-. Isi-lupu ere iskola-omar male'. Our house was near the school building.
maledeer vd. early (in the morning). Constructed with mu'a 'ground' as a subject.
mali n. brother-in-law, sister-in-law. As a kinship terms, mali takes the plural marker -raa; however, the plural form was sometimes heard as malidaa rather than maliraa; this phenomenon also occurred with nama 'elder sibling' and fanaraa 'young woman'. See: -raa; nama, fanaraa.
mali omara brother/sister-in-law from the wife-giver side. See: omara.
mali tuumata brother/sister-in-law from the wife-taker side.
malisaa n. predestination. Segmentation or source unclear.
malária n. malaria. Speakers used ka'ar oruor (lit. cold shake) in an attempt to avoid the Portuguese loan malária. See: ka'ar. From: Portuguese malária 'malaria'.
malu n. betelnut. malu nua chew betel See: nua.
malu-hasa betel leaves. See: hasa.
malu-poka small basket to store betel leaves. See: poka.
Maluhira n. a clan name.
mama n. mum. See: ni; ina.
mana n. hole. Motór hai mana-mutu-faut. The motorbike went into a (pot)hole.
ha'a-mana oral cavity. See: ha'a.
kui-kui-mana window. Was produced in an attempt to avoid the common Portuguese loan janela. The meaning of the element kui-kui is unclear.
manan vd. win, succeed, pass (a test), graduate from. From: Tetum manan 'win'.
Manatuto n. a toponym. Capital of the Manatuto district.
mandatu n. mandate. From: Portuguese mandato 'mandate'.
mani n. nape (of the neck).
mani-patan neck-stem Referring to the long neck of a deer. See: patan.
Manfurú n. a toponym. Situated in the Lliomar subdistrict (?).
Pairs: Hl'ima.
manimani vd. stick out (tongue).
Kiloo dîla mata k-asu ni-iffil manimani. He sticks out his tongue at the small frog.
mani n. give to me. See: -ini.
mar n. k.o. bamboo.
mara vd. go. Expresses a movement away from the deictic centre, with the goal generally known
but not expressed. With the clause linker =ini, mara is in the process of grammaticalising into a marker of sequentiality. The same development is found with la’a ‘move’ and with ma’u ‘come’. See: =ini; la’a; ma’u.

c: mari’ vd. scream.


c: masa  n. plastic (?).

c: masa-ra’u plastic plate. See: ra’u.

c: masan vd. scared. Kiloo toutou=ee masan. He is scared of the owl. Pairs: aka’.

c: masu  n. throat, voice, song. In its sense as a body part term, masu is inalienable. See: aran; ia; tana.

c: masu huma sing. See: huma.

c: masu leu sing. See: leu.

c: masu lolo sing. See: lolo.

c: masu-isu stanza. See: isu.

c: masu-pata chorus, refrain. See: pata.

c: masukoro  n. neck, front of the neck. The meaning of the element -koro is unclear. See: masu.

c: masukoro ki-pu’i  adam’s apple. See: pu’i.

c: masupatur  n. something, whatisit. Segmentation unclear.  

Masupatur ira mutu ufe’... There is something (some kind of animal) in the water...

c: mata  n. child, the young of a species. Inalienable. Has a special plural marker -niki. Mata ka’u ‘small child’ appears to be lexicalising such that it does not necessarily refer to a small child, and is in fact used once for a girl of marriageable age. See: -niki; ka’u.

c: mata irani  daughter-in-law. The meaning of the element irani is unclear.

c: mata namiraa  boy, son. See: namiraa.

c: mata tufuraa  girl, daughter. See: tufuraa; tufur.

c: mata’ vd. salty. See: me’ese.

c: mataroos  n. servant, employee. The long vowel of the last syllable suggests roos is interpreted as a separate morpheme. See: mata. From: Tetum matroos ‘shop assistant, employee’.

Matebian  n. Variant: Matebia. a toponym. Mount Matebian is the third highest mountain in East Timor with a height of 2,316m. It was one of the centres of the Falintil resistance against the Indonesian army.

c: matebian  n. soul, dead person. From: Tetum matebian ‘soul of a dead person’.

matenek  vd. clever, smart. From: Tetum matenek ‘clever’.

materradina  n. March. Mater was translated as ‘k.o. tree (redwood?)’ and raadina as ‘pile of worm excrements’. Neither word is attested on its own in the corpus.

matu  n. sweet yam, ipomoea batatas (?). See: same.

matu-isan  n. July. Refers to the time when the sweet yams come up. See: matu; isa; -r.

ma’u  vd. come. Refers to a movement towards the deictic centre. With the clause linker =ini, ma’u is in the process of grammaticalising into a marker of sequentiality. The same development is found with la’a ‘move’ and with mara ‘go’. See: =ini; la’a; mara.
maubere n. Timorese man. Originally a denomination for the Mambai people, the term was adopted by the resistance movement to refer to the population of East Timor as a whole. See: puipere.


me'e v.d. able, can. Associated with acquired abilities. Can be constructed either with a complement clause extension or as a verbal complement to a superordinate verb. See: hul.

meedai n. wheat (?).

me'en v.d. exert oneself. Ani=nii na'u tepa k-utu-nat k-utu-me'en uai=konai=nii lopu=oo e'... I kept standing up and making an effort, such that the houses are (still) here...

me'esee v.d. salty. See: mata'.

meestri n. teacher. From: Portuguese mestre 'teacher, master', Tetum mestre 'teacher'.

mei v.d. take. Mei is very frequent as a light verb in constructions involving a mismatch between semantic and syntactic argument structure.

ta mei get married. Lit: 'take each other'. See: ta.

meih v.d. two [±HUM]. See: lolic.

meini v.d. give to you (sg). See: -ini.

meiudia v.a? midday, noon. From: Portuguese meio-dia 'midday'.

meja n. Variant: meza. table. From: Portuguese mesa, Indonesian mejat, Tetum meza 'table'.

meke' v.d. Variant: mekeh. break up, divide. Reduced form: meke-.

meli v.d. scavenge.

mensajen n. Variant: mensazen. message. From: Portuguese mensagem 'message'.

mera' v.d. sharp.

merkadu n. market. From: Portuguese mercado, Tetum merkadu 'market'.

metan v.d. black. See: le'ur. From: Tetum metan 'black'.

meti n. sea.

meti nami sea to the south of Timor, south. Lit: 'male sea'. See: nami.

meti tufur sea to the north of Timor, north. Lit: 'female sea'. See: tufur.

meti-afi-la'a go abroad. See: (k)-afi-; la'a. 

meti lafi' be abroad. See: lafi'; luar.

metur n. meter, tape measure. From: Portuguese metro 'meter'.

mi' v.d. along, following the length of. Reduced form: mi-. Meestri ue-kerek-ini=ni taure-fani' ani uere' me'e mi-kerek. Whatever the teacher wrote there, I could write along. Fenu=ee hai k-ua-dula=na'a=po kilooaa hai mi-mi-li'a-ria'n. Having caught up with the turtle, they turned it over (on its back).

miini v.d. give to you (pl). See: -ini.

militar n. military, soldiers. From: Portuguese militar 'military'.

mina n. oil. From: Tetum mina, Indonesian minyak 'oil'.

mina-sarani chrism. See: sarani.

mini n. murikai. nose ... kiloo ki-mini hai afa-kapar. ... scratched his nose.

mini-mana nostril. See: mana.

mini ki-namu nasal hair. See: namu.
mini ufur  have a cold. Mini ufur is generally constructed as a clause, with mini as the subject and ufur as the predicate. See: ufur.
mini  vd. follow. Laapo uere ni'isi na'u tepa mini. Laapo kept following that one. Uere' ki-mini... Following that / after that...
ministru  n. minister. From: Portuguese ministro 'minister'.
minina  n. miss, young lady. From: Portuguese menina 'girl, young woman'.
minini  vd. give to us (excl.) See: -ini.

misa  vd. go up, climb. Aira lolitu hau-sai' muni rei-misa. After three years, (she) came up and out (from under the earth). Ki-isit=ee hai k-ua-misa. His sickness got worse.

ira misa  expensive. Ira misa can either be constructed as a full clause, where ira functions as the subject and misa as the predicate, or as a prusal predicate. See: ira.
mit  vd. sit (SG). Obligatorily used with a complement expressing location. Pl: diar.

mobail  n. mobile phone. 'call from a mobile phone' if used as a predicate. From: English mobile 'mobile phone'.
modo  n. vegetable. From: Tetum modo 'vegetable'.
moko  n. Fatalaku speaker. From: Fataluku moko 'child'.

mu'ali  vd. disappear, be lost.
momoh  vd. sweat.
moru  vd. sing a moru song to someone. Moru songs are a means of addressing and solving social issues such as family disagreements. Moru singing may take place at funerals, when the clan is gathered and develop out of dele or lalai singing. See: dele; lailai. Nukuh-nukuh fuli-la'a ta moru. The clans gather to sing moru songs to each other.

mosa'  n. witch-doctor, healer.
mosal  vd. swallow.
moso  vd. Variant: mosor. blue, green. The use of the two forms is unclear. The form without the final -r is much more frequent.

mot  vd. be located, lie (on). Savì=ee meja=ua ue' mot. The key is on the table there. Lapisera ere mei=ni meja-ua-ue-mot. Put the pen on the table. See: taru.

ni mot  dare. Iraku-la'a ni hau mot=ini fi nasau ere-isi-ma'u. They dared coming to our country.

rau-mot  correct, improve.
motór  n. motorbike.

mu'a  n. ground, country. mu'a Timor mutu' in Timor mu'a maledeer early in the morning Used as the subject of many weather and time of day verbs. Pairs: liu. See: are'; hare'; lak; kamu; maledeer; osa; pare; rusu.
mu'a-ena be married (men). See: ena; sa; nani.

mu'a-isa  go down (to the ground), be born. See: isa; uala.

mu'a  n. language. Ni-asu isi-mu'a mei lolo... Take our language for herself and speak it...

mu'ai  vd. give to who. See: -ini.

mu'ani  pron. who. Bound form: mu'a. The bound form of the interrogative pronoun is used attributively to both verbs and
nouns (i.e. as an undergoer or as a possessor). Very rarely, a form umani is used, which was characterised as a regional variant and in fact conforms to the Fataluku pronoun for 'who'. See: umani.

Muarai n. a clan name. According to Chamberlain (2008).

muda v.d. change. From: Portuguese mudar 'change'.

Muenira n. a clan name.

mu’it va. a long time from now, long ago. Reduced form: mu’i-

mu’i-mu’it not long after.

mumu’ n. iron.

Mumun n. a clan name. According to Chamberlain (2008).

muni v.d. return. Can function as a verb-phrase internal adverbial.


munu n. k.o. short grass. See: fereh.

murimuri v.d. play. The undergoer is expressed in a verbal complement with isi-. See: isi'. Murimuri ere=ni! Just kidding!

Mata-niki bola-isi-murimuri. The children are playing with a ball.

mus v.d. suck.

musil v.d. climb up.

musumusuk n. candy. See: ropesadu.

mutu n. inside. Used frequently as the subject or within a phrasal predicate to express emotional states. See: hare'; heke; isit; ra'i. Asi-mutu hai heke. I am angry. Dila ere hai mutu heke. The frog is angry.

mutu’ v.d. be inside. Reduced form: mutu-

mu‘u n. banana.

mu’ul n. ant.

muundu n. world. From: Portuguese mundo, Tetum mundu(-raiklaran) 'world'.

muusila n. bag.

muuta'u n. taro.

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N - n

na v.d. NEG.EX (negative existential). Used only in conjunction with oko; otherwise na’an is used. See: oko. Kiloo tone' kulia hai hai=aui oko na? Has he finished his studies yet or not?

na’ n. k.o. basket. Carried with a headstrap.

na’a n. work.

na’a-mei work.

na’a v.d? alone (?). na’a-dafa stab oneself na’a-lasi cut oneself

na’a-na’a one by one, each. ... ni-ni ni-upa-raa k-asu usupadu u na’a-na’a aue. ... he lit a candle each for his mothers and his fathers.

=na’a clt. INT (intentional). Metathesised form: =ana. Ni-sa mei=ini isa=ni ama ena=na’a. (He and) his wife went down there intending to look after their
garden. Marks an intention or a future.

na’a-muni va? in turn, on the other hand. Used in the introduction of a new event, generally contrasting its topic with a previously mentioned topic.

na’an vd. Variant: nahane. NEG.EX (negative existential).

=na’apo clit. afterwards. Metathesised form: =anapo. ...

hau nua=na’apo mata-niki hai lolo... ... after (they) had eaten, the children said... A combination of the clause-level clitics =na’a and =po which originally combined their intentional and adversative meanings, but is grammaticalising into a marker of sequence. See: =na’a; =po.

naik vd. go up. Used in the context of passing from one grade to the next. See: pasa. From: Indonesian naik 'climb'.

naikini va? be the main issue, as long as. Fi hala-mutu=isi naikini lafu=afta rau. We are in a war, so the main thing is that we survive / as long as we survive, it's ok.

na'ilou n. queen, lady.

nainai- vd. slow.

nak vd. roll, turn, rotate.

nala n. cheek.

nama’ vd. upwards, higher up. Reduced form: nana-

nami n. male, man, husband. asa nami rooster See: asa.

nami-ena be married (for women). See: ena; mua’; sa.

namiraa n. man.

namora va. have an affair, go out (with someone). 'boyfriend / girlfriend' if used as an argument.

namu n. body hair. Inalienable.

nu-namu moustache. See: nunu.

nana n. large snake. See: ofo.

nana n. elder sibling. As a kinship term, nana is marked for plurality with the suffix -raa. Nana-raa is often heard as nanadad or nanada, although speakers rejected this form in elicitation. A similar phenomenon is found with fanaraa and mal. See: -raa; fanaraa; malii.


napiroono n. tablecloth. Source or segmentation unclear.

nasaun n. country, nation. From: Portuguese nação, Tetum nasaun 'nation'.


Ate=ini ue-nat. A tree stands there. ei=ni asi-nei k-ia-nat... it was you who was named after me...

=nata clit. CTF.COND (counterfactual conditional). Metathesised form: =anta, =anata. Associated with counterfactual conditions rather than real ones. Often read as 'for example' or 'such as'. Uere=ini uai=n=anta Muenira, Naunira... These (the clans of lliomar) are for example Muenira, Naunira...

Natal n. Christmas. From: Portuguese, Indonesian Natal 'Christmas'.

na’u va? just. Very common as a verb-phrase internal adverbal.

nauk n. cotton fibres.
Nauniil n. a toponym. A mountain in the liiomar subdistrict.

Naunira n. a clan name.

Na'utetu n. a toponym. Situated in the Buaau district (?). *Pairs: Porupai.*

ne- *vd. at (?).* Only found with puna 'watch'. Possibly a shortened form of nese- 'aim at?'

ne-puna watch, look after. *See: puna; nese.*

ne-eti *vd. think, remember.* The undergoer or theme is always constructed in a verbal complement, either with isi-, nese-, (k)-ata-, mi- etc. The combination with isi- is most unmarked and partly lexicalised, as seen by the fact that it is nominalised as a unit. It may be constructed with a complement clause extension with the complementiser =ee. *See: isi'; nese'; (k)-ata'; mi'.

Asi-isiei-eti ka'u-ka'u hai kaua-kauer. My mind was a bit calmer. *Ani tone mei=ni rau-ru A mi-ne'eti=ete uai=te'e=si ani tone lolo.* I will think it through thoroughly and then I will tell more.

neh *vd. breathe.*

nei n. name. Inalienable.

ki-nei l'ian pay a tax. *Isi-upa-raa re pata ru loliu mei=ni ni-nei l'ian... Our fathers took thirty pataks to pay their taxes... See: l'ian.*


nene' *vd. Variant: neneh. hot.*

neok *vd. lie, deceive. May take both an undergoer (adressee) as well as a complement clause extension. The latter is generally introduced with the clause linker =ini. See: =ini; loko; pururup. Kiloo ani neok=ini ani=kini la'a=ni kooperasi hein=ana. He lied to me, (saying) I was going to go and wait for a cooperation (to be opened).*

ner n. honeycomb (?).

nese' *vd. be in the middle, aim at, hit.* *Reduced form: nese-*.

Tentara kiloo hai nese-suri. The soldiers shot at him and hit him. *Ani ni-papa na'u tepa nese-ne'i eti. I keep thinking about / remembering my father.*

nese-la'a find. *See: la'a.*

nese-puna see, find. *See: puna.*

nesen *vd. show.*

nete *vd. old [≠HUM]. *Pairs: la'i.t.*

ni *pron. REFL (reflexive).* Indicates coreference with subject.

ni n. mother. Inalienable. Not used as a term of address. *See: ina.*

ni-pos.pron. REFL:POSS-(reflexive possessive). Indicates coreference with subject.

ni-pref. NEG (negative). Found with rian 'big', rupa 'many', pada 'of one kind', sa'u 'come down' and (k)-uri- 'hidden' to denote the opposite, i.e. 'small', 'little', 'not just like that', 'grown up' and 'openly, on purpose'. *See: rian; rupa'; (k)-uri-; pada.*

-ni'e *vd. laugh (BD). See: hi'e.*

nihin n. gums.

niirit *vd. startled.*

n'iisi *va? simultaneous.*

-niki suff. PL (plural). Used only with mata 'child'. May be reduplicated and used in conjunction with the -laa plural. *See: mata.*
nikiniki  
vd. drizzle.  
Ac ninkiniki.
It is drizzling.

nilai  
n. mark.  
As in school.  
See: nem.  
*From:* Indonesian nilai 'price, worth, mark'.

nilu  
vd. forget.  
Obligatorily takes a verbal complement.  
The undergoer or theme is always constructed in a verbal complement with isi-.
See: isi'.  
Ani tone' ei nomo isi-nilu. I
will not forget you.

-nini  
vd. do (BD).  
See: kini.

nunu  
n. k.o. tree, noni, morinda
citrifolia.

nirik  
vd. small, tiny.

no  
n. layer, limit, past.  
Used as a classifier for meti 'sea'.  
*Pairs:*  
rapi.  
Kilo.  
eti no fitu  
k-afla'eqi ma'au... He came from
beyond seven seas...  
Rata
no-isi' rapin-isi'  
Stories about
the old days

no-uatu  
season.

lo  
n. pocket, side pocket.  
Fode-no  
side pocket of a bag Inalienable.  
See: lode.

no  
conj. and. Used very rarely.  
*From:* Tetum no 'and'.

noko  
n. younger sibling.

nokonoko  
vd. mad, crazy.

nokor  
vd. ripe (?).  
Used for maize; possibly the lexical parallel of pada'.  
See: pada'.

nomo  
part. NEG (negation).  

nomo ho'o  
ever.  
Ini nomo ho'o  
ta-isi-la'a. We never go to visit
one another.

nomohaka  
vd?  
CLS.NEG (clausal negation).  
Nomohaka ani lopu  
teuh-e'e tule uai=po asi-osi
nomo isi-ria'. It's not the case

that I don't want to buy a house,
but I don't have enough money.

nomor  
n. Variant: númeru.  
number.  
*From:* Indonesian
nomor 'number', Portuguese
número 'number'.

nonton  
vd. Variant: noonton.  
watch.  
*From:* Indonesian
menonton 'watch'.

nopa'e  
vd. cannot.  
Can be
constructed either with a
following complement clause
extension, or as a verbal
complement within a
superordinate clause.  
Kilo
nopa'e le'. He cannot read.  
Fi
ueir e' ere nopa'e teri. We
cannot cross the river here.

norororo  
vd. angry, upset.

nosa siniora  
n. Blessed Virgin.  
*From:* Portuguese Nossa Senhora
'Blessed Virgin'.

nour  
vd. call in (a loan) from.

nua  
vd. eat.

nua-ini  
food.  
See: -ini.

nua-nua  
food.

nuak  
n. village, clan.  
See: nukuh.

nuarai  
vd. carry on one's back.

nuat  
vd. be startled.  
Obligatorily
constructed with a verbal
complement with isi-, which
may contain the theme or cause
of the astonishment.  
See: isi'.

Dotor uere uere'-isi-nu'at...
The doctor was startled by it...

nukuh  
n. clan.  
See: nuak.

numu  
vd. enormous, huge.  
*Pairs:* rian.

-numu  
vd. die (BD).  
See: umu.

nun  
n. cloud.

num-teur  
fog.

nun  
n. lip. *Reduced form:* nu-

nunu-hasa  
cheek (?).  
See: hasa.

nu-namu  
moustache.  
See: namu.

nunuur  
n. Variant: nuunuur.
k.o. flute with four holes.
-nuta

 vd. fall (rain). See: uta.

 Nutupupul
 n. a clan name.

 O

 o
 conj / clit. Variant: ou; =o; =ou.
or. From: Portuguese ou 'or'.
 [Note: Port]

 objektivu
 n. aim, goal, objective.

 obriga
 vd. force, oblige. See:
fatar. From: Portuguese obrigar
 'force, oblige'.

 obrigadu
 n. thanks. Ani k-asu
 obrigadu roual me=ni kini. I
give him many thanks. From:
Portuguese obrigado 'thank you'.

 odaha
 n. brangle.

 odamata
 n. door. See: aihaa.
 From: Tetum odamatan 'door'.

 odi
 vd. Variant: ode. hate,
resent. The undergoer can be
constructed either with (k)-asu
'for' or with ena 'see'. From:
Portuguese odiar, Tetum odi
'hate'. Asipada-laan ani-asu
ode. My friends resented me.
Fi-pada fi ena odi. Our friends
hate us.

 ofarana
 vd. dream.

 ofo
 n. k.o. snake. See: nana.

 oko
 va. yet. Used as a verb-phrase
internal adverbial. Particularly
frequent with the negator nomo
in the sense of 'not yet'. Note
that a special negative
existential, na, is used with oko
only. See: na. Asipiskaoka
nomohai'. My schooling is not
finished yet.

 òkulu
 n. glasses. From: Portuguese
ùculos, Tetum òkulu 'glasses'.

 omar
 n. stilt house. Reduced form:
omar-.
 Pairs: lopu; du.

 omaraha
 n. wife-givers, family of
the bride. Pairs: tuumata.

 omaraha-tuumata
 traditions, customs.

 Omarsa’c
 n. a toponym. Lit: 'omar
'stilt house' + sa'e 'hair, leader'
(?). Situated in the Lliomar
subdistrict (?).

 omu
 vd. ball up (yarn).

 =oo
 clt. too. Used on both NP level
and on clause level. On clause
level, it is generally read as
concessive. If attached to
interrogative clauses or
sentences, it is interpreted as an
indefinite expression (e.g.
wherever, everywhere,
whatever, everything etc.). Asa
hil=oo uc’ sikir=oo uc'
daansa=oo uc'. There were
cockfights and also sikir dancing
and also dancing. Ani
malaria=oo ani fatar=ini la’a
ata haka. Even when I had
malaria, (they) forced me to go
and find firewood.

 oololo
 vd. howl.

 opa
 va? be (precisely) the same.
Ki-ni kil-pura=ee opa mei
ma’u. (They) brought the same
dowry as her mother (had had).

 Opanuun
 n. a toponym. Situated in
the Lliomar subdistrict (?).
Pairs: Uanri; Tunir.
opera v.d. operate. From: Portuguese operar 'operate'.

oras n. hour. Papa oras loloi tia... The Indonesian slept for two hours... From: Portuguese hora 'hour', Tetum oras 'hour, time'.

orasaun n. prayer. Ani na’u tepa sinu pase, orasaun kini. I keep sounding the bell and praying. From: Portuguese oração 'prayer'.

orde n. Variant: oro. official information. Given orally; the population gathers and the information is read out or proclaimed. Iliomar satu-isla’a orde uali'... (They) went to Iliomar to hear the official information... From: Portuguese ordem 'order, directive'.

ore v.d. foam.

oro' n. spear. See: fel.

oruoru v.d. shiver, tremble.

osa v.d. be light, noon. Can be constructed with either ma’a ‘ground’ or uatu ‘day’ as a subject. See: ma’a; uatu. Kilolo ma’a kamu ma’a osa u’e=ini ki-surat u=dai-mara ena-ena...

At night and during the day, he kept looking at their papers...

osakada n. grasshopper. Segmentation unclear.

osamale n? future. Probably made up of osa 'light part of the day' and male 'hear', thus denoting a near future. See: osa; male'.

osan n. money. From: Tetum osan 'money'.

osar n. traditional pharmacy (?).

oso n. casuarina tree.

Osu n. a toponym. Capital of the Osu subdistrict in the Viqueque district.

Osuhira n. a toponym. An alternative name for Pusira. Situated in the Iliomar subdistrict. See: Pusira.

ot v.d. cough.

-otu v.d. fetch (water), carry. See: (k)-otu.

-ou- v.d. towards. See: (k)-ou-

ouar n. dada. master. Inalienable.


oupu'u n. storage area above the living quarters in a stilt house. See: pu'u.

ouru n. diamond. In a deck of cards. Portuguese ourus 'diamonds (in a deck of cards)'.

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P - p

=p-clit. PURP- (purposive). Is cliticised to the preceding clause or the clausal pro-form uai and additionally combined with a vowel-initial personal pronoun.

Fana-nini ho'o u'e' ani-asu asar=ini ma'u uai=p-ani uaih. (If you) have some teaching, send it to me so that I can hear it.

paaduu v.d. idle, useless.

paakun n. parent-in-law, son-in-law. If pluralised, the final -n is lost, and the plural suffix -raa attached to the remaining root paaki, yielding paaki-raa.
paaldi  n. Variant: paalde. bucket. See: ember. From: Portuguese balde 'bucket'.

pa'amutu' n. k.o. disease. Segmentation unclear. mutu' could be 'inside'. See: mutu'.

pa'an n. gorge, ravine. See: toil.

pa'anate n. design for weaving patterns on paper. Segmentation unclear.

paandera  n. flag. From: Portuguese bandeira, Indonesian bendera 'flag'.

paandera heil Sunday. Lit: 'pull (up the) flag'. See: heil.

paankanu n. Variant: banku. bench, stool. From: Indonesian: bangku 'bench', Portuguese banco 'seat', Tetum banku 'bench'.

paardufu n. widow. Inalienable. Counts as a kinship term and is thus pluralised with the suffix -raa. See: -raa.

paarenta n. verandah. From: Portuguese varanda, Indonesian beranda 'verandah'.

paata n. men's tais sarong. Worn at weddings.

pada n. friend, individual of same social status. Possibly better translated as 'one of the same kind' (see pada se', ni-pada).

Pairs: raku.

pada se' different, unique. Tenki suku ere ki-nei pada se-se'. The names of the villages had to be different.

ni-pada not one of this kind, not just like that. El=ni ani mei pa'uk-ini=su uai=konai=ni ani tia uai ani ni-pada tia. It was you who hurt me so that I was sleeping (lying), I wasn't sleeping just like that. See: ni-

pada  v.d. order, tell (to do something). Can take both a complement clause extension (usually introduced with a clitic clause linker) and an undergoer object.

padaen  n. expert. See: badaen.

pai n. pig.

pai n. parent's younger sibling (?)

paimatu aunt, uncle. The element -matu is unclear. The term appears to be used interchangeably with the Portuguese loan tia 'aunt'. A song mentions an apparently parallel term hi'amatu, which, however, occurs nowhere else in the corpus and was not explained. See: tia; tia.

Paidubudubur n. a toponym.

Paidur n. a clan name. According to Chamberlain (2008).

Paifaka n. a toponym. A river located in the llioma subdistrict.

paimina  v.d. become oil-like. Mina translates as 'oil'; the meaning of the element pai- is unclear. See: mina.

pak n. cargo area of a truck, cargo bed. From: Indonesian bak 'box, tub'.

pakufla  v.d. overturn. Segmentation unclear.

pala' v.d. half ripe.

nokor pala' half ripe. Used for maize. The meaning of the element nokor is not quite clear.

palamera n. Red Cross. From: Indonesian Palang Merah 'Red Cross'.

palek  v.d. stick to. Ani surat-hasa mei=ni ate-ata-palek. I glued a picture (paper) on the wood.
Panaira  n. a toponym. Situated in the Lilotam subdistrict (?). *Pairs: Pusira.*

pane  vd. wash. For hands, clothes etc, but not the whole body, for which uaro' is used. *See: uaro'.

Asi-ropa hau pane! Wash my clothes!

paneme  vd? right. It is unclear how paneme relates to tanen 'right side'. *See: tanen.*


papa  n. father, daddy. ini=aire'=ua dada u popa u k-is'i=ini... we who are descended from one grandfather and one father... *Pairs: dada.* *See: upa.*

papa  n. Indonesian man. Occasionally, the short form pa' may be used (mainly as a term of address). *From: Indonesian* bapak, pak 'father; respectful term of address for elder men'.

para  vd. stop. Ani iskola la'a=ni lepa-para. I broke off schooling halfway through. *From: Portuguese* parar, Tetum para 'stop'.

para  conj. so that. Isi-sa'e-laa uere la'ane' mei=ni rau-rau resolve para ei-ni ei-upa ki-aka'=taa frau uc'. Our leaders have to solve these things well so that our parents don't need to be afraid. *From: Portuguese, Tetum para 'for, so that'.

pare  vd. dry season, hot. Constructed with mu'a 'ground' as the subject. *See: mu'a.*

paril  n. barrel. *See: baril.*

parlak  n. dowry. *See: barlak.*

parlamentu  n. parliament. *From: Portuguese* parlamento 'parliament'.

paru  n. dregs. ... ki-mina ni'isi mei=ni se-dli' ki-mina-paru=ee ni'isi mei=ni se', ... pour the oil separately and separate the dregs (from it).

paruh  n. female bird, hen. *asa paruh* hen *See: asa.*

pas  va? precisely. *From: Indonesian* pas 'fit, exact'.

pas  n. be peaceful, make peace. Ani so'ot=ee fi meih=ini ma'u=ni pas dame.. I want the two of us to make peace... *Pairs: dame.* *From: Portuguese* paz, Tetum pás 'peace'.

pasa  vd. pass (by). Used in the context of passing from one grade to the next. *See: naik.* *From: Portuguese* passar 'pass (by)'.

pasak  n. k.o. tree, eurycoma longifolia (?).

pasal  vd. slap, smack. Ki-sa ni-inapisi k-eta-pasal. His wife slapped her forehead. Aira rihun u rasa siua ru aro resi-fat hai la'a ru aro resi-lima-mutu-pasal=afa. It was the year 1984 and 1985 was coming up.

pasaporte  n. passport. *From: Portuguese* passaporte 'passport'.

pasar  n. market, week. *Oko nomo pasar u...* Before a week was over... *From: Indonesian* pasar 'market'.

pase  vd. hit, beat. Mu'ani ei pase? Who beat you? Ani uatu rai kamunei na'u tepa sinu pase... At night and at noon, I keep striking the bell...

pasia  n. washbasin. *From: Portuguese* bacia 'basin, bowl'.
pasiensia n. patience. From: Portuguese paciência 'patience'.

pasik vd. throw down (?).

pasta n. Variant: paasta. bag. From: Portuguese pasta 'briefcase, folder, file'.

pasun n. sheath.

pata n. essence, main part. masu-pata chorus, refrain. See: masu.

pataaka n. pataka. Timorese currency during the colonial period from 1894 to 1959, after which it was replaced by the escudo. See: iskudu.

patan n. fallen tree, log. ate-patan fallen tree Inalienable. See: ate.

pati vd. divide from, separate. Ini ta pati. We part (from one another).

pa'uk vd. bad, ugly. Ani isi-ne'et ma'akini tufuraa ki=pa'uk ho'o. I thought (you were) some bad woman. The use of pa'uk is characterised as somewhat unrefined, and nomo rau 'not good' and nomo felun 'not nice' are considered more polite. See: rau; felun.

pa'uk-ini destroy. Ei=ni ai mei pa'uk-ini=i si ani-uta... It was you who destroyed and killed me... See: -ini.

paun vd. many [-HUM].

paun vd. tear out.

ama paun work in (the) garden. Pairs: pure. See: ama.

paus n. clubs. In a deck of cards. From: Portuguese paus 'clubs (in a deck of cards)'.

peesta n. party. See: feesta.

peik vd. stupid. See: beik.

peitasa n. k.o. ilex (?). Is distributed in churches on Palm Sunday. Peitasa is presumably segmentable into an element peit and hasa 'leaf'. See: hasa.

pel vd. lean on. Ani hir-ata-pel. I lean against the wall.

pel vd. wash (floor) with a mop. From: Indonesian kain pel 'mop'.

penu vd. full. Not generally used for the feeling of being full, where heul is used (though penu has been found in this context, too). Diki-ate hai penu=fata fi hau omu. If the yarn stick is full, we ball (the yarn) up. From: Indonesian penuh 'full'.

pepēs n. shed rod. In a backstrap loom, the piece of wood that is used to separate the upper and the lower warp yarns.

peran vd. heavy (rain). See: lor.

perdaun n. Variant: peerdaun. pardon, forgiveness. From: Portuguese perdão 'pardon, forgiveness'.


tu-pere first-born, ancestor, leader. Tu-selar ere mi-puna renufuku lliomar ere hai hau rial. The ancestors saw that the population of lliomar had increased. Pl: tu-selar.

peri' vd. hot. Obligatorily constructed with isi' as a verbal complement. Can also be used in the sense of 'spicy'.

periksa vd. check, inspect. See: cek. From: Indonesian periska 'investigate, inspect'.

persiza vd. need, necessary. From: Portuguese precisar 'need'.

pertama vd? Variant: peertama. first. See: tu. From: Indonesian pertama 'first'.


Perunas  n. a toponym. An urban district of East Timor's capital Dili.


pesan  n. message.  *From:* Indonesian pesan 'message'.

dan  

dan

petel  v.d. hard, firm, harsh.  *Asi lolo-ini koto hau petel...* My words are maybe very harsh...  *Pairs:* saman (?).

petun  n. k.o. bamboo.

piak  v.d. winnow rice in a flat basket. Throwing it up sightly.  *See:* sosok.

pik  v.d. bitter, poisonous.

ate-hasa (ki=pik) poison.  *See:* ate; hasa.

pili  v.d. wounded.

pilipilis  v.d. tiny. Always found in combination with ka'u 'small'.  *See:* ka'u.  *Sefar=ee ka'u pilipilis...* The dog is tiny...

pipi  n. goat.  *From:* Tetum bibi 'goat'.

pipi-leri young mango.  *Lit:* 'goat anus'.  *See:* ueri.

pipi-rusa  n. deer.  *From:* Tetum bibi rusu 'deer'.

piris  n. saucer, small plate.  *From:* Portuguese pires 'saucer'.

pit  v.d. fast, hurry.

ina pi-pit careful.

piti  n. mat.

ki-piti laik plant flowers on the grave. Traditionally performed one week after the burial.  *See:* laik.

planu  n. plan.  *From:* Portuguese plano 'plan'.

po'  v.d. go up, climb.  *Reduced form:* po-. Found only with ki-mani as an object. The reduced form is furthermore found as a verbal complement only with pase 'beat'.  *See:* pase.  *Sefar=ee mara=ni mata ka'u ki-mani po'...* The dog climbs on the child's neck (shoulder)...  *Sefar uere ki-mani po-pase...* (they) hit the dog on the neck (killing it)... =po  clit. ADVR (adversative), but. =po, despite its vowel being short, has its own stress.  *Nomohaka asis-noko ki-upa=hi'a=po ni'isi asis-upa.* (You are) not just my sister's father, but also my father.

podo  v.d. stingy, miserly.

podupodu  v.d. cut up.

poi  v.d. k.o. dance. The dancers, both men and women, put their arms over each other's shoulders and sing.

pok  v.d. resurrect, rise from the dead.

Fi-hoden fi-nantu ki-rate uere teni pok teni tane... Our ancestors rise from their graves...  *Pairs:* tane.

pok  n. pebble.  *Meti-pok* beach pebble

poka  n. k.o. basket. A small basket with a lid and little pimples at the bottom to serve as feet. Used to hold tobacco etc. Similar to lo'i, but smaller.  *See:* lo'i.

Pokapoka  n. a toponym. Situated in the lliomar subdistrict (?).  *Pairs:* Ualaleki.

poki  n. spindle whorl.

poko  v.d. squat, crouch.  *Ki-sefar=ee uar=ee k-ia-ufe-poko.* His dog is crouching at the foot of the rock.

pola  n. ball.  *See:* bola.

poko  v.d. hide.

polis  n. Variant: polisi. police, policeman.  *From:* Indonesian polisi, Portuguese policia, Tetum polisia 'police'.


po'or v.d. cook, boil.
poornaali n. flour sack. From: Tetum bomal 'soft bag'.
popok v.d. Variant: popo. rotten, putrid. The form popo looks like a reduced form of popok; however, its distribution is different from regular reduced forms, which occur as verbal complements only. Mata ka'u ate popok=ee hai k-ua-lo-lo-la'a. The child goes on top of that rotten tree. Ate-isu ere hai haka-hau popo. These fruits are all rotten.
popusaun n. village, commune. From: Portuguese povoação 'small town'.
por v.d. tie up. 'snare' if used as an argument. Ki-noko-raa kiloo mei=ni ue-por... His younger siblings tied him up there... Asi-nana por heil=ini asa paruh u nami un=ini kene. My brother set up a snare and a hen and a cock were caught in it.
pora v.d. roll, wind. ... Lerenene uere pora=ni kafu=ni mu'a-ia-la'a. (She) rolled herself around Lerenene and carried him under the earth.
porgante n. purgative. From: Portuguese porgante 'purgative'.
portantu va? Variant: tantu. thus, hence, therefore. Found in the speech of very few lisufied individuals only.
portu va. Variant: poortu. during the Portuguese colonial era.
Portugal n. Portugal.
portugés n. Portuguese.
Porupai n. a toponym. Situated in the Baucau district (?). Pairs: Na'utetu.
potil n. Variant: putil. bottle. From: Indonesian botol, Tetum botil 'bottle'.
potok v.d. thud, impact.
pouk v.d. shave.
poul v.d. blunt.
pou'ur v.d. fat. 'fat, grease' if used as an argument.
pouv n. people, population. From: Portuguese povo 'people'.
prima n. (female) cousin. From: Portuguese prima 'female' cousin'.
primeiru v.d. first. From: Portuguese primeiro 'first'.
problemá n. Variant: problema. problem. From: Portuguese problema 'problem'.
prontu v.d. ready, done. From: Portuguese pronto 'finished, ready'.
pu'al v.d. come loose.
pue n. areca.
pui'i n. joint.
masukoro ki-pu'i adam's apple.
puipeere n. Timorese woman. See: maebeere.
Pukakesi n. a clan name.
puna v.d. look at. Kilooraada dos=ce-mutu-puna. They look into the box.
ne-puna look at. Ne- is only found in ne-puna 'look at'. Pairs: liar. See: ne-.
mi-puna look through, look at (from a distance).
Punakosi n. a clan name.
pupul n. centre. Inalienable.
pupur n. hill.
pura v.d. sell, trade. 'bride price' (inalienable) if used as an argument. Ani hai la'a=ní dosi pura-pura. I went to sell cookies.
ki-pura kini pay the bride price (for). La’a=ni asan-isi’ sa-enatenki ki-pura kini. (Even) if one goes and gets married far away, one has to pay the bride price.

pure vd. cultivate, produce, acquire. Most often used with ira ‘paddy’ as an object. Pairs: paun. See: ira. Iraku ni-asu ki-pipi pure-ini la’a... He took his goats for himself and went... Amuni ira pure ma’en... People who know how to cultivate a rice field...

puripuri vd. lie. Li haka hau puripuri! You are all lying! See: loko; neok.

purke conj. because. Ini-asu sinaal u ue’ purke udere’ isi-mu’a... There was a sign (omen) for us, because that up there is our land... From: Portuguese porque ‘because’.

purur n. chicken louse.

Pusaulu n. a clan name.

pusi n. pan, container. Fi ira ka’u-ka’u mei=ni pusi-isi’. We put a bit of water in the pan.


Pusira n. a toponym. Situated in the liiomar subdistrict. Also referred to as Osuhira. Pairs: Panaira. See: Osuhira.

Putinafa n. a toponym. Situated in the liiomar subdistrict.

putir vd. Variant: puti. white. Putir may also be translated as ‘surrender’. The use of the short form puti is unclear. It is found in the collocations sa’e puti ‘white hair, old man, leader’ and dai puti ‘foreigner, white person. See: sa’e; dai.

pu’u n. top of the roof of a stilt house. Inalienable.

pu’u lolo-nat main supporting pillar for the roof inside a stilt house.

ou-pu’u storage area in a stilt house above the living quarters. The element ou- is possibly related to (k)-ou-. See: (k)-ou-

pualata n. head. Ki-sapeu mei=ni ki-pualata k-ua’. (They) put his hat on his head. Segmentation unclear.

pualata-taka hat. Lit: ‘head-close’. Produced by speakers who were trying to avoid the Portuguese loan sapeu. See: taka; sapeu.

R - r

-r suff. PL (plural). Very limited in use; found commonly only with the noun mata ‘child’, and once with tala ‘branch’. See: mata; tala.

-raa suff. PL (plural). Restricted to kinship terms. Incompatible with kinship terms which contain the phoneme ‘i’, which take the plural marker -laa instead. See:

-laa.
raaropa  va. Variant: raapa. often, usually. The element -ropa is cognate to the quantifier ropa' 'many'; the origin of the element raa- is unclear. Ani raaropa=ee ni-nami k-asu tina-ini... I often cook for my husband...

rai  vd. night, evening. Constructed with uatu 'day' as its subject. See: uatu. Uatu rai uere' nua=ni tia. At night, we ate that and slept.

ra'ine last night.

ra'i  vd. dirty, rotten.

mutu ra'i badhearted. See: mutu.

raka  n. digit. Inalienable. See: ia;
tana.

rakan  vd. fumigate, smoke.

raktán  n. home-made weapon. From: Indonesian raktan 'assembly'.

raku  n. friend, individual of same social status. Pairs: pada.

rama'  vd. Variant: ramah. press, squeeze, massage. ... ho'o teni mei=ni ni rama'=ana... ... (he) took some and was going to massage himself...

ran  vd. ready, prepared. Tufuraa ki-sera-seran ki-ni ki-upa mei=ni ran-ini... The girl's things, her parents prepare them...

ra-ran-ini decoration.

rapa  n. (wild) animal (?).

rapi  n. women's tais sarong. See: kola.

rapi afili baby sling. The meaning of the element afili is unclear. Mana hai to'i=ni anhi hai mei=ni rapi afili mutu'='ini la'a=ni ani taru=na'a... Having dug a hole, (they) wrapped me in a cloth and were going to bury me...

rapin  n. past (?). rata no-is'i rapin-is'i tales about the old days Pairs: no.

rapurapu  vd. quick, hurried. Rapurapu-ini ka'u='te' e nomo rau. (If you) do it hurriedly, it will be bad. See: rau.

rasa  vd. hundreded.

rasuh vd. pregnant (?). See: afunasi.

rata  vd. tell a story. 'story' if used as an argument. Lliomar ere ki-lolo-ini uatu ere uatu ere mei=ni ta rata ere... The language of Lliomar that is used everyday to tell each other stories...

rata'  vd. arrive. Muni ma'u=ni lliomar-is'i-rata'. Coming back, (I) arrived in Lliomar.

ere' ta rata' until now.

rate  n. grave.

rau  vd. good. Kilooraa ta ena nomo rau. They hate each other.

raunata possibly. Segmentation unclear; likely rau + an element nat or nata, which could be either nat 'stand' or =nata (CTF,COND). See: nat; =nata.

ra'u  n. plate.

raun  vd. Variant: rau. quick, fast. The form rau looks like a reduced form of raun; however, it is not limited to occurring in the complement position of another verb, as expected. Kilooroo surat ere pase=eere tafi tana raun. He typed the letter very quickly. Hena ani tone' nomo rau-rau hau kini... The cloth, I may not (be able) to finish it quickly...

rebeka  n. guitar. Origin unclear.

refu'  vd. spread, widely distributed.
rei- v.d. outwards. Ani oko nomo mei=ni rel-lo-lo. I am not disclosing (it) yet.
reja v.d. pray. From: Portuguese rezar 'pray'.
rekam v.d. record. Iraku ere rekam mei la'a. She records this and takes it away. From: Indonesian 'record'.
rekasi v.d. bomb. Origin unclear.
relasaun n. relation, relatives. From: Portuguese relação 'relation'.
remet v.d. pull, exert.
ni remet exert oneself.
reju n. population, subject. From: Portuguese reino 'kingdom'.
renufuku population. The meaning of the element -fuku is unclear.
resin v.d. remain, be left over. Reduced form: resi-. From: Tetum resin 'more, rest'.
resiresi v.d. play. See: murimuri.
ria' v.d. run (SG). Pl: titar. Ho'o uata misa ani k-ia-dai=ni ki-uta k-afu-ria'. If someone climbed up a coconut tree (and threw down coconuts) and I passed underneath, I ran away with the coconuts.
isi-ria' run up to, enough. Asi-osan nomo isi-ria'. I don't have enough money (to buy a house).
ri'a v.d. store, save. Foto uerc ani mei rau-ri'a. This photo, I will store safely.
rial v.d. many [+HUM]. Renufuku lliomar ere hai hau rial. The population of lliomar was already very large.
ria-la'a become big, increase. Pairs: ropa-la'a. Ini aire'e rau-rau amu ka'ar=ini uai=konai=ni hai ria-la'a hai ropa-la'a. We are healthy now so that we have grown big and increased.
riapatan n. main road. See: hi'a.
riaria n. tent (?). Pairs: tara.
riau v.d. moderate.
ri'afa n. k.o. tree (?).
rifirifi v.d. boil over. ... uai=taa irau nama-rifirifi uai=taa irau fi-tana=taa pa'uk=ana. ... so that it doesn't boil over and hurt our hands.
rifirifu n. gathering, get-together.
rihun v.d. thousand. From: Tetum rihun 'thousand'.
rika v.d. slim.
riku v.d. rich. From: Portuguese rico 'rich'.
ripa-vd? again, return (?). Appears to be equivalent in meaning to muni 'return'. See: muni.
riparipa pron. any.
ripu n. pair (?). Used as a classifier for lauan 'k.o. earrings'.
risikoo n. risk. From: Indonesian resiko 'risk'.
riu v.d. move, wiggle, rock. Fenu=ee uari lafu' uari riu-riu. The turtle is still alive (and moving). amulafu riu-riu a (living) person Pairs: lafu' (pairs with the reduplicated form riu-riu).
ropa n. clothes. From: Portuguese roupa, Tetum ropa 'clothes'.
ropal' vd. many. Reduced form: ropal- (?).
ropal-aua become many, increase.
Ina aie' rau-ru amu ka'ar=ini uai=konai ni hai ria-la' a hai ropal-la' a. We are healthy now so that we have grown big and have increased.
Pairs: ria-la' a.
ropasadu n. candy. See: musumusuk. From: Portuguese rebuçado, Tetum rebusadu 'sweets, lollies'.
rou' vd. Variant: ro'uh. together. Reduced form: ro'uh-. Fi ro'uh-anuflu. We are all (fellow) humans. Povu Ailebere uere' k-ue-ro'u-la' a... The people of Ailebere went together towards it... See: fuli'; dada.
rou-ki make angry (?).
roual vd. many [-HUM].
roun n. k.o. grass.
rubit vd. curly (hair).
ruvu vd. thunder. Constructed with mu'a 'ground' as a subject. Mu'a hai ruvu. It is thundering.
ruvu vd. ten. As a tendency, ruvu is used on its own, while the simplex ru occurs mainly in combinations with other numerals to express multiples of ten. Asi-vul=ee ruvu. My mark was (a) ten. ru lo loi twenty ru lolitui thirty rihun u rasa siua ru afo resi-fati 1,984
rusu' vd. sing. See: huma; kanta.
rusuk n. ring.
rusun vd. tall. It is unclear how rusun relates to asan 'long', which is used much more commonly to refer to a person's height. See: asan. Uera-laa mei=ee tu ruwu-rusun. The two of them are of the same height.
rut vd. blow (wind). Kaau=ee piti=ee mei=ni nama-rut. The wind blew up the mat.

S - s

sa n. tupurae. wife. Rarely also used to mean 'husband'. See: nami.
s-a-en be married (men). See: ena; mu'a; nami.
sa'a n. thing.
-sa'al vd. fry (BD). See: ha'al.
sa'ani pron. what. Bound form: sa'a-. The bound form of the interrogative pronoun is used attributively to both verbs and nouns (i.e. as an undergoer or as a possessor).
sa'a-fani' how, why. See: fanil'.
saapatu n. Variant: sapatu. shoe. From: Portuguese sapato, Indonesian sepatu, Tetum sapatu 'shoe'.
saban n. Variant: sapau; sabun; sapauan. soap. From: Portuguese sabao, Indonesian sabun 'soap'.
sa'ei n. hair, leader. May in some instances be translated as head.
(see below). This reading relates to the Makasae cognate dae 'head' and also to the Makalero phrase sa'e puti 'leader, respected old man'. See: putir.

Ei-noko=ni=haka hai hau mei=ni ni-sa'e-isil'. Your younger sister took all of (the oil) and put it on her hair.

Umur-sa'e
umur-ueri-isil-diari... (They) sit at the dead person's head (hair) and at his feet (buttom)... sa'e-hasa hair (sg). See: hasa.

sa'e-koru lord, sir, respected person. Amuni ki-hela-helar
sa'e-koru ho'o ti'a-mei... (They) receive some big or respected person...

ua-sa'e pillow. presumably a form of (k)-ua' and sa'e 'hair, head'.

sa'e vd. wear on the head.

Fanaraa-laai meih uere sapeu sa'e. The two girls are wearing hats.

sai vd. take (pictures). It is unclear if this is related to sai 'go out' or not. Alternatively, mei 'take' may be used. See: mei. Ani kamera=ua mei=ni=ua foto sai-sai uere heti... I asked for a camera that (you) take pictures with...

sai vd. exit. Ini Lospalos isi=ini sai ma'u. We were in Lospalos and left there and came (here). From: Tetum sai 'go out'.

-sai' vd. end (BD). See: hai'.

saia n. skirt. From: Portuguese saia 'skirt'.

saka n. branch. Inalienable. Nomohaka ate ki-saka-saka=ni ue'=po pipi-rusa=ni ue'. Not branches are there, but a deer.


sakar n. May. The word sakar apparently denotes a type of grass with inedible grains, though it was never used in this meaning in the corpus. The use of sakar for 'May' refers to the time when the sakar grains are ripe.

sala vd. commit an error, make a mistake. From: Indonesian salah 'fault, mistake, wrong', Tetum sala 'error, sin'.

salakadu n. k.o. meat dish. saleenda n. cloth worn over the shoulder. See: selenda.

salva vd. save. From: Portuguese salvar 'save'.

saman vd. hard. Pairs: petel (?).

same n. sweet potato, potato. See: matu.

sapeu n. Variant: saapeu. hat. From: Portuguese chapéu, Tetum xapeu 'hat'.

sapu n. pomelo, citrus maxima.

tana-ilu-sapu k. o. citrus fruit with thin skin that can be peeled of with one's fingernails. See: ilu.

sapu vd. hunt.

sapun vd. break to pieces. Kiloo ni-pusi ni-ra'u=ni hau sapun-pase... He smashed all his pans and plates to pieces...

sarani vd. be baptised. From: Tetum sarani 'Christian, baptizate'.

upa sarani godfather. See: upa.

saren n. filter. From: Indonesian saring 'filter'.

saren-ini vd. filter.

-sat vd. dry (BD). See: hat.

sauarika n. scorpion. From: Fataluku sauarika 'scorpion' (?).

saude n. Variant: saudi. health. From: Portuguese saude 'health'.

sa'uk vd. hop, jump.
sa‘ul  *vd.* down, on the ground. *Asa oko-na mu‘a-sa‘ul.* The chickens haven’t come down to the ground yet.

ni-sa‘ul  *big, grown up.* See: ni-
save  *n.* *Variant:* savi. *key.* *From:* Portuguese chave, Tetum xave ‘key’.  

SD  *n.* primary school. SD is short for sekolah dasar ‘base school’. It is followed in the Indonesian education system by SMP and SMA. *See:* SMP; SMA. *From:* Indonesian SD ‘primary school’.  

se  *va? very. Found only as a verb-phrase internal adverbial.* Ki-isa se hare‘. He is very happy.  

se‘  *vd.* *Variant:* seh. *alone, by oneself, separately.* *Reduced form:* se‘. *Ani sotemee se-dina.* I cook separately (for myself). *Ini aire’ se-se‘.* We live each separately now.  

se‘  *n.* chin.  

sede  *n.* jurisdiction, sphere. *From:* Portuguese sede ‘seat’.  

sedik  *vd.* wear. Only found in the phrase utur sedik ‘wear a tais’. *See:* utur.  

see  *conj.* if. *From:* Portuguese, Tetum se ‘if’.  

-se‘el  *vd.* jump (BD). *See:* he‘el.  

Seenda  *n.* a toponym. Situated in the Lliomar subdistrict (?).  

Seenira  *n.* a toponym. *Pairs:*  

Hoonira.  

Seerasa  *n.* a toponym.  

sefar  *n.* dog.  

sefar kal  click one’s tongue. The meaning of kal is unclear.  

sefi  *n.* boss, chief, superior. *From:* Portuguese chefe ‘boss, superior’.  

seli suku village head, village chief.  

seli aldeia village head, village chief.  

segredu  *n.* *Variant:* segeredu. secret. *From:* Portuguese segredo ‘secret’.  

-se‘i  *vd.* cut with a small knife (BD). *See:* he‘i.  

-seil  *vd.* pull (BD). *See:* heil.  

-sein  *vd.* wait (BD). *See:* hein.  

seka-  *vd.* astride, astraddle. *Kilooh hama ki-tala uere k-ua-seka-mit.* He sits astride on the branch of the ficus benjamina.  

-seke  *vd.* difficult (BD). *See:* heke.  

seku  *vd.* pound. *See:* tafa.  

-selar  *vd.* big (PL) (BD). *See:* helar.  

sela‘u  *n.* jaw.  

selau-  *vd.* go somewhere quickly (?). *Ei huma’ Hi‘ima Manifuru selau-la‘a! (May) your soul be off to Hi‘ima Manifuru!  

selenda  *n.* *Variant:* saleenda. cloth worn over the shoulder. *From:* Indonesian selendang ‘cloth or stole worn over the head or the shoulder’.  

selu  *vd.* other. Most often used as a nominal modifier with the attributive marker ki=. *See:* haale. *Fi ira ki=selu teni na‘a-muni mei isi‘. We put different water in it. *From:* Tetum seluk ‘other’.  


seminarista  *n.* student at a seminary school. *From:* Portuguese seminarista ‘seminarist’.  

sen  *n.* *Variant:* sen malai. pineapple. The addition of malai ‘foreigner’ to sen marks the pineapple as an introduced species and suggests that sen originally had a meaning other than pineapple.
senseta  **vd. Variant: seenseta.**
yellow. Origin unknown. It is unclear how senseta relates to the more frequent kalah.

sentí  **vd. Variant: sentí.** feel. Aní ni sentí ka'u-ka'u rau. I felt a bit better. *From:* Portuguese sentir, Tetum sente 'feel'.

sentimu  **n.** centimeter.

sepoostu  **n. Variant: seepoostu.** subdistrict head. Source unclear.

sepududu  **n.** watermelon. Segmentation unclear. Dudu could be 'breast'?

seran  **n.** things, goods.

Serifa  **n.** a toponym.

serikeen  **n.** jerrycan. *See: jerikeen.*

seru  **vd.** miss narrowly.

sesar  **vd.** throw away, dump.

seta  **vd.** ripe. Found with bananas, mangoes and papayas. *See: anmu; titil.*

seta'  **vd.** blind. Ina-mana 'eye socket' is used as seta's subject. However, this expression is characterised as rather rude; ina pa'uk 'eye bad' is more polite. *See: ina; pa'uk. ina-mana seta blind*

seti  **vd.** pass, miss. Fi la'a=ni Paifaka uer seti-la'a... We cross the Paifaka river...

Amulafu rata uere seti-lolo ki-konsekuensia uere nomo mu'i-lafu’. If someone tells this story wrongly, as a consequence he will not live long. *[Note: pass = not hit, miss]* Is used to form comparatives with state verbs. As an argument, seti is read as 'mistake, sin'. **Kiloo ani seti-forit.** He is stronger than me.

seti-seti  error, sin.

seti-nini  **err, commit a sin.**

-seti  **vd.** ask (BD). *See: heti.*

setur  **n.** fence made from wood or bamboo. *Pairs: lutur.*

seur  **n.** meat.

sia  **vd.** rub, brush. Aní ni-usi hau sia. I brushed my teeth.

sia-sia  eraser.

s'ak  **vd.** fierce, vicious, angry.

sidadi  **n.** big city. *From:* Portuguese cidade, Tetum sidade 'city'.

sidar  **vd.** elongated, drawn out.

-sifa’  **vd.** catch (BD). *See: hifa’.*

sgaar  **n. Variant: sikaar.** cigarette.

sígunda  **n. Variant: siguunda.** Monday. *From:* Portuguese segunda-feira, Tetum segunda 'Monday'.

sígunda lína  **n.** second degree. *From:* Portuguese segunda 'second', linha 'line'.

sikir  **vd.** perform a sikir dance. A dance for women only.

síl  **vd.** bind, tie. sa'e mei fulli-síl tie (one's) hair

simkar  **n.** SIM card.

simu  **vd.** receive. *Amulafu nomo ani tía-simu.* No-one received (employed) me.

sin  **va? Variant: sim.** yes. *From:* Tetum sin, Portuguese sim 'yes'.

sína  **n.** k.o. mantis (?).

sína  **n.** China, Chinese.

sínelus  **n.** flip-flop, slipper. *From:* Portuguese chinelo 'slipper'.

sínorra  **n.** lady. *From:* Portuguese senhora 'mrs., lady'.

sínu  **n.** bell. *From:* Portuguese sino, Tetum sinu 'bell'.

sírvisu  **vd. Variant: sírivisu; sírbusu; sírbusu.** work. *From:* Portuguese serviço 'employment, office, service, work’, Tetum serbusu 'work'.

APPENDIX 2: MAKALERO-ENGLISH WORD LIST 597
sirvidoor n. Variant: sirbidoor. worker, farmer.
sisu’ vd. point at.
situasaun n. situation, circumstance. From: Portuguese situação ‘situation’.
siu vd. step. Ani hi’un hai k-a’a-siu. I stepped on a thorn.
siuva vd. siwa. nine.
SMA n. senior high school. SMA stands for sekolah menengah atas ‘high middle school’. It is preceded in the Indonesian education system by SD and SMP. See: SD; SMP. From: Indonesian SMA ‘senior high school’.
SMP n. junior high school. SMP stands for sekolah menengah pertama ‘first middle school’. SMP is preceded in the Indonesian education system by SD and followed by SMA. See: SD; SMA. From: Indonesian SMP ‘junior high school’.
so vd. insult.
soen vd. throw down carelessly.
-sofe vd. know (BD). See: hoce.
sofit vd. be behind, follow, be late. Reduced form: sofi-. Ki-sa ki=sofi-mit ere mata lesa. His second wife doesn’t have children.
sofu n. back, backside, loom backstrap. Sometimes heard as sofí. See: sofit.
soh vd. yesterday. Soh is most frequently used with the complementiser =e’ as soh=e’. It can also be combined with raine ‘last night’.
sooraine’ last night. See: rai.
Soibada n. a toponym. Located in the Manatuto district.
soka vd. disguise. Ki-mata ni-fanu soka. His child disguised his face.
soko- vd. pound (?). Found only as a verbal complement to tafa ‘pound’. See: tafa. Teli soko-dafa po’or to’e=ini uai=te’e=si fi nua. We pundi, cook and mix the maize and then we eat it.
-sole vd. throw down. See: hole.
solo vd. implant, embed, impale. Ate-furu uc̓is̓i ki-uerti mei solo. There was a stick there, and (they) impaled his bottom (on it).
solteru n. Variant: soolteru. single, bachelor. From: Portuguese solteiro ‘single’.
sookoroko ro ro ko vd. snore.
s’ot vd. want. Can be constructed either with an object or with a complement clause extension. The latter may be introduced either with the complementiser, the clause linker =ini or be adjoined to the s’ot-clause without any marking. Ani se s’ot=ini uall’ I would very much like to hear (it). Ani so’ot=ee ki-nua heti. I want to ask for food.
sopen vd. sleepy. Constructed with ina ‘eye’ as a subject; the experiencer is the possessor of that subject. Isi-ini hai sopen. We started getting sleepy.
sopun vd. care. Kiloo ani isi-sopun. He cares about me.
sor vd. protect (BD). See: hor.
sorit vd. shave.
soro vd. mix. Ani kafé dudu-ira mei=ni ta soro. I mix coffee and milk with one another.
sorti  vt?  Variant: soorti; soorit.
lucky.  *From: Portuguese sorte 'luck'.
soru  vt. assemble, gather.
sorut  vt. surprised, wonder.
soso  n. stem, trunk, bole. Found only in mu'u-soso 'banana stem'.  *See: mu'u.
sosok  vt. winnow rice in a flat basket.
    Throw the rice up high (as opposed to piak 'winnow', where it is thrown up slightly).  *See: piak.
sotemee  vt. alone, self.
soul  n. snail.
Soupiti  n. a toponym.  *Pairs: Kelipiti.
su  n. k.o. fish (?).
su-amulafu  dolphin (?).  *Lit: 'fish-person'.  *See: amu.
sua  n. k.o. tree.
Suai  n. a toponym. Capital of the Cova Lima district.
suale'u  n. k.o. snake.
suan  n. domestic animal.
suapi  n. Timor monitor, varanus timorensis (?).
suar  vt. suspect, gossip about.
    Iruka-laa ki-isa fi tepe nomo tutu fi mei ume-suar e-suar.
    They don't like us and keep saying all kinds of weird things about us.
sufær  n. driver.  *See: koondötör.
    *From: Portuguese chofer, Tetum xofér, Indonesian supir 'driver'.
suka  n. cigarette.
sukat  vt. add.
suku  n. suco. An administrative unit of east Timor below the subdistrict and above the village (aldeia) level. A city or town usually consists of several sucos.  *See: aldeia.  *From: Portuguese suco 'suco', Tetum suku 'suco, village'.
suku  vt. sew.  *See: fei'.  *From: Tetum suku 'sew'.
suma  vt. show. The undergoer is obligatorily constructed in a verbal complement, generally with isi-.  *See: isi'.  Mosa'=ee k-asu ate-hasa hai isi-suma.
The healer showed him a medication.
-suma  vt. order (BD), be angry with (BD).  *See: huma.
sura  n. mouse, rat.
-suri  vt. release (BD), shoot (BD).  *See: huri.
suruk  vt. fall off. Kareta ki-pak uere=ni na'u mu'a-suruk. The car's cargo bed fell off to the ground.
susar  vt. sad, difficult, poor.
    Air'e=ua lafu hai susar... Now that life is difficult...  *From: Tetum susar 'difficult, trouble'.
susuuk  n. mosquito.  *From: Tetum susuk 'mosquito'.
su'ul  vt. young. Reduced form: su'u-.
    Often constructed with isa 'condition' as a subject. Kiîoo uari isa su'ul=ini umu. He died young. Tenki mata namiraa su'u-numu. Li must be a young boy who dies.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ta</th>
<th>pron. REC (reciprocal). Ini ho'one tane-tane. We used to wake each other up. Ta mei get married. Lit: 'take each other'. See: mei.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ta-</td>
<td>vd. near, next to. Kiloo kadeira hei=ni la'a=ni aihaa ta-nat. She pulled the chair close to the door...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta'a</td>
<td>vd. chop (with an axe). 'axe' if used as an argument.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=taa</td>
<td>clit. PURP (purposive). Asi-kuda-isi-hihi uai=taa ma'u. Call my horse so that it comes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta'amatu</td>
<td>n. a toponym. A river in the lliomar subdistrict. According to Chamberlain (2008) also a clan name.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taanda</td>
<td>n. sign. Kiloo ni-sefar k-asu taanda kini. He signals to his dog. From: Indonesian tanda 'sign, signal'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tafa</td>
<td>vd. pound, prick, prod. Bound form: -dafa. na'a-dafa stab oneself. See: sekü; soka; na'a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tafal</td>
<td>vd. throw down. Bound form: -dafal. Ki-upa tafil ere mei mu'a tafal. His father threw the sago palm to the ground.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tafan-</td>
<td>vd. over, onto. Iraku ni-upa tafan-irih. He urinated over his father.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tafarira</td>
<td>n. a clan name.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tafi</td>
<td>va. true. Ani tafi hau tasan. I was really suffering a lot.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tafi'</td>
<td>n. sago palm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tafu</td>
<td>n. half, piece. ate-tafu piece of wood sigaar-tafu cigarette butt Inalienable. See: ate; sigaar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tais</td>
<td>n. tais, traditional woven cloth. From: Tetum tais 'tais'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tak</td>
<td>n. connection.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Taka</td>
<td>vd. close, switch off. Bound form: -daka. Papa aihaa taka. The Indonesian closed the door. Kiloo tifi hau taka. He switched off the TV. From: Tetum taka 'close'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tala</td>
<td>n. piece (?). Used as a classifier with kapat 'necklace'. See: kapat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tala</td>
<td>n. branch. Apart from mata 'child', tala is the only noun found to be pluralised with -r, rather than with the more common plural suffixes -laa and -raa. See: mata; -r; -laa; -raa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tali</td>
<td>n. string, rope. From: Tetum tali 'rope', Indonesian tali 'string, rope'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tama</td>
<td>vd. go in. Ani lopu tama. I go in the house. From: Tetum tama 'enter'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamat</td>
<td>vd. graduate. SD hau tamat ani la'a=ni Dili-isi-iskola=na'a. Having finished primary school, I went to Dili to go to school. From: Indonesian tamat 'completed, ended'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamba</td>
<td>conj. because. From: Tetum tan-ba 'because'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamedai</td>
<td>vd. be the second child. Asi-nana ki='tamedai hai</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
sa-enà. My second oldest brother is already married.
tamu v. name, call. **Bound form:** -damu. Hau atanana asi-suku Ailebere ki-nei oko nomo mei=ni Ailebere tamu. At first, my village Ailebere was not called Ailebere yet.
tana n. hand, arm. Inalienable. See: fah.
atà-tana flame. See: ata.
tana-ìlù fingernail. See: ilù.
tana-ìfen palm. See: lefen.
tana-masu inside of the elbow. See: masu.
tana-pù’ì wrist, elbow. Any joint in the arm. See: pu’ì.
tana-raka finger. See: raka.
tana-tàla additional finger (birth defect). See: tàla.
tana-tì’ù elbow. The meaning of the element tì’ù is unclear. Also recorded as tana-hì’u.
tana-tòròk lower arm. See: toròk.
tàna v. burn down.
tana’ù v. all (?).
tàne v. waken. Ini bo’onese tàne-tàne. We used to wake each other up. **Pair:** pok.
tànen n. right side. It is unclear how tanen relates to paneme 'right’. See: paneme: uel. U=ua asì-tanen k-ua-mit e’ ki-nei Pedru. The one who sits at my right side is called Pedro.
tàntu v. thus, hence, therefore. See: portàntu.
tàpà v. pass through. Ani aìhà uere tàpà-la’a... I passed through the (locked) door...
tapakù n. Variant: taapakù. tabacco. **From:** Portuguese tabaco, Tetum tabaku 'tabacco’.
tapakù due smoke. See: due.
tàrà n. roof. Inalienable. **Pairs:** riarià (?).
tàrà-bàndù n. taboo. See: bandù.
tàràn n. beehive (?).
tàrànà n. k.o. bird.
tarìn v. curse.
tàru v. put, position. **Bound form:** -daru. With a [+HUM] object, it is translated as 'bury'. ... ni-nàna tarù=na’a nomo rau. (She) wanted to bury her brother, but couldn’t. **From:** PAN *taRuq’ put, put down’.
tàru n. rattan. tarù-màta rattan stick (?)
tàsàn v. suffer, poor. Asì-upà ani-afa-umù ani tòfi tàsan. (When) my father died (leaving me behind), I was really poor.
tasù n. frying pan, wok.
tàtà’ v. shake. Saapatu haka hau isì-tàta’. (He) shakes all the shoes. The undergoer is obligatorily constructed in a verbal complement with isì’. See: isì’.
tàtà v. unite, be all together. Pai uere tone’ tàrà-la’a=ni fitù afò. Those pigs were about seven or eight all together. aire’ ere tàrà-la’a until now.
tàtà-màra repair. Kiloo na’u muni mei tàtà-màra. He just repaired (it) again.
tàtà-ràu repair.
tàtà-pùrù-pùrù quarrel (?). Tufuràa ma’u ei-fàmìla ena na’u tepa tàtà-pùrù-pùrù na’u tepa ta ena mutu heke... The woman comes and quarrels with your family and is angry with them... Speakers could not interpret the element puru-puru if asked for it on its own, without tàtà-.
tau' *vd.* where. *Reduced form:* tau-. In declarative clauses, tau' is read as an indefinite expression. In such contexts, it is often combined with the clitic =oo 'too'. *See:* = oo. Ei tau'=ini ere teuh? Where did you buy this? Ki-da'al ere tau-tau'=oo ue'. The shards are scattered everywhere.

taure' *vd.* which. *Reduced form:* taure-. Meja taure' k-ua'? On which table (is it)? Taure'e may also be used as 'which place'. Ani tone' taure' k-ou-la'a? Where should I go?

taure-fani' how, why. Like all other interrogative verbs, taure' may be used in an assertion, in which case it is read as an indefinite expression (whichever, in every way). Teli-ee hai taure-fani'? How is the maize?

tauropa' *vd.* *Variant:* tauropah. how much, how many, some, a few. Tauropa' can be segmented into tau- 'where' and ropa' 'many'. In assertions, it functions as a quantifier 'some'. *See:* tau'; ropa'; teteropa'. Ei-osan tauropa'=ini uc? How much money do you have? Ani uta-uta isu tauropa' heti. I would like a few mung beans.

te- *vd.* approach. Ani-te-mit. Sit next to me.

te-dai look after, help, defend. *Lit:* 'walk near'. Kato halee Maromak=ini an-te-dai... Maybe the Lord protected me...

te'e *n.* side. Possibly the lexical source of the clause linker =te'e. *See:* =te'e. Umur-sa'e umur-neri-isi-diar umur-lepa-isi-diar ume-te'e-diari e-te'e-diari (We) sit at the dead person's head and at his feet and at his middle, sitting at the far side and at the near side of the body Toke k-aff-te'e-ume'. The tokyo lizard is on that side over there.

=te'e *clit.* after. *Metathesised form:* =ete. A clause linker expressing the completion of the first action before the onset of the second action. Ani uere hau mei=ni ina-ui k-asu lole=te'e uai=te'e an Dili-isi-la'a. I said this to (my) mother, and after that I went to Dili.

teeluku *vd.* hold on, uphold. Segmentation unclear.

teempu *n.* time, opportunity. Teempu ere-isi=ere pala merah lliomar=ee fan. At that time, the Red Cross was feeding lliomar. *From:* Portuguese tempo, Tetum tempu 'time'.

teempu *conj.* when. Rare. Teempu meestri tama mata-niki haka-hau ete-naser. When the teacher came in, all the children stood up. *From:* Portuguese tempo, Tetum tempu 'time'.

teenda *n.* tent. *From:* Portuguese tenda 'tent'.

teermu *n.* thermos bottle. *From:* Portuguese termos 'thermos bottle'.

teesu *n.* rosary. *From:* Portuguese terço 'rosary'.

tefu' *vd.* break, go perpendicular. *Reduced form:* tefu-. Ani ki-tala k-ua-siu ani-afu tefu'... I stepped on the branch and it broke, carrying me...
tefu-lian fall over.
teufa-la' pass by.
tei n. pale, fencing post.
(k)afi-dekih push over.
ta-dekih suspect. Meestri uere ki-lapizeira=ni molu=s kiloo meini ania ta-dekih.
hir-tekih cross piece stabilising the walls of a stilt house.
tekoro n. back beam of loom.
telefone vt. Variant: telefón. Call. The undergoer (addressee) is mostly expressed in a verbal complement with isi'. See: isi'.
Ki-nami teni isi-telefone. Her husband called (her) again.
teli n. maize.
teni vt. (do) again. Ei ka'=te'e teni ani ei mei=ni rau-ka'el. If you do that again in a while, I will bite you hard.
tenki vt. must. Used with a complement clause extension without any overt marking. Tenki does not seem to be compatible with any verbal modifiers. See: daa. From: Portuguese tem que 'has to', Tetum tenke 'must'.
tepa' vt. Variant: tepa. keep on, constantly. Tepa', with the glottal stop, occurs as a full verb only. The form tepa, without the glottal stop, is mainly used as a verb-phrase internal adverbial. Liurai=oo k-uta tepa'. The king too kept killing them.
isi-mata-raa tepa nomo iskola. Our children keep not going to school.
tepar vt. be quiet. Mata ka'u ni-sefar k-asa lolo=ni tepa-tepar. The child tells his dog to be quiet.
ter vt. release, let go. Mata ka'u ate ter ma'u. The child lets go of the stick and comes.
teru n. shelter, umbrella. See: teru'.
terus vt. sad, suffer. Indonesia ni heil uai=ni=po tepa terus tasan. Indonesian retreated, but (we) are still sad and suffer. From: Tetum terus 'suffer'.
teta conj? whether (or not), no matter if. Teta fuin nomo fuin=oo ei=ni dadau ei=ni mei=ni la'a u. Whether you dare or do not, it is you who has to go and take (them) there.
tetepane' vt. when. The interrogative verb tetepane' may also be used as a conjunction 'when'. Ei tetepane'=ini ma'u? When did you come? Uatu sofet tetepane' fi u teni ma'u=ni teni ta ena uai=te'e=si fi teni k-ua-lolo. In the future, when we meet again, we will talk more.
teteropa' vt. how many, some. Consists of an element te-, as found in tetepane', and the quantifierropa'. Teteropa' is also used as a quantifier 'some'. See: tetepane'; ropa'. Ei-aia teteropa'? How old are you? Kiloo afur teteropa nua. He ate a few fruits.
teteropa' u some.
tetu'  | v.d. plant. See: houn.
tetu-lolo | agree. See: lolo.
teuh  | v.d. buy. Bound form: -deuh. Pasar-ou-la'a ni seur teuh=ini nua. (We) went to the market and bought meat and ate it. Pairs: elin.
ki-teuh ki-elin bride price. See: barlake.
teuh-ini | gift. See: -ini.
teul  | v.d. take apart, wreck.
teul-suma | be very angry. Fi mutu heke=ni ta mei teul-suma... We are angry and mad at each other...
teur  | n. smoke, dust.
ata-teur | smoke. See: ata.
lue-teur | dust.
nun-teur | fog. See: nun.
tia   | v.d. sleep (SG), lie down (SG). Bound form: -dia. Ani la'a=ni tia=te e ka'u=te e filem ue'=afta ani tane. I am going to sleep, in a while, when the movie starts, wake me up. Pl: rou.
tia   | n. aunt. See: pai; tiu. From: Portuguese tia, Tetum tian 'aunt'.
ti'a-   | v.d. towards, meeting. Uere=ni mosa' ti'a-la'a. He went to a healer. Amulafu u nomo ani ti'a-simu. No-one received me.
ti'a-dane | receive. See: dane.
ti'a-mei | receive. See: mei.
ti'a-puna | expect, look out for. See: puna.
ti'a-ma'u | come towards, pick up. See: ma'u.
tifi  | n. TV. From: English TV.
ti'ir | v.d. heavy. Fenu ure t'i'ir. That turtle is heavy. Sirvisu hau t'i'ir. The work was hard.
til  | v.d. noon. Constructed with either mu'a 'ground' or uatu 'day' as a subject. See: mu'a; uatu.
Timor | n. toponym.
tina  | v.d. cook. Bound form: -dina. Fi-asu sa'a ho'o tina=ni uai fi nua! Cook something for us so that we (can) eat!
tipal | v.d. play a k.o wooden drum which is held under the arm. See: dadil.
Tirlolo | n. a toponym. Situated in the lliomar subdistrict.
titar | v.d. run (PL). See: ria'.
titil | v.d. ripe, dry. Found with coconuts and pineapple leaves. See: amu'; seta.
tiu  | n. uncle. See: pai; tia. From: Portuguese tio, Tetum tiun 'uncle'.
to'   | v.d. mix, mingle, accompany. Reduced form: to-. Amuni uc' nua-ini ani la'a to-mit. If people were there eating, I would go and sit with them. Uar
ho'o kato to=uai
ki-fasu=hi=ni to-dasa=fata fi
hau mei. If there are stones mixed in or empty skins have fallen inside, we take these out.
ta-to'o put together. See: tu-
to'e vd. be stuck inside. Kiloora
Laapo mei=ni ate-poka to'e=ni
meti mutu'. They locked Laapo in a chest and threw him into the sea.
tofa' n. k.o. small bamboo.
to'i vd. dig, make a hole. Bound
form: -do'i. Niunu=ee haka=ni
ki-ari' to'i. Having found a noni
tree, we dig out its roots.
Asa-masu ere ulu' to'i=ni
mana fat kini. For a flute, we make four holes into an ulu' bamboo.
toil n. ravine, gorge. See: pa'an.
toil vd. put one's arm over someone's
shoulder. 'k.o. dance' if used as
an argument.
toka vd. play (an instrument). Mata
ka'u aftane' ai=ini rebeka
toka. A child was here before
playing the guitar. From:
Portuguese tocar, Tetum toka
'play an instrument'.
toke n. tokay gecko, gekko gecko.
tokehanae kini vd. be angry.
Segmentation unclear.
tone 'va. Variant: toneh. maybe,
perhaps, FUT (future).
to'o vd. castrate, barren. arapau to'o
castrate a buffalo
Toormata n. a toponym. Situated in
the Lioomar subdistrict (?).
Topolope n. a toponym. Pairs:
Haakesar.
Topuira n. a toponym. Pairs:
Haarira.
tor vd. swollen, bulging. Nauk ere
hai tor=inu hai fi mei=inu
piti-mutu'... When the cotton
fibres are bulging, we wrap them
in a mat...
tor helar almost ripe. Lit: 'swollen
big (PL)'. Used for maize. See:
helar.
tor n. candlenut, aleurites
moluccana (?).
torok n. lower part. Inalienable.
ta-torok lower leg. See: ia.
tana-torok lower arm. See: tana.
toron n. bamboo water container.
tota vd. fight. Ei=ni dadau sooraine'
ma' u ani-horu tota... It was you
who had to come and fight with
me last night...
total vd? entire, complete. From:
Portuguese total 'total',
Indonesian total 'total, complete'.
toton vd. watch, look at. Kiloo ni-dila
toton. He is watching his frog.
Ini full=inu tifi toton. We
watch TV together.
tou- vd? totally, at all. Asi osan
tou-na'an. I have no money at
all. Mata ka'u ere
tou-num=uai uari lafu'? Is this
child (totally) dead or still alive?
tou-la'a cross over. Ini lor=inu
ueir tou-la'a. We swam across
the river. Tou-la'a is also used as
a euphemism for 'to die'.
Namiraa meih=inu ni-ni ni-upa
ko-horu=ni hai mundu=ee
tou-la'a. Two boys left this
world together with their
parents.
toukur n. Variant: tou. shell,
half of a coconut shell. The
meaning of the element kur is
unclear. Fenu ere ni-tou
k-ia-poko. The turtle is hiding
under its shell.
toumata n. Variant: tou. wasp. The meaning of the element -muta is unclear.

toutou n. owl.

tradisaun n. tradition. From: Portuguese tradição 'tradition'.

tu v. first, ahead. Kiloo=ni tu-ma'u. He came first (ahead of the others). uatu lolitu ki-tu=ere three days ago

tu'a n. palm wine, alcoholic beverage. Tenki ta-asu tu'a ti'. (They) have to pour each other palm wine.

tuaila n. Variant: tuahila. towel. From: Portuguese toalha 'towel'.

tu'ar v. exchange for. Sigaar-tafu ho'o meli ani ma'u=ni mei=ni ki-nua-nau tu'ar. When I found some cigarette butts, I came and exchanged them for food. From: Indonesian tukar 'exchange'.


tufa-tufa broom.

tufur n. sister, (female) cousin. Both younger and older than the speaker. Inalienable. Sometimes it is used in the sense of 'girl, woman', much like tufuraa, which is more common in this sense. Pairs: isarami. See: tufuraa.

tufuraa n. woman. Ei=ni tufuraa ki=pa'uk! It is you who is a bad woman! Sometimes tufur appears to be used in the same sense. See: tufur, papa ki-mata tufur The Indonesian's daughter

tu'il v. bake in bamboo. Bound form: -du'il. Kiloo lou haka tu'il. He looked for a cuscus to bake it in bamboo.

ira-tu'il water bucket. Used in an effort to avoid the Portuguese loan paaldi. See: paaldi.

tu'iparu n. bamboo used for baking or cooking meat in. Tu'i- could be a reduced form of tu'il. See: tu'il.

tuku v. punch. Bound form: -duku. Ani kiloo ki-atu-pusi tuku. I punched him in the stomach. Tuku is used most frequently in indications of time as the equivalent of 'o'clock'. Mu'a kamu tuku ru resi-loloi=te'u ani la'a-ni rate isi'. At 12 o'clock at night I went to the grave. From: Tetum tuku 'knock, fight'.

tula v. bring, transport. Bound form: -dula. Palamera na'u tepa ale, dudu-ira, tei, mina, uerla ere tula=ni mei muni lliomar=ee fan. The Red Cross brought rice, milk, maize, oil, they brought this and fed lliomar.

(k)-ua-dula catch up with, get to. Kiloora meih=ini fenu=ee k-ua-dula. The two of them caught up with the turtle. See: (k)-ua'.

taua-dula meet. The meaning of the element taua- is unclear; it could possibly be related to the reciprocal pronoun ta. La'a uei-isii=ini ni uaro=isi taua dula... (We) went to the river to wash, and (we) met there...

tule v. not want. Bound form: -dule. May be constructed either with an object or with a complement clause extension. In the latter case, the two clauses are linked paratactically. Kiloo seur nua=te' tule. He doesn't want to eat meat. Ani tule ei-horu full-dai=ni la'a. I don't want to go with you.
tulun  *vd. help. ... Uru-utu=tta ini tulun. ... so that the Lord helps us. From: Tetum tulun 'help'.

tumu  *n. bride price. Tufuraa ki-ni ki-upa ni-asu tumu heti. The parents of the girl ask for the tumu for themselves.

Tunir  *n. a toponym. Situated in the Lliomar subdistrict (?). *Pairs: Opanuur.


turut  *vd. continue. *Reduced form: turu-. *Hein=ni ira turu-sa-sati ini isai=ni hai hanu ka’u-ka’u... (We) wait and the water dries out continuously and goes down till there is very little (left)...

**turu-diidiin** continue gradually. The verb diidiin is not attested elsewhere.


tutu’  *vd. grind, pound. Kiloo ni-sa k-asu lolo=si k-asu telu tutu’. He told his wife to grind maize for him.

Tutuala  *n. a toponym. Situated in the Lautém district.

tutur  *vd. push, support. *Foorsa pera fi tutur muni mu’a isa. A big military force was pushing us, so we came back down.

tuumata  *n. nephew, niece. From the male side. Inalienable.

tuumata  *n. wife-takers, family of the groom. *Pairs: omaraha.

omaraha-tuumata customs, traditions.

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**U - u**

u  *vd. *Variant: un. *one. The distribution of the u-form and the un-form is not quite clear. Un is favoured when a vowel-initial clitic attaches to the numeral, as well as at the end of a phonological phrase. U / un is the only numeral which cannot be used with the attributive marker ki= as an ordinal; instead, ki=atanana or ki-tu are used. *See: atanana; tu. Uru u uru loloi ere fan’ hai rau. After one or two months or so, it was okay.

ua  *n. egg. *See: ua’.

ua’  *vd. *Variant: uah. *lay eggs. Fenu ere mu’a kaur=ini uai=te’e mutu’=ini ua’. The turtle scratched (a hole) in the ground and then laid eggs inside it. *See: ua.

=ua  *clit. QM (question marker). Optionally marks polar interrogatives. Ei-isoka nomo rau=konai=ni ei uere’-isi-la’a=na’a=ua? You're not doing well at school, that's why you want to go into that?
=ua clit. REL (relativiser). Rarely heard as =u'a. Relative sentence marking is centred on the relative sentence's subject, whether it be the head of the construction or not. Note the formal identity to the question marker =ua. See: =ua. Ani jerikeen=ua liitru lima ere ani nomo hu-seeman. I wasn't able to lift up a jerrycan which (held) 5 litres.

=-ua' vd. on top. Reduced form: -ua-. See: (k-)ua'.

uaarasár n. sacred place (?). Ini ni-uarasár=ini k-ata-du'il... We baked (it) at our sacred place... Segmentation unclear.

uaarifa n. shoulder. Ki-sefar=ee hai misa ki-uaarifa k-ua-ude-mit. The dog goes up and sits on his shoulder.

ua'atafu va. straight away. Segmentation unclear. Kiloo ua'atafu lopu-mutu-ria'a. She ran straight into the house.

uai vd. CLS (clausal pro-form). Uai is mainly used as a "docking station" for clause-linking clitics. The most frequent combinations are with =ini and =isi. Likely a grammaticalised form of the deictic verb uai'. See: =ini; =isi; uai'.

urai' vd. Variant: uei'. V2DEM. Reduced form: uai-ue-. Deictic verb used to refer to locations close to the addressee. It is also used as a general existential. See: uere; uere'. Asi-dada to-ue'. My grandfather was there as well. Lopu k-ue-la'a lafi-la'a uere haka-hau listrik u'e'. The houses around it all had electricity. Kaminei-kaminei na'u tepa uai-urai-nini... Every day he kept doing so...

ue-nini-ni behaviour, attitude, demeanour. Ki-ue-nini-ni ere nomo rau. This behaviour of his is bad.

=uai clit. or. Used on both NP and clause level. ... uatu lolitu=uai uatu loloi k-utu-sai'... ... three days or two days passed...

=uai na'an or not? Ani tone' osan ho'o nese-la'a=uai na'an? Will I find some money or not? A very common question tag. The negative existential na'an may be dropped, leaving =uai as a de facto question marker very similar to =ua. Some speakers also use it on assertions.

-uai suff. HON (honorific). Used on kinship terms referring mostly to people older than the speaker. Ani uere hau mei=ni ina-uai k-as lolu... I said this to my mother...

uainhira conj. when. From: Tetum bainhira 'when'.

Uairapuni n. a toponym. Situated in the Lautém district (?).


uaku n. border, boundary, limitation. Inalienable (?)

uala vd. give birth. Ani aire' ei-isarami k-asu mata isu u hai uala. Now I bore your brother one child.

Ualaleki n. a toponym. Situated in the Lliomar subdistrict (?). Pairs: Pokapoka.

uale vd. important, be worth, be worthy. See: vale.

uali n. ear. See: uali'.
uali-atu earwax. See: atu.
uali-mana temple. Though uali-mana was translated in elicitation as temple, its literal meaning ('ear-hole') suggests it might more appropriately translated as 'auditory canal'.
uali' vd. Variant: ualih. hear. Ki-uatu douh=ini ani informasau uali'. It was on a Saturday that I heard the information. See: uali.
ualipasak vd. naughty. Segmentation unclear. See: titidukal. Amulafu ere ualipasak. This person was naughty.
uali n. edge, side. Sefar ere ira-uali-isi-ume-mit. The dog is sitting at the edge of the lake.
-uan vd. bigger than. See: (k)-uan.
uani n. bee. See: ira.
upoku n. seat of emotions, heart. 'heart' in the anatomical sense is adan. See: adan. Ani uere na'u teca mi=ni upoku-isi' ani teca nese-ne'et. I put this in my heart and will remember it.
uar n. stone, rock. A middle-sized stone or rock; ili 'rock' is larger and ara 'gravel' is smaller. See: ili, ara.
uaras n. news, report. Ani uaras uere nomo na'u fiar. I don't believe this report.
uaras vd. aslant, crooked.
uarri n. nest.
uarri va? still. See kafé uari nomo rau ibu=ee fi mei rau-pase. If the coffee wasn't ready yet, the Indonesian woman beat us thoroughly. Found only as a verb-phrase internal adverbial.
uarit vd. fell (a tree), cut down.
uro' vd. Variant: uaro. wash, bathe. Fi-nana tufuraa un=ini haris fatin mutu'=ini ni uaro'. A sister of ours was in the bathroom washing. Ina-ui ni-mata uaro'. The mother washes her child.
usi n. tooth. Inalienable. Kiloo nana ki-usi isu u k-a'a-siu... He stepped on one of the snake's theeth...
usir vd. harvest. Fi ni-teli muni usir. Let us harvest our maize again.
usur n. rose apple, eugenia javanica.
utu n. coconut.
utu-hasa coconut leaves. June. Used for thatching. Speakers explained that June was the time when the leaves of coconut palms withered and fell off.
Utapeil n. a toponym. Situated in the Lliomar subdistrict.
utu n. sun, day. Uatu is used as a subject for a number of weather/time of day verbs. See: nene'; rai; osa; til. Kiloo uatu fitu kamu fitu formasi-mutu'. He was in the hospital for seven
nights and seven days. Pairs:

uru.

uatu ere today.

uatu uere uatu uere every day.

uatu looli Tuesday. See: looli.

uatu lolitu Wednesday. See: lolitu.

uatu fat Thursday. See: fat.

uatu lima Friday. See: lima.

uatu douh Saturday. See: sigunda;

paandera.

uatu misar east. Lit: 'sun' + 'go up'.

-r is an unproductive nominalising element.

uatu mutu-li'lan west. Lit: uatu 'sun' + mutu-li'lan 'fall into'.

uatu v.d. dry in the sun. Hai

rouala=fata fi uatu. When there are many (twigs), we dry them in the sun.

Uatulai n. a toponym.

udai' v.d. Variant: ude'.

VDEM.HIGH. Reduced form:

udai-, ude-. Deictic verb referring to locations on a higher elevation than the deictic centre. See: udere; udere'.

udere det. DEM.HIGH. Demonstrative referring to objects on a higher elevation than a point of reference. See: ude', udere'.

udere' v.d. DEM.HIGH.V. Derived from the udere, the demonstrative referring to objects of higher elevation. See: udere.

ue n. sister-in-law. Inalienable.

ue' v.d. V2DEM. Reduced form: ue-. See: uai'.

-ue- v.d. around. See: (k)-ue-.

uei n. blood.

uei v.d (?). ask. Amulafu=ua krimi ho'o kini uai=ni=ni uere' mi-seti mi-uei. A person who

had committed some crime, (he) would find them out and interrogate them. Pairs: heti (?).

ueinatu' v.d. leave behind.

Segmentation unclear. The fact that the undergoer ho'o 'some' is constructed with the light verb mei suggests that ueinatu' is a complement-verb complex, perhaps with ue-. See: uai'.

Tone' ei-seran ere rouala=fata ei ho'o mei=ni ueinatu' e'e. If you have too much stuff, you will have to leave some behind here.

ueir n. river.

ueli n. left side. Sia-sia buku ki-ueli-is'l. The eraser is to the left of the book. See: tanen.

ueru pron. 3p. An unproductive derivation of the demonstrative uere. May additionally be plural-marked with -laa. See: uere; -laa.

uerau v.d. not allowed. See: irau.

uere det. 2DEM. Demonstrative used to refer to objects located near the addressee. Being the most general demonstrative, it is also used to mark definiteness in discourse. See: uai'; uere'.

uere' v.d. 2DEM.V. Deictic verb derived from the demonstrative uere used to refer to locations near the addressee. See: uai'; uere.

ueri n. bottom, buttocks.

ueri-mana anus. See: mana.


ueri n. spiderweb (?). ueri-isi kamu-kamu prey caught in a spideweb. Segmentation unclear.
uerimiri  n. k.o. snake. Possibly segmentable into ueri-imir 'red buttocks'?
uesai  n. style (?)
ufa  vd. talk (?)  Fi urau riparipa-lolo riparipa-ufa... We should not talk carelessly...
ufa  n. sugarcane.
ufal' vd. Variant: ufe'. VDEM.LOW. Reduced form: ufai-, ufe-. Deictic verb used to refer to objects at a lower elevation than the point of reference.
ufal  vd. feed, keep (an animal). Kiloo dila ufal sefar ufal. He keeps a frog and a dog. See: fan.
ufa' vd. VDEM.LOW. Reduced form: ufe-. See: ufal'.
ufere  det. DEM.LOW. Demonstrative used for objects at a lower elevation than the deictic centre. See: ufa'; ufere'.
ufere' vd. DEM.LOW.V. Deictic verb referring to a location lower than the point of reference. Derived from the demonstrative ufere. See: ufere; ufai'.
uful  n. fly.
ufun metan  n. k.o. fly. A big, black fly; its vicinity is read as a sign that a near one has died.
ufur  vd. close. Ha'a ufur. Close (your) mouth.
mini ufur  have a cold. See: mini.
uilal-bailliru  n. January.UIL was translated as 'crescent moon' and liur as 'assemble'; bai was said to conform to pai 'pig'. The whole was explained as the time of the year when pigs gang up and destroy things. None of the lexemes in question occur in the form given elsewhere in the corpus.
uiirik  vd. sadden (?)
ujian  n. test, exam. Ani ujian mini. I take the test. From: Indonesian ujian 'examination, test'.
ukun  vd. lead, rule. If used as an argument, ukun normally translates as 'rule', but may be used as 'attitude, demeanour'. 
Papa-la-a=nii fi ukun. The Indonesians ruled us. Namiraa ere ki-ukun ere se rau. This man's demeanour is very good.
ula  n. tail, tip, endpoint. Sefar ere ni-ula mei=nii liu=ee-mutu-dane. The dog puts his tail into the lake. Kantina hi`a-ula-nat. A shop stands at the end of the street.
ulahana  n. back of the head. Segmentation unclear; ula could be 'tail'. See: ula.
ulì  n. leather, bark. ate-ulì bark Inalienable. See: ulì. From: Indonesian, Tetum kulit 'skin'.
ulit  n. skin (of people or animals). Asi-affur=ee hafa=hi'a=nii uc' ulit=hi'a=nii uc'. My body consisted of only bones and skin. See: ulì. From: Indonesian, Tetum kulit 'skin'.
ulu  vd. choose, pick out. Povu ere=nii uere' ulu. The people elected that one.
ulu'  n. k.o. bamboo. Small, young bamboo, used to make asa-masu flutes. See: asa.
ulut  vd. boil.
una  vd. mention, name. Were-isi'=ee ni'isi akor ki-nei uma-uma... At that time, thieves' names were being mentioned...
uman  n. k.o. bamboo. Small, young bamboo, used to make asa-masu flutes. See: asa.
speech-act participants. See: ura
'ime; ural. Ei-su surat hai ura'. There is a letter there for you.

umani pron. who. Bound form: umani

uma- (?). Very rare. Likely a regional variant of mu'ani 'who'.
See: mu'ani.

ume' v.d. VDEM.DIST. Reduced form: ume-. See: umai'.

umere det. DEM.DIST. Distal demonstrative used to refer to objects close to neither of the
speech-act participants. See: umai'; umere'.

umere' v.d. DEM.DIST.V. Deictic verb derived from the demonstrative umere used to refer to objects that are close to
neither of the speech-act participants. See: umai'; umere'.

ume v.d. die. Bound form: -ume, -numu. Ei-nana raine=ini hai umu. Your brother died last
night. See: (k)-umu-

umur corpse, dead body, death, burial ceremony.

-umu- v.d. kill. See: (k)-umu-

upa n. father. Inalienable.

upa fasih stepfather. See: fasih.

upa sarani grandfather. See: sarani.

Upira n. a clan name.
According to Chamberlain (2008). Though given as two
separate clan names, it seems more likely that one of the
names is a misspelling of the other.

ura n. worm.
uraokdapun n. palm fibers. Used as thatch for roofs. Segmentation unclear.

ura'e v.a. in the future. Ura'e fi tone'
urai mi-lolo-lolo... In the future
maybe we keep talking about it...

urat n. blood vessel, vein.

urau v.d. not allowed. See: irau.

-uri- v.d. behind, but visible. See:

(k)-uri-

uru n. moon, month. Pairs: uatu.

Uru-uatu God. Lit: 'moon-sun'.
See: Maromak.

Uruhu'a n. a clan name.

urus v.d. sort out, take care of.

Asi-papa Dili-is-lia=ni
ni-surat urus. My father went
to Dili to get his papers sorted out. From: Indonesian
mengurus 'manage, take care of'.

urut v.d. fight, quarrel.

usaha v.d. open a business. Ini ni-asu
usaha. We opened ourselves a
business From: Indonesian
usaha 'effort, exertion; business'.

usu n. textile warp size.

usupadu n. candle.

ususu v.d. Variant: usuusu; usuusu.
pant. Sefar ere=haka dila ki
loloi=ni uali' e'=ini hai usuusu...
The dog hears the two frogs and
pants...

uta v.d fall (rain). Bound form:

-nuta. Aa uta==si arapau=ni
ma'u=ni hir=ce-mi-nat. It was
raining, and so a buffalo came
and stood along the wall (for
shelter).

uta n. bean, pea, peanut. Ini liiomar
erc isi' nua-ini=ni uere'=ini
erc': teli, mu'u, ate-matu, uta,
amah. In liiomar, (our) foods
that we have are these: maize,
bananas, cassava, beans, breadfruit.
uta-hasa Variant: uta-hasa den. k.o. vegetable. The meaning of the element den is unclear.

uta-mata mung beans. Lit: 'bean child'.

-uta vd. kill. See: (k)-uta.

-utà- vd. behind, hidden from view. See: (k)-uta-

utiuti n. image, picture, screen.

-utu vd. block from view, hinder. See: (k)-utu.

-utu vd. wear, put on (clothes). See: (k)-utu.

-utu' vd. look after, guard. See: (k)-utu'.

utu-let n. April. Translated by speakers as 'fruit season'. However, neither of the constituent parts is separately with a similar meaning in the corpus.

utur n. men's tais. utur sedik wear a tais. See: kola; sedik.

V - v

vale vd. Variant: uale. important, be worth, be worthy. Amulafu ere nomo vale. This person is not worthy. From: Portuguese valer 'be worth'.

való r n. value, mark. From: Portuguese valor 'worth, value'.

Venileale n. a toponym. Situated in the Baucau district.

viitima n. victim. From: Portuguese vêlma 'victim'.

Vikeke n. a toponym. Capital of the Viqueque district.

vila n. town, city. From: Portuguese vila 'small town'.

vistidu n. dress. From: Portuguese vestido 'dress, gown'.

Z - z

Zerekeen n. jerry can. See: zok vd. plug in, recharge. See: jok.

Jerikeen.
Appendix 3: English-Makalero word list

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Makalero</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>able</td>
<td><em>vd. me'e</em>; <em>vd. hul</em>, reduced form: <em>hu</em>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aged woman</td>
<td><em>n. laidaa</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agree</td>
<td><em>vd. tetu-lo; see: tetu</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>about</td>
<td><em>vd. (k)-isi</em>; agreement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ahead</td>
<td><em>n. kumproni</em>; <em>vd. tu</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abroad</td>
<td><em>n. luar</em>; <em>vd. meti lafi', see: meti sea; lafi' beside</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aim</td>
<td><em>n. objektiyu</em>; <em>vd. nese', reduced form: nese</em>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abuse</td>
<td><em>vd. fari</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>accompanied by</td>
<td><em>vd. (k)-horu</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>accompany</td>
<td><em>vd. to', reduced form: to</em>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>acquire</td>
<td><em>vd. pure</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alcoholic</td>
<td>_n. fara lo-lor; see: fara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>airplane</td>
<td><em>n. aviaun</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>airport</td>
<td><em>n. aeroportu</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>add</td>
<td><em>n. masukoro ki-pu'iyi</em>; see: masukoro neck; pu'i joint_</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alike</td>
<td><em>vd. fan', pani', reduced form: fan-, pani-</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>add a small amount</td>
<td><em>vd. liri</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all</td>
<td>_vd. ata'; <em>vd? fanu'</em>; <em>vd? haka</em>; <em>vd. hai</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>add water</td>
<td><em>vd. liur</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all over</td>
<td><em>vd. (k)-ali</em>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>additional finger</td>
<td><em>n. tana-tala</em>; see: tana hand; tala branch_</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all together</td>
<td><em>vd. dada</em>; <em>vd. tata</em>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>administer intravenously</td>
<td><em>vd. isoru</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>almost</td>
<td><em>vd. ka'; <em>vd? kopa</em>; va? lokata (?)</em>; <em>vd? tana' (?)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>afraid</td>
<td><em>vd. aka</em>; <em>clit. =te'e, metathesised form: =ete</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>after</td>
<td><em>vd. na'aapo</em>; <em>metathesised form: =anapo</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all (at once)</td>
<td><em>vd. feu</em>; <em>vd. kaf'u', reduced form: kafu-</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>afternoon</td>
<td><em>vd. lak</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>almost ripe</td>
<td>_vd. tor helar; see: tor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>afterwards</td>
<td><em>conj. depois</em>; <em>va? ituru</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alone</td>
<td><em>vd. se', reduced form: se-</em>; <em>vd. sotemee</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>afterwards</td>
<td><em>vd. dada</em>; <em>vd. tata</em>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>again</td>
<td><em>vd. ripa</em>; <em>vd. teni</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>again</td>
<td><em>vd. dada</em>; <em>vd. tata</em>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>age</td>
<td><em>n. isa-isa</em>; see: isa condition_</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>age</td>
<td><em>n. isa-isa</em>; see: isa condition_</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
along

vd. mi'.
approach n. te-.

altar

vd. altar.
April n. utu-lit.

among

vd. leetana', reduced arm n. fah;
form: leetana-
n. tana.

ancestor

vd. tu-pere, see: pere big (SG)
armpit n. ilupana.
vd. tu-selar, see: helar (PL).
army (member) n. foorsa.

ancient

vd. lutu.
around vd? ene- (?)

and

conj. i;
arrival vd. rata'.

conj. no.

artocarpus altillis n. amah.

angry

vd. heke-la'a, see: heke difficult; la'a move;
as conj. komu.
vd. clause, mutu heke, as long as...
see: mutu inside; heke va? naikini.
difficult;
vd. clause, mutu isit, as you well know ? kan.
see: mutu inside; isit be ill;
vd. ata';
vd. noronoro;
vd. s'ak.
vd. tokehanae kini.

ash n. lue.
as ashamed vd; clause. amu aka',
see: amu person; aka' afraid.

angry at, with vd. huma, bound form:

-suma.
aspiration n. lafu-lafu', see: lafu'
vd. (k)-utu-suma, see: assault n. asaltu.
(k)-utu block from view;
assemble vd. soru.
huma angry with;
ASS.PL (associative plural) suff. -ara.

(very) angry at vd. teul-suma, see: teul aslant vd. lari;
chase.
at vd. isi', reduced form:

animal

n. animál.
as at all vd? tou-.

(domestic) animal n. suan.
attack n. asaltu.

(wild) animal (?) n. rapa.
attitude n. uc-nini-ñi, see: uc'
at all vd? tou-.

anoma squamosa n. dai-ate.
there, kini do.

answer

vd. der.
at all vd? tou-.

n. mu'ul.
attack n. asaltu.

anus

n. ueri-maná, see: ueri augment vd. aumenta.
buttocks; mana hole.
August n. lue-uru, see: lue ash;

any

pron. riparipa;
uru moon.

vd. arbiru.

apparently

? isinei.
apent's younger sibling;

appearance

n. fanu-fanu, see: fanu n. tia.
facer.
auricle n. uali-hasa, see: uali

apply

vd. aplika.
ear; hasa leaf.
away from  

**B - b**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Makalero</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>baby</td>
<td>n. koomata.</td>
<td>bark (of a tree) n. uli;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baby sling</td>
<td>n. rapi afl. see: rapi</td>
<td>bark (dog) v. hour;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bachelor</td>
<td>n. solteru.</td>
<td>v. kerekere.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>back (side)</td>
<td>n. sof.</td>
<td>barrel n. baril, paril.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>back beam of loom</td>
<td>n. tekoro.</td>
<td>barren v. to'o.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bad</td>
<td>v. kasu; v. pa'uk.</td>
<td>base on v. tekih, bound form: -dekih.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bag</td>
<td>n. lode; n. muusila; n. pasta.</td>
<td>(k.o.) basket n. lo'i; n. na'; n. poka.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bake in bamboo</td>
<td>v. tu'il, bound form: -du'il.</td>
<td>basket holding unspun fibres n. laik.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>balanced out</td>
<td>v. tetu-.</td>
<td>basket to store betel leaves m. malu-poka, see: malu betelnut; poka basket.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bold</td>
<td>v. leka.</td>
<td>bat n. hiri'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ball</td>
<td>n. bola, pola.</td>
<td>bathe v. uaro'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ball up (yarn)</td>
<td>v. omu.</td>
<td>bathroom n. haris-fatiin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ballpoint pen</td>
<td>n. kaneta; n. lapizeira.</td>
<td>be colleagues v. kolega.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(k.o.) bamboo</td>
<td>n. aalaka; n. mar; n. petun; n. tofa'; n. ulu'.</td>
<td>behind v. sof, reduced form: sof-.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bamboo container for water</td>
<td>n. ira-tu'il, see: ira water; tu'il bake in bamboo.</td>
<td>bean n. uta.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bamboo used for baking or cooking meat in</td>
<td>n. tu'iparu.</td>
<td>beat v. pase.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bamboo water container</td>
<td>n. toron.</td>
<td>beater n. los.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>banana</td>
<td>n. mu'u.</td>
<td>because conj. purke; conj. tamba.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baptised</td>
<td>v. sarani.</td>
<td>become big v. ria-la'a, see: rian big.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baptism</td>
<td>n. batismu.</td>
<td>become many v. ropa-la'a, see: ropa' many; la'a move.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>become oily v. paimina.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>become ripe v. eleraka.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bed</td>
<td>n. dadorok; n. kama.</td>
<td>bed sheet n. lensol, leensol.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>bee n. uani.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beef</td>
<td>n. ara-seur, see: arapau</td>
<td>buffalo; seur meat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beehive</td>
<td>n. taran (?).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
before dawn  clause.  mu'a hare', see:  bitter  vd. pik.
mu'a ground; hare'  black  vd. le'ur;
clean.  vd. metan.
behaviour  n. kini-kini, see: kini do;  blanket  n. lensol, leensol.
n. u-e-nini-ni, see: uai'  Blessed Virgin  n. nosa siniora.
there; kini do.  blind  vd. seta'.
behind  vd. (k)-uta-.  block from view  vd. (k)-utu.
behind, but visible  vd. (k)-uri-.
believe  vd. kata-ne'et, see:  blood  n. uei.
(k)-ata' physical contact;  blood vessel  n. urat.
ne'et think.  blow  vd. kut.
blow (wind)  vd. rut.
bell  n. sinu.  blue  vd. moso, mosor.
belly  n. atu-pusi, see: atu  blunt  vd. poul.
faeces; pusi pan.  board  n. ate-lepen, see: ate
belly button  n. ilu-mana, see: ilu  tree; lepen disk.
(umbilical cord; mana  (k.o.) boat  n. bero.
hole.  body  n. afur.
belong to  vd. (k)-isi'.  body hair  n. namu.
bench  n. paanku.  boil  vd. po'or;
beside  vd. lafi', reduced form:  boil over  vd. rifiri.
lafi-.  (k.o.) boat  n. bero.
betel leaves  n. malu-hasa, see: malu  body  n. afur.
betelnut  n. malu.  body hair  n. namu.
between  vd? lete.  boil  vd. ulut.
big  vd. ni-sa'ul, see: sa'ul  boil over  vd. rifiri.
down;  (k.o.) boat  n. bero.
vd. kapidal;
vd. per (SG), helar  body hair  n. namu.
(PL); bound form: -selar;  boil (water)  vd. lala'.
vd. rian, reduced form:  boiling hot  vd. u'.
ria-.  body  n. afur.
big city  n. sidadi.  bole  n. soso.
bigger than  vd. (k)-uan.  bomb  vd. rekasi.
bind  vd. sil.  bone  n. hafa.
(be) born  vd. buku, puku;
vd. mu'a-isa, see: mu'a  n. livru;
ground; isa go down.
short.
bind  n. asa.  book  n. buku, puku;
vd. mu'a-isa, see: mu'a
n. asa nama-la'a, see:  n. livru;
asa bird; nama' upwards;  n. surat.
la'a move.  n. kios.
(b) born [-HUM]  n. uaku.
(b) born  vd. clause. isa dikar,
big city  see: isa condition; dikar
short.
(b) born  vd. mu'a-sole, see:
short.
(k.o.) bird  n. fula;  bored  vd; due;
n. tarana.  vd. impresta.
bite  vd. duh;  boss  n. sefi.
vd. ka'el.  bottle  n. potil, putil.
birthmark  n. etu;  bottom  n. ueri.
(n. amu-resin (?).  boundary  n. balija, baliza;
bow

n. uaku.

vd. dukul.

boy

n. mata namiraa, see:
mata child; namiraa

man.

branch

n. saka;

n. tala.

brangle

n. odaha.

breadfruit

n. amah.

break

vd. da'al;

vd. tefu', reduced form:

tefu-.

break apart

vd. (k)-eta-.

break to pieces

vd. sapun.

break (up)

vd. dout;

vd. meke', reduced form:

meke-.

breast

n. dudu

breastfeed

vd. dudu.

breath

vd. neh.

bride price

n. ki-teuh ki-elin, see:
teuh buy; elin price.

n. hutir;

n. tumu.

bring

vd. heman; bound form:

-seman;

vd. tula; bound form:

-dula.

bring dowry gifts

vd. ki-hi'a-affi-la'a,

see: hi'a street; (k)-affi

sideways; la'a move.

broad

vd. malar

broom

n. tufa-tufa, see: tufa

sweep.

brother

n. isarami.

brother-in-law

n. fain;

n. mali.

brother/sister-in-law from the male side

n. mali omara, see:

mali brother-in-law;

omara, wife-givers.

brother/sister-in-law from the female side

n. mali tuumata,

see: mali brother-in-law;

tuumata, wife-takers.

break apart

bucket

n. ember;

n. paaldì, paalde.

break to pieces

buffalo

n. arapau; reduced form:

ara-.

break (up)

buffalo pen

n. ara-luo, see: arapau

bulging

bullet

n. fatil-iso, see: fatil gun;

islu, seed.

bride price

burial ceremony

n. umur, see: umu

die;

n. heker.

bring dowry gifts

burn

vd. lapan.

burn down

vd. tana.

bus

n. bis.

but

clit. =mai;

clit. =po;

conj. mai;

butterfly

n. lilipaka.

buttocks

n. ueri.

button

n. butaun.

buy

vd. teuh; bound form:

-deuh.

C - c

cake

n. dosi.

call

vd. kasar;

calf

n. ia-torok, see: ia leg;
torok lower part.

vd. leu;
vd. tamu; bound form:

-call (a dog) vd. uat.
call (a horse) vd. hihi.
call in (a loan) from vd. nour.
calm vd. kaalma.
calm down (small) can n. kanka.
can vd. me'e.
candle n. lilin;
candles n. usupadu.
candle nut n. tor.
candy n. musumusuk;
cannot vd. nopa'e.
car n. kareta.

care vd. sopun.
careful vd; clause. ina pi-pit,
see: ina eye; pit fast.
cargo area of a truck n. pak.
carry vd. heman, bound form:

-ceman;
carry (a bag) vd. alin.
carry (a child) vd. (k)-afu.
carry on one's back vd. nuarai.
carry thrown over the shoulder vd.

amat.
cassava n. ate-matu.
castrate vd. to'o.
casuarina tree n. oso.
cat n. faa.
catch vd. lifa'; bound form:

-sifa'.
catch up with vd. (k)-(k)-ua-dula, see:

(k)-(k)-ua' on top; tula
bring.
catch with a hook vd. kail.
catechist n. katekista.
catholic religion n? katoliku.
ceave n. ili-heke, see: ili rock;

heke difficult;

n. haka-mana, see:

mana hole.
centimeter n. sentimu.
center n. pupul.
ceremony n. adat.
chair n. kadera.
challenge vd. isiperan.
change vd. helur.
chapel n. kapela.
chase (away) vd. likut.
cheap vd; clause. ira dikar,
see: ira price; dikar
short.
check vd. eek.
check with someone vd. kesar.
check n. nala.
chest (coffer) n. ate-poka, see: ate tree;
poka basket.
chest (bosom)n. e.
chicken n. asa.
chicken house n. purur.
chief n. sefi.
child n. mata.
chin n. se'.
China, Chinese n. sina.
choose vd. ulu.

chop into small pieces vd. katal.
chop (with an axe) vd. ta'a.
chorus n. masu-pata, see: masu
song; pata essence.
chosen vd. eleiu.
chrism n. mina-sarani, see:
mina oil; sarani
baptised.

church n. lopu falun, see: lopu
house; falun sacred;

n. igeja.
eigarette n. sigaar, sikaar.

n. suka.
circumstance n. kondisaun;
n. situasaun.
citrus maxima n. sapu.
(k. o.) citrus fruit n. tana-ulu-sapu,
see: tana hand; ilu claw;
sapu pomelo.
city n. kota;
clan n. vila.
claw n. ilu.
(be) clean vd. hare'.
clean (purify) vd. kiut.
claw vd. karoh.
cleric vd. matenek;
vd. ma'en.
click one's tongue vd? sefar kal, see:
sfar dog.
cleave n. fifir.
climb vd. misa;
vd. po', reduced form:
op-
vd. musil.
close vd. kel;
vd. taka, bound form:
daka.
vdl. ufur.
close (eyes) vd. kofu.
closet n. armari.
cloth n. hena.
cloth worn over the shoulder n.
saleenda, selenda.
clothes n. kutu(-ini), see:
(k)-utu wear;
n. faru;
n. hut;
n. ropa.
cloud n. nun.
CLS (clausal pro-form) vd. uai.
CLS.NEG (clausal negation) va?
nomohaka.
clubs (cards) n. paus.
cockroach n. lapa.
coconut n. uata.
coffee n. kafé.
coffer n. ate-poka, see: ate tree;
poka basket.
cold vd. kaur;
vd. ka'ar.
cold season n. ka'ar-uru, see: ka'ar
cold; uru moon.
colour n. kor.
comb vd. huni'.
combo (honey) n. kurun.
come vd. ma'u.
come loose vd. pu'al.
come together vd. halin.
come towards vd. ti'a-ma'u, see: ti'a-
towards; ma'u come.
commit a sin vd. seti-nini, see: seti
pass; kini do.
commit an error vd. sala.
commune n. popusaun.
community n. komunidade.
CMPL (complementiser) clit. =ee;
conj. ke.
compel vd. fatar.
complete vd. ha'afu;
vd? total.
compromise n. kompromi.
COND (conditional) clit. =fata,
metathesised form:
=affa;
condition n. isa;
vd. kordisaun.
(get one's) confirmation vd. krisma,
kirisma.
connection n. tak.
consequence n. konsekuensa.
consideration n. konsiderasaun.
constantly vd? tepe', tepe.
container n. pisi.
continue vd. lopolopor;
vd. turut, reduced form:
turu-.
continue gradually vd. turu-diidiin,
see: turut continue.
conversevd. laun.
convey (a message) vd. fana.
cook n. kozineiru.
n mainatu (?).
crouch  vd. pokoro.
crown of the head  n. itun.
cry  vd. iar.
cry (out)  vd. etete.
CSQ (consequential)  clit. =konai.
CTF.COND (counterfactual conditional)  clit. =nata,
metathesised form:
=anta.
corn cob  n. lolon.
CTR (contrastive)  clit. =ini.
corpse  n. umur, see: umu die.
CTR.PRES (counter-presupposition)
correct  vd. rau-mot, see: rau
cultivate  vd. pure.
good; mot located.
cup  n. kopu.
curfew  n. kaanselamentu.
curly (hair)  vd. rukiti.
curse  vd. tarini.
cuscus  n. louri.
custom, customs  n. adati.
cut  vd. lasi;
corrugated metal roof  n. kaleni.
corrugated  vd. lasi;  
cotton (boll)  n. haeli.
cotton  n. kopi.
cotton fibres  n. naut.
cough  vd. otu.

n. malo.
country  n. musaun.
country, customs  n. adati.

(male) cousin  n. isarame.
cover  vd. hokiri.
crawl  vd. huti.
crazy  vd. lokidari.

n. kuji.
create  vd. de.

n. kusami.

croak  vd. kokorri.
crocodile  n. laka.
crooked  vd. lari;
crooked  vd. uarasi.
cross  n. kuurii, kurii.
cross over  vd. tou-laari, see: tou-
cross piece stabilising the walls of a stilt house  n. hir-tekihi, see:
hir wall; tekihi lean on.
cut  vd. lasi;
cut down (tree)  vd. uariri.
cut into small pieces  vd. katal.
cut short  vd. hapiri, reduced form:

hapi-
cut up  vd. podupodu.
cut with a small knife  vd. heiri, bound
form: -seiri.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Makalelo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D - d</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dad</td>
<td>n. apa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dessert</td>
<td>n. dosi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n. papa.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>destroy</td>
<td>vd. pa'uk; see: pa'uk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dance</td>
<td>vd. dansa;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vd. he'el, bound form:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-se'el;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vd. koikoi'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(k.o.) dance</td>
<td>vd. poi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dare</td>
<td>vd. ni mot, see: mot be located;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vd. fuin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dark blue</td>
<td>vd. darunako.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| daughter | n. mata tufuraa, see:
|         | mata child; tufuraa woman. |
| daughter-in-law | n. mata irani, see:
|         | mata child. |
| day     | n. uatu. |
| (the) day after tomorrow | va. el'. |
| (the) day before yesterday | va. ahana'e. |
| dead    | vd. kopa. |
| dead body | n. umur, see: umu die. |
| dead person | n. matebian. |
| dead tree | n. ate-furu, see: ate tree. |
| death   | n. umur, see: umu die. |
| deceive | vd. neok. |
| December | n. ata-uru, see: ata fire; uru moon. |
| decoration | n. ra-ran-ini, see: ran ready. |
| deer    | n. pipi-rusa. |
| DEF (definiteness marker) | elit. =ee. |
| defeate | vd. atu'. |
| defend  | vd. te-dai, see: te-
|         | approach; dai pass (through). |
| demeanour | n. ue-nini-ni, see: uai' (be) there; kini do. |
| demolish | vd. hasa. |
| descend | vd. isa. |
| descend into | vd. faut. |
| design for weaving patterns on paper | n. pa'anate. |
| dungaree | n. ipitilu. |
| directly | va? langsung. |
| dirt    | n. fasa'. |
| dirty   | vd. ra'i. |
| disappear | vd. molu. |
| discuss | vd. hesi' (?). |
| disguise | vd. soka. |
| dishonour | vd. estraga; |
| vd. kore'. |
| December | n. ra-ran-ini, see: ran ready. |
| decoration | n. ra-ran-ini, see: ran ready. |
| DEF (definiteness marker) | elit. =ee. |
| defeate | vd. atu'. |
| defend  | vd. te-dai, see: te-
|         | approach; dai pass (through). |
| demeanour | n. ue-nini-ni, see: uai' (be) there; kini do. |
| demolish | vd. hasa. |
| descend | vd. isa. |
| descend into | vd. faut. |
| design for weaving patterns on paper | n. pa'anate. |
dominate v.d. dominan.  n. sufér.
done v.d. prontu.  drizzle v.d. nikiniki.
door n. aiha;  drop v.d. du'ál.
      n. odamata.  dry v.d. aran;
down v.d. sa'ul.  v.d. hat, bound form: -sat;
      (be) down there v.d. ufa'i', ufe'.
      reduced form: ufa'i', ufe'.
downwards v.d. (k)-ati-.  dry and cracking open v.d. fot.
dowry n. barlake, parlake.
dragonfly n. i-ra-mumus.  dry season v.d. pare.
drawn out v.d. sidar.  dump v.d. sasar.
dream v.d. ofarana.  during the Portuguese colonial era va.
dregs n. paru.  portu, poortu.
dress n. vistidu.  dusk v.d. are'.
drill a hole into v.d. leuk (¿?).  dust n. lue-teur, see: lue ash;
drink v.d. ke'.  teur smoke.
drinking place for livestock n. faka.  duty n. alfersi;
driver n. koondotór;  n. kuulpa.

E - e

each v.d= na'a-na'a, see: na'a
alone (¿?).
eight v.d. afo.
elbow n. tana-pu'i, see: tana
early (in the morning) v.d. maledeer;
elder sibling n. nana.
clause: mu'a hare', see:
elected v.d. eleiitu.
mu'a ground; hare'
 electricity n. li'striik.
clean;
elongated v.d. sidar.
va? kamu-kamu, kamu-
embed v.d. dede;
amu, see: kamu night.
(k.o.) earrings n. lauan.
v.d. solo.
earwax n. uali-atu, see: uali ear;
embrace v.d. kol.
atu faeces;
employee n. mataroos.
est n. uatu misar, see: uatu
empty v.d. losan, reduced form:
sun; misa go up.
losa-.
eat v.d. nua.  encircle v.d. le'u.
economy n. ekonomi.
economic v.d. likadora (¿?).
edge n. ualir.
encirclement enclosure n. lofo.
(in) effect v.d. laku.
end n. akir;
egg n. ua.
### Appendix 3: English-Makalero Word List

625

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Makalero</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vd. hai'; bound form:</td>
<td>n. ujian.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-sai'.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Endpoint</td>
<td>n. ula.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enemy</td>
<td>n. halafi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enormous</td>
<td>v.d. numu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enough</td>
<td>v.d? isi-ria', see: isi' at; ria' run.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enthusiastic</td>
<td>v.d. isa ha'e, see: isa condition; ha'e light.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entrust</td>
<td>v.d. entrega.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eraser</td>
<td>n. sia-sia, see: sia rub.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Err</td>
<td>n. seti-nini, see: seti pass; kini do.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Error</td>
<td>n. seti-seti, see: seti pass.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Escudo</td>
<td>n. iskudu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Essence</td>
<td>n. pata.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Establish</td>
<td>v.d. fundu, fuundu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eucalyptus</td>
<td>n. dara'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eugenia javanica</td>
<td>n. uasur.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe</td>
<td>n. Eropa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eurycoma longifolia</td>
<td>n. pasak (?).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evening</td>
<td>v.d. rai.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Event</td>
<td>n. ajar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Every day</td>
<td>clause? uatu uere uatu uere, see: uatu day; uere that.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**F - f**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Makalero</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Face</td>
<td>n. fanu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Face away</td>
<td>v.d. holi-.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faeces</td>
<td>n. atu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fall</td>
<td>v.d. dasa; v.d. ll'an.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fall down with a thud or a hard impact</td>
<td>v.d. dukal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fall off</td>
<td>v.d. suruk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fall over</td>
<td>v.d. tefu-li' an, see: tefu' break; ll'an fall.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fall (rain)</td>
<td>v.d. uta, bound form: -nuta;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fallen tree</td>
<td>n. patan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td>n. famil.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family of the bride</td>
<td>n. omaraha.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family of the groom</td>
<td>n. tuumata.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Far away</td>
<td>v.d? ala-; v.d. alaka', reduced form: alaka-.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
farmer  
*n. ama pau-paun, see: ama*  
out;  
*n. ama-ouar, see: ama*  
garden;  
*n. sirvidoor, sirvidoor.*  
master.  
finger

fart  
*vd. fuk.*  

fast  
*vd. pit;*  
finished  
*vd. raun.*  

Fatalku speaker  
*n. moko.*  

father  
*n. papa;*  

favour  
*n. favór.*  

feather  
*n. asa-namu, see: asa*  

February  
*n. faian-kalantor.*  

feed  
*vd. fan;*  

feel  
*vd. senti.*  

fell (a tree)  
*vd. uarit.*  

female  
*n. fanar.*  

female bird  
*n. paruh.*  

(female) cousin  
*n. prima;*  

n. tufur.  

fence made from wood or bamboo  
*n. setur.*  

fencing post  
*n. teih.*  

fetch (water)  
*vd. (k)-ouu.*  

few, a few  
*vd. taurupa'.*  

ficus benjamina  
*n. hama.*  

field  
*n. ama.*  

fierce  
*vd. sl'ak.*  

fight  
*vd. tota;*  

film  
*n. filem.*  

filter  
*n. saren;*  

filth  
*n. fasa'.*  

finally  
*vd. aflat.*  

find  
*vd. nese-la' a, see: nese'*  

vd. nese-puna, see: nese'  
(in the) middle; puna  
look at.  

n. tana-raka, see: tana  
hand; raka digit.  

n. tana-ilu, see: tana  
hand; ilu claw.  

n. (k)-e;  

vd. kel;  

vd. maka';  

vd. petel.  

first  
*vd. atanana;*  

vd. keri;  

vd? pertama;  

vd. primeiru;  

vd. tu.  

first-born  
*vd. tu-pere (SG), tu-selar (PL), see: pere big*  

(SG);  

vb. harlar big (PL).  

n. afi.  

n. su.  

five  
*vd. lima.*  

fixed  
*vd. fuluk.*  

flag  
*n. paandera.*  

tana hand;  

n. ata-tana, see: ata fire;  

n. ata-ho'o, see: ata fire;  

ho'o some (?).  

flat bamboo panel  
*n. leki.*  

flatter  
*vd. (k)-ia-loko, see: (k)-ia' under; lolo say.  

n. asu.  

n. sinelus.  

n? ira-uh, see: ira  
water.  

flour sack  
*n. poornaal.*
flow  
v. lori.
flower  

n. ate-fufu, see: ate tree;

n. fu.
(k.o.) flute  

n. asa-masu, see: asa
bird; masu voice.
(k.o.) flute with four holes  

n. nunuuru.
fly  

n. ufuf;

vd. lor.
(k.o.) fly  

n. ufun metan.
flying fish  

n. afi nama-se-se'el, see:
afi fish; nama' upwards;
he'el jump.
foam  

vd. ore.
fog  

n. nun-teur, see: nun
cloud; teur smoke.
foliage  

n. ate-hasa, see: ate tree;

hasa leaf.
follow  

vd. mini;

vd. sofot, reduced form: sofot-
following the length of  

vd. mi',

reduced form: mi-
food  

n. nau-ini;

n. nau-nua, see: nau eat.
foot  

n. ia.
for  

vd. (k)-asu.
forbid  

vd. (k)-utu-suma, see:

(k)-utu block from view;

huma order.
force  

vd. fatar;

vd. obriga.
forehead  

n. ina-pisi, see: ina eye.
foreigner  

n. malai.
forest  

n. ala', alah.
forget  

vd. nilu.

forgiveness  

n. perdaun.
fork  

n. kitu-kitu, see: kitu
skewer.
forth  

n? ate fat, see: ate (a
unit of) ten.
found  

vd. fundu, fuundu.
four  

vd. fat.
freckles  

n. isu-isu, see: isu seed.
free  

vd. livre.
French  

n. fransés.
Friday  

n. uatu lima, see: uatu
day; lima five.
front beam of a loom  

n. atih.
front of the neck  

n. masukoro.
fruit  

n. ate-isu, see: ate tree;
isu seed.
fry  

vd. ha'al, bound form:

-sa'al.
frying pan  

n. tasu.
full  

vd. he'ul.
function  

n. aferis.
funny  

vd. komik.
fumigate  

vd. rakan.
future  

n. futuru;
n? osamale.
(in the) future  

va. la'akafo;
va. ura'e.

G - g

garden  

n. ama;
gathering  

n. rifurifu.

n. dana.

(k.o.) gecko  

n. kauaili.
gate  

n. amaan.
gekko gecko  

n. toke.
gather  

vd. soru.
get married  
vp. ta mei,  
mei take;
  
vd. kaun.

get to  
vd. (k-)ua-dula,  
(k)-ua' on top; tula bring.

get-together  
n. rifurifu.

ghost  
n. huma'.

gift  
n. teuh-ini,  
teuh buy.

girl  
n. mata tufuraa,  
mata child; tufuraa woman.

give  
vd. -ini.

give to me  
vd. manini.

give to us (excl.)  
vd. minini.

give to us (incl.)  
vd. fiini.

give to who  
vd. mu'aini.

give to you (pl)  
vd. miini.

give to you (sg)  
vd. meini.

give birth  
vd. uala.

give security  
vd. garántia.

glass  
n. iaia;
  
n. kopu.

glasses  
n. ina-ta'al,  
in eye;
  
n. ókulu.

go  
vd. mara.

go abroad  
vp. meti-as-isa,  
meti sea; (k)-asi' sideways; la'a move.

go down  
vd. isa.

go for a holiday  
vd. feri.

go in  
vd. tama.

go on all fours  
vd. hut.

go out  
vd. lana (?).

go out (with someone)  
va. namora.

go perpendicular  
vd. tefu', reduced form: tefu-

hang somewhere quickly  
vd. selau- (?).

go to school  
vd. iskola, isikola.

go up  
vd. misa;
  
vd. naik;
  
vd. po', reduced form: po-

goal  
n. objektivvu.

get  
vd. kaun.

get to  
vd. (k-)ua-dula,  
(k)-ua' on top; tula bring.

get-together  
n. rifurifu.

ghost  
n. huma'.

gift  
n. teuh-ini,  
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va. namora.

go perpendicular  
vd. tefu', reduced form: tefu-

hang somewhere quickly  
vd. selau- (?).

go to school  
vd. iskola, isikola.

go up  
vd. misa;
  
vd. naik;
  
vd. po', reduced form: po-

goal  
n. objektivvu.
Appendix 3: English-Makalebo Word List

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Makalebo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>guitar</td>
<td>n. rebeka.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gum tree</td>
<td>n. dara'.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Gums | n. nihi. |

H - h

Habitually | vb. houdai, houdainisi. |
Hair | n. sa’e. |
Hair (sg) | n. sa’e-hasa, see: hasa |
Half | n. tafu. |
Half of a coconut shell | n. toukur, tou. |
Half ripe | vd? nokor pala’; vd. pala’. |
Half ripe (coconuts) | vd. lakulaku. |
Hand | n. tana. |
Hand in | vd. hatama. |
Hand over (bride) | vd. kupe. |
Hang | vd. doil. |
Happen | vd. akontese. |
Happy | vd. clause. isa hare’, see: isa condition; hare’ clean; vd. clause. isa ha’e, see: isa condition; ha’e light; vd. clause. isa fani, see: isa condition; fani nice, sweet; vd. clause. isa felun, see: isa condition; felun nice, pretty; vd. clause. isa rau, see: isa condition; rau good. |
Hard | vd. kel. |
| | vd. petel; vd. saman. |
Harm | vd. kasu-kini, see: kasu bad; kini do. |
Harsh | vd. petel. |
Harvest | vd. uasir. |

Hat | n. puulata-taka, see: puulata head; taka close; n. sapeu, saapeu. |
Have a cold | clause. mini ufur, see: mini nose; ufur close. |
Have a husband | vp. nami-ena, see: nami husband; ena see. |
Have a wife | vp. sa-ena, see: sa wife; ena see; vp. mu’a-ena, see: mu’a ground; ena see. |
Have an accident | vd. hal. |
Have an affair | va. namora. |
Have eaten one’s fill | vd. he’ul. |
He | pron. iraku; pron. kiloo. |
Head | n. puulata. |
Head strap | n. alu. |
Healer | n. tana-badaen, see: tana hand; badaen expert; |
| | n. mosa’. |
Health | n. saude. |
Healthy | vd. amu ka’ar, see: amu person; ka’ar cold; vd. lume. |
Heart | n. adan; heart (seat of emotions) | n. uapoku. |
Hearts (cards) | n. kopäs. |
heaven n. lalehan.
heavy vd. t'ir.
heavy (rain) vd. lor;
vd. peran.
hedgel loop n. herukai.
hedgel stick n. lu'un.
heel n. ia-dafan, see: ia foot;
vd. dafan.
help vd. te-dai, see: te-
approach; dai pass
(through);
vd. ajuda;
vd. tulun.
hen n. paruh.
hence va? portantu, tantu.
hid poss.pron. ki-
herder n. atan.
(be) here vd. ai', e', reduced form:
vd. ai, e-
hiccups vd. makulesu.
hidden from view vd. (k)-uta-
hide vd. koi;
vd. polo.
hide in the forest like a guerilla vd.
(k)-afa-lana, see: (k)-
afa- away from; lana go
drout.
high grass n. fereh.
higher up vd. nama', reduced form:
nama-
hill n. pipur.
hinder vd. (k)-utu.
his poss.pron. ki-
history n. lafu-lafu', see: lafu'
life.
hit vd. kene;
vd. nese', reduced form:
vd. nese-
vd. pase;
vd. tupi; bound form:
dupi.
hold vd. kokor.
hold dear vd. ket.
hold on vd. teeluku.
hole n. mana.
holiday n. feriadu.
how of the knee n. ia-masu, see: ia
leg; masu throat.
HON (honorific) suff. -uai.
honey n. uani-ira, see: uani
bee; ira water.
honecomb n. ner (?)
honour vd. fiar.
hop vd. he'el, bound form:
-se'el;
vd. sa'uk.
horn n. horu.
horse n. kuda.
hospital n. formasi.
hot vd. nene';
vd. pare;
vd. peri'.
hour n. oras.
house n. lopu.
how vp. sa'a-fani', see: sa'ani
what; fani' be like;
vd. taure-fani', see:
taure' which; fani' be
like.
how many, how much vd. taupora';
vd. teteropa'.
howl vd. kaul;
vd. oololo.
hug vd. kol.
huge vd. numu.
human being n. amulafu, see: amu
person; lafu life.
vd. amuni.
humoristic vd. komik.
hundred vd. rasa.
hunger season n. lepuh-uru', see:
lepuh hungry; uru moon.
hungry vd. lepuh.
hunt vd. sapu.
hurried vd. rapurapu.
hurry vd. pit.
husband n. nami.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I</th>
<th>pron. ani.</th>
<th>Indonesia, Indonesian n. <em>Indonesia</em>.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ideals</td>
<td>n. <em>lafu-lafu</em>, see: lafu' live.</td>
<td>Indonesian language n. <em>bahasa</em> <em>indonesia</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>if</td>
<td>conj. see.</td>
<td>Indonesian woman n. <em>ibu</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(k.o.)  ilex (?)</td>
<td>n. <em>peitasa</em>.</td>
<td>inside n. <em>mutu</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>image</td>
<td>n. <em>utiuti</em>.</td>
<td>inside of the elbow n. <em>tana-masu</em>, see: <em>tana</em> arm; <em>masu</em> throat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMM (immediate action)  clit. =<em>fa'a</em>; metathesised form: =<em>afa</em>.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>impact forcefully</td>
<td>vd. (k)-eta-.</td>
<td>insult vd. <em>so</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>implant</td>
<td>vd. <em>dede</em>;</td>
<td>intact vd. <em>ha'afu</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vd. <em>solo</em>.</td>
<td>intention n. <em>intentasaun</em> (?).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>important</td>
<td>vd. <em>importante</em>;</td>
<td>interpreter n. <em>durupasa</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>improve</td>
<td>vd. <em>rau-mot</em>, see: <em>mot</em> be located.</td>
<td>inundation n. <em>ira-uah</em>, see: <em>ira</em> water.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in turn</td>
<td>va? <em>na'a-muni</em>.</td>
<td>invite vd. <em>kasar</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in X days</td>
<td>suff.-e'e.</td>
<td>vd. <em>konvida</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>increase</td>
<td>vd? <em>ria-la'a</em>, see: rian big; <em>la'a</em> move;</td>
<td>ipomoea aquatica n. <em>kankun</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vd? <em>ropa-la'a</em>, see: *ropa' many; <em>la'a</em> move.</td>
<td>ipomoea batatas n. <em>matu</em> (?).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>independence</td>
<td>n. <em>independensia</em>.</td>
<td>island n. <em>larin</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>its poss.pron. <em>ki</em>.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**J - j**

| January  | n. uilal-bailiur. | July | n. matu-isar, see: matu |
| jerrycan | n. jerikeen, serikeen, zerekeen. | Jump | v.d. he'el, bound form: -se'el; |
| (k. o.) jewellery (a large gold disk worn on the chest) | n. lauan-lefen, lauan-lepen, see: | June | n. uata-hasa, see: uata |
| lefen | precious metal; | Jurisdiction | n. sede. |
| lefen disc. | | Just | va? na'u. |
| joint | n. pu'i. | | just before | va. aire'. |

**K - k**

| Keep (an animal) | v.d. ufal. |
| Keep back | v.d. asir. |
| Keep on | v.d? tepa', tepa. |
| Key | n. save, savi. |
| Kick | v.d. t'i'al, bound form: -di'al. |
| Kill | v.d. fo'ol; v.d. teri, bound form: -deri; v.d. (k)-umu-; v.d. (k)-uta. |
| Kilo | n. kilu. |
| King | n. dai; |

**L - l**

| Lack | v.d. falta, faalata. |
| Ladder | n. ha'e. |
| Lady | n. na'ilou; n. sinora. |
| Lake | n. ira-ha'a, see: ira |
| Water; ha'a mouth; | |
| Stagnant. | |
| Language | n. mu'a. |
last night  *vd. raine¹*, see: rai night;
*vd. sooraine¹*, see: soh
yesterday.
(be) late  *vd. sofit, reduced form: sofi-.*
laugh  *vd. hi'e, bound form: -ni'e.*
lift around untidily  *vd. kamata.*
lay eggs  *vd. ua'.*
lazy  *vd. clause. *isa dikar, see: *isa condition; dikar short.*
lead  *vd. ukun.*
leader  *n. liurai.*
leaf  *n. ate-hasa, see: ate tree; *hasa leaf.
lean on  *vd. pel; *vd. tekih, reduced form: -dekii.*
lease  *vd? kori (>).*
leather  *n. uli.*
leave  *vd. (k)-afa-.*
leave behind  *vd. uenatu'.*
(b) left over  *vd. resin, reduced form: resi-.*
left side  *n. uelii.*
leg  *n. ia.*
lesser yam  *n. ipitiliu.*
let compete  *vd. hil.*
let go  *vd. du'al; *vd. ter.*
letter  *n. surat.*
levelling board  *n. ate-tene¹*, see: ate tree.
lack  *vd. feil.*
lie  *vd. loko; *vd. neok; *vd. puripuri.*
lie down (flat)  *vd. ken (>.)*
*vd. leru'*.  *vd. tia (SG), bound form: -dia; rou (PL).*lie (on)  *vd. mot.*life  *n. lafu.*
*vd. lafu-lafa', see: lafu' live.*
lift  *vd. dane.*light (not heavy)  *vd. ha'e;*light, shine  *vd. kan.*light (day)  *vd. osa.*light blue  *vd. imposa (>.)*lightening  *n. lo'on-fatili, see: lo'on sky; fatil gun.*like  *clause. *isa tutu, see: *isa condition; tutu like.*like, alike  *vd. fan'i', pani', reduced form: fan'i-, pani-.*lime (for betel)  *n. lue.*limit  *n. no.*limitation  *n. uaku.*line  *n. lina.*lip  *n. nunu, reduced form: nu-.*liquid medicine  *n. ate-hasa ki-ira, see: ate tree; hasa leaf; ira water.*leather  *n. uli.*litre  *n. liitrulive*  *vd. lafu'.*liver  *n. ari.*(living) person  *n. amulafu, see: amu person; lafu life.*
(k.o.) lizard  *n. ate-raka liti, see: ate tree; raka digit.*
*vd. mot.*lock  *vd. kesi.*log  *n. patan.*long  *vd. asan.*long ago  *va. mu'it;*long-ago  *vd? antigu.*look  *vd. keil.*look after  *vd. ne-puna, see: ne- at (?); puna look at;
vd. te-dai, see: te-
approach; dai pass
(through); vad. (k)-utu'.

look at

vd. ne-puna, see: ne-
(?); puna look at;
vd. puna;
vd. toton.

look at (from a distance) vd. mi-puna,
see: mi' along; puna
look at.

look for

vd. haka, bound form:
-saka.

look out for

vd. t'ia-puna, see: t'ia-
towards; puna look at.

look through

vd. mi-puna, see: mi'
along; puna look at.

looks

n. fanu-fanu, see: fanu.

loom backstrap n. sofù.

vd. te-dai, see: te-
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vd. (k)-utu'.

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look through

vd. mi-puna, see: mi'
along; puna look at.

looks

n. fanu-fanu, see: fanu.

loom backstrap n. sofù.

loop by which the backstrap is attached
to the lower loom bar n. kau'.

lord n. sa'ê-koru, see: sa'ê
hair.

lose consciousness clause.

fanu lain, see: fanu face;
lain dizzy;

vd. dula.

lost vd. molu.

louse n. amín.

love vd. domin;
vd. ket.

lower arm n. tana-torok, see: tana
arm; torok lower part.

lower leg n. ia-torok, see: ia leg;
torok lower part.

lower part n. torok.
lucky vd? sorti, soorti, soorit.

machete n. eropà, eeropà;
n. hitafu.

(small) machete n. laa.i.laak.

mad vd. geger;
vd. noko.noko.

(make the) main issue va? nairini.

main part n. pata.

main road n. riapatàn.

main supporting pillar for the roof in a
silt house n. pu' u lolo-
nat, see: pu' u top of the
roof; lolo'u straight; nat
stand (SG).

maize n. te.li.

majority n. maiôria.

Makalero n. Makalero.

Makalero-speaking area n. Lero.

Makasae-speaking area n. Lari.

make a hole vd. to'i, bound form:
do'i.

make a mistake vd. sala.

make a sound vd. hopun.

make angry (?) vd. ro'u-kini, see:
ro'u' together (?) \(,\) kini
do.

make noise vd. rokoroko.

make peace vd. dame.

malaria n. ka'ar oruori, see:
ka'ar cold; oruori
shiver;

n. malária.

male n. nami.

malnourished vd. hakaas.

man n. nami;

n. namiráa.

mandate n. mandatù.
mango

 manipulate
 manipulate with a stick
(k.o.) mantis
 many
 many [+HUM]
 many [-HUM]
 March
 mark
 market
 marriage
 married (men)
 married (women)
 massage
 master
 mat
 mattress
 May
 maybe
 mean
 meat
 (k.o.) meat dish
 medicine
 meet
 memorise

 n. ah.
 v. dan.
 v. keil.
 n. sina (?).
 v. ropa', reduced form: ropa-
 v. rian (?), reduced form: ria-
 v. rial.
 v. paun;
 v. roual.
 n. mater-raadina.
 n. nem;
 n. nilai;
 n. valór.
 n. merkadu;
 n. pasar.
 n. kazamentu.
 vp. mu'a-ena, see:
 mu'a ground; ena see;
 vp. sa-ena, see: sa wife;
 ena see;

 n. kola-utur, see: kola
 tais sarong; utur men's tais.
 n. paata.
 n. utur.
 v. uma.
 n. mensajen;
 n. pesan.
 meter
 va? meiudia.
 middle of the body
 n. lepa.
 (in the) middle
 v. nese', reduced form: nese-.
 v. leetana', reduced form: leetana-.

 n. dudu-ira, see: dudu

 n. ministrum
 mirror
 n. iaia.

 vd. hamar.

 n. ouar.

 n. minina.

 vd. seti.

 v. seru.

 v. koir;

 vd. to', reduced form: to-.

 mobile phone
 n. mobail.

 moderate
 vd. riau.

 Monday
 n. sigunda.

 n. lauan;

 n. osan.

 n. lu'a.

 n. uru.

 n. uru.

 n. ninu.

 n. susuuk.

 va? lokata (?).

 n. ina;
### N - n

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Makero</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>motorbike</td>
<td>n. motör.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mountain</td>
<td>n. larín.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mouse</td>
<td>n. sura.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moustache</td>
<td>n. nu-namu, see: nunu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mouth</td>
<td>n. ha’a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>move</td>
<td>vd. dane;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>move legs</td>
<td>vd. koikoi’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nail</td>
<td>n. ilu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naked</td>
<td>vd. losan, reduced form: losa-.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>name</td>
<td>n. nei.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>name (call)</td>
<td>vd. tamu, bound form: -damu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nap</td>
<td>vd. uma.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>narrow</td>
<td>vd. kon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nation</td>
<td>n. nasaun.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naughty</td>
<td>vd. geger;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>navel</td>
<td>n. ilu-mana, see: ilu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>near</td>
<td>vd. fu’, reduced form: fu’-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>necessary</td>
<td>vd. persiza.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neck</td>
<td>n. masukoro.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>necklace</td>
<td>n. korenti.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **n. ni.** mucus  
- **n? fasa’=ee mini-mutu-paran, see: fasa’ dirt;**
- **n. larín.** mini nose; mutu’ inside.
- **n. sura.** num  
- **n. ama;**
- **n. nu-namu, see: nunu** lip; namu body hair.  
- **n. uta-mata, see: uta** bean; mata child.  
- **n. komunidade.** municipality  
- **n. kulat.** mushroom
- **n. ha’a.** bean
- **n. komunidade.** municipality  
- **n. kulat.** mushroom  
- **n. koikoi’.**  
- **NAG (agent noun suffix) suff. -door.** necklace made of orange beads n.  
- **n. ilu.** kapat.  
- **vd. losan, reduced form: losa-.** need  
- **NEG (negation) pref. ni-;**
- **n. nei.** part. nomo.  
- **NEG.EX (negative existential) vd. na;**
- **vd. tamu, bound form: -damu**  
- **vd. unaan.** nephew  
- **n. mani.** nest  
- **n. uari.** nest  
- **vd. kon.** net  
- **n. dai.** net  
- **n. nasaun.** never  
- **? nomo ho’o, see: nomo**
- **vd. geger;** NEG.
- **vd. titidukal;** new  
- **vd. hofar.** new  
- **vd. ualipasak.** news  
- **n. uaras.** news  
- **n. ilu-mana, see: ilu** newspaper n. koran.  
- **umbilical cord; mana** next to vd. kusa-;  
- **vd. ta-.** hole.
- **vd. fu’, reduced form: fu’-;** nice  
- **vd. fani;**
- **vd. kusa-;** niece  
- **n. tuumata.** niece  
- **vd. male’, reduced form: male’-;** night  
- **n. kamur, kamu.** night, be night vd. kamu;
- **vd. ta-.**
- **vd. persiza.** nine  
- **vd. siua.**
- **n. masukoro.** nip  
- **vd. kepit.**
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nipple</td>
<td><em>n. dudu-isu</em>, see: <em>dudu</em> breast; <em>isu</em> seed.</td>
<td>not allowed</td>
<td><em>vd. i-rau, erau, uerau, u-rau</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NML (nominaliser) <em>suff. -ini</em>; <em>suff. -r.</em></td>
<td>not exist <em>vd. le-sa.</em></td>
<td>obligation</td>
<td><em>n. kuulpa.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no matter if</td>
<td><em>conj? teta.</em></td>
<td>not far away</td>
<td><em>vd. heu-</em>.*</td>
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<tr>
<td>noisy</td>
<td><em>vd. araraka.</em></td>
<td>not get</td>
<td><em>vd. lu'a.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noni</td>
<td><em>n. ni-nu.</em></td>
<td>not just like that</td>
<td><em>vd? ni-pada</em>, see: <em>ni-NEG; pada</em> friend.*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-stop</td>
<td><em>vd. lopolopor.</em></td>
<td>not know</td>
<td><em>vd. isipo'</em>.</td>
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<tr>
<td>noon</td>
<td><em>va? kamunei</em>; <em>va? meiu-dia</em>; <em>vd. osa</em>; <em>vd. til.</em></td>
<td>not long after</td>
<td><em>vd. mu'i-mu'it</em>, see: <em>mu'it</em> long ago.*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>normally</td>
<td><em>va? biasa.</em></td>
<td>not one of this kind</td>
<td><em>vd? ni-pada</em>, see: <em>ni-NEG; pada</em> friend.*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>north</td>
<td><em>n. meti-tufur</em>, see: <em>meti sea; tufur</em> sister.*</td>
<td>not want</td>
<td><em>vd. tule, bound form:</em> <em>-dule.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nose</td>
<td><em>n. mini.</em></td>
<td>notebook</td>
<td><em>n. kader-nu.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nostril</td>
<td><em>n. mini-mana</em>, see: <em>mini nose; mana</em> hole.</td>
<td>November</td>
<td><em>n. bare bere.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasal hair</td>
<td><em>n. mini ki-namu</em>, see: <em>mini nose; namu</em> body hair.</td>
<td>now</td>
<td><em>va. agora</em>;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>va. aire'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nummer</td>
<td></td>
<td>NSIT (new situation) <em>part. hai.</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>number</td>
<td><em>n. nomor,</em></td>
<td>on top</td>
<td><em>vd. (k)-ua', reduced form: (k)-ua'</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O - o</td>
<td></td>
<td>one</td>
<td><em>vd. u, un.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>one by one</td>
<td><em>vd? na'a-na'a</em>, see: <em>na'a</em>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>only</td>
<td><em>clit. =hi'a</em>;</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>onto</td>
<td><em>vd. tafan-</em>.*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>open</td>
<td><em>vd. loke</em>;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>on top</td>
<td><em>vd. lesu.</em></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>open a business</td>
<td><em>vd. usaha.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>open (mouth)</td>
<td><em>vd. la'i.</em></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>operate</td>
<td><em>vd. opera.</em></td>
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<td></td>
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<td>opportunity</td>
<td><em>n. teemu.</em></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>oppose</td>
<td><em>vd. kontra.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>or</td>
<td><em>clit. =ua'i</em>;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>conf / clit. o, ou.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oil</td>
<td><em>n. mina.</em></td>
<td>oil [-HUM]</td>
<td><em>vd. amar.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>oil [+HUM]</td>
<td><em>vd. ha-fil.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>old man</td>
<td><em>n. ele-haa.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on purpose</td>
<td><em>vd. ni-uri-, see: (k)-uri-</em> behind but visible.</td>
<td>on purpose</td>
<td><em>vd. ni-uri-, see: (k)-uri-</em> behind but visible.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on the other hand</td>
<td><em>va? na'a-muni.</em></td>
<td>on the other hand</td>
<td><em>va? na'a-muni.</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
or not?  
clause. =uai na'an, see: outside  
=uai or; na'an NEG.EX.  
le.  
oral cavity  
n. ha'a-mana, see: ha'a mouth; mana hole.  
outwards  
order  
vd. huma, bound form: over (onto)  
-so'o.  
-vd. pada.  
-suma.  
 vd. tafan-. 
vd. umai', ume', reduced form: umai-, ume-.  
orphan  
n. aaria.  
other  
vd. haale; overseas  
vd. selu.  
overturn  
our (excl.)  
poss.pron. isi-.  
owe  
our (incl.)  
poss.pron. fi-.  
owl  
n. toutou.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>P - p</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pack</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>packet of steamed rice wrapped in a banana leaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paddy field</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pale (post)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palm fibers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palm wine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pant (hackle)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>papaya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pardon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parent in law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parent's younger sibling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parliament</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>part of the floor of a stilt house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pass (a test)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pass by</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pea</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| peaceful | n. pas;  
vd. dame. |
| peanut | n. uta. |
| pebble | n. ara ki-isu, see: ara gravel; isu seed.  
vd. pok. |
| party | n. feesta, peesta. |
| pass | v.d. seti. |
| pass (a test) | v.d. manan. |
| pass by | v.d. tefu-la'a, see: tefu' break; la'a move; |
| peel | v.d. keil. |
| peel | n. fasu. |
| pen (enclosure) | n. luan. |
pen \hspace{1em} n. kaneta.
pencil \hspace{1em} n. lapis.
people \hspace{1em} n. povu.
perceive \hspace{1em} vd. liar.
perforate \hspace{1em} vd. leuk.
perform a de le burial song \hspace{1em} vd. de le.
perform a lai lai burial song \hspace{1em} vd. lai lai.
perform a lara song \hspace{1em} vd. lara.
perform a sikir dance \hspace{1em} vd. sikir.
perhaps \hspace{1em} vz. tone'.
person \hspace{1em} n. amulafu, see: amu
person; lafu life;
\hspace{1em} n. amu;
\hspace{1em} n. amuni.
persuade \hspace{1em} vd. (k)-ia-lolo, see:
(k)-ia' under; lolo say.
phalanger orientalis \hspace{1em} n. lou.
phone \hspace{1em} vd. arami.
photo \hspace{1em} n. fotografía.
(be in) physical contact \hspace{1em} vd. (k)-ata',
\hspace{1em} reduced form: (k)-ata-
physical state \hspace{1em} n. isa.
pick out \hspace{1em} vd. ulu.
pick up (fetch) \hspace{1em} vd. ti'a-ma'u, see: ti'a-
towards; ma'u come.
picture \hspace{1em} n. gambar, kambar;
\hspace{1em} n. utiuti.
piece \hspace{1em} n. tafu;
\hspace{1em} n. talu.
piece of wood \hspace{1em} n. ate-tafu, see: ate
tree; tafu half.
pig \hspace{1em} n. pai.
piller in the corner of the living quarters \hspace{1em} in a stilt house \hspace{1em} n. hir-
tutu, see: hir' wall.
pillar supporting a stilt house \hspace{1em} n.
hana'.
nillow \hspace{1em} n. ua-sa'e, see: (k)-ua'
on top; sa'e hair.
pinch \hspace{1em} vd. kepit;
\hspace{1em} vd. kilu.
pineapple \hspace{1em} n. sen.
pit someone (against) \hspace{1em} vd. hil.
pity \hspace{1em} vd. kuitadu.
PL (plural) \hspace{1em} suff. -laa;
suff. -niki;
suff. -r;
suff. -raa.
place \hspace{1em} n. ha'aein.
plan \hspace{1em} n. planu.
plank \hspace{1em} n. ate-lepen, see: ate
tree; lefen disk.
plant \hspace{1em} vd. houn, bound form:
\hspace{1em} -soun;
\hspace{1em} vd. hur;
\hspace{1em} vd. laik;
\hspace{1em} vd. tetu'.
plant flowers on the grave \hspace{1em} vp. ki-piti
laik, see: piti mat (?);
laik sow.
plastic \hspace{1em} n. masa (?).
plastic plate \hspace{1em} n. masa-ra'u, see: masa
plastic (?); ra'u plate.
plate \hspace{1em} n. ra'u.
(play) plate \hspace{1em} n. piris.
play \hspace{1em} vd. murimuri;
\hspace{1em} vd. resiresi.
play a flute \hspace{1em} vd. kut.
play a k.o. metal drum \hspace{1em} vd. dadil.
play a k.o. wooden drum \hspace{1em} vd. tipal.
play (an instrument) \hspace{1em} vd. toka.
play cards \hspace{1em} vd. duka.
player \hspace{1em} n. jogadór.
plough \hspace{1em} vd. dei;
\hspace{1em} vd. laiki.
plug in \hspace{1em} vd. jok, zok.
(pocket of a bag) \hspace{1em} n. no.
point at \hspace{1em} vd. sisu'.
poison \hspace{1em} n. ate-hasa pik, ate-hasa
\hspace{1em} ki-pik, see: ate tree;
\hspace{1em} hasa leaf; pik bitter;
pik.
poisonous \hspace{1em} vd. pik.
police (man) \hspace{1em} n. polis.
polite \hspace{1em} vd. fiar.
pomelo \hspace{1em} n. sapu.
poor \hspace{1em} vd. kasian;
\hspace{1em} vd. kuitadu;
\hspace{1em} vd. susar;
\hspace{1em} vd. tasain.
population  n. povu;
n. renu;
n. renufuku.
Portugal  n. Portugáil.
Portuguese  n. portugés.
position (function)  n. alfersi;
position (put)  vd. taru, bound form:  
-daru.
possibly  va? raunata, see: rau.
(small) pot  n. kaneka.
potato  n. same.
pound (mash)  vd. sekú;  
vd. tafa, bound form:  
-dafa;  
vd. tupí, bound form:  
-dupi;  
vd. tutu';  
vd. soko- (?).
pour (a drink)  vd. ti', bound form:  
-di'.
pour out  vd. kalín.
praise  vd. hiul;
vd. lulu'.
pray  vd. heti, bound form:  
-seti;  
vd. reja.
prayer  n. orasaun.
precious metal  n. lauán.
precisely  va? pas.
predestination  n. malisaan.
pregnant  vd. afunasi;  
vd. rasuh (?).
prepared  vd. ran.
present  n. hadia.
press  vd. rama'.
pretty  vd. felun.
price  n. elín;
n. ira.
prick  vd. tafa, bound form:  
-dafa.
primary school  n. SD.
prison  n. kadeia;
n. komarga.
problem  n. problema.
prod  vd. tafa, bound form:  
-dafa.
produce (agricultural)  n. ado.
produce  vd. pure.
promote  vd. aplica.
prong (fork)  n. kitu-kitu, see: kitu.
prong  vd. kitu.
protect  vd. hor, bound form:  
-sor.
provisions  n. laun.
psoriasis  n. apa.
pull  vd. heil, bound form:  
-seil;
vd. remet.
pull out  vd. kafar.
punch  vd. tuku, bound form:  
-duku.
punish  vd. kastigu.
purgative  n. porgante.
PURP (purposive)  clit. = taa;
clit. = p-.
purple  vd. lu'ihisu.
push  vd. tutur.
push over  vd. (k)-afi-dekih, see:  
(k)afi' sideways; tekih
lean on.
put  vd. taru, bound form:  
-daru.
put (a child to bed)  vd. lu'.
put in  vd. hatama.
put on  vd. (k)-a'a.
put on (clothes)  vd. (k)-utu.
put one's arm over someone's shoulder  
vd. toil.
putrid  vd. popok, popo.
### Q - q

QM (question marker) *clit. =* **ua**.

quarrel     *vd. urut;*  
             *vd. tata-puru-puru (?)*,  
             *see: tata-unite.*

quarrel with so. *vp. amuni ki-ha’-a- 
              mutu-lo-lo, see: amuni 
             person; ha’a mouth; 
             mutu’ inside; lolo say.*

queen     *n. na’ilou.*

question    *n. heti-ni, see: heti ask.*

quiet      *vd. tepar.*

quick      *vd. rapurapu;*  
           *vd. raun.*

QUOT (quotative) *vd. ain.*

### R - r

rain     *n. ae.*

random   *vd. arbiru.*

rasp      *vd. kaur;*  
          *vd. keuh.*

rat     *n. sura.*

(rather) than  *? duke.*

rattan    *n. taru.*

ravine    *n. pa’an;*  
           *n. toil.*

read      *vd. le’.*

readiness  *n. lo’o (?).*

ready     *vd. prontu;*  
           *vd. ran.*

REC (reciproal) *pron. ta.*

receive    *vd. ti’a-dane, see: ti’a- 
           towards; dane move;  
           *vd. ti’a-meï, see: ti’a- 
           towards; mei take;  
           *vd. simu.*

recharge   *vd. jok, zok.*

record    *vd. rekam.*

REC.PT (recent past) *vd. aite’.*

red     *vd. imir.*

Red Cross    *n. palamera.*

REFL (reflexive) *pron. ni.*

REFL:POSS- (reflexive possessive) *poss.pron. ni-.*

refrain    *n. masu-pata, see: masu 
           song; pata essence.*

register    *vd. lumur.*

regularly spaced *vd. tetu-.*

REL (relativiser) *conj. ke;*  
                  *clit. =* **ua**.

relation    *n. relasaun.*

relatives  *n. famila;*  
           *n. relasaun.*

release      *vd. huri, bound form: 
              -suri.*

remember      *vd. ha’e-ne’et, see: ha’e 
              light; ne’et think;  
              *vd. ne’et.*

REM.PT (remote past) *va. hana’e.*

repair      *vd. tata-mara, see: tata- 
           unite; mara go;  
           *vd. tata-rau, see: tata-
           unite; rau good.*

repeat     *vd. laplapî (?)*.  

replace     *vp. ki-ha’aucein li’üan, 
              see: ha’aucein place; li’üan 
              fall.*

report    *n. uaras.*

resemble    *vd. fani’, pani’, reduced 
              form: fani-, pani-.*

resent     *vd. dauk;*  
           *vd. odi, ode.*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Makalero</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>resistance</td>
<td>n. konta-kutu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>respect</td>
<td>v.d. respeita.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>respected person</td>
<td>n. sa'e-koru, see:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sa'e hair.</td>
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<tr>
<td>rest</td>
<td>v.d. a'at;</td>
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<td></td>
<td>v.d. desksanka.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>restrain</td>
<td>v.d. asir.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>resurrect</td>
<td>v.d. pok.</td>
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<tr>
<td>return</td>
<td>v.d. muni;</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>v.d. ripa- (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rice (cooked)</td>
<td>n. tina-ini, see:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tina cook.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rice (uncooked, hulled)</td>
<td>n. ale.</td>
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<tr>
<td>rich</td>
<td>v.d. riku.</td>
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<tr>
<td>right</td>
<td>v.d. lolor, reduced form:</td>
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<td></td>
<td>lolo-;</td>
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<td></td>
<td>v.d? paneme.</td>
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<tr>
<td>right side</td>
<td>n. tanen.</td>
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<tr>
<td>right up to</td>
<td>v.d. lolor; reduced form:</td>
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<td></td>
<td>lolo-;</td>
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<tr>
<td>ring</td>
<td>n. rusuk.</td>
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<tr>
<td>ripe</td>
<td>v.d. amu';</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>v.d. seta;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>v.d. titi;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>v.d. nokor (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rise from the dead</td>
<td>v.d pok.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>risk</td>
<td>n. risikoo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>river</td>
<td>n. ueur.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sack</td>
<td>n. karol;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n. leteroo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sacred</td>
<td>v.d. falun.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sacred place (?)</td>
<td>n. uarasar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sad</td>
<td>v.d. clause, mutu isit,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>see: mutu inside; isit ill;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>v.d. hu'at;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>v.d. susar;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>v.d. terus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sadden</td>
<td>v.d. uirk (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>road</td>
<td>n. hi'a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rock (stone)</td>
<td>n. ili;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rock (sway)</td>
<td>v.d. riu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>roll</td>
<td>v.d. nak;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>root</td>
<td>v.d. pora.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>roof</td>
<td>n. du;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>room</td>
<td>n. kopon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>root</td>
<td>n. ari'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rope</td>
<td>n. tali.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rosary</td>
<td>n. teersu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rose apple</td>
<td>n. uasur.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rotate</td>
<td>v.d. fuker;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leaf</td>
<td>n. afal-hasa, see:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hasa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rub</td>
<td>v.d. sia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rude</td>
<td>v.d. katar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rule</td>
<td>v.d. ukun.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rule over</td>
<td>v.d. dominan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>run</td>
<td>v.d. ria' (SG), titar (PL).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>run riot</td>
<td>v.d. geger.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>run up to</td>
<td>v.d. isi-ria', see: isi' at;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ria' run.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rustle</td>
<td>v.d. rokoroko.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sago palm</td>
<td>n. tafi'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>salt</td>
<td>n. kasi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>salt water</td>
<td>n. kasi-ira, see:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kasi salt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ira water.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>salty</td>
<td>v.d. mata';</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>same, precisely the same</td>
<td>v.d. me'ese.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sand</td>
<td>n. inuk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sandal</td>
<td>n. ia-fari-fari, see: ia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>foot</td>
<td>v.d. opa .</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

S - s

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Makalero</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sack</td>
<td>n. karol;</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>v.d. terus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sadden</td>
<td>v.d. uirk (?)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Saturday  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Saturday</th>
<th>np. uatu douh, see: uatu</th>
<th>send</th>
<th>vd. asar.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>day; douh six.</td>
<td>vd.</td>
<td>senior high school</td>
<td>n. SMA.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saucer</td>
<td>n. piris.</td>
<td>separate</td>
<td>vd. pati.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>save</td>
<td>vd. r'la'; vd. salva.</td>
<td>separate cotton fibres from the seeds</td>
<td>vd. huhur.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>say</td>
<td>vd. ain'; vd. lolo.</td>
<td>separately</td>
<td>using a cotton gin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scale</td>
<td>vd. tetu.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scared</td>
<td>vd. aka'; vd. masan.</td>
<td>separating wall</td>
<td>n. aarmadila.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>school subject</td>
<td>n. fana-nini, see: fana</td>
<td>teach.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scissors</td>
<td>n. kateri.</td>
<td>servant</td>
<td>n. lih;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scorpion</td>
<td>n. sauarika.</td>
<td></td>
<td>n. mataroos.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scratch</td>
<td>vd. kapar;</td>
<td>set (a date)</td>
<td>vd. kae.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vd. kaur.</td>
<td>set up the loom</td>
<td>vd. ledo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scream</td>
<td>vd. mari'.</td>
<td>seven</td>
<td>vd. fitu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>screen</td>
<td>n. utiuti.</td>
<td>sew</td>
<td>vd. fei';</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sea</td>
<td>n. meti.</td>
<td>shake</td>
<td>vd. tata'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sea to the north of Timor</td>
<td>n. meti tufer,</td>
<td>shake (a tree) to make fruit fall down</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>see: meti sea; tufer</td>
<td></td>
<td>vd. do'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sea to the south of Timor</td>
<td>n. meti nami,</td>
<td>sharp</td>
<td>vd. mera'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>see: meti sea; nami</td>
<td>shave</td>
<td>vd. pouk;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>male.</td>
<td></td>
<td>vd. sorit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sea water</td>
<td>n. kasi-ira, see: kasi salt;</td>
<td></td>
<td>pron. iraku;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ira water.</td>
<td>sheath</td>
<td>pron. kiloo;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>search</td>
<td>vd. haka, bound form:</td>
<td>sheath rod</td>
<td>n. pepes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-saka.</td>
<td>shell</td>
<td>n. fasu;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>season</td>
<td>n. no-atu, see: no limit;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>uatu day.</td>
<td>shelter (protection)</td>
<td>n. teru;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>shelter (protect)</td>
<td>vd. hian;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seat of emotions</td>
<td>n. uapoku.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(be the) second child</td>
<td>vd. tamedai.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>second degree</td>
<td>n. sigunda lina.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>secret</td>
<td>n. segredu.</td>
<td>ship</td>
<td>n. fara.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>see</td>
<td>vd. nese-puna, see: nese'</td>
<td>shirt</td>
<td>n. faru.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(in the) middle; puna</td>
<td>shiver</td>
<td>vd. ororu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>look at;</td>
<td>shoe</td>
<td>n. saapatu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vd. ena, bound form:</td>
<td>shoot</td>
<td>vd. huri, bound form:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-kena.</td>
<td></td>
<td>-suru.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seed</td>
<td>n. isu.</td>
<td>shoot with a blowpipe</td>
<td>n. kus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>self</td>
<td>vd. sotemee.</td>
<td>shop</td>
<td>n. kantina.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sell</td>
<td>vd. pura.</td>
<td>short</td>
<td>vd. dikar, reduced form:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sell well</td>
<td>vd. laku.</td>
<td></td>
<td>dika-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>Makalero</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| shoulder | n. ho'oru;  
situation | n. situasaun.  
n. uaarifa.  
six | vd. douh.  
show | vd. kesar;  
skewer | vd. kitu.  
vd. nesen;  
skin of a fruit | n. fasu.  
vd. suma.  
skin (of people or animals) | n. ulit.  
shrimp | n. asi.  
skirt | n. saia.  
sick | vd. isit.  
sky | n. lahehan;  
side | n. lafi;  
slap | n. lo'on.  
n. larin;  
slave | n. lih.  
n. te'e;  
sleep | vd. tia (SG), bound form:  
n. ulair.  
side of the body | n. losir.  
sleepy (p.) | vd. sopen.  
sideways | vd. (k)-afi', reduced form: (k)-afi-.  
slim | vd. rika.  
sign (indication) | n. taanda.  
slippery | vd. sinelus.  
sign (undersign) | vd. asina.  
slope | n. larin.  
sign up | vd. lumur.  
slow | vd. nainai-.  
silent | vd. kuku.  
smack | vd. pasal.  
silver | n. lauan putir, see: lauan precious metal;  
small | vd. ka'u;  
putir white | vd. lamalama;  
SIM card | n. samin.  
simultaneous | (in) small pieces | vd. lamalama.  
sin | n. seti-seti, see: seti pass.  
smart | vd. matene.  
since | conj. komu.  
smash | vd. da'al.  
sing | vp. masu leu, see: masu song; leu call;  
smell | vd. (k)-amu';  
vp. masu lolo, see: masu song; lolo say;  
smelly | vd. amu'.  
vp. masu huma, see:  
masu song; huma sing;  
smoke (fume) | n. ata-teur, see: ata fire;  
vd. huma;  
smoke | vp. tapaku due, see:  
vd. kanta;  
tapaku tobacco; due  
v. rusu'.  
sing a moru song to someone | vd. moru.  
smoke (fumigate) | vd. rakan.  
smooth | vd. fukal.  
single | n. solteru.  
smail | n. soul.  
sir | n. sa'e-koru, see: sa'e  
snake | n. nana.  
hair | (k.o.) snake | n. ofo;  
sister | n. tufur.  
suale'u;  
sister-in-law | n. fain;  
neezee | vd. fasin.  
n. mali;  
snore | vd. sookorokoro.  
n. uc.  
sit | vd. mit (SG), diar (PL).  
so | conj. entaun. |
so that  

\[\text{conj. para.}\]

stable  

\[\text{n. luan.}\]

soap  

\[\text{n. saban, sapan, sabun, sapauat.}\]

stagnant (water)  

\[\text{vd. liu.}\]

soldiers  

\[\text{n. militar.}\]

stand  

\[\text{vd. nat (SG), naser (PL).}\]

sole  

\[\text{n. ia-lef, see: ia foot; lef disk; n. lef.}\]

star  

\[\text{n. ifi.}\]

some  

\[\text{det. ho’o; \textit{teteropa’} (u), see: \textit{teteropa’} how many; u one; vd. tauropan’}.\]

startled  

\[\text{vd. dil; niirit; nu’at.}\]

something  

\[\text{n. masupatur.}\]

steal  

\[\text{vd. (k)-ako.}\]

son  

\[\text{n. mata namiraa, see: mata child; namiraa man.}\]

steam  

\[\text{vd. kukus.}\]

son-in-law  

\[\text{n. paakin.}\]

step  

\[\text{vd. dakar; siu.}\]

song  

\[\text{n. masu.}\]

stepfather  

\[\text{n. upa fasi, see: upa}\]

sorceress  

\[\text{n. ason.}\]

father; fasih step-parent.  

\[\text{n. fasih.}\]

sort out  

\[\text{vd. urus.}\]

step-parent  

\[\text{n. fasih.}\]

soul  

\[\text{n. huma’; matebian.}\]

stick  

\[\text{n. ate-fu, see: ate tree.}\]

sour  

\[\text{vd. ailemi.}\]

stick around which the newly spun yarn  

\[\text{is wound n. diki-ate, see: diki yarn; ate tree.}\]

south  

\[\text{n. meti nami, see: meti sea; nami male.}\]

stick out (tongue)  

\[\text{vd. maniman}\]

sow  

\[\text{vd. laik.}\]

stick to  

\[\text{vd. (k)-ata’, reduced form: (k)-ata-; maka’;}vd. palek.\]

spades  

\[\text{n. ispada.}\]

spade  

\[\text{vd. lolo.}\]

spear  

\[\text{n. fel; oro’}.\]

sow  

\[\text{vd. laik.}\]

sphere  

\[\text{n. sede.}\]

spider  

\[\text{n. lalaka.}\]

spider web  

\[\text{n. ueri (?).}\]

spill  

\[\text{vd. doku; kalin.}\]

spin  

\[\text{vd. hular.}\]

spindle whorl  

\[\text{n. pok}.\]

spirit  

\[\text{n. huma’}.\]

split  

\[\text{vd. fulun. karoh.}\]

spoon  

\[\text{n. hulu.}\]

spread  

\[\text{vd. refu’}.\]

squat  

\[\text{vd. poko.}\]

squeeze  

\[\text{vd. rama’}.\]

still  

\[\text{va? uari.}\]

stilt house  

\[\text{n. omar, reduced form: oma-}.\]

sting  

\[\text{vd. duh.}\]

stingy  

\[\text{vd. podo.}\]

stir  

\[\text{vd. (k)-ali-nini, see: (k)-ali- all over; kini do.}\]

uncooked rice in a flat basket in order to pick out dirt and stones  

\[\text{vd. le’uk.}\]

stomach  

\[\text{n. atu-pusi, see: atu faeces; pusi pan.}\]

stone  

\[\text{n. ili}.\]
n. isu; n. uar.

stone wall delimiting gardens or fields
n. lutur.

stool n. paaniku.
stop vd. para.

storage area in a stilt house above the living quarters n. ou-pu'u, see: (k)-ou-towards; pu'u top of the roof.

storage area right under the top of the roof in a stilt house n. hasa kauaili, see: hasa leaf; kauaili k.o. gecko.

store vd. ri'a.

story n. cerita; n. istoria.

straight (hair) vd. iralolo.
straight vd. lolor, reduced form: lolo-.

straight away va. ua'atafu.
street n. hi'a.
strike vd. kene.
string n. tali.
strong vd. danik;

vd. forit;
vd. kel.

stuck inside vd. to'e.

student at a seminary school n. seminarista.

study vd. istuda.

study at university n. kulia.

stupid vd. beik, peik.

style n. uesai (?).

subdistrict head n. sepoostu.

subject n. renu.

substitute vp. ki-ha'auein li'an, see: ha'auein place; li'an fall.

succeed vd. manan.

(k.o.) succulent plant n. latu.
suck vd. mus.
suco n. suku.
sudden vd. (k)-eri- (?).
suddenly va? derepenti.
suffer vd. tasau;
vd. terus.
suffering vd. kasi.
sugar np. kasi lema', see: kasi salt; lema' sweet.
sugar apple (tree) n. dai-ate.
sugarcane n. ufa.
sun summon to a ceremony vd. let.
sun n. uatu.
Sunday vp. paandra heil, see: paandra flag; heil pull.
surprised vd. sorut.
suspect vd. ta-dekik, see: ta-near; tekik lean on;
vd. saur.
swallow vd. mosal.
sweat vd. fari.
sweep vd. momoh.
swept at vd. tufa, bound form: -dufa.
sweet vd. fan; vd. lema'.

sweet potato n. same.
sweet yam n. matu.
swell vd. fatu.
swim vp. ira-lor, see: ira water; lor fly.

subject n. rana.

switch off vd. taka, bound form: -daka.

substitute for a word n. eropa, ceropa.
| T - t |
|---|---|
| table | n. mejia, meza. | vd. rata. |
| tablecloth | n. napronoona. | tell (to do something) vd. pada. |
| taboo | n. bandu, tara-bandu. | temple n. uali-mana (?), see: uali ear; mana hole. |
| tail | n. ula. | (a unit of) ten n? ate. |
| tais | n. tais. | ten np. ate u, see: ate (a unit of) ten; u one. |
| tais sarong | n. kola. | vd. ruru. |
| take | vd. feri. | tent n. teenda. |
| take apart | vd. teul. | n. riaria (?). |
| take a holiday | vd. urus. | textile warp size n. usu. |
| take care of | vd. hamar. | thanks n. obragadu. |
| take (pictures) | vd. kamera; sa. | that (addressee-related demonstrative) det. uere. |
| take (skin / bark) off | vd. lo'e. | (be) that vd. uere'. |
| talk | vd. laun; | that (distal demonstrative) det. umere. |
| talk about | vd. da'a (?) | (be) that one vd. umere'. |
| tall | vd. asan; | that down there det. ufere. |
| tall | vd? lola; | (be) that down there vd. ufere'. |
|曷 | vd. rusun. | that up there det. udere. |
| take (pictures) | vd. kamera; | (be) that up there vd. udere'. |
| tape measure | n. metur. | their poss.pron. ki-. |
| taro | n. muuta'u. | then va? ituruu. |
| task | n. kuula. | (be) there vd. uai', ue', reduced form: uai-, ue. |
| tasty | vd. fanu. | therefore va? portantu, tantu. |
| teacher | vd. fana. | thermos bottle n. teermu. |
| teacher (?) | vd. madar. | thespesia populnea n. ha'i. |
| teacher | n. fana-nimi-door, see: fana teach; kini do; -door NAG. | they pron. kilooraa; pron. uera. |
| thief | n. akor. | |
| n. guru, kuru; | | |
| thing | n. sa'a. | |
| tear | n. ina-ira, see: ina eye; ira water. | think vd. ne'et. |
| things (stuff) | n. seran. | |
| rear (rip) | vd. fisa'ak. | think of vd. ha'e-ne'et, see: ha'e. |
| rear (rip) | vd. fisa'ak. | think of vd. ha'e-ne'et, see: ha'e. |
| tear out | vd. kafar; | thirsty clause. masu aran, see: masu throat; aran dry. |
| tell | vd. paun. | this det. ere. |
(be) this \textit{vd. ere}.

thorn \textit{n. hi'\text{un}}.

thousand \textit{vd. rihun}.

(a unit of) thousand \textit{n. kontu}.

three days ago \textit{va? atuhana'\text{e}}, see:

\textit{hana'\text{e} REM.PT.}

three \textit{vd. itu [+HUM], lolitu [-HUM], reduced form: itu.}

tobacco \textit{n. tapaku}, \textit{taapaku}.

today \textit{claue? uatu ere}, see:

\textit{uatu} day; \textit{ere} this.

throat \textit{n. masu}.

through \textit{vd. leto}.

throw away \textit{vd. sesar.}

throw down \textit{vd. hole}, bound form:

-sole;

\textit{vd. pasik (?)}.

\textit{vd. tafal}, bound form:

-dafal.

throw down carelessly \textit{vd. soen}.

throw down forcefully \textit{vd. esar}.

throw out \textit{vd. doku}.

thud \textit{vd. potok}.

thump \textit{vd. tupi}, bound form:

-dupi.

thunder \textit{vd. ruru}.

Thursday \textit{np. uatu fat}, see: \textit{uatu day; fat four}.

thus \textit{conj. entaun;}

\textit{va? portantu, tantu}.

tick \textit{vd. dukel (?)}.

tie \textit{vd. sil}.

tie up \textit{vd. por}.

tight \textit{vd. kel}.

time \textit{n. hi'an;}

\textit{n. la'ar;}

\textit{n. teempu}.

Timor monitor \textit{n. suapi (?)}.

Timorese man \textit{n. maubere}.

Timorese woman \textit{n. puiperere}.

Timorese woven cloth \textit{n. tais}.

tiny \textit{vd? ka'u pilipiti}, see:

\textit{ka'u} small;

\textit{vd. nirk;}

\textit{vd. pilipilis}.

tip \textit{n. ula}.

tired \textit{vd. kole}.

trainer \textit{n. fana-nini-door}, see:

\textit{fana} teach; \textit{kini} do.
transport  
  *vd. tula, bound form: (dula).*  
  *vd. lolor, reduced form: (lolo-).*

tree  
  *n. ate-fun, see: ate tree; fun stem;*  
  *n. ate; fun;*  
  *n. fun.*  
  *trunk*  
  *n. fun; soso.*  
  *trust*  
  *tried*  
  *n. fun; fera;*  
  *Tuesday*  
  *np. uatu lolo, see: uatu day; lolo two.*

(k.o.) tree  
  *n. aalasa;*  
  *n. diri';*  
  *n. ha'ë;*  
  *n. hisu;*  
  *n. kailelei;*  
  *n. ninu;*  
  *n. pasak;*  
  *n. rifa' (?) ;*  
  *n. su'a.*  
  *Turn*  
  *n. nak.*  
  *Turn over earth*  
  *n. dei.*  
  *n. laki.*  
  *Turn (round)*  
  *n. fuker.*  
  *turtle*  
  *n. fenu.*  
  *TV*  
  *n. tifi.*

tree trunk  
  *n. ate-fun, see: ate tree; fun stem;*  
  *n. ate-patan, see: ate tree; patan fallen tree.*  
  *Twig*  
  *n. daran.*  
  *Twins*  
  *n. al.*  
  *Two days ago*  
  *va. ahana'e, see: hana'e loloi [-HUM], reduced form: ei.*

tremble  
  *vd. leelee.*  
  *REM.PT.*

trousers  
  *n. kalsa, kaalsa.*

ture  
  *va. tafi;*  
  *vd. la.*

---

U - u

ugly  
  *vd. pa'uk; kasu (?).*  
  *vd. tata; halin (?).*

umbilical cord  
  *n. tu.>*

umbrella  
  *n. teru.*  
  *vd. hal.*

uncle  
  *n. paimatu, see: pai parent's younger sibling; tiu.*  
  *unlucky*  
  *conjugated: ate.*

unconscious  
  *vd. lain.*  
  *vd. (k)-ia', reduced form: (k)-ia.*

under  
  *vd. (k)-ia', reduced form: (k)-ia.*

uniform  
  *n. faarda.*  
  *vd. ika', reduced form: ika.*

unintentional  
  *vd. haku (k).*

unique  
  *clause? pada se', see: pada friend; se' alone.*
### Appendix 3: English-Makalero Word List

#### V - v

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Makalero</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Makalero</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>uphold</td>
<td>vd. teeluku.</td>
<td>urinate</td>
<td>vd. irih.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>upset</td>
<td>vd. noronoro.</td>
<td>useless</td>
<td>vd. paadiu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>upwards</td>
<td>vd. etc-;</td>
<td>usually</td>
<td>va? bia;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vd. nama', reduced form: nama-</td>
<td></td>
<td>va. raaropa.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### V - w

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Makalero</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Makalero</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>value</td>
<td>n. valór.</td>
<td>vicious</td>
<td>vd. si'ak.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>varanus timorensis</td>
<td>n. suapi (?)</td>
<td>victim</td>
<td>n. viitima.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>various</td>
<td>vd? la'ane'.</td>
<td>vigorous</td>
<td>vd. danik.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vegetable</td>
<td>n. modo.</td>
<td>village</td>
<td>n. aldeia;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(k.o.) vegetable</td>
<td>n. uta-hasa, see: uta bean; hasa leaf.</td>
<td>n. desa;</td>
<td>n. nuak;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vein</td>
<td>n. urat.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verandah</td>
<td>n. paarenda.</td>
<td>village chief</td>
<td>np. sefi suku, see: sefi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>very</td>
<td>vz. hanu;</td>
<td></td>
<td>chief; suku suco;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>va? se.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>very old</td>
<td>vz. lutu.</td>
<td></td>
<td>chief; aldeia village.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>very sleepy</td>
<td>vd. (k-)a'-a-sopen, see: voice (k)-a'a put on; sopen sleepy.</td>
<td>n. ha'a-huma', see: ha'a mouth; huma' soul;</td>
<td>n. masu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>very small</td>
<td>vp? ka'u pitipiti, see: vomit ka'u small.</td>
<td></td>
<td>vd. hiaoleh.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
water bucket *n.* _ira-tu'il_, see: *ira_ who *pron.* _mu'ani, bound_ 
water; _tu'il_ bake in
bamboo.

water spinach *n._ _kankun_. whole _vd._ _ha'afu_.

ewatermelon *n._ _sepu'dudu_. why _vp._ _sa'a-fani', see: *sa'ani_ what; _fani' (be) like;

wave *n._ _elo_. _vd._ _taure-fani', see:_

way *n._ _hi'a_. _taure' which; _fani' (be) like_.

we (excl.) _pron._ _ini_.

we (incl.) _pron._ _fi_.

weapon *n._ _fatil_. wide open (eyes) _vd._ _kor_.

(home-made) weapon *n._ _rakitán_. widely distributed _vd._ _refu'_.

wear *n._ (k)-_utu_; _vd._ _sedik_. widow _n._ _paardufu_.

wear on the head _vd._ _sa'e_. wife _n._ _sa_.

weave _vd._ _heru_. wife-givers _n._ _omara'.

wedding *n._ _kazamentu_. wife-takers _n._ _tuuma'.

Wednesday _np._ _uatu lolitu_, see; _uatu_ _win_ _vd._ _manan_.

day; _lolitu_ three.

week *n._ _pasar_. wind (yarn) around the length of one's

weekend *n._ _fin-semana_. forearm _vd._ _lale_.

weigh _vd._ _tetu_. window _n._ _kui-kui-mana, see:_

west _clauses?_ _uatu mutu-li'an, _mana_ hole;

sec: _uatu_ sun; _mutu' _n._ _apadan_.

inside; _li'an_ fall.

wing _n._ _asa-liah, see: asa_ bird;

liah wing:

western part of East Timor _n._ _Loromonu_.

wet _vd._ _hifal_. winnow rice in a flat basket _vd._ _piak_.

what _pron._ _sa'ani, bound_ _vd._ _sosok_.

form: _sa'a-._ witch _n._ _ason_.

whatsit _n._ _masupatur_. witch-doctor _n._ _mosa'_.

wheat _n._ _meedai (?). _n._ _tana-badaen, see:_

when _conj._ _kuandu_; _tana_ hand; _badaen_ 

conj. _teempu_; expert.

conj? _tetepane'; _conj._ _entre;_ with _conj._ _ho_; 

conj. _uainhira_.

where _vd._ _taure-is'i', see: _taure' _vd._ (k)-_afu_;

which; _is'i' at; _vd._ (k)-_horu_.

_vd._ _tau', reduced form: _wok _n._ _tasu_.

tau-. _woman _n._ _tufuraa_.

whether (or not) _conj?_ _teta_. womb _n._ _ilu (?). _vol._ _taresong_ _n._ _kola-ripi, see: _kola_ 

which _vd._ _taure', reduced form: _taure'-_tai sarong; _ripi_ women's tais.

(in a) while _clause. _ka' _u=te'e, see:_

_kasu_ little; _=te'e_ after.

white _vd._ _putir, puti_. women's tais sarong _n._ _ripi_.

wonder _vd._ _sorut_.
wood  n. ate.
wooden disk on top of a stilt to prevent vermin from entering a house n. hele.

word(s)  n. lolo-ini, see: lolo say.
work  vp na’a-me, see: na’a work; mei take.

work (task)  n. na’a;
    vd. sirvisu, sirbisu,
sirvisu, sirbisu.

word in (the) garden  vp. ama paun,
    see: ama garden; paun tear out.

worker  n. sirvidoor.

world  n. muundu.
worm  n. ura.
worship  vd. dadi.
worthy; be worth  vd. vale, uale.

Y - y

yarn  n. dai-hael;
     n. diki.
yawn  vd. akan.
year  n. aria.
yellow  vd. kalah;
    vd. senseta.
yelp  vd. kal’.
yes  va? sin.
yesterday  va. soh.
yet  va. oko.
you (PL)  pron. ii.
you (SG)  pron. ei.

young  vd. su’ul, reduced form: su’u-;
condition, su’ul young.
young of a species  n. mata.
young lady  n. minina.
young mango  n. pipi-uera, see: pipi
    goat; ueri bottom.
young, unmarried woman  n. fanaraa.
younger sibling  n. noko.
your (PL)  poss.pron. ii-;
your (SG)  poss.pron. ei-.

3:UND- (third person undergoer argument) pref. k-.
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Samenvatting in het Nederlands

Grammatica van het Makalero

(for a summary in English, see § 1.6, p. 16).

Dit proefschrift is een beschrijvende grammatica van het Makalero, een taal die wordt gesproken in Oost-Timor door ongeveer 6.500 mensen. Samen met drie andere talen van de 16 talen van Oost-Timor, wordt het Makalero geclasseerd als een lid van de Trans- Nieuw-Guinea familie van de Papoea talen. De grammaticale beschrijving in dit proefschrift bestrijkt de fonologie, lexicale categorieën en hun eigenschappen, nominale en werkwoordelijke frasen, clauses, zinnen en uitingen, naast ook enkele zaken op het niveau van het discours.

Na een korte introductie van de taal, haar sprekers en hun omgeving in § 1, behandelt § 2 het klank systeem en de fonologie. De consonantinventaris is relatief onomwonden, bestaande uit de inheemse medeklinkers /p, t, d, k, ?, m, n, l, f, s, r/. Het glottale foneem /ʔ/ heeft een stop allofoon [ʔ] en een fricatieve allofoon /h/. Beiden worden vaak zo licht uitgesproken dat ze nauwelijks hoorbaar zijn.

Daarnaast zijn er negen geleende medeklinkers [b, g, ts, dz, ʃ, ʤ, ɲ, v, z], waarvan de fonemische status idiosyncratisch varieert. Het Makalero maakt gebruik van vijf klinkers /a, e, i, o, u/. Al deze klinkers hebben korte en lange varianten. De lange variant komt voor in een aantal contexten die grotendeels voorspelbaar zijn: ten eerste, een opeenvolging van twee identieke klinkers, die onderbroken worden door een glottisslag, kan lang worden uitgesproken; ten tweede, eenvoudige klinkernuclei van monosyllabische lexicale morfemen moeten lang zijn; ten derde, klinkerverlenging is een gevolg van het resyllabificatieproces bij echoklinkers. Er zijn ook een aantal morfemen met onvoorspelbare lange klinkers; dit laat zien dat de klinkervelenging wordt geanalyseerd als allefomen van de hoge klinkers wanneer ze gebruikt worden als de onsaal van een lettergrees, of als een onderdeel van een complexe nucleus, of in coda positie.

De lettergreetstructuur die men het meest aantreft is CV, hoewel CVC ook wordt aangetroffen. Medeklinkercusters worden vermeden waarvoor men vaak epenthetische klinkers invoegt. Aan het einde van een fonologische frase wordt aan een morfeem met een slotmedeklinker gewoonlijk een echoklinker toegevoegd. Het minimale lexicaal morfeem is bimoraisch. Om deze reden moet een monosyllabisch lexicaal morfeem hetzij een lange klinkernucleus, of een nucleus bestaande uit een diftong hebben. De coda voegt niets toe aan het gewicht van de lettergreet. Stress op woordniveau valt in het algemeen op de één-na-laatste mora van een morfeem. De toewijzing van stress in een uiting is ongeveer trochaïsch, maar dit moet verder onderzocht worden.

Het vraagstuk van lexicaal categorieën, dat behandeld is in § 3, is niet voor de hand liggend, omdat eigenlijk ieder lexicaal morfeem in het Makalero gebruikt kan worden om te verwijzen en om een predicaat te vormen. Desalniettemin, laten de
aanwezigheid van enkele categorieveranderende processen en het aantal lexemen met erg verschillende, niet-verwante betekenissen naar hun gebruik als werkwoorden, of als naamwoorden zien, dat er een onderscheid is tussen naamwoorden en werkwoorden. Om generalisaties over deze tweelassen mogelijk te maken, wordt gebruik gemaakt van een semantisch kenmerk; prototypische naamwoorden worden over het algemeen vertaald als “is een x” als ze predicatief worden gebruikt. Prototypische werkwoorden in hun verwijzende functie, daarentegen, drukken “de handeling van het x-en”, “het product van het x-en”, of “een instrument of object van het x-en” uit.

Er wordt een onderscheid gemaakt tussen zelfstandige naamwoorden met de eigenschap [+HUM] tegenover zelfstandige naamwoorden met de eigenschap [-HUM]. De eerstgenoemde kunnen gmarkeerd worden door een meervoudsuffix, terwijl de laatstgenoemden gewoonlijk niet voorkomen met dit suffix. Onder de [+HUM] zelfstandige naamwoorden is er een subgroep van verwantschapstermen. Een andere manier om zelfstandige naamwoorden te classificeren is door te kijken of ze kunnen voorkomen met nominale classificeerders. Er is ook nog een groep zelfstandige naamwoorden die verplicht als bezit gmarkeerd moeten worden; onder deze groep vallen verwantschapstermen en delen van een geheel. Ondanks de afwezigheid van een speciale constructie, kunnen deze zelfstandige naamwoorden geclassificeerd worden als onvervreemdbaar.

In het werkwoordelijke domein is er een belangrijk onderscheid tussen werkwoorden die een toestand aangeven en werkwoorden die een activiteit aangeven. Meest in het oog springend is het VP-interne bijwoord *hou ‘alle, allemaal’; bij activiteitswerkwoorden verkrijgt men een voltooide lezing, terwijl men bij toestandswerkwoorden een lezing van hoge graad krijgt. Het merendeel van werkwoorden is divalent. De eerste van de twee argumenten die bij zulke werkwoorden horen is het subject. De tweede kan de vorm aannemen van een object of van een complement. Dit zijn twee gevallen van het tweede argument dat een andere positie innemen. Een kleine minderheid van werkwoorden, die temporele en modale concepten uitdrukken, wordt ganalyseerd als avalent, m.a.w. ze nemen geen argument. Andere werkwoordelijke subgroepen bestaan uit ontkennende werkwoorden, interrogatieve werkwoorden, telwoorden, deictische werkwoorden, kwantoren, werkwoorden van fysieke en emotionele toestanden en werkwoorden met complement-clause extensies. Daarbij komt nog een aanzienlijke groep van werkwoorden, die onder bepaalde omstandigheden gmarkeerd worden door het derde persoon non-subject prefix *k-. Er wordt beargumenteerd dat deze werkwoordsvormen worden geheranalyseerd als vrije en gebonden vormen. Deze gebonden vormen worden allen gebruikt als hun complementpositie gevald is.

Gesloten lexicale categorieën zijn persoonlijke voornaamwoorden, reflexieve en reciproke voornaamwoorden, het vraagvoornaamwoord *mu’a- ‘wie (gebonden)’ en sa’ā- ‘wat (gebonden)’, en een onbepaald voornaamwoord, *ripripa ‘enkel, (ieder)’. Al deze vormen kunnen bijnaamwoordelijk en bijwerkwoordelijk worden gebruikt. De klasse van determinatoren bestaat uit een aantal series van vijf demonstratiewe als ook *ho’o ‘sommige’. Gebonden morfemen die tot de NP behoren zijn meervoudssuffixen, een honorifië sufficx, een *nomen agentis suffix, een nominaliseerder-suffix, een enclitische relatiefmarkering en een proclitisch
attributieve markeerder. Binnen de VP is er ook het bovengenoemde derde persoon objectprefix *k*, een negatief prefix *ni*, de aspectmarkeerder *hai* en de markeerder van negatie *nomo*. Ten slotte zijn er nog een aantal clitica op phraseniveau, waarvan de meerderheid clauses verbindt. Ze worden verbonden aan de eerste clause in een opeenvolging en specificeren de semantische relatie met de clause die erop volgt.

§ 4 bespreekt de naamwoordgroep in het Makalero. Het hoofdnaamwoord wordt vooraf gegaan door een bezittelijke groep, terwijl al de andere afhankelijke elementen (m.a.w. modificerders en determinatoren) het hoofdnaamwoord volgen. De meeste variatie valt te vinden in het domein van de modificerder, die naamwoordelijk kunnen zijn, werkwoordelijk, of geheel clausaal. Naast de ongemarkeerde modificerders, zijn er ook modificerders die worden geïntroduceerd door de clitische attributieve markeerder *ki*. Over het algemeen contrasteren deze de referent in kwestie met andere mogelijke referenten wat betreft de kwaliteit die ze beschrijven. Verder zijn er echte relatieve zinnen in het Makalero.

De markering hiervan is geconcentreerd rond het onderwerp van de relatieve *zin, hetzij als hoofd van de modificerder of niet. In het laatste geval kan daarnaast het hoofdnaamwoord gemarkeerd worden.

Het meest complexe deel van de grammatica van het Makalero is te vinden in de werkwoordgroep, die wordt besproken in § 5. De VP is strict hoofd-finaal, en het hoofdkenmerk van deze VP is de aanwezigheid van twee afzonderlijke posities voor het VP-interne argument. De eerste positie is voor het object en is het meest linkse element van de VP. Het wordt gevolgd door markeerders van ontkennings en aspect, naast ook VP-interne bijwoorden. De tweede positie, complementpositie genaamd, staat direct voor het werkwoord en vormt er een morfosyntactische eenheid mee. Deze eenheid kan expliciet gemarked worden door het gebruik van een gereduceerde vorm van het complement, of door een gebonden vorm van het werkwoord, of allebei. De twee argumentposities sluiten elkaar uit. Eendier vult de enige non-subject argumentpositie. Terwijl de objectpositie alleen *undergoer NPs* bevat, kan de complementpositie alleen naamwoordelijke of werkwoordelijke constituen bevatten. Nominale complementen drukken hetzij *undergoers*, locaties, of doelen uit. Werkwoordelijke complementen die volledige VPs zijn, afgezien van het feit dat het werkwoord in een afhankelijke vorm kan voorkomen, drukken over het algemeen locatie of hoedanigheid uit. Werkwoordelijke complementen worden ook gebruikt om causatieve te vormen, comparatieve, modale modificatie, richting, en dergelijke. Er is een bepaalde graad van flexibiliteit tussen de objectpositie en de complementpositie voor naamwoordelijke complementen, in het bijzonder in het geval van voornaamwoordelijke *undergoers*.

In veel gevallen is het een lexicale eigenschap van een gegeven werkwoord die bepaalt of een naamwoordelijk argument gerealiseerd wordt als een object of als een complement.

Elk divisor werkwoord, zelfs diegene die semantisch gezien intransitief zijn en dus niet gecombineerd kunnen worden met een *undergoer*, is wel compatibel met een werkwoordelijk complement dat locatie of hoedanigheid uitdrukt. Als zulke bijwoordelijke informatie uitgedrukt wordt in een complementpositie, dan kan de *undergoer* van een semantisch gezien transitief werkwoord niet in dezelfde
predicatie staan, maar moet worden uitgedrukt in een andere predicatie door middel van het ‘lichte’ werkwoord *mei ‘nemen’.*

Onder de werkwoordelijke modificeerders vallen de aspectmarkeerder *hai*, die het begin van een nieuwe situatie aangeeft, de ontkenningsmarkeerder *nomo*, naast ook een verscheidenheid aan VP-interne bijwoorden, die geanalyseerd worden als een subgroep van volledige werkwoorden.

De ongemarkeerde woordvolgorde in de clause, die het onderwerp is van § 6, is SOV. De structuur van de clause in Makalero is rigide en laat alleen twee argumenten toe. Elke andere deelnemer, bijvoorbeeld in het geval van ditransitieve constructies, moet in een andere clause worden uitgedrukt. De hieruit volgende eenheden, ‘zinnen’ genaamd, beschrijven semantisch gezien een enkele gebeurtenis, maar kunnen bestaan uit één of meerdere clauses zoals besproken wordt in § 7.

Een belangrijke groep van biclausale zinnen, afgezien van diegene die ditransitieve standen van zaken uitdrukken, bevatten werkwoordelijke complementen die hoedanigheid of locatie aangeven, zoals hierboven al is gezegd. Andere meervoudige clauses bevatten onnderlinge bijwoordelijke predicaten, die zelf clausaal zijn, maar niet op zichzelf staand een taaluiting kunnen vormen. Zulke bijwoordelijke predicaten drukken tijd uit, aspectuele noties en epistemische modaliteit. Deontische modaliteit, zoals uitgedrukt door een verscheidenheid aan modale werkwoorden, neemt over het algemeen ook de vorm van een zin aan, zoals werkwoorden van zeggen dat doen met hun complementclause extensies en de conatiieve constructie met *fera ‘proberen’*. De verbinding tussen de clauses in een zin kan ongemarkeerd zijn, of expliciet gemarkeerd door middel van een verbindend cliticum.

De belangrijkste formele karakteristiek van de zin is de aanwezigheid van een losgekoppelde linker positie (*left-detached position*; LDP), aan de linkerkant van de zin. Het kan naar-links-verplaatste argumenten, niet-argumentele topics, of bijwoordelijke clauses bevatten.

Zinnen kunnen bevestigend zijn, vraagzinnen, imperative, uitroepen en optatieven. De zinstypen worden in veel gevallen slechts onderscheiden door intonatie.

Verder introduceert § 8 de uiting, die gedefinieerd wordt als beginnend na een stilte of na een finale (vallende) intonatiecontour, en eindigend op de volgende finale intonatiecontour. Op deze manier kan de uiting erg korte eenheden bevatten, bestaande uit een woord of een uitroep, naast ook relatief lange stukken, die uit lange kettingen van clauses bestaan. De clauses in de kettingen worden verbonden door clatica die zich hechten aan de rechterkant van de eerste clause in een opeenvolging. De twee meest voorkomende voegwoorden, =ini en =isi, hebben een erg brede betekenis, en drukken eigenlijk alleen de nauwe verbinding uit tussen clauses in het geval van =ini, en een losse verbinding in het geval van =isi. Andere voegwoorden drukken adversativiteit, concessiviteit, voorwaarde, voltooiing, alternativering, consequentie, doel, of indirecte rede uit. De laatste twee worden geanalyseerd als onderschikkende voegwoorden op basis van hun mogelijke plaatsing hetzij in de eerste clause, of aan het subject van de tweede clause. Al de andere voegwoorden worden alleen gecliticiseerd aan de eerste clause. Deze
voegwoorden laten dus geen hiërarchie tussen de twee clauses zien die worden verbonden. Ze kunnen gecombineerd worden met onderschikkende voegwoorden.
Andere onderschikkende constructies zijn relatieve zinnen, die dezelfde structuur laten zien, parallel aan zinnen met onderschikkende voegwoorden. Een heel andere, maar ook onderschikkende structuur, bestaat uit VP complementen. Dit zijn volledige predicaties met dezelfde modificerders als een onafhankelijke clause.
Echter, het werkwoord kan een afhankelijke vorm hebben. Een derde type onderschikkende structuur zijn clausale argumenten en bijwoordelijke clauses in de naar-links-verplaatste positie van de zin. Een wat moeilijk geval vormen de woorden van zeggen en modale werkwoorden met hun complementclause extensies. Dit type constructie lijkt voort te komen uit een andere constructie waarin de complementclause functioneert als een argument van het werkwoord van zeggen.
In deze hoedanigheid kunnen complementclausale extensies gekwalificeerd worden als een type van onderschikkende constructie.
§ 8 bespreekt een aantal vraagstukken op het niveau van de discourse. Omdat het Makalero geen naamvalmarkering heeft en ook geen werkwijdelijke congruentie, en omdat deelnemers naar links verplaatst kunnen worden, is de juiste interpretatie van grammaticale rollen mogelijk problematisch. Gelukkig heeft de spreker een aantal hulpmiddelen ter beschikking. Een belangrijk instrument om referenten in een tekst te kunnen identificeren zijn de clausavoegwoorden =ini en =isi. De eerste geeft gewoonlijk de continuïteit van het topic (of subject) aan, terwijl de tweede normaal gesproken een verandering van topic aangeeft. Een ander grammaticaal element dat bijdraagt aan het volgen van referenten is het wederkerende voornaamwoord ni, dat coreferentie met de subjectdeelnemer aanduidt. Elke NP met dit element is dus noodzakelijkwijzer een non-subject. De contrastieve markeerder =ini lijkt zich te ontwikkelen in een subjectmarkeerder die gebruikt wordt voor subjectreferentie in zinnen met een niet-canoniëke woordvolgorde, of gevallen waarbij het subjectargument veel lager op de topocaliteitsschaal staat dan het tweede argument.
Naar-links-verplaatste constituenta kunnen topics en foci zijn. De meeste foci in de LPD zijn relatief lang en kunnen ter plaatse vervangen worden door een voornaamwoord. In die gevallen lijkt het de lengte van het desbetreffende constituant te zijn die van belang is, en niet de focaliteit. Hieruit volgt dat het bevatten van topics de hoofdfunctie van de LPD is. Er is een expliciete focus constructie waarin een clause met een lege positie gevolgd wordt door dezelfde of een erg vergelijkbare clause waarin die positie gevuld is. Verder heeft het Makalero een aantal clittische of bijwoordelijke markeerders die met informatiestructuur van doen hebben. De meest belangrijke van deze is het contrastieve cliticum =ini, dat wordt gevonden bij topicale en focale deelnemers. Het is waarschijnlijk een uitbreiding van het clausevoegwoord =ini en haalt het contrastieve argument uit de rest van de clauses. Deze constructies lijken dus in hoge mate op cleft-constructies. Het cliticum =haka markeert de contradictie van een vooronderstelling. Na’a-muni lijkt het begin van een nieuwe scène of gebeurtenis aan te geven. Het cliticum =oo ‘ook’, dat vaak gebruikt wordt als een concessief voegwoord, komt ook in een verscheidenheid aan gevallen voor, vaak in paren, waarbij deze vertaling ongepast
is. Het lijkt dat het in deze gevallen gebruikt wordt om informatie te structureren, maar dit moet verder onderzocht worden.
Op een hoger niveau van de organisatie van teksten valt er op te merken dat vertellingen normaal gesproken geïntroduceerd worden door een zin die de inhoud van de tekst aangeeft. Deze zinnen gaan vaak gepaard met een bijzondere woordvolgorde. Teksten eindigen gewoonlijk met een afsluitende zin, die aangeeft dat de spreker klaar is.
Een in het oog springende eigenschap van vertellingen in het Makalero is het gebruik van head-tail verbindingen. Een karakteristieke eigenschap van ritueel taalgebruik, lexicaal parallelisme, is in sommige gevallen het dagelijks taalgebruik binnengedrongen.
De bijlagen bevatten een aantal geglosseerde en vertaalde teksten, alsmede ook een woordenlijst.
Sumáriu-tetun

Gramátika lia-Makalero nian


§ 1 hato’o introdusaun badak ba dalen neé, ninia makdalen sira no sira-nia ambiente.

§ 2 diskuta lia-Makalero nia sistema són nian no fonolójia. Inventáriu konsoante nian fasíl de’it hodi fonema indijena sira /p, t, d, k, ʔ, m, n, l, f, s, v/. Fonema tutalot /ʔ/ iha alófone oclusivu [ʔ] no alófone frikativu [h]. Rua-ne’e temi mamar duni purke la bele rona di’adi’ak. Pois iha konsoante-empresta sia [g, ts, dz, ŋ, dš, ɳ, v] no [z] hodi status fonémiku ne’ebe nakfíla tuir idiosinkrátkiku. Lia-Makalero nia vogál sira lima: /a, e, i, o, u/. Sira hotul iha variante badak no naruk. Variante naruk sira mosú iha kontestu hirak ne’ebe bele si’ik de’it: ida-uluk, vogal hansen rua ne’ebe tuir maski oclusivu tutalot hees bele temi nu’udár vogál naruk; darua, iha morfema leksikál sira ne’ebe hodi silabe ida de’it, nükleu vokál simples sira tenki naruk, datolu, prosesu resilabifikasaun nian ba vogál-nuduk hanaruk vogál sira. Morfema ida-idak hodi vogál naruk sira ne’ebe la bele si’ik; ida-ne’e fô-haree katak sira iha status fonémiku, maski la importante duni. Makbesik [w] no [j] analiza tiha ona nu’udár alófone vogál aas sira nian bainhira uza nu’udár silabe nia hahú, nu’udár nükleu kompleksu nia balun nomós nu’udár silabe nia rohan.


§ 3 fô-hatene kona-ba kategoria leksikál sira ne’ebé la klaru purke morfema leksikál barak bele uza ba referénsia nomós ba predikasaun. Todavía prosesu derivacionál sira ne’ebe hatadak kategoria batu no leksema sira ne’ebé hodi arti oin-seluk tebes duni konfórme sira-nia uza nu’udár verbu ka substantivu hatudu nafatín ba realidade distinsaun substantivu-verbu nian. Atubele halo jeneralizasaun ba klase rua ne’e, ha’u uza karakteristiká semantiká: substantivu prototípiku ne’ebé uza nu’udár predikadu tradús nu’udár “mak x”. Dekontráriu, verbu ne’ebé hodi fensaun referénsiál nia arti “x nia asaun”, “x nia produtu”, “instrumentu ka objetu x nian”. Substantivu sira habalu ba substantivu ne’ebe hodi karakteristiká [+HUM] no substantivu ne’ebé hopdi karakteristiká [-HUM]. [+HUM] marca an hodi sufísku

Hateke ba verbu, iha diferensia boot entre verbu estadu nian no verbu hahalok nian. Importante lii katak adverbu hau ‘hotu’ ne’eb e iha sintagma verbal (SV) laran, marka katak hahalok verbal hotu tiha ona, maibe hatudu ba grau aas kondisau nian. Maioridade verbu sira nian mak divalente. Argumentu dahuluk ne’ebé liga an ba verbu nune’e mak sujeitu. Argumentu darua bele forma nu’udár objetu ka komplementu ne’ebé iha posisiaun diferente. Verbu nia minoridade ki’ikoan ne’ebé esprime konseitu temporal no modál analiza nu’udár avalente, iha arti mak laiha argumentu. Verbu nia lubun seluk mak verbu negativo, verbu interogativu, numerál, verbu deitiku, kuantifikadór; verbu kondisau fisika no emocional nomós verbu hodi estensaun orasaun nian. Depois iha verbu nia lubun boot ne’ebé marka ho prefiksu k- argumentu la-sjeitu nian. Ita fó-haree katak forma verbu ne’e nian tama ona reanalyse ba forma independente no forma dependente ne’ebé uza de’it bainhira sira-nia posisaun komplementu nian hatama tiha ona.

Kategoria leksiál sira ne’ebé naktaka mak pronom pesóal independente, pronom reflejivu, pronom resiprouku, pronom interogativu sira mu’a ‘sé (formá presa)’ no sa’a ‘sá’ (formá presa), nomós pronom indefinitivu riparipa ‘kualkér’. Sira ne’e hotu bele uza adnominal no adverbial. Klase determinador nian kontein demonstratívi lima nomós ho o ‘hirak’. Sufiksu plural, sufiksu honorifiku, sufiksu substantivu hahalok nian, sufiksu nominalisador, marka relativa enklitiku nomós marka atributivu proklitiku mak morfema presu ne’ebé liga ba sintagma nominál. Sintagma verbal iha mak pesoa datolu objetu iha prefiksu k- naktemi iha leten, prefiksu negativu ni-, marka aspetual hai nomós marka negativu nomo. Afnal iha mós variedade klitiku sira ba nivel sintagma nian. Sira-ne’e nia maioridade mak konjusau sintagma nian ne’ebé enklitiku an ba orasaun dahuluk iha série no hatudu ba orasaun tuir nia relasaun semántika.

§ 4 fó-hatene kona-ba sintagma nominal iha lia-Makalero. Sintagma posesivu hahuluk inan substantiva, maski dependente seluk sira (arti modifikadór sira no determinador sira) tuir de’it. Modifikadór sira ne’ebé hodi marka atributiva klitiku ki=a iha modifikadór ne’ebé la marka nia sorin. Ne’ebé naktemi dahuluk fó konstra be referente atubele haketek ba referente posivel seluk konforme kualidade ne’ebé sira hatudu. Pois iha periodo relative auténtiku iha lia-Makalero. Mimia marka konsentrā an ba orasaun relativa nia sujeitu, biar modifikador ka lae. Bainhira la’óš modifikador núkleu nominal bele marka tatutan.


Verbu divalente ida-ikak bele hamutuk ho komplementu verbal ne’be refere ba fatin ka maneira, biar verbu sira ne’e iha semántika intransitive purke la bele hamutuk ho partisipante ‘undergoer’. Bainhiara posisaun komplementu nian kontein informasaun adverbial nune’e, verbu transitivu nia partisipante ‘undergoer’ la bele hela predikadu hamutuk, maibé tenke tama predikasaun seluk liuhosi verbu ‘kmaan’ mei ‘betan’.

Modifikadôr verbal inklui marka aspetuál hai, ne’ebē hatudu hâhu situasaun foun nian, negadôr nomo, nomós variedade adverbiu sira nian iha SV laran ne’ebē analiza nu’udár subklase verbu tomak nian.

§ 6 diskuta liafuan nia tuir-ukun neutrul mak SOV. Lia-makalero nia estrutura orasaun nian rijida ho simu de’it to’o argumentu rua. Partisipante tân tenke fô-hatene iha orasaun seluk. Unidade sira, ne’ebē lorori naran ‘periodu’, hatudu de’it ba akontesimentu ida, maibé bele kontein orasaun ida ka liu. § 7 diskuta ne’e.

Iha leten fô-hatene tih a naa katak periódê ne’ebē iha orasaun rua, maibé la hatudu ba akontesimu ditransitivu mak komplementu verbal ne’ebē hatudu ba maneira ka fatin. Periodu seluk ne’ebē iha orasaun barak mak predikadu adverbiál avalente sira, ne’ebē orasaun mesak, maibé la bele forma elukasaun rasik-an. Predikadu adverbiál nune’e hatudu tempu, nosaun aspetuál sira, nomós modalidade epistêmiaka. Modalidade deônita hodi forma verbu modal seluseluk mós hodi forma frase, nu’udár verbu sira hateten nian hodi sira-nia estensaun orasaun nian nomós konstrusaun konativa hodi fera ‘koko’. Konesaun entre orasaun sira lalíka marka, ka hodi marka ho klitiku ne’ebê konjuga orasaun.

Karakteristika formál boot frase nian mak ‘posisaun ketak iha karuk’ (PKK, LDP) ne’ebē hela frase nia rohan karuk. Ida-ne’e bele hetan argumentu ne’ebē foti ba karuk, tópiku ne’ebē la’ōs argumentu ka orasaun adverbiál. Frase sira bele sai declarativa, interrogativa, imperativa, esklamasaun nomós optativa.

§ 8 fô-hatene kona-ba elukasaun, ne’ebē hâhu tuirfali silénsia ka entonasau final (monu) nia kontoru ho ramata iha kontoru final ommai. Nune’e ida-ne’e bele iha unidade badak tebes barak, ne’ebê iha liafuan ida ka esklamasaun ida de’it, maibé bele iha diskursu nia trexu naruk-naruk ne’ebē hodi korrente naruk orasaun nian. Orasaun sira ne’e liga an liuhosi klitiku konjusaun nian ne’ebê tau orasaun dahunuku iha sêrie nia rohan kuana. Konjusaun rua ne’ebê komún duni, =ini no =isi, iha arti luan tebes duni. =ini hatudu ba orasaun sira nia konesaun besik liu, maibé =isi hatudu ba konesaun namkore liu. Konjusaun seluk sira hatudu ba adversatividade,
konesividade, kondisaun, komplesaun, alternativu sira, konsekênsia, uzu, ka
diskursu ne’èbe fò. Rua iksmai analiza nu’udár konjusaun subordinativa, purke
bele tau ba orasaun dahuluk ka ba sujeitu orasaun darua nian. Konjusaun seluk sira
tau de’it nu’udár klitiku ba orasaun dahuluk. Konjusaun sira ne’e la fò-haree orasaun
ne’èbe liga nia ierârka sintáktika; nune’ ne-sira-nia relasaun ierârka posivel hela
indeterminada.

Konstrusaun subordinativa seluk mak frase relativa, ne’èbe iha padraun marka nian
subordinatu SV nian mak estrutura subordinativu ne’èbe klaru maibe seluk duni.
Ida-ne’è predikasaun kompleta ho modifikador hanesan nu’udár orasaun
independente nian. Maibe verbu bele uza forma dependente. Tipu datolu estrutura
subordinatu nian mak argumentu orasaun no orasaun adverbial iha posisaun ketak
iha karuk frase nian. Kazu problemátiku uitoan mak verbu hateten nian no verbu
modál nomós sira-nia estensaun orasaun komplementária nian, purke
komplementadór liga ho verbu hateten nian enkuantu estensaun orasaun
komplementária nian tuir verbu hateten nian. Tipu konstrusaun ne’e nia origen hosi
konstrusaun ida ne’èbe orasaun komplementária funsiona nu’udár argumentu verbu
hateten nian. Nune’ estensaun orasaun komplementária bele haree nu’udár tipu
konstrusaun subordinativa nian.

§ 9 fò-haree kestaun ida-ikad iha nivel diskursu nian. Interpretasaun loos papél
gramatikál sira nian susar liu tanba Lia-Makalero laiha konjugasaun verbál ka marka
kazu gramatikál nian no simu de’it partisipante tau ba karuk. Mais, iha instrumentu
ida-idak ne’èbe tolun makronak iha ne’e. Indikador importante atubele buka
referénsia atavesde testu mak konjusaun orasaun nian =ini no =isi. Naktemi
dahuluk enjerá kombina ho kontinuidade tópiku (ka sujeitu) nian, maski naktemi
ikus kombina ho troka tópiku nian. Pronomen refleksivu ni mak buat gramatikál ida
ne’èbe ajuda ho buka referénsia. Ida-ne’e hatudu koreferénsia partisipante sujeitu
nian. Nune’e, SN hotu ne’èbe iha pronomen ne’e la bele sujeitu de’it. Marka
konstrativa =ini dezenvolve ona ba marka sujeitu nian ne’èbe uza ba klarifikasaun
referénsia sujeitu nian iha periodo sira laho liafuan-ukun kanónika ka bainhira
argumentu sujeitu nian kraik liu argumentu darua iha ierârka topikál.

Konstituentu ne’èbe tau ba karuk bele sai tópiku ka foku. Foku barakliu iha LDP
(PKK) bele naruk de’it no bele refere hodi promen. Nune’e konstituentu ne’e nia
naruk mak sai kestaun karik maibe la’òs ninia foku. Ne’e arti katak hodí tópiku mak
funsuaun prinsipál PKK nian. Iha konstrusaun esplisita foku nian ne’èbe iha orasaun
ho posisaun ida mamuk ne’èbe orasaun hanesan ka besik hanesan ho posisaun
nakonu tuir bá. Lia-Makalero pois iha marka klitika ka adverbiál ida-idak ne’èbe iha
relasaun ho estrutura informasaun nian. Klitiku konstrativo =ini mak importante liu
no bele hetun ho partisipante topikál sira nomós partisipante fokál sira. Ida-ne’e
estensaun konjusaun orasaun =ini karik no haketak agrumentu konstrativo hoi
balun seluk orasaun nian. Nune’e konstrusaun sira-ne’e fò-haree semellansa boot ho
konstrusaun ‘haketak’ (left construction). Klitiku =haka marka kontradaisan ka
presupostu. Na a-muni fò-hatene akontesimentu ka sena nia hahù foun. Klitiku =oo
’mós’ uza nu’udár konjusaun konesiva nomós mosu iha kazu barabarak –barakliu
hodi pár – ne’èbe la bele tradus d’âd’ak. Nune’e bele propoin katak iha uzu
estrutura informasaun nian karik ne’e bé presiza peskiza tân.
Iha organisasaun testuál nia nivel aas liu ita bele haree katak barakliu narrativa sira hahú hodi periodu ne’ebé fő-hatene kontiudu testu nian. Periodu sira-ne’e barabarak iha liafuan-ukun particular. Testu hotu normalmente ho periodu maktaka ne’ebé fő-hatene katak metetek ramata tiha ona.

Narrativa-Makalero nia karakteristika espasíal mak uzu ‘ligasaun ulun-ikun’ (head-tail linkage). Karakteristika espasíal diskursu rituál nian, paralelismu leksikál, mosu tiha ona iha espesaun loroloron ida-idak.

Apéndise sira konteim ezemplu testu nian ida-idak ho glosa no tradusaun nomós lista liafuan nian.
Curriculum vitae

Juliette Huber was born in Olten (Switzerland) on the 8th of August 1978. After attending the Alte Kantonsschule in Aarau, she took up her studies of general linguistics at the university of Zurich in 1998. She graduated from this institution in 2005, having written a grammar sketch of the Timorese language Makasae as a Master’s thesis. In 2006, she obtained a PhD position at the Leiden University Centre for Linguistics (LUCL). This dissertation is the result of her doctoral research.