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A Grammar of Kéo: An Austronesian Language of East Nusantara

Louise Baird

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This dissertation is the result of original research carried out by the author, except as cited in the text.

Louise Baird
Department of Linguistics
The Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies
The Australian National University
Left: Bapa Albert Pio, famed octopus hunter, with Philip’s pig.

Above: ’Iné Anas Aso & friends preparing pandanus for weaving.
Left: Arno & Nus up to early morning mischief on the beach.
Above: Dancers welcoming a newly ordained priest.
Centre: Singer songwriters, with grouponc.
Below: Late afternoon volleyball in Tudiwadu.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Indonesia is a very different country now in many ways compared to when I first started on this project in 1998. I would like to acknowledge the thousands of Indonesians and East Timorese who died during the course of my PhD studies. May remaining problems be resolved without further violence.
ABSTRACT

This dissertation is a grammatical description of the Austronesian language Kéo, as spoken in the village of Udiworowatu in central Flores, eastern Indonesia. The language is unlike many previously described Austronesian languages because it is highly isolating. It has basic AVO/SV word order.

Following an introduction to the language, its speakers and the area in which it is spoken in Chapter 1, Chapter 2 describes the phonetics and phonology of Udiworowatu Kéo and Chapter 3 provides an overview of grammatical relations in Kéo.

Word classes are discussed in Chapters 4 and 5. Two supercategories of open and closed word classes can be identified for Kéo. Membership into the open classes of noun and verb presents some problems in Kéo due to the multifunctional nature of many words. These problems are discussed in Chapter 4, which also provides criteria for membership of the word classes of noun and verb and their respective subclasses. Chapter 5 examines the closed classes that can be distinguished.

Chapter 6 describes the extremely minimal morphological processes that occur in Kéo. There is a single clitic. Reduplication has been borrowed from Indonesian/Malay and there is some compounding.

Chapters 7, 8 and 9 explore primarily nominal parts of the language. Chapter 7 describes noun phrases. Possessive constructions are described in Chapter 8. Kéo has two distinct systems for counting, one using base four and the other using base ten. These are examined in Chapter 9 where the classifier system used with numerals is also described.

Clause types are identified on the basis of transitivity, with ambient, intransitive, transitive and ditransitive clauses distinguished. Ellipsis of arguments within
clauses is very common in Kéo and is discussed alongside clause types in Chapter 10. The variety of serial verb constructions found in Kéo are described in Chapter 11.

In Chapter 12 predicate modification is described. Topics covered include aspect and mood, reciprocals and reflexives and negation.

The spatial orientation of referents and participants within discourse is highly salient in Kéo. Prepositions, directionals and demonstratives all contribute to this, and they are described in Chapter 13.

In Chapter 14 clause combining techniques are described. There are two primary ways to join independent clauses: simple juxtaposition, and the use of conjunctions. There are two types of embedded clauses: complement clauses and relative clauses.

Interrogative and imperative constructions are described in Chapter 15.

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XXXI
1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Research Objective

The primary objective of this research project was to describe a large part of the grammar of Kéo, a previously undescribed language spoken in southern central Flores, Nusa Tenggara Timur, Indonesia.

This grammar is not 'The Definitive Grammar of Kéo'. It is an unfortunate truth that a reference grammar is never exhaustive. There are always aspects of grammatical structure that await further research. Due to time, logistical and monetary restrictions my research necessarily focused on only one village in which Kéo is spoken. Therefore this grammar is an attempt at representing the most salient features of the Kéo language as spoken by some speakers in a single Kéo community.

1.2 The Kéo Language and Speakers

1.2.1 Genetic Affiliation

Charles Grimes et. al. (1997) treat Nage and Kéo as a single language. They classify 'Nage-Kéo' as being of the Central Malayo-Polynesian branch of the Austronesian family, more specifically of the Ende-Lio languages of Flores, considered a part of the Bima-Sumba group of languages within eastern Indonesia. The Central/Eastern Malayo-Polynesian grouping, proposed by
Blust (1974) and supported in Blust (1993), is, however, 'not strongly supported by the comparative method (Ross 1995:81). Likewise there is very little evidence to support the notion of a Bima-Sumba subgroup.

Although the Bima-Sumba group has long been recognised (by Esser 1938, who followed Jonker’s work thirty years earlier), no work appears to have been done to establish its validity in terms of shared innovations. (Ross 1995:83)

Much more descriptive work, leading to historical and comparative research needs to be undertaken in the region before precise genetic relationships can be established.

### 1.2.2 Geographic Profile

Kéo is spoken in south central Flores, eastern Indonesia (see Map 1 and Map 2). It has approximately 40,000 speakers (Philipus Tule¹ p.c.). Four languages adjoin Kéo: Endene to the east, Nage to the north, Riung to the northwest, and the Ngadha language to the west. The Kéo ethnic group lives in an area southeast of the volcano Ebu Lobo, west of the town Ende, and east of the town Bajawa in the district of Ngada, in the sub-districts of Nangaroro, and Mauponggo (see Map 3).²

Most of my field research was undertaken in the villages of Udiworowatu and Mbaemaimuri, which are located in the sub-district of Mauponggo in the Ngada district, Flores. These villages lie next to each other on the south central coast (see Map 4). In this part of the island mountains start rising.

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¹ Father Philipus Tule SVD bases this figure on census data he obtained from local district administrative offices.
² I use the term ‘district’ to translate the Indonesian administrative unit of kabupaten, ‘sub-district’ to translate the Indonesian administrative unit of kecamatan, and ‘village’ to translate the Indonesian administrative unit of desa. Villages typically contain six or seven hamlets.
from the beach. The villages stretch upward into the mountains from the coast, with hamlets right on the beach as well as high up into the mountains.

Two seasons are experienced in this region. The wet season typically lasts from October to March, while the dry season runs from April to September. Their length and severity is highly dependent on La Niña / El Niño activity.

The people in this area are very poor, and once their stores have run out at the end of the dry season, and they have nothing to sell to buy food, they experience what they term wudu mbepe ‘hungry season’. During this time the very young and very old are particularly vulnerable.

1.2.3 Ecosystem, Material Culture and Religion

People in villages live in a variety of house types. Traditional houses are built on stilts, made completely out of bamboo, with coconut leaf roofs, or grass roofs. These days those who can afford it use corrugated iron for roofing on bamboo houses. Brick houses, which are typically found only in those hamlets right on the beach, or in larger towns and villages, have either ceramic tiles or corrugated iron for roofs. In villages very little is wasted or thrown away. All food scraps are fed to pigs, dogs, goats or chickens. Every part of coconut palms and banana plants is used. The importance of coconuts in the area is reflected in the language. There is an extensive vocabulary for the various parts of the coconut palm, as well as the different stages of growth of the coconut fruit (see Kô word list in Appendix E).

The people in the villages on the south coast, such as Udiworowatu, are primarily subsistence farmers and fishermen, who supplement their incomes through weaving and some cash crops. As the area is hot, humid and coastal, typical crops grown for consumption include corn, sweet potato, cassava,
mung beans and coconuts. The traditional staples were sweet potato and cassava. Although these tuber crops are still grown and consumed, these days rice is the staple of most people in the region. As rice does not grow in the area it must be bought. Cash crops grown include coffee and vanilla. Livestock raised for both meat and cultural obligations include chickens, dogs, goats, pigs and water buffalo.

The meagre incomes of village-dwelling Kéo people come from sales of any excess produce and animals, and from weaving and production of coconut oil. Vegetables such as potatoes, carrots, cabbage, tomatoes and pumpkin can only be grown in the higher mountains on Flores, out of the Kéo-speaking area. Those living in the lower hamlets of Udiworowatu fish and collect other seafood, which aside from personal consumption is also sold. Money is primarily used to buy rice, kerosene for lighting and soap.

Most people under the age of thirty are literate, having attended at least three years of primary school. Many people over that age are illiterate, having never attended school. Girls rarely reach senior high-school, and often do not even attend junior high-school.

Most people in the Kéo speaking area are Catholic. However there is a substantial Muslim population in the hamlets on the beaches. Muslims and Catholics are often related through marriage and have reciprocal obligations towards each other, and all follow traditional adat laws. There have been, to date, no violent conflicts in the area based on religion, unlike the nearby Maluku province where recent violent clashes have been partially due to religious affiliation.

It is beyond the scope of this study to go into detail concerning the beliefs and associated ceremonies and rituals of the Kéo speaking people. The anthropologist Father Philipus Tule SVD has written knowledgeably on these matters (Tule 1998a and 2001).

1.2.4 Attitudes Towards Kéo

People in the Kéo speaking area call themselves 'ata Kéo ‘Kéo people’. People from other ethnic groups in Flores refer to the Kéo and Nage people and languages as one group and language, that is, ‘Nage-Kéo’. This usage reflects past government administrative boundaries. People not from Central Flores but who have some minimal understanding of the area call all languages in the Ngada regency Bahasa Bajawa ‘The Bajawa Language’, so named after the capital of the regency Bajawa. In everyday speech when talking about their language Kéo speakers rarely use the title ‘Kéo’, but rather speak of sara kita ‘our language’ or sara ndia ‘the language here’. As people are aware of the large amount of dialectal variation within the Kéo language they talk of ‘their language’ or ‘language here’ as opposed to the language spoken two villages away where the people speak differently.

Kéo people generally have a low opinion of their language. They see it as useless for achieving economic success. To obtain a good job and economic security, one needs to speak Indonesian, and preferably English as well.

Low esteem for the language is associated with the stereotype that people, such as the Kéo, who live in coastal regions are uncouth, as opposed to mountain people who are considered more refined. Within the Kéo speaking area people have different attitudes towards different dialects, regarding some as more refined than others.

All Kéo speakers appear to have a respect for oral traditions involving ritual speech and regard this part of the Kéo language as special. These days the
younger generation is failing to learn ritual speech genres, much to the despair of the older generation, who believe it to be an integral part of the culture (see Appendix B).

1.3 Previous Research

There are many regional languages spoken in Indonesia. The precise number remains uncertain due to lack of data, especially in relation to the many dialect chains that are found across the archipelago. This is reflected by radical differences in estimates by the same people over time. In the eleventh edition of Ethnologue: Languages of the World it was estimated that there were around 670 living regional languages in Indonesia (Grimes 1988). In the fourteenth edition this estimate was revised to 726 languages (Grimes Jan 2002).

The regional languages exist alongside, and perform different roles and functions to the national language Bahasa Indonesia. About a quarter of the regional languages have been described – some more comprehensively than others. There is more information available concerning languages in the western part of Indonesia than the eastern part of the country. Approximately 500 regional languages in Indonesia have not been described in any way (Grimes, B. 1988). In particular there has been very little linguistic research done into eastern Indonesian languages, including those spoken on the island of Flores, in Nusa Tenggara Timur.

Grimes et. al. (1997) estimate that there are 28 languages in current use on the islands of Flores and Lembata. Although, as with the estimation of the number of languages in Indonesia, this figure is open to debate. It appears there are two major dialect chains on the island of Flores, one in the east of the island, the other in central Flores. There has been very little rigorous research carried out on any of the communaleets that comprise either of these dialect chains. For this reason it is hard to ascertain exactly how many languages and dialects there are on the island.

published research on the Kéo language has been (Baird 2001) and (Baird 2002).

Other major works recently produced on other languages in the putative Bima-Sumba subgroup include Klammer’s (1998) grammar of Kambera, spoken on the island of Sumba and Owen’s (2000) description of clause structure in Bima, spoken on the island of Bima.

The available literature produced by anthropologists concerning aspects of the various cultures on Flores is far greater than materials concerning languages. Anthropological work on the island has been carried out since the late nineteenth century and is ongoing, including work by the following anthropologists: Weber (1890); van Heuven (1916); Bader (1957); Djawanai (1983); Forth (1994a, 1994b, 1996, 1998a, 1998b); Molnar (1994; 1997; 1998); Aoki (1997); and Tule (1998a; 1998b; 2001).

Three anthropologists have recently undertaken work in the Kéo region: Gregory Forth, Andrea Molnar, and Father Philipus Tule SVD; while Kéo students at the Catholic higher education institution at Ledalero, just outside of Maumere, eastern Flores, often write papers concerning aspects of their culture. Copies of these papers are held at the Institution’s library, including Mite (1975), Yustinus (1976), Cyrillus (1977), Gono (1977), Kebung Beoang (1979), Sombu (1990) and Marinus (1992).

\[\text{Sekolah Tinggi Filsafat Katolik, Ledalero.}\]

1.4 Framework and Methodology

1.4.1 Fieldwork

I undertook three periods of fieldwork in Central Flores: In April-May 1998 I spent three weeks in Flores on a reconnoitre trip to determine an appropriate field-site. Thereafter I was based in the village of Udiworowatu, also working in the neighbouring village of Mbaenamuri. This site was chosen as most people in these villages speak predominantly Kéo rather than Indonesian for most activities, traditional cultural customs are still observed in this area, and the people were extremely welcoming, hospitable and helpful. I had a second trip of two and a half months from August to October 1998. After a frustrating year in Australia unable to return to Flores due to general elections, the referendum in East Timor and associated violence in the region I undertook a third trip of three months duration from March to the end of May in 2000.\[1\]

Research was also undertaken with Kéo speakers in a variety of other locations. Outside of Flores language materials were collected in Canberra, Australia, with Father Philipus Tule SVD, while I undertook a PhD in anthropology at The Australian National University. I also collected material in Kupang, West Timor, and in Bali. On Flores, outside of the Kéo speaking region, I undertook linguistic research in the towns of Maumere in eastern Flores, and Ende and Bajawa, both in central Flores.

\[\text{The reconnoitre trip was cut short by a few days when I was caught up in the Jakarta riots of May 1998 which ultimately led to the demise of President Suharto. Both subsequent fieldtrips were also cut short, by several months each, due to serious illness.}\]
Language data in a variety of genres were collected from as large a variety of speakers as possible in order to obtain language data representative of one Kéo dialect. The main objective of this research was to analyse the grammatical structures found therein and to produce a descriptive grammar of the Kéo language. The majority of language helpers came from either Udiworowatu or Mbaenamure, since there is minimal dialectal variation between them. See Appendix A for a list of collected texts.

Collecting data from a wide variety of speakers on a wide variety of topics was important in order to obtain a fully representative picture of the language in the area. Just as there are dialectal differences between villages, there are also linguistic differences between speakers of different genders, ages, and social standing.

During fieldwork I employed a combination of three techniques in the collection of data: text collection (§1.4.1.1), elicitation (§1.4.1.2) and participant observation (§1.4.1.3). Each of these methods complemented and supplemented the others. The work I undertook with Father Philipus Tule SVD and with Kéo speakers in Bali predominantly consisted of elicitation, transcription of texts and discussions concerning aspects of Kéo culture. The research undertaken elsewhere consisted predominantly of text collection and participant observation.

### 1.4.1.1 Text Collection

In the early stages of research, in 1998, I only collected a small number of texts, whereas during subsequent field trips texts comprised approximately 70% of the data I collected. This is because it became easier to collect texts as my level of competence in the Kéo language improved.

Texts included conversations, folk stories, life histories, procedural texts, and various other genres. From texts one is able to find structures and words that are impossible to elicit or that appear in everyday conversations. I also consider it important in recording texts to obtain texts containing culturally significant information. When a language dies often a large amount of other cultural heritage is also lost. Therefore by collecting culturally significant texts I am able to record not only language, but also other aspects of Kéo culture that in the near future may no longer exist.

#### 1.4.1.2 Elicitation

Elicitation basically involves asking one or two speakers specific questions about language and noting their answers. In the first stages of research, in 1998 I relied heavily on elicitation as my Kéo language skills were negligible. However, during my last fieldwork trip in Flores, as my spoken Kéo had improved my reliance on elicitation diminished. During my final trip to Bali, I relied on elicitation primarily for obtaining more examples of structures found in texts and for explanations of structures and words that I didn’t understand.

#### 1.4.1.3 Participant Observation

Participant observation, as its label suggests, is when one observes and participates in people’s activities at the same time. I used to sit around talking with people, help cook in the kitchen, help in the garden and take part in any communal activities. Through doing this I was able to improve my own grasp of the Kéo language, and internalise grammatical structures. During such times I would listen and note down new words and structures that would come up in conversations, and later seek more examples through elicitation.
would also play with the language, to see if people would accept different structures I invented and note the way in which they corrected me.

1.5 Multilingualism

1.5.1 Monolinguals

Amongst the Kéo there are three groups of people who remain monolingual in the Kéo language. The first group is children, both boys and girls, below school age who live in remote villages. Children in such settings only begin to learn Indonesian once they reach primary school. The second group is the majority of speakers over the age of about eighty years, regardless of where they live. And the third group consists of women over the age of about sixty-five who live in remote villages.

There are increasing numbers of ethnic Kéo who are monolingual in Indonesian. These people, as children, are typically brought up in developed areas, away from traditional Kéo society in towns. This is a relatively new phenomenon of the past fifteen years or so.

1.5.2 Multilinguals

The typical second language of Kéo speakers is Indonesian. People’s mastery of Indonesian depends on their age, level of education and how often they need to use it. Many illiterate people speak ‘market Indonesian,’ with strong interference from Kéo, especially middle-aged women. Speakers of market Indonesian make very limited use of the range of morphological functions in Indonesian, often using one form in various syntactic functions, as in Kéo.

A few older men, over seventy years, received some education under the Dutch and so write and speak Dutch, but cannot speak Indonesian.

Kéo people living in towns often have some level of comprehension of other regional languages of the people they interact with. For example, typically men aged between about fifteen and forty who live, or have lived, in big towns in Flores, such as Bajawa or Ende, are generally competent in the regional language of that part of the central Flores dialect chain, but often with hypercorrections of phonemic differences.

Some Kéo speakers who have received a high school education, typically males, have a little knowledge of English.

Those boys who study in Catholic seminaries are typically taught several languages, usually English, German, French, Italian and Latin. Those who complete their education in these seminaries typically reach a high standard of competence in these foreign languages.

1.5.3 Contexts of Language Choice and Use

Kéo is used almost to the exclusion of all other languages in isolated villages, except when people interact with others from different language groups.

In markets a mixture of regional languages and Indonesian is used, as the travelling sellers are often from non-Kéo speaking areas.

Those native speakers living in towns outside of the Kéo-speaking region, or larger villages in the Kéo region with fairly good access to transport and electricity tend to use Kéo infrequently, preferring to use Indonesian in most social contexts. This is due to the strong influence of Indonesian and the need to interact with people from other language groups. Children under the age of fifteen in towns do not actively use Kéo, but have some passive understanding so they can still communicate with grandparents and great-grandparents who do not speak Indonesian.
When interacting with non-Kéo speakers Indonesian is used. It is also used for those things regarded as 'national', such as ceremonies involving local and other officials, schooling, and government administrative business.

1.6 Historical Influences of Linguistic Significance

1.6.1 Overview

It is beyond the scope of this study to delve into the history of the Kéo speaking region and surrounds in detail. However, it is important to note a few of the political and social events on the island which affected Flores communities. Both migration of various ethnic groups to Flores and migration within Flores have played a role in the development of the languages and cultures of Flores, including Kéo. During the time of Dutch administration the Kéo people led a number of rebellions against Dutch rule (see Tule (2001)). The Dutch amended their administrative divisions in Flores so that the rebellious Kéo and the more passive Nage formed a single administrative unit. This has had the effect that many people nowadays regard the Nage and Kéo as socially, culturally and linguistically the same. Forth (1994a, b) and Tule (2001) both argue that the Nage and the Kéo should be regarded as separate ethnic groups. People in these two areas also identify themselves as belonging to one or other of the groups. The introduction of Catholicism (see §1.6.4) and Islam (see §1.6.5), along with ongoing contact with surrounding ethnic groups (see §1.6.6), Indonesian independence (see §1.6.3), and the impact of the Indonesian language (see §1.6.7) have been some other major historical influences in the Kéo region.

1.6.2 Traditional Kéo Society

The majority of Kéo profess to being Catholic, with a small minority of Muslims, and the very occasional Buddhist. The Kéo would have first been introduced to Catholicism by Portuguese traders in the sixteenth century. The Portuguese left the region in the 1770s. The German SVD missionaries (Divine Word Missionaries) re-established Catholicism in Flores in the 1920s (Tule 2001:231). Despite a few Kéo people converting to Islam in the seventeenth century in alliance with a Makasarese ruler, the introduction of Islam to the Kéo seems to have predominantly come from Ende in the early twentieth century (Tule 2001:236).

Despite all Kéo professing one of the New Order state-sanctioned world religions, the majority still hold traditional beliefs concerning supernatural forces, ethics and cosmology. As in other parts of Indonesia, where people profess to being a follower of a world religion, the adherence to religious beliefs which existed in their region long before the coming of the world religions often seems contradictory. However, the Kéo have seemingly very little difficulty in reconciling the two sets of beliefs. See Tule (1998b) and (2001) on the concept of enculturation for both Kéo Catholics and Muslims. See Molnar (1997) for a discussion of the intersection between Christianity and traditional beliefs amongst the Hoga Sara, also of central Flores.

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5 See Freijas (1850), Heuven, (1916), Couveur (1924), Dietrich (1989), Forth (1994a), and Tule (2001) for historical accounts of the Kéo during and after the Dutch colonial period.
1.6.3 Contact with Surrounding Ethnic Groups

The Kéo are immediately bordered by three other ethnic groups. Each of these groups speak communauts that form a part of the dialect continuum that runs across-central Flores. The placement of boundaries between the groups represent ethnic and linguistic boundaries recognised by the people who live on each side of them. Typically when people from these different ethnic groups meet they speak Indonesian, even if their dialects are mutually intelligible.

There has been extensive contact between neighbouring ethnic groups in central Flores. This contact has lead to linguistic borrowing and adaptation amongst different communities. There is evidence that the Kéo also had regular contact with people in other parts of Flores in pre-colonial times (see Tule (2001:35-36)). This contact involved trade of material possessions, slaves and women for marriage. Common stories, and cultural practices can be found throughout the region, showing further links between these people.

The name ‘Ngadha’, as with ‘Kéo’ is used both to identify the ethnic group and their language. Ngadha, the language that is spoken to the west of Kéo, is spoken by approximately 30,000 people. Studies of the Ngadha people have been undertaken by such scholars as Djawanai (1983), Arndt (1961) and Molinar (1994).

Historically, many Muslims migrated from the Ende region to the Kéo territory. Thus, Endenese, the language that is spoken to the north-east of Kéo, has had quite an influence on Kéo. In particular many Endenese loan words can be found in Kéo. Ende, the capital of the area in which Endenese is spoken, is the closest large town to the village of Udiororota. An Endenese-English dictionary was produced by Aoki and Nakagawa (1993).

It is generally accepted that the Nage and Kéo are separate ethnic groups (see §1.6), but the debate as to whether or not Nage and Kéo form one language or two is unresolved. Although there are considerable phonetic and lexical differences between the communauts spoken by the Nage and the Kéo, it is not clear whether the linguistic differences exhibited by the two ethnic groups are any greater than those found within a single ethnic group. Whenever Nage and Kéo speakers meet they do not converse in their regional languages, but rather use Indonesian as a common language.

Culturally the Nage and Kéo are very similar, sharing many beliefs about religion, cosmology and the spirits that inhabit their region, and therefore they undertake similar rituals, and behave in similar ways when confronted with specific situations. The anthropologist Gregory Forth has made much work on the Nage people and culture (Forth 1994a, 1996, 1998, 1998b).

1.6.4 The Impact of the Catholic Church

With the majority of Kéo professing to be Catholics, the Catholic church has obviously had a large impact on the Kéo region. Kéo follow the SVD (Divine Word Missionaries) order of Catholicism, which was introduced to them by German missionaries in the early nineteenth century. They readily adopted this religion, due to previous contact with Portuguese Catholics and concepts parallel to Catholic concepts in their local beliefs. For example, the Kéo already had a concept of a higher creative entity, and could relate to the concept of Satan, as in their local beliefs there also exist evil spirits, whose

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aim it is to cause people harm. The idea of appealing to Mother Mary and other saints parallels local ideas of appealing to spirits to watch over and cause no harm to people, while the symbolic eating of Christ’s flesh and the drinking of his blood has parallels with the sacrifice of buffaloes, which represent malevolent spirits. See Gono (1977), Kebung Beoang (1979), Sombu (1990), and Forth (1998a) on local beliefs and their incorporation into the local interpretation of Catholicism.

The Catholic church has brought education to many Kéo who would otherwise not have been educated beyond the very basics of primary school. Some beliefs and traditional practices have been abandoned because of the Church, including polygamy and the drawn out painful death of buffalo at sacrifices.

1.6.5 The Impact of Islam

With approximately 90% of Kéo professing to being Catholics, Islam has had minimal influence in the region. This does not mean it is absent, however, as there are Muslims in the Kéo region. It appears that Islam primarily came to the Kéo-speaking region from Muslim migrants from nearby Ende and Ende island, as well as from a few Arab migrants. The Endenese were introduced to Islam by Bugis and Makasarese traders from south Sulawesi, as well as by migrant Arabs. Muslims primarily live in the coastal hamlets, as they regard water as a source of cleanliness, which is important when performing the prayers five times a day.

Like the Catholics, the Muslims also adhere to more traditional regional beliefs, and participate fully in matters concerning the village. Unlike in other parts of Indonesia where Catholics and Muslims are often segregated, the Muslims and Catholics in the Kéo region are closely related, and so if there were to be fighting between people based on religious affiliation, as has been the case in other parts of Indonesia in recent times, people would be forced to fight members of their own family.

On one fieldwork trip I was fortunate enough to witness the first mass and accompanying party of a newly ordained Catholic priest. Different people danced and sang for him, and it was most gratifying to see a group of Muslim women perform several songs, and the local Imam give a speech. A Muslim lady who was obliged by familial ties to help out at the ordination of a relative wove the Catholic priest’s vestments for him. In Muslim celebrations also, Catholics often participate, showing that at least in this part of Indonesia that blood is thicker than religion.

1.6.6 The Impact of Indonesian Independence and Subsequent Development

Central Flores was not colonised by the Dutch until 1907 (Dietrich (1989) and Tule (2001)). They changed the administrative structure of central Flores on several occasions, and there were several Kéo uprisings against the Dutch (see Tule (2001)). See footnote 5 for further sources on historical accounts of the Kéo during the Dutch colonial period.

During World War Two, as with the majority of islands in Indonesia, Flores was invaded by the Japanese, who killed many people. Stories from that era are still fresh in the memories of many people, including the memory of how parents covered their children in banana and coconut leaves so that they could not be spotted from above and shot dead.

With the advent of Indonesian independence in 1945, aside from local power struggles in the establishment of new administrative units, not a lot changed
initially in central Flores. Flores, being one of the ‘outer’ islands of Indonesia, a fair distance from Java, with less fertile lands than elsewhere and lacking in valuable minerals, was often overlooked by the central government. The construction of roads, schools and medical facilities and the improvement in local sea-transport have been benefits of independence. However, the Kéo region is generally still very underdeveloped. The majority of villages do not yet have electricity or running water. Indeed, there are still many villages in the Kéo-speaking region which do not even have wells, and where the villagers must go to rivers that may be half an hour walk away for all of their water requirements. With the coming of roads and local sea-transport, however, transport has become much easier, and people are much more mobile than they were before independence. This has led to more contact with surrounding language groups, and has opened the villages up to other outsiders – such as Chinese merchant migrants and foreign researchers.

1.6.7 The Influence of Indonesian

The influence of Indonesian, the official national language of Indonesia, has grown steadily since independence, with the push by the central government for all Indonesians to learn Bahasa Indonesia. In other parts of Eastern Indonesia people talk of Bahasa Melayu rather than Indonesian. However, the variety of Indonesian/Malay spoken in Flores is regarded as Bahasa Indonesia by those who use it, the officially endorsed national language. The variety of Indonesian spoken in Flores is an interesting mix of standard ‘good and proper’ Indonesian and local Malay colloquialisms.

In many parts of Indonesia, Bahasa Indonesia is seen as the prestige language, while regional languages are seen as somehow deficient and inferior. This is in part due to the fact that if one only speaks a regional language and not Bahasa Indonesia, or a variant thereof, it is very difficult to obtain work in towns and cities, and participate in other arenas that are considered ‘national’. Indeed in some parts of Indonesia, children are no longer learning to speak regional languages, but rather being brought up monolingual in the national language. This will lead to what linguists term ‘language death’. As some people recognise, however, the death of a language does not necessarily mean the death of a community’s distinctive ethnicity and cultural practices. Rather, it indicates social changes within that community. Obviously in many cases the loss of a regional language is accompanied by the loss of rituals and other cultural features of the group that were necessarily performed through the use of the regional language.

Many ‘modern’ concepts, especially those to do with Indonesia as a nation, are borrowed into Kéo, as content words (see Chapter 4). Some loanwords are adapted phonologically to Kéo, while others are not adapted. Speakers fluent in Bahasa Indonesia are less likely to phonologically adapt loanwords (see §2.10). Grammatical words are also being borrowed into Kéo, affecting grammatical structures that occur in Kéo (see §13.2.12 and §14.7.21).

Approximately 300 different Indonesian words that have been borrowed into Kéo were identified in 35 texts of varying lengths. Some of the loan words that originate from European languages, were borrowed into Indonesian, and subsequently borrowed into Kéo from Indonesian. Semantic domains that are most likely to contain loanwords include:

1 Bahasa Indonesia yang baik dan benar.
1. Things ‘foreign’ to indigenous Kéo culture — those involving technology and aspects of Indonesian national culture not available to Kéo speakers prior to independence — for example, baterai ‘battery,’ kaku(s) ‘toilet,’ kantor ‘office,’ pensiun ‘retired,’ polisi ‘police,’ pramuka ‘boy/girl scouts,’ pos ‘post, post office,’ rumah sakit ‘hospital,’ senjata ‘weapon,’ bordir ‘embroidery,’ fotokopi ‘photocopy,’ fitst ‘MSG,’ hotel ‘hotel,’ karusi ‘chair,’ keca ‘kecap,’ kentang ‘potato,’ lampu ‘light,’ plastik ‘plastic,’ bola kaki ‘football.’ These words are typically not modified to fit Kéo phonotactics.

2. Numerals: Indonesian numerals are almost always used when counting money, when telling the time, and when discussing dates, which are all introduced concepts.

3. Things to do with formal study — for example, sekola ‘school,’ buku ‘book,’ sura ‘letter, book, written material,’ baca ‘to read,’ tulis ‘to write,’ belajar ‘to study, learn,’ guru ‘teacher,’ kerta ‘paper,’ studi ‘study.’ These words have final consonants dropped, but retain the same number of syllables as in the Indonesian.

4. Clause connectors and discourse markers in narratives — for example, jadi ‘so, therefore,’ akhirnya ‘finally, in the end,’ waktu ‘when,’ asa ‘as long as,’ karen ‘because,’ kemudian ‘then,’ langsung ‘then,’ maka ‘then, so,’ padaha ‘actually, whereas,’ pokoknya ‘basically,’ sebenarnya ‘actually,’ yang ‘which,’ ‘utu (untuk) ‘for’ dan ‘and,’ tapi ‘but.’ Some of these loans, such as jadi and akhirnya, may have created new grammatical structures in Kéo, whereas others, such as karen, are used when there is already a Kéo equivalent.


6. Words of high-frequency — for example, nasi ‘rice,’ nenas ‘uncooked rice,’ nenek ‘grandmother/father,’ tante ‘aunt, om ‘uncle,’ nika ‘to marry,’ rasa ‘to feel,’ pakaian ‘clothes,’ masa ‘cook.’ There are indigenous Kéo words for all of these terms, but they are being supplanted by the Indonesian.

7. Other words are used on an ‘as needed’ basis. They are typically used by speakers who are used to speaking Indonesian more often than Kéo. These words often have equivalents in Kéo. Possible reasons for using Indonesian words when speaking Kéo in this way include forgetting the Kéo word, and wishing to distance oneself from traditional village life. Some people will not fit these words to Kéo phonology, others will have full, morphologically complex forms taken straight from the Indonesian — for example, pa ‘(pas)’ ‘exact, precise,’ meno ‘(menoleh)’ ‘to look back,’ memungkinkan ‘enabling,’ rasa ‘to break, saja ‘only,’ sudah ‘already,’ uru ‘to organise.’

See §6.3.3.2 on the calquing of reduplicated items from Indonesian into Kéo.

1.7 Kéo Dialects

As yet it is unclear exactly how many dialects there are in the Kéo region. Even over short distances, between villages, lexical and some phonological differences are apparent. Generally Kéo people can tell where a person is from due to their pronunciation or certain words that they use. Like the highly
stylished patterns that appear on woven sarongs that are badges of identity, displaying affinity with a particular hamlet, so dialectal differences also mark a person as coming from a particular area.

Difficulties in transport, and shifting alliances are all reasons for so many dialects. These social reasons are coupled with geographic ones such as the region being very mountainous, rough terrain. As the region opens up with the coming of better transport and communication technologies there is a possibility that the Kéo language will become more uniform, as well as less used.

In the past a major dialectal identifying feature was the difference in usage between the two forms of the first person singular pronoun ja'o and nga'o (see §4.2.3.6). The situation these days, however, is somewhat different. Due to intermarriage between different hamlets and villages, there do not appear to be any dialectal boundaries marked by the use of the two forms, and the choice of one over the other has become a matter of personal preference.

A commonly cited difference by speakers themselves is that the same form wesa means ‘paddle’ in some areas, and ‘door’ in others.

There are some fairly regular phonological correspondences between cognate words in the dialects of Kéo, just as there are some regular phonological correspondences between the communalects that comprise the central Flores dialect chain. These are discussed in §2.11.

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1.8 Typological Overview of Kéo and Layout of This Grammar

Kéo contains some characteristics which are typical of Austronesian languages and others that are atypical.

Chapter 2 describes the phonetics and phonology of Kéo as spoken in the village of Udiworowatu. Udiworowatu Kéo has 23 phonemic consonants and six phonemic vowels. Unusual for an Austronesian language, there is a four-way stop distinction for manner of articulation. Typical of Austronesian languages Kéo words have basic (C)V ((C)V) syllable structure.

The grammatical functions A and S typically pattern together in contrast to O, with basic AVO/SV constituent order. There are exceptions to this, such as object fronting (see §3.3.2.3 and §10.5.1.1). Chapter 3 provides an overview of grammatical relations.

Two supercategories of open and closed word classes can be identified for Kéo. Open word classes contain content words, realised as either nouns or verbs, and closed word classes contain function words, realised as many small word classes. In many languages of the world it is not clear that there are any roots that are dedicated nouns or dedicated verbs. This is the case for many Austronesian languages.

In Kéo the syntactic distribution of words is lexically determined. That is, given any word in the language it is possible to predict in which syntactic slots it can and cannot occur. However, one form can often occur in a very large array of syntactic slots, which is incompatible with belonging to a single word class. In many Philippine languages a root can occur in multiple
morphological slots, and the resulting words can often occur in more than one syntactic slot. In such languages the occurrence of certain kinds of affixation determines the derived word class. However, in Kéo, the one form can be used in all syntactic slots.

Chapter 4 examines open word classes and the issues involved with one form fulfilling multiple syntactic functions. Chapter 5 describes closed word classes.

Most Austronesian languages have quite rich morphology. Kéo is unusual in being a highly isolating language, with no inflectional morphological processes and no overt morphological derivation. This has major implications in the identification of word classes (see §4.1.1).

Cross-linguistically, grammatical processes are encoded by three different means:

1. Lexically, where a grammatical process forms a part of the meaning of a word;
2. Morphologically, where grammatical processes are shown by combinations of morphemes;
3. Syntactically, where grammatical processes are indicated by syntactic structures.

Generally, languages employ a combination of these methods to encode the wide range of grammatical processes found in any one language.

Isolating languages do not use (2) above, therefore they rely much more heavily on (1) and (3) than non-isolating languages do. In Austronesian languages, grammatical processes associated with verbs, such as causation and transitivity, are typically marked on the verb itself through morphological affixation. This is one area in which Kéo, and its closest relatives in the dialect chain through central Flores, differ from other languages in the region, such as Kambera (Klamer 1998), which is reputed to belong to the same Bima-Sumba subgroup as the languages of central Flores but has a dramatically different grammatical typology.

Kéo has a single clitic, reduplication borrowed from Indonesian and compound words. Grammatical processes are either lexicalised or expressed periphrastically. Chapter 6 describes the extremely minimal morphological processes that occur in Kéo.

Nouns only occur within noun phrases in Kéo. Two types of noun phrases can be identified: full noun phrases and reduced noun phrases. Most nominal modifiers are post-nominal. Chapter 7 describes noun phrases.

There are three possessive constructions in Kéo, two adnominal constructions and one predicative construction. Although semantic alienability can be identified, the possessive constructions cannot be labelled as being ‘alienable’ or ‘inalienable’. The choice of possessive construction is determined by how the possessed and possessor are expressed. Possessive constructions are described in Chapter 8.

Kéo is unusual in that it contains two numeral systems – a base ten and a base four system. All numerals must occur with either mensural or sortal classifiers. Numerals and classifiers are described in Chapter 9.

Clause types are identified on the basis of transitivity, with ambient, intransitive, transitive and ditransitive clauses distinguished. Ellipsis of arguments within clauses is very common in Kéo and is discussed alongside clause types in Chapter 10.
Chapter 1

Kéo contains a variety of serial verb constructions. These are analysed in Chapter 11.

In Chapter 12 predicate modification is described. Topics include aspect and mood, reciprocals and reflexives and negation.

The spatial orientation of referents and participants within discourse is highly salient in Kéo, as it is in many other languages in the region. Prepositions, directionals and demonstratives all contribute to this. Chapter 13 explores the main processes in the spatial and temporal setting of discourse.

In Kéo, there are two primary ways to join clauses: juxtaposition and use of conjunctions. There are two types of embedded clauses: complement clauses and relative clauses. All of these are described in Chapter 14.

Interrogative and imperative constructions are examined in Chapter 15.

2

PHONETICS AND PHONOLOGY

2.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the phonemic inventory of consonants (§2.2) and vowels (§2.3), syllable structure (§2.4) and stress (§2.6) in the variety of Kéo spoken in the village of Udiworowatu.

One of the primary ways in which Kéo dialects are distinguishable is by their phonemic differences. This chapter only examines in detail the phonemes found in Udiworowatu, due to lack of data on other areas. However, an overview of phonemic differences based on dialect is presented in §2.11.

2.2 Consonants

There are 23 consonant phonemes found in Udiworowatu Kéo, as shown in Table 2.1.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless Stop</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>tʃ</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiced Stop</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>dʒ</td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preglottalised Stop</td>
<td>ʔb</td>
<td>ʔd</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prenasalised Stop</td>
<td>mb</td>
<td>nd</td>
<td>ng</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhotic</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></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>Approximant</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.1: Kéo consonant phonemes

Both the passive and active articulators have been provided to describe the place of articulation. There is no contrastive distinction between bilabial and labio-dental, hence the single place of articulation 'labial'. In order to use the minimal amount of features the palatal phonemes /tʃ/ and /dʒ/ are analysed as stops.

The Udiworowatu Kéo phonemic inventory makes a four-way manner distinction between stops; voiceless (unaspirated), voiced, preglottalised and prenasalised. This is unusual for an Austronesian language.¹ Not all varieties of Kéo have a four-way stop distinction, with some dialects lacking prenasalised plosives. Further varieties have a prenasalised alveolar stop, but no other prenasalised stops (see Table 2.11 in §2.11 below).

The preglottalised stops are created with a closure of the glottis preceding voicing and closure in the oral cavity. They correspond to implosives in cognate words in surrounding languages, such as Ngadha (Djawannai 1983), Lio (Levi 1978), Sawu (Walker 1980) and Kambera (Klamer 1998). This correspondence is represented in the orthography, with preglottalised stops using the same orthography as for implosives in the surrounding languages of Ngadha, Ende and Lio, that is, <bh> and <dh> for /ʔb/ and /ʔd/ respectively (see §2.12 below).

The sounds [mb, nd, ng] are analysed as unitary phonemes, as they behave the same way as other phoneme consonants. These complex segments occur syllable initially in both the first and second syllables of disyllabic words, with syllable boundaries falling before them. Additionally, many minimal pairs can be identified, with the only differing segment being whether a stop is prenasalised or not (see below).

For some speakers the velar nasal /ŋ/ has two freely alternating allophones: [n] and [ŋ]. However, the majority of speakers use [ŋ].

The voiced labial approximant /w/ has three allophones in free distribution: the voiced labial approximant [w], the voiced bilabial fricative [f] and the

¹ See Tryon (1995) for typical phoneme inventory for Indonesian languages.

¹ See Tryon (1995) for typical phoneme inventory for Indonesian languages.
voiced labio-dental fricative [v]. Some speakers consistently use one phonetic realisation over the others, whilst other speakers use all the phonetic realisations at different times. This choice does not appear to be phonetically motivated.

As [w], [b] and [v] are all in free distribution with each other, in theory any one of these symbols could have been chosen to represent the phoneme.

There are three reasons why I have chosen to represent this phoneme as /w/. Firstly, <w> is the symbol already used in the existing Kéo orthography to represent this phoneme. Secondly, there is a tradition in eastern Indonesia of representing bilabial fricative sounds by the symbol <w>. (See §2.12 below for more on the orthography.) Thirdly, although there is no palatal approximant [j] in Udiworowatu Kéo, this sound is phonemic in other varieties of Kéo.

The voiceless glottal fricative [h] is occasionally heard at the beginning of vowel-initial words. In other varieties of Kéo it appears to be phonemic.²

Table 2.2 shows the frequency of the usage of consonants taken from a random sample of 1440 words. As all Kéo syllables are open (see §2.4 below), and there are no consonant clusters, all consonants only occur as the first and single consonant in a syllable. Most Kéo words are disyllabic.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phoneme</th>
<th>First Syllable</th>
<th>Second Syllable</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mb</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nd</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ng</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?b</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?d</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tj</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dʒ</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

² Note that the numeral one ha is written with and initial <h>, but for most speakers in Udiworowatu this sound is absent. See §6.4 and §9.2.2.
Table 2.2: Frequency of consonant phonemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>11</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The phonemes with a low frequency count in Udiworowatu Kéo appear to be more widely used in other varieties of Kéo and surrounding languages.

Minimal pairs exhibiting contrasts between the consonant phonemes found in Udiworowatu Kéo can be seen in Table 2.3. Where no minimal pair could be obtained subminimal pairs have been used.

| /b/ vs /p/ | bapa | ‘father’
|           | papa | reciprocal |
| /mb/      | bade | ‘already’
|           | mbade| ‘happen’   |
| /ʔb/      | bala | ‘reply’
|           | ʔbala| ‘white’    |
| /m/       | bata | ‘waves’
|           | mata | ‘eyes’     |
| /d/       | bata | ‘waves’
|           | datu | ‘exist’    |
| /ʔl/      | beo  | ‘starling’
|           | feo  | ‘candle nut’ |
| /p/ vs /mb/ | kẹpa | ‘mosquito’
|           | kọmba| ‘long hair’ |
| /ʔb/      | pala | ‘victim’
|           | ʔbala| ‘white’    |
| /m/       | papa | reciprocal |
|           | mapa | ‘kind of lizard’ |
| /ʔl/      | podo | ‘witch’
|           | todo | ‘random’   |
| /k/       | palu | ‘run’
<p>|           | kalu | ‘necklace’ |
| /fl/                      | pala          | ‘victim’     |
|                         | fala ʔapi    | ‘charcoal’   |
| /ʔbh/ vs /fl/           | ?bala         | ‘white’      |
|                         | fala ʔapi    | ‘charcoal’   |
| /w/                      | ʔboe          | ‘spoon’      |
|                         | woe           | ‘bind’       |
| /mb/ vs /ʔbh/            | ʔembu         | ‘grandfather’|
|                         | eʔbo          | ‘a long time’|
| /m/                      | mbai          | ‘too’        |
|                         | mai           | ‘soul’       |
| /nd/                     | komba         | ‘long hair’  |
|                         | konda         | ‘kick’       |
| /ŋŋ/                     | mbua          | ‘body hair’  |
|                         | ʔgua          | ‘ceremony’   |
| /w/                      | mbutu         | ‘necklace’   |
|                         | wutu          | ‘four’       |
| /m/ vs /n/               | maʔu          | ‘beach, coast’|
|                         | naʔu          | ‘request’    |
| /ŋ/                      | kama          | ‘mattress’   |
|                         | ʔaŋa          | ‘digit’      |
| /ŋŋ/                     | mai           | ‘soul’       |
|                         | ʔgai          | ‘blanket’    |
| /w/                      | meki          | ‘borrow’     |
|                         | ʔeki          | ‘body’       |
| /d/ vs /t/               | wadu          | ‘widow’      |
|                         | watu          | ‘stone’      |
| /nd/                     | ?odo mea       | ‘genitals’   |
|                         | ondo kede     | ‘armpit’     |
| /ʔd/                     | datu          | ‘exist’      |
|                         | ?datu         | ‘still’      |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sound</th>
<th>word</th>
<th>translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/a/</td>
<td>nda</td>
<td>'able'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nana</td>
<td>'termite'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/s/</td>
<td>daei</td>
<td>'take'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sai</td>
<td>'who'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>kodo</td>
<td>'wild pigeon'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kolo</td>
<td>'chilli'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/rl/</td>
<td>dcede</td>
<td>'hear'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rede</td>
<td>'upwards'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/g/</td>
<td>döra</td>
<td>'day'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gara</td>
<td>'drip'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/t/ vs /nd/</td>
<td>te</td>
<td>'this'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nde</td>
<td>'that'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʔd/</td>
<td>tu</td>
<td>'accompany'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ʔdu</td>
<td>'arrive'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/n/</td>
<td>tapa</td>
<td>'grill'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>napa</td>
<td>'later'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sound</th>
<th>word</th>
<th>translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/s/</td>
<td>mata</td>
<td>'eyes'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>maso</td>
<td>'enter'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/l/</td>
<td>tuka</td>
<td>'stomach'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>luka</td>
<td>'meet'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/r/</td>
<td>dzata</td>
<td>'eagle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dzara</td>
<td>'horse'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kl/</td>
<td>ta</td>
<td>relativiser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>'eat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nd/ vs /ʔd/</td>
<td>ndoka</td>
<td>'time'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ʔdeka</td>
<td>'chew betel nut'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ŋ/</td>
<td>dondo</td>
<td>'place'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>doggo</td>
<td>'back'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/u/</td>
<td>ondo kede</td>
<td>'armpit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/l/</td>
<td>ndate</td>
<td>'heavy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>late</td>
<td>'tomb'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɛ/</td>
<td>ndada</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rada</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘star’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘road’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/ɡ/</th>
<th>nande</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘sleep’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>name of ethnic group</td>
</tr>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/n/ vs /l/</th>
<th>nexa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lexa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘already’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘separate’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/t/</th>
<th>naka</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>raka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘steal’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘boil’</td>
</tr>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/ɾ/</th>
<th>nai</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>?ai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘climb’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘breathe; breath’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/ŋɡ/</th>
<th>moni</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mongo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘observe’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘rather’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/l/</th>
<th>nu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘dust’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘hair’</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/ɡ/ vs /k/</th>
<th>gaga</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘beautiful’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘to stick’</td>
</tr>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/ɡɡ/</th>
<th>ga?i gade</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nga?e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘happy’ classifier for humans</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>/x/</th>
<th>?deo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dexo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘knock’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘chase’</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/ŋ/</th>
<th>gara</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘drip’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘name’</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/ɾ/</th>
<th>negi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ne?e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘strong’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘and; with; have’</td>
</tr>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/k/ vs /ŋɡ/</th>
<th>ka?e</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yga?e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘elder sibling’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>classifier for people</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/x/</th>
<th>neka</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nexe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘wound’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘already’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/ŋ/</th>
<th>woki</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wəŋi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘body’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘when’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɾ/</td>
<td>aki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>µaʔi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ŋ/ vs /ɾ/</td>
<td>maŋu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>maaʔu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/x/</td>
<td>xewa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xewo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ŋɡ/ vs /x/</td>
<td>ŋgake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xaʔo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ŋ/</td>
<td>ŋgai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ŋai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɾ/</td>
<td>ŋęga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ŋeʔa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/x/ vs /ɾ/</td>
<td>nixi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>niʔi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/s/ vs /ʃ/</td>
<td>saʔi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>faʔi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʃ/</td>
<td>mosa daki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>moxa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/l/</td>
<td>nasə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɾ/</td>
<td>kəsa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʃ/ vs /ʒ/</td>
<td>tʃəre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dʒəra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/l/ vs /ɾ/</td>
<td>laka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>raka</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.3: Kéo consonant minimal pairs
2.3 Vowels

There are six vowel phonemes. Five of these correspond closely to the cardinal vowels, as in Table 2.4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 2.4: Kéo vowel phoneme chart*

The vowel phoneme /o/ tends to be diphthongised to [eɪ] word-finally. However, there are no phonemic diphongs (see §2.7).

Minimal pairs exhibiting contrasts between the vowel phonemes can be seen below. Where no minimal pair could be obtained subminimal pairs have been used.

| /i/ vs /u/ | ma?i | ma?u | 'come here' | 'beach, coast' |
| /e/ | ma?i | ma?e | 'come here' | 'don't' |
| /o/ | bili | bele | 'room' | 'tin can' |

| /a/ | mbani | mbana | 'brave' | 'walk' |
| /o/ | ?ine | ?one | 'mother' | 'inside' |
| /a/ vs /e/ | ma?u | ma?e | 'beach, coast' | 'don't' |
| /o/ | muri | m?re | 'live' | 'dark' |
| /a/ | dombu | demba | 'sheep' | 'arrive' |
| /o/ | eku | ?eko | 'machete tassel' | 'tail' |
| /e/ vs /o/ | ena | ?ona | 'place' | general locative |

48
appears to be no vowel initial words, and in some cases very few, if any, vowel initial second syllables.

There are no consonant clusters, not even across syllable boundaries, as all syllables are open. The sequences of a nasal followed by a stop – [mb], [nd], and [ng] – and a glottal stop followed by a voiced stop – [ʔb] and [ʔd] – are single phonemes.

2.5 Phonotactics of Words

2.5.1 Simple Words

In Kéo there is no distinction between a grammatical word and a phonological word. Therefore, the term ‘word’ alone will be used.

A simple word can consist of either one or two syllables with the structure (C)V((C)V). Each of the possible consonant-vowel combinations is presented for both monosyllabic and disyllabic words, with examples in Table 2.6.

Table 2.5: Kéo vowel minimal pairs

| /a/     | ¿ate   | ‘liver’ |
|         | ¿ata   | ‘person’ |
| /ʊ/     | mbade  | ‘happen’ |
|         | mbado  | ‘left over’ |
| /a/ vs /ʊ/ | sake-dake | ‘pants’ |
|         | deke   | ‘house post’ |
| /o/     | lupa   | ‘sweat’ |
|         | lopo   | ‘goat’ |
| /ʊ/ vs /o/ | koda   | ‘split’ |
|         | kodo   | ‘wild pigeon’ |

2.4 Syllables

The syllable in Kéo has one vowel as its nucleus. All syllables are open, that is, there are no consonant-final syllables. Therefore, there are two ways in which a syllable may be realised: as a single vowel V; or as a consonant and a vowel CV.³

It appears historically that all syllables may have once had the structure CV. Evidence for this comes from other Kéo dialects, in some of which there

³ If a word has three syllables, or a consonant cluster, it must be a loan word.
### 2.5.2 Compound Words

Compounds in Kéo consist of two simple words (see §2.5.1). As all simple words consist of one or two syllables, all compounds are either three or four syllables. In theory there are thirty-six possible syllable combinations for compound words. In reality, however, only three of the possible combinations are used. There do not appear to be any compounds in which the first element begins with a vowel. The combinations that occur, with examples for each, appear in Table 2.7. A hyphen is used to separate the two parts of the compound.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syllable Structure</th>
<th>Kéo</th>
<th>English Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V.</td>
<td><em>e</em></td>
<td>think</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.</td>
<td><em>a</em></td>
<td>yes; one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CV.</td>
<td><em>fu</em></td>
<td>hair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CV.</td>
<td><em>ki</em></td>
<td>tall grass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.V</td>
<td><em>oa</em></td>
<td>request</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.V</td>
<td><em>eo</em></td>
<td>bind together</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.CV</td>
<td><em>iku</em></td>
<td>green snake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.CV</td>
<td><em>uwa</em></td>
<td>skin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CV.V</td>
<td><em>loa</em></td>
<td>burn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CV.V</td>
<td><em>mai</em></td>
<td>soul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CV.CV</td>
<td><em>toni</em></td>
<td>to plant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CV.CV</td>
<td><em>reto</em></td>
<td>dip</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 2.6: Possible syllable combinations in simple words**

For further discussion of compounds see §6.2.

#### 2.6 Stress

Stress in Indonesian languages is often a controversial issue. However, it is possible to make generalisations. Stress in Kéo is predictable: it typically falls on the penultimate syllable of the word. The exception to this is in disyllabic words in which there is a schwa in the first syllable, in which case stress falls on the ultimate syllable.

Primary stress in compounds, as in simple words, falls on the penultimate syllable. Stress in Indonesian loan words also falls on the penultimate syllable.

Kéo has one proclitic, the numeral one – *ha* (see §6.4 and §9.2.2). Stress remains on the penultimate syllable in disyllabic words which have the clitic attached to them. The clitic itself is typically unstressed, and is often realised as a schwa.
2.7 Adjacent Vowels

As there are six phonemic vowels in Kéo, if any two vowels could occur adjacent to one another there would be 36 combinations. In reality, however, there are no geminate vowels, and only five of the six vowels occur in adjacent pairs—all vowels other than the mid-central schwa /ə/.

Excluding /ə/, all combinations of unlike vowels occur in the language, with three exceptions. Two are instances of a high vowel going to a mid vowel: [uo] and [ue], and the third is a low vowel going to a mid vowel: [ae] 4 . Therefore there are seventeen possible combinations of adjacent vowels in Kéo: [ai], [ao], [au], [ea], [ei], [eo], [eu], [ia], [ie], [io], [iu], [oa], [oe], [oi], [ou], [ua], and [ui].

Vowels that occur adjacent to one another belong to separate syllables. Evidence for this comes from a Kéo ‘secret language’ known as ‘Oja nébha (see Appendix B) in one form of which consonants are swapped between pairs of words while vowels remain in the same sequence (see §2.4 and §2.5). This is demonstrated in Table 2.8. The first column lists the seventeen possible combinations of adjacent vowels. The second column contains a pair of everyday Kéo words which may occur in discourse together, one of which contains adjacent vowels. The third column shows how that pair of words would be pronounced if they were spoken using the secret language ‘Oja nébha. These examples prove that the vowel series are not phonemic diphthongs, as they can be split by an intermediary consonant.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pair of Vowels</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>‘Oja nébha Form</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[ai]</td>
<td>?imu kai</td>
<td>kiu ?ami</td>
<td>s/he goes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ao]</td>
<td>koi wii</td>
<td>awo kui</td>
<td>tuber scoop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[au]</td>
<td>?ata dau</td>
<td>da ?atu</td>
<td>a person from far away</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ea]</td>
<td>?ata mea</td>
<td>ma ?eta</td>
<td>a shy person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ei]</td>
<td>tel lono</td>
<td>leni to</td>
<td>to see a goat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[eo]</td>
<td>buru bai</td>
<td>bu bero</td>
<td>starring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[eu]</td>
<td>sa?o ta reu</td>
<td>rao ta se?u</td>
<td>a house far away</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ia]</td>
<td>kami ?bia</td>
<td>?bai kima</td>
<td>we don’t want to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ie]</td>
<td>?bie-ringe</td>
<td>ringe-?bie</td>
<td>very small</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[io]</td>
<td>pu?u ngi</td>
<td>nu pi?o</td>
<td>coconut tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[iu]</td>
<td>?ika iu</td>
<td>ia ?iku</td>
<td>shark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[oa]</td>
<td>?ana ta lona</td>
<td>la ta ?ona</td>
<td>newborn baby</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[oe]</td>
<td>xoe mere</td>
<td>more xe</td>
<td>a bog slope</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[oi]</td>
<td>?boi raki</td>
<td>roki ?bai</td>
<td>a dirty spoon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ou]</td>
<td>bou ko?o kita</td>
<td>kutu ko?o bia</td>
<td>our portion of meat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ua]</td>
<td>?eko luo</td>
<td>leo ?uka</td>
<td>a bee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ui]</td>
<td>pui woso</td>
<td>wust po</td>
<td>many brooms</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4 Note that in the orthography of many words the combination ‘ae’ does occur. This is an orthographic convention to represent the sounds [ai] not [ae].

Table 2.8: Adjacent vowels in Kéo

When the first vowel in an adjacent pair of vowels is the mid front vowel /e/ a glide is used to separate it from the following vowel, as in the word bhéo, meaning ‘fight’, which is realised phonetically as []?bejo]. When the first vowel is the high front vowel /i/ it is separated from the second vowel in the series by either a glide or hiatus. The choice between glide insertion or hiatus
appears to be based on speaker choice rather than being phonologically or phonetically motivated. All other vowels that occur adjacent to each other are separated by hiatus, as with the words sai ‘who’ [sa.i], tau ‘do’ [ta.u], and dhoo ‘lose’ [?
\do.a]. In rapid speech diphthongisation of adjacent vowels sometimes occurs (see §2.9 below).

2.8 Intonation

There are several types of intonation contour. The choice of intonation contour is determined by a variety of factors, including the type of syntactic construction, the illocutionary force of an utterance, and the emotional state of a speaker.

A few generalisations can be made about intonation in Kéo based on the illocutionary force of an utterance. Generally declarative sentences end in falling intonation. Interrogative sentences have rising intonation within them, typically occurring on the item that is being questioned (see §15.2). Imperatives may either end in rising or falling intonation, dependent upon such things as whether the speaker or addressee will benefit from compliance with the imperative, and the relative status of the speaker and addressee (see §15.3).

In this description intonation is discussed in relation to how it forms a part of different syntactic constructions in the relevant sections.

2.9 Rapid Speech

In rapid speech words are often ‘run into’ each other, whereby words lose some of their phonetic content and word boundaries become blurred.

In rapid Kéo speech it is typically words with a grammatical function rather than content words that are phonetically reduced. It has been suggested by Klavans (1995) that such a phenomenon may be considered a form of cliticisation. In disyllabic words of the syllable structure V.CV, where the first syllable is stressed and is either the mid front vowel [e] or the low central vowel [a], the first syllable is often reduced to a schwa or ellipsed altogether. Thus the stress on the first word is lost, leaving only stress on the penultimate syllable of the following word, as in (1).

1) ’e.\na ‘?e.mba → na ‘?e.mba
   at where
   Where?

In disyllabic grammatical words of the syllable structure CV.CV, where the second C is a glottal stop, the second syllable is often dropped in rapid speech, as can be seen in (2) – (4). This typically occurs with grammatical words, which mainly precede noun phrases (see Chapter 7), rather than with content words.

2) pu\?u sa\?o → pu sa\?o.
   from house
   From the house.

3) ko\?o sai → ko sai
   Poss who
   Whose is it?

4) ne\?e bapa → ne bapa
   with dad
   With Dad.
Adjacent vowels that are separated by hiatus in careful speech (see §2.7 above) often become diphthongs in rapid speech. This most often occurs with the combinations of [oi] as in (5) and [au] as in (6).

5) 

\[ ?\text{bo}.i \quad \rightarrow \quad ?\text{boi} \]
spoon

6) 

\[ w\text{a}.u \quad \rightarrow \quad w\text{au} \]
bad smell

2.10 Loan Words

As the Kéo-speaking population becomes increasingly bilingual in Kéo and Indonesian there is a corresponding increase in loan words from Indonesian into Kéo. These loans that have been present in the language for a relatively long time, while there are also many nonce loans, that are borrowed by younger speakers on a ‘when-needed’ basis. These two kinds of loan words tend to be phonologically adapted differently by different age groups.

The most typical phonological modification made to established Indonesian loan words is to drop word-final consonants. This results in words always being vowel-final in accordance with Kéo phonotactic rules. Some examples of commonly used loan words in which this has occurred can be seen in Table 2.9.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indonesian</th>
<th>Kéo</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pasar</td>
<td>pasa</td>
<td>market</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sekolah</td>
<td>sekola</td>
<td>school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rumah sakti</td>
<td>ruma saki</td>
<td>hospital</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>belajar</td>
<td>belaja</td>
<td>to study</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.9: Commonly used Indonesian loan words

Although simple Kéo words are never longer than two syllables, loan words of three or four syllables are typically not shortened, as can be seen from examples in Table 2.9 and Table 2.10.

Consonant clusters in Indonesian tend to occur only across syllable boundaries and in lexical items borrowed from other languages. When using Indonesian loan words older members of the Kéo speaking community often remove one of the consonants from these clusters or insert an epenthetic vowel, creating a trisyllabic word, thus maintaining a CVCV pattern, as can be seen in Table 2.10.

\[ ^5 \text{In the data the most commonly used vowel to be used as epenthetic vowel is } [a]. \]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indonesian</th>
<th>Kéo</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>untuk</td>
<td>?utu</td>
<td>for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kurst</td>
<td>karus(^6)</td>
<td>chair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>periska</td>
<td>paresa</td>
<td>examine</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.10: Reduction of consonant clusters in loan words

Older speakers differ from younger speakers who generally borrow words ‘wholesale,’ maintaining not only consonant clusters, but also often word-final consonants as well. Another feature of younger speakers’ behaviour when borrowing from Indonesian is to produce sounds that are not a part of the Kéo phoneme inventory. For example, the word *bersyukur* [berfukur] ‘to thank God’, contains the voiceless palatal fricative [ʃ] which is not present in the phoneme inventory of (any of the varieties of) Kéo.

When speaking Kéo, older people typically reduce the morphological complexity of Indonesian loan words, whereas younger speakers use Indonesian morphological processes when using Indonesian. Affixation, such as the Indonesian verbal prefixes *men-* and *ber-*, is often dropped by older speakers, but retained by younger speakers.

2.11 Phonological Differences Between Dialects

Although a dialect survey of the Kéo-speaking region was beyond the scope of this study, it is known that there is a large amount of dialect variation (see §1.7). Some generalisations about the nature of differences can be made based on word lists (see Appendix D). Most variation amongst Kéo dialects appears to consist of lexical and consistent phonemic differences. Some of the phonemic differences are summarised in the phoneme correspondence sets presented in Table 2.11. The dialect on which this study is based (that is, the language as spoken in the village of Udiworowatu) is italicised. The dashes in the table indicate that there was insufficient data to draw conclusions for certain areas. The location of most of the hamlets for which there are word lists can be seen in Map 5.

Throughout this description, as mentioned in Chapter 1, unless otherwise stated, all examples are taken from speakers from Udiworowatu village.

\(^6\) It appears that metathesis has also played a role in the adaptation of this loan word.
2.12 Kéo Orthography

A Kéo orthography is already used by other scholars such as Tule (1998, 2001) and Forth (1994a, 1994b) and by those members of the Kéo community that are literate. This orthography will be employed in the remainder of this description. The orthography is mainly phonemic. However, there is one anomaly: the sequence [ai] is sometimes represented as <ai> and sometimes as <æ>. The representational <æ> only ever appears in the last syllable of a word. Throughout this grammar I use <æ> to represent the sequence [ai] in words in which it is conventional to do so.

Table 2.12 presents IPA symbols for the Udiworowatu Kéo phonemes together with their standard orthographic equivalents.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IPA Symbol</th>
<th>Orthography</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?b</td>
<td>bh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mb</td>
<td>mb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nd</td>
<td>nd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ng</td>
<td>ngg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñ</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dʒ</td>
<td>j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>η</td>
<td>ng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>gh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>r</td>
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<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w</td>
<td>w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>é</td>
<td>é</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In this orthography proper names, including names of people, places, and terms of address begin with capital letters. When words beginning with a glottal stop occur sentence initially the first vowel is capitalised.

3

GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS

3.1 Introduction

This chapter describes grammatical relations in Kéo. Kéo is a highly isolating language. This means that the kinds of evidence available for the analysis of grammatical relations are limited compared to the sort of evidence that is available when analysing morphologically complex languages (see §1.8). Language-specific definitions for predicates and arguments are established in section §3.2. The grammatical relations of core arguments are discussed in section §3.3, complement clausal objects are discussed in §3.4, and oblique arguments are discussed in section §3.5.

3.2 Predicates and Their Arguments

Many definitions of the terms ‘argument’ and ‘predicate’ use the notions of ‘noun’ and ‘verb’ respectively to define them. For many languages this does not present a problem. However, such definitions do raise problems in Kéo, due to the difficulty of defining word classes, (see §4.1.1), and due to the fact that nouns can be used predicatively (see §4.2). Given that Kéo is an isolating language, ‘argument’ and ‘predicate’ cannot be identified by morphological means, such as agreement or tense marking, as is often the case in other languages. Definitions for Kéo predicates and arguments are not based solely on the relation between the two elements, nor on the grammatical class of elements that may fulfil the roles. Rather, discourse related properties of each are also used. My definitions are as follows:
Predicates are the only obligatory constituents in clauses. Predicates provide information about arguments, typically an action or state of the argument. A predicate may require that a certain number of core arguments are understood by speakers. The number of arguments depends on the predicate involved. In some instances no arguments may be required.

Arguments are prototypically referential and trackable in discourse. There are two types of arguments: core and oblique.

Core Arguments are those arguments that are normally required by a predicate, and either occur overtly or are understood by speakers. They have fixed positions within clauses. Core arguments fulfill the grammatical relations of subject, object, first object and second object.

Oblique arguments occur as prepositional phrases, headed by either a preposition or directional. They do not have a fixed position within a clause. Oblique arguments are one type of adjunct.

There are several aspects of these definitions that require further elaboration. A key distinction between the terms is that arguments generally refer to something, whereas predicates generally provide information about the action or state of that 'something'. The entity that an argument refers to may be a concrete entity, such as a person, place or thing, or it may be a mental construct or activity. In this way arguments are realised by noun phrases, as with nga’o 1sg, and joi uji ‘exam fees’ in (1).

1) Nga’o mo’o boya joi uji.
   1sg PROS pay money exam
   I’m going to pay the exam fees.
   DSKM042

Predicates do not require that their arguments occur overtly, but only that the referents of their arguments be understood by speakers. The referent(s) may have been mentioned in previous discourse or be understood by speakers either from context, or shared knowledge. Predicates typically require either one (see §4.3.2.1, §4.3.2.3 and §10.4) or two arguments (see §4.3.2.2, §4.3.2.3 and §10.5), although there are some that require three (see §4.3.2.4 and §10.6). There are also a few predicates which do not require any arguments, such as predicates denoting meteorological phenomena (see §10.3). Predicates can be realised grammatically as verbs, as with the intransitive verb méké ‘to cough’ in (2), as noun phrases, as in (3), as classifier phrases, as in (4), or as prepositional phrases, as in (5).

2) Êmbu méké.
   grandma cough
   Grandma is coughing.

3) Jon ‘atu pita.
   Jon person smart
   Jon’s a smart person.
   RSNN018

4) Kamba ’imu négba ’éko dima.
   buffalo 3sg PER.PER.CL five
   He already has five water buffalo. (Lit. His buffalo are already five.)

5) Ka’ó ’oné sa’o.
   older sibling in house
   Older sister is in the house.

There are some instances in which it is not possible to determine the word class of a predicate. Only by modifying a predicate of indeterminate word class can the word class be ascertained (see §4.1.1, §4.4 and §10.4.3). Predicate modifiers include aspect particles (see §12.2), mood particles (see §12.3) and negators (see §12.6).
3.3 Core versus Oblique Arguments

3.3.1 Identification of Grammatical Relations

Payne (1997) describes grammatical relations as follows:

Grammatical Relations (GRs) are often thought of as relations between arguments and predicates in a level of linguistic structure that is independent (or “autonomous”) of semantic and pragmatic influences. (Payne 1997:129)

He identifies three properties of grammatical relations:

1. case marking;
2. participant reference marking on verbs;
3. constituent order.

Givón terms these three properties ‘overt coding properties’ (Givón 1995:229), in contrast to ‘behaviour and control properties’, coined by Keenan (1976:324). Ten ‘behaviour and control properties’ are identified:

1. promotion to direct object;
2. demotion from direct object (antipassive);
3. passivisation;
4. reflexivisation;
5. causativisation;
6. equi-NP reference in complementation;
7. raising;
8. possessor promotion;
9. anaphoric reference in chained clauses;

As Kőo has neither morphological case marking nor participant reference marking, the only overt coding property that can be used to distinguish grammatical relations is constituent order. Given the right contexts, one can find almost any constituent order within the one language. This being the case, only pragmatically neutral clauses have been selected to illustrate basic constituent order. Some pragmatically marked clauses include clauses containing fronted objects (see §3.3.2.3 below and §10.5.1.1), questions, requests and orders (see Chapter 15).

Again, due to Kőo’s isolating nature, most of the behaviour and control properties cannot be used in the identification of grammatical relations in this language. There is no promotion to direct object; there is no passivisation; there is no raising; and there is no possessor promotion. Causativisation occurs in serial verb constructions, and has no language-wide implications for grammatical relations (see §11.5.2). Likewise, anaphoric reference properties do not provide any evidence of grammatical relations. This is due to the proliferation of ellipsis in Kőo discourse. Any argument is able to be ellipsed, but there is never any obligatory ellipsis of arguments.

From the above list of behaviour and control properties only relativisation, reflexivisation (see §3.3.2.2), and demotion of objects (see §3.3.2.3) can be used to distinguish grammatical relations.

I will use the terms A, S, and O in discussing the grammatical relations amongst the core arguments of intransitive and transitive clauses, where A is a typical agent of a transitive verb, S is a single argument of an intransitive verb, and O is a typical patient of a transitive verb (see Dixon (1972, 1979 and 1994)). For ditransitive clauses containing three core arguments I use the abbreviations A for the typical agent of a ditransitive verb, FO for first object and SO for second object (see §3.3.2.4 below for a
discussion of these terms). PRED is a predicate (see §3.2 above for a definition of predicate), and OBL is an oblique argument (see §3.2 above and §3.5 below).

Relativisation provides evidence for the difference between core arguments and oblique arguments. Any noun phrase that is relativised must be a core argument of the relative clause (see §14.5.2). This can be seen in the examples below. In (6) the relativised noun phrase is the subject of the relative clause. In (7) the relativised noun phrase is the object of the relative clause. In (8) the relativised noun phrase is the second object of the relative clause. In all of the examples the relative clause is underlined, and its head noun is in bold.

6) 'Imu nai tado nio ta Ø jangea déwa.
   3sg climb unable coconut REL Ø height tall
   S PRED

He can’t climb coconut (trees) that are tall.

7) 'Ata ta 'imu bhobha Ø ké palu.
   person REL 3sg hit Ø that run
   A PRED O

That person that he hit ran.

8) Nga’o pui bili nè'é pui ta 'ata ti’i nga’o Ø
   1sg sweep room with broom REL person give 1sg Ø
   A PRED FO SO

I swept the room with the broom that someone gave me.

It is not possible to relativise an oblique argument, as evidenced by the ungrammaticality of (9).

9) *Dapu ta nga’o poké bola ‘one Ø go’o.
   kitchen REL 1sg throw ball inside Ø small
   A PRED O PREP OBL

*The kitchen that I threw the ball into is small.

3.3.2 Core Arguments

3.3.2.1 Background Issues

As defined in section §3.2 above, core arguments are those arguments that are normally required by a predicate to either occur overtly or to be understood by speakers. They have fixed positions within clauses, and do not occur with prepositions. As seen in section §3.3.1 above core arguments can be relativised.

In Kéo, verbs can be divided into sub-classes based on their transitivity (see §4.3). This means that transitivity is, to a certain extent, lexically determined. An intransitive verb is always realised intransitively, and a transitive verb is always realised transitively. Ambitransitive verbs are sometimes realised intransitively and sometimes transitively (see §4.3.2.3) and ditransitive verbs are sometimes realised intransitively, sometimes transitively, and sometimes ditransitively (see §4.3.2.4).

As mentioned in section §3.3.1 above, ellipsis is a common feature of Kéo discourse. For example, what appears to be an intransitive verb, with only one argument, may in fact be a transitive verb with an ellipsed argument (see §10.7.3). For a fuller discussion of transitivity and ellipsis see Chapter 10. In the examples presented in the following sections there is no ellipsis of arguments to confuse the issue.

3.3.2.2 Subjects

Subjects can be identified by the criteria of constituent order and reflexivisation.
Using the overt coding property of constituent order, subjects can be identified as the immediate pre-predicate argument.¹

In intransitive clauses (see §10.4), that is, clauses, in which the predicate only requires one argument, the constituent order is [S PRED]. This can be seen in (10) and (11).

10) *Nga’o nibe.¹*
    1sg hungry
    S PRED
    I’m hungry.

11) *Sa’o ke mere.*
    house that big
    S PRED
    That house is big

Likewise subjects precede nominal intransitive predicates (see §10.4.2), as in (12) and (13).

12) *’Imu ke dako.*
    3sg that dog
    S PRED
    She’s being a dog.

13) *Té iné ja’o.*
    this mother 1sg
    S PRED
    This is my mother.

In transitive clauses (see §10.5) the basic constituent order is [A PRED O]. This can be seen in (14) and (15).

14) *Bapa pongga ’ata ta naka ké.*
    dad hit person Rel steal that
    A PRED O
    Dad hit that person who stole.

15) *Neli sengga nga’o né’ ré piso.*
    N. stab 1sg with knife
    A PRED O OBL
    Neli stabbed me with a knife.

In those instances in which O is fronted (see §3.3.2.3 below and §10.5.1.1), the A argument is the immediately pre-predicate argument, while O precedes A. This can be seen in (16) and (17). In transitive clauses containing a fronted object, the A argument is never ellipsed.

16) *Dhu dau nua, tana kami wai sa co’o².*
    arrive down hamlet soil 1pl.excl dry a little
    O A PRED
    Arriving in the hamlet, we dry the soil a little. (Lit. Arriving in the hamlet, the soil we dry a little.)
    PAT013

17) *Nio ta puru ngígha kita lamé.*
    coconut REL grate PER.COM 1pl.incl mix
    O A PRED
    The coconut that’s already been grated we mix.
    RND054

Once again, in ditransitive clauses (see §10.6) the subject can be identified as filling the pre-predicate argument slot, as in (18).

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¹ Adverbs may occur between a subject and predicate. See §3.5.

² This example comes from a Kéo speaker from the hamlet of Sorowea, which is in the far north-east part of the Kéo-speaking region. Note that *sa co’o* corresponds to *ha go’o* ‘a little’ in Udiwerowatu Kéo, and *wai* corresponds to *wall ‘to dry’*. 
Based on the above examples taken from a variety of clause types S and A pattern together in the immediate pre-predicate slot of a clause.

Reflexivisation is the only behaviour and control property listed in section §3.3.1 above that can be used to identify subjects. The reflexive particle dhato is used to give verbs a reflexive sense or to emphasise the agentive nature of the subject. Dhato always immediately follows the verb (see §12.4), as in the intransitive clause in (19) and the transitive clause in (20).

19) ‘Imu nai dhato.
   3sg climb RFL
   S PRED
   She herself climbed.

20) Kami kema dhato ‘uma.
    1pl.excl work RFL garden
   A PRED O
   We worked the garden ourselves.

In both clause types the reflexive refers back to the subject. In some transitive clauses such as (21), it appears that the reflexive also has control over the object, with the referent of the object necessarily being a part of the referent of the subject.

21) Nga’o ‘ongga dhato kumi.
    1sg shave RFL beard
   A PRED O
   I shaved my beard.

On closer inspection, the part-whole reading is inferred rather than encoded grammatically. The typical interpretation for (21) is ‘I shaved my beard’, but given the right context, the beard mentioned could belong to someone else (I shaved his beard myself). The lack of control of the reflexive over the object can be seen clearly in (22), in which there is no implication as to whether the dog killed belongs to the subject or someone else.

22) Nga’o roré dhato dako.
    1sg kill RFL dog
   A PRED O
   I killed the dog myself.

Reflexivisation, therefore, can be used in the identification of subjects, but not objects.

To summarise, the subject in Keo can be identified as the argument that fills the immediate pre-predicate slot in a clause and is referenced by the reflexive particle dhato. Both S, the single argument of an intransitive clause and A, the agent-like argument of a transitive clause, group in the same way according to a nominative-accusative pattern. Throughout this grammar S and A are both referred to as ‘subject’.

3.3.2.3 Objects

There are three ways in which objects can be identified:

1. constituent order;
2. fronting;
3. object demotion.

As seen above in §3.3.2.2, the constituent order of simple transitive clauses is [A PRED O] (see §10.5.1). Objects, then, can be identified as the post-predicate argument, as in (23) and (24).

23) Nus bhobha Arno.
    N. hit A.
   A PRED O
   Nus hit Arno.
24) *Ka’è  ka  ’uwi jawa.*  
older sibling eat  sweet-potato  
A  PRED  O  
Big brother is eating sweet-potato.

Objects can be either arguments, realised by noun phrases, as in (23) and (24), or complement clauses, when the predicate is a verb of cognition, as in (25), or a speech act verb (see §3.4 below and §14.5.1.1).

25) *’Imu moni  bapa nggaé kuhi.*  
3sg watch dad hunt octopus  
A  PRED  O  
He watched Dad hunt octopus.

Object arguments can also be identified by their ability to be fronted, as in (26) and (27).

26) *Arno  Nus  bhobha.*  
A.  N.  hit  
O  A  PRED  
Nus hit Arno.

27) *’Uwi jawa  ka’è  ka.*  
sweet-potato older sibling eat  
O  A  PRED  
Big brother ate sweet-potato.

The single objects of transitive clauses can only be fronted if there is also an overt subject. When fronted the object precedes the subject, which remains the immediately pre-predicate argument. The only possible interpretation of clauses in which a single noun phrase fills the pre-predicate slot in a transitive clause is that the noun phrase is the subject (see §3.3.2.2). This can be seen in (28), in which Arno is (A) the subject of a transitive clause with an ellipsed object, and in (29), in which *’uwi jawa*

‘sweet-potato’ is the single argument of the intransitive nominal predicate *ka* ‘food’.

28) *Arno bhobha  Ø.*  
A.  hit  
A  PRED  O  
Arno hit (someone).

29) *’Uwi jawa  ka.*  
sweet-potato food  
S  PRED  
Sweet-potato is food.

The single objects of transitive clauses can be demoted, to become demoted core arguments, by marking them with a demotion marker derived from a preposition. The transitivity of predicates in clauses containing a demoted core argument is indeterminate. They appear intransitive, but still require that the demoted core argument be overtly stated or understood. There are two prepositions used in this process, wai and né’è (see §13.2.8 and §13.2.9), both of which are used elsewhere with the comitative or instrumental meaning ‘with’. Né’è is often realised as né with no change in function. When used as demotion markers they are bleached of their prepositional meaning. Examples (30) and (31) illustrate wai being used in this way, and example (32) illustrates né’è being used in this way.

30) *Kami  téka  wai  di’è  nio.*  
1pl.excl sell  DM. seed coconut  
We sell coconuts.  
APCH010

---

\(^3\) It is nonsensical for *ka* in this example to be interpreted as a verb meaning ‘to eat’. See §4.1.1 concerning one form behaving in more than one syntactic slot.
31) Ta nala 'imu ngga'e dima, 'uru téi
EMP brother 3sg CL five because see

'iné 'imu-ko'o dhadhi wai nio,
mother 3pl give birth DM coconut

'imu-ko'o séti sënda.
3pl pick kick

The five brothers, seeing their mother give birth to a coconut picked and kicked (it).
HBDN008

32) 'imu simba toni né'é peja ma'u ha bari éna ké.
3sg then plant DM pandanus one line LOC that
She then planted one line of pandanus there.
AMMW080

Individual Kéo speakers are consistent in using either wai or né'é as object demoters, but never a mixture. In the data from Udiworowatu né'é was used more often than wai.

3.3.2.4 Two Objects

In ditransitive clauses (see §10.6) there are three arguments – a subject and two objects. Subjects are the arguments that immediately precede the predicate (see §3.3.2.2). In simple ditransitive clauses the two objects follow the predicate, as do the single objects of transitive clauses (see §3.3.2.3).

Dryer (1986) proposes that some languages have a distinction between direct and indirect objects, while other languages have a distinction between primary and secondary objects. Dryer claims that when a language has a ditransitive construction one of the non-subject arguments is marked in the same way as the non-subject argument of a transitive construction, while the other is not. He identifies direct objects as behaving as the patient-like object in transitive clauses, and themes in prototypical ditransitive clauses having an agent, a goal and a theme.

Indirect objects are goals in ditransitive clauses and pattern differently from simple transitive objects. On the other hand, primary objects behave as the single patient-like object of a transitive clause and as the goal object of a ditransitive clause. Secondary objects occur as the object denoting the theme in ditransitive clauses and pattern differently from simple transitive objects. Croft (1990:104) presents these distinctions graphically, as reproduced in Figure 3.1 and Figure 3.2 below, with adaptations to be consistent with terminology used in this grammar. O is the single patient-like object of a transitive clause; T is the theme argument in a ditransitive clause; and G is the goal-like argument in a ditransitive clause.

**Direct vs Indirect Object**

Transitive Clause

![Direct Object](O)

Ditransitive Clause

![Indirect Object](T G)

**Figure 3.1: Direct vs Indirect Object**

**Primary vs Secondary Object**

Transitive Clause

![Primary Object](O)

Ditransitive Clause

![Secondary Object](T G)

**Figure 3.2: Primary vs Secondary Object**

In Kéo it is not plausible to posit a distinction between either indirect and direct objects or primary and secondary objects. This is because the only available evidence for making such a distinction is cognitively ordered and this is inconclusive.
There are two types of ditransitive clauses in Kéo: those that have two noun phrases as object arguments; and those that have an argument object and a complement clausal object. Only two verbs occur in the former category – *ti‘i* and *pati*, both meaning ‘to give’ (see §4.3.2.4 and §10.6). Speech act verbs and verbs of cognition occur in the latter category (see §3.4 below, §4.3.2.4 and §14.5.1).

Regardless of whether objects are realised as arguments or complement clauses, their order is always fixed. This order is [A PRED G T], with goals occurring after the predicate and themes following goals. The constituent order of ditransitive clauses containing two nominal objects can be seen in (33) and (34).

33) *‘Imu-ko’o ti‘i nga‘o oba.*

\[3\text{pl give 1sg medicine} \]

A PRED G T

They gave me medicine.

34) *‘Ata ké ti‘i nga‘o joi.*

\[\text{person that give 1sg money} \]

A PRED G T

That person gave me money.

As seen in §3.3.2.3 above, single objects in transitive clauses fill the post-predicate slot. This can be seen again in (35), in which the verb *nggaë* ‘to search’ is used transitively.

35) *‘Ana ké nggaë kaju.*

\[\text{child that search wood} \]

A PRED O

That child searched for wood.

It could be argued that the single object of a transitive clause patterns with the goal of a ditransitive clause, as it fills the immediate post-predicate slot. Conversely it could also be argued that the single object of a transitive clause patterns with the theme of a ditransitive clause, as it fills the last argument position in a clause. Therefore neither the direct/indirect or primary/secondary distinction is made for Kéo objects.

Here, the terms ‘first object’ and ‘second object’ are used to denote the two kinds of object relations in ditransitive clauses⁴. ‘First object’ is used to label the immediately post-predicate argument, while ‘second object’ is used to label the final object. First objects always take the semantic role of goal, while second objects always take the semantic role of theme. The grammatical structure of ditransitive clauses, in terms of grammatical relations, can be expressed as [A V FO SO].

As described in §3.3.2.3 above, one of the distinguishing features of the grammatical relation of object is that it can be fronted. In ditransitive clauses either first objects or second objects may be fronted. In examples (36) and (37) the first object has been fronted, while in (38) the second object has been fronted.

36) *Nga‘o ‘imu-ko’o ti‘i oba.*

\[\text{1sg 3pl give medicine} \]

FO A PRED SO

They gave me medicine. (Lit. Me they gave medicine.)

37) *Nga‘o ‘ata ké ti‘i joi.*

\[\text{1sg person that give money} \]

FO A PRED SO

That person gave me money. (Lit. Me that person gave money.)

---

⁴These terms are not intended to reflect any particular theoretical standpoint.
3.3.2.5 Conclusion

The constituent order in the three basic clause types found in Kéo can be summarised as in Table 3.1. For more detailed descriptions of these clause types see Chapter 10.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clause Type</th>
<th>Constituent Order</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intransitive Clauses</td>
<td>S PRED</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitive Clauses</td>
<td>A PRED O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ditransitive Clauses</td>
<td>A PRED FO SO</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.1: Constituent order of main clause types in Kéo

The differences between the core arguments found in Kéo can be summarised as in Table 3.2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Features</th>
<th>S/A</th>
<th>O</th>
<th>FO</th>
<th>SO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>can be relativised</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fills pre-predicate slot</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coreference with reflexive</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fills immediate post-predicate slot</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fills second post-predicate slot</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>can be fronted</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>can be demoted</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.2: Properties of core arguments in Kéo

3.4 Complement Clausal Objects

Some verbal predicates – speech act verbs and verbs of cognition – may take complement clauses as objects (see §14.5.1). All of these predicates may also take argument objects, which are realised nominally (see §3.3.2.3).
and §3.3.2.4). Possessive noun phrases may also take complement clauses (see §14.5.1.3).

Complement clauses, semantically, are not arguments, as they are not referential in the same way as other arguments, which are typically realised by noun phrases. However, syntactically, they do share the defining properties of objects (see §3.3.2.3).

It is ungrammatical for a complement clausal object to occur in the subject slot of any clause, as can be seen in (39). They cannot be used with the semantic role of agent. This is due to the non-referentiality of complement clauses.

39) “Kau kai!” supu.
   2sg go order

In transitive clauses complement clauses fill the immediately post-predicate slot, as do argument objects. This can be seen in (40), containing the speech act verb supu ‘to order’. The complement clause is in bold.

40) ‘Imu supu, “Kau kai!”
   3sg order 2sg go
   She ordered, “You go!”

In ditransitive clauses complement clausal objects always have the semantic role of theme. They cannot be realised as goals because they are non-referential. As with themes in ditransitive clauses containing two nominal objects, they follow the goal object. That is, complement clausal objects follow the immediately post-predicate argument. This can be seen in (41), containing the speech act verb sodho ‘to tell’. In (41) the argument object – ja’o 1sg – is underlined. It is the goal, and fills the immediate post-predicate slot. The complement clausal object – Jon petu lo ‘Jon is sick’ – is in bold, and is the theme.

41) ‘Imu sodho ja’o Jon petu lo.
   3sg tell 1sg J. sick sick
   A PRED G T
   He told me Jon is sick.
   RSNNO15

In transitive clauses any argument object can be fronted, as long as the subject is overtly mentioned (see §3.3.2.3). However, only the complement clausal objects of speech act verbs can be fronted, as in (42). Complement clausal objects of verbs of cognition cannot be fronted. This is evidenced by the ungrammaticality of (43).

42) “Kau kai!” ‘Imu supu.
   2sg go 3sg order
   “You go!” she ordered.

43) *’Ata ria ja’o dédé.
   person bathe 1sg hear
   *A person is bathing I hear.

Complement clausal objects can be demoted, marked by either of the demotion markers wai or né’ (see §3.3.2.3). This can be seen in (44), in which the complement clausal object is introduced by né.

44) Suster kē mogha fonga né nga’o ndi’i éna kē.
   sister that also want DM 1sg stay LOC that
   That Sister also wanted me to stay there.
   MKPY28

In ditransitive clauses containing a nominal object and a complement clausal object, the complement clausal object is more often fronted than the nominal object, as in (45).

45) Jon petu lo ‘Imu sodho ja’o.
   J. sick sick 3sg tell 1sg
   Jon is sick he told me.

The opposite is true of object demotion. That is, the argument object in a ditransitive clause containing a nominal object and a complement clausal
object is more frequently denoted than the complement clausal object. This can be seen in (46).

46) Négha ké nga'o sodho né'té Om Bruder, sodho né'té already that 1sg say DM uncle brother say DM

Suster, "Suster, nga'o mala kursus mena ké, sama vi'e sister sister 1sg lazy course there that same only

bhida nga'o sékola."

like 1sg school

Then I said to Uncle Brother, said to Sister, "I don't want to do that course, (it's) just the same as me going to school."

See §14.5.1 for further discussion of complement clauses and the verbs and possessive noun phrases that take them.

3.5 Adjuncts

3.5.1 Types of Adjunct

There are two types of adjunct, that is, constituents that are not required either to occur overtly or to be understood by speakers. The two types of adjunct are oblique arguments (see §3.3 above and §3.5.2 below) and adverbs (see §3.5.3 and §5.13.2, §5.13.3 and §5.13.4). Another defining feature of adjuncts is that they have relatively free distribution within a clause. They can occur at the beginning or the end of a clause, and may also intervene between a predicate and its arguments.

3.5.2 Oblique Arguments

Oblique arguments can be identified on the basis of three properties:

1. they occur in prepositional phrases;
2. they cannot be relativised (see §3.3 above);
3. they are adjuncts⁶;
   - they are optional constituents;
   - they have relatively free distribution.

The prepositional phrases stand as oblique arguments and may be headed by either prepositions, as in (47), or directionals, as in (48) (see §13.2.2).

In both examples the oblique argument is underlined.

47) 'Iné tudí éna sa'o ko minda-woe 'imu.

Mum stop in LOC house POSS friend 3sg

S PRED OBL

Mum stopped in at her friend's house.

48) 'Imu kére dau ma'u.

3sg wait down beach

S PRED OBL

He waited down at the beach.

As is the case with adverbial adjuncts, oblique arguments can move around within clauses (see §13.2.2), unlike core arguments, which have fixed positions. For example, (48) is referentially equivalent to (49), in which the prepositional phrase precedes the subject and verb.

49) Dau ma'u 'imu kére.

down beach 3sg wait

OBL S PRED

Down at the beach he waited.

3.5.3 Adverbs

There are three types of adverbs in Kéo: temporal adverbs, quantifying adverbs and additive adverbs (see §5.13.2, §5.13.3 and §5.13.4). All of the adverbs can occur in a variety of syntactic positions. This can be illustrated

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⁶ Although many linguists would not regard oblique arguments as adjuncts, they are treated as such in this grammar because they have the same syntactic distribution as other adjuncts, namely adverbs.
using the temporal adverb ngéré-mbé'o 'suddenly'. An adverb can occur as the left-most constituent in a clause, as in (50). It can occur as the right-most constituent in a clause, as in (51). An adverb can also occur between the subject and predicate of a clause, as in (52). Note that the oblique argument pu'u 'oné sa'o 'from inside the house', being an adjunct, could also be moved around within the clause.

50) Ngéré-mbé'o 'imu palu pu'u 'oné sa'o.
   suddenly 3sg run from inside house
   Suddenly he ran from inside the house.

51) Iimu palu pu'u 'oné sa'o ngéré-mbé'o.
   3sg run from inside house suddenly
   He ran from inside the house suddenly.

52) Iimu ngéré-mbé'o palu pu'u 'oné sa'o.
   3sg suddenly run from inside house
   He suddenly ran from inside the house.

4

OPEN WORD CLASSES

4.1 Introduction

4.1.1 The Problem of Multifunctionality

Although in many languages the assignment of words to word classes is a straightforward matter, in others the clear assignment of words to word classes is problematic. These problems typically have something to do with one form being able to occur in multiple syntactic functions, whether this form is morphologically derived, as in Philippine-type languages, or morphologically underived, as in isolating languages, such as Thai, Chinese and Kéo. The problems individual languages throw up with regard to word classes need to be resolved on a language by language basis.\(^1\)

The shared features which form the basis for membership in a word class are typically morphosyntactic in nature, although they may also include such things as semantic features and discourse properties. The morphosyntactic properties which define word classes can be broken into two groups: distributional and structural. Distributional properties have to do with how words are distributed in phrases, clauses and texts, while structural properties have to do with the internal structure of a word (Payne 1997:33). As Kéo is a

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\(^1\) The development of better descriptive models to deal with these problems come from making generalisations based on cross-linguistic comparisons.
highly isolating language attribution to word classes is based on distributional properties alone.

The term ‘word class’ has two different senses: it can refer to either a lexical or syntactic category. Words are placed in a given lexical class based on their overall potential distribution in discourse. The members of lexical word classes can be given labels such as ‘noun’ and ‘verb’ within the lexicon. For example, as the word ‘dog’ in English is categorised as belonging to the lexical word class ‘noun’, it is predictable that this word will only occur in certain nominal morphosyntactic environments, such as after the definite article ‘the’, in a plural form, and in a noun phrase as the subject of a clause, as in (1). It is also predictable that it will not occur in verbal environments.

1) *The dogs ran down the street.*

On the other hand, members of syntactic word classes can only be given labels such as ‘noun’ and ‘verb’ when they occur in particular syntactic environments. Words that belong only to syntactic word classes are not inherently or lexically nouns or verbs, but the possibility must be considered that they can be used both nominally and verbally. Broschart (1997), for example regards Tongan as having no distinct lexical classes of ‘noun’ and verb’. Mosel and Hovdhaugen (1992) are also of this opinion with respect to Samoan.

In general, lexical word class membership entails syntactic word class membership. For example, a word lexically categorised as a noun will always occur syntactically as a noun. However, just because a word can occur as a noun in some particular syntactic context (and thus belongs to the syntactic class of nouns) does not entail that it belongs to the lexical class ‘noun’. It may be able to occur syntactically as a verb as well.

Kéo is similar to Samoan in that one form can occur in multiple syntactic environments, without any change in its phonological shape. A few Kéo content words only occur in nominal syntactic positions (§4.2) and other only occur in verbal syntactic positions (§4.3). However, the majority are able to occur in both nominal and verbal syntactic positions (§4.4). The syntactic positions which a particular item is able to fill is determined at the lexical level. That is, presented with a form with meaning out of context, it is possible to predict in which syntactic environments it will occur. Hence Kéo words belong to lexical word classes.
For example, the phonological form /tʃəbe/ (written form: cobé) can occur in distinctively nominal environments (see §4.2.2), as well as occurring as either an intransitive verb or a transitive verb (see §4.3.2.1 and §4.3.2.2). When occurring in nominal environments cobé means ‘spice grinder’, but when it occurs in verbal syntactic environments it means ‘to grind spices’. It is possible to predict both all of the nominal syntactic environments and all of the verbal syntactic environments in which cobé can occur.

Because Kéo words are typically simple roots, with the same form occurring in different grammatical functions, there is no morphological evidence to posit nouns as being derived from verbs, or verbs from nouns. Possible grounds for positing one member of a pair of lexemes as being derived from another might be found in their semantic or discourse relationship. Two primary types of relationship between nominal and verbal lexemes with the same form can be identified.

The first type of relationship occurs when the meaning difference between a noun and verb with the same form is regular. This is the case, for example, with ghumbu. As a verb this word denotes an activity – ‘to roof (something)’. As a noun it denotes the physical result of the activity – ‘a roof’.

The second type of relationship occurs when the meaning difference between a noun and a verb with the same form is irregular. For example, when the lexical entry wé is realised verbally it means ‘to bind’, but when it is realised nominally it means ‘friend’.

Vonen (2000) discusses four treatments of multifunctional forms, originally identified by Bazell (1958), and says that the type of analysis tends to be primarily based on a linguist’s aims. These four types are:

1. One form belongs to both classes of noun and verb;

2. Three classes can be identified: i) a class for forms that only occur as nouns, ii) a class for forms that only occur as verbs and iii) a class for forms that occur as both nouns and verbs;

3. Forms either belong to the word class of noun or verb, and their occurrence in the syntactic environments of the other type can be accounted for based on conversion rules and heterosemy;

4. There is no lexical distinction between noun and verb.

Vonen supports the conversion approach (type 3), and has applied it to the Polynesian language Tokelauan (1997). It would appear that this third type would be the most descriptively simple approach to account for regular semantic differences in Kéo, as illustrated by ghumbu above. The conversion approach would posit, for each individual form, one class as the basic one

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2 The regularity between nominal and verbal uses of a verb appears to be predictable due to a conversion rule. Other words in the same semantic field have similar distribution, for example kembī can mean either ‘wall’ when used nominally, or ‘to wall (something)’ when used verbally.
from which the other is derived or 'converted'. Using the third type of analysis, those words that had an irregular semantic relationship between different uses of the same form, such as *woé*, would be deemed separate lexemes. Establishing the semantic rules that determine such conversions would be a major research project in its own right. At this stage, without further research, it is not possible to posit one use as being basic. Therefore, although the conversion approach appears to be ideal, in this chapter a variation on the second approach is used, whereby the clear-cut instances of nouns are described in §4.2, followed by the clear-cut instances of verbs §4.3. The chapter is rounded off with descriptions of the multiple syntactic distributions of multifunctional items (§4.4), without making any claims as to their lexical class membership.

4.1.2 Open and Closed Classes

*Kéo* has open and closed word classes. An open word class is one to which new words can readily be added, whereas closed word classes have a restricted membership. The open word classes are nouns (§4.2) and verbs (§4.3).

In general, open word classes contain content words, while closed classes contain grammatical words/particles. Prepositions, directionals, demonstratives, numerals, conjunctions, negators, aspect particles, mood particles, auxiliaries, interjections, adverbs, and epistemes are closed word classes. These are discussed in Chapter 5. Some classifiers belong to an open class and others belong to a closed class (see §5.7 and §9.3).

Content words fall into the lexical classes of noun and verb. Nouns and verbs and their various subclasses are described in §4.2 and §4.3 respectively. As established above (§4.1.1) there are many multifunctional words in Kéo. In most cases where one form has two realisations, the realisations are nominal and verbal. The intersection of nouns and verbs through multifunctional words is discussed in §4.4 below.

4.2 Nouns

4.2.1 Introduction

The ease with which Indonesian nouns are incorporated into the Kéo lexical class of noun is an indication of the flexibility of this open word class. Section §4.2.2 deals with the distributional criteria for membership of the word class noun. Subsequent sections deal with subclasses of noun. The class ‘noun’ includes the names of people and places, personal pronouns and names of things.

All nouns can be used in both argument and predicate syntactic slots. When used predicatively they are always intransitive. An example of a word that is only ever realised nominally is *guru* meaning ‘teacher’. Examples (4) and (5) illustrate the grammatical realisations of a typical noun such as *guru* parole as a two-way thing. “One linguist will state that there is a relationship of overlapping [sic] between the classes of noun and verb, such that the same unit may be a member of both classes. A second linguist may state that there are three classes of unit here, three parts of speech. So if we choose to call *chief* a noun, and *rob* a verb, we shall have to find a third term for such units as *call* and *show*. By a third linguist, *call* and *show* might be taken as different units, mere homophones, in one function and the other. A fourth linguist might choose to say that there is only one class of words here, containing, however, a fair number of words with defective paradigms.” (Bazell 1958:7)
'teacher'. Other forms that only occur as nouns include the words dako ‘dog’, ma’u ‘beach’ and ‘imu ‘3sg’.

guru as an argument

4) Guru té pawé.
   teacher this good
   This teacher is good.

guru as an intransitive predicate

5) Té guru.
   this teacher
   This is a teacher.

4.2.2 Distributional Criteria

This section is concerned with those distributional properties shared by all nouns. Nouns occur in noun phrases. A noun phrase minimally consists of a noun. It can also contain conjoined nouns or noun(s) plus modifiers (see Chapter 7). Five properties are characteristic of all nouns. Because nouns always occur as the head of a noun phrase in discourse, these properties relate either to how a noun may be potentially modified within a noun phrase, or to how noun phrases are distributed syntactically in discourse. Particular subclasses of nouns have additional diagnostic criteria, to be discussed in later sections.

Criteria defining nouns, based on their behaviour within noun phrases

1. Only nouns can be modified by relative clauses (see §7.2.2.7 and §14.5.2);
2. Only nouns can be modified by demonstratives (see §7.2.2.8 and §13.4).

Criteria defining nouns, based on the syntactic distribution of noun phrases

3. Noun phrases can fill the argument slots of predicates, namely subject, object, first object and second object (see §3.3);
4. Noun phrases can fill the argument slot of a preposition, forming prepositional phrases (see §13.2.2);
5. Noun phrases can occur predicatively, by only as an intransitive predicate, in equative clauses or clauses of proper inclusion (see §10.4.2).

Each of these criteria is discussed below with examples.

Nouns can be modified by relative clauses

Sentence (6) contains an example of a relative clause modifying a noun. The relative clause is in bold, and the noun it modifies is underlined.

(6) ‘imu ko’o néé sa’o ta pésa wadi.
    3pl have house REL other again
    They also have another house.
    APS009

See §14.5.2 for a description of relative clauses.

Only nouns can be modified by demonstratives

Demonstratives always modify nouns or nouns and other modifiers within noun phrases. Té ‘this’ and ké ‘that’ are two such demonstratives, with examples of each in (7) – (9). The demonstrative is in bold, whilst the noun it modifies is underlined.

7) Dako ké né dhoi.
   dog that have horn
   That dog has a horn.
   SRDL001
8) *Mama té keturunan mama darah Cina.*
   mother this descent mother blood Chinese
   Me, I’m of Chinese descent. (Lit. This mother, mother’s descent is
   Chinese blood.)
   DHM001

9) *'imu ké mona mbana mogha.*
   3sg that NEG go also
   He’s not going either.

See §7.2.2.8 on demonstratives in noun phrases and see §13.4 for a full
discussion of demonstratives.

*Noun phrases can fill the argument slots of predicates, namely subject,
object, first object and second object.*

Noun phrases can serve as subjects and objects within clauses. (See §3.3.2
for discussion of subjects and objects.) Subjects typically precede the
predicate, whilst objects follow it. There are some exceptions to this
ordering, discussed in §3.3.2.3 and §10.5.1.1.

*Noun as subject of intransitive clause*

10) *Dako palu nuka dau ma’u.*
    dog run go down beach
    A dog ran down to the beach.

*Noun as subject of transitive clause*

11) *'imu lasi piri.*
    3sg clean plate
    She cleaned the plates.

12) *Nga’o bho’ba kepa.*
    1sg hit mosquito
    I hit a mosquito.

*Noun phrases can fill the argument slots of prepositions*

A noun phrase can fill the argument slot of a preposition (see §5.2). This
combination of preposition and noun forms a prepositional phrase (see
§13.2.2), as in (13).

13) *Kubi mer ‘oné dia.*
    octopus lie in cave
    Octopus live in caves.
    APX09

*Noun phrases can occur predicatively*

When occurring predicatively noun phrases are always intransitive. They
most typically occur in equative or proper inclusion clauses (see §10.4.2), as
in (14).

14) *Nga’o ‘ata pawé.*
    1sg person good
    I am a good person.

4.2.3 Subclasses of Nouns

4.2.3.1 The Five Subclasses

Five subclasses of noun are identified. One of these, common nouns, can be
further subdivided into count and mass nouns. All subclasses can be used
both as arguments and as nominal predicates. The five subclasses are:
1. Common nouns
   - Count nouns
   - Mass nouns
2. Kin terms
3. Place names
4. Personal names
5. Personal pronouns

Note that locatives (see §5.5) occur in two syntactic environments — in prepositional phrases, and in adnominal possessive constructions — that nouns occur in, but do not satisfy all of the criteria for membership of the word class of nouns.

4.2.3.2 Common Nouns

Common nouns form the largest subclass, with typical members denoting either concrete or abstract entities, for example, sa ‘o ‘house,’ ‘ama ‘hope’.

This class can be further subdivided into count nouns and mass nouns. Common nouns can be identified by five criteria.

1. Common nouns may be modified by the specificity particle ko’o;
2. Common nouns may be modified by the emphatic particle ta;
3. Common nouns may be quantified by classifier constructions;
4. Common nouns may be possessed in possessive constructions;
5. Common nouns may be possessors in possessive constructions.

Each of these criteria are discussed below with examples.

Common nouns may be modified by the specificity marker ko’o

Unlike most other nominal modifiers, the specificity marker precedes the noun it modifies. In sentence (15) the specificity marker is in bold, and the common noun it modifies is underlined.

15) ‘Imu těmbo ko’o lidi, ‘imu simba dhéké mémé
   3sg threw SPEC coconut stem 3sg then stick continue
   bhodo éna do kési.
   only LOC tree K.
   He threw the coconut stem, it then stuck hard on the kési tree.
   EEDR20

See §7.2.2.2 for further discussion of the specificity marker.

Common nouns may be modified by the emphatic particle

The emphatic particle ta precedes the noun it modifies. In (16) the emphatic particle is in bold, and the noun it modifies is underlined.

16) Éna pu’u ‘imu těi ta ’esa négha né’ê těmbu.
   LOC base 3sg see EMP fruit PER.PER have bud
   Below the tree she saw the fruit had a bud.
   INN013

See §7.2.2.3 for further discussion of ta.

Common nouns may be quantified by classifier constructions

See count nouns and mass nouns below for discussion of this feature.

Common nouns may occur as the possessor or as the possessed item in a possessive construction

Nouns or nouns plus their modifiers may occur in three different possessive constructions: POSS’D POSS’R, POSS’D KO’O POSS’R, and POSS’R NÉ’É POSS’D.

The first two of these constructions are possessive noun phrases, whilst the
third is a transitive clause. Examples of each of the possessive constructions are presented below. Possessed items appear in bold, while possessors are underlined.

POSS'D POSS'R

17) *Ngara kódi ké *Kódi Watu Wéa*,
name mountain that mountain stone gold
The name of that mountain is *Kódi Watu Wéa* (Golden Stone Mountain).

POSS'D ko'o POSS'R

18) *Sa'o ko'o ja'o*.
house POSS 1sg
My house.

19) *Iné ko'o méo*.
mother POSS cat
The cat’s mother.

POSS'R né'é POSS'D

20) *Dapu ké né'é ghembu*.
 kitchen that have roof
That kitchen has a roof.

See Chapter 8 for a full description of possession.

Count Nouns

Count nouns can be counted as individual entities or multiples of individual entities. When counted these nouns are modified by classifier constructions containing sortal classifiers (see §9.3.4.2) combined with numerals, as in (21) and (22).

21) *'Ata ngga*e dima*.
people CL five
Five people.

22) *'Uwi kaju *'isi tedu*.
cassava CL three
Three (pieces of) cassava.

Mass Nouns

Mass nouns cannot be directly counted, but are counted based on a measurement of them. This is done using mensural classifier constructions (see §9.3.4.1) containing either numerals or quantifying adverbs (see §5.13.3).

23) *'Aé ember rua*.
water bucket two
Two buckets of water.

24) *Kopi mako woso*.
coffee mug many
Many cups of coffee.

4.2.3.3 Kin Terms

Kin terms denote a familial relationship between people. In Kéo this may be a genealogical, classificatory or honorific relationship. Kéo kin terms may be modified the same way as common count nouns (see §4.2.3.2). In addition they are used as forms of address, as in (25), and are also used as titles, preceding personal names, as in (26). Kin terms are also used to refer to oneself, as in (27), to an addressee or to a third party.
25) 'Ari, mai ndia!
younger sibling come here here
Younger sibling, come here!

26) Nga'o mera né'ë 'Inë Aso.
1sg stay with mother A.
I'm staying with Mrs. Aso.

27) Bapa té négha mbupu.
father this PER.PER. old.
I'm old.

Other nouns, such as those denoting an occupation, can also be used as address terms when preceded by a kin term. Like kin terms used on their own, these complex expressions can be used to refer to first person, second person or third person. This is illustrated by Bapa guru ‘Mr. teacher’ in examples (28) – (30).

28) Bapa guru fonga wado.
Mr. teacher want go home
I (Mr. teacher) want to go home.

29) Kami fonga mbanu né'ë Bapa guru.
1pl.excl want walk with Mr. teacher
We want to walk with you (Mr. teacher).

30) Bapa guru négha wado.
Mr. teacher PER.PER. go home
(Mr.) teacher has gone home.

4.2.3.4 Place Names

Place names are those nouns that refer to a place, as in (31). In Kéo most place names are compounds. They are typically made up of the names of a pair of ancestors or a geographical feature plus a name (see §6.2.2.4). Unlike all of the other subclasses of noun, place names fulfil the distributional
criteria described in §4.2.2 with no additional criteria. They may be modified by demonstratives, as in (32), and relative clauses, as in (33).

31) 'Ata ké pu'u Mbaenuamuri.
person that from M.
That person comes from Mbaenuamuri.

32) Dau Ende ké datu 'ata Islam livu méré.
down Ende that exist people Islam many big
In Ende there are very many Muslims.

33) Dau Kuta ta réu pu'u ndia datu 'ata Australia woso.
down K. REL far from here exist people A. many
In Kuta, which is far from here, there are many Australians.

4.2.3.5 Personal Names

Personal names are used in Kéo to refer to individual people and clans. Like other nouns they can be modified by demonstratives, as in (34), and relative clauses as in (35).

34) Martha ké négha ébho dau Kupang.
M. that PER.PER.long time down K.
That Martha has already been in Kupang a long time.

35) Martha ta radé Maunori dëmba wengi?
M. REL west M. arrive when
When will the Martha in Maunori arrive?

Personal names may also be modified by numeral classifier collocations, as in (36).

36) Datu Martha nggaa'e dina 'esa ndia nua kita.
exist M. Cl six here village 1pl.incl
There are six Marthas here in our village.
Personal names frequently occur as the possessor in possessive constructions, as in (37). However, only women’s names may occur in the possessed slot of a possessive construction, when the possessor is a man’s name referring to either the woman’s father or husband, as in (38).

37) Willy o’a ma’e ngasi ngara sura té lagu ganggu
W. request don’t angry if letter this rather disturb
‘odo kema ko’o Ona ridi Jakarta.
Nom work POSS O. down J.
Willy asks forgiveness if this letter disturbs Ona’s work in Jakarta.
RNN002

38) Martha té, Martha ko Willy, wado mena Ende wengi?
M. this M. POSS W. go home across E. when
When is this Martha, Willy’s Martha, going home?

Personal names can also be used as terms of address, as in (39).

39) Ira, mai ndia!
I. come here here
Ira, come here!

4.2.3.6 Personal Pronouns

Personal pronouns form a closed word class. They are inherently deictic, replacing proper names or other nouns and are used to indicate whether a referent is the speaker, the addressee, someone else or a combination of these people. Personal pronouns have the same form regardless of whether they are behaving syntactically as independent pronouns, or as subjects, objects or possessors.

There is a distinction between first, second, and third person, in both singular and plural, with an inclusive and exclusive distinction in first person plural.

There are no specific pronoun roots to indicate dual number, but all pronouns other than first and second person singular can occur with the numeral rua ‘two’ to obtain a dual meaning. These pronouns can also be followed by other numerals. There is no gender distinction in any of the pronouns. There are some interesting differences between standard and alternate forms, with their usage dependent on socio-cultural factors.

Aside from nominal modification applicable to all nouns, personal pronouns often occur in the role of possessor, but unlike some other nouns they cannot be possessed. Personal pronouns can be modified by the emphatic particle ta (see §4.2.3.2 above and §7.2.2.3). Only the third person plural pronoun can be counted and therefore modified by the classifier for people ngga’e (see §9.3).

Standard Forms

Table 4.1 contains the standard personal pronouns found in Udiworowatu Kéo.
The third person singular pronoun, ‘imu, can be used for humans, other animates and inanimate objects. The other pronouns cannot be used for inanimate objects and are very rarely used for non-human animates.

Alternate Forms
Aside from the ‘standard’ forms for personal pronouns, there are other forms, labelled here ‘alternate’. Different alternate forms perform different functions. They can be broadly said to fall into three categories:

1. pronouns used for politeness and taboo avoidance rules;
2. dialectal variants; and
3. pronouns which specify exactly how many people there are.

Ja’o

Ja’o is an alternate form for the first person singular pronoun. The western part of the area in which the Endenese language (the language to the immediate east of Kéo) is spoken has been divided into the ja’o dialect and the nga’o dialect by Wurm and Hattori (1981), so-called as speakers of each dialect only use one or the other of the first person singular pronouns. It appears that the first person pronoun used to also be a dialect identifying feature for the Kéo speaking area, but this is no longer the case. Kéo speakers feel quite strongly about being ‘correct’ in their usage of either ja’o or nga’o, with children tending to follow whichever form their mother uses. Some people believe that particular hamlets use only one of the two forms, but in reality both pronouns can be heard throughout this area. One language-helper, coming down from the mountain hamlet of Udi to live in the coastal

4 I use nga’o, following my adopted mother and siblings.
hamlet of Maundai when she married, changed her use of pronoun from ja’o to nga’o, the form that her mother-in-law and husband use.

Story-tellers use the two first person singular pronouns stylistically in their stories, with main characters referring to themselves in the different forms. This may reflect the story-teller’s bias towards a character, by using the form that he himself uses for the character he associates with or favours, while using the other form for less favoured characters. It also helps to distinguish main characters during passages of direct speech. If one character uses ja’o while the other uses nga’o, during passages of direct speech, or consecutive passages of speech then the listener has no difficulty in following which character is speaking. An example of this usage can be seen in the following example from the fable of Wodo Bako né ‘é Bako Wodo.

44) Négha ké Wodo Bako simba si’i, “‘Ata already that W. B then say person
podo kau kema wado ‘ari nga’o.” sorcerer 2sg work return younger sibling 1sg
After that Wodo Bako then said, “Sorcerer you bring back my younger brother.”
SRWB040

45) ‘Ata podo si’i, “Modo ja’o kema wado.” person sorcerer say ok 1sg work to return
The sorcerer said, “Ok I’ll bring him back.”
SRWB041

miu

Miu is generally used to address more than one person, but can be used for a single addressee to indicate a certain level of politeness and respect. This can be seen in (46), a formulaic leave-taking expression.

46) ‘Iné miu ta ndia.
ma’am 2pl REL here
Ma’am, you stay here (while I go).
The use of miu as a polite form is not restricted to formulaic speech. It is used in all speech genres, for example in the conversational question in (47).

47) Miu kema apa té?
2pl work what now
What are you doing now?

kita

Kéo has a distinction between inclusive and exclusive in first person plural, but the exclusive form is often replaced with the inclusive form so that by including the addressee(s) the speaker appears community-minded and generous, rather than arrogant and selfish. This use of the inclusive form is particularly apparent when talking about property or belongings, as in (48).

48) Kamba ko’o sai? Kamba kita.
buffalo Poss who buffalo 1pl.incl
Whose water buffalo are these? Our water buffalo.
A language helper explained example (48) in the following way: Both parties know that the water buffalo do not belong to the questioner, otherwise the questioner would not have asked such a question. However, the respondent uses the inclusive form of the pronoun in order not to appear arrogant in possessing something that the questioner does not.

sira

The pronoun sira can be used in place of the standard second and third person pronouns. There are certain taboos in Kéo culture, primarily relating to how one speaks of or to one’s in-laws and other people one is supposed to hold in
high esteem. For example, one would never refer to one’s parents-in-law as ‘imu-ko’o (3pl) but rather would always use sira, which is the archaic third person plural pronoun. When addressing one’s parents-in-law one would preferably use a kin term. However, if a pronoun were used sira would be preferred to kau (2sg) and even the more polite miu (2pl).\(^5\) When greeting a large group of people sira is also used, to avoid any possible offence.

**PRONOUN + NUMERAL**

Pronouns can be followed by numerals in order to be specific about the number of referents. This is the only instance in which numerals can occur without a classifier (see §9.2.3 and §9.3). By far the majority of instances of pronoun-numeral combinations occur with the numeral rua ‘two’, creating dual pronouns, as in (49).

49) *Mama né’e bapa ko’o Heni itu tungga kami rua weta*
    mum and dad Poss H. that only 1pl.excl two sister
    nala.
    brother
    Me and Heni’s dad, only us two were siblings.
    DHMD008

Although not as common, it is also grammatical to use other numerals with pronouns as in (50), and (51).

50) *Rembu miu dina mbana.*
    all 2pl five go
    All five of you go.

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\(^5\) This pattern of pronominal use resembles German, Spanish and Portuguese, in each of which the polite second person pronoun was historically third person (Malcolm Ross p.c.).
Chapter 4

Verbs can be predicates

Verbs are the most commonly occurring predicates. However, other constituents, such as noun phrases and prepositional phrases can also occur predicatively (see §3.2). An example of an intransitive verb occurring as a predicate can be seen in (52), and an example of a transitive verb occurring as a predicate can be seen in (53).

52) Ῥ’mu mbana.
    3sg  go
    He went.

53) Daho  kiki longo  ké.
    dog  bite goat  that
    A dog bit the goat.

Verbs can be iterated

Iterativity is an aspectual characteristic which entails an activity or event occurring repeatedly. Instead of being marked by an aspect particle, as other aspects are (see §5.10 and §12.2), iterativity is marked by repetition of the verb. Only verbs can be repeated with an iterative function. Other elements functioning as predicates, such as noun phrases and prepositional phrases, cannot be repeated in this way. In (54) the transitive verb koma ‘to massage’ is iterated.

54) Ἰ’ne koma  koma  koma  weki nga’o  nga ra  lo.
    mum massage massage massage body 1sg  COND ache
    Mum massages and massages my body when I ache.

Iterativity and other aspects are discussed in §12.2.

Verbs can be intensified

Only verbs can be intensified by one of the intensifiers raka-ré’é, ré’é-ré’é, or ré’é-ténggé. These intensifiers can all be translated into English as ‘very’ when used with stative verbs, while an appropriate translation for dynamic verbs is context dependent. The intensifiers immediately follow the verb that they modify, as in (55).

55) Ῥ’mu mbepu  ré’é-ré’é.
    3sg  hungry very
    He’s very hungry.

See §12.7 for discussion of intensifiers.

Verbs can be nominalised

Those words that are only ever realised verbally can be explicitly nominalised. By contrast multifunctional words with both verbal and nominal syntactic realisations cannot be nominalised. Verbs can be nominalised by being preceded by the nominaliser ʹodo. This derivational process can be illustrated by the O-type ambitransitive verb (see §4.3.2.3) daka ‘to help’. In example (56) daka ‘to help’ is used transitively in a motion serial verb construction (see §11.5.4), in (57) it is used intransitively, and in (58) it is nominalised.

56) Ῥ’mu  kai  daka  nala  ʹimu  réta  ʹuma.
    3sg  go  help  brother  3sg  up  garden
    He went to help his brother up in the garden.

57) Ngara  nala  ʹimu  négha  daka,  ʹe  ʹimu-ko’o  wado  sa’o.
    if  brother  3sg  PER.PER  help  just  3pl  return  house
    If his brother has been helped, only then will they return to the house.
4.3.2 Subclasses of Verbs

Four major subclasses of verbs can be identified. Two of these can be further subdivided. These classes with their respective divisions are:

1. Intransitive verbs
2. Transitive verbs
3. Ambitransitive verbs
   - A-type
   - O-type
4. Ditransitive verbs
   - taking a nominal object and a complement clausal object
   - taking two nominal objects

A brief overview of these subclasses will be given here. The clause types they occur in are discussed in Chapter 10.

4.3.2.1 Intransitive Verbs

An intransitive verb can be realised either as a predicate or as an attribute. When realised predicatively, intransitive verbs can only take one argument, a subject (see §3.3.2.2), as in (59).

59) 'Uru odo daka ké 'imu-ko'o ngada kema ha dama because NOM help that 3pl able work one fast
    only
Because of that help, they were able to do the work in just a short time.

Tuka kau bhu.

stomach 2sg bloated
Your stomach is bloated.

The single argument of an intransitive verb may be ellipsed (see §10.7.2) when it is understood from context, as in the response in (60).

60) 'Uru apa 'imu ngedhé ka? because what 3sg NEG eat
    Why didn't he eat?

Bhu.
bloated
(He's) bloated.

When realised attributively, intransitive verbs occur in modified noun phrases (see §7.2.2.5) as in (61). The attributive intransitive verb is in bold, and the noun phrase is underlined.

61) 'Ata Kéo sënda dawo né'é wonga kuné.
person K. weave sarong with flower yellow
Kéo people weave sarongs with yellow flowers (as a part of the design)

There are only a small number of words that only behave as intransitive verbs such as bhugé 'fat', bhu 'bloated', and mbé 'to bend'. Examples (62) and (63) illustrate bhugé 'fat' used predicatively and attributively.

bhugé used predicatively

62) 'Ana 'imu bhugé ré'ré'é.
children 3sg fat very
Her children are very fat.
bhugé used attributively

63) 'Ana bhugé ké ka wosó ngata.
child fat that eat much INT
That fat child eats very much.

Most purely intransitive verbs in Kéo can occur in causative serial verb constructions (see §11.5.2) and be analytically nominalised (see §Error!).

Reference source not found.). When causativised, as in (64) the predicate is transitive.

64) 'Imu tau bhugé 'ana 'imu.
3sg do fat child 3sg
She fattened her child.

Nominalised verbs have the same syntactic distribution as other nouns, occurring as arguments, as in (65) or as predicates, as in (66).

65) 'Odo bhugé nga'o 'uru sena, ka wosó.
NOM fat 1sg because happy eat much
My fatness is because I’m happy and eating a lot.

66) 'Ila turis ké? Ké 'odo bhugé!
see tourist that that NOM fat
See that tourist? That’s fatness!

4.3.2.2 Transitive Verbs

Transitive verbs can take two core arguments – a subject and an object (see §3.3.2). Either one or both of these arguments may be ellipsed when understood from context. Transitive verbs in Kéo only take nominal objects, as in (67). The transitive verb is in bold and the object is underlined.

67) Nga'o rudhu Ina jept mboká.
1sg push I. until fall
I pushed Ina until she fell over.

The word bhobha ‘to hit’ is realised grammatically solely as a transitive verb, as in (68).

68) Arno bhobha Dus.
A. hit D.
Arno hit Dus.

As with intransitive verbs (see §4.3.2.1) there are not many words that are realised solely as transitive verbs. The words bhobha ‘to hit’, kiki ‘to bite’ and rudhu ‘to push’ are examples of transitive verbs that are not syntactically realised in any other way. As with all verbs that are realised only as verbs, the verb bhobha ‘hit’ can be nominalised. Nominalised verbs have the same distribution as nouns. Thus they occur either in a noun phrase, as in (69), or are used as a nominal predicate, as in (70).

69) 'Odo bhobha ko'o 'imu tenggo.
NOM hit POSS 3sg strong
His hitting is strong.

70) Té 'odo bhobha!
this NOM hit
This is a hit!

4.3.2.3 Ambitransitive Verbs

Ambitransitive verbs may occur either intransitively or transitively. In Kéo, as in many other Austronesian languages, such as Boumaa Fijian (Dixon 1988:45) and the Lolovoli dialect of North-East Ambae (Hyslop 2001:86-88), ambitransitive verbs can be sub-divided into two types depending on
which of the arguments found in a transitive clause occurs in an intransitive clause using the same verb. For some verbs the subject of an intransitive verb (S) is treated the same way as the subject of its transitive counterpart (A) and is regarded as having the same semantic role. These are called A-type verbs. For other verbs, S of the intransitive verb corresponds to the object of its transitive counterpart (O). These are called O-type verbs. Some A-type ambitransitive verbs are shown in examples (71) – (74), and some O-type ambitransitive verbs are shown in examples (75) – (78).

**A-Type Verbs**

S = A

71) *’Imu ka ‘uwi jawa.*  \( A \ V \ O \)
3sg eat sweet potato
He's eating sweet potato.

72) *’Imu ka.*  \( S \ V \)
3sg eat
He's eating.

73) *’Ana lo’a kaka tuka ’iné nambu mbana.*  \( A \ V \ O \)
child monkey stick belly mother when go
Baby monkeys stick to their mother’s belly when moving.

74) *Ngegelu kaka éna kémbi.*  \( S \ V \)
gecko stick LOC wall
Geckos stick to walls.

**O-Type Verbs**

S = O

75) *Nga’o peni manu.*  \( A \ V \ O \)
1sg feed chicken
I’m feeding the chickens.

76) *Manu da’è peni.*  \( S \ V \)
chickens IMP.NC feed
The chickens haven’t been fed yet.

77) *’Imu mo’o bomo ko’o jawa.*  \( A \ V \ O \)
3sg PROS soak SPEC corn
She’s going to soak the corn.

78) *Jawa ké da’è bomo.*  \( S \ V \)
corn that IMP.NC soak
That corn hasn’t been soaked yet.

All verbs of cognition are ambitransitive. When occurring transitively, these verbs can take either a nominal object or a complement clausal object. This can be illustrated by the ambitransitive verb téi ‘to see’, which in (79) takes a nominal object and in (80) takes a complement clausal object.

79) *’Imu téi do nio woso.*
3sg see tree coconut many
He sees many coconut trees.

80) *’Imu téi ’ata nai do nio.*
3sg see person climb tree coconut
He sees someone climbing a coconut tree.

### 4.3.2.4 Ditransitive Verbs

Ditransitive verbs can take three arguments — a subject and two objects (see §3.3.2). There are two types of ditransitive verbs in Kéo: those which take an argument object and a complement clause as object, as in (81), and those which take two nominal argument objects, as in (82).

81) *’Imu si’i ja’o, “Ma’è palu léwo!"*  
3sg say 1sg don’t run random
He told me: “Don’t run around!”
Ditransitive Verbs with Complement Clause and Argument as Objects

The verb *sodho* ‘to say, to tell’ can be used intransitively, transitively or ditransitively. When *sodho* ‘tell, say’ is used transitively its object is a complement clause. If there is only one object and it is nominal, the construction appears transitive, but is actually ditransitive with an ellipsed complement clause object. (See §10.7 on ellipsis within different clause types.) Example (85) shows *sodho* ‘tell’ being used intransitively; example (86) shows *sodho* ‘tell, say’ being used transitively; and (87) shows it being used ditransitively.

85) *Kami négha sodho.*
1pl.excl PER.PER say
We already said.

86) *Ja’o sodho bhida ké.*
1sg say like that
I said that.

87) *Ja’o sodho ‘imu ja’o da’é ka.*
1sg tell 3sg 1sg IMP.IMP eat
I told him I hadn’t eaten yet.

The speech act verb *st’i* ‘to tell, to say’ can only be used either transitively or ditransitively. A transitive example of *st’i* ‘tell, say’ appears in sentence (88). As with *sodho* ‘tell’ when used transitively, the object must be a complement clause. A ditransitive example is presented in (89).

88) *‘Imu st’i, "Ma’é palu léwo.”*
3sg say don’t run random
He said, “Don’t run around.”
89) ‘Imu si’i ja’o. “Ma’ē palu lēwo.”
3sg tell 1sg don’t run random
He told me, “Don’t run around.”

See §14.5.1 for a discussion of speech act verbs and verbs of cognition that take complement clauses as objects.

4.4 The Intersection of Nouns and Verbs

4.4.1 Introduction

In the preceding sections only lexical nouns that are always realised as syntactic nouns and lexical verbs that are always realised as syntactic verbs were presented. Such lexemes do not provide any difficulties for linguistic description, but they are in the minority. As previously noted (see §4.1.1), most Kéo content words are multifunctional forms that are able to occur both nominally and verbally. The ideal approach to this situation would be to use a conversion approach, as explained in §4.1.1. However, due to time and space constraints, undertaking the research required for such an analysis was beyond the scope of this grammar.

Therefore the following sections describe the syntactic distributions of multifunctional items, which will need to be taken into consideration if a conversion analysis is undertaken in the future.

In most syntactic contexts it is clear that the realisations of a given word is either nominal or verbal, although the lexical class that the item belongs to may not be clear. However, in some cases even the syntactic class of a given form is not readily able to be determined. This is a consequence of not just the presence of multifunctional items but also of other aspects of Kéo typology, such as frequent ellipsis of arguments (see §10.7), and the occurrence of both nominal and verbal predicates. The discourse contexts where ready identification of syntactic class is not possible can be categorised into two main types.

1. Ambiguous syntactic slots with no nominal or verbal modification. In such cases because the grammatical function cannot be established, neither can the word class. In most cases, however, it is possible to determine the grammatical function of a word in discourse and hence its lexical word class.

2. When arguments are ellipsed. For example, ditransitive verbs with ellipsed objects may appear transitive (see §10.7.4), and it may be unclear whether A-type ambitransitive verbs (see §4.3.2.3) used in discourse without the presence of an object are intransitive or transitive with an ellipsed object (see §10.7.3).7

The following sections will explore the possible combinations that occur when a multifunctional item can occur as both a noun and a verb. All of the combinations are very common. I am not going to attempt to discern which use is the more basic according to a conversion analysis, but rather describe the combinations of functions that occur. The combination of noun and intransitive verb is discussed in §4.4.2. The combination of noun and transitive verb is described in §4.4.3. The combination of noun and O-type ambitransitive verb is discussed in §4.4.4. The combination of noun and A-

7 Ellipsis does not present this kind of problem for O-type ambitransitive verbs (see §10.7.3).
type ambitransitive verb is described in §4.4.5.

4.4.2 Noun / Intransitive Verb

The word neka ‘wound/be wounded’ is typical of words that are realised syntactically as either intransitive verbs or nouns. It is typically obvious from a syntactic frame whether neka is behaving nominally or verbally. However, the lexical class of this word remains indeterminate until further research has been carried out.

When neka is used as a noun there is rarely grammatical ambiguity that may lead to a verbal interpretation of the word. In sentence (90) neka is clearly a noun within a noun phrase, because it is modified by the demonstrative té ‘this’ and occurs in the subject slot of the clause.

90) Neka té lo.
    wound this hurt
    This wound hurts.

In some cases neka is clearly a verb, with a nominal reading being nonsensical, as in (91).

91) ‘A’i nga’o neka.
    leg 1sg wound
    My leg is wounded. (*My leg is a wound.)

However, in some instances it is unclear from the syntax whether neka is used as a nominal predicate or as an intransitive verb. This leads to difficulty in identifying the function of neka at both a syntactic as well as lexical level. Although in (91) neka is clearly verbal, in example (92) below both nominal and verbal interpretations of neka are possible. In context this utterance is not likely to cause confusion.

92) Té neka.
    this wound
    This is a wound. (nominal predicate)
    This is wounded. (intransitive verbal predicate)

Without either additional syntactic material or circumstantial context it is not possible to determine whether utterances such as example (92) contain a nominal predicate or an intransitive verbal predicate. However, if there were additional modification in the utterance then there would be no ambiguity. If neka can be modified nominally, for example, be possessed, as in (93), then it is nominal. If on the other hand it can be iterated, as in (94) then it is verbal.

93) Té neka ‘imu.
    this wound 3sg
    This is his wound.

94) Té neka neka neka.
    this wound wound wound
    This was wounded and wounded and wounded.

4.4.3 Noun / Transitive Verb

One word that is realised as either a noun or a transitive verb is suru, meaning ‘spoon’ when used nominally, and ‘to spoon’ when used verbally. Again, without further research it is not possible to state which use is more basic and determines the lexical class of this word.

As there is no overlap in grammatical function between nominal and verbal uses of suru, in utterances without ellipsis there is never any question as to the syntactic status of the word. So in sentence (95) suru can only be interpreted as the nominal ‘spoon’ and in (96) suru can only be interpreted as being a transitive verb.
4.4.4 Noun / O-Type Ambitransitive Verb

As described in §4.1.1, the word cobé is realised both nominally meaning ‘spice grinder’ and as an O-type ambitransitive verb, meaning ‘to grind spices’. This verb is typical of multifunctional items which are realised nominally and as an O-type ambitransitive verb. It remains unclear as to which lexical class such items belong to. Syntactically, there are clear examples of such items being used nominally and verbally, but there are also some that are ambiguous.

Examples of each of the possible grammatical realisations for cobé are presented below.

cobé, as an argument

99) 'Imu mbeta cobé.
    3sg buy spice grinder
    She bought a spice grinder.

cobé₂ used intransitively

100) Kolo té cobé négha.
    chilli this grind PER.COM
    This chilli has been ground.

cobé₂ used transitively

101) 'Iné cobé kolo.
    mum grind chilli
    Mum is grinding chilli.

Once again, where there is an overlap in function ambiguity arises. This happens when cobé is used as a nominal predicate, and as an intransitive verb. Only context or additional modification could disambiguate sentence (102).
ambiguous use of cobé

102) Ké négha cobé.
that PER.PER spice grinder
That's already a spice grinder. (cobé used as nominal predicate)
That has already been ground. (cobé used as intransitive verb)

4.4.5 Noun / A-Type Ambitransitive Verb

The word ka 'food/to eat' is typical of words which can occur as either a noun or an A-type ambitransitive verb. This word can occur in a variety of syntactic frames, which are rarely ambiguous. Without conversion rules or an alternative analysis it is not possible to say categorically what the lexical class of ka is.

ka, used as an argument

No ambiguity arises when KA is used as an argument, meaning 'food'.

103) Ka té ménégé.
food this delicious
This food is delicious.

Although the syntactic frames in which ka occurs as a nominal predicate and as an intransitive verbal predicate are identical in form, the two would never be confused. The verb ka ‘to eat’ can be used intransitively to refer to generic eating, but when it is used transitively it refers to the eating of starchy foods. Likewise, when it is used as a noun meaning ‘food’ ka typically refers to starchy food (and never to fish). Due to this there is no ambiguity in a sentence such as (104), in which ka is used as an intransitive verb. Fish is not starchy and therefore could not be called ka ‘food’; it must be called pora ‘flesh, meat’, which is only realised as a noun (see §4.2. above).

104) 'Ika ké ka.
fish that eat*food
That fish eats. (*That fish is food.)

An example of ka used as a nominal predicate can be seen in (105). An example of ka occurring as an intransitive verb can be seen in (106). An instance of ka being used as a transitive verb can be seen in (107).

105) Palé ké ka.
rice that food
That rice is food.

106) 'Afa ké ka.
person that eat
That person is eating.

107) 'Afa ké ka palé woso.
person that eat rice much
That person is eating a lot of rice.

4.4.6 Summary

Although potential ambiguity with respect to the interpretation of a particular form as a noun or a verb often arises in Kéo discourse, in practice this rarely presents problems of comprehension because very rarely is an utterance without either further disambiguating syntactic material or circumstantial context. There are contexts in Kéo where even semantics and pragmatics is not enough to disambiguate certain strings of words. In these cases, such similar meanings arise from the possible different interpretations that they cause no real problems for comprehension.

The problem lies on a different level – the lexical level. The syntactic distribution of an item is determined at the lexical level. This is clearly the case, because although a particular item may be able to occur as a transitive
verb and noun, it cannot occur as, say, an intransitive verb. While other items may be able to fulfil all of these functions, and others only a single syntactic function. The syntactic slot that an item may occur in is determined at the lexical level. However, the label at the lexical level to be accorded items that can fulfil both nominal and verbal syntactic functions has yet to be determined.

4.5 A Note on the Lack of Adjectives

In Keo there is no separate class of adjectives. Those words with what can be traditionally considered adjectival meanings, for example ‘big’, ‘small’, and ‘hot’, behave grammatically as verbs. Verbs with ‘adjectival’ meaning can occur both attributively in noun phrases and predicatively, as can many other verbs with ‘non-adjectival’ meanings.

The word petu, meaning ‘hot, to heat’ is typical of verbs with ‘adjectival’ meaning. It is an O-type ambitransitive verb, which can occur intransitively, as in (108), transitively, as in (109) and attributively, as in (110).

108) Minu té petu ré’é-ré’é. (intransitive predicate)
    drink this hot very
    This drink is very hot.

109) Reke ha go o nga’o petu ’ad. (transitive predicate)
    wait a little 1sg heat water
    Wait a moment while I heat the water.

110) Nga’o minu kopi petu. (attributive)
    1sg drink coffee hot
    I’m drinking hot coffee.

5

CLOSED WORD CLASSES

5.1 Introduction

In general, there are very few problems with the identification of closed word classes in Keo. Unlike many content words (see §4.1.1 and §4.4), the members of closed word classes are typically realised in only one type of syntactic environment. There are exceptions to this. However, as with nouns and verbs, it is possible to identify the lexical classes of these words. In this chapter the closed classes of prepositions (§5.2), directionals (§5.3), demonstratives (§5.4), locatives (§5.5), numerals (§5.6), classifiers (§5.7), conjunctions (§5.8), negators (§5.9), aspect particles (§5.10), mood particles (§5.11) and auxiliaries (§5.12) are discussed. The other minor word classes of interjections (§5.13.1), different types of adverbs (§5.13.2, §5.13.3, §5.13.4) and epistememes (§5.13.5), along with miscellaneous grammatical particles (§5.13.6) are discussed at the end of this chapter.

5.2 Prepositions

Prepositions are used primarily to indicate spatial and temporal relationships and location of activities within discourse. Prepositions precede noun phrases to form prepositional phrases (PPs). Prepositional phrases can be used either as adjuncts within a clause, or as predicates in their own right (see §13.2.2). In sentence (1) the prepositional phrase is an adjunct to the predicate.
distance', *mena* ‘eastwards along the beach’, *radè* ‘westwards along the beach’, *réta* ‘vertically up’, *radè* ‘vertically down’, *ndia* ‘here’. The translations of the directional phrases are extremely rough. For a full description of directional semantics, see §13.3.1.

Directionals can behave predicatively, referentially or attributively. They share properties with prepositions, verbs and nouns, but do not fit into any one of these categories. Rather they form their own word class. The following distributional syntactic criteria are diagnostic of directionals.

1. Directionals can be predicates:
   a) They can behave as A-type ambitransitive verbs (see §4.3.2.3).
   b) They can be attributive, modifying either nouns or verbs.

2. Directionals can be referential.

3. Directionals can precede noun phrases to form prepositional phrases which can be moved around within clauses as a single constituent.

When used as predicates (see §3.2 for definition of predicates) directionals behave as A-type ambitransitive verbs do (see §4.3.2.3). In sentence (4) the directional *dau* is used intransitively, while in sentence (5) it is used transitively.

4) *Ngara kau négha dau ngatu sura.*
   when 2sg PER.PERdown send letter
   When you get there send a letter.

5) *Nga'o dau Yogya mona datu, papa mbé'o né'é saì*
   1sg down Y. NEG exist REC know with anyone
   also
   Me in Yogyadidn’t have, didn’t know anyone either.

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Directionals can be used attributively, to modify either nouns or verbs. In (6) ndia modifies a noun.

6) Sa' o ndia pawé méré.
   house here good big
   The house here is very good.
Directionals can be used referentially, to refer to a particular location. From context it is often inferable where exactly is meant. For example, in (7), it is possible to infer that réta ‘up’ refers to the subject’s garden, as gardens are located in an upwards direction.

7) 'Imu nuka réta.
   3sg go up
   She’s gone up (to the garden).
All of the directionalss can precede noun phrases to create larger phrases, which can then be moved around within a clause, like prepositional phrases. This is evident in sentences (8) and (9).

8) 'Imu mera mena kēka nga' o.
   3sg stay east hut 1sg
   He’s staying eastwards in my hut.
9) Mena kēka nga' o 'imu mera.
   east hut 1sg 3sg stay
   He’s staying eastwards in my hut.
Directionals can also co-occur with prepositions, as in (10). They always follow the preposition. The combinations of prepositions and directionals that occur are discussed in §13.3.3.

10) 'Imu mbanu pau pu' u radé Mbawa.
   3sg walk thus from west M.
   She walked like this from Mbawa.
   AMM0301

For a full description of directionals see §13.3.

5.4 Demonstratives

Demonstratives are all inherently deictic and are commonly used to indicate whether a referent is close to the speaker, addressee or third party. They are often used in referring to time, as well as spatial concepts, but they are also used to index anaphorically things referred to in previous speech. There are four members in this word class: té ‘this’, ké ‘that’, kēra ‘that over there’ and ndé ‘that earlier’. Some demonstratives can co-occur to provide more specific deictic information.

There are three distributional criteria diagnostic of demonstratives.

1. Demonstratives occur within noun phrases as the last constituent, modifying noun and other modifiers.
2. Demonstratives can refer back to topics presented in previous discourse.
3. Demonstratives can refer forward to introduce new topics into discourse.

Demonstratives modify nouns, classifier constructions and noun phrases. In some languages there are restrictions on the types of nouns able to be modified by demonstratives. In Kéo, however, all types of nouns – including kin terms, personal names, place names and pronouns – can co-occur with a demonstrative.

With a common noun

11) Kédì ké ngara 'apa?
   mountain that name Q
   What's the name of that mountain?
Chapter 5

With a kin term

12) 'Ari ké nangu dau ma'u.
younger sibling that swim down beach
That younger brother swam down at the beach.

With a personal name

13) Arno té ngada tuli.
A. this able write
Arno, here, can write.

With a place name

14) Maundai ndé né'ë do kaju méré.
M. that have tree wood big
Maundai has big trees.

With a pronoun

15) Seakan-akan né'ë nga'o té 'imu anggap tidak terlalu ini...
as if with 1sg this 3sg regard NEG too this
As if with me here he didn't regard it too, you know...

With a classifier construction

16) Dako 'éko rua éna wewa. 'Éko rua ké nandé radé
dog CL two LOC yard CL twoDEM sleep west
wena pu'u nio.
under CL coconut
There are two dogs in the yard. Those two sleep under coconut trees.

With a noun plus modifier

17) Wunu.nio ké Jon mo'o kena tau wumbu
leaves coconut that J. will work do roof
sa'o ha di'ë ti'i 'iné bapa 'imu.
house one CL give mother father 3sg
(With) those coconut leaves Jon will make a roof for his parents.

Demonstratives are used anaphorically to refer back to things talked about earlier in discourse, as in (18) and (19).

18) Négha ké ébho 'imu ko'o kéo kombo dera.
already that long time 3pl fix a date night day
Long after that they decide on a day.

19) 'Imuko'o ndé né'ë 'éko dima 'esa wangi né'ë wadi ha 'éko
3pl that have CL five one pig and again one CL
kamba.
buffalo
They (those people from earlier) have six pigs and one buffalo.

Demonstratives are used to refer cataphorically, to introduce new topics, as in (20).

20) Té 'émbu ja'o.
this grandchild 1sg
This is my grandchild.

For further discussion of demonstratives see §13.4.

5.5 Locatives

Locatives denote certain spatial relations. Seven locatives have been identified. They are listed in Table 5.1.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Locatives</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wawo</td>
<td>top</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ora</td>
<td>middle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wena</td>
<td>bottom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nia</td>
<td>front (Lit. ‘face’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>donggo</td>
<td>back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ēko</td>
<td>bottom (Lit. ‘tail’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'udu</td>
<td>top (Lit. ‘head’)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 5.1: Kéo locatives**

Locatives have very restricted distribution\(^1\). They only occur in two syntactic constructions. The first is in prepositional phrases, headed either by a preposition (see §5.2) or a directional (see §5.3), as in (21). The second is in part-whole possessive relationships, where the locative is the possessed part, and a noun denoting a place is the generic possessor, as illustrated in (22).

21) *Pusu muku tama dhēko bheda ghumbu dhu radé ‘oné kēka, pa éna wawo ‘ana ta aki kē.*
   heart banana enter follow gap roof arrive down in hut exactly LOC top child REL male that
   The heart of the bananas entered through a gap in the roof landing in the hut, right on top of the baby boy.
   RBS066

22) *Ora rada nga’o nandé ‘one ‘oto.*
   middle journey 1sg sleep in bus
   In the middle of the journey I slept in the bus.
   RBS066

\(^1\) It appears that locatives may have once been nouns. They no longer fulfil the diagnostic criteria for membership into the word class of noun, but still occur in some environments in which nouns occur.

There are only two things that Kério speakers consider to have inherent fronts and backs: people and houses. The locative *nia* ‘front’, is used much more than *donggo* ‘back’. These terms are typically used to refer to a space ‘in front’ or ‘behind’. In (23) *nia* is used to refer to the front of a house, while in (24) it is used to refer to the front of a person.

23) *Bili tamu éna nia sa’o.*
   room guest LOC front house
   The guest room is at the front of the house.

24) *Mona ēbho ‘oto ta kami nai démbe wado réké éna NEG long time bus REL 1pl.excl ride come return rest LOC nia nga’o.*
   front 1sg
   Not long afterwards the bus that we took returned and stopped in front of me.
   RBS066

The words *nia* and *donggo* are also used as common nouns denoting body parts. When used as common nouns *nia* means ‘face’ and *donggo* means ‘back’.

The words *'ēko* and *'udu* are also both locatives and common nouns which denote a body part. When used as common nouns *'ēko* means ‘tail’ and *'udu* means ‘head’. When used as locatives *'ēko* meaning ‘bottom’ and *'udu* meaning ‘top’ are restricted to referring to parts of a hamlet or village, as in (25).

25) *Sa’o sa’o juri pu’u rédē ‘udu dhu dau ‘ēko.*
   house house stand in line from up top arrive down bottom
   The houses stand in a row from the top to the bottom (of the hamlet).
   ANJ003
5.6 Numerals

In this grammar a ‘number’ is regarded as being a real world entity that is referred to in speech using a ‘numerical expression’. Numerical expressions are formed by combinations of ‘numerals’ and classifiers. This process of forming numerical expressions is determined by a ‘numeral system’. There are two sets of numerals in Kéo, which each form a closed subset of the word class of ‘numerals’. One set belongs to a base four numeral system and the other belong to a base ten numeral system. These two numeral systems operate side by side, and are used for counting different things.

A list of numerals one through to ten in each of the two sets are presented in Table 5.2, with the default classifier ésa (§5.7 and §9.3.4).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Base Four System</th>
<th>Base Ten System</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ha 'esa</td>
<td>ha 'esa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>'esa rua</td>
<td>'esa rua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>'esa tedu</td>
<td>'esa tedu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>divu</td>
<td>'esa wutu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>ha divu ha 'esa</td>
<td>'esa dima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>ha divu 'esa rua</td>
<td>'esa dima 'esa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>ha divu 'esa tedu</td>
<td>'esa dima rua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>divu rua</td>
<td>'esa rua mbetu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>divu rua ha 'esa</td>
<td>'esa tera-'esa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>divu rua 'esa rua</td>
<td>ha mbetu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.2: Numerals 1-10 in both Kéo numeral systems

There are three criteria for membership in the word class of numerals.

1. Numerals denote numbers.
2. Numerals must co-occur with an appropriate classifier.
3. Numerals with their classifiers can modify nouns.

The first criterion is self-explanatory. Numerals must always occur with an appropriate classifier, they cannot be used on their own. When modifying a mass noun a mensural classifier must be used, as in (26), and when modifying a count noun a sortal classifier must be used, as in (27).

26) *Jawa sén mbenu dima rúa.*
Corn fry full hand two
Two handfuls of fried corn.

27) *Sapa di'te tedu.*
Canoe Cl. three
Three canoes.

Numerals with their classifiers can modify nouns, as seen in (26) and (27) above, although they may be used without reference to a noun.

See §7.2.2.6 and §9.2 for discussion of numerals in Kéo. See also Baird (2001).

5.7 Classifiers

In Kéo, classifiers are used to classify things into different semantic categories when they are being counted. Some nouns may be classified by more than one classifier, and by doing this the part of the object being discussed is explicitly mentioned. Two subcategories of classifiers can be identified: mensural classifiers and sortal classifiers. Mensural classifiers are used in combination with mass nouns, while sortal classifiers are used in combination
with count nouns. Mensural classifiers are an open class. However, the class of sortal classifiers is closed, with a large, but limited membership.

Classifiers share many distributional characteristics with nouns, which is not surprising as many of the classifiers can be seen to have been derived from nouns. However, their syntactic function is distinct, and those classifiers that were clearly derived from a certain noun must now be considered homophonous with those nouns, due to the semantic and grammatical differences that have arisen.

There are four distributional criteria for membership in the word class of classifier.

1. Numerals occur adjacent to classifiers, with no intervening constituent to form classifier constructions.

2. Classifier constructions may be modified by demonstratives.

3. Classifiers cannot be possessed.

4. Classifiers follow the noun they occur with.

Classifiers combine with numerals in a consistent manner. The numeral ‘one’, ha, precedes classifiers, as in (28), while all other numerals follow classifiers, as in (29).

28) Aki ha ngga’e.  
   man one Cl  
   One man.

29) Nio pu’u dima rua  
    coconut Cl  five  two  
    Seven coconut trees.

Classifier constructions, created by a classifier and numeral, can be modified by demonstratives, as in (30).

30) Ha do ké di’é rua wi’e.  
    one Cl  that Cl  two only 
    That one (tree) only has two (coconuts).

Classifiers, unlike many nouns, cannot be directly possessed, but must co-occur with the noun the classifier refers to, a demonstrative, and/or be relativised.

Classifiers typically follow the nouns that they modify, as in (28) and (29). However, in certain structures, where the noun is added as an afterthought, for clarification, the classifier occurs before the noun, as in (32).

31) Fai ha ngga’e.  
    woman one Cl 
    One woman.

32) Ha ngga’e,fai.  
    one Cl  woman  
    One person, a woman.

See §7.2.2.6 and §9.3 for a discussion of classifiers in Kéo. See also Baird (2001).

5.8 Conjunctions

Conjunctions join words, phrases and clauses together in discourse. Kéo has nine conjunctions, presented in Table 5.3 below. Seven of these conjunctions are coordinating conjunctions and two are adjectival conjunctions.
### Negators

Negators contradict the existence of an entity or the occurrence of an event. Kéo has two synonymous negators, *mona* and *nggedhé*, which in Udiworowatu Kéo are completely interchangeable. In other parts of the Kéo-speaking area only one or other of the negators is used.

There are three distributional criteria diagnostic of the negator category.

1. Negators precede the predicates they negate, as in (33) containing a verbal predicate.

   33) *Ngara petu, ‘imu mona kai.*
       if    sick 3sg NEG go
       If he’s sick he won’t go.

2. Negators can themselves be predicates, as in sentence (34).

   34) *Ngara 3ol mona.*
       1sg money NEG
       I don’t have any money. (Lit. My money isn’t.)
       RBSD052

3. Negators can be interjections. They can be uttered on their own to negate another speaker’s proposition. This most typically happens in response to confirmation/denial questions (see §15.2.1), as in (35).

   35) *‘Ana kē pita o?*
       child that smart Q
       Isn’t that child smart?

   *Nggedhé.*
   no
   No.

Negation is discussed further in §12.6.

### 5.10 Aspect Particles

Aspect describes the internal temporal make-up of a situation. There are six aspect particles, used to denote seven different aspects. They are listed in Table 5.4 below.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marker</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| négha | 1. Persistent perfect when placed before verb (PER.PER)  
2. Perfective, completive when placed after verb (PER.COM) |
| ka     | Persistent perfect with inevitability (PER.INV) |
| da’è   | Imperfective, incomplete (IMP.INC) |
| ma     | Progressive (PROG) |
| dhatu  | Imperfective, continuative (IMP.COM) |
| mo’o   | Prospective aspect (PROS) |

Table 5.4: Kéo aspect particles

Aspect particles occur adjacent to the predicate that they modify, in most cases (négha, da’è, ma, dhatu and mo’o) preceding the predicate, as in (36).

While the particle ka follows the predicate it modifies, and négha sometimes occurs clause-finally, as in (37). While it is not obligatory to mark the aspect of every clause, these aspect particles are very commonly used.

36) 'Imu ké da’è ngada ‘ika.  
3sg that IMP.INC catch fish  
He hasn’t caught any fish yet.

37) Emil mbana nuka dau Inggris négha.  
E. go go down England PER.COM  
Emil has been to England. (And is now back home.)

See §12.2 for a full account of aspect particles in Kéo.

5.11 Mood Particles

Mood markers express attitudes and beliefs of a speaker towards discourse, primarily to do with the actuality of an event or situation. Mood can therefore be considered as occurring along a continuum from irrealis to realis, where “[a] prototypical realis mode strongly asserts that a specific event or state of affairs has actually happened, or actually holds true” (Payne 1997:244). Whereas irrealis mood “...makes no claims with respect to the actuality of the event or situation described.” (Payne 1997:244)

In Kéo three moods are marked by particles. Ka wéké is used to mark both the conditional and epistemic moods. When marking the conditional ka wéké occurs at the end of the conditional clause, which is typically followed by a clause expressing a consequence, as in (38). When marking epistemic mood ka wéké also occurs clause finally, but is not followed by another clause, as in (39).

38) Kau lita ka wéké mbéghu mama ghako.  
2sg cry COND then mum carry  
If you cry then mum will carry you.

39) Kau ma’è mbana. Taku kau lita ka wéké.  
2sg don’t go scared 2sg cry Poss.Ep  
You can’t go. I’m afraid you’ll cry.

There are three different levels of strength of obligation for the deontic mood. Two of these levels have interchangeable synonyms. The deontic mood particles are mesi and musi, both translatable as ‘should’, as in (40); ngisa, ngisi and ngesi, all translatable as ‘must’, as in (41); and ko’o, variously translatable as ‘must,’ ‘no other choice,’ or ‘involuntary’, as in (42). All of the deontic mood particles precede predicates as can be seen in the examples below.

3 Ka wéké, unlike ngara ‘if’, is not a conjunction. Ka wéké falls under the intonation contour of the preceding clause, whereas conjunctions fall under the intonation contour of following clauses. In (38) the conjunction mbéghu ‘then’ is used.
40) 'Imu musi jaga né'é 'odo kema.
3sg should look out have Nom work
He should get a job.
RSNN025

41) Miu ngesi papa luka né'é kepala desa.
2pl must Rec meet with head village
You must meet the village head.
GCHH

42) Napa ké kami négha mbu'é ko1 nggaé 'odo
later that 1pl.excl already young women DeO search Nom
kema...
work
Later when we were young women, we had to look for work...
AAMA

See §12.3 for further discussion of mood in Kéo.

5.12 Auxiliaries

Auxiliaries typically accompany verbs. Kéo has two auxiliaries. These are:
ngada 'to be able' and tado 'to be unable'. As can be seen, these auxiliaries form a pair, the positive one having a lexicalised negative counterpart³.
Ngada 'to be able' always precedes the verbal predicate, as in example (43).
Tado 'to be unable', however, always follows the verbal predicate, as in (44).

43) Nambu suko 'imu ngada nat nio.
when young man 3sg able climb coconut
When he was a young man he was able to climb coconut trees.

44) 'Imu sodho 'imu nai tado nio.
3sg say 3sg climb unable coconut
He said he was unable to climb coconut trees.
The auxiliaries together with verb(s) form a complex predicate. Auxiliaries are only used as predicates on their own when the verbal predicate they accompany has been ellipsed, as in (45).

45) 'Imu bebi tado.
3sg dance unable
He can't dance.
Ø Ngada Ø.
Ø able Ø
(He) can (dance).

5.13 Minor Word Classes

Kéo has many words and particles that do not neatly fit into any of the previously described word classes. Many of these words are grouped together on semantic grounds and at least one shared distributional property. The minor word class of interjections is discussed in §5.13.1. Three types of adverb are distinguished: temporal adverbs (§5.13.2); quantifying adverbs (§5.13.3); and additive adverbs (§5.13.4). Epistemes form a coherent group and are discussed in §5.13.5 below. Finally, miscellaneous grammatical particles are presented in §5.13.6 below.

5.13.1 Interjections

Interjections are uttered in isolation as exclamations. They are uttered alone, or exclaimed before, during or after anything else. If an interjection is exclaimed in the middle of an utterance, it indicates that something has happened to interrupt the talk. In Kéo there are two types of interjections: 1)
words that belong to other word classes that are sometimes used as interjections, such as swear words, and 2) words which occur solely as interjections. Only the latter type is considered to belong to the word class of interjection, and is discussed here.

With one exception, all members of the second type of interjection consist of a vowel or combination of vowels. Four functional classes can be distinguished.

1. Interjections that show agreement with another speaker (or seek agreement from another speaker).
2. Emphatic interjections, often used when someone is in pain.
3. An exclamation of surprise.
4. An attention grabber.

There are four agreement interjections, which show varying degrees of interest and agreement. There are three emphatic interjections, which show varying degrees of emphasis. All the interjections exhibit distinct phonetic or paralinguistic features. They are presented in Table 5.5.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interjection</th>
<th>Usage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>o:</td>
<td>weak agreement; acknowledgment hearer heard speaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e:</td>
<td>neutral agreement; often used by speakers seeking agreement from hearer; or used by hearers in the middle of a long turn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ai</td>
<td>neutral agreement; similar usage as e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:</td>
<td>strong agreement; used in response to polar questions (see §15.2.1.2); used when speaker and hearer in strong agreement on an issue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>weak emphasis; used for mild surprise or pain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>intermediate emphasis; used for mild shock or pain; used to emphasise disagreement with speaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>strong emphasis; used for strong shock or pain; used when strongly disagree with speaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhi</td>
<td>exclamation of surprise or strong shock or horror</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ai</td>
<td>attention grabber; often used in combination with personal name</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.5: Kao interjections

All of the agreement interjections are long vowels. They are typically accompanied by a raising and lowering of eyebrows. The eyebrows are kept raised for the duration of the vowel.

The emphatic interjections are usually accompanied by audible sucking in of air. To increase the degree of emphasis the emphatic interjection i is lengthened, followed by a long audible intake of breath. The exclamation of surprise dhi is also often accompanied by audible intake of breath, with the speaker typically holding their breath momentarily. The attention grabber ai is usually shouted loudly, with rising intonation.
5.13.2 Temporal Adverbs

Kéo temporal adverbs specify the temporal setting of a clause. They have scope over either a predicate or more commonly a whole clause and have a fairly wide syntactic distribution. The most salient temporal adverbs that occur are listed in Table 5.6.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Temporal Adverb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dé</td>
<td>just</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndavé</td>
<td>earlier (same day)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>němbu</td>
<td>a long time ago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>napa</td>
<td>later</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wadi-wadi</td>
<td>sometime in the future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wengi</td>
<td>when? (see §5.13.5 and §15.2.2.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wengi-wengi</td>
<td>sometime in the future / whenever (see §5.13.5 and §15.2.2.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha go’o</td>
<td>a moment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>êbho</td>
<td>a long time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>li</td>
<td>always</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngéré mbé’o</td>
<td>suddenly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>numai</td>
<td>yesterday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(w)ésa poa</td>
<td>tomorrow</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.6: Kéo temporal adverbs

Temporal adverbs typically have a flexible syntactic distribution. Not only can they occur at the beginning and end of clauses, as in (46) and (47) but can also occur between predicates and their arguments, as in (48).
46) **Numai Arno nangu o?**
Yesterday A. swim Q
Yesterday Arno swam didn’t he?

47) **Arno nggedhé nangu numai.**
A. NEG swim yesterday
Arno didn’t swim yesterday.

48) **Arno numai éngé bola.**
A. yesterday play ball
Arno, yesterday, played soccer.

All of the temporal adverbs locate events temporally with respect to the moment of speech. Some are vague, such as dé ‘just’, ndewé ‘earlier’, némbu ‘a long time ago’ and napa ‘later’, while others are more specific, such as numai ‘yesterday’ and (w)ésa poa ‘tomorrow’. Examples of some of the temporal adverbs are presented below.

Dé

Dé is used to mark events that have occurred very recently, as in (49).

49) **’imu dé ka, ’oto démbo.**
3sg just eat car arrive
She had just eaten when the car arrived.

Ndewé

Ndewé means ‘earlier’. It refers to situations which occurred longer ago than those indicated by dé ‘just’, but events which happened the same day as the moment of speech, but not longer ago than the previous midnight.

50) **Ta mana bapa seru ndewé bhida ’émbo jalan ceritera**
REL mother father say earlier how road story
’imu ko ’o?
3pl
What did your parents’ say earlier?

---

**Némbu**

Némbu is comparable in meaning with Indonesian *dahulu* or *dulu*. It situates an event in the past, between yesterday and a long time ago. While it is occasionally used in everyday conversation, némbu is most commonly heard at the start of *nuru nange* ‘narrative stories’ (see Appendix B), as in (51).

51) **Pu némbu.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>from long time ago</th>
<th>people</th>
<th>from long time ago</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sodho</td>
<td>dako ká né dhoi.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>say</td>
<td>dog that have horn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
From a long time ago, people from a long time ago said dogs had horns.
SRDL

**Napa**

The temporal adverb *napa* ‘later’ refers to future time.

52) **Ngara mona mbai ara, kita napa tudi**
if NEG too hot 1pl.incl later drop by

| éna sa’o ko ’ari. |
| LOC house Poss younger sibling |
If it’s not too hot, later we’ll drop into younger brother’s house.

A clause can contain more than one temporal adverb, as in (53). This typically happens when one of the adverbs is fairly vague, like dé ‘just’, and the other is more specific, like numai ‘yesterday’ as in (53).

53) **Nga’o dé démbo numai.**
1sg just arrive yesterday
I just arrived yesterday.
5.13.3 Quantifying Adverbs

Quantifying adverbs provide a relative, or indefinite indication of quantity. They stand in opposition to numerals, which indicate the specific quantity of an item. Therefore quantifying adverbs and numerals are (generally see §7.2.2.6 and §9.3.4) mutually exclusive. A list of the thirteen most common quantifying adverbs appears in Table 5.7.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kéo</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CL rua teku</td>
<td>several, some</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pira</td>
<td>how much/many</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noa</td>
<td>each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbui</td>
<td>each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nama + RED</td>
<td>every...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nggé + RED</td>
<td>every...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liwu</td>
<td>many</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>séwé</td>
<td>much; many</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woso</td>
<td>many</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha go’o</td>
<td>a little</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbeja</td>
<td>all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tungga</td>
<td>enough</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rembu</td>
<td>all</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.7: Kéo quantifying adverbs

Quantifying adverbs can co-occur with mensural classifiers, as in (54), but unlike numerals, they cannot occur with sortal classifiers, as can be seen in the ungrammatical string in (55).

54) 'Aé ember séwé méré.
    water bucket many big
    Very many buckets of water.

55) *'Ata fal ngga’e liwu.
    person woman CL many
    *Many women.

All of the quantifying adverbs in Kéo can modify nouns. Many of the quantifying adverbs can perform other syntactic functions as well, such as quantifying verbs, as in (56), modifying whole clauses, as in (57), or even behaving as verbs or nouns themselves. In (58) mbeja is used as a verb meaning ‘to finish’.

56) Nga’o tungga mbana ‘a’i jeka sa’o ké.
    1sg only walk leg until house that
    I only walked as far as that house.

57) Réké ha go’o lema.
    wait awhile first
    Wait awhile first.

58) Kau tau mbeja ka ké.
    2sg do finish food that
    You finish that food.

5.13.4 Additive Adverbs

Additive adverbs show that an action has been repeated or another participant has been added to events under discussion. There are two additive adverbs: wadi ‘again’ and mogha ‘also’.
Chapter 5

wadi

The pronunciation of wadi ‘again’ alternates between [wadi] and [wədi].
Some speakers consistently use one form over the other, while for other
speakers the two forms are in free distribution. This adverb immediately
follows the predicate, as in (59) and (60).

59) ‘Imu pusi wadi ha depo ta pésa.
   3sg fill again one sack REL other
She filled again another sack.
AMMS013

60) Wodo rua ‘imu méno wadi pu’a réta wawo
   hill two 3sg look back again from up top
   toko donggo jara ta ‘imu ndadho.
   bone back horse REL 3sg ride side-saddle
   At the second hill she looked back again from the top of the horse’s
   back that she was riding side-saddle.
JKB0013

mogha

Mogha ‘also’ can immediately follow arguments, either subjects, as in (61), or
objects; and it can occur clause finally, as in (62).

61) Kaju ndé, wunu mogha mona.
   tree that leaf also NEG
   That tree also didn’t have leaves.
AMMS038

5.13.5 Epistememes

Epistememes are not a true word class, but a group of words that cross-cut
grammatical categories. In interrogative questions these words are used as
question words or phrases, whilst in other contexts they are used to indicate
unspecified quantities, entities or time (Muslin 1995). Both the indefinite and
interrogative functions of epistememes are discussed in §15.2.2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Epistememe</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Word Class</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘apa?</td>
<td>what? / whatever</td>
<td>noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sai?</td>
<td>who? / someone, whoever</td>
<td>noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wengi?</td>
<td>when? / whenever</td>
<td>temporal adverb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pira?</td>
<td>how much/many? / however much/many</td>
<td>numeral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PREP ‘émba?</td>
<td>where? / wherever</td>
<td>prepositional phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta ‘émba</td>
<td>which (one) / whichever (one)</td>
<td>relative clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhida ‘émba?</td>
<td>how? why? / however</td>
<td>clause</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.8: Kéo epistememes
For a description of epistememes functioning within interrogative sentences see §15.2.2.4.

5.13.6 Miscellaneous Grammatical Particles

There are several very small, minor closed word classes containing only one member – a grammatical particle. Some of these are listed in Table 5.9.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kéo grammatical particle</th>
<th>Meaning / Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ko 'o</td>
<td>possessive particle (see §8.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ko 'o</td>
<td>specificity particle (see §7.2.2.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'odo / 'oda</td>
<td>nominalisation particle (see §4.2.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhatō</td>
<td>reflexive particle (see §12.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>papa</td>
<td>reciprocal particle (see §12.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>question particle (see §15.2.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta</td>
<td>relativiser (see §7.2.2.7 and §14.5.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tə</td>
<td>emphatic particle (see §7.2.2.3)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.9: Kéo grammatical particles

These one-member word classes will not be discussed here. Instead the particular functions of these grammatical particles are examined elsewhere in this grammar.

6 MORPHOLOGY

6.1 Introduction

As we have seen, Kéo is a highly isolating language with no inflectional or derivational morphological affixation. Instead, the kinds of grammatical functions realised by morphological affixation in other languages are encoded syntactically, or are lexicalised or are not present.

There are three things in Kéo which can be regarded as being a part of the morphology: lexicalised compound words (§6.2); reduplication (§6.3); and the clitic ha= (§6.4).

There are only two kinds of bound morphemes. The first are parts of compound words, which intensify, or add a stylistic feature to a word/phrase, but do not have their own inherent meaning (see §6.2). The second is the clitic ha 'one' (see §6.4 below).

6.2 Compounds

6.2.1 Introduction

Compounds are words which are formed from two different words (see §2.5 and §4.1.1 for a definition of ‘word’ in Kéo). There are four criteria for determining what is a compound, as opposed to a ‘free’ or non-compound word sequence.
1. It is always possible to identify a disyllabic word which can occur independently within a compound.

2. Compounds have the same stress pattern and intonation as a simple word.

3. Compounds behave as a single constituent in a syntactic frame within a phrase, and therefore can be moved around together as a unit.

4. A compound has a unitary meaning.

Three main types of compounds have been identified, namely those where:

1. both elements are 'full words';

2. one element in the compound cannot be used in isolation and has no independent meaning;

3. both elements in the compound cannot be used in isolation and have no independent meaning.

These types can be further divided on semantic grounds.

Despite one element in some compounds being bound with no independent meaning it is maintained that they are compounds and not three- or four-syllable words for several reasons. Firstly, (non-compound) words in Kéo are only one or two syllables in length (see §2.5.1). Secondly, the intonation of compounds in which either one or both elements have no independent meaning is the same as that for compounds where both elements have meaning and can occur in isolation. Thirdly, many compounds appear to be partial reduplications, similar to English rhyming jingles, such as 'helter-skelter' and 'topsy-turvy'. Fourthly, it is always possible to isolate a disyllabic unit from a compound. Finally, compounds make up a very small percentage of the entire Kéo lexicon. Aside from place names, almost all of

the compounds in the corpus in which either one or both elements have no independent meaning are presented in this chapter.

Some compounds can belong to more than one subtype. I have placed compounds in the subtype which appears most salient.

6.2.2 Type 1 Compounds

6.2.2.1 General Features

In Type 1 compounds both elements are free morphemes. That is, they can both occur as separate words in other contexts. This compound type can be divided into three subtypes on semantics grounds:

1. parallel compounds (§6.2.2.2);

2. figurative compounds (§6.2.2.3);

3. place names (§6.2.2.4).

6.2.2.2 Parallel Compounds

Parallel compounds are comprised of two synonymous or near synonymous words, which are often used in parallel constructions in ritual speech styles (see Appendix B). Sometimes the meaning of the compound retains the meaning of its elements, sometimes it is a combination of the two and sometimes it is different. Table 6.1 contains a list of common parallel compounds.
6.2.2.3 Figurative Compounds

The meaning of figurative compounds has been extended from the combined meanings of the two elements. The elements in these compounds often occur in traditional oratory styles (see Appendix B) as well as everyday speech genres (see Appendix B). A list of figurative compounds is presented in Table 6.2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First Word</th>
<th>Second Word</th>
<th>Compound</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>méké</td>
<td>cough</td>
<td>méké-suné flu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da’é</td>
<td>place</td>
<td>da’é-dondo space</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘udu</td>
<td>forty; head</td>
<td>‘udu-divü obligation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhodhu</td>
<td>sit</td>
<td>bhodhu-ndi’ activity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tenda</td>
<td>phase</td>
<td>tenda-dapé activity consisting of many phases</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mutu</td>
<td>gathering</td>
<td>mutu-tíwo gathering</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tana</td>
<td>land</td>
<td>tana-watu territory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.1: Parallel compounds

6.2.2.4 Place Names

Kéo place names are often compounds. One word in these compounds is often an environmental feature, such as ma’u ‘beach’, kédi ‘mountain’ or watu ‘stone’. Ma’u ‘beach’ is by far the most commonly occurring environmental phenomenon in Kéo place names. In many names containing ma’u ‘beach’ the glottal stop has been removed resulting in [mau]. The other word in these compounds is typically the name of a founding ancestor, or a clan name. Other place name compounds are made up of two everyday words that refer to some historical event. Place name compounds are written as one word, with

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First Word</th>
<th>Second Word</th>
<th>Compound</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘aé</td>
<td>water</td>
<td>‘aé-ngasi conversation, warning, advice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘adu</td>
<td>pounding stick</td>
<td>‘adu-a’i shin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘até</td>
<td>liver</td>
<td>‘até-ngai consciousness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dera</td>
<td>sun</td>
<td>dera-kiri mid-afternoon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuwi</td>
<td>pinch</td>
<td>kuwi-rupi offerings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbado</td>
<td>residue</td>
<td>mbado-tadi a scratch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mewi</td>
<td>get</td>
<td>mewi-mére expert</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muda</td>
<td>plant</td>
<td>muda-ng’i substitute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nipa</td>
<td>snake</td>
<td>nipa-moa rainbow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pëmba</td>
<td>hold s.t. on lap</td>
<td>pëmba-jawa sit cross-legged</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.2: Figurative compounds
no hyphen. A few examples of place name compounds are presented in Table 6.3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First Word</th>
<th>Second Word</th>
<th>Place Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ma’u</td>
<td>beach</td>
<td>Maundai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kédi</td>
<td>mountain</td>
<td>Kédimali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma’u</td>
<td>beach</td>
<td>Maunori</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>watu</td>
<td>stone</td>
<td>Watuwéa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mundè</td>
<td>citrus fruit</td>
<td>Mundemi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tudi</td>
<td>stop in</td>
<td>Tudiwado</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mada</td>
<td>take</td>
<td>Madanio</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.3: Kéo place name compounds

6.2.3 Type 2 Compounds

6.2.3.1 General Features

There are many compounds in which one part has meaning and can be used in isolation, while the other element has no independent meaning and can only be used in that particular compound. Sometimes the first word in the compound has no independent meaning while in others it is the second element which has no independent meaning.

Two of the subtypes of Type 2 compounds are based more on discourse function than on semantics. These compounds appear to perform one of two functions within discourse: they are either used to intensify meaning (§6.2.3.2) or for stylistic reasons (§6.2.3.3). There is a third subtype: new meaning compounds (§6.2.3.4), where the compound has a meaning which is different to that of the one element that does contain meaning.

6.2.3.2 Intensified Compounds

When a word with no independent meaning is combined with a meaningful word to form an intensified compound, as the label suggests the compound is more intense than the word containing meaning. These compounds would typically be translated into English using an intensifying adverb such as ‘very’ or ‘really.’ The word with no independent meaning in intensified compounds is always the second element.

There are two words meaning ‘beautiful’ in Kéo which can occur either in isolation or in compounds. When they occur in compounds the meaning is intensified, translatable as ‘very beautiful’, as can be seen in the examples in Table 6.4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word with semantic content ('beautiful')</th>
<th>Semantically empty word</th>
<th>Compound ('very beautiful')</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>modhé</td>
<td>roé</td>
<td>modhé-roé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaga</td>
<td>lai</td>
<td>gaga-lai</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.4: ‘Very beautiful’ intensified compounds

Other examples of intensified compounds include those presented in Table 6.5.
### 6.2.3.3 Stylistic Compounds

Some compounds which combine a 'full' word that can occur in isolation and a bound word without an independent meaning are used for stylistic discourse reasons. For example, at the first mention of some referents a compound may be used, with subsequent mention of the referent relying on only one part of the compound – dropping the word with no independent meaning. A given meaning is more often expressed by a compound in narratives than by the single element containing meaning, while the reverse is true for conversations. The word woé on its own means 'friend' or 'bind'. It can occur with the word minda, which cannot occur in isolation and does not have an independent meaning, to create the compound minda-woé, which also means 'friend'. The difference between the usage of woé as opposed to minda-woé appears to be a stylistic choice of the speaker, as can be seen in examples (1) and (2). In (1) the compound is used to introduce two characters, and in (2) the bare woé is used in quoted speech as a term of address.

### Table 6.5: Intensified compounds

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word with semantic content</th>
<th>Semantically empty word</th>
<th>Compound</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>petu</td>
<td>ké’é</td>
<td>petu-ké’é</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ré’é</td>
<td>těnggē</td>
<td>ré’é-těnggē</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The last compound in Table 6.5 is used as a strong intensifier, with a rough English equivalent being ‘very very’, ‘very much’ or ‘extremely’.

### 6.2.3.4 New Meaning Compounds

New meaning compounds contain a word without independent meaning, which when bound to a meaningful word creates a word with a meaning different to the one expressed by the meaningful word. The elements without independent meaning in these compounds may have connections to neighbouring languages, or have had independent meaning at an earlier stage of Kéo. Examples of this type of compound can be seen in Table 6.6.

### Table 6.6: Stylistic compounds

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First Element</th>
<th>Second Element</th>
<th>Compound</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>minda</td>
<td>woé</td>
<td>minda-woé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gidi</td>
<td>to spin</td>
<td>gidi-géo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One other example of a stylistic compound can be seen in Table 6.6.
2. The first consonant of the second element is different to the first consonant in the first element ($C_1V_1C_2V_2-C_3V_1C_2V_2$);

3. Both of the like vowels in the second element are different to the like vowels in the first element ($C_1V_1C_2V_1-C_4V_1C_2V_2$);

4. Both of the consonants are different to the consonants in the first element ($C_1V_1C_2V_2-C_3V_1C_4V_2$).

These rhyming jingle compounds can be seen in Table 6.8.

### Table 6.8: 'Rhyming jingle' compounds

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First Element</th>
<th>Second Element</th>
<th>Compound</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fingo</td>
<td>fango</td>
<td>fingo-fango</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saké</td>
<td>daké</td>
<td>saké-daké</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fangi</td>
<td>ngangi</td>
<td>fangi-ngangi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gusu</td>
<td>gasa</td>
<td>gusu-gasa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wéto</td>
<td>ngéngó</td>
<td>wéto-ngéngó</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 6.2.5 The Ritual Speech Connection

It appears that many compounds may have been inherited from ritual, parallel speech, in which both elements of the compound probably once had meaning, but one – or both – forms has lost its meaning in everyday speech. This would account for why the seemingly meaningless element in Type 2 compounds can only occur with one word, and no others (see Appendix B). For example, both the words minda and wóé (see §6.2.3.3 above) are found in ritual speech, both with the synonymous meaning ‘to bind’, but minda in...
everyday speech has lost its independent meaning, whilst woé is used either as a noun meaning ‘friend’ or a verb meaning ‘to bind’.

Further support for this theory comes from Type 1 parallel compounds. These compounds appear to follow the rules of coupling present in ritual speech. However, whereas in ritual speech the two words always occur together, in everyday speech they do not. Usually the ‘couplet’ or compound will occur together when a concept is first mentioned, and then only one part of the compound is used subsequently. For example the words tenda ‘phase’ and dapē also ‘phase’ are often used together, as are the words mutu ‘gathering’ and tīwo ‘gathering’, as can be seen in (3).

3) Jadi pu’a dho’e-dho’e ké ‘imu-ko’o ngisi mutu tīwo lema. so from first that 3pl must gather gather first
   So from the beginning they have to meet first.
PTKS014
In the same text tīwo is used again two sentences later, this time by itself, as in (4). This may be an indication that, if one of these elements is going to retain independent meaning and the other lose it, then tīwo will retain it, while mutu may become the element without independent meaning in the compound.

4) A, ‘imu-ko’o ta ngala sa’o untuk tīwo
   yes 3pl REL own house for gather
   lema, ‘imu-ko’o punu sama-sama sai ta
   first 3pl talk together who REL
   jadi ‘ata nggesu.
   become person skilled labourer
   Yes, those house owners meet first, they together discuss who
   will be the builder.
PTKS016

The metaphorical nature of many of the compounds also suggests a link to ritual speech, in which ‘flowery’ language is highly valued.

There are three compounds in the corpus for which a ritual speech link has yet to be established. These three compounds are kunu-lani ‘family member’, nepê-nadu ‘sacred paraphernalia’ and taga-dai ‘tomatoes’. More research needs to be undertaken to establish whether each of the elements in these compounds do not have any independent meaning, and whether they are used independently in ritual speech.

6.3 Reduplication

6.3.1 Introduction

The only kind of reduplication present in Kéo is full reduplication. There appear to be two types: 1) non-productive reduplication; and 2) productive reduplication. Non-productive reduplications are lexicalised (see §6.3.2), while productive reduplications are borrowings from Indonesian and are used by speakers under the age of about thirty in remote villages and are more widespread amongst speakers in more accessible places (see §1.6.6). amongst speakers in remote villages over the age of about thirty the usage of reduplication as used in Indonesian is negligible (see §6.3.3).

6.3.2 Lexicalised Reduplication

6.3.2.1 Introduction

Lexicalised reduplication appears to be very much like compounds. There are not a large number of lexicalised reduplications, nor does it appear that this process is productive. There is one subgroup of lexicalised reduplications,
namely epistememe reduplication (§6.3.2.2), for which the meanings of the reduplicates are systematically related to the base. The second group is made up of non-systematic members (§6.3.2.3).

6.3.2.2 Reduplication of Epistememes

When epistememes (see §5.13.5) are reduplicated they have a diffuse, indefinite meaning, as can be seen in Table 6.9. When epistememes occur unreduplicated they are used as content question words (see §15.2.2.4).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question Form</th>
<th>Reduplicated Indefinite Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>apa</td>
<td>apa-apa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sai</td>
<td>sai-sai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pira</td>
<td>pira-pira</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'emba</td>
<td>'emba-'emba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wengi</td>
<td>wengi-wengi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 6.9: Reduplicated epistememes*

6.3.2.3 Other Lexicalised Reduplication

The members of the second group of lexicalised reduplicated words do not form a homogeneous group. The only feature they share is that they are lexicalised. The members of this group come from a range of word classes. They are presented in Table 6.10.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original Form</th>
<th>Reduplicated Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ré'é</td>
<td>ré'é-ré'é</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wADI</td>
<td>wADI-wADI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mera</td>
<td>mera-mera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do'é</td>
<td>do'é-do'é</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 6.10: Other lexicalised reduplications*

6.3.3 Borrowed Reduplication

6.3.3.1 Introduction

Reduplication manifests itself in two ways with respect to Indonesian borrowing. The first is a process of direct calquing of frequently used reduplications in Indonesian into Kéo, while the second is more productive, with reduplication performing grammatical functions, as in Indonesian, which previously were either not expressed or expressed by different means in Kéo, as preserved in the speech of older speakers.

6.3.3.2 Calqued Reduplication

There are many common Indonesian expressions that have been calqued into Kéo. That is, many expressions are borrowed by substituting Kéo words for the Indonesian originals, regardless of grammatical structures, and retaining the same meaning as that found in the Indonesian. The calquing of reduplicated items from Indonesian is very common amongst younger speakers and those speakers in not-so-remote places, whilst only the very common ones are used by older speakers. Some of the most commonly calqued reduplications are presented in Table 6.11.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indonesian</th>
<th>Kéo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jalan-jalan</td>
<td>go for a stroll</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Lit. ‘walk walk’)</td>
<td>(Lit. ‘walk walk’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sedikit-sedikit</td>
<td>a little bit; little bit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Lit. ‘little bit-little bit’)</td>
<td>(Lit. ‘one small small’ / ‘one small one small’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>main-main</td>
<td>in fun; not serious; mucking about</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Lit. ‘play play’)</td>
<td>(Lit. ‘play play’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pelan-pelan</td>
<td>slowly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Lit. ‘slow slow’)</td>
<td>(Lit. ‘slow slow’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>malu-malu</td>
<td>shy, coy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Lit. ‘shy/ashamed/embarrassed’ X2)</td>
<td>(Lit. ‘shy/ashamed/embarrassed’ X2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baik-baik</td>
<td>careful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Lit. ‘good good’)</td>
<td>(Lit. ‘good good’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbana-mbana</td>
<td>go for a stroll</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Lit. ‘walk walk’)</td>
<td>(Lit. ‘walk walk’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha go’o-go’o / ha go’o–ha go’o</td>
<td>a little bit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Lit. ‘one small small’ / ‘one small one small’)</td>
<td>(Lit. ‘one small small’ / ‘one small one small’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éngé-éngé</td>
<td>in fun; not serious; mucking about</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Lit. ‘play play’)</td>
<td>(Lit. ‘play play’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mawé-mawé</td>
<td>slowly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Lit. ‘slow slow’)</td>
<td>(Lit. ‘slow slow’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>méa-méa</td>
<td>shy, coy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Lit. ‘shy/ashamed/embarrassed’ X2)</td>
<td>(Lit. ‘shy/ashamed/embarrassed’ X2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r’i’a-r’i’a</td>
<td>careful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Lit. ‘good good’)</td>
<td>(Lit. ‘good good’)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.11: Calqued reduplications from Indonesian

### 6.3.3.3 Number Replication

The other type of reduplication that appears to have been borrowed from Indonesian is reduplication of nouns to indicate plurality. This sort of reduplication seems to be restricted to very few lexical items. However, it does appear to be productive amongst younger speakers, but even amongst these speakers plural marking is not obligatory\(^2\). All instances of this type of reduplication in the data are of words which commonly occur in the reduplicated form in Indonesian. The two most commonly heard reduplications of this type are presented in Table 6.12.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indonesian</th>
<th>Kéo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>anak-anak</td>
<td>children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Lit. ‘child child’)</td>
<td>(Lit. ‘child child’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rumah-rumah</td>
<td>houses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Lit. ‘house house’)</td>
<td>(Lit. ‘house house’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘ana-’ana</td>
<td>children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa’o-sa’o</td>
<td>houses</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.12: Reduplication indicating plurality

### 6.3.3.4 A Note on Iterativity

In Kéo iterativity of an event or action is indicated by repeating the verb indicating the event or action. This is not strictly reduplication as the verb may be repeated up to three or four times (and so uttered a total of four or five times). Generally the number of times the verb is repeated expresses the length of the event or activity, so that many repetitions indicates an activity of very long duration or very many times.

See §12.2.9 for further discussion of iterativity.

---

\(^2\) See in Indonesian is a clitic meaning ‘one’, and is cognate with Kéo ha (see §6.4 below). In the word sedikit the se at the beginning of the word is not the clitic, but rather an unanalyisable part of the word. It appears Kéo speakers have reanalysed this se as the clitic ‘one’, hence using ha in the Kéo version of the reduplicated item.

---

\(^3\) When this introduced method of marking plurality is not employed, plurality is inferred pragmatically from context. The marking of plurality is often redundant. If a speaker wishes to specify whether an item is singular or plural they will typically modify the noun either with numerals or quantifying adverbs. See §7.2.2.6 and §9.2.
6.4 The Clitic *ha*

Kéo has one clitic. This is the numeral ‘one’ *ha* (including its variants *a* or *sa*). *Ha* is a clitic because it cannot be integrated into standard discourse without being phonologically bound to some other form. It has a fixed position attaching to the front of its host. *Ha* has typical clitic phonological features; it is one syllable, and is a part of the same intonation, and stress pattern as the word it attaches to. The clitic is often unstressed, becoming a schwa. In some instances it is difficult to hear at all.

The clitic *ha* is primarily attached to classifiers, or numeral expressions in whichever numeral system is being used (see §9.2 for differences between base systems). Therefore syntactically the clitic functions primarily as a constituent of a classifier construction (see §7.2.2.6 and §9.3.2) Whereas all other numerals follow classifiers, *ha* precedes them, as in (5) – (7).

5) *Sa'a o* *ha= 'esa.*
   house one CL
   One house.

6) *Fat ha= ngga'e.*
   woman one CL
   One woman.

7) *Ha= 'udu divu tets 'esa.*
   one forty four nine CL
   Seventy six.

In the village of Udiworowatu, Kéo speakers over the age of about sixty generally pronounce the numeral ‘one’ as [ha], with a word-initial glottal fricative, whereas younger speakers have mostly lost the word-initial fricative, pronouncing the clitic as the vowel [a] or as unstressed schwa [ə]. In ritual speech the numeral one retains an older form [sa]. For consistency,
7

NOUN PHRASES

7.1 Introduction

Noun phrases can be used either as arguments or predicates in K̄o (see §3.2). As arguments they introduce referents or participants in a discourse or refer to old referents from an earlier point in the discourse. As predicates, they typically occur in equative clauses or clauses of proper inclusion (see §10.4.2).

Noun phrases can be divided into two types: full noun phrases (§7.2) and reduced noun phrases (§7.4). Full noun phrases contain a noun and are optionally modified by various words with adnominal functions. Full noun phrases used as arguments can, and are often, completely ellipsed, when their referents are understood from context. There are some restrictions on argument ellipsis (see §3.3.2.3 and §10.7). Reduced noun phrases do not contain the noun the noun phrase refers to, but only modifiers, which in turn may themselves be modified. Ellipsis of nouns to create reduced noun phrases is possible when the referent is understood from context.

Most nominal modifiers follow the noun,¹ except for the specificity marker (see §7.2.2.2), the emphatic marker (see §7.2.2.3) and in some cases

¹ A common feature of predominantly SVO languages is that modifiers follow nouns. That is, the noun itself is often the furthest left constituent of the noun phrase.
classifiers and numeral collocations (see §7.2.2.6 and §9.3.2) which may precede the noun phrase.

Full noun phrases are described in §7.2. Noun phrases containing multiple nouns are described in §7.3. Reduced noun phrases are described in §7.4.

7.2 Full Noun Phrases

7.2.1 Basic Structure

Full noun phrases in Kéo have the following constituent structure:

\[
\text{SPEC} \quad \text{EMP} \quad \text{N} \quad \text{V} \quad \text{CL NUM} \quad \text{REL} \quad \text{DEM}
\]

Figure 7.1: Full noun phrase structure

SPEC specificity marker
EMP emphatic marker
N noun
V verb
Quant quantifying adverb
CL NUM classifier and numeral phrase
REL relative clause
DEM demonstrative
() optional constituent
{} mutually exclusive constituents
* constituent can be repeated

A full noun phrase may consist of a noun alone, as with the noun phrases in bold in (1).

1) \textit{Sira radé nua nggedhé papa modo nē’ē bapa mama.}
   3pl across hamlet NEG REC good with dad mum
   Those in the hamlet aren’t being good to (our) parents.
   DSKM020

Otherwise, nouns may be modified by various constituents including:

- other nominals, as in (2);

- intransitive verbs (see §4.3.2.1), as in (3);
- relative clauses (see §14.5.2), as in (4);
- classifier constructions (see §5.7 and §9.3.2), as in (5);
- quantifying adverbs (see §5.13.3), as in (6);
- and demonstratives (see §5.4 and §13.4), as in (7).

In all of the following examples the relevant parts of the noun phrases are in bold.

\textbf{Noun + Noun}

2) \textit{Sa’o watu.}
   house stone
   Stone house (as opposed to a traditional bamboo house).

\textbf{Noun + Verb}

3) \textit{'imu kema sa’o méré.}
   3sg work house big
   He built a big house

\textbf{Noun + Relative Clause}

4) \textit{'Ata ta nuka ndia ké.}
   person REL go here that
   That person that came here.
Chapter 7

Noun + Classifier Construction

5) 'Afa ngga'ë dima ka dera ndia.
   people Cl. five eat day here
   Five people ate lunch here.

Noun + Quantifying Adverb

6) Minda-weso weso ta démba.
   friend many REL come
   Many friends came.
   PTE1-002

Noun + Demonstrative

7) 'Afa ké keta.
   water that cold
   That water is cold.

Out of pragmatic context, unmodified nouns are ambiguous as to whether they are generic or specific, referential or non-referential, definite or indefinite. In theory, the unmodified noun kubi 'octopus' in (8) could have one of three meanings.

8) Ja'o négha ébho ngga'ë kubi...
   1sg. PER.PER long time hunt octopus
   APKN014
   I've been hunting octopus for a long time... [generic, non-referential]
   I've been hunting an octopus for a long time... [indefinite]
   I've been hunting the octopus for a long time... [definite]

However, from the pragmatic context in the text the only meaning that makes sense is the first. This type of ambiguity only arises in full noun phrases, because reduced noun phrases contain demonstratives or classifiers which are inherently referential and definite (see §7.4 below).

7.2.2 Modified Noun Phrases

7.2.2.1 Types of Modification

There are seven ways in which nouns can be modified within noun phrases, namely by:

1. possession (see Chapter 8);
2. specification (§7.2.2.2);
3. emphasis (§7.2.2.3);
4. nouns as modifiers (§7.2.2.4);
5. verbs as modifiers (§7.2.2.5);
6. quantification (§7.2.2.6);
7. relativisation (§7.2.2.7);
8. demonstratives (§7.2.2.8).

7.2.2.2 Specification

The particle ko'o has three distinct functions: it acts as a possessive particle (see §8.2), a deontic mode marker (see §12.3.5.3) and as a specificity marker. While each of these functions can be distinguished, there is some overlap (see §12.3.5.3). Ko'o in each of its functions is often shortened to ko.

When discussing specificity I use the following definitions: 'A thing is specific if I (the speaker) know which exact one I mean (but you (the addressee) don't). A thing is definite if both you and I know which one I mean. A thing is non-specific (and therefore also indefinite) if I don't have any particular referent in mind.' Definiteness entails specificity.
While specificity is overtly marked, with *ko'o* preceding the noun phrase it specifies, definiteness in Kó may be inferred from context, but is often marked by the absence or presence of demonstratives or relative clauses. The three combinations that can be distinguished are: 1) non-specific (for example: *I feel like eating a piece of cake*); 2) specific, indefinite (for example: *Did you see a piece of cake lying here?*); and 3) specific, definite (for example: *Who ate the piece of cake?*). It is not obligatory to use the specificity marker; rather it seems to be used for stylistic purposes. Examples illustrating each of the possible combinations are presented below. The relevant noun phrases are in bold.

**Indefinite non-specific**

9) Nga'o fonga ka uwi jawa.
   1sg want eat sweet potato
   I want to eat sweet potato.

10) Nambu 'imu rua mbana luka né'é 'ana sékola.
    when 3sg two walk meet with child school
    While those two were walking they met a school child.
    SRMW010

**Indefinite specific**

In example (11) the noun phrases in bold are specific, as the speaker only owns one of each of the items.

11) Ngga'e kubi paké né'é ko senjata, ko'o
    hunt, octopus use with SPEC weapon SPEC
    gaco rami, né'é ko'o sarami.
    hunting fork sea spear with SPEC goggles
    (I) hunt for octopus using a weapon, a hunting fork and spear and goggles.
    AFNK005

In the text example (12) is taken from, the speaker talks about her impoverished childhood. In discourse preceding example (12) the speaker talks about going to the Chinese run shop where together with her older siblings she sold coconut shells and wood that they had collected.

12) Kami mo mbeta ko palé, mbeta jawa, kami 'ana
    1pl.excl PROS buy SPEC rice buy corn 1pl.exc children
    go 'o.
    small
    We were going to buy rice, buy corn, us little kids.
    AAMA015

**Definite, specific**

In example (13) the noun phrase in bold is definite because of the relative clause that modifies it.

13) Négha ké pusi ko bumbu-bumbu ta ndewé.
    already that fill SPEC spices REL earlier
    After that put in the spices from earlier.
    MPTU021

In example (14) the noun phrase in bold is definite because it is marked by a demonstrative. The whole noun phrase refers to the same rice mentioned in example (12) above.

14) Pedhé ko nasi ké nggedé mbé'o, pedhé jawa
    heat SPEC rice that NEG know heat corn
    nggedé mbé'o, raka dimba.
    NEG know boil continue
    (We) didn’t know how to cook the rice, didn’t know how to cook corn, just boiled everything.
    AAMA
7.2.2.3 Emphasis

The form *ta* has two functions: as a relative clause marker (see §7.2.2.7 and §14.5.2); and as an emphatic particle. As an emphatic particle, *ta* highlights salient referents from recent discourse that are typically subsequently mentioned. It precedes the noun within the noun phrase. Noun phrases in which this particle occurs are always definite, understood from previous discourse. Examples of emphatic noun phrases can be seen in (15) – (17).

15) .GetCurrentContext

Then, I took the course until it was finished.

16) GetCurrentContext

They tasted the water, it tasted sweet, they tried the flesh, it tasted sweet too.

17) GetCurrentContext

Then my elder brother went with Dad and I went with Mum.

7.2.2.4 Nouns as Modifiers

In noun phrases in which one noun is modified by another, the modifying noun defines more specifically the type of referent and may imply contrast with another type of referent. In typical instances of noun phrases with

nominal modifiers the main noun is a generic type and the modifier indicates a specific kind of that type, as in (18) – (22).

18) GetCurrentContext

19) GetCurrentContext

20) GetCurrentContext

21) GetCurrentContext

22) GetCurrentContext

7.2.2.5 Verbs as Modifiers

Nouns can be modified by intransitive verbs behaving attributively (see §4.3.2.1 and §7.2.2.5). Nouns modified by verbs have the same syntactic structure as relativised nouns, but with no overt marking of relativisation (see §7.2.2.7 below, and §14.5.2). However, there is a semantic difference between the two. When intransitive verbs are used attributively in descriptive noun phrases, the noun and attributive verb together identify a ‘type’ of referent, whereas when intransitive verbs are used in relative clauses to

\[\text{Maundai is a hamlet in the village of Udiworowatu}\]
modify a noun the relative clause is used to specify the noun. The semantic difference can be seen in examples (23) and (24).

23) *Imu ka uwi séo.*
   3sg eat tuber fry
   She’s eating fried tuber.

24) *Imu ka uwi ta séo.*
   3sg eat tuber REL fry
   She’s eating a tuber that has been fried.

When an unmodified intransitive verb directly follows a noun within a noun phrase that verb is being used attributively to form a descriptive noun phrase. If the intransitive verb is modified, then it is a part of an unmarked relative clause. When intransitive verbs are used unmodified in relative clauses, they are always marked by the relativiser *ta* (see §7.2.2.7 and §14.5.2).

Out of context, noun phrases containing a noun modified by an intransitive verb have the same structure as equative clauses (see §10.4.2). This can be seen in (25), which can be interpreted in two ways.

25) *Wawi tolo.*
   pig red
   Red pig. / The pig is red.

Examples (26) and (27) are unambiguous examples of noun phrases containing verbal modifiers.

26) *Imu éto ika go'o, ndiamara.*
   3sg to fish fish small here dry
   He catches small fish and dries them here.

27) *Nga'o minu kopi petu.*
   1sg drink coffee hot
   I’m drinking hot coffee.

7.2.2.6 Quantification

Nouns may be quantified in one of two mutually exclusive ways: with a quantifying adverb (see §9.13.3); or with a classifier construction (see §9.3.2). When nouns are modified by quantifying adverbs the quantity is relative or indefinite. However, when nouns are modified by a classifier construction the quantity is specifically stated.

Members of the class of quantifying adverbs do not all behave in the same way. Different members have different syntactic distributions (see §5.13.3). When used to modify nouns, quantifying adverbs typically immediately follow the noun that they modify, either combined with a mensural classifier (see §5.7 and §9.3.4.1), as in (28), or without, as in (29).

28) *’Aé ember séwè.*
   water bucket many
   Many buckets of water.

29) *’Imu-ko’o ngada’ika woso.*
   3pl catch fish many
   They caught many fish.

Some quantifying adverbs can float off the noun. They can occur at the end of an intransitive clause (see §10.4) while modifying the subject, as in (30). The word *mérè* ‘big’ is used to intensify the quantifying adverb.

30) *Dhu rédé nua ‘ata moni lwu mérè.*
   arrive up hamlet people watch many big
   Arriving up in the hamlet, very many people watched.

In Kéo classifiers only occur with numerals and quantifiers. Numerals and classifiers are so closely associated that numerals cannot occur without a
classifier\(^3\) and classifiers actually form a part of numerical expressions (see §9.2.3). In most cases classifier constructions follow nouns, as in (31) and (32).

31) Ḫa ngga'े aki mibana nuka radé Bade.
   one CL man walk go west B.
   One man walked to Bade.

7.2.2.7 Relativisation

Relative clauses function as modifiers of nouns. They further specify referents, including particular referents already mentioned in discourse. They are embedded within the noun phrase. As with most other nominal modifiers, relative clauses are postnominal. There are two types of relative clause: those that are marked by the relativiser ḥa, and those that are not (see §14.5.2). The functional difference between the two cannot be determined. Those that are not marked by the relativiser tend to contain less constituents than those that are marked by the relativiser. Unmarked relative clauses always contain at least two constituents, whereas verbal modifiers consist of only one (see §7.2.2.5). Either intransitive clauses, as in (34) or transitive clauses, as in (35), or ditransitive clauses may occur in relative clauses.

34) Dako ta mere kẹ tama ridi sa’o.
   dog REL big that enter down house
   That big dog is entering the house.

35) ᴖta pesa dakot a kiki nga’o.
   people eat dog REL bite 1sg
   People ate the dog that bit me.

7.2.2.8 Demonstratives

Demonstratives are always the final constituent in noun phrases, regardless of how many other nominal modifiers are present (see §7.2.2.8 and §13.4). This is illustrated below, with examples of the various modifiers discussed above occurring with a demonstrative. The noun phrase is in bold in each of the examples.

Demonstrative in unmodified noun phrase

36) Dako té ‘éru.
   dog this sleep
   This dog is sleeping.

Demonstrative in noun phrase containing intransitive verbal modifier

37) Sa’o mere kẹ ‘inu kema.
   house big that 3sg work
   He built that big house.

\(^3\) Except when modifying personal pronouns (see §4.2.3.6)
Demonstrative in noun phrase containing quantifying adverb

38) Dako woso ké ka rembu.
dog many that eat all
Those many dogs ate everything.

Demonstrative in noun phrase containing numeral classifier collocation

39) Sai ta naka nio pu’u 'imu ko’o nggsa’e dima ké?
who REL steal coconut from 3pl -CL -five that
Who from those five stole the coconut?

Demonstrative in noun phrase containing relative clause

40) 'Imu mendi kaju sa ndaté ké.
3sg carry wood REL heavy that
She carried that heavy wood.

7.3 Noun Phrases Containing Multiple Nouns

7.3.1 Types

Kéo has noun phrases containing multiple nouns which function as a single syntactic unit in a clause. The three different kinds of noun phrases containing multiple nouns are:

1. coordinate noun phrases (§7.3.2);
2. list noun phrases (§7.3.3);
3. alternative noun phrases (§7.3.4).

7.3.2 Coordinate Noun Phrases

Two nouns of equal status may be coordinated using the comitative conjunction né’é, or its abbreviated form né, to form a single syntactic unit, as in (41) and (42).

  live difficult big mother and father 1plexc
  Our mother and father’s lives were very difficult.
  AAMA016

42) Pak Wily née ‘Iné Martha mera mena Ende.
  Mr W. and mother M. live eastwards E.
  Wily and Martha live in Ende.

Only two items may be conjoined in this way. If there are more than two nouns then the list construction is used (see §7.3.3 below).

7.3.3 List Noun Phrases

List noun phrases consist of juxtaposed nouns which function collectively as a single syntactic unit. Typically the last two members of the phrase are coordinated with the comitative conjunction né’é ‘and’, as in (43) and (44), although this is not obligatory, as can be seen in (45).

43) ‘Iné, Bapa, Arno né Peter mbana radé pasa.
mother father A. and P. go westwards market
Mum, Dad, Arno and Peter went to the market.

44) 'Imu ko’o mbeta saba, palé, iogú, gula, né’é
  3pl buy soap rice pumpkin sugar and
  dengi tana.
  oil land
  They bought soap, rice, pumpkin, sugar and kerosene.
45) *Pu’u mena* sa’o sira tu, sira ‘Iné, Rimu, from east house 3pl accompany 3pl mum R.

*Rici, Arno* tu nga’o nuka radé
R. A. accompany 1sg go west
harbour
From the house they accompanied, they being Mum, Rimu, Rici, Arno accompanied me to the harbour.

In coordinated lists there is rising intonation on the last syllable of each member, except for the last item which receives falling intonation. There are in principle no restrictions on the number of nouns that can occur in such a noun phrase.

### 7.3.4 Alternative Noun Phrases

In alternative noun phrases nouns are conjoined by the disjunctive conjunction *o ‘or*. (See §14.4.4 for a description of *o* as a clausal conjunction.) There are two types of alternative noun phrases: those showing closed disjunction and open disjunction, respectively.

#### 7.3.4.1 Closed Disjunction

Closed disjunction presents a known finite set of alternatives. That is the alternative is between the items mentioned, and no others. There may be two or more alternatives. (Grimes 1991:187)

As many nouns as the speaker wishes can be joined by the disjunctive conjunction *o ‘or*. The intonation contour of closed disjunction noun phrase is the same as for list noun phrases (see §7.3.3 above), that is, there is rising intonation on each instance of *o*, whose vowel is lengthened before proceeding to the next item. The final item in the construction has falling intonation. This is illustrated in (46).

46) *Kamba o jara o wawi kami simo.*
buffalo or horse or pig 1pl.excl accept’
We will accept water buffalo, horses or pigs.

Closed disjunctive noun phrases are often used in questions, as in (47) (see §15.2.1.2).

47) *Ta fai o ta aki?*
EMP woman or EMP man
The girl or the boy?

### 7.3.4.2 Open Disjunction

Open disjunction presents a non-finite set of alternatives implying that there are other alternatives that are either unknown or unnamed. There may be one or more alternatives named, but the implication is that there are other options. (Grimes 1991:188)

The disjunctive conjunction *o ‘or* is again used in open disjunction constructions. A final conjunction (*o*) is added at the end of the utterance to signal that the mentioned referents are not a closed set, and that there are other possibilities. The intonation pattern in open disjunction differs from closed disjunction only in that the utterance final *o* also has rising intonation. An example of a closed disjunctive alternate noun phrase can be seen in the last turn in the exchange in (48).

48) “*Kami meki joi miu lema.*”
1pl.excl borrow money 2pl first
We want to borrow some of your money.

“*Miu baya wado wai apa?*”
2pl pay return with Q
What will you pay me back with?
"Wai kamba o jara o longo o.”
with buffalo or horse or goat or
With water buffalo or horses or goats (or whatever you like).

7.4 Reduced Noun Phrases

Reduced noun phrases are those noun phrases in which the head noun has been ellipsed. Unlike whole noun phrase ellipsis (see §10.7), remnants of the noun phrase remain. Reduced noun phrases contain modifiers which refer to the ellipsed head noun. Only two types of modifier can be used in this way: classifier constructions, as in (49) and demonstratives, as in (50).

49) Ha do di’è sèvé méré.
   one CL seed many big
   One (coconut) tree had very many coconuts.

50) Té o?
   this or
   This one?

These modifiers, when used to refer to an ellipsed head noun, can themselves be modified. Classifier constructions can be modified by either relative clauses or demonstratives, as in (51). Demonstratives can only be modified by relative clauses, as in (52).

51) Ha do ké di’è ruwi’e.
   one CL that seed two only
   That one (coconut) tree only had two coconuts.

52) Té ta tolo o?
   this REL red Q
   This one that is red?

8

POSESSION

8.1 Introduction

Possessive constructions prototypically encode the relationship between someone or something who possesses something (possessor) and a possessed item (possessed). For example: your house; Bill’s telephone; the leg of the table; that dog of John’s; Mary has a computer. These constructions are often extended beyond the prototypical usage to include other situations, which would perhaps not be regarded as ‘possession.’ For example: your idea; Bill’s murder; a house of ill-repute; Mary has a cold. Typically the possessor defines the identity of the possessed in some way. As the construction type is the same for both prototypical and extended usages, all of these instances are referred to as ‘possession.’

In Kéo, there is no inherent possession, that is, there are no noun phrases that obligatorily occur in a possessive construction whenever they are mentioned. However, there is a distinction between alienable and inalienable possession. Under certain circumstances the possessed can be ellipsed (see §8.2.10) and in others the possessor can be ellipsed (see §8.3.2).

A primary distinction must be made between adnominal and predicative possession. There are two adnominal possessive constructions and one predicative possessive construction, as shown in Table 8.1. In adnominal possessive constructions the possessed precedes the possessor, while in the predicative construction the possessor precedes the possessed. In this chapter
adnominal possession shall be dealt with first followed by predicative possession.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Juxtaposition</th>
<th>Adnominal Possession</th>
<th>Predicative Possession</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Possessive Marker</td>
<td>POSSESSED KO'O POSSESSOR</td>
<td>POSSESSOR NÉ'E POSSESSED</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8.1: Summary of possessive constructions

8.2 Adnominal Possession

8.2.1 Types

There are two ways in which a possessive relationship between two noun phrases can be expressed in Kéó. The first uses the possessive particle ko’o to link the noun phrases, as in (1). In the second construction the two constituents are juxtaposed, as in (2). Possessors may be either a pronoun or another noun phrase. In both examples below the possessor is the first person plural exclusive pronoun kami.

POSSESSED KO'O POSSESSOR

1) 'Aé ko’o kami.
   water Poss 1pl.excl
   Our water

2) Bapa kami.
   father 1pl.excl
   Our father.

8.2.2 Choice of Construction

Two parameters determine which adnominal possessive construction is used: 1) what the possessed is and 2) the type of noun in the possessor noun phrase. Table 8.2 gives an overview of possible combinations and which construction is used when. Those combinations of possessed and possessor that do not occur are marked with N/A (not applicable).

---

1 In addition to marking possession, the particle ko’o has two other functions: as a specificity marker (see §7.2.2.2), and as a deontic mood marker (see §12.3.5.3). Ko’o in each of its functions is often shortened to ko in rapid speech.
### The Issue of Alienability

Payne (1997:105) describes alienable possession as referring to a type of possession that can be terminated, whereas inalienable possession cannot be terminated. Lichtenberk (1985:103) bases his definition on Lyons:

> Following Lyons, we may characterise alienable possession as that in which "[the possessed] is contingently associated with [the possessor]", and inalienable possession as that in which "[the possessed] is necessarily associated with [the possessor]" (Lyons 1968:301).

*My pen* can be considered as an instance of alienable possession — the pen can be taken off me, I can throw it away, or I can give it to someone else. *My possession of the pen* can be terminated; the relationship between *my* and *pen* can also be regarded as contingent rather than necessary. This contrasts with *my head* (that is, the head on my shoulders), which is inalienably possessed. I cannot have *my head* taken off me and survive, and neither can I throw or give it away. The possessive relationship cannot be terminated and there is a necessary relationship between the two.

In Kéo there is not a clear-cut syntactically-realised inalienable versus alienable distinction as is found in many other languages in the world. However, two generalisations can be made:

1. Relationships in which the possessed referent is realised as a kin term, a body part, the word *ngara* 'name', or a part of a whole are semantically inalienable. All other relationships are semantically alienable.
2. Inalienable relationships are expressed by the juxtaposed construction, unless the possessor is a kin term, proper name or animate noun. Other possessive relationships are expressed by the *ko o* construction.

---

**Table 8.2: Parameters involved in choice of possessive construction**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possessor</th>
<th>Possessed</th>
<th>Possessor</th>
<th>Possessed</th>
<th>Possessor</th>
<th>Possessed</th>
<th>Possessor</th>
<th>Possessed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Common</td>
<td>Pass'd pre</td>
<td>Pass'd pre</td>
<td>Pass'd pre</td>
<td>Pass'd pre</td>
<td>Pass'd pre</td>
<td>Pass'd pre</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kin term</td>
<td>Pass'd pre</td>
<td>Pass'd pre</td>
<td>Pass'd pre</td>
<td>Pass'd pre</td>
<td>Pass'd pre</td>
<td>Pass'd pre</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proper name</td>
<td>Pass'd pre</td>
<td>Pass'd pre</td>
<td>Pass'd pre</td>
<td>Pass'd pre</td>
<td>Pass'd pre</td>
<td>Pass'd pre</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pronoun</td>
<td>Pass'd pre</td>
<td>Pass'd pre</td>
<td>Pass'd pre</td>
<td>Pass'd pre</td>
<td>Pass'd pre</td>
<td>Pass'd pre</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inanimate object</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Pass'd pre</td>
<td>Pass'd pre</td>
<td>Pass'd pre</td>
<td>Pass'd pre</td>
<td>Pass'd pre</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Animal</td>
<td>Pass'd pre</td>
<td>Pass'd pre</td>
<td>Pass'd pre</td>
<td>Pass'd pre</td>
<td>Pass'd pre</td>
<td>Pass'd pre</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Animal</td>
<td>Pass'd pre</td>
<td>Pass'd pre</td>
<td>Pass'd pre</td>
<td>Pass'd pre</td>
<td>Pass'd pre</td>
<td>Pass'd pre</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Animal</td>
<td>Pass'd pre</td>
<td>Pass'd pre</td>
<td>Pass'd pre</td>
<td>Pass'd pre</td>
<td>Pass'd pre</td>
<td>Pass'd pre</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Animal</td>
<td>Pass'd pre</td>
<td>Pass'd pre</td>
<td>Pass'd pre</td>
<td>Pass'd pre</td>
<td>Pass'd pre</td>
<td>Pass'd pre</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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8.2.3 The Issue of Alienability

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In Kéo there is not a clear-cut syntactically-realised inalienable versus alienable distinction as is found in many other languages in the world. However, two generalisations can be made:

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2. Inalienable relationships are expressed by the juxtaposed construction, unless the possessor is a kin term, proper name or animate noun. Other possessive relationships are expressed by the *ko o* construction.
These generalisations are represented diagrammatically in Figure 8.1 and Figure 8.2, which present the construction choice for the possessed and possessor respectively.

Figure 8.1: Construction choice for the POSSESSED

Figure 8.2: Construction choice for the POSSESSOR

Semantically inalienable possessive relationships are most often expressed through the juxtaposed construction, whilst alienable possessive relationships are most often expressed through the *ko'o* construction. Although there is a very strong tendency for certain possessed entities and possessors to either occur in one or the other of the constructions, given the right pragmatic context most entities can occur in either of the constructions. Therefore the two constructions cannot be given the labels ‘the alienable possessive construction’ and ‘the inalienable possessive construction’ as there is no one-to-one correspondence between grammatical structure and meaning.

Below the adnominal possessive constructions are discussed with reference to the kinds of entities that are most likely to be possessed.

8.2.4 Part-Whole Relationships and Body Parts

Terms for part-whole relationships and body-parts are the most likely things to occur in the juxtaposed construction. This correlates with the fact that they are (conceptually) semantically inalienably possessed.

Sentence (3) includes two part-whole relationships: one is a part of a plant, the other a part of a house. They are expressed using the juxtaposed construction. Note there is also a possessed kin term at the end of the sentence (see §8.2.6).

3) *Wunu nio ké Jon mo'o kema tau ghumba*
   leaves coconut that J. want work do roof

   *sa'o ha di'é ti'i 'iné bapa 'imu.*
   house one Cl. give mother father 3sg
   From coconut leaves Jon will make a roof for his parents.

   AP6007

In Kéo, body parts, whether they belong to humans or animals or are being used metaphorically for inanimate objects, entail a semantically inalienable
possessive relationship when possessed. The juxtaposed construction must be used when the possessed is a body part, except for when the possessor is either a kin term or proper name. In example (4) ‘udu ‘head’ is possessed by a human, expressed by a pronoun, and in example (5) the same body part is expressed by an animal. In example (6) a’i ‘leg’ is possessed by a human, expressed by a pronoun, and in (7) the same body part term is possessed by an inanimate object.

4) ‘Udu nga’o lo.
   head 1sg hurt
   My head hurts.

5) ‘Ata rédé nua pesa ’udu wawi.
   people up village eat head pig
   People up in the village eat pig’s heads.

6) A’i ja’o po’i.
   leg 1sg broke
   My leg is broken.

7) A’i meja po’i.
   leg table broke
   The table-leg is broken.

Even possessed disembodied body parts can only occur in the juxtaposed construction when the possessor is a pronoun.

8) ‘Ata mbingu weda dima nga’o iwa tedu ka.
   person crazy cut arm 1sg year three PER.INV
   A crazy person cut off my arm three years ago.

When a body part is possessed by an animal, inanimate object or human expressed by a pronoun the juxtaposed construction is required. Therefore in sentence (9), using the ko’o construction is ungrammatical, as the possessed is a body part and the possessor a pronoun. In such circumstances the juxtaposed construction must be used. However, if a body part is possessed by a human, expressed either by a kin term or a proper name then the ko’o construction is required, as in (10).

9) *Dima ko’o ‘imu.
   hand POSS 3sg
   *His/her hand.

10) ’Imu kevi kevi éna dima ko’o Mbu’cé Wondo
    3sg scratch scratch LOC hand POSS M. W.
    në’ë sodho:
    and said
    He scratched at Mbu’cé Wondo’s hand and said:
    AMMW033

8.2.5 ngara ‘name’

The word ngara meaning ‘name’ always occurs as the possessed element in the juxtaposed construction, unless the possessor is expressed by a kin term. This can be seen in example (11). Example (12) is ungrammatical, because the ko’o construction is used.

11) Ana ndé ’imu séu ngara ’imu Tonga.
    child that 3sg to name name 3sg T.
    She named the child Tonga. (Lit. That child, she named her name Tonga.)
    AMMS016

12) *Ngara ko’o kau.
    name POSS 2sg
    *Your name.

When the possessor is an inanimate object, as below, the juxtaposed construction must also be used.

13) Ngara kódi kí Kódi Watu Wáia.
    name mountain that mountain stone gold
    That mountain’s name is the Mountain of the Golden Stone.
However, if the possessor is a kin term, the ko’o construction is obligatory.

14) Ngara ko’o ‘iné nga’o Diana.
    name Poss mother 1sg D.
    My mother’s name is Diana.

8.2.6 Kin Terms

Kin are conceptually inalienably possessed. A possessed kin term may occur either in the juxtaposed construction or in the ko’o construction. The determining factor as to which construction is used is based on the word class of the item referring to the possessor. If the possessor is expressed by a pronoun the juxtaposed construction will be used, whereas if the possessor is expressed by a proper name or kin term the ko’o construction will be used, as in (15) and (16). Note that kin cannot be possessed by inanimate objects and do not occur in either of the constructions.

15) ‘Iné ko’o mama té ta numai nga’o péla ‘oné mother POSS mother this REL yesterday 1sg show in feto.
    photo
    My mother who I showed you in the photo yesterday.

DEMN002

    father POSS H. younger sibling POSS father E.
    Hili’s father, Mr. Elias’ younger brother.

BCC

Sentence (17) shows two examples of kin terms possessed by pronouns in the juxtaposed construction.

17) ‘Iné ‘imu s’i, “Modo, tau ri’aru’a né’e ‘ari mother 3sg say alright do good with younger sibling
    kau”.
    2sg
    His mother said, “Alright, you be good to your little sister.”

HBDN017

As the possessed is a kin term and the possessor a pronoun in sentence (18) the ko’o construction cannot be used, and therefore the sentence is ungrammatical.

18) *‘Iné ko’o nga’o
    mother POSS 1sg
    *My mother.

When the referents of kin terms are possessed by animals the kin term can occur in either the juxtaposed construction or the ko’o construction. There are pragmatic constraints as to when the ko’o construction can be used, namely when the possessor is being contrasted with other possessors (see §8.2.8 below). When these pragmatic conditions are not present then the juxtaposed construction must be used, as in (19).

19) ‘Iné dako té ta ‘émba?
    mother dog this REL Q
    Which one is the mother of this dog?

The ko’o construction must be used when the possessed is expressed by a kin term and the possessor is expressed by either a kin term or personal name, because without the possessive particle ko’o the construction would no longer be a possessive construction, but rather a compound or modified noun phrase (see §6.2 and §7.2.2). When a kin term immediately follows another kin term often parallel compounds are formed which then have a different referent.
Chapter 8

20) ‘Embu mamé.
       grandparent/grandchild mother's brother
       Wife-giving group. (Also used as general term for ancestors.)
       *Uncle's grandchild/grandparent.

21) ‘Ana weta.
       child sister
       Wife-taking group.
       *Sister's child.

22) ‘Ari ‘ana.
       younger sibling child
       Younger relatives.
       *The child's younger sibling.

       mother father
       Parents.
       *Father's mother.

To express a possessive relationship between referents of two kin terms the
possessive particle ko'o must be present. The meanings in examples (20) –
(23) are expressed grammatically in examples (24) – (27) in the examples
below.²

24) ‘Embu ko'o mamé.
       grandchild POSS mother's brother
       Uncle's grandchild.

       child POSS sister
       Sister's child.

26) ‘Ari ko'o ‘ana.
       younger sibling POSS child
       The child's younger sister.

       mother POSS father
       Father's mother.

When a kin term and proper name are used without the intervening ko'o the
combination is interpreted as being a title + name. For example if one says
Bapa Nus it can only be interpreted as ‘Mr. Nus', as in (28). If one wishes to
say ‘Nus' father' the ko'o construction must be used, as in (29).

28) Bapa Nus.
       father N.
       Mr. Nus.

29) Bapa ko'o Nus.
       father POSS N.
       Nus' father.

8.2.7 ‘Other' Possessed Nominal Entities

Other nominal entities that have not been discussed so far typically occur in
the ko'o construction when possessed, as in (30), (31) and (32).

30) “Nga'omona paké", seru ko'o wawi.
       1sg NEG believe voice POSS pig
       "I don't believe (you)" said the pig. (Lit. "I don't believe," voice of
       the pig.)
       SRM0005

31) “Tu'u-mbëtë, beha ko sal ké?"
       really bra POSS who that
       "Really, whose bra is that?"
       GTW043

² It appears that the juxtaposed construction was once able to be used when both the
possessed and possessor were expressed by kin terms. These constructions were then
reanalysed as compounds with the terms coming to represent kinds of social groupings
rather than specific kin relations (Philipus Tule p.c.).
32) *Ngolo 'ata Sina mbeta é'a.*
persuade person Chinese buy coconut shells

*mbeta kaju ko kami.*
buy wood Poss 1pl,exc1
People persuaded the Chinese to buy coconut shells, to buy our wood.
AAMA014

8.2.8 Atypical Choice of Possessive Construction

Despite the preference for the *ko'o* construction to express semantically alienable possessive relationships, juxtaposition of the possessed and possessor is very occasionally used for this purpose. It appears that when this does occur the possessor is always expressed by a pronoun, as in (33).

33) *'Uru bhida ké, napa ndeke pésa da'ë kita ka dera because like that later time other IMP.INCL1pl.incleat day mena sa'o miu.*
at house 2pl
Because of that another time we'll eat at your house.
PTE2-007

The reverse also very occasionally occurs. That is, the *ko'o* construction is sometimes used to refer to semantically inalienable possessive relationships, as when the possessor is expressed by a kin term (see §8.2.6), and as in (34).

34) *'Udu ko binata apa ké?*
head Poss animal what that
That's the head of what animal?

---

8.2.9 Extended Use of Possessive Constructions

The *ko'o* construction is occasionally used for relationships between noun phrases that do not entail instances of prototypical possession. Examples of extended usage include (35) and (36).

35) *Bruder si'i, "E, ngara si'i kau kursus ko akutansi*
brother say hey if tell 2sg course Poss accountancy
*kau bhia.*
2sg not want
Brother said, "Hey, if you're told to do an accountancy course you don't want to."
(course to do with accounting/course about accounting)
MPKY102

36) *Martha ta aki ko tani mata.*
M. REL husband Poss farmingdie
Martha whose farmer husband died.
(husband who had to do with farming)
GBC020
In sentence (35) the ko’o could be removed resulting in the juxtaposed possessive construction with no change of meaning. In (36) the ko’o could be replaced by ta the relativiser (see §14.5.2). However, it may be the case that as a relativiser is used just prior to the ko’o then a possessive construction is chosen instead. In these extended instances of the ko’o construction it appears that the ko’o is somehow specifying the possessor, contrasting it with an unmentioned other option (Philipus Tule p.c.).

8.2.10 Ellipsed Possessed

When the possessive particle ko’o is used, it is possible to ellipse the possessed and only overtly mention the possessive particle and possessor. In some cases the referent of the possessed is obvious from context, as in (37). In other cases it is understood that the possessive particle and possessor together refer to a generic possession of the possessor, like ‘thing’ in English.

37) Dambu ko sai?
clothes Poss who
Whose clothes (are these)?
Ko nga’o.
Poss 1sg
(They’re) mine.

38) Ko’o Rofi sodho pésa.
Poss R. tell other
Rofi said differently.
GTW011

3pl NEG steal Poss people
They don’t steal people’s things.
APCH007

It is not possible to ellipse the possessor in adnominal possessive constructions. This is unlike predicative possessive constructions, where if an element is ellipsed it must be the possessor (see §8.3.2).

8.3 Predicative Possession

8.3.1 The Predicative Possessive Construction

There is one clausal construction which makes use of a verbal predicate to encode possession. The ambitransitive verb (see §4.3.2.3) né’é meaning ‘to have’ when used transitively, has this function. In rapid speech né’é is often shortened to né with no change in function. The subject of the verb né’é in possessive constructions is the possessor, whilst the object is the possessed. The construction has typical word order for transitive clauses (see §10.5), that is [A PRED O]. The structure of this construction is:

POSSESSOR NÉ’É POSSESSED
Kami né’é ‘áe.
1pexc have water
We have water.

The né’é construction differs from adnominal possessive constructions (see §8.2) in three ways. Firstly, this is a clausal construction. Secondly, in this construction the possessor precedes the possessed. Thirdly, the predicative possessive construction makes no alienable/finalienable distinction.

---

3 When used intransitively, né’é is used as an existential predicate. See §10.4.4.
40) *Nala, a, a, négha né’e ‘ana mbeja.*
   brother yes yes PER.PER have children finish
   Brothers, yes, yes, all of them already have children.
   GBC016

There are no clear constraints on what nouns can serve as subject of né’e in this possessive construction. The most common possessors, however, not surprisingly are human, expressed by personal name, kin term or pronoun. In (41) the human possessor is expressed by a personal name, and in (42) it is expressed by a pronoun.

41) *Pu’u némbu, ‘ëmbu Rangga Jani né né’ë kamba ‘ëko*
   from earlier grandfather R. J. that have buffalo CL
   rua tedu ridi Aë Tolo
   two three down water red
   A long time ago ancestor Rangga Jani had several water buffalo
down at Aë Tolo.
   YLWT001

42) *Négha ké ‘imu-ko’o st’si’, “Modo, kami ndia né’ë kursus*
   already that 3pl sayAlright 1pl.excl here have course
   sati”.
   sew
   After that they said, “Alright, we have a sewing course here”.
   MPKY051

8.3.2 Ellipsis of Possessor

Possessors in the né’e construction can be ellipsed if it is clear from context who, or what, the possessor is. Ellipsis of the possessor, which occurs in the subject position of the predicative possessive construction, is the same kind of subject-ellipsis that occurs in other constructions in the language (see §10.7). An example of this can be seen in (43), in which the possessor – in this case a coconut – is not overtly mentioned. Nor is it mentioned as the object of the verb *piara* ‘to care for.’

43) *‘Imu piara jeka né’ë ‘esa.*
   3sg care for until have fruit
   She cared for it until it had fruit.
   INN023

Example (43) could be paraphrased, mentioning the coconut, in the three ways exemplified in (44) – (46).

44) *‘Imu piara jeka nio ké né’ë esa.*
   3sg care for until coconut that have fruit
   She cared for it until the coconut had fruit.

45) *‘Imu piara nio ké jeka né’ë ‘esa.*
   3sg care for coconut that until have fruit
   She cared for the coconut until it had fruit.

46) *‘Imu piara nio ké jeka nio ké né’ë ‘esa.*
   3sg care for coconut that until coconut that have fruit
   She cared for the coconut until that coconut had fruit.
The possessed object in the néê construction cannot be ellipsed. If an object is not present néê is being used intransitively and the construction is not a possessive construction, but rather an existential construction (see §10.4.4).

8.3.3 Other Uses of néê

Néê is used in a variety of grammatical functions. It can be used as a comitative conjunction within and between noun phrases (see §7.3.2); as a comitative preposition (see §13.2.9); as an existential when used intransitively (see §10.4.4); or transitively in possessive clauses. Examples of the first three functions are presented in the examples below.

Néê as a comitative conjunction (see §7.3.2)

47) Peter né Nus mbana réu.
     P. and N. walk far
     Peter and Nus walked a long way.

Néê as a comitative preposition (see §13.2.9)

48) Bapa té no ê nga'o mbana papa luka néê bapa
     sir this accompany 1sg go Rec meet with father
     nga'o réta Atambua.
     1sg at A.
     This man accompanied me to go meet with my father in Atambua.
     DHHM034

Néê as an existential (see §10.4.4).

49) Dako néê 'onê ridi sa'o.
     dog exist in down house
     The dog is down in the house.

In (50) the grammatical function of néê is not clear. Two interpretations are possible: 1) néê is being used as a comitative preposition; or 2) néê is being used transitively as a possessive predicate. It is ambiguous instances like these that possibly gave rise to néê’s multiple functions.

50) 'imu néê du gara wedu 'ari 'imu ta
     3sg néê tears drip leave younger sibling 3sg REL
     nambu susu taka 'onê kéka ha mboko.
     time breast feed still in hut one CL
     She had tears dripping, leaving her younger brother that still needed
     breast-feeding in a hut. / She with tears dripping, left her younger
     brother that still needed breast-feeding in a hut.
     JKBB009

8.4 Existentials used to Express Possession

As seen in example (49) in §8.3.3 above, the ambitransitive verb néê when used intransitively occurs in existential constructions. There appears to be some overlap in meaning between the different usages of néê and it is not surprising, therefore, that existential constructions are sometimes used to indicate possessive relationships. The verb datu is also used as an existential predicate (see §10.4.4), compare (51) and (52).

51) Datu 'aé.
     exist water
     There is water.

52) 'Aé néê.
     water exist
     There is water.

There is a transitive existential construction in which the existential verb datu is used. This construction has meaning along the lines of ‘with respect to X there is Y’, which in some circumstances can be interpreted as indicating a
possessive relationship, as in (53).

53) Kita mona mbé‘o 'imu-ko‘o ngré datu hubungan famili
     1pl.incl NEG know 3pl that exist connection family
     or nggedhé.
     NEG
We don’t know if they had a kin relationship or not.

As with the predicative possessive construction which uses néré the subject of
datu functions as the possessor, while the object is the possessed.

See §10.4.4 for more on existential constructions.

9 NUMERALS AND CLASSIFIERS

9.1 Introduction

This chapter examines numeral systems and the interaction of numerical expressions with classifiers. As mentioned in §5.6 and §5.7, Kéo has classifiers which are obligatorily used with numerical expressions. According to Dixon (1986:109) it is common to have numeral classifiers in highly isolating languages, such as Kéo, while in strongly agglutinative or inflectional languages there is a preference for noun class systems. In Kéo the act of counting is further complicated by the presence of two numeral systems – a base ten and a base four – and the incorporation of classifiers into numerical expressions themselves.

There are two types of quantifier noun phrases (QNP): those that contain (a) numeral(s) and a classifier and those that contain a quantifying adverb and an optional mensural classifier. Their minimal internal structure is as follows.

QNP → {N CL NUM}
     → {N (CL) QUANT}

Other nominal modifiers, such as demonstratives and relative clauses, may occur in quantifier noun phrases, as they do in other noun phrases (see §7.2.2). The combination of numeral(s) and classifier modifies the noun. Neither can occur on its own. In QNPs containing a quantifying adverb, a
quantifying adverb alone may modify a noun or a combination of a classifier and quantifying adverb may modify a noun. The combination of classifier and numeral(s) or classifier and quantifying adverb form a tightly bound constituent termed, here, a classifier construction. It is this classifier construction that is used attributively to modify a noun, rather than its individual components. Classifier constructions that contain numerals are called numerical expressions (see §9.2).

Aside from having an attributive function, classifier constructions may also be used predicatively, as in (1), containing a numeral, and as in (2), containing a quantifying adverb.

1) Kima weda rua-mbutu.
mollusc CL eight
There are eight molluscs.

2) 'Ata livu.
many people
There are many people.

In section 9.2 the two numeral systems are examined. The formation of numerical expressions for each of the systems is described in §9.2.3, and the mathematical functions numerical expressions occur in are discussed in §9.2.4. In section §9.3 the usage of classifiers is explored, with discussion of classifier constructions in §9.3.2 and subtypes of numeral classifiers in §9.3.4.

9.2 Numeral Systems

9.2.1 Introduction

In this grammar a 'number' is regarded as being a real world entity that is referred to in speech using a 'numerical expression'. Numerical expressions are formed by combinations of 'numerals' and classifiers. This process of forming numerical expressions is determined by a 'numeral system'.

Numerals form a closed word class. Diagnostic criteria for membership into the word class of numeral are presented in §5.6. Numeral class membership is potentially infinite, due to the infinite nature of numbers, but extremely high numbers are rarely used. Numerical expressions are continually constructed from the same set of words, and high numerical expressions are based on the same syntactic structures as smaller numerical expressions.

Kéo has two indigenous numeral systems. One is a base four system, the other is a base ten system¹. That is, one system repeats itself in a predictable way after the numeral four, whilst the other system starts repeating itself in a predictable way after the numeral ten². The two numeral systems in Kéo have a different distribution. The base four system is limited to counting fruit, coconuts, betel nut, and small fish less than a cubit in length. In all other situations the base ten system is used.

Numerical expressions are used for counting things; they are not used just for recital. Things counted are entities in the world and in Kéo must be classified with one of the available classifiers. The numerical expressions one through

¹ There is no known numeral system in any natural language that repeats itself after the numerical expression 'one' (Huron 1975 and 1987) - that is, a system that expresses the number 'two' by something along the lines of 'one one' or 'one and one'. It would seem that the most common number after which a language's numeral system stops repeating itself is ten. Such systems are called 'decimal' or 'base ten.' Indonesian and English are two languages that utilize this system. Other languages start combining numerals in order to create larger numerals before ten, the most common being based on five.
to twenty in the two systems are presented in Table 9.1. The default classifier ‘esa is included with these examples, as numerical expressions cannot occur without a classifier.

Some numerals appear to be classifiers themselves, classifying other numerals within the system in which they occur. The numeral divu ‘four’ in the base four system, and the numeral mbudu ‘ten’ in the base ten system behave syntactically in the same manner as do other classifiers. 'Udu, meaning ‘head,’ in the base four system is the numeral for ‘forty’ and also functions as classifiers do. In the base ten system the numerals ngasu ‘hundred’ and liwu ‘thousand’ and juta ‘million’ behave syntactically like classifiers. I will call these classifiers ‘number classifiers’ and occasionally refer to other classifiers as ‘non-number classifiers’ (see §9.3.4.3 below).

\[\begin{array}{|c|c|c|}
\hline
\text{Number} & \text{Base Four System} & \text{Base Ten System} \\
\hline
1 & ha 'esa & ha 'esa \\
2 & 'esa rua & 'esa rua \\
3 & 'esa tedu & 'esa tedu \\
4 & divu & 'esa witu \\
5 & ha divu ha 'esa & 'esa dima \\
6 & ha divu 'esa rua & 'esa dima 'esa \\
7 & ha divu 'esa tedu & 'esa dima rua \\
8 & divu rua & 'esa rua mbudu \\
9 & divu rua ha 'esa & 'esa tera-'esa \\
10 & divu rua 'esa rua & ha mbudu \\
11 & divu rua 'esa tedu & ha mbudu ha 'esa \\
12 & divu tedu & ha mbudu 'esa rua \\
13 & divu tedu ha 'esa & ha mbudu 'esa tedu \\
14 & divu tedu 'esa rua & ha mbudu 'esa witu \\
15 & divu tedu 'esa tedu & ha mbudu 'esa dima \\
16 & divu witu & ha mbudu 'esa dima 'esa \\
17 & divu witu ha 'esa & ha mbudu 'esa dima rua \\
18 & divu witu 'esa rua & ha mbudu 'esa rua mbudu \\
19 & divu witu 'esa tedu & ha mbudu 'esa tera-'esa \\
20 & divu dima & mbudu rua \\
\hline
\end{array}\]

Table 9.1: Numerical expressions for 1-20 in both Kéo numeral systems

\[2\text{ Base four numeral systems appear to be quite rare in the world’s languages. I am only aware of three other languages which contain a base four numeral system, two of which are Papuan languages (Angela Terrill p.c.) and the third, no longer in use, is Ancient Hawaiian (Hurford 1975).}\]
The use of both indigenous numeral systems is in decline. In the two primary modern social spheres in which numeral expressions are used — in the marketplace and in schools — Indonesian numeral expressions are now used almost exclusively. In the marketplace people gather from different speech communities and therefore use the language they have in common — Indonesian — to communicate. In schools children are taught mathematics through the medium of the Indonesian language. The decline in use of Kéo numeral expressions is paralleled by a decline in the use of Kéo classifiers. As has been noted by several linguists including Dixon (1986) and Mithun (1986) numeral and classifier systems are often amongst the first subsystems to be replaced in language contact situations. In some cases this loss may be symptomatic of a ‘dying’ language. As the scope of the base four system is more limited than the base ten system it appears that it will be lost before the base ten system.

9.2.2 The Numerals ha ‘one’

In Udiworowatu Kéo the form for the numeral ‘one’ varies from speaker to speaker between [a] and [ha]. In other areas of the Kéo speaking region it is realised as [a], [ha] or [sa]. Throughout this grammar, following the practice of literate Kéo speakers, the form ha is used.

This numeral differs from other numerals in two ways. Firstly it precedes classifiers, whereas all other numerals follow classifiers. Secondly, ha is a clitic, indeed the only clitic present in Kéo (see §6.4). Syntactically, the clitic functions primarily as a constituent of a classifier construction.

The numeral ha attached to a classifier is often used as a presentational device to introduce new referents into the discourse. Typically when this happens the order of the numeral and classifier following the noun is reversed, with the numeral and classifier preceding the noun (see §9.3.2).

9.2.3 Formation of Numerical Expressions

9.2.3.1 Introduction

In the base ten system all numerical expressions are made up of combinations of the first nine numerals and the higher numerals mbudu ‘ten’, ngasu ‘hundred’, liwu ‘thousand’, and jata ‘million’. In the base four system, numerical expressions are composed of the first three numerals plus diwu ‘four’, ‘udu ‘forty’, and borrowings from the base ten system. The constructions of different words indicating numbers are not based on strictly syntactic rules, but rather are based on meaning, with an implied mathematical function between the juxtaposed numerals.

In languages such as English, French, and Arabic conjunctions are used (typically to indicate addition) in the formation of numerical expressions. Kéo speakers use juxtaposition to perform the same function. Implied mathematical relations between the numerals that make numerical expressions are mutually understood. Classifiers are used within the construction of

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3 The difference between the numeral ‘one’ and all other numerals is something that seems to recur in many languages. For example in English ‘one’ is singular and therefore all nouns that ‘one’ modifies must be in the singular, while all the other numerals are plural, and therefore nouns modified by these numerals must all be plural.

4 Following existing orthographic conventions, ha ‘one’ is written as a separate word, rather than with its host.
numerical expressions, which highlights the obligatory nature of their occurrence with numerals.

9.2.3.2 The Base Four System

The base four system has a basic set of three numerals co-occurring with a classifier: 1- *ha 'esa*, 2 - *esa rua*, and 3 - *esa tedu*. When expressing numbers higher than three in this system a combination of groups of a numeral and addition between groups is used to express the number. In (3) *ha divu* means 'one group of four' and *ha 'esa* means 'one of something that can be classified by 'esa'. When these two groups are added together the result is 'five'. Numerals from the base ten system are incorporated into base four numerals, as with *watu 'four' in (4). In example (4) *divu watu* means 'four groups of four' and *esa rua* means 'two of something that can be classified by 'esa'. When these two groups are added together the result is 'eighteen'.

3) *Ha divu ha 'esa.*
   one four one CL
   Five. (Lit. 'one four (plus) one'.)

4) *Divu watu 'esa rua.*
   four four CL two
   Eighteen. (Lit. 'four fours (plus) two'.)

Numerical expressions such as (3) and (4) typically follow the noun they modify, as in (5), regardless of whether the numeral is from the base four or the base ten system.

5) *Pau ha divu ha 'esa.*
   mango one four one CL
   Five mangoes.

‘Forty’ - ten times four - holds cultural significance for Kéo speakers, and so the system changes slightly at this point. The numeral ‘forty’ is expressed as *ha 'udu*, which literally means 'one head'. Both *divu 'four' and 'udu 'forty' appear to function as classifiers in the creation of numerical expressions.

The classifier *'esa*, which is a residual general classifier, a kind of cover-all classifier for solid objects that do not clearly take any of the other classifiers, is primarily used when constructing numerical expressions using the base four system. This is due to the semantics of the objects that can be counted using the base four system (see §9.2.1). However, when counting small fish the animal classifier *'eko* is used. Small fish are the only animals that can be counted using the base four system.

9.2.3.3 The Base Ten System

The base ten system works much as other base ten numeral systems in other languages of the world do. There are numerals one to nine, which in combination with the word *mbudu* ‘ten’ create numerical expressions. The numerals one to five are independent forms with no transparent relationship to any other numerals. Six to nine seem to show that what is now a base ten system may in the past have been a base five system. This can be seen clearly with the numerals *dima 'esa* 'six' and *dima rua* 'seven', which, using the base numeral 'five', build higher numerals by the addition of lower numerals.

Charles Grimes (1991:293-294) writes:

In many AN [Austronesian] languages in Sulawesi, Malaku and Nusatenggara two basic strategies are found relating to the numbers eight and nine. The first strategy simply retains reflexes of the PAN numerals *'walu 'eight' and *'siwa 'nine.* The second strategy has something akin to 'minus-two' for 'eight' and 'minus-one' for 'nine.'
Kēo does not appear to follow either of these strategies. The numeral Cl rua mbudu ‘eight’ appears as if it is a combination of the second strategy, with influence from the base four system. This is primarily due to the ‘mixed’ nature of the form mbudu, which appears to be a combination of wulu ‘four’ and mbudu ‘ten.’ On the other hand the numeral Cl téra-esa ‘nine’ doesn’t appear to have any immediately apparent explanation for its form.

Numerical expressions between ten and twenty are formed, as in many other base ten systems in other languages, by the addition of ha mbudu ‘one group of ten’ with the numerals one through to nine, as in (6). Multiples of ten are formed by the use of ‘X lots of mbudu’ with additional numbers between one and nine specified last, as in (7).

6) Ha mbudu ‘esa dina.
   one ten Cl five
   Fifteen. (Lit. ‘one ten (plus) five.’)

7) Mbudu tedu ‘esa wulu.
   ten three Cl four
   Thirty four. (Lit. ‘three tens (plus) four.’)

9.2.3.4 The Formation of Large Numerical Expressions

Both the base four and the base ten systems are capable of expressing large numbers. However, the base ten system is much more productive than the base four system and can create much higher numerical expressions than are possible in the base four. In theory very high numerical expressions are possible in the base four system, but the mathematics involved becomes very complex. The items that are counted using the base four system (that is, fruit, coconuts, betel nut, and small fish) are rarely gathered together in quantities large enough to require very large numerals to quantify them.

The base four system can be used to express numbers in the hundreds, through expressing ‘groups’ of forty. Such large numbers include the following:

‘Udu rua  
Eigty.

‘Udu tedu  
One hundred and twenty.

‘Udu wulu  
One hundred and sixty.

However, a speaker would rarely need such high numbers when using the base four system due to the kinds of things that are counted using this system. The base ten system on the other hand is sometimes used to count Indonesian currency, and is therefore required to express numbers in the hundreds of thousands, and occasionally millions\(^5\). The numeral for ‘hundred’ is ngasu, and combines with other numerals much as mbudu does to form more complex numerical expressions, as in (8). Ngasu is one of the numerals that functions as a classifier.

8) Ngasu rua mbudu rua ‘esa rua.
   hundred two ten two Cl two
   Two hundred and twenty two. (Lit. ‘two hundreds, (plus) two tens, (plus) two.’)

The numeral for ‘thousand’ is livu, which also occurs as a quantifying adverb meaning ‘many’ (see §5.13.3). When used as a quantifying adverb, livu only occurs with nouns denoting people and other animate. As with the words for mbudu ‘ten’ and ngasu ‘hundred’, livu ‘thousand’ behaves as other classifiers do.

\(^{5}\) When discussing such large amounts of money these days people typically use the Indonesian numbers rather than the Kēo.
9) *Ha liwu.
   one thousand
   One thousand. (Lit. ‘one thousand.’)

10) *Livu rua.
   thousand two
   Two thousand. (Lit. ‘two thousands.’)

11) Livu tèra-'esa.
    thousand nine
    Nine thousand. (Lit. ‘nine thousands.’)

12) Livu ha mbudu.
    thousand one ten
    Ten thousand. (Lit. ‘one ten (lots of) thousands.’)

13) Livu ha ngasu.
    thousand one hundred
    One hundred thousand. (Lit. ‘one hundred thousands.’)

14) Livu ngasu tedu.
    thousand hundred three
    Three hundred thousand. (Lit. ‘three hundred thousands.’)

15) Livu ngasu rua-mbutu.
    thousand hundred eight
    Eight hundred thousand. (Lit. ‘eight hundred (lots of) thousands.’)

Typically the Indonesian word juta ‘million’ would be used whenever
numbers of such magnitude were required, as in Kéo there is no ‘word’ as
such, meaning ‘million.’ Alternatively, the following expression can be used:

16) Livu ngasu ha mbudu.
    thousand hundred one ten
    One million. (Lit. ‘one ten (lots of) hundred thousands)

As with other numerals of significance to a system, and which are used to
indicate ‘groups of a number’, the word juta ‘million’, despite being a loan
word from Indonesian, appears to function in the same way as other
classifiers.

The number classifiers (see §9.3.4.3) from base four and base ten systems
cannot be mixed. For example the number ‘seventy’ cannot be expressed as
in example (17), mixing ‘udu ‘forty’ from the base four system and mbudu
‘ten’ from the base ten system.

17) *Ha ’udu mbudu tedu.
    one head ten three
    forty thirty

The number ‘seventy’ is expressed in the base four system as in example (18).
In the base ten system ‘seventy’ would be expressed as in example (19).

18) Ha ’udu diwu dima rua ’esa rua.
    one head four five two CL two
    Seventy. (Lit. ‘one forty (plus) seven fours (plus) two.’)

19) Mbudu dima rua.
    ten five two
    Seventy. (Lit. ‘seven tens.’)

9.2.3.5 Ordinal Numerals

Ordinal numerals are used to indicate an object or occurrence at a particular
point in an ordered sequence of objects or events. Kéo has a structure for
expressing the meaning that ordinal numerals express. It consists of the
classifier ndeke meaning ‘time’ followed by a numeral, as in (20).

20) Ndeka tedu.
    time three

This structure is the same as that for expressing how many times something
has been done. The ambiguity that this causes can be clarified from the
context of the utterance and the position of the numeral in the clause. Thus example (20) can mean both ‘three times’, or ‘the third time.’ In context such ambiguities rarely present any problems. This can be seen from examples (21) and (22), in which ndeka tedu occurs in different positions within the clause, with mutually exclusive meanings.

21) Nga’o nuka éna sa’o ‘imu ndeka tedu.
   1sg   go Loc house 3sg time three
   I went to his house three times.

22) Ndeka tedu mbéghu nga’o luka ‘imu.
    time three then 1sg meet 3sg
    The third time I met with him.

9.2.4 Mathematical Functions

9.2.4.1 Introduction

The use of addition and subtraction by Kéo speakers in everyday life is quite common, with division not as commonly used, but present. However, the mathematical process of multiplication seems to be absent in Kéo. This is because, in situations in which an English speaker would use ‘multiplication’ a Kéo speaker would use ‘addition in groups’. This is typically done in groups of four or ten or multiples of these numbers depending upon the system in use.

9.2.4.2 Addition

Addition is expressed by the use of the two words kesa ‘add’ and jadi ‘so, to become’.

When counting or performing mathematical functions using the base ten system a non-number classifier must be used, but this is not always the case with the base four system. Any classifier can be used in the base ten system, as things from any of the classificatory groups can be counted using this system. However, the majority of things in the base four system take the default classifier ’esa. Therefore it is more important to use classifiers when using the base ten system, as there are many more possibilities in the choice of classifier than there are in the base four system. Example (23), using the base ten system, is ungrammatical as classifiers are not used. Example (24), on the other hand, containing classifiers is grammatical.

23) *Wutu kesa rua mbutu jadi ha mbudu ’esa rua
   four add eight so one ten CL two
   *Four plus eight equals twelve.

24) ’Éko wutu kesa ’éko rua mbutu jadi ha mbudu ’éko rua.
    CL four add CL eight so one ten CL two
    Four plus eight equals twelve.

As the base four system is known to be used for a small set of objects classifiers are not obligatory. A sentence can either occur with or without numeral classifiers. Therefore although example (25) does not contain numeral classifiers it is grammatical.
25) *Diwu kesa divu rua jadi divu tedu.*
   four add four two so four three
   Four plus eight equals twelve.

### 9.2.4.3 Subtraction

Subtraction is expressed by the words *kura* ‘less’ and *lési* ‘remainder’. This can be seen in the final clause in (26), the response to the mathematical problem posed in the first three clauses by a different speaker.

26) “*Kani né'ê kamba 'éko ha mbudu.*
   1pl.excl have buffalo CL. one ten
   “We had ten water buffalo.

   *Iwa mudu 'ata naka 'éko rua.*
   year first someone steal CL. two
   Last year someone stole two.

   *Kamba kani lèsi 'éko pira?‘*
   buffalo 1pl.excl remainder CL. how many
   How many water buffalo do we have left?”

   “*Kambamitu 'éko ha mbudu kura 'éko rua lèsi 'éko*
   buffalo 2pl. CL. oneten less CL. two remainder CL.
   rua-mbutu.”
   eight
   “You had ten water buffalo, minus two leaves eight.”

### 9.2.4.4 Division

Division is expressed by the use of the words *bagi* ‘divide’ and *mewi* ‘to obtain.’ In (27) a mathematical problem is posed in the first four clauses by one speaker, and the second speaker provides the answer in the final clause of the example by using division.

27) “*Bapa Pio kamba 'éko ha mbudu.*
   father P. buffalo CL. one ten.
   “Mr. Pio has ten water buffalo.

   *'Ana 'imuta aki ngga'e dima.*
   children 3sg REL man CL. five
   He has five sons.

   *'Imungisa bagi kamba ké 'utu 'ana-'ana 'imu.*
   3sg must divide buffalo that for children 3sg
   He must divide the water buffalo for his children.

   *'Éko pira imu-ko'o mewi?‘
   CL. how many 3pl. get
   How many do they get?”

   “*Kamba 'éko ha mbudu bagi ngga'e dima nama nama ngga'e*
   buffalo CL. one ten divide CL. five each CL.
   mewi 'éko rua.”
   get CL. two
   “Ten water buffaloes divided by five people, each person receives
two water buffalo.”

### 9.3 Classifiers

**9.3.1 Introduction**

*Kéo* has a system of classifiers whereby referents are classified according to certain physical and conceptual categories. There is a large set of functions that classifiers may be used for in the world’s languages. There are noun classification systems, numeral classifiers, noun classifiers, relational or possessive classifiers, genitive classifiers, verbal classifiers, intralocative classifiers and demonstrative classifiers (Aikhenvald 1994). Some languages have combinations of these systems whilst others only contain one system. *Kéo* only has numeral classifiers, the kind that is “...comparatively frequent in
isolating languages, such as those of southeast Asia" (Aikhenvald 1994:409)⁶. The Kéo classifiers only occur in quantifier noun phrases, with numerals, and under certain circumstances with quantifying adverbs (see §9.1 and §7.2.2.6). They are obligatory when quantifying a referent with a numerical expression, and in mathematical functions using the base ten system, whether the referent that is being counted is explicitly mentioned or not. In some cases a classifier and numerical expression can occur without the referent it modifies, that is, the referent noun can be ellipsed when it is understood from context (see §7.4).

One noun can be potentially modified by a range of classifiers. An extreme example of this is illustrated in Table 9.2, where the noun muku 'banana' is modified by a variety of different classifiers resulting in a different referent in each case.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Muku + Classifier</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Muku 'esa rua.</td>
<td>Two banana fruit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muku di 'rua.</td>
<td>Two banana fruit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muku sepi rua.</td>
<td>Two bunches of bananas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muku guni rua.</td>
<td>Two complete stalks of banana fruit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muku wunu rua.</td>
<td>Two banana leaves.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muku pu'u rua.</td>
<td>Two banana plants.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muku doka rua.</td>
<td>Two clumps of banana plants.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9.2: Potential classifiers of muku 'banana'

**9.3.2 Classifier Constructions**

The numeral ha ‘one’ cliticises to the front of classifiers (see §9.2.2 above), while all other numerals follow them. The ‘classifier construction’ that is formed from a classifier and numeral cannot be split by an intermediary constituent. Constituents which modify a noun generally follow the noun, but classifier constructions can either precede or follow the noun that they modify. It appears that whether a classifier construction precedes or follows the noun that it modifies is dependent upon discourse functions and pragmatic motivations. The unmarked order is [NOUN]ₙ + [CLASSIFIER + NUMERAL]ᵣ. The construction with the reverse order (that is, A + B  B + A) seems to be pragmatically marked. It appears that the primary context for a classifier construction to precede the noun it modifies is when a new referent is introduced into the discourse. In this context a classifier and the numeral one ha are used almost to the exclusion of all other numerals (see §9.2.2).
In the following examples (28) – (30) have the pragmatically unmarked constituent order, whilst (31) is pragmatically marked, with the classifier construction preceding the noun.

28) **Aki ha ngga’e.** man one Cl.
    One man.

29) **Nio pu’u dima rua.**
    coconut Cl. five two
    Seven coconut trees.

30) **Fai ha ngga’e.**
    woman one Cl.
    One woman.

31) **Ha ngga’e fai.**
    one Cl. woman
    One woman.

### 9.3.3 Ellipsis of Noun

It is a common feature of Kéo that noun phrases in both subject and object position within clauses are ellipsed when they are understood, either from previous discourse or inference (see §10.7). If the noun phrase has been modified by some element, the whole noun phrase is not always ellipsed, but the noun may be. This leaves the modifying constituent in the noun phrase slot (see §7.4). This can be seen in example (32) (a partial repeat of (27)), where ‘water buffalo’ *kamba* have been mentioned in the two preceding sentences.

32) **Bapa Pio kamba ’éko ha mbudu.**
    father P. buffalo Cl. one ten
    Mr. Pio has ten water buffalo

When a noun has been ellipsed from a noun phrase leaving a classifier construction this classifier construction can then be modified by demonstratives, as evidenced by examples (33) and (34).

33) **Dako ’éko rua éna wewa.’Éko rua ké nandéradé**
    dog Cl. two Loc. yard Cl. two that sleep west
    under Cl. coconut
    There are two dogs in the yard. Those two sleep under coconut trees.
    APS001,004

34) **Ha do ké di’é rua wi’e.**
    one Cl. that Cl. two only
    That (one) tree only has two coconuts.
    APS006

Demonstratives also behave in this way (see §7.4).

### 9.3.4 Subtypes of Numeral Classifiers

Numeral classifiers are of two types: sortal and mensural. Sortal classifiers specify units that can be used to count entities and contain information about animacy, shape, consistency and so on of the entity to which they refer. They are used when counting count nouns. Mensural classifiers on the other hand
"...are used for measuring units of both mass and count nouns..." (Craig 1986:24). They are most typically used with mass nouns. Sortal classifiers form a closed set in Kéo, with approximately 40 members. They only occur with numerals. On the other hand, mensural classifiers form an open class with many nouns being potential members. In Kéo, aside from semantic differences, mensural classifiers differ from sortal classifiers in that they can occur with both numerals and quantifying adverbs.

9.3.4.1 Mensural Classifiers

The class of mensural classifiers has open membership. Any noun that refers to something that could possibly be used to measure something else is a potential member. As pointed out by Aikhenvald (2000:115), "The choice of mensural classifier is conditioned by two factors: the quantity, or measure, of an entity, and its physical properties...". In contemporary Kéo, mensural classifiers often come from words borrowed from Indonesian for relatively new items, such as bowls, cups, and buckets, while 'older' classifiers include handfuls, baskets and gourd-skin bowls. Recent borrowings used as mensural classifiers can be seen in (35) – (37) whilst more traditional items are exemplified in (38) – (40).

35) **Te mako ha mbudu.**
tea cup one ten
Ten cups of tea.

36) **'Aé ember rua.**
water bucket two
Two buckets of water.

37) **Palé piri tedu.**
rice plate three
Three plates of rice.

38) **Jawa sëo tona tedu.**
corn fry gourd three
Three gourd-skin bowls of fried corn.

39) **Mbu'ë-kaju mboda tedu.**
mung beans basket three
Three (large) baskets of mung beans

40) **Sunga mbenu ha kenggu.**
garlic full one handful
One handful of garlic.

Unlike sortal classifiers, mensural classifiers can occur with quantifying adverbs as well as numerals. As with numerals, quantifying adverbs follow the classifier.

41) **'Aé ember sëwe méré.**
water bucket many big
Very many buckets of water.

42) **Kopi mako rua-tedu.**
coffee cup several
Several cups of coffee.

There is a set of mensural classifiers the members of which are based on units of measurement from parts of the body. These classifiers are used when discussing the length and height of things, especially animals such as pigs, goats and water-buffalo. The usage of these mensural classifiers appears to be in decline. No natural occurrences of them were recorded. They were elicted from a male speaker aged in his mid-sixties. Younger speakers knew
some of the words, but were unfamiliar with most of them. The list of body-
part mensural classifiers is in Table 9.3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classifier</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>faté</td>
<td>A finger segment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kanga</td>
<td>A finger length. Otherwise a finger width, when used in conjunction with other measurements.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kepo ngemi</td>
<td>From fingertips to halfway down palm. (The place where finger tips curl under when one makes a fist.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kepo kawé</td>
<td>From fingertips to almost bottom of hand. (The place where finger tips reach when folded over, but not curled under when making a fist.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pebha</td>
<td>Width across widest part of hand at base of the thumb.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poé du</td>
<td>From the tip of the middle finger to bottom of fleshy area below the thumb. (Lit. to rub one’s eyes with the fleshy area below the thumb.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pangga</td>
<td>From tip of the middle finger to the centre base of the palm; or from the tip of the middle finger outstretched to the tip of the thumb outstretched.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naro ngetu</td>
<td>From tip of middle finger to wrist. (Lit. a kind of insect that lives in trees and can only move its body up and down, but not sideways.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pede seke</td>
<td>From tip of middle finger to place where ivory bracelet reaches — about midway up forearm. (Lit. to put on an ivory bracelet.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siku / déki</td>
<td>From the tip of the middle finger to the elbow (a cubit).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pébhé</td>
<td>One siku/déki plus one pebha.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classifier</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>didi ghosi</td>
<td>From tip of middle finger to arm-edge at shoulder. (Lit. a handbag falling off one’s shoulder.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sé’a ndéna</td>
<td>Tip of middle finger to top of shoulder, with arm outstretched.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>minu ‘œé</td>
<td>From the tip of the middle finger to the throat, with arm outstretched. (Lit. to drink water.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>répa</td>
<td>From the middle fingertip on one hand to the middle fingertip on the other hand when both arms are outstretched.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>panggé</td>
<td>The length of a footstep, taken from the heel of the back foot to the toes of the front foot.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9.3: Body-part mensural classifiers

For example, a young pig may be of the height in example (43).

43) Ha siku ha pebha kana tebu.
One cubit one hand width finger width three
One cubit, one hand-width and three finger widths.

9.3.4.2 Sortal Classifiers

Sortal classifiers form a closed set, with approximately forty members. Classifiers within this set can be considered general, unique or specific. General classifiers are residual classifiers used to classify entities which are unable to be classified by any of the other classifiers. Unique classifiers are used for only one, typically highly culturally salient, thing. Specific classifiers are used with prototypical entities, and their usage is extended to other entities associated in some way with the prototypical entity. The semantic parameters that apply to these classifiers are set out in Table 9.4.
specific kind of plant. ‘Arrangement’ refers to the formation of the items being classified.

Kéo has two general sortal classifiers. They are residual classifiers used with referents that do not fall within the semantic domain of any of the other classifiers. Many entities can be classified by either of the general classifiers, as seen with muku ‘banana’ in Table 9.2 above. The precise difference between these general classifiers needs further investigation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classifier</th>
<th>Used for:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>di’te</em></td>
<td>fruit, stones, canoes, houses,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>coconuts, cooking pots etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>’esa</em></td>
<td>fruit, houses, stones, water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>containers etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9.5: General sortal classifiers in Kéo

A list of specific sortal classifiers and their meanings appears in Table 9.6. There is a set of prototypical items, based on the semantic parameters discussed above, which these classifiers are used with. The use of specific classifiers, however, is often not restricted to co-occurrence with the prototypical items, but rather it is expanded to other items which are related by semantic extension. For example the classifier *mawa* is prototypically used for corn on stalk and for yam vines. Based on the feature of hanging, gong and drum sets have also come to be classified by this classifier, as gongs hang like vines when played.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classifier</th>
<th>Derived from:</th>
<th>Used for:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bhaki</td>
<td>beams of wood, money</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>doka</td>
<td>clumps of banana trees, or bamboo trees</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dudhu</td>
<td>groups of mixtures of small things, eg. cut-up vegetables</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhudhu</td>
<td>groups of things</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘éko</td>
<td>‘tail’</td>
<td>all land-dwelling animals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘étu</td>
<td>‘meat’</td>
<td>kinds of meat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fit'i</td>
<td>dry, wood-like things</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ghi</td>
<td>‘bountiful’</td>
<td>clumps of fruit on trees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘ika</td>
<td>‘fish’</td>
<td>all sea-dwelling animals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘isti</td>
<td>root vegetables</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mawa</td>
<td>corn on stalk; yam vines; gong and drum set</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mboko</td>
<td>round things; clusters of round things</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngga’e</td>
<td>people</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pata</td>
<td>flat, thin, bendy things, e.g. clothes, sarongs, material</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>po‘i</td>
<td>‘to break’</td>
<td>pieces of a cut-up or broken vegetable or fruit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tadi</td>
<td>‘rope, string’</td>
<td>plants that run along the ground; string-like things</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tembu</td>
<td>flat, bendy things</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classifier</th>
<th>Derived from:</th>
<th>Used for:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tombu</td>
<td>groups of things, e.g. fruit in groups at markets, groups of coconuts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toko</td>
<td>‘bone’</td>
<td>long, thick things, e.g. bones, wood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘ufu</td>
<td>things in bundles carried on the head, e.g. grass, firewood</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘ula</td>
<td>long, thin things, e.g. spoons, knives, pens, sticks</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weda</td>
<td>little round things, e.g. pipis, seeds</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>widha</td>
<td>long, thin, bendy things</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wumu</td>
<td>‘leaf’</td>
<td>leaves, paper</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9.6: Specific sortal classifiers in Kéo

The remaining sortal classifiers are unique classifiers, that is they are only used to classify one kind of referent. A list of these unique sortal classifiers appears in Table 9.7. All of the temporal classifiers, that is those classifiers used to classify time, are unique classifiers. The importance of certain kinds of plants and food to Kéo speakers is reflected in the unique classifiers. One of the unique classifiers daki is used to classify multiple wives. The practice of polygamy has essentially disappeared from the region since the introduction of Catholicism. However this classifier is still used, for example when discussing deceased relatives and ancestors.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classifier</th>
<th>Derived from:</th>
<th>Used for:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dadhu</td>
<td>corn cobs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daki</td>
<td>multiple wives</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dera</td>
<td>‘day’</td>
<td>days</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do</td>
<td>‘whole tree trunk’</td>
<td>trees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guni</td>
<td>complete stalk of banana fruit from tree</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iwa</td>
<td>‘year’</td>
<td>years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kabé</td>
<td>‘stem of coconut leaf’</td>
<td>stems of coconut leaves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kombé</td>
<td>‘night’</td>
<td>nights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>minggu</td>
<td>‘week’</td>
<td>weeks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndeka</td>
<td>‘time’</td>
<td>time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nodo</td>
<td>bamboo planks</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘oti</td>
<td>gardens</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pu’u</td>
<td>‘lower part of tree trunk’</td>
<td>trees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sepi</td>
<td>‘bees nest’</td>
<td>bunch of bananas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9.7: Unique sortal classifiers in Kéo

Repeater Classifiers

There are only a few ‘repeater’ classifiers in Kéo, that is, classifiers which have the same form as the referent they classify. Repeater classifiers can either be specific classifiers, such as wunu in example (44), or unique classifiers, such as kabé in example (45). The general classifiers are not used as repeater classifiers. It is possible in both of the examples below to omit the first instance of wunu and kabé when they are used nominally.

44) *Datu wunu muku wunu dima ‘esa éna tana.*
exist leaf banana CL six LOC ground
There are six banana leaves on the ground.

45) *Kabé nio kabé witu.*
stem coconut CL four
Four coconut leaf stems.

9.3.4.3 Numerals as Classifiers

As mentioned above in §9.2, several numerals in Kéo behave the same way as other classifiers. The evidence for some numerals being themselves classifiers is both distributional and semantic. These number-classifiers are the base numerals from each of the two systems, and significant higher numerals, as presented in Table 9.8.
### Table 9.8: Numerals that behave like classifiers in Kéo

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classifier</th>
<th>Derived from:</th>
<th>Used for:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>diwu</em></td>
<td>numeral: ‘four’</td>
<td>lots of fours in the base four numeral system</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>'udu</em></td>
<td>noun: ‘head’, numeral: ‘forty’</td>
<td>lots of forties in the base four numeral system</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mbudu</em></td>
<td>numeral: ‘ten’</td>
<td>lots of tens in the base ten numeral system</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ngasu</em></td>
<td>numeral: ‘hundred’</td>
<td>lots of hundreds in the base ten numeral system</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>l'iwu</em></td>
<td>numeral: ‘thousand’, quantifying adverb: ‘many’</td>
<td>lots of thousands in the base ten numeral system</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>juta</em></td>
<td>numeral: ‘million’ (from Indonesian)</td>
<td>lots of millions in the base ten numeral system</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Distributionally, these number-classifiers pattern the same way with other numerals as do ordinary classifiers. That is, *ha* ‘one’ precedes these number-classifiers and all other numerals follow them. In the following examples the number-classifiers are in bold.

#### Base Four System

46) *Ha *'udu* *diwu* *rua*.
    one forty four two
    Forty eight.

47) *'Udu* *rua* *ha* *diwu*.
    forty two one four
    Eighty four.

#### Base Ten System

48) *Ha ngasu* *mbudu* *dimu*.
    one hundred ten five
    One hundred and fifty.

49) *L'iwu* *dimu-rua* *ha* *mbudu*.
    thousand seven one ten
    Seven thousand and ten.

Semantically, it appears that these number-classifiers indicate ‘groups of N,’ where N stands for the value of the numeral. This is similar to other classifiers which indicate arrangement of ‘groups of something.’

Further evidence that these numerals are classifiers comes from the quantifying adverb *Cl rua tedu,* literally *CL two three* meaning ‘several’. The quantifying adverb *Cl rua tedu* means roughly ‘several of whatever is indicated by the classifier’. When using the base ten system for amounts less than ten the classifier used will be a sortal numeral classifier, as in example (50). If the amount is somewhere between ten and a hundred then the number-classifier *mbudu* ‘ten’ is used, as in (51), meaning ‘several lots of ten’. Finally, if the amount is somewhere in the hundreds then the number classifier *ngasu* ‘hundred’ is used, as in (52), meaning ‘several hundreds’.

50) *Nga'o* *ka* *muku* *'esa* *rua* *tedu* *bhodo* *lasi* *menga* 1sg eat banana *CL* two three but remainder still woso.
    much
    I ate several bananas, but there were still many left.

51) *'Imu* *nê* *longo* *mbudu* *rua* *tedu*.
    3sg have goat *CL/ten* two three
    He has several tens of goats.
10 TRANSLITIVITY AND CLAUSE TYPES

10.1 Introduction

In this chapter the four major declarative clause types found in Kéo are identified and described. For discussion of interrogative and imperative clauses see Chapter 15. There is a preliminary discussion on transitivity in §10.2. Ambient clauses are discussed in §10.3, intransitive clause types are described in §10.4, transitive clause types are examined in §10.5, and ditransitive clause types are described in §10.6. The different kinds of ellipsis that occur are discussed in §10.7.

10.2 Transitivity

Two types of transitivity exist: semantic and syntactic/grammatical. Payne succinctly describes semantic transitivity as follows.

...a transitive verb is one that describes a relation between two participants such that one of the participants acts toward or upon the other. An intransitive verb is one that describes a property, state, or situation involving only one participant. (Payne 1997:171)

Grammatical transitivity, on the other hand, is concerned with how many arguments are present with any given usage of a verb in a clause. The word eat in English is always semantically transitive (with someone/something that eats and something to eat), but syntactically it is sometimes transitive and
sometimes intransitive.

...the semantic valence of a verb, V, refers to the number of necessary participants in the scene expressed by V. Syntactic valence, then, is the number of verbal arguments in a clause in which V is the main predicatory.
(Payne 1997:171-172)

Semantic valence as presented by Payne can be thought of as the inherent valence of a verb, with four possibilities:

1. a verb may be zero-valent, that is, it does not require an argument;
2. a verb may be monovalent, that is, it requires one argument;
3. a verb may be bivalent, requiring two arguments;
4. a verb may be labile, meaning that it can either take one or two arguments;
5. a verb may be trivalent, taking either two or three arguments.

In Kéo the valency of a verb is lexically determined. Therefore, subclasses of verb can be identified based on valency. Monovalent verbs belong to the word class of ‘intransitive verb’ (see §4.3.2.1), bivalent verbs belong to the word class of ‘transitive verb’ (see §4.3.2.2), labile verbs belong to either the word class of ‘A-type ambitransitive verbs’ or ‘O-type ambitransitive verbs’ (see §4.3.2.3), and trivalent verbs belong to the word class of ‘ditransitive verbs’ (see §4.3.2.4).

In addition to verbal predicates Kéo also has nominal predicates (see §10.3 and §10.4.2).

There are ten possible syntactic realisations of predicate and argument co-occurrence. These fall under the four different clause types.

1. Ambient clauses
   - A predicate may occur without any arguments [PRED] (see §10.3);

2. Intransitive clauses
   - A predicate may occur intransitively, with one argument overtly mentioned [S PRED] (see §10.4);
   - A predicate may occur intransitively with its single argument being ellipsed, understood from context [Ø PRED] (see §10.7.2);

3. Transitive clauses
   - A predicate may occur transitively, with two overtly mentioned arguments [S PRED O] (see §10.5 and §10.5.1);
   - A predicate may occur transitively with one ellipsed argument, being understood from context [S PRED Ø] [Ø PRED O] (see §10.7.3);
   - A predicate may occur transitively with two ellipsed arguments [Ø PRED Ø] (See §10.7.3).

4. Ditransitive clauses
   - A predicate may occur ditransitively with three overtly mentioned arguments [S PRED FO SO] (See §10.6).
   - A predicate may occur ditransitively with one ellipsed argument [Ø PRED FO SO] [S PRED FO Ø] [S PRED Ø SO] (See §10.7.4).
   - A predicate may occur ditransitively with two ellipsed arguments [Ø PRED FO Ø] [S PRED Ø Ø] [Ø PRED Ø SO] (See §10.7.4).
   - A predicate may occur ditransitively with three ellipsed arguments [Ø PRED Ø Ø] (See §10.7.4).

Ellipsis causes problems with this classification, as can be seen in the potential realisations in brackets above, and is discussed in section §10.7 below.
10.3 Ambient Clauses

Ambient clauses are those clauses which do not contain any arguments, consisting solely of a predicate, and possibly modifiers. They typically describe meteorological states, as in (1), (2) and (3).

1) 'Ura.
   rain
   It’s raining. / There’s rain.

2) Aru.
   hot
   It’s hot. / It’s being hot. / There’s heat.

3) 'Angi.
   wind
   It’s windy. / There’s wind.

Although an existential translation has been provided as an alternative translation for each example, these are not existential constructions (see §10.4.4). The two translations have been provided to show that it is impossible to state whether the predicates in these single word clauses are being used as verbs or nouns. Each of the forms 'ura, ara, and 'angi are multifunctional. They are realised syntactically as either a noun or an intransitive verb (see §4.4.2). Without modification it is not possible to tell whether these clauses contain nominal or verbal predicates. Despite the word class membership of these predicates being indeterminate when used in ambient clauses, they are clearly predicates, as predicates are the only obligatory constituent within a clause.

Unmodified ambient clauses are the only clauses which are unaffected by ellipsis. (If the predicate were ellipsed there would be no clause.)

10.4 Intransitive Clauses

Intransitive clauses are those clauses in which a predicate takes only one argument. Three types can be identified: verbal (§10.4.1), nominal (§10.4.2) and existential (§10.4.4). There is some overlap in intransitive clauses containing verbal and nominal predicates. This is discussed in §10.4.3.

10.4.1 Verbal Intransitive Clauses

The predicate of verbal intransitive clauses is always verbal. The verb acting as predicate may belong to either the class of intransitive verbs or ambitransitive verbs. The structure of verbal intransitive clauses is [S PRED]. In (4) the intransitive verb 'éru ‘to sleep’ takes the single argument dako ko'o kau 'your dog'. In (5) the O-type ambitransitive verb (see §4.3.2.3) aku ‘to boil’ is realised intransitively, taking the single argument 'adé 'water'.

4) Daku ko'o kau 'éru.
   dog Poss 2sg. sleep
   Your dog is sleeping.

5) 'Adé nga nga aku.
   water PER.PER. boil
   The water is already boiling.

10.4.2 Nominal Intransitive Clauses

In nominal intransitive clauses the predicate is a noun phrase (see §7.2.1). Payne describes predicate nominals as follows:

Predicate nominals typically express the notions of proper inclusion and equation. Proper inclusion is when a specific entity is asserted to be among the class of items specified in the nominal predicate. ... Equative clauses are those which assert that a particular entity (the subject of the clause) is identical to the entity specified in the predicate nominal. (Payne 1997:114)
There is no structural difference between nominal intransitive clauses that express proper inclusion and equative clauses. They both have the structure [S PRED]. Sentence (6) expresses proper inclusion and sentence (7) is an equative nominal. The predicate nominal is in bold in each instance.

6) *Imu'ata nua Ndai.*
   3sg person hamlet N.
   She is a Ndai hamlet person. (She is from the Ndai hamlet.)

7) *Té 'énbu ja'o.*
   this grandchild 1sg
   This is my grandchild.

10.4.3 Overlap Between Verbal and Nominal Intransitive Clauses

Verbal intransitive clauses with verbal predicates, and nominal intransitive clauses with nominal predicates have the same minimal structure, that is [S PRED]. This can cause ambiguity when the predicate used is a multifunctional form and there is no modification. For example, the form kénda is multifunctional, realised as an A-type ambitransitive verb meaning ‘to kick’ and a noun (see §4.4.5) meaning ‘a kick’. This means that clauses such as (8) have two possible readings.

8) *Té kénda.*
   this kick
   This kicked. (verbal predicate)
   This is a kick. (nominal predicate)

Ambiguity does not arise when the clause contains additional material distinctive of either verbal or nominal predicates. In (9) only a nominal interpretation is possible as the predicate is clearly a noun phrase containing a relative clause (see §7.2.2.7 and §14.5.2). While in (10) only a verbal interpretation is possible, as only verbs can be iterated (see §4.3.1 and §12.2.9).

9) *Té kénda ta tenggo.*
   this kick REL hard
   This is a hard kick.

10) *Té kénda kénda kénda.*
    this kick kick kick
    This kicked and kicked and kicked.

See §4.4 for further discussion of ambiguous grammatical structures due to multifunctional forms.

10.4.4 Existential Constructions

“Existential constructions predicate the existence of some entity usually in some specified location” (Payne 1997:112). In Kéo, existential constructions predicate the existence of some entity, but not necessarily in some specified location. Existential constructions in Kéo are intransitive clauses.

As with many languages of the world, Kéo employs the same words for possessive predicates and existential predicates (see §8.4). These words are the existential verb datu and the possessive O-type ambitransitive verb né’ée (see §8.3.3). Datu is more commonly used than né’ée in existential constructions. It seems that datu is used for indefinite things, or things that are just being introduced into the discourse, whilst né’ée is used when the referent is already understood. Constituent order within existential constructions varies depending on which verb is used. With datu the normal structure is: [datu NP] ‘NP exists,’ as in (11).
11) Datu 'ata podo méré.
exist person sorcerer big
There is a big sorcerer.
SRWB

On the other hand, the unmarked constituent order with né’é is [NP né’é] 'NP is had', as in (12).

12) Sa’o né’é.
house have
There is a house.

The noun phrase precedes né’é because né’é is an O-type ambitransitive verb (see §4.3.2.3). That is, when occurring intransitively the subject is semantically equivalent to the object if the verb were being used transitively, as it is in (13).

13) 'imu-ko’o né’é sa’o.
3pl have house
They have a house.

Given the right pragmatic context, the constituent order of each of the existential constructions can be reversed, resulting in [NP datu] and [né’é NP]. In the case of né’é, when the object follows the verb it is being used transitively with an ellipsed subject, as in (14). Note that né is an abbreviated form of né’é often used in rapid speech.

14) Napa négha jeka né’é fai né ‘anga, kami later PER.PER until have wife have children 1pl.excl
dhatu kema, dhatu ghavo ‘imu-ko’o jeka sékola.
still work still work 3pl until school
Later, when (I) already had a wife, had kids, we still work, still work (so) they reach school.
APCH

There is no specific predicate used for non-existence. Rather, non-existence is expressed by negating the existential verb datu. As with other predicates, negators precede the existential verb datu used predicatively. Né’é cannot be negated when used intransitively as an existential. When used transitively in possessive clauses it can be negated as other predicates are (see §12.6.1). In sentence (15) datu is modified by the negator nggedhé, while in (16) it is modified by the negator mona.

15) Nggedhé datu sati ti’i ka.
NEG exist someone give food
There wasn’t anyone to give him food.
JKBB

16) Karena datu Surabay ko famili kita mona datu.
because down S. SPeg family 1pl.incl NEG exist
Because we don’t have any family in Surabaya. (Lit. Because in Surabaya our family doesn’t exist.)
MPKY

Very occasionally datu ‘exist’ can be used transitively, as in (17), where kaku ‘toilet’ is the object. However, this is not common. In such a situation né’é would typically be used (see §8.3).
17) Sa'o sa'o nggedhé datu kaku.¹
house house NEG exist toilet
The houses don’t have toilets.
AN0011

10.5 Transitive Clauses

Transitive clauses are those clauses in which a predicate takes two arguments. All predicates in transitive clauses are verbal. They are bivalent, labile or trivalent (see §10.2 above), belonging respectively to the word classes of transitive verb, ambitransitive verb and ditransitive verb. One or both of the arguments are often ellipsed when they are understood from context, causing some confusion for the linguist as to whether a clause is really transitive with an ellipsed argument or intransitive. In many instances it is simply not possible to tell the difference (see §10.7.3.3). The majority of verbs take a noun phrase as object. Some verbs, notably verbs of cognition and speech acts, can take either a noun phrase or a complement clause as object (see §10.5.2 and §14.5.1).

10.5.1 Simple Transitive Clauses

In simple transitive clauses both arguments are overtly mentioned, and the object is a noun phrase. They may have either a transitive verb, as in (18) or an ambitransitive verb, as in (19).

18) ‘Imu bhobha kepa.
3sg hit mosquito
He hit a mosquito.

¹ Note that this is not a topic comment construction (see §14.2), because the whole utterance is covered by one intonation contour. If it were a topic comment construction the topic would be covered by one intonation contour and the comment by a second intonation contour.

19) Ng’a’o aku ’aë.
1sg boil water
I’m boiling water.

10.5.1 Object Fronting

The objects of simple transitive clauses are often fronted, resulting in the structure [O A PRED]. This is typically done when the object is topical within the discourse, as in (20), a clause taken from a text concerning the mining, preparation and selling of soil.

20) Négha ké tana kami waju.
already that soil 1pl.excl pound
Then we pound the soil.
PAT018

Objects realised as emphasised noun phrases (see §7.2.2.3) are very commonly fronted. With both emphasis and fronting these objects are shown to be highly salient within discourse. Examples (21) and (22) below illustrate this phenomenon. In each example the fronted object is in bold.

21) Négha ké kau keda wavi ha ‘éko, atu sengga
already that pig one CL or stab
kamba ha ‘éko, ta la kau koma éna wéti kau.
buffalo: one CL REL blood 2sg rub LOC body 2sg
After that you (should) kill a pig or stab a buffalo and rub its blood on your body.
HWT031

22) Ta dë’ë ‘imu dhindu ‘oné dépo.
REL seed 3sg collect in sack
She collected the seeds in a sack.
AMMS012

The combination of emphatic particle and fronting can be used for contrastive topicalisation, as in (23).
10.5.2 Transitive Clauses with Complement Clauses

Complement clauses prototypically function as objects (see §3.3.2.3 and §14.5.1). They are complete clauses, and therefore minimally contain a predicate, and typically also contain arguments. There is no overt marker of complementation.

There are only a few verbs – speech act verbs, and verbs of cognition – which take complements as objects. Some verbs of cognition may take either a noun phrase or a complement clause as an object. Verbs of cognition include physical sensory verbs, such as dédé ‘to hear’ and tē ‘to see’ (as in sentence (24) in which the object is a noun phrase, and (25) in which the object is a complement clause) as well as emotion verbs, such as rasa ‘to feel’ and sena ‘to like’ (as in (26) in which the object is a noun phrase and in (27) in which the object is a complement clause). In each of the examples below the verbs are in bold, while the objects are underlined.

23) "Ta weki 'ata 'imu pesa, ta toko 'imu moi."

REL body people 3sg eat REL bone 3sg keep
"People’s bodies (he) eats, the bones (he) keeps."

24) Nga‘o tēi kau.
1sg see 2sg
I see you.

25) Nga‘o tēi 'ata palu léwo.
1sg see people run random
I see people running around.

26) Nga‘o sena muku.
1sg like banana
I like bananas.

27) Nga‘o sena ka muku.
1sg like eat banana
I like eating bananas.

Complement clausal objects of verbs of cognition cannot be fronted.

Complement clauses are dealt with more fully in §14.5.1, which includes an analysis of the behaviour of the speech act verbs and verbs of cognition which require them.

10.6 Ditransitive Clauses

Ditransitive clauses are those clauses in which a predicate takes three arguments – a subject and two objects. In Kēo ditransitive clauses are extremely marginal. Two types can be distinguished: ‘give’ ditransitive clauses (§10.6.1 below), and ditransitive clauses with both a noun phrase and a complement clause as objects (§10.6.2 below). All ditransitive verbs can be, and are often, used transitively. Some can also be used intransitively (see §4.3.2.4).

10.6.1 ‘Give’ Ditransitive Clauses

Only two verbs can occur in ditransitive clauses with two nominal objects: t’i and pati, both meaning ‘to give’. In all cases when either t’i or pati ‘to give’ are used ditransitively the goal is the first object and the theme is the second object (see §3.3.2.4). This can be seen in (28) and (29). The first object – the goal – is Efi néé Emil in (28), and nga‘o in (29) and the second object – the theme – is foto nika kami in (28) and ka in (29).
30) **Effi ti’i ka patti nga’o.**
E give food give 1sg
Effi gave food to me.

Overall, it is not often that ti’i and patti are used ditransitively, as generally when giving is involved, with a goal, the benefactive/purposive serial verb construction (see §11.5.1) is used. In such a construction the verbs ti’i and patti ‘to give’ are transitive, as in (30) above, and (31) below.

31) **’Iné ti’i dambu patti ’ana ’imu dau sékola.**
mother give clothes give child 3sg down school
Mother gave clothes to her child at school.

In (31) ti’i takes the theme as object, while patti takes the goal as object. The order of the verbs can be reversed, as in (32), with patti taking the theme, and ti’i taking the goal, with no change in meaning. In the village of Udiworowatu the order found in (31) is more common.

32) **’Iné patti dambu ti’i ’ana ’imu dau sékola.**
mother give clothes give child 3sg down school
Mother gave clothes to her child at school.

---

2 Neither (29) nor (30) can be interpreted as ‘Effi fed me’, because only the appropriate verb of feeding can be used to obtain such a reading. When it comes to feeding animals only pigs can occur in a ditransitive ‘give’ construction, as goals, as in the example below, and this is a highly marked usage. The context in which this would be used, is if a child won’t eat its food and a parent becomes angry, saying that they’ll just feed it to pigs.

**’Iné patti wavi ka.**
mother give pig food
Mother feeds the pigs. (Lit. Mother gives pigs food.)

The cultural salience of pig-feeding may explain why only pigs occur in these ditransitive constructions, and not other animals. In Këo there are several verbs all meaning ‘to feed’, which are used with different beneficiaries/recipient. These are shown in the table below. None of them are ditransitive. The recipient is the object of the verbs. If the food is mentioned it occurs in an instrumental prepositional phrase.
10.6.2  Ditransitive Clauses with Complement Clauses

Complement clauses occur as the objects of speech act verbs and verbs of cognition (see chapter §14.5.1). Only a few such verbs can occur ditransitively. In such ditransitive clauses, as with ‘give’ ditransitive clauses, the goal, in the form of a noun phrase, fills the first object slot, immediately following the verb, as with ‘imu’ in (33), while the complement clause occurs as a second object, as with ja’a da’é ka in (33).

33) Ja’a sodho ‘imu, ja’a da’é ka.
    1sg tell 3sg 1sg IMP.INC eat
    I told him I hadn’t eaten yet.

None of the verbs of cognition can occur ditransitively, and only a few of the speech act verbs can do so, most notably sodho ‘to tell’, si’i ‘to tell’, dhewo or dhewa ‘to answer’ and supu ‘to order’. All speech act verbs have the possibility of having either indirect speech or direct speech as an object complement clause. In sentence (33) above the complement clause is indirect speech. An example of a ditransitive speech act verb with a direct speech complement clause as an object can be seen in (34) below.

34) ‘imu si’i ja’a, ‘imu da’é ka.’
    3sg will 1sg 3sg IMP.INC eat
    He told me, “She hasn’t eaten yet.”

For a full analysis of speech act verbs and their complement clausal objects see §14.5.1.

10.7  Ellipsis

10.7.1  General Remarks

All clauses, except for ambient clauses, have arguments that can be ellipsed. In all cases the argument(s) that are ellipsed are understood by both speaker and hearer, through previous discourse, or mutually shared knowledge. In most cases the transitivity of a predicate remains clear. In some cases, however, the transitivity of a predicate is indeterminate due to some transitive clauses with ellipsis appearing exactly the same as intransitive clauses (see §10.7.3.3) and ditransitive clauses appearing transitive or intransitive (see §10.7.4).

10.7.2  Intransitive Clauses with Ellipsis

Ellipsis occurs within all three types of intransitive clauses (see §10.4). The single argument of a verbal intransitive clause may be ellipsed. For example, in (35) the single argument bapa ‘dad’ of the verb nio has been ellipsed having been mentioned in the previous speaker’s turn. Responses to questions, as in (35) are very common places for ellipsis to occur.

35) “Bapa éna ëmba?”
    dad where
    Where’s dad?
    “Ø nio.”
    Ø bathe
    (He’s) bathing.

In (36) after mentioning the subject ‘imu ‘he’ in the first clause, in subsequent clauses the subject is ellipsed.
36) "Imu ha go’o ndau. Wena. Ø Ndau wena."
3sg one little go down below Ø go down below
He’s gone down for a while. Below. (He’s) gone down.

"Dau sa’o Ø mona datu."
down house NEG exist
(He’s) not down at the house.
GCHH007-009

10.7.3 Transitive Clauses with Ellipsis

Three kinds of ellipsis can occur in transitive clauses, with either one or both arguments being ellipsed. Firstly, the subject may be ellipsed [Ø PRED O], secondly, the object may be ellipsed [S PRED Ø], and thirdly, both arguments may be ellipsed [Ø PRED Ø].

10.7.3.1 Ellipsed Subject of a Transitive Verb

Aside from ambient clauses, when a subject is missing from a clause it is always the case that it has been ellipsed. In (37), as the speaker is narrating a story with himself as the main character, there is no need to continuously mention himself. The verb nggad ‘to hunt’ is being used transitively, as it has an overt object kubi ‘octopus’, with an ellipsed subject.

37) Ø Nggad kubi paké në’të ko senjata, ko’o
Ø hunt octopus use with SPEC weapon SPEC
gaco rami në’të ko’o sarami.
hunting fork sea spear and SPEC goggles
(I) hunt octopus with weapons, with a hunting fork, sea spear and goggles.
APNK005

Note that the subject of a transitive clause cannot be ellipsed if the object is fronted (see §3.3.2.3).

10.7.3.2 Ellipsed Object of a Transitive Verb

When the object of a transitive verb is absent it can be assumed that it has been ellipsed. This is because transitive verbs require that two arguments be present syntactically. As with other ellipsis, the ellipsis of objects of transitive verbs occurs when the referent of the object is clear from context, as in example (38).

38) Na ‘emba sura ko nga’o?
   where letter POSS 1sg
   Where is my letter?
   ‘Inë ngatu Ø.
mother send Ø
   Mother sent (it).

10.7.3.3 Absent Objects and Ambitransitive Verbs

Ambitransitive verbs are either of A-type, for example ka ‘to eat, to eat something’, or O-type, for example bhobhö ‘be poured, to pour something’ (see §4.3.2.3). To reiterate, when the agent-like argument of a transitive verb (A) and the single argument of an intransitive verb (S) are the same that verb is said to be an A-type ambitransitive verb. On the other hand when the object of a transitive verb (O) and the single argument of an intransitive verb (S) are the same, that verb is said to be an O-type ambitransitive verb.

O-Type Ambitransitive Verbs

There is no difficulty in identifying when an O-type ambitransitive verb with only one argument present is transitive or intransitive. This is because when used intransitively S = O and therefore is present in the subject slot. So sentence (39) is clearly transitive with Bapa ‘dad’ being the A and ‘ad ‘water’ being the O. Used intransitively ‘ad ‘water’ becomes the subject, as in (40).
39) *Ndewé Bapa bhobhé *ačo *oné gela.
earlier dad pour water in glass
Earlier Dad poured water into a glass.

40) *Ačo nēgha bhobhé *oné gela.
water PER.PER pour in glass
The water has been poured into a glass.

If the object ‘ač water’ in (39) were to be ellipsed sentence (41) would be the result.

41) *Ndewé Bapa bhobhé Ø *oné gela.
earlier dad pour Ø in glass
Earlier Dad poured (it) into a glass. (transitive reading)
Dad was poured into a glass. (intransitive reading)

The most reasonable interpretation possible from this sentence is ‘earlier Dad poured *it* into a glass’. An intransitive reading of ‘Dad was poured into a glass’ is possible, but would occur in a highly pragmatically marked situation, and so confusion between the two readings is highly unlikely.

**A-Type Ambitransitive Verbs**

Unlike clauses containing an O-type verb and only a subject, in clauses containing an A-type verb and only a subject it is often impossible to determine whether that verb is behaving intransitively or is behaving transitively with an ellipsed object. This is because subjects always fill the pre-predicate slot, regardless of whether the predicate is transitive or intransitive.

When an object is absent and there are no antecedents that relate to possible objects it is reasonable to assume that the clause is intransitive, as in (42).

42) *Ka’é ma ka.
older sibling PROG eat
Older sister is eating.

However, when there is context from previous discourse, as in (43) it is unclear as to whether the verb is being used intransitively or transitively with an ellipsed object. Inference must be used by the hearer to interpret the utterance.

mother fry banana older sibling PROG eat
Mother is frying bananas. Older sister is eating (them?).

### 10.7.4 Ellipsis within Ditransitive Clauses

As there are three arguments within ditransitive clauses there are many more possibilities for ellipsis than in intransitive and transitive clauses. In theory there are seven possibilities for ellipsis:

1. ellipsed subject [Ø PRED FO SO];
2. ellipsed first object [S PRED Ø SO];
3. ellipsed second object [S PRED FO Ø];
4. ellipsed subject and second object [Ø PRED FO Ø];
5. ellipsed subject and first object [Ø PRED Ø SO];
6. two ellipsed objects [Ø PRED Ø Ø]; or
7. all three arguments ellipsed [Ø PRED Ø Ø].

In reality only six of these occur. Each is illustrated below. The combination of [S PRED Ø SO] does not occur. When a first object is not present the status of the verb as transitive or ditransitive becomes ambiguous, even when there is context in the preceding discourse.
1. [Ø PRED FO SO]

Subjects may occur in imperative statements (see §15.3). Example (44) has an ellipsed subject.

44) Ø Sodho 'imu, "Kau ngesi mbana." Ø tell 3sg 2sg must go
Tell him, "You must go."

2. [S PRED Ø SO]

There are no instances in which a ditransitive clause can have only an ellipsed first object. When only a complement clause is present as object of a speech act verb the verb is transitive not ditransitive (see §10.6.2 above and §14.5.1.1).

3. [S PRED FO Ø]

When one of the ditransitive 'give' verbs – ti'i or patti – occur with only one object, we know which object has been ellipsed for two reasons. Firstly, the first object always has the semantic role of goal and the second object always has the semantic role of theme. Secondly, first objects are never the sole constituent to be ellipsed from a ditransitive clause. In the second sentence in (45) the second object has been ellipsed, leaving the first object denoting the goal.

45) "'Imu sodho nga'o 'imu mbana radé pasa." 3sg tell 1sg 3sg go west market
"She told me she was going to the market."

"'Imu nēgha sodho nga'o Ø mogha." 3sg PER.PER tell 1sg Ø also
"She already told me too."

4. [Ø PRED FO Ø]

The ellipsis of both subject and second object in ditransitive 'give' clauses is quite common. In the second clause in example (46) the ditransitive verb ti'i 'to give' has two ellipsed arguments – the subject and the second object [Ø PRED FO Ø]. We know that it is the second object that has been ellipsed, because the object present is the goal, which must be the first object.

46) Ma'e ngae! Ti'i 'ari Ø
don't naughty give younger sibling Ø
Don't be naughty! Give (your) younger brother (it).

We also know that the second clause in (46) is ditransitive with two ellipsed arguments rather than transitive with an ellipsed subject, because ti'i, when used transitively, must occur in a serial verb construction, and the theme is expressed before the goal (see §10.6.1 and §11.5.1).

5. [Ø PRED Ø SO]

The only instances in which both subject and first object are ellipsed are in imperatives. It is unclear in these imperatives whether the verb is transitive with an ellipsed subject or ditransitive with both an ellipsed subject and ellipsed first object.

47) Supu, "Ma'i ndia 'ana go'o." order come here here child small
Order, "Come here little child."

6. [S PRED Ø Ø]

The transitivity of verbs in clauses with double object ellipsis is difficult to determine. In example (48) it is unclear whether sodho 'to tell' is transitive or
ditransitive – whether both objects of the ditransitive verb have been ellipsed, or if the single argument of the transitive verb has been ellipsed.

48) *Kami négha sodho.* 
   1pl.excl PER.PER tell/say  
   We already told (him?) (about it).

7. [Ø PRED Ø Ø]

There are two situations in which a ditransitive verb can occur without any arguments. Firstly when it is being used as an imperative, where the context is clear to all participants, as in sentence (49). Second, when it is an affirmative response to a question, as in (50).

49) Ø *Ti'ë! Ø Ø*  
   Ø give Ø Ø  
   (You) give (me it)!

50) *Kau négha ti'ë 'imu joi o?*  
   2sg already give 3sg money Q  
   Have you given him the money?  
   Ø *Ti'ë Ø.*  
   Ø give Ø  
   (Yes I) gave (it to him).

11
SERIAL VERB CONSTRUCTIONS

11.1 Introduction

There is, as yet, no universally applicable definition of serial verb constructions, primarily because many features are language-specific. The core characteristic of serial verb constructions, cross-linguistically, is that they “...consist of a sequence of two or more verbs which in various (rather strong) senses, together act like a single verb” (Durie 1997:289-290). This criterion is not enough on its own, however, to identify serial verb constructions in any specific language, and so language specific criteria for serial verb constructions in Kéo are presented below in §11.3.

Overviews of two approaches to serial verb constructions are presented in the following sections. Nuclear versus core serialisation, a method of structural analysis developed by Foley and Olson (1985) resulting in a typology of serial verb types is described in §11.2.1. Key characteristics of serial verbs developed by Durie (1997) are described in §11.2.2. The different types of serialisation found in Kéo are discussed in §11.4.

11.2 Two Approaches to Serial Verb Constructions

11.2.1 Nuclear Versus Core Serialisation

In Role and Reference Grammar (Foley & Van Valin 1984) and (Foley & Olson 1985) the clause is regarded as a “...multi-level grammatical structure with various components of the clause belonging to different levels” (Foley &
Olson (1985:17). They distinguish three layers within a clause: the nucleus, the innermost layer consisting of just the predicate; the core, which consists of the nucleus and its arguments; and the periphery, the outermost layer, which consists of the core and non-core arguments (Foley & Van Valin 1984) and (Foley & Olson 1985:33-36). Different grammatical operators have scope over different layers of the clause. Continuing on from this work, Foley and Olson (Foley & Olson 1985) distinguished different serial verb constructions according to the level within a clause at which serialisation occurs: nuclear serialisation and core serialisation.

In nuclear serialisation a ‘complex nucleus’ is formed:

A complex nucleus is made up of two or more verbs joined together. This complex nucleus forms a single unit at the innermost layer, a nuclear juncture, and any nuclear layer operator must have the whole nucleus, all the individual verbs, within its scope. As this complex nucleus is a single unit, all core and peripheral layer arguments and operators are shared equally by all verbs in the nucleus. (Foley & Olson 1985:37)

Core serialisation occurs when two cores are joined together to make a larger complex core:

...any core units bound together in a core juncture must share a common set of arguments of location and time, as well as other peripheral features like tense and mood. Furthermore, an additional constraint for core layer serial verb constructions is that they must share a common core argument, either actor or undergoer. (Foley & Olson 1985:47)

Foley and Olson elaborate that although the verbs in a core serialisation must share a common core argument not all arguments need to be shared.

Those clauses that are joined at the peripheral level are considered as conjoined clauses.

11.2.2 Durie’s Key Characteristics of Serialisation

The following are the ‘key characteristics’ of serial verb constructions identified by Durie (1997:291):

- a single serial verb complex describes what is conceptualized as a single event: ...
- the serial complex has shared tense, aspect, modality, and polarity: ...
- serial verbs ‘share’ at least one and possibly more arguments.
- one verb is not embedded within or as a complement of the other.
- intonational properties of a clause with serialization are those of a monoverbal clause (Givón 1990/91).
- the complex takes only one subject/external argument.
- when serialization results in a complex of more than two arguments, the configuration of arguments corresponds closely to the kinds of configurations of arguments + adjuncts found for single clauses in nonserializing languages.
- there is a very strong diachronic tendency to lexicalization and grammaticization of the meaning of serial complexes:...

Durie also identifies two types of verb sequencing: contiguous verb sequencing “...where any arguments are placed outside the verb string...” and non-contiguous verb sequencing “...where arguments can intervene between verbs” (Durie 1997:302).

11.2.3 Application of Analyses to Kéo

The distinction between nuclear and core serialisation does not seem to be a particularly important one in Kéo. This fact is linked to the lack of verbal cross-referencing or other morphology in the language. The primary evidence available to posit a distinction between nuclear and core serialisation in Kéo comes from the contiguity of the verb complex in a serial verb complex. Non-contiguous verb sequences may include an argument in between the serialised verbs. This is an indicator of core serialisation. On the other hand contiguous
verb sequences do not include an argument within the serial complex. Clause operators, such as negation and aspect markers (see §11.3), have scope over the whole serial verb complex and so cannot be used as evidence to support a distinction between nuclear and core serialisation. Likewise, there isn’t any verbal cross-referencing or other morphology that could support a claim of a difference between nuclear and core serialisation. Due to the lack of evidence Kéo serial verb constructions are not analysed using a nuclear versus core distinction.

In general, Kéo serial verb constructions do follow Durie’s key characteristics. Some of the characteristics he mentions are more salient than others and are discussed in §11.3. There are two things to note. Firstly, one verb is not embedded in the serial verb complex nor does it occur as a complement of another. Complementation is strictly restricted to verbs of cognition and speech act verbs, which do not occur in serial verb constructions (see §14.5.1). Secondly, the only type of serial verb construction which shows any signs of grammaticalisation and lexicalisation is the synonymic type (see §11.4.5).

11.3 Kéo Language Specific Criteria

The following criteria are diagnostic of serial verb constructions in Kéo:

1. A serial verb construction contains two or more verbs, which occur in the same clause describing a single event;

2. The whole serial verb complex is negated by a negator preceding the first verb (see §12.6.1);

3. All verbs come under the scope of one aspect or mood particle (see §12.2 and §12.3) which precedes the verb complex;

4. All verbs share a single subject, at the surface level;

5. The construction falls under the one intonation contour. That is, there are no pauses between the verbs in a serial construction.

Each of these criteria will now be discussed in more detail.

1. A serial verb construction contains two or more verbs, which occur in the same clause describing a single event

Kéo serial verb constructions typically have two or three verbs. However, I have found up to four verbs occurring in a serial construction, as in (1).

1) ‘Imu simba palu mfana uggæ wado méo.
   3sg immediately run go search return cat
   He immediately ran back to search for the cat.
   [SRMW]

It appears that serial verbs are conceptualised as representing single events. This characteristic is somewhat difficult to confirm or disconfirm for any language due to inconsistent ways in which ‘conceptualisation’ is judged. If the evidence used to establish whether something is a single event is that it is represented by a single predicate, then insofar as serial verb constructions are single predicates they can be considered to represent single events (A. Pawley p.c.).
2. The whole serial verb complex is negated by a negator preceding the first verb in the construction.

It is not possible for some verbs in a serial verb construction to be negated and others not to be negated. A negator has scope over the entire serial verb complex, as in the cause-effect serial verb construction in (2). As with monovaleral clauses the negator precedes the predicate it modifies (see §12.6.1). Although this example fits into the cause-effect category based on Durie’s characteristics for the group, this particular example looks like a temporal sequence rather than cause and effect.

2) 'Imu mona dédé tewa.
   3sg NEG hear respond
   He didn’t hear or respond (because he didn’t hear).
   SRDL

If only the second verb in the complex were to be negated, as in (3), the two verbs would no longer form a single serial verb construction, because there would be two clauses. This is evidenced by the change in intonation. Instead of the whole utterance falling under one intonation contour as serial verb constructions normally do (see below) there are two intonation contours, one for each clause. Further evidence that (3) consists of two clauses comes from the possible insertion of the clausal conjunction bhodo 'but' (see §14.4.3).

3) 'Imu dédé, (bhodo) mona tewa.
   3sg hear but NEG respond
   He heard, but didn’t respond.

3. All verbs in a serial verb construction come under the scope of one aspect or mood particle which precedes the complex

Different verbs in a serial verb construction cannot take different aspectual markers. If different verbs are modified by different aspect particles the only possible interpretation is that they are two clauses, as in (4). The two clauses in (4) could occur in sequence with or without the conjunction bhodo ‘but’ (see §14.4.3), with an intonational break between them.

4) Bapa négha mbaná, (bhodo) da’é ndua dau ma’u.
   dad PER.PER walk but IMP.INC go down down beach
   Dad has gone, but hasn’t yet gone down to the beach.

One aspect or mood particle preceding the entire verb complex may modify the whole complex, as the aspect particle négha ‘already’ does in the motion serial construction in (5).

5) Bapa négha mbaná ndua dau ma’u.
   dad PER.PER walk go down down beach
   Dad has already walked down to the beach.

As with negation, the intervention of the aspect marker négha between the two verbs in (6) means that it consists of two clauses rather than a single serial verb construction.

6) Bapa mbaná, négha ndua dau ma’u.
   dad walk PER.PER go down down beach
   Dad walked, he’s already gone down to the beach.

4. A serial verb complex shares a single subject

A serial verb complex has a single subject (see §3.3.2.2). Although the individual verbs within a serialisation may take different subjects, the
complex as a whole only has one subject. This can be seen in the benefactive serial verb construction in (7), where ‘Peter’ is the subject of both ngatu ‘to send’ and ti’i ‘give’. This subject, as in clauses containing a single predicate may be ellipsed (see §10.7).

7) Peter ngatu sura ti’i nga’o.
P. sent letter give 1sg

Peter sent a letter to me.

If each of the verbs in (7) were to have different subjects, the construction would be two separate clauses, as in (8). In this context ti’i ‘give’ becomes ditransitive, with an ellipsed object (sura ‘letter’).

8) Peter ngatu sura, Bapa ti’i nga’o.
P. send letter dad give 1sg

Peter sent a letter, Dad gave me (it).

Example (7) would not be a serialisation if there was a pause after sura ‘letter’ (see criterion 5 below). If there was a pause it would indicate that there were two clauses with the same subject, with the subject of the second clause ellipsed. This situation can be seen in examples (9) and (10). Example (9) is a benefactive serial verb construction, with a single subject and no intonation breaks. Example (10), on the other hand, is not a serial verb construction, even though the referent of the subject is the same in both clauses. This is because there is an intonation break (represented by a comma) between the two clauses, and the subject can be overtly mentioned twice, at the beginning of each clause. Although it is grammatical for the subject of each clause to be overtly mentioned, it is very common for the subject of the second clause to be ellipsed when the referent is the same as that in the first clause. Due to the difference construction types of the two examples there is also a subtle

semantic difference between the two examples which can be seen in the English translations.

9) ‘Iné petu ’aé ti’i nga’o.
mother heat water give 1sg

Mum heated water for me.

10) ‘Iné petu ’aé, (’imu) ti’i nga’o.
mother heat water 3sg give 1sg

Mum heated water, (she) gave it to me.

In some cases serial verb constructions share objects as well as subjects. When both a subject and object are present they are treated in the same way as they would be in mono-verbal clauses.

5. A serial verb construction falls under one intonation contour.

Based on auditory analysis, the verb complex falls under the one intonation contour\(^1\). Therefore, in fluent speech there are no pauses with a grammatical function between contiguous verbs in serial verb constructions.

Intonation does not fall nor rise on non-final verbs in a serial verb complex. A break in intonation, either in the form of a marked rise or fall on a non-final verb in a series, indicates that the verbs belong to different clauses. This difference can be seen in sentences (11) and (12). In (11) intonation falls only on the final syllable of the utterance, showing that it is the end of the utterance, while in (12) the first verb kai ‘go’ takes falling intonation, showing that it is the end of a clause (also indicated orthographically with a comma).

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\(^1\) It remains to confirm this impression by an acoustic analysis.
11) 'Imu kai mbana pasa rédé So’a.
3sg go walk market up S.
She went to the market in So’a.

12) 'Imu kai, mbana pasa rédé So’a.
3sg go walk market up S.
She went, (she) went (walking) to the market in So’a.

11.4 Types of Serialisation in Kéo

Six types of verb serialisation in Kéo have been identified based on their grammatical functions:

1. benefactive/purposive serialisation;
2. causative serialisation;
3. cause-effect serialisation;
4. motion serialisation;
5. synonymic serialisation; and
6. manner serialisation.

Each of these types is examined in the following sections.

11.4.1 Benefactive/Purposive Serialisation

A serial verb construction is used to express benefactive or purposive roles. In the benefactive/purposive serial verb construction the main verb is followed by the benefactive or purposive verb. The second verb is always one of two verbs, ti’i or pati, meaning ‘to give’. This construction is increasingly being replaced by the use of a prepositional construction, with the preposition ‘atu ‘for’, borrowed from Indonesian (see §13.2.12.1).

In some cases the two verbs are contiguous, in others they are non-contiguous, with the object of the first verb intervening between the two verbs. In (13) the verbs are non-contiguous, with the object of the first verb, jawa ‘corn’, intervening. The object of the ‘give’ verb is the beneficiary or purpose. In (14) the object of the ‘give’ verb is jawa ‘corn’ rather than the beneficiary ‘iné ‘mum’ and the sequence is therefore ungrammatical. In example (13) the presence of ti’i ‘to give’ does not mean that the subject physically gives ‘mum’ corn, but rather plants the corn for her benefit in some way.

13) Ja’o tendo jawa ti’i ‘iné.
1sg plant corn give mum
I’m planting corn for Mum.

14) *Ja’o tendo ti’i jawa ‘iné.
1sg plant give corn mum
The constituent order of (15) is [S V O V O], where the object of the first verb is the theme and the object of the second verb is the beneficiary. Example (16) has the constituent order of a ditransitive clause – [S V FO SO], where the first object is the beneficiary and the second object the theme (see §3.3.2.4 and §10.6). The different constituent orders are equally acceptable, but the order found in (15) is more common. It appears that because (16) contains a heavy noun phrase – ngawu ha go’o (tau hadiah) – this noun phrase has been postponed in order to maintain stress and intonation over the serial verb complex. In (16) no intonational or stress break is required between ja’o and ngawu ha go’o.
15) ‘Iné ka’o ngatu ngawu ha go’o tī’i ja’o.
aunt send thing a little give 1sg
My aunt sent some things to me.

16) ‘Iné ka’o ngatu ti’i ja’o ngawu ha go’o (tau
aunt send give 1sg thing a little make
hadiah)
present
My aunt sent me some things (as a present).

There is a commonly occurring benefactive/purposive serial verb construction
which consists of the two ‘give’ verbs, tī’i and pati, with a shared subject and
different objects, as in (17).

17) Koti ‘imu pu’u pusu muku ta ti’i muri pati ‘imu.
spinning top 3sg from heart banana REL give life give 3sg
His spinning top was made from the banana heart² that gave him
life.
JKDB

11.4.2 Causative Serialisation

Three ways languages of the world encode causation are: lexically,
morphologically, and analytically. Only lexical and analytic causation is
found in Kéo.

Lexical causatives are lexical items which have within their meaning a
causative sense, such as the transitive verbs leku ‘to wake someone up’ and
paē ‘to light (a fire)’. These transitive lexically causative verbs have
intransitive equivalents without a causative sense – to’o ‘to wake up’ and dida
‘alight (of fire)’.

² The ‘banana heart’ is the large red bulbous flower that hangs off the end of a bunch of
bananas.

Analytic causatives are realised as serial verb constructions. The verbs in
causative serial verb constructions are always contiguous. The first verb in
the complex is always the verb tau ‘do, make’, and the second is typically an
intransitive verb. This can be seen in (18), which contains the intransitive
verb iso ‘half cooked’ and in (19), which contains the intransitive verb itē
‘quiet’.

18) ‘Iné tau iso ‘uwia jawa.
mum make half cook sweet potato
Mum half-cooked the sweet potato.

mother make quiet children 3sg with make song
The mother quietened her children by singing.

Although there is no need to use a causative serial verb construction when
using a verb with a causative meaning, younger Kéo speakers occasionally use
a lexically causative verb in a causative serial verb construction, as in (20),
which contains the transitive lexically causative verb ghondo ‘to put to sleep’.

20) Effi tau ghondo Tessa.
E. make put to sleep T.
Effi put Tessa to sleep.

11.4.3 Cause-Effect Serialisation

Cause-effect serialisation differs from causation serialisation in that it contains
semantically ‘fuller’ first verbs, as opposed to the ‘make’ verb tau used in
causative serial verb constructions (see §11.4.2). There is also more of a
temporal aspect to cause-effect serialisation. Cause-effect serial verb
constructions are conceived of as consisting of distinct subevents which are

³ Tau pata (Lit. ‘make song’), in (19), means ‘to sing’ (see Appendix B).
temporally ordered. By contrast, in causative constructions containing tau ‘make’ there is no sense of sequence. Instances of cause-effect serialisation are in bold in the examples below.

21) *Imu ëso ëso ëso⁴ woti ana.*
   3sg suck suck suck feed child
   She sucked and sucked (on pandanus fruit) to feed it to the child.
   AMMS

22) Ngéré mbé’o muku ta nambu wodé éna ëdu ëdu kéka
   suddenly banana REL when stem LOC backyard hut
   mboka teni kéka ké.
   fall crush hut that
   Suddenly the banana tree that was standing in the backyard fell,
   crushing the hut.
   JXBB

23) Taku ‘ata podo pongga mata kau.
   afraid person sorcerer hit die 2sg
   I’m afraid the sorcerer will beat you to death.
   SRWB

The verbs in cause-effect serialisation may be either contiguous, as in the examples above, or non-contiguous. Therefore sentence (23) could also be expressed as in (24) below, with the object occurring between the two verbs.

24) Taku ‘ata podo pongga kau mata.
   afraid person sorcerer hit 2sg die
   I’m afraid the sorcerer will beat you to death.
   SJRWB

Note also in (23) and (24) kau ‘2sg’ is the subject of mata ‘to die’, and the object of pongga ‘to hit’.⁴

⁴ The repetition of ëso ‘to suck’ here is not an instance of verb serialisation, rather it indicates iterativity (see §12.2.9).

11.4.4 Motion Serialisation

11.4.4.1 Types

Motion serialisation, where at least one of the verbs in the serial construction is a verb of motion is very common. Two types of motion serialisation can be identified: those constructions consisting solely of motion verbs, as in (25); and those containing a motion verb and a non-motion verb, as in (26).

25) Poro ndua radé, bhodo nai nuka réta langgi wai
   jump go down down but climb go up up rip with
   peja ma’u.
   pandanus beach
   He dove down, but came up to the surface dragging sea-pandanus leaves.
   AMMW

26) *Imu-ko’o ndé ta pu’u réta dîri ndé, mai*
   3pl that REL from up sky that come here
   dëmba moni...
   come watch
   Those from the sky came to watch...
   UWKR

11.4.4.2 Constructions Containing Only Motion Verbs

In motion serial verb constructions containing only motion verbs there is no set order in which the verbs must occur. This can be seen from examples (27) and (28) where the same two verbs occur in both possible orders.

27) *Imu nuka wado rédé sa’o, nambu dera petu-ké’é.*
   3sg go up return up house when sun very hot
   He returned up to his house when the sun was very hot.
   HWT
28) ...‘imu-ko’owado nuka rédé nua Riiti.
3pl return go up up hamlet R.
They returned up to the hamlet of Riiti.
HWT

The ordering of verbs in this type of motion serialisation is primarily based on emphasis, where the first verb is regarded as the most important in the series. Thus the difference between sentences (27) and (28), which contain the same verbs in differing orders, is one of focus. In (27) the focus is on strenuous climbing in heat, therefore nuka ‘go up’ precedes wado ‘return’. In (28), on the other hand, the focus is on returning to a certain place (the hamlet of Riiti), and therefore wado ‘return’ precedes nuka ‘go up’.

Aside from emphasis there are a few general tendencies as far as the ordering of specific motion verbs is concerned. The verbs mbana and kai, both meaning ‘to go’ and dèmba ‘to come’ typically occur as the first verb in the series, while wado ‘return’ predominantly occurs second in the verb complex as in example (29). This is not a strict rule, but rather a tendency.

29) ‘imu ndua wado daú mata ma’u, bhodo ana ndé
3sg go down return down eye beach but child that
négha mona tél.
PER.PER NEG see
He went back down to the beach, but the child could not be seen.
HWT

11.4.4.3 Constructions Containing a Motion Verb and Non-Motion Verb

In motion serialisation constructions containing one or more non-motion verbs the motion verb or verbs always comes first, as in sentences (30) and (31).

30) Ha ndeka ‘ata o’o ko’o raja^nua réu
one time person slave Poss ruler hamlet far
wodo dina rua pu’u nua ‘imu rua,
hill five two from hamlet 3sg two
démba poi ‘ata mbu’ē kē.
come take person young woman that
One day a slave of the ruler’s from a faraway hamlet, seven hills from those two’s hamlet, came and took that young woman away.
JKBB

31) Tembu nio ndé négha dēwa. Mona ndé kai mbana
shoot coconut that already tall M. that go go
toni.
plant
When the coconut shoot was tall enough Mona planted it.
HBDBN

The most common verb in motion serialisations containing non-motion verbs is undoubtedly mbana ‘to go, walk’. The wide variety of combinations it occurs in are illustrated by the examples below.

32) Nga’o mbana mbeta sabu.
1sg go buy soap
I’m going to buy soap.

33) One ha dera ’Iné Nio ndua mbana kima
in one day mother N. go down go search for molluscs
dau Maundai.
downM.
One day Mrs. Nio went looking for molluscs down at Maundai.
IBNN

5 A raja ‘ruler’ was in charge of a particular district under Dutch colonial rule.
34) Négha ké ‘imu dhatu mbana tito kamba, ndua ridi.
already that 3sg still go tend buffalo go down down
Then he continued to go and tend his buffalo, going downwards.
HWT

35) Koti so bale-bélé, ja’o mbana nggaé ka’e.
spinning top thus spinning 1sg go search older sibling
Twirling spinning top, I go in search of my sister.
JKB

36) Négha ké ‘imu mbana moni éna nua ta ‘ata né’té
already that 3sg go watch LOC hamlet REL people have
party
He then went to watch at the hamlet where people were holding the
party.
SRDL

11.4.5 Synonymic Serialisation

Durie (1997:337) identifies a serial construction type where two verbs are
closely related in meaning, being either synonyms or antonyms with identical
argument structure and which are not ordered causally or temporally. This
construction is given the label of 'synonymic serialisation.'

Kéo has many verbs with synonymous meanings and often two such
synonymous verbs will be used contiguously in the same clause as a single
predicate, as in (37) and (38). The two synonymous verbs are typically of the
same syntactic transitivity.

37) Ongga peka ké ma’é ka’o ghako ‘ari nga’o.
young man finish that don’t carry carry younger sibling 1sg
None of the young men are allowed to carry my little sister.
HBDN

38) ‘imu kai mbana pasa rédé So’a.
3sg go go market east So’a
She went to the market in So’a.
AMMS

Synonymic serial verbs are typically highly lexicalised. There are strict
restrictions on which synonymous verbs can co-occur. In many synonymic
serial verb constructions there are also restrictions on the ordering of the
verbs. For example, in sentence (39) the ordering of the two verbs must be
sepo ngepo. Likewise in sentence (40) the order of the verbs must be lita
nangi.

M. 3sg gather gather coconut that
Mona gathered up that coconut.
HBDN

40) Sira todo lita nangi.
3pl random cry cry
They cried all over the place.
AMMW

Further examples of this type of serial verb construction can be seen in the
following examples.

41) Ata mona todo ka pesa léwo.
people NEG random eat eat
People don’t eat just anything.
INNN

42) ‘imu simba wiki tau podu pagha ko’o ‘imu.
3sg then take do care for orphan feed Poss 3sg
He then took the pig to raise it as his own.
HWT
43) Ma’ė, taku dhoa pera ka wekd.
don’t afraid disappear disappear later
Don’t, I’m afraid it might get lost.
SRDL

In the east Nusantara region it appears that synonymous serial verb constructions only occur in those languages that have ritual speech genres containing extensive parallelism, such as Kambera, spoken on the island of Sumba (Klamer 1994:276). In Kéo it appears that synonymous serial verbs originate from parallel pairs in various ritual speech genres, and this accounts for the co-occurrence restrictions. In all of the examples of synonymous verbs presented here each verb in the pair can be used in mono-verbal clauses in everyday speech. However, it is likely that in an earlier stage of the language only one of the pair was used in every day speech, while the other was used exclusively to match it in parallel constructions in ritual speech genres (see Appendix B).

11.4.6 Manner Serialisation

“Manner serialization involves use of a serial verb to describe the manner in which an action is done...” (Durie 1997:336). Such serial verb constructions are often called ambient as the status of arguments is not always clear. In Kéo, the second verb in this type of serial verb construction indicates the manner of the first verb, as in sentences (44) and (45).

   alright 2pl dress be fast whale answer
   “Alright dress her quickly,” the whale answered.
   AMMW

45) Modo, mbana ri’u-ri’a.
   alright go be good
   Have a good trip.

The manner verb in the series cannot be considered an adverb, for two reasons. Firstly, it cannot move around the clause as other adverbs can (see §3.5.3), but always occurs as the second verb in a serial construction. Secondly, it shares arguments with the first verb, as with the subject ‘imu in sentence (46).

    3sg live be good LOC village
    He lives a (morally) good life in the village.

Both the first and second verbs in this kind of serial construction may occur in mono-verbal clauses, as can be seen in sentences (47) and (48), containing the verbs muri ‘to live’ and pawé ‘to be good’.

47) ‘Imu négha muri ébho méré, da’ é mata.
    3sg PER.PER live long time big IMP.INC die
    He’s already lived a very long time and hasn’t died yet.

48) Numai ‘ana ké ngaau. Dera té ‘imu négha pawé
    yesterday child that naughty day this 3sg PER.PER good
    wadi again
    Yesterday that child was naughty. Today he’s already been good again.
12
PREDICATE MODIFICATION

12.1 Introduction

In this chapter different types of predicate modification are described, primarily in relation to declarative sentences, with only brief reference to other sentence types. Modifiers appear to modify the whole predicate rather than specifically modifying a verb or a noun. There are two exceptions to this: iterativity, which is discussed in §12.2.9; and intensification, discussed in §12.7. Both iterativity and intensification are marked only on verbal predicates, and never on nominal predicates. Some modifiers, such as certain aspectual particles, although they occur in the predicate complex have semantic scope over the whole clause.

The overt marking of aspect and mood is optional in Kéo. Predicates are not marked for tense. Instead of tense markers, adverbs are used to locate events and situations temporally (see §5.13.2). The various aspects found in Kéo are described in §12.2, while moods are discussed in §12.3.

There are four other predicate modifying grammatical processes in Kéo discussed in this chapter: reflexives, reciprocals, negation and intensification. Reflexives and reciprocals cannot be regarded as valence-adjusting processes in Kéo, as they might be in other languages. In some instances these processes may alter the valence of a clause. However, in general these processes perform other semantic and grammatical functions. Reflexives are analysed in §12.4 and reciprocals are described in §12.5. The negation of
predicates is described in §12.6. The intensification of verbal predicates is discussed in §12.7.

12.2 Aspect

'Aspects are different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation'. (Holt 1943:6, quoted in Comrie 1976:3)

Aspect is different from, but complementary to, tense. While tense identifies a situation relative to the moment of speaking, aspect is concerned with the internal temporal make-up of that situation.

There are two primary components of aspect: 1) viewpoint and 2) situation or Akionsart. Viewpoint is expressed by grammatical elements. In many languages viewpoint is expressed by affixes on the verb. In an isolating language, such as Kéo, viewpoint is expressed by separate words, that is, particles.

By contrast, situation or Akionsart is typically lexicalised, that is, part of the inherent meaning of a predicate. It can also refer to the aspectual semantics of other clausal constituents and even the whole clause. According to Smith (1991), there are five basic situation types: states, activities, accomplishments, semelfactives and achievements. Smith defines them as follows:

- Basic situation types
  - States are static, durative (know the answer, love Mary)
  - Activities are dynamic, durative, atelic events (laugh, stroll in the park)
  - Accomplishments are dynamic, curative, telic events consisting of a process with successive stages and an outcome (build a house, walk to school, learn Greek)
  - Semelfactives are dynamic, atelic, instantaneous events (tap, knock)
  - Achievements are dynamic, telic, instantaneous events (win the race, reach the top) (Smith 1991:6)

It can be difficult to tease viewpoint and situation apart, as they not only complement each other, but are often intertwined. However, the focus of this description is on viewpoint, analysing the various aspect particles that occur in Kéo. These aspect particles are listed in Table 12.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect Particle</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Rough Indonesian translation</th>
<th>Rough English translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>négha</td>
<td>1. Persistent perfect when placed before predicate (PER.PER) 2. Perfective, complete when clause final (PER.COM)</td>
<td>sudah</td>
<td>already</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka</td>
<td>Persistent perfect with expectation (PER.INV)</td>
<td>sudah</td>
<td>already</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da‘é</td>
<td>Imperfective, incompletive (IMP.INC)</td>
<td>belum</td>
<td>not yet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma</td>
<td>Progressive (PROG)</td>
<td>sedang</td>
<td>currently</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhatu</td>
<td>Imperfective, continuative (IMP.CN)</td>
<td>masth</td>
<td>still</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo‘o</td>
<td>Prospective aspect (PROS)</td>
<td>mau</td>
<td>going to</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 12.1: Kéo aspect particles

12.2.1 Perfect and Perfective Aspect

12.2.1.1 Négha: Perfective versus Perfect

'Perfect' and 'perfective' aspect can be distinguished as follows. "...the perfect indicates the continuing present relevance of a past situation" (Comrie 1976:52). More specifically the perfect of a persistent situation is "The use of the Perfect to describe a situation that started in the past but continues (persists) into the present..." (Comrie 1976:60). The perfective stands in
opposition to imperfective aspect: "...perfective viewpoint spans an entire event, while the imperfective spans only part of it" (Smith 1991:xv), or stated in other words:

Perfective viewpoints focus on the situation as a whole, with initial and final points.
Imperfective viewpoints focus on part of a situation, including neither initial nor final point. (Smith 1991:6)

The aspect particle négha can be either perfective or perfect depending on its position in the clause. The difference between perfect and perfective usages of négha can be seen in the following examples. Sentence (1) has perfect aspect and (2) has perfective aspect.

1) A' i nga'o négha po'i. Nga'o mbana tado.
    leg 1sg PER.PER. break 1sg walk unable
    My leg is broken. I can't walk.

2) A' i nga'o po'i négha. Nga'o bhia po'i wadi!
    leg 1sg break PER.COM 1sg not want break again
    My leg has been broken. I don't want it broken again!

When négha occurs before a predicate it marks perfect aspect. More specifically it is a perfect of a persistent situation, meaning that the situation started in the past, but continues on into the present. When négha occurs before the predicate in this way it has scope over the predicate.

When négha occurs clause finally it marks perfect aspect, presenting the situation as a punctual event, looking at it in its entirety. Négha used perfectly has scope over the whole clause or sentence. The following examples present sentences similar to each other with placement of négha before the predicate marking perfect aspect, as in (3) and (5), and placement clause finally marking perfective aspect, as in (4) and (6).

3) 'imu-ko'o négha nuka mena Ende. (Té 'imu-ko'o
    3pl PER.PER go up east E. now 3pl
    datu mena Ende.)
    exist east E.
    They've already gone to Ende. (Now they are at Ende.)

4) 'imu-ko'o nuka mena Ende négha.
    3pl go up east Ende PER.COM
    They have been to Ende. (Now they're back home.)

5) Numai 'imu négha tuli sura.
    yesterday 3sg PER.PER write letter
    Yesterday he wrote a letter. (But hasn't yet sent it.)

6) 'imu tuli sura négha.
    3sg write letter PER.COM
    He has written a letter. (And it has been sent - the whole process is complete.)

12.2.2 Other Uses of Négha

Négha is often used in narratives with the discourse function of ordering events. When used with this function it is glossed as 'already'. Typically it occurs with the demonstrative ké 'that', although not always as can be seen in (9). Together négha ké means 'after that' or 'then', indicating that a speaker is moving on to a subsequent section of the narrative. In this way négha ké marks a kind of tail-head linkage, which behaves as a pro-form for the previous clause. This can be seen in (7) – (9) below.

7) 'imu sodho nélé nasa 'imu, "Ja'o mbana nggaé
    3sg say with partner 3sg 1sg go find
    'ari ja'o".
    younger sibling 1sg
    He said to his wife, "I'm going to find my younger brother."
12.2.3 Négha versus Ka

Both négha and ka indicate perfect aspect, with continuing relevance of a past situation. Whereas négha occurs before the predicate ka follows the predicate. Négha appears to be the unmarked member of the pair, while ka carries extra information, signifying a more intense relationship to the present than négha does. It appears to emphasize relevance to the moment of speech. It also appears that ka has an element of inevitability within it, indicating unavoidable events. This can be seen in the following examples.

In both examples (10) and (11) the leg is still broken at the moment of speech. However, example (11) has the sense that the breaking of the leg was inevitable due to an unavoidable event.

10) A'i nga'o négha po'i.
    leg 1sg PER.PER break
    My leg is broken.

11) A'i nga'o po'i ka.
    leg 1sg break PER.INV
    My leg is broken.

In (12) the situation of my parents being dead is marked as perfect. Whereas in (13), the situation of ‘he’ being dead, aside from being presented with perfect aspect, it appears that death was expected, for example ‘he’ may have been very sick. Note that death cannot be expressed as perfective in Kéo, as evidenced by the ungrammaticality of (14). Language helpers explained that
this is because Kéo believe when someone dies they join the ancestors; death is not regarded as final.

12) 'Iné bapa négha mata.
   mother father PER.PER dead
   (My) parents are already dead.

13) O ‘imu mata ka.
   oh 3sg die PER.INV
   Oh, he's already dead.

14) *’Imu mata négha.
    3sg die PER.COM

In (15) below the state is marked as perfect, because it continues; that is, the subject is still asleep. In (16) the situation is marked as perfective, that is the event has been completed, the subject is now awake. In (17) the subject is still asleep, but a feeling of inevitability of the event manifests itself in that the subject was perhaps so tired that she had no choice other than to sleep.

15) ’Imu négha ‘érú.
    3sg PER.PER sleep
    She's already asleep.

16) ’Imu ‘érú négha.
    3sg sleep PER.COM
    She has already slept.

17) ’Imu ‘érú ka.
    3sg sleep PER.INV
    She's already asleep (as you'd expect).

The aspect particles négha and ka can co-occur, emphasising the persistent perfect aspect, as in (18) and (19).

18) Négha dau daka, wéta ‘imu négha mata ka
    PER.PER down help sister 3sg PER.PER die PER.INV
tu ‘u-mbé ‘é.
    really
    When he got there to help, his sister was truly already dead.
    HBDN066

19) Sirá ta ngga’e dima négha réta ka diru.
    3pl REL CL five PER.PER up PER.INV sky
    Those five were already up in the sky.
    UWKR

12.2.4 Other Uses of Ka

In the following examples ka has a meaning similar to that of the Indonesian word dulu when used colloquially, translatable as ‘first’, as in ‘do X first, then Y’. When ka is used in this way the quantifier ha go'o ‘a little’, although not obligatory, typically follows it.

20) Mo’o minu kopi ka ha go'o?
    PROS drink coffee first a little
    Will you drink coffee a bit first?

21) Mo’o rêké ka ha go'o.
    PROS rest first a little
    I'm going to rest a bit first.

22) Mo’o ka ka ha go'o?
    PROS eat first a little
    Do you want to eat a bit first?

Ka is also used in combination with wéké ‘first’ to mark conditional and epistemic mood (see §12.3.2.1 and §12.3.4 below).

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1 This is the explanation I was given for the ungrammaticality of (14) by several Kéo speakers.
12.2.5 Da’é

12.2.5.1 Da’é as an Imperfective Incompletive

Da’é signifies imperfective aspect, as it looks at a situation from an internal point of view with reference to neither the inception nor the endpoint. It indicates that a situation is incomplete and doesn’t make any reference to whether it has begun or not. (This information, however, can usually be gleaned from context.) Da’é also encodes an expectation that an event will happen, or be completed, at some stage. Da’é occurs before predicates when used as an imperfective, as can be seen in sentences (23) – (25) and in the idiomatic expression in (26). The closest English translation for da’é is ‘not yet’.

23) Bapa, kami kopi da’é gebu.
   Sir i.pl.excl coffee IMP.INC mix
   Sir, we haven’t yet made your coffee.

24) Da’é mbadé, da’é waké mangu.
   IMP.INC happen IMP.INC stand pole
   The house isn’t finished yet, poles haven’t been erected yet.

25) Da’é riya?
   IMP.INC bathe
   Haven’t you bathed yet?

26) We’é ha go’o da’é ha go’o.
   again a little IMP.INC a little
   Little by little.

12.2.5.2 Other uses of da’é

Da’é sometimes acts as a tag at end of questions roughly meaning ‘...yet, or not’, as in (27) – (29) (see §15.2.1.2). There is an intonational break preceding da’é. In this role it is glossed ‘not yet’. There is a strong expectation that regardless of whether the action has already occurred it will happen at some stage in the future.

27) Miu nika négha da’é?
   2pl marry PER.COM not yet
   Are you married yet, or not?

28) Sa’o ko’o kaka Yan Mbala mbadé da’é?
   house Poss older sibling Y. M. done not yet
   Has Yan Mbala’s house been built yet, or not?

29) Miu mboto da’é?
   2pl cook not yet
   Have you two cooked yet, or not?

Just as négha can be used discursively to mean ‘after’, da’é can be used to mean ‘before’, as in (30). This has parallels with Indonesian, where sudah ‘already’ becomes sesudah ‘after’, and belum ‘not yet’ becomes sebelum ‘before’.

30) Nata da’é dera pira?
   Christmas not yet day how many
   How many days before Christmas?

12.2.6 Ma

Ma marks progressive aspect, that is, it indicates that the situation it modifies is in progress, somewhere between its beginning and end. Ma occurs before the predicate it modifies, as can be seen in examples (31) – (34) below. It is typically translated into English using the progressive aspect suffix ‘-ing’.

31) Ko’o kamba ta kau janji ma ‘lamba?
   POSS buffalo REL 2sg promise PROG where
   Where (at this moment) are the water buffalo that you promised me?
32) Ta kau ma kema.
REL 2sg PROG work
The one that you’re using.

33) Balpoon ta ‘emba?
pen which

Ta kau ma tuli.
REL 2sg PROG write
The one you’re writing with.

34) Nambu kau nuka réta sa’o ‘imu ko’o ma tau apa?
when 2sg go up up house 3pl PROG do what
When you went up to the house what were they doing?

‘Imu ko’o ma pésa ‘uta.
3pl PROG eat vegetables
They were (in the middle of) eating.

12.2.7 Dhatu

Dhatu is imperfective, as it deals with the internal temporal make-up of a situation. It indicates that something was going on and is continuing, without reference to either endpoint. In most situations dhatu can be translated into English as ‘still’. As can be seen from examples (35) – (37), dhatu precedes the predicate it modifies.

water IMP.CON exist
There is still water.

36) Dhéko ndia bapa né’é mama dhatu simo.
follow here father and mother IMP.CON accept
(If you) come here we will still receive you.
GDEN

37) Tuka dima dhatu dhéla Nona Louise.
stomach hand IMP.CON open Miss L.
Our palms will still be open, Miss Louise.
GDEN

12.2.8 Mo’o

Mo’o marks prospective aspect, where a present state is related to some subsequent situation, such as when someone is about to do something (Comrie 1976:64). This aspect closely corresponds with the English ‘going to’. It precedes predicates, as in (38) – (40).

38) Jadi longo ‘imu rasa ‘imu mo’o mbana moni mogha.
so goat 3sg feel 3sg PROS go watch also
So the goat felt that he was going to go and watch too.
SRDL

39) Kami mo’o dheka.
1pl.excl PROS chew betel nut
We’re going to chew betel nut.

40) Tu’u mbé’ó?! Kau mo’o kai dau Flores!
really 2sg PROS go south F.
Really?! You’re going to go to Flores!

12.2.9 Iterativity

Iterativity is an aspect which indicates that an activity or event occurs repeatedly. Unlike other aspects in Kéo iterativity is not marked by a particle, but rather is indicated by repetition of the verb. It is the only aspect which is only marked on verbs: iterativity does not occur on other predicate types. The
repetition of the verb cannot be considered strictly as reduplication, as a verb may be repeated up to five times, resulting in six utterances of the verb. Most commonly it is repeated only once or twice. The more repetitions the longer the event or activity is believed to have occurred or been repeated. This process can be applied to either intransitive verbs, as in (41) and (42) or transitive verbs, as in (43).

41) Cara ‘imu sako sako sako.
   method 3sg cut cut cut
   Its method is to cut everything up.
   MPTU002

42) Éna ké nga’o piki piki nga’o kema tero.
   LOC that 1sg think think 1sg work continuously
   Then I thought and thought and I kept on working.
   RBSD172

43) Négha ké kita ghéngó ghéngó ghéngó ‘imu.
   already that 1pl.incl stir stir stir 3sg
   After that we stir it continuously.
   MPTU024

12.3 Mood

12.3.1 Introduction

The category ‘mood’ refers to a wide range of attitudes and beliefs towards discourse, primarily to do with the actuality of an event or situation. Mood can therefore be considered as occurring along a continuum from irrealis to realis, where “[a] prototypical realis mode strongly asserts that a specific event or state of affairs has actually happened, or actually holds true” (Payne 1997:244). By contrast, irrealis mood “...makes no claims with respect to the actuality of the event or situation described” (Payne 1997:244).

Mood in Kéo is marked by particles which typically occur adjacent to a predicate. They have scope over either just the predicate or the whole clause. They are presented in Table 12.2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Rough Meaning</th>
<th>Mood</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ka wéké</td>
<td>‘if’</td>
<td>conditional²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka wéké</td>
<td>‘might’</td>
<td>epistemic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mesi / musti</td>
<td>‘should’</td>
<td>deontic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngisa / ngisi / ngesi</td>
<td>‘must’</td>
<td>deontic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ko’o</td>
<td>‘must’, ‘no choice’</td>
<td>deontic</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 12.2: Kéo mood particles

12.3.2 Conditional Constructions

There are two conditional constructions in Kéo: the first uses the mood particle ka wéké and the second uses the conjunction ngara (see §14.4.10). They cannot co-occur.

12.3.2.1 Ka wéké

Ka wéké is a phrase made from ka, which marks perfect aspect (see §12.2.3), and wéké meaning ‘first’. It occurs at the end of clauses and always behaves as a single constituent. Ka wéké is often followed by a clause linked by the conjunction mbéghu ‘then’ (see §14.4.5). The first clause in the sentence, ending in ka wéké, states the condition, whilst the second clause, containing

² The word ngara ‘if’ occurs in other conditional constructions (see §14.4.10).
mbéghu, states the consequence. As can be seen from the translations for examples (44) and (45) below, the conditional meaning of the first clause can be translated into English either with ‘if’, ‘first’ or ‘wait until’.

44) Kau mbepu ka wéké, mbéghu mama mbeta roti.
   2sg hungry COND then mum buy bread
   Wait till you get hungry first, then I’ll buy you bread.
   If you get hungry, then I’ll buy you bread.

45) Kau lita ka wéké, mbéghu mama ghako.
   2sg cry COND then mum carry
   Wait until you cry first, then I’ll carry you.
   If you cry then I’ll carry you.

When used as a conditional, ka wéké cannot co-occur with the temporal adverb napa ‘later’ (see §5.13.2).

12.3.3 Conditional Extension

From the idea of conditional mood the usage of ka wéké is extended, highlighting the ‘first’ aspect of its meaning, in combination with a sense of possibility based on a condition, as in sentences (46) and (47).

46) Nga’o mbana mogha nuka dau Australia, é?
   1sg go also to south Australia Dis
   Can I come to Australia too?

Ma’el Napa nga’o mbeta kapa sola ka wéké.
   don’t later 1sg buy ship fly COND
   Don’t! Later I might buy a plane.

47) Ngara nga’o mbana nuka réta wuda kau dhéko mogha, é.
   if 1sg go go up moon 2sg follow also Dis
   If I go to the moon you come too, hey.

12.3.4 Epistemic Mood

Epistemic mood “...characterizes the actuality of an event in terms of alternative possible situations, or worlds.” (Chung & Timberlake 1985:242)
 Besides its use as a conditional (see 12.3.2.1), ka wéké can be used to express an epistemic mood of possibility, translatable into English as ‘might’. It appears that the epistemic usage of ka wéké developed from the extended conditional usage, with the sense of possibility being heightened in the epistemic use. As a conditional ka wéké occurs in the first clause of a two clause utterance, which states a condition and the second clause contains a consequence. When marking epistemic mood ka wéké still occurs at the end of the clause, but, this clause is preceded by another clause or utterance, which makes an assertion about a situation or event. The clause ending in ka wéké presents a possible outcome resulting from the assertion or a possible reason for the assertion. Use of ka wéké as a possible epistemic mood marker can be seen in (48) – (50).

48) Kau ma’é mbana. Taku kau lita ka wéké.
   2sg don’t go afraid 2sg cry Poss.Ep
   You can’t go. I’m afraid you might cry later.

   Mother go west market 1sg also hey
   Mum’s going to the market, me too.

Kau mbepu ka wéké. Taku kau lita ka wéké.
   You might get hungry later. I’m afraid you might cry later. (Not expected that the child will get hungry or cry, but might happen.)
50) To *dama sai! Taku guru b Hobha ka wéké.*
get up fast IMP afraid teacher hit POSS.EP
Quickly get up! I’m afraid the teacher might hit you later.

12.3.5 Deontic Mood

Deontic mood is an irrealis mood, which indicates obligation through the non-actuality of an event being imposed on a situation. Some languages have several ways of expressing different degrees of the strength of obligation, such as English ‘should’, ‘ought to’, ‘have to’ and ‘must’. In Kéo three degrees of obligation are expressed by six particles. These are: *mesi* or *musi*, both meaning ‘should’; *ngisa*, *ngisi*, and *ngesi* all meaning ‘must’; and *ko'o*, variously translatable as ‘must,’ ‘no other choice,’ or ‘involuntary.’ None of the deontic particles is very widely used.

12.3.5.1 Mesi and Musi

*Mesi* or *musi*, ‘should’, are the weakest of the deontic particles. They assert that it would be very good if something is done, but there is a possibility that it may not actually be done. It appears that both of these particles have been borrowed from Indonesian *mesti*, which has a variant *n...asti*.

Example (51) illustrates the usage of *musi* ‘should’. Because Jon is smart it would be good if he went to school, but there is a possibility that this won’t happen (because he’s too poor). The particles *mesi* and *musi* are synonymous and so *mesi* could occur in (51) and *musi* could occur in (52) with no change in meaning.

51) Jon ‘ata pita. *Imu must* sékola.
   J. person smart 3sg should school
   Jon is a smart person. He should go to school.
   RSNn018,019

52) ‘Odo nara kami ‘ata aki nambu-na taha tado.
   NOM wish 1pl.excl person man sometimes endure unable
   Miu mesi mbé’o ké.
   2pl should understand that
   Sometimes we men cannot endure our desires. You should 
   understand that.
   RSNn052,053

12.3.5.2 Ngisa, Ngisi, and Ngesi

*Ngisa*, *ngisi* and *ngesi* are all synonymous variants of a strong deontic meaning, translatable as ‘must’. These particles indicate not only that it would be good if an event takes place, but that the event is necessary. They appear to be interchangeable.

53) Jadi pu’u dho’è-dho’è ké ‘imu-ko’o ngisi mutu t'wo lema.
   so from first that 3pl must meet meet first
   So from the beginning they have to meet first.
   FTKS014

12.3.5.3 Ko’o

The particle *ko’o* has three distinct functions: it marks possession (see §8.2), specificity (see §7.2.2.2) and deontic mood. All of these functions can be
clearly distinguished in most contexts, but the boundary between them is blurred in some instances.

Ko’o in each of its functions is often shortened to ko, with no discernible change in function or meaning. As a deontic mood marker, it precedes the predicate. Ko’o seems to add deontic emphasis to discourse rather than obligatorily occurring every time there is implied deontic meaning. Its usage seems to be quite marginal, with some occurrences not being clear as to whether they are instances of the possesive particle or of the deontic particle. Unambiguous examples of ko’o functioning as a deontic mood particle can be seen in (54) – (56).

54) Bebi mogha, ‘ata ko’o moni moni moni.
dance too people must watch watch watch
(He) danced too, people felt compelled to watch and watch and watch.
SRDL022

55) Kami wéta nala ngara bhodhu bhodhu ko lita né’é
1pl.exc sister brother if sit sit must cry with
kami muri susa.
1pl.exc live difficult
We siblings, if we hang out we (have no choice but to) cry about us living in difficulty.
AAMA048

56) Napa ké kami négha mbu’é ko nggaé ’odo
later that 1pl.exc PER.PER young women must search NOM
kema...
work
Later when we were young women, we had to look for work...
AAMA

While examples (54) – (56) show clearly that the deontic mood marker occurs before verbal predicates, in the following two examples it is not altogether clear what word class the word following ko’o belongs to. (See §4.1.1 and §4.4 on ambiguity arising from multifunctional forms.) If the following word is regarded as a noun, speakers would presumably analyse ko’o in the construction as the specificity marker, but if the word is analysed as a verb, the deontic meaning can be obtained. Presumably it is from such examples as (57) and (58) that the extension of the use of ko’o from possessive marker to specificity marker to deontic mood marker came about.

57) ’Ari ’imu ’éru mé’a oné kéka, pedi kéré
younger sibling 3sg sleep alone in hut left wait
ko’o mata.
Ko’o to die/death
Her brother slept alone in the hut, just waiting to die/just waiting for death.
JKB017

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4 Heine (1997) mentions briefly how possessive constructions or elements used within possessive constructions may develop into the deontic mood. This may have occurred in Kao with respect to ko’o. The fact that there are instances in which the function of ko’o is ambiguous indicates that the various functions may have originated from the same source. Therefore it is quite conceivable that in accordance with Heine’s suggestion the marking of deontic mood developed from the possessive particle.
In Kéo reflexives are either lexical or expressed through grammatical means, using the reflexive particle dhato.\(^5\) Dhato is not a reflexive pronoun. It is a particle which gives verbs a reflexive sense or emphasises the agentive nature of a subject.

Some verbs in Kéo are inherently reflexive. These verbs typically occur in the semantic field of personal grooming, as in (59).

\(^5\) The use of the particle dhato is restricted to reflexive contexts. There is another word me’a meaning ‘self, alone’ which is used for other contexts and does not perform a reflexive function.

\(\text{Nga’o nuka ndia me’a.}\)
\(1\text{sg go up} \quad \text{here self}\)
\(\text{I came here alone.}\)
61) 'Imu mbana dhato.
3sg walk RFL
She walked by himself/herself. (without help, said of a small child.)

who cut grass garden 1pl.excl cut grass RFL
Who cut the grass in the garden? We cut it ourselves.

Transitive lexical reflexives are also disambiguated by the presence of possessive pronouns in a clause. In example (63), although the default interpretation is that the shaved beard belongs to the subject, the utterance is ambiguous as to whether Peter shaved his own beard or someone else’s. This is because the reflexive particle is not used and kumi ‘beard’ is not possessed.

63) Nambu wado Australia Peter ongga dhoag kumi.
when go home A. P. shave lose beard
When Peter went home to Australia he shaved off a beard.

A pronoun used possessively, as 'imu '3sg' in (64), or the reflexive, as in (65) can be used to help disambiguate the sentence.

64) Nambu wado Australia Peter ongga dhoag kumi 'imu.
when go home A. P. shave lose beard 3sg
When Peter returned home to Australia he shaved off his beard.

65) Peter ongga dhoag dhato kumi ('imu).
P. shave lose RFL beard 3sg
Peter shaved off his own beard.

With the pronoun used possessively in (64) it is still possible to interpret the beard as belonging to a third person other than Peter, however, previous context is required to obtain this reading. The default interpretation of (64), with no context is that the shaved beard belonged to Peter. Likewise when the reflexive particle is present, as in (65), in most circumstances it would be inferred that the shaved beard belongs to the subject. Again, however, it is possible that the beard belongs to a third person. This is because the reflexive is only referential with the subject, and not the object (see §3.3.2.2).

Analytic reflexive clauses have the structure [SUBJ PRED dhato (O) (OBL)]. The subject typically consists of a proper name or a pronoun. No other constituent can intervene between the predicate and the reflexive. There is no variation in the form of the reflexive nor in pronouns used in a reflexive construction. They are typically used with human subjects.

When a syntactically transitive verb with an object is modified by the reflexive dhato, this particle immediately follows the verb, which is then followed by the object. No constituent can intervene between the predicate and the reflexive particle, as in (66) – (68). If no particular body part is specified for a reflexive action, expressed using dhato, the generic term weki ‘body’ is used, as in (66) and (68). However, this does not apply to lexical reflexives.

66) Nga'o bhabha dhato weki.
1sg hit RFL body
I hit myself.

67) 'Imu nai dhato do kaju.
3sg to climb RFL tree wood
He himself climbed the tree.

68) Roré dhato weki.
kill RFL body
To commit suicide. (To kill oneself.)

Regardless of where the antecedent occurs in the clause the reflexive particle is placed after the predicate, as in (69).
69) 'Ata méré ké ta démha nuka ndita kita wangga
person big that REL to come to here 1pl.incl carry
*dhato lenggu.*
RFL burden
That big person who came to us here carried things himself.
The reflexive particle can be used in serial verb constructions, as in the
benefactive serial verb construction in example (70) (see §11.5.1). As in other
clauses the reflexive follows the verb it modifies.

70) 'imu ti'i dhato sura pati 'imu.
3sg give RFL letter give 3sg
He gave himself a letter.

12.5 Reciprocals

“A prototypical reciprocal clause is one in which two participants equally act
upon each other, i.e., both are equally AGENT and PATIENT” (Payne 1997:200-
201). As such, reciprocal markers are typically regarded as valence-reducing
operators. In Kéo all reciprocal constructions have only one argument – a
subject, but do not necessarily have a reduced valence.

English has both lexical and analytic reciprocals. The words meet, and hug,
for example in English are lexical reciprocals, whereas the phrase each other,
when it combines with a transitive verb, is analytic.

Kéo, too, has both lexical and analytic reciprocals. The analytic reciprocal
particle is papa, which always immediately precedes the predicate it modifies.
The close bond between the reciprocal and predicate can be seen in instances

in which the verbal predicate is iterated (see §12.2.9 above). In such cases, as
in (71), the collocation of reciprocal and predicate is repeated, rather than just
the verbal predicate.

71) 'Ata papa punu papa punu pu'u 'odo komba sodho
people REC talk REC talk from at night say
'imu modhé-roé.
3sg beautiful
People talked and talked that night about how beautiful he was.
SRDL

Like lexical reflexives, which can be further modified by the reflexive particle
(see §12.4 above), lexical reciprocals can be further emphasised, intensified or
clarified by the analytic reciprocal particle papa. The verb luka ‘to meet’ is
typical of predicates which can occur either with or without the reciprocal
marker papa, as shown in (72), without papa, and in (73), with papa.

72) Éna rada 'imu luka wadi né'é 'ata fai ha ngga'e.
Loc road 3sg meet again with person woman one CL
In the road he again met with a woman.
SRWB015

73) 'imu rua papa luka. 'imu simba punu né'é mëlo.
3sg two REC meet 3sg then talk with cat
Those two met. He then talked with the cat.
SRMW029

The participants in a reciprocal clause are often represented by a collective
noun, as with 'ata 'people' in example (71) above, or a plural pronoun, as
with kami ‘1pl.incl’ in (74).
12.6 Negation

In Kéo negotators negate a predicate or behave as predicates themselves. There are two negotors in Kéo, nggedhé and mona. In Udiworowatu Kéo mona is used more frequently than nggedhé, but both are heard.

12.6.1 Negation of Predicates

When negating a predicate the negator precedes the predicate, as in (78), which contains an intransitive verb, and (79), which contains a transitive verb. It is ungrammatical for the negator to follow predicates, as in (80).

78) *Jadi 'ana ké nggedhé mérè, sama karga 'eko wi'e. so child that NEG big same finger tail only
    So that child wasn’t big, just the same (size) as a little finger.
AMMS006

79) *Imunai mona nio.
    *He didn’t climb the coconut tree.
    3sg NEG climb coconut

80) *Imunai mona nio.
    3sg climb Neg coconut

All types of predicates, not just verbal predicates can be negated. In (81) the negated predicate is nominal, and in (82) it is a prepositional phrase behaving as predicate.

81) *Imu nggedhé dako.
    *He’s not a dog. !He’s not a dog.
    3sg NEG dog

82) 'Iné .mona éna dapo.
    mother NEG Loc kitchen
    Mum’s not in the kitchen.
12.6.2 Negators as Predicates

Negators are commonly used as predicates, as in (83), in which the negator is modified by the aspect particle négha (see §12.2.1.1 above). Negators used in this way are not verbs, as they cannot be iterated or intensified (see §4.3.1).

83) Ng’i woso négha nggedhé.
   teeth many PER.PER NEG
   Many teeth have already fallen out. (Lit. Many teeth are already not.)
   WM014

In many instances in which a negator is used predicatively it appears to have a negative existential meaning, as in (83) and (84) or a negative possessive meaning, as in (85).

84) Bhidala émba? Kepala desa mona.
   like how head village NEG
   What should we do? The village head isn’t here.
   GCHHI032

85) Ìmu té pu’u du dera ìmu wéa mona.
   3sg this from afternoondsday 3sg gold NEG
   He, this afternoon, he didn’t have any gold.
   SRDL024

A negator used predicatively is not an ellipsed form of, nor does it replace a negated existential verb or negate possession. There are many examples of the existence of a verb datu being negated (see §10.4.4). In sentence (86) a negator used predicatively follows a negated existential clause.

    child NEG husband NEG exist mother father PER.PER die
    (She) didn’t have children, there was no husband, her parents were
defad. (Lit. No children, there was no husband, parents had died.)
    DEL008

12.7 Intensified Verbal Predicates

Only verbal predicates can be intensified. There are two types of intensification: comparative / superlative type intensification and ‘very’ type intensification.

12.7.1 Comparative/Superlative Type Intensification

Comparative or superlative intensification of verbal predicates is indicated by the particle so’o, in the construction [SUBJ so’o V PP]. The prepositional phrase may be headed by either of the prepositions né ‘with’, as in (87) or pu’u ‘from’, as in (88) (see §13.2.7). The prepositional phrase in this construction is always clause final, unlike other prepositional phrases which being adjuncts may move around the clause (see §3.5.1 and §13.2.2).

87) ‘Ìmu so’o kedi né’o nga’o.
    3sg INT strong with 1sg
    He is stronger than me.

88) Ongga ké so’o mbé’o pu’u nga’o.
    young man that INT know from 1sg
    That young man knows more than me.

When used without the prepositional phrase so’o intensifies the verb. It may be pragmatically inferred to have a superlative meaning.

89) ‘Ìmu so’o kedi.
    3sg INT strong
    He’s very strong. / He’s the strongest.

90) ‘Ata ké so’o mbé’o.
    person that INT know
    That person is very smart. / That person is the smartest.
12.7.2 'Very' Type Intensification

There are at least three intensifiers translatable as ‘very’. These intensifiers only follow intransitive verbal predicates. Each of the intensifiers is a compound (see §6.2.3.2), with one part consisting of réé, which when used on its own means ‘bad’. Examples of these intensifiers can be seen in examples (91) – (93).

91) Dera té ara réé-réé.
    day this hot very
    Today is very hot.

92) 'Ata ké amba raka-réé.
    person that cruel very
    That person is very cruel.

93) Wéti lo réé-tengé.
    body sore very
    (My) body is very sore.

There does not appear to be any semantic difference between the ‘very’ intensifiers. Individual speakers tend to consistently use only one of these intensifiers in their speech.

13 SPATIAL AND TEMPORAL SETTING OF DISCOURSE

13.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the most salient devices in Kéo grammar to do with the identification of the spatial and temporal setting of discourse, namely prepositions, directional and demonstratives. Prepositions are examined in §13.2. There are a few prepositions that, unlike the majority, do not primarily contribute to the spatial or temporal setting of discourse. They are also discussed in this chapter to provide a full account of prepositions. Directionals are discussed in §13.3. Other grammatical categories, such as motion verbs, interact with prepositions, directional and demonstratives and also contribute to the spatial and temporal setting of discourse. Therefore these categories are discussed in relation to the use of directionals in §13.3.7. Section §13.3.3 explores the interaction between prepositions and directionals. Section §13.4 describes demonstratives. Aspect particles also contribute greatly to the temporal setting of discourse and are discussed in §12.2. This

1 It would appear that for Kéo speakers the spatial location of people, places, objects, events and so forth is of great importance, whilst the temporal location of such things is not so important. This is evidenced by the presence of more grammatical devices encoding spatial location rather than temporal location in the language, and by speakers mentioning spatial location more frequently than time.

2 They do, however, behave syntactically the same way as other prepositions.
chapter is rounded off with a discussion of the way in which Kéo speakers talk about time in §13.6.

13.2 Prepositions

13.2.1 Introduction

Prepositions form a closed word class (see §5.2). They occur before noun phrases to form prepositional phrases (PPs) (see §13.2.2), which identify the spatial and temporal motion and location of activities within the discourse. There are nine indigenous prepositions in use in Udiworowatu Kéo, presented in Table 13.1. All of these forms, except for wai (§13.2.8) and né’é (§13.2.9) are only used as prepositions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preposition</th>
<th>Rough gloss</th>
<th>Grammatical function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>éna</td>
<td>in, at, on, to</td>
<td>general locative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>péro</td>
<td>in, at, on</td>
<td>specific locative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dawa</td>
<td>at</td>
<td>locative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'oné</td>
<td>inside, into</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pu’u</td>
<td>from</td>
<td>ablative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wai</td>
<td>with</td>
<td>instrumental</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>né’é</td>
<td>with</td>
<td>comitative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'oda</td>
<td>at (temporally)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jeka</td>
<td>until</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 13.1: Kéo prepositions

Each preposition will be discussed in the sections below. Borrowed Indonesian prepositions are also used by some Kéo speakers (§13.2.12). Directionals can also be used as prepositions. These are described in §13.3.

13.2.2 Prepositional Phrases

Prepositions occur with noun phrases (see Chapter 7) to create prepositional phrases. Prepositional phrases are the only oblique arguments in Kéo (see §3.3). As adjuncts, prepositional phrases can occur in multiple slots within a clause (see §3.5.2). The constituent structure of prepositional phrases can be seen in Figure 13.1.

\[
\{ \text{PREP} \} \{ \{ \text{PREP} \} \} \text{NP}
\]

Figure 13.1: Prepositional phrase structure

PREP Preposition

DIR Directional

NP Noun Phrase

The head of a prepositional phrase may either be a preposition, as in (1), or a directional acting prepositionally (see §13.3.2), as in (2). In examples (1) and (2) the preposition/directional is in bold, and the whole prepositional phrase is underlined.
1) Paé to biasa toni 'oné tanga keta, paé také 'oné tanga rice red usually plant in land cold rice sticky in land 
so'o ipogu alto more rather hot
Red rice is usually planted in cold land, sticky rice into rather hotter land.
UP003

2) Rade naa kami ngara dédé né'i dengi, 'ata west hamlet 1pl.excl if hear cook oil people
simba mbé'o né'i dengi nio.
immediately know cook oil coconut
In our hamlet, if (people) hear the cooking of oil, people immediately know (they're) cooking coconut oil.
RND045

A few combinations of prepositions or prepositions and directionals occur in prepositional phrases. These are discussed in §13.2.14 and §13.3.3.

13.2.3 éna The General Locative
Éna is a general locative preposition, and the most commonly used. Éna is translatable variously as ‘at’, as in (3); ‘in’, as in (3) and (4) and ‘on’, as in (5).

3) Wado pasa, éna singi rada, 'imu dédé éa-a éna tadi go home market LOC edge road 3sg hear cry LOC vine
kada ma sama pa'a.
iliana PROG same thigh
Going home from market, at the edge of the road, she heard a baby crying in a liana vine the size of a thigh.
AMMS003

4) Ana go'o ndé 'imu pusí éna bhu tora.
child small that 3sg fill LOC bloated gourd
She placed the small child in a bloated gourd.
AMMS015

5) E ndia, kau kema éna papan.
hey here 2sg work LOC board
Hey here, you work on a board.
GBC004

Éna cannot encode motion away from a source (‘from’). This is always indicated by the preposition pu’u (see §13.2.7). Éna can, however, encode motion towards a goal, as in (6).

6) Négha ké wado né'é ana ndé éna sa'o.
already that go home with child that LOC house
Then she took the child home to her house.
AMMS007

The preposition éna can be followed by a demonstrative (see §13.4 below), the combination meaning either ‘here’, as in (7), when used with the demonstrative té ‘this’, or ‘there’, as in (8), when used with the demonstrative ké ‘that’.

7) Bhodhu ha dama, kami né Silfa éna té.
sit one fast 1pl.excl with S. LOC this
Sit a moment, with us and Silfa here.
GCHH011

8) Éna ké ma né'é nang'a (Nanga So'a) né'é peja
LOC that PROG with lake lake S. with pandanus nalu.
coast
There, there was a lake (Lake So’a) and sea pandanus.
AMMS009

3 Note that this example comes from a Kéo speaker from the hamlet of Ute, which is located in the eastern part of the Kéo speaking area, north-east of Udiiworowatu. The word paé in this example corresponds to palé in Udiiworowatu Kéo; to corresponds to tolo; and alo corresponds to ara.
Prepositional phrases with éna, can occur in various positions within a clause, as the above examples illustrate. However, such prepositional phrases most commonly occur clause finally.

13.2.4 péro 'in, at, on'

As with éna, the preposition péro is a general locative preposition. It does not have as wide a range of usages as éna. It indicates location 'in', 'at' and 'on', however, unlike éna, péro is not used to indicate motion towards a location. Éna is used simply to indicate location, whereas péro is used to specify the location more closely than éna. It is typically used when one discourse participant does not understand which location the prepositional phrase used by another participant refers to. It is thus used as a clarifying device, as in the following exchange in (9).

9) Wiki mbodal
   fetch basket
   Fetch a basket!

Éna ‘émba?
LOC where
Where?

Éna dapus.
LOC kitchen
In the kitchen.

Mboda péro ‘émba?
basket at where
Where, exactly, is the basket?

Mboda tā péro ora.
basket Ret at middle
The basket that’s in the middle.

13.2.5 dawa 'at, to'

The locative preposition dawa ‘at’ is typically used with a motion verb, or a verb that entails motion, with the resultant meaning of ‘at/to the location indicated by the verb’. This can be seen in sentences (10) – (12).

10) Nga’o poké pena tē dawa Neli.
    1sg throw pen this at N.
    I’m throwing this pen at Neli.

11) Pena wedu dawa meja.
    pen place at table
    He put the pen on the table.

12) ‘Ata ké ndé simba pasa néé mbendi dawa tuka
    person that then shoot with gun at stomach
    ko’o wawi.
    POSS pig
    That person then shot at the pig’s stomach with a gun.
    smrw025

13.2.6 ‘oné 'inside'

Prepositional phrases containing ‘oné are used to indicate a location inside an a hollow object, as in (13), or an area which is regarded as being capable of containing something.
13) Sira Mbu’é Wondo né’é 3pl Miss W. and ‘iné bapa ka’é mother father older sibling

ari imu pémé pau réta younger sibling 3sg PROG hide like this up
todo kaju ndé, oné këka go’o. random tree that inside hut small
Mbu’é Wondo, with her parents and siblings hid up a tree inside a small hut.
AMMW048

In example (14) ‘oné is translatable as ‘into’. This translation comes from a combination of the prepositional meaning ‘inside’ and the semantics of the motion verb woku ‘to throw’.

14) Négha ké. ‘imu woku sai watu petu, besi already that 3sg throw IMP stone hot metal

petu né’é rembu ngawa ta petu hot and all possession REL hot

‘oné mumu ko’o Émbu Ngémbu. inside mouth POSS whale
Then they threw hot stones, hot metal and all the other hot things into the whale’s mouth.
AMMW055

13.2.7 pu’u ‘from’

The ablative preposition pu’u ‘from’ indicates motion away from a source. It can be used spatially, as in (15) and temporally, as in (16).

15) ‘Imu éngé koti pu’u nua ha esa kai nua ta 3sg play spinning top from village one Cl go village REL pesa. different
He played with his spinning top from one village to another.
JKB034

16) Kami këna uma pu’u suko né’é ‘iné bapa. 1pl.excl work garden from young man with mother father We’ve worked in the garden since youth, with our parents.
APCH001

The meaning of pu’u in (17) is a clear example of semantic extension of the concept of ‘motion away from a source’ to ‘made from’.

17) Koti ‘imu pu’u pusu muku ta ti’i muri pati ‘imu. spinning top 3sg from heart banana REL give life give 3sg His spinning top (was made) from the banana heart that gave him life.
JKB028

13.2.8 wai ‘with’

The preposition wai ‘with’ can be either comitative, as in (18), or instrumental, as in (19).

18) Rangga ndé ndua simba dhoi ana ana ‘imu ndé that go down then carry child child 3sg that wai kara kata esa dima nua. with coconut leaf basket Cl. five two
Rangga descended, then carried his children with seven baskets made from coconut leaves.
HWT049

19) ‘Imu pikí, “Nga’o piara pagha wai apa ana té?” 3sg think 1sg guard feed with what child this
She thought, “With what will I feed this child?”
AMMS008
Wai is also used to denote objects syntactically, turning them into oblique arguments. In this function wai is bleached of its prepositional meaning. See §3.3.2.3 for this usage of wai.

13.2.9 né‘é ‘with’

The preposition né‘é is comitative, translatable as ‘(together) with’ or ‘to accompany’⁴. Né‘é prepositional phrases always follow the predicate, as in (20) and (21).

20) Kami négha ndia Kupang nga‘o papa luka né‘é bapa 1pl.excl already here K. 1sg REC meet with sir nga‘o.
1sg
We were already here in Kupang when I met my husband.

DEM033

21) Jadi nga‘o ndua nuka dau Maunoli mera wado né‘é so 1sg descend go up south M. live return with

‘né‘é nga‘o ndé‘é.
mother 1sg that
So I went to Maunori to live again with my mother.

DEM055

13.2.10 ‘oda ‘at’

The preposition ‘oda ‘at’ is always used to indicate temporal relationships rather than spatial ones. It is sometimes realised as ‘oda or ‘ode’ in some speakers’ idiolects. As mentioned in §13.2.2, prepositional phrases can occur in many positions within a clause. The most common positions for prepositional phrases headed by ‘oda ‘at’ are either at the beginning of a clause, setting the scene, as in (22), or immediately following the predicate, as in (23) and (24).

22) Dera Sabitu ‘oda dera. kami nai
day Saturday at middle of day 1pl.excl ride

kapal fēri ‘Kerap
boat ferry K. D. go south

Dua’ nuka dau

Kupang.

K.
Saturday in the middle of the day, we took the ferry ‘Kerap Dua’ to Kupang.
RRS006

23) Négha ké, to’o ‘oda poa wadi, kami tedu, already that wakeup at morning again 1pl.excl three

nga‘o, bapa né‘é Ande, nuka réta Dili.
1sg father and A. go up D.

Then, waking in the morning again, us three – me, Dad and Ande – went to Dili.
RRS011

24) Kami dhu ‘oda kombé réta Dili.
1pl.excl arrive at night up D.

We arrived in Dili at night.
RRS012

⁴ Né‘é is multifunctional: it can be used as a nominal conjunction (see §7.3.2), as a clausal conjunction (see §14.4.2), as a possessive predicate, when used transitively (see §8.3), as an existential predicate when used intransitively (see §10.4.4), as an oblique marker (see §3.3.2.3), as well as being a preposition, meaning ‘with’. Examples of each of the different uses of né‘é are presented in §§3.3.
13.2.11 jeka ’until’

Jeka ‘until’ has both spatial and temporal functions. It can be used to indicate when someone/thing has reached a physical place, as in (25).

25) Nga’o nandé ghéwo jeka dau Kupang.
    1sg sleep forget until south K.
    I slept deeply until Kupang.
    RBSD061

Jeka ‘until’ and demonstratives can both be used temporally (see §13.4 below). The collocations they form either mean ‘until now’ when followed by té ‘this’ as in (46), or ‘until then’ when followed by ké ‘that’.

26) Nga’o kema ndia Hotel Sa’o Wisata jeka té.
    1sg work here hotel house tourist until this
    I’ve worked here at Hotel Sa’o Wisata until now.
    RBSD166

Jeka occasionally is used as a verb meaning ‘to arrive’, primarily by younger speakers. It is highly likely to have been calculated from a parallel usage of the Indonesian preposition sampai ‘until’, as a verb meaning ‘to arrive’.

13.2.12 Borrowed Prepositions

There are two kinds of borrowed prepositions in Kéo, the first of which contains only one member, ‘utu, which is adapted from Indonesian untuk ‘for’. This form is fully phonologically adapted and appears to have been used within Kéo for some time. The second group are recent borrowings, not phonologically adapted in any way.

13.2.12.1 ’utu ‘for’

In the past benefactive/purposive relations were only expressed by serial verb constructions (see §11.5.1). These days benefactives are also formed by using the preposition ’utu, borrowed from Indonesian, as in (27).

27) Iné tau ka ’utu aki ’imu.
    mother do food for husband 3sg
    Mother cooks for her husband.

Older Kéo speakers continue to use one of the verbs meaning ‘to give’, either til’ or pati in a serial verb construction to create a benefactive, as in (28).

28) Iné tau ka pati aki ’imu.
    mother do food give husband 3sg
    Mother cooks for her husband.

Purposives, too, are created using the preposition ’utu, as in (29). Sentence (30) is an instance of parataxis (see §14.3.4) used to create a purposive sequence, where the second clause denotes the purpose of the action in the first.

29) Ja’o pini ’aë ’uturio.
    1sg hat water for bath
    I heat water for a bath.

30) Ja’o petu ’aë, mo’o rio.
    1sg heat water Pros bath
    I’m heating water, going to bathe.

These days any of the three techniques: parataxis, the benefactive/purposive serial verb construction, or the preposition ’utu, can be, and are used. Younger Kéo speakers prefer the preposition ’utu to the other methods.
13.2.12.2 Newly Borrowed Prepositions

For all cases of newly borrowed Indonesian prepositions there already exist Kéo equivalents. A list of the Indonesian prepositions that are used and their Kéo and English equivalents appear in Table 13.2. Such borrowed Indonesian prepositions are only used by younger speakers, and their usage does not appear to be widespread. There are two possible explanations for this adoption of Indonesian prepositions. Firstly, younger speakers may be using Indonesian prepositions in the same way they often scatter other Indonesian words in their Kéo, because Indonesian is considered a prestige language. Secondly, some younger speakers may not have learnt Kéo in the same way as their parents, with borrowings from Indonesian becoming a part of their understanding of the Kéo.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indonesian</th>
<th>Kéo</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>di</td>
<td>éna, péro, and dawa</td>
<td>in, at, on, to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dalam</td>
<td>'oné</td>
<td>inside, into</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dari</td>
<td>pu'u</td>
<td>from</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dengan</td>
<td>wai and né’é</td>
<td>with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sama</td>
<td>wai and né’é</td>
<td>with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pada</td>
<td>‘oda</td>
<td>at (temporally) Used for borrowed Indonesian time concepts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sampai</td>
<td>jeka</td>
<td>until</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 13.2: Borrowed prepositions

13.2.13 Negation of Prepositional Phrases

Prepositional phrases are negated using either of the standard negators nggedhé or mona, which precede the prepositional phrase, whether the prepositional phrase occurs as the main predicate or not. This position is the same as found with negation of other predicates (see §12.6.1).

There is an emphasis present in the negation of prepositional phrases that is absent from other negative constructions. This emphasis is one of contrast. Typically another clause will occur adjacent to one containing a negated prepositional phrase in which a positive statement is made contrasting with the negative. The disjunctive conjunction bhodo ‘but’ (see §14.4.3) is often used to link the two clauses. Negated prepositional phrases are not particularly common. All of the following examples were elicited, as none were found in the corpus of texts. The fact that in the majority of these examples the prepositional phrase is behaving predicatively indicates a general preference for negating predicates rather than adjuncts.

éna

31) 'Imu mona éna ma'u, bhodo 'imu éna
   3sg NEG LOC beach but 3sg LOC kantor.
   office
   He's not at the beach, but he's at the office.

péro

32) Kacamata ko nga'o wedu péro mejia, bhodo pena ko'o
glasses POSS 1sg place on table but pen POSS

   nga'o mona péro mejia.
   1sg NEG on table.
   My glasses are on the table, but my pen isn't on the table.
Chapter 13

Spatial and Temporal Setting of Discourse

'oda

38) Ngara 'imu mo ré-ré-ré 'imu to'o mona 'oda
   if 3sg tired very 3sg wake NEG at
   poa, 'imu nandé jeka dera.
   morning 3sg sleep until middle of day
   If he's very tired he doesn't get up in the morning, he sleeps until the middle of the day.

jeka

39) Peter tu kau jeka Sydney. 'Imu tu mona
   P. accompany 2sg until S. 3sg accompany NEG
   jeka ndia.
   until here
   Peter accompanied you to Sydney. He didn't accompany you to here.

13.2.14 Combinations of Prepositions

It is possible for two prepositions to co-occur within the one prepositional phrase. There appear to be six possible combinations, which are presented below. Most are concerned with spatial setting, with only one combination, jeka 'oda, being temporal.

éna 'oné  'at inside'

40) 'Imu wedu kara éna 'oné sa'o.
   3sg place sack Loc inside house
   He placed the sack inside the house.

pu'u éna  'from at'

41) Pu'u éna 'emba?
   from Loc where
   Where have you come from?
preposition ‘in’. It is possible that ‘house, room’ was an earlier meaning of ‘oné’, which became grammaticalised as a preposition meaning ‘inside’.

13.3 Directionals

Directionals, or a similar closed class of words indicating spatial relations and directions such as ‘seawards’, ‘inland’, ‘eastwards’, ‘inside’, ‘outside’, ‘above’ and ‘below’, are very commonly found in Austronesian and ‘Papuan’ languages (Bowden 1992 & 2001, Senft 1997, Doi 1999, van Staden 2000, Hyslop 2001). In some languages, such as Tidore, spoken in the north Moluccas, directionals (locationals in Tidore) “…form a part of the larger paradigm of spatial deixtics…” (van Staden 2000:158). Directionals form a small closed word class in Kéo (see §5.3). They are used extensively throughout discourse to locate events and entities spatially. The function of directionals has some overlap with that of demonstratives (see §13.5 below) and locatives (see §5.5), but they are not a part of either paradigm. Syntactically they behave very differently (see below). There are seven directionals, two of which are polysemous (réta and radé). They are presented in Table 13.3.

Half of the allowable combinations contain the preposition ‘oné ‘inside’, always as the second preposition. Based on this, it appears that ‘oné’ may have been nominal in an earlier stage of the language. In Ngada, the language spoken to the west of Kéo one is a preposition meaning ‘inside’ (Djawanai 1983:178). In Endenese, the language spoken to the east of Kéo ‘oné is translated as ‘within’, with both temporal and spatial connotations (Aoki & Nakagawa 1993:57). In Lio, the language spoken to the east of Endenese, oné means ‘house, room’ (Levi 1978:148), with a different form for the
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Directional</th>
<th>Rough Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>r̄d̄̄e</td>
<td>inland, upwards a short distance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ridi</td>
<td>seawards, downwards a short distance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r̄ẹta</td>
<td>inland, upwards a long distance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dua</td>
<td>seawards, downwards a long distance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mena</td>
<td>eastwards along the beach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rad̄e</td>
<td>westwards along the beach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r̄ẹta</td>
<td>vertically up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rad̄e</td>
<td>vertically down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndia</td>
<td>here</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 13.3: Ḳo directionals

There are three syntactic criteria for membership of the word class of directionals:

1. Directionals can precede noun phrases to form prepositional phrases which can be moved around within clauses as a single constituent;
2. Directionals can be predicates:
   a) Directionals can behave as A-type ambitransitive verbs (see §4.3.2.3);
   b) Directionals can be attributive, modifying either nouns or verbs;
3. Directionals can be referential arguments.

Each of these criteria are discussed in the following sections, and in §5.3.

13.3.1 Semantics of Directionals

The Ḳo directional system is based on the topography of the land, with the sea and mountains being the major reference points. In different areas within the Ḳo speaking region the meanings of the directionals are quite different. This is due to the varying terrain and the way in which the directionals are semantically linked to the lay of the land. This analysis is based on the system used on the coast in the villages of Udiworowatu and Mbaenuamuri. At these places, after only a few metres of flat land along the beach, the land immediately starts to rise into the mountains.

The directionals form an absolute frame of reference, with the reference points remaining the same despite the movement of people and objects. This absolute frame of reference appears to shift depending on where one lives, so that the directionals used in the hamlet of Maundai do not point to the same places as they do when used, say in the town of Ende, a day's trip away from Maundai. In Maundai r̄ẹta is north, up to the mountains. In Ende r̄ẹta is west up into the mountains. In Maundai ridi is south, down to the sea. In Ende ridi is both east and south, down to the sea. Based on this, it appears that the main landscape feature for the system is mountainous slopes. The directional that points to the mountains is always the same, but the other ones vary around it.

The configuration of directionals, as found in the village of Udiworowatu, is not the same throughout the Ḳo speaking area, due to people living in different places with respect to the mountains. When Ḳo speakers are outside of their local region they reconfigure the directionals to correspond to their new position. Ḳo speakers in Bali, without mountains dominating the landscape, have abandoned the directional system, replacing it with Indonesian prepositions and terms, such as kiri 'left' and kana 'right', which are used relatively.

The following is a list of the directionals with their meanings, as they are used in Udiworowatu and Mbaenuamuri. The terms are described in terms of being on an axis, and therefore have been placed in pairs.
opposition along an inland mountains / coast axis, for short distances.

opposition along an inland mountains / coast axis, for large distances.

opposition along a beach axis, which roughly corresponds to East / West.

opposition along a vertical axis, roughly corresponding to English up / down.

The relationships dependent upon the mountains and sea are represented in Figure 13.2.

**MOUNTAINS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>réta</th>
<th>rédé</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>radé</td>
<td>ndia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ridi</td>
<td>dau</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SEA**

**Figure 13.2: Mountain/sea directional**

The cross-over of the two lines at ndia 'here' in Figure 13.2 indicates the point at which a reference point would be located. The vertical line represents the inland mountain/sea axis, while the horizontal line represents the beach axis. These seven directionals are used to locate any entity with respect to the reference point. Examples of each of the directionals in Figure 13.2 in use are given below.

47) 'Ata Ndai biasa ndua kima dau Maundai. people N. usual go down mollusc down M. Ndai people used to go down looking for molluscs down at Maundai.

AMMW007

48) 'Oda poa 'Iné nuka réta ’uma. at morning mum go up up garden In the morning Mum goes up to the garden.

49) 'Imu simba pidi mendi nuka rédé sa’o ’imu. 3sg then choose carry go up up house 3sg Then she chose to carry (it) up to her house.

INN014

50) Dau 'Aé Sésa, ridi 'éko Worowatu ké simba sembe 'ika down A. S. down tail W. that then caught fish sésa ha 'éko. tuna one CL

At 'Aé Sésa. down at the bottom of Worowatu one tuna fish was then caught.

AMMW060
51) 'Imu mbana pau pu'u radé Mbawa nuka mena.
   3sg walk EMP from west M. go up east

na toni, na toni pau ko'o
everywhere plant everywhere plant EMP SPEC

peja ma'u ndé.
pandanus sea that

She walked from Mbawa in the west, eastwards, planting everywhere those sea pandanus (seeds).

The directional *dau* is not only used to refer to things a long way in the direction of the sea, but is the default directional for things considered to be a long way from the speaker. For example, all towns on Flores are *dau*, all other islands and cities in Indonesia are *dau*, and all overseas countries are *dau* irrespective of the direction of their locality. There are two exceptions to this, the towns of Ende, and Bajawa, the two closest towns to the villages of Udiworowatu and Mbaennumuri. Kéo speakers who travel to these towns regularly use *mena* to refer to Ende (located to the east of the villages), and *radé* to refer to Bajawa (located to the northwest of the villages). Those speakers who do not visit these towns very often use *dau* to refer to them.

Figure 13.3 below illustrates the vertical up/down axis. These directionals would be used for spatial relations connected with tall things such as trees or house posts. They are not as commonly used as the directionals in Figure 13.2.

---

Figure 13.3: Vertical axis directionals

Directionals are not typically used to identify items in close range, such as items on a table in close proximity to the speaker, in which demonstratives would typically be used (see §13.4 below). When they are used to identify items in close proximity to the speaker they are followed by *mai*, which is typically used as an imperative verb meaning ‘come here’, as in (52).

52) Ta ndia mai o ta mena mai?
REL here come here or REL there come here
This one here or that one there?

### 13.3.2 Directionals Used as Prepositions

All directionals can precede noun phrases to form prepositional phrases, as in (53) (see §13.2.2 above).
53) Tê nga'o punu, nga'o ta kursus dau
now 1sg talk 1sg REL course downward

Yogyakarta, kursus sati dau Yogyakarta.
Y. course sew down Y.

Now I'm talking, (about) me that did a course in Yogyakarta, a
sewing course in Yogyakarta.

As with other prepositional phrases (see §13.2.2 above), prepositional phrases
containing a directional behaving as a preposition can be moved around as a
single constituent within a clause, as in sentence (54), in which the
prepositional phrase (underlined) occurs clause initially.

54) Dau Surabaya ko famili kita mona datu.
down S. SPEC family 1pl.incl NEG exist
In Surabaya we don't have family. (Lit. In Surabaya our family
doesn't exist.)

13.3.3 Combinations of Prepositions and Directionals

A preposition and a directional can co-occur in prepositional phrases. In this
case the preposition always precedes the directional. There are three
prepositions that can co-occur with directionals: 'onê ‘inside’, as in (55); pu'u
‘from’, as in (56) and (57); and jeka ‘until’, as in (57).

55) Mada karusi ta 'onê radé sa'o.
take chair REL inside across house
Take the chair that's inside the house (over there).

56) Kami rua pu'u ridi Talkom.
1pl.excl two from down T.
Us two have come from down at Talkom.

57) Nêhu pu'u rédé ra'i jeka ridi luli.
go down from up top garden bed until down garden edge
She went down from the top garden bed to the lower garden edge.
HBDN

13.3.4 Directionals Used Predicatively

When used predicatively directionals behave much as other A-type
ambitransitive verbs (see §4.3.2.3). They can occur either intransitively, as in
(58), with a single argument, or transitively, with two arguments, as in (59),
in which diru ‘sky’ is the object (underlined).

58) Nêgha dau, daka weta 'imu nêgha mata
already go down actually sister 3sg already dead
ka tu'um-bë'é.
already really
When he went down there, it turned out his sister really was dead.
HBDN066

59) Sira ta ngga'e dima nêgha réta ka diru.
3pl REL CL five PER.PER go up PER.INV sky
Five people (from amongst them) had already gone up to the sky.
UWKN005

When used predicatively the directionals take on motion as a part of their
meaning. So, in (59), instead of réta indicating 'location up', it indicates
'motion upwards'.

Directionals can be modified by aspect particles, as seen in (58) and (59)
above. They can also be modified by the reciprocal (see §12.5), as in (60).
This is evidence that these things modify the predicate slot rather than just
verbs (see §4.3.1 and Chapter 12).
Chapter 13

60) Kaju papa radé, wena so bhoko.
   wood REC across under INT short
   The pieces of wood are across each other, the under one being shorter.
   RND062

13.3.5 Directionals Used Attributively

Directionals can be used attributively to modify nouns, as in (61) and (62).

61) Négha rédé, éna vé é dangga ridi ké, ‘imu si’i: ‘Múrekké
   already up. LOC close mosque down that 3sg say 2pl rest
   éna té.’
   LOC this
   After coming up, close to the mosque down there, she said: ‘You
   stay here.’
   AMMW077

   fetch plate A. plate which plate mena
   Fetch a plate Arno! Which plate? The plate over there.
   GBC077-079

13.3.6 Directionals Used Referentially

Directionals are not particularly ‘nouns’. They cannot be modified by
   demonstratives, they cannot be modified by relative clauses, they cannot be
   possessed; and they cannot be counted, or modified by classifiers. Therefore
   they cannot be said to belong to the word class of nouns. Despite this,
   directionals can be used referentially as arguments. This can be seen in (63),
   in which ridi is used as an oblique argument and in (64), in which ridi is an
   object.

63) Mbana a’i pu’u ridi.
   walk leg from down
   We walked from below.
   GTW

64) Négha ké ‘imu dhatu mbana tito kamba ndua ridi.
   already that 3sg still go tend buffalo go down down
   He continued to go and tend his water buffalo down on the plain.
   HWT012

13.3.7 Collocations of Directionals and Motion Verbs

Directionals very commonly follow verbs of motion. In Kéo most of the
   seven most frequently used verbs of motion contain information about the
   direction of the movement. These seven verbs are presented in Table 13.4.

In Talmy’s (1985) typological framework for manner and path semantics Kéo
   belongs to the group of languages that conflate the concepts of Path and
   Motion within motion verbs, rather than Manner and Motion, as English
   does. The language families that he says follow the former typology include
   Semitic, Polynesian and Romance. The co-occurrence of these motion verbs
   and directionals reinforces this view that the spatial setting of discourse is
   lexicalised in the language.

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5 “The basic motion event consists of one object (the ‘Figure’) moving or located with
   respect to another object (the reference-object or ‘Ground’). … The ‘Path’ … is the course
   followed or site occupied by the Figure object with respect to the Ground object. ‘Motion’
   … refers to the presence per se in the event of motion or location …” (Talmy 1985:60-61)
### Table 13.4: Kéo motion verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Motion Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nuka</td>
<td>‘to go’ in an upwards direction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndua</td>
<td>‘to go’ in a downwards direction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>padé</td>
<td>‘to go’ along a flat surface</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nai</td>
<td>‘to climb’ (on a more vertical slope than for nuka)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhodho</td>
<td>‘to descend’ (on a more vertical slope than for ndua)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kai</td>
<td>‘to go’ (no implication about terrain)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbana</td>
<td>‘to go, walk, travel’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The verb padé ‘to go along a flat surface’ appears to be rather archaic. These days nuka ‘to go up’ is typically used to replace it. This is indicative of a reduction in the meaning of nuka ‘to go up’, which appears to be on its way to losing the notion of upwards movement, to simply meaning ‘to go’.

The verbs of motion in Table 13.4 generally contain information about the Path. Some combinations of these verbs and directionalals are extremely common, while others are semantically incoherent. For instance, (65) does not make sense due to the incompatibility of going downhill and uphill at the same time.

65) *Nga’o ndua réta uma.*
1sg  go down up  garden

The two verbs kai ‘to go’ and mbana ‘to go, to walk, to travel’ may occur with either of the horizontal directionalals as Path is not an inherent part of their meaning. Otherwise, the collocations in Table 13.5 are the only ones that occur.

### Table 13.5: Motion verb and directional collocations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kéo</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Example Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nuka réta</td>
<td>‘to go up a long way’</td>
<td>example (66)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nuka rédé</td>
<td>‘to go up a short way’</td>
<td>example (67)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nuka mena</td>
<td>‘to go along’</td>
<td>example (68)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nuka radé</td>
<td>‘to go along’</td>
<td>example (68)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nuka dau</td>
<td>‘to go a long way’</td>
<td>example (69)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndua dau</td>
<td>‘to go down a long way’</td>
<td>example (70)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndua ridi</td>
<td>‘to go down a short way’</td>
<td>example (71)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>padé mena</td>
<td>‘to go along’</td>
<td>No examples in corpus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>padé radé</td>
<td>‘to go along’</td>
<td>No examples in corpus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nai réta</td>
<td>‘to climb up’</td>
<td>example (72)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhodho radé</td>
<td>‘to climb down’</td>
<td>example (73)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Using only the written transcriptions of examples (66) to (72) it is possible to propose two syntactic analyses of each sentence. The first analysis is that the directionalals are behaving as prepositions, forming prepositional phrases with the following noun phrases. The second analysis is that the directionalals are behaving transitively, as verbs, and are a part of a serial verb construction (see §11.5.4) with the other verbs in the clauses. The second interpretation is incorrect. Most collocations of motion verb and directional do not conform to one of the criteria for serial verb constructions (see §11.4). This criterion is that serial verbs fall under the one intonation contour and therefore may not have a planned pause between them. In many of the examples below,
speakers paused in between the verb of motion and directional. This was typically accompanied by a slight rise in intonation on the verb to indicate the utterance was incomplete. Thus, it can be said that directionals do not occur in serial verb constructions⁶. In all of the examples below the directional is behaving as a preposition, creating a prepositional phrase with the following noun phrase.

66) Ta wADO nUKA réDè diru ndé ngga' e dima, ta fai
    rel go home go up up sky that Cl five rel girl
    né' é ta aki.
    and rel boy
    Those that went home up to the sky were five people, girls and boys.
    UWKR

67) Uru bhida ké, 'imu ndé simba litu nangi pau,'
    because like that 3sg that then cry cry EMP
    wado nuka réDé Wondo.
    go home go up up W.
    Because of that, he then mourned returning home up to Wondo.
    AMMMW

68) Wodo Bako nggaé nuka mena dera singga né' é Bako Wodo
    W. B. search go up across sun rise and B. W.
    nuka réDè dera mesé.
    go up across sun set
    Wodo Bako searched in the direction of the rising sun, and Bako
    Wodo searched in the direction of the setting sun.
    SRWB004

69) Dera Sabtu dera kami nai kapal feri 'Kerapu
    day Saturday midday 1pl.excl climb boat ferry K.

Dua' nuka dau Kupang.
D. go up down K.
In the middle of the day on the Saturday we caught the ferry 'Kerapu
Dua' to Kupang.
RBS006

70) 'Embu Ngémbu ha 'éko démbo mada Mbu' é Wondo ndé,
    whale one Cl come take Miss W. that
    mendú ndúa dau démà, tau fai 'imu.
    carry go down down deep make wife 3sg
    A whale came and took Mbu' é Wondo, carrying her down deep to
    make her his wife.
    AMMW

71) 'Imu négha ndúa ridi sékolà.
    3sg. already go down down school
    He's already gone down to school.

72) Bapa nai réDà do nio.
    father climb up tree coconut
    Father climbed up the coconut tree.

In (73) the directional radé is used referentially as an object (see §13.3.6). It
does not form a part of the following prepositional phrase (see §13.3.3).

73) Jaga nggói dhodho radé pu' u ghumbu za'o.
    careful fall descend down from roof house
    Be careful climbing down from the roof of the house.

13.4 Demonstratives

Demonstratives are deictic, their referents are not absolute. When used
spatially, demonstratives locate referents with respect to the location of a
speaker, addressee or some other referent. When used temporally,
demonstratives locate referents with respect to a point in time. Demonstratives can also locate referents with respect to their status within discourse. Kéo has four demonstratives presented in Table 13.6 below. Two (té and ké) can be used spatially, temporally and discursively, one (kéra) is only used spatially, and the last (ndé) is only used as a discourse demonstrative. They are marked for three degrees of distance. Aside from locating a referent in space, time or discourse, demonstratives also make the referent definite. In certain circumstances (see §13.4.5) the two demonstratives ké and ndé can co-occur.

Kéo demonstratives either occur at the end of noun phrases, behaving attributively or they can replace noun phrases, being pronominal and referential. There are no restrictions on the type of noun that can be modified by demonstratives, so that common nouns, kin terms, place names, personal names and pronouns are all able to be modified by a demonstrative (see §4.2 and §7.2.2.8).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kéo</th>
<th>Spatial Meaning</th>
<th>Temporal Meaning</th>
<th>Discourse Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>té</td>
<td>‘this,’ object located near to speaker</td>
<td>‘now’</td>
<td>‘this,’ topic under immediate discussion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ké</td>
<td>‘that,’ indicates object away from speaker</td>
<td>‘then,’ indicates time previous to now of event under discussion</td>
<td>‘that,’ indicates topic under discussion, introduced earlier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kéra</td>
<td>‘that over there,’ indicates object a long way from speaker</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndé</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>‘that, earlier,’ indicates topic mentioned previously</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 13.6: Demonstratives in Kéo

When used spatially demonstratives are often accompanied by pointing gestures, such as the extension of the chin in certain directions, a pointed index finger, or an open hand point, with movement from the elbow and wrist. Eye gaze typically follows the direction of pointing gestures. Unfortunately I don’t have systematic data on the interaction between gesture, eye gaze and demonstrative use.

13.4.1 té ‘this’

Té ‘this’ is used to locate referents spatially and temporally. Té ‘this’ occurs frequently within everyday conversations, where people are interacting not only with each other but their immediate surroundings. However, it occurs very infrequently in narrative stories. This is because the setting of the story is transported from immediate surroundings to those of a different spatial and
temporal setting. Within narratives it most often occurs in direct quoted speech, as in (74).

74) 'Imu-kó'o papa 'adé, "Té ko'ó 'apa?"
3pl REC ask this SPEC what
They asked each other, "What is this?"
INN

té used spatially

75) Napa hari apa kita nuka ndia, mo kita
later day what 1pl.incl go up here going to 1pl.incl

papa seru né Silfa té, mo'o 'imu kéré
REC talk with S. this going to 3sg wait

kita.
1pl.incl
Then what day will we come up here, so that we tell Silfa here, so that he'll wait for us.
GCHH040

té used temporally

76) Nga'o kema ndia Hotel Sa'o Wisata jeka té
1sg work here hotel house tourist until this
I've working here at Hotel Sa'o Wisata until now.
RBSD166

13.4.2 ké ‘that’

Ké ‘that’ is used to locate referents spatially, temporally and discursively. It is the most frequently used demonstrative, as it is commonly used performing all three functions in both everyday conversations and narratives removed from the speaker’s immediate surroundings.

kę used spatially

Sentence (77) was uttered during the course of a conversation during the preparation and cooking of a meal. The noun phrase taga dai ké ‘those tomatoes’ was accompanied by the speaker extending their chin forward to point in the direction of the tomatoes. Eye gaze also fell on the tomatoes with raised eyebrows.

77) A, taga dai ké paké pisau wi'e.
yes tomato that use knife only
Yeah, just use a knife on those tomatoes.
GBC076

kelas used temporally

78) Namhu ké kami mbana Hari Rabu, dhu
time that 1pl.excl go day Wednesday arrive
dau Surabaya Hari Sabtu.
down S. day Saturday
At that time we left on a Wednesday, and arrived in Surabaya on a Saturday.
MPK008

kelas used discursively

In sentence (79) ké ‘that’ refers to an immediately preceding section in the narrative in which the same action occurred with different participants. In order to avoid too much repetition and losing his audience’s attention, the speaker uses the demonstrative to refer to further occurrences of the same action, to allow him to advance to new events.

79) Bhida ké mogha dhu koti 'esa dima 'esa.
like that also arrive spinning top CL five CL
It was like that also until the sixth spinning top.
JKBB
In the topic comment construction (see §14.2) in (80) ké ‘that’ is used to refer to tomato sauce sachets that two young boys are discussing.

80) Taga-dai ké, buka buka!  
tomato that open open  
Open those tomato (sauce sachets)!

GBC86

13.4.3 kéra ‘that over there’

Kéra ‘over there’ is only used to locate a referent spatially. It is the least used of the demonstratives. This is primarily due to the flexible use of directionals, and that they encode more specific meanings than kéra ‘over there’ (see §13.3.4 above). It is often much more informative to use a directional rather than the vague kéra ‘over there,’ or a combination of the two, as used in (81).

81) “Kau rapa péla na ‘émba,” sira si’i.  
2sg try show where 3pl say  
“You try and show where,” they said.

Ata Jawa ndé sìi, “Ma náé. Ma réla  
person J. that say PROG have PROG up  
dombo nio kéra.”

sprout coconut over there

That Javanese said, ‘There is. Up that coconut tree over there.’

HBDN

13.4.4 ndé ‘that’

Ndé ‘that, earlier’ is only used as a discursive demonstrative, to track important referents within discourse. Once ndé is used to indicate a referent, all subsequent mentions of the referent are also indicated by ndé.

Ndé ‘that’ can occur as soon as the next sentence following the first mention of a referent, as in example (82), where the ‘child’ is the main character in the story.

82) ‘Imu tét ana tolo loa ta fai.  
3sg=see 3pl=see new born child REL girl  
She saw a newborn baby girl.

Ana ndé nggedé mere, sama kanga ‘éko wi’e.  
child that NEG big same little finger only  
That child wasn’t big, only the same size as a little finger.

AMMS

In the next eleven sentences in the story there are subsequently five more mentions of ana ndé ‘that child,’ after which point the child is referred to either by her name or pronoun, both of which continue to be marked by ndé.

In another text, in the sentence immediately following the first mention of an important referent the demonstrative ké ‘that’ is used to refer to it again. In all subsequent mentions ndé ‘that’ is then used, as can be seen in (83).

83) Dau Maundai datu do kait ha pu’u ta ‘ata mona  
down M. exist tree wood one CL REL people NEG  
mbé’o ngara. know name  
In Maundai there was a tree which didn’t have a name.

Kait ké déwa-rena né’é esa, bhodo ‘ata mona  
tree that tall with fruit but people NEG  
todo ka pesa léwo.  
random eat eat random  
That tree was very tall with fruit, but the people didn’t just eat anything.

[Three sentences intervene with no mention of the tree.]
Wado kima 'imu mbana dheko wé'é do kaju ndé.
go home mollusc 3sg walk follow close tree wood that
Going home from looking for molluscs she walked close by that
tree.
INN

13.4.5 ké ndé 'that, earlier'
It is possible, although not common, for ké and ndé to co-occur at the second
mention of a referent. When this happens the next mention of the referent
may either take ké, as in (84) or continue to be referred to by both, as in (85).

84) Êna rada 'imu luka wadi né'é 'ata fai ha ngga'e.
LOC road 3sg meet again with person woman one CL
In the road he met again with a woman.

'Imu 'adé èna 'ata fai ké ndé. "'Iné sa'o
3sg ask LOC person woman that that mother house
ko'o dera singga péro 'émba?"
POSS sun rise at where
He asked that woman, "Madam, where is the house of the rising
sun?"

'Ata ké dhewo, "Rédé wavo ménga ké."
person that answer up top still that
The woman answered, "Up the top over there."
SRWB

85) Dhu èna kombé 'imu rua luka né'é 'ata ha
arrive LOC night 3sg two meet with person one
ngga'ênambu pasa rawa.
CL when shoot wild pigeon
When night fell they met with a man shooting wild pigeons.

[Four sentences intervene with no mention of the referent.]

13.5 Overlap Between Directionals and Demonstratives
As mentioned in the introduction to the section on directionals (§13.3) there is
some overlap in the function of demonstratives and directionals. Compared to
directionals, the spatial use of demonstratives is quite limited. Demonstratives, when used spatially, are typically applied to items within
visual range of the speaker, whereas directionals may be used for items both
within visual range and for those beyond the visual range of the speaker.
Demonstratives are much more likely than directionals to be accompanied by
pointing gestures. This presumably is because directionals are semantically
more specific than demonstratives, and hence do not need to be accompanied
by gestures providing additional information. For example, say there are three
baskets on an outdoor raised bamboo platform and a child is ordered to fetch
one of them. If a demonstrative is used, as in (86), a pointing gesture must be
used in order to specify which basket is meant. On the other hand if a
directional is used, as in (87) no pointing gesture is required, as the directional
contains the information specifying which of the three baskets is meant.

86) Wiki wati ké!
fetch basket that
Fetch that basket!
87) *Kau wiki wati ta ridi.*
2sg fetch basket REL down
Fetch the lower basket!
Directionals and demonstratives are not mutually exclusive. When used
attributively they may both occur within the same noun phrase, as in (88).

88) *Kau wiki wati ridi ké!*
2sg fetch basket down that
Fetch that lower basket!
The directional *ntia* ‘here’ is the most likely directional to occur with the
demonstrative *tē* ‘this’, while the other directionals are more likely to co-occur
with either *ké* ‘that’ or *kēra* ‘over there’. However, there are no co-occurrence
restrictions between directionals and demonstratives.

### 13.6 Telling The Time

These days many Kéo speakers have watches or clocks, and tell the time by
hours and minutes, using Indonesian as the language in which to do this.
However, the traditional way of talking about time is to use idiomatic
expressions reflecting salient features of particular moments during the cycle
of day and night. These expressions are still commonly used, although as
more people come to own a watch or clock Indonesian is increasingly being
used to talk about time.

Kéo speakers divide the day into four rough periods of time, which are
presented in Table 13.7.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kéo</th>
<th>Indonesian translation</th>
<th>English translation</th>
<th>Rough time frame</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>poa</em></td>
<td><em>pagi</em></td>
<td>‘morning’</td>
<td>6am - 10am</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>dera</em></td>
<td><em>siang</em></td>
<td>‘morning’/ ‘afternoon’</td>
<td>10am - 3pm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>du/eku</em></td>
<td><em>sore</em></td>
<td>‘afternoon’/ ‘evening’</td>
<td>3pm - 6pm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kombé</em></td>
<td><em>malam</em></td>
<td>‘night’</td>
<td>sunset to sunrise</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 13.7:** Temporal division of the day

Kéo speakers further distinguish time units approximately three hours apart,
based within the broader ones presented in Table 13.7. The terms for these
time units are presented in Table 13.8.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Literal Meaning</th>
<th>Time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>dera singga</em></td>
<td>‘sun rise’</td>
<td>sunrise: approximately 6am</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>dera singga tengga</em></td>
<td>‘sun rise strong’</td>
<td>when the sun has completely risen and it’s heat is strong: approximately 9am</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>dera petu</em></td>
<td>‘hot sun’</td>
<td>when the sun is at it’s peak: approximately noon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>dera kiri so’o</em></td>
<td>‘sun rather to the left’</td>
<td>just past noon, not yet afternoon: approximately 1pm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>dera kiri</em></td>
<td>‘sun to the left’</td>
<td>mid-afternoon: approximately 3pm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>dera tadi kamba</em></td>
<td>‘sun water-buffalo rope’</td>
<td>when the sun is a buffalo-rope length above the horizon: approximately 4pm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Table 13.8: Time expressions</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The temporal prepositions ‘oda ‘at’ ($\S$13.2.10), and *jeka ‘until’ ($\S$13.2.11) cannot be used with specific times of day, according to a clock, as can be seen in (89), because Indonesian is used to express this relatively new concept. The temporal prepositions are only used with traditional Kéo time expressions, as in (90). When Kéo speakers refer to clock times they use both Indonesian prepositions and numerals, as in (91).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| **déra mesé** | ‘sun sinks’ | sunset: approximately 6pm twilight; when faces can still be seen, but are in shadow: approximately between 6pm and 7pm |
| **(kombé) liwo lawo** | ‘night silhouettes’ | |
| **(kombé) pesa uta du** | ‘night eat food’ | evening meal time: approximately 8pm |
| **kombé déwa** | ‘long night’ | the long part of the night: approximately 8pm - 11pm |
| **ora kombé** | ‘middle of the night’ | approximately midnight |
| **manu koko** | ‘chickens cluck’ | when the cocks crow: approximately 3am |
| **koka sedho** | ‘the kookaburra’s burp’ | when kookaburras wake: approximately 5am |
| **manu poro** | ‘chickens jump down’ | when the chickens come down from their roosts, just before sunrise: approximately between 5.30am and 6am. |

89) *‘Oda jam dua belas.*  
   at time twelve

90) ‘*Oda kombé déwa ma’e mbana.*  
   at night long don’t walk  
   Don’t go walking in the middle of the night.

91) *Pada jam dua belas.*  
   at time twelve  
   At twelve o’clock.
14
BEYOND THE CLAUSE

14.1 Introduction

This chapter describes clause-combining techniques in Kéo: topic comment constructions in §14.2, parataxis in §14.3, conjoined clauses in §14.4 and embedded clauses in §14.5. In conjoined clauses Indonesian conjunctions instead of the indigenous Kéo forms are now used by some Kéo speakers. This is discussed in §14.4.11.

14.2 Topic Comment Constructions

Topic comment constructions in Kéo discourse are quite common. The topic, typically a noun phrase, occurs at the beginning of the utterance. It comes under a different intonation contour to the comment. The comment is a full clause, which relates in some way to the topic, typically providing some form of information about it. Sentence (1) is an example of a topic comment construction.

1) Sémona, kami joi mona.
   school 1p.excl money NEG
   We don’t have money for school. (Lit. School, we don’t have any money.)
   APCH009

The relationship between a topic and its comment must be inferred by the hearer. In some instances the relationship between the two may appear quite tenuous. However, within context listeners rarely have difficulty in interpreting their meaning. In (2) below, EBCA is an acronym for the end of
final year exam for primary school, which is followed by the clause ‘I got a good mark’. The relation between a specific exam and a reference to ném ‘marks’ is quite obvious to most Kéo speakers.

2) **EBCA, ja’o dapa ném gaga.**
   EBCA 1sg obtain mark good
   I got a good result for the final primary school exam. (Lit. EBCA, I got good marks.)
   WMSJ019

14.3 Parataxis

14.3.1 Types of Paratactic Sequences

Paratactic sequences contain two or more juxtaposed clauses with no overt marking of either coordination or subordination. The relationship between the clauses is determined pragmatically. Paratactic sequences are very commonly used in Kéo. It is possible to use these sequences to imply many different semantic relationships between clauses. Some types recur more often than others. The three most commonly occurring paratactic sequences express: simultaneity (§14.3.2); temporal ordering (§14.3.3); and purpose (§14.3.4). Many paratactic sequences could be conjoined by the conjunctions that are described in §14.4.

One common feature of all paratactic clause combinations is that if the subject is the same in both clauses, it will be ellipsed in one of those clauses. If, on the other hand, the subject is different for each clause then each clause will normally have its own overt subject. Typically the first clause ends in slightly rising intonation, to indicate an incomplete utterance, while the second clause takes utterance-final falling intonation.

14.3.2 Simultaneous Paratactic Sequences

Parataxis sometimes indicates simultaneity, as in (3) and (4). That is, the events referred to by two clauses occur at the same time.

3) **Wado kima, ‘imunba daheko wé‘é do kaju go home mollusc looking 3sg walk follow close tree wood ké ndé.**
   that that
   Going home from looking for molluscs, she walked past that tree.
   INN012

4) **Dhu rédé nua, ‘ata moni livu méré.**
   arrive in village people watch many big
   Arriving in the village, very many people watched.
   INN015

14.3.3 Temporal Ordering of Events

Some paratactic sequences indicate a temporal relationship between clauses. In such clauses the events are usually ordered iconically, so that the first event is encoded in the first clause and the second event is encoded in the second clause. This is perhaps the most common semantic relationship implied by paratactic sequences. Two examples of this type of parataxis can be seen in (5) and (6).

5) **’Iné nuka radé pasa, mbeta pale.**
   mother go up west market buy rice
   Mother went to the market (and) bought rice.

6) **Kita pedhé kawa, pasi né dengi ha go’o.**
   lpl.incl heat pan fill with oil one little
   We heat the pan, (then) fill (it) with a little oil.
   MPTU016
Example (5) could be interpreted as having a purposive meaning. However, this is usually encoded by an aspect particle in the second clause (see §14.3.4). In (6) both the subject (kita ‘1pl.excl’) and object (kawa ‘pan’) of the verb pusi ‘fill’ have been ellipsed as they are both understood from the first clause.

### 14.3.4 Purpose Sequences

Parataxis is often used when the second clause in a sentence provides a purpose for the first clause, which typically provides an event of some kind, as in (7).

7) Nga’o petu ‘aé, mo’o rio.
   1sg hot water PROS bathe
   I’m heating water to bathe. (Lit. I’m heating water, going to bathe.)

The second clause in sentences of this type begins with the aspect particle mo’o ‘going to’, which indicates prospective aspect (see §12.2.8), as in sentences (7) above, and (8) below, while the co-referential subject is ellipsed. The use of ‘so that’ or ‘in order to’ in the translations of purpose paratactic sequences is derived from the implication of the whole construction.

8) Kita ngesi tingo, mo’o dédé.
   1pl.incl must listen PROS hear
   We must listen (in order) to hear. (Lit. We must listen, going to hear.)

It is possible that in the future the prospective aspect particle mo’o will become a conjunction, as it obligatorily precedes the purpose clause. Currently, however, it functions as other aspect particles sometimes do, preceding predicates in paratactic clauses with ellipsed subjects.

### 14.4 Conjoined Clauses

#### 14.4.1 Types

There are two types of conjoined clauses: coordinated and adjunctival. Coordinated clauses are of roughly equal status, with coordinating conjunctions always linking them. On the other hand, adjunctival clauses are conjoined to a main clause. The adjunctival conjunctions always precede the adjunctival clause, which may either precede or follow the main clause. It is a property of adjuncts that they may precede clauses, follow them, or occur in between a predicate and its arguments (see §3.5). However, due to adjunctival clauses being longer than, for example adverbs, they typically do not intervene between a predicate and its arguments. They are mainly found either preceding or following a main clause.

There are seven coordinating conjunctions and two adjunctival conjunctions. The coordinating conjunctions are:

1. comitative né ‘and’ (§14.4.2);
2. adversative bhodo ‘but’ (§14.4.3);
3. disjunctive o ‘or’ (§14.4.4);
4. temporals mbéru and mbéghu both meaning ‘then’ (§14.4.5);
5. ‘immediate’ temporal simba also meaning ‘then’ (§14.4.6);
6. simultaneity nambu ‘while’ (§14.4.7);
7. contrastive édè ‘although’ (§14.4.8).
The two adjunctival conjunctions are:
1. the reason conjunction ‘uru ‘because’ (§14.4.9);
2. the conditional conjunction ngara ‘if’ (§14.4.10).

Indonesian conjunctions are often used in Kéo. These are discussed in §14.4.11.

14.4.2 Comitative Conjunction né‘é ‘and’

Né‘é is labelled ‘comitative’, as it can mean either ‘and’ or ‘with’ when used as a conjunction. The label also alludes to some of its other possible grammatical functions

An initial example of two coordinated clauses can be seen in sentence (9). Note that the second clause contains a complement clause of direct speech (see §14.5.1 below).

9) 'Imu kewi kawi éna dina Mbu‘é Wondo né‘é sodho,
3sg scratch scratch LOC hand miss W. and said

"Sira rédé ma lita nangi paw, 'até
3pl up PROG cry cry again liver

susa kau."

sad 2sg

He scratched Mbu‘é Wondo’s hand and said, “People in the hamlet are mourning you, they’re very upset because of you”.

In theory, as many clauses as a speaker wishes can be conjoined using the conjunction né‘é. However, it is rare to find more than two clauses joined in this way.

14.4.3 Adversative Conjunction bhodo ‘but’

Bhodo meaning ‘empty, nothing, only’ is homophonous with bhodo an adversative clausal conjunction, usually translated as ‘but’. Bhodo is also used as a discourse connector, an extension of its function as a clausal conjunction.

cases a sequential relationship is implied by two clauses conjoined by né‘é. This could also be expressed through paratactic clauses (see §14.3.3).

10) ‘Ata simba bhéi né‘é wedu ‘imu éna todo watu rédé ‘udu
people then carry and place 3sg LOC on top rock up head
nu. hamlet
People then carried (Rangga) and placed him on top of a rock at the top end of the hamlet.

11) ‘Imu rua simba fai aki né‘é dhadhi ‘ana ngga’e
3sg two then wife husband and give birth children Ct.
dimarua ‘oné rupa ‘ana wawi.
five two in form child pig
Those two then married and gave birth to seven children in the form of piglets.

In theory, as many clauses as a speaker wishes can be conjoined using the conjunction né‘é. However, it is rare to find more than two clauses joined in this way.

1 Né‘é has a variety of functions. Aside from conjoining clauses, it is also a comitative preposition (see §13.2.9), an ambitransitive verb (see §4.3.2.3), which when used intransitively occurs as an existential (see §10.4.4), and when used transitively occurs as a predicate in possessive clauses (see §8.3). Né‘é is also used to conjoin noun phrases (see §7.3.2) and as a demotion marker (see §3.3.2.3).
John Payne (1985:6-8) identifies three varieties of adveratives: semantic opposition, denial of expectation, and preventative. Semantic opposition adveratives imply "...that the relationship between the conjuncts is simply one of contrast or opposition, uncomplicated by further presuppositions or dependencies" (Payne 1985:6). Denial of expectation adveratives imply "...given A, it might be expected that not B, nevertheless B holds" (Payne 1985:7). Preventative adveratives have the meaning "...A, which otherwise would take place, will fail to take place on account of B..." (Payne 1985:8). What all three have in common is that a contrast exists between the conjoined clauses. Due to the meaning of adveratives only two clauses or multi-clausal constituents can be conjoined using an adverasive conjunction.

All of the instances of bhodo in my data have a denial of expectation meaning. Sometimes do is used between clauses within one sentence, and at other times bhavo is used as a discourse connector, occurring at the beginning of sentences. When bhodo is used to conjoin two clauses within one sentence there is a slight rising, unfinished, intonation on the first clause and falling intonation at the end of the second clause. This can be seen in sentences (12) and (13).

12) Kursus bordier mo’o wuda tedu wi’e, bhodo ké course embroidery going to month three only but that

tungga dera rua wuda rua.
enough day two month two

The embroidery course was going to be just three months, but two days a week for two months was enough.
MPKY078

13) Ngga’e watu dima, bhodo ’imu-ko’osodho mona penga.
CL four five but 3pl say NEG all
There were many girls, but they said ‘no’ to them all.
HBDN045

As a discourse connector bhodo occurs at the beginning of a sentence. Typically the preceding sentence contains a statement that would end one part of the discourse. By introducing the next sentence with the adverative conjunction bhodo, not only is the second clause emphasised, but bhodo is used as a signpost that a new section of discourse has begun. This can be seen in (14).

14) Bruder st’i nga’o kursus wadi akutansi.
brother say 1sg course again accountancy
Brother told me I should do another course: accountancy.
MPKY093

Bhodo nambu ké nga’o rasa kursus akutansi mona
but time that 1sg feel course accountancy NEG

mbai penting ti’i nga’a.
so important give 1sg
But at the time I felt an accountancy course wasn’t particularly for me.
MPKY094

14.4.4 Disjunctive Conjunction o ‘or’

In Kéo the disjunctive conjunction is o ‘or’. It is typically used in noun phrases (see §7.3.4), and in polar questions (see §15.2.1.2). It can be used between clauses, but is rarely used as a clause-level conjunction. There are no examples of this use in the corpus of texts, only elicited examples, as in (15).
17)  ’Imu péu jara simba nuka rédé wawo.  
3sg tie horse then go up up top  
He tied his horse then climbed upwards.  
SRWB018

The difference between the temporal conjunctions mbéru/mbéghu and simba is that simba denotes an immediacy that is absent from either mbéru or mbéghu. That is, there may be a temporal space between clauses joined by mbéru or mbéghu that is absent in clauses joined by simba.

Simba is also used adverbially, typically occurring between the subject and predicate of a clause, as in (18), where it can be translated as ‘from then on’ and (19), where it can be translated ‘then, thereupon’.

18)  Pu’u nambu ké  ‘imu rua simba papa nasa.  
from time that 3sg two then REC partner  
From that time they were then together.  
SRWB023

19)  ’Ata ké ndé simba pasa nété mbendi dawa tuka  
person that that then shoot with gun at stomach  
POSS pig  
That person then shot with (his) gun at the pig’s stomach.  
SRMW

14.4.7 **Simultaneity Conjunction nambu ‘while’**

Simultaneity conjunctions indicate that two events expressed in different clauses occurred simultaneously. In Kéo there is one simultaneity conjunction, nambu, with a nominal meaning of ‘time’. Nambu is used in a variety of ways. As a clause linker it has the meaning ‘while’. Note that simultaneity can also be indicated through parataxis (see §14.3.2 above).
20) ‘Imu négha mbana, ‘imu simba dhu éna da’é ko’o
3sg already walk 3sg then arrive Loc place Poss
’ata podo nambu jaga éna pu’u pené.
person sorcerer while guard Loc base door
He had already left, he then arrived at the place of the sorcerer,
currently standing guard at the door.
srwb036

Sentence (20) consists of three clauses. The first two are conjoined by the
conjunction simba ‘then’. The final clause is conjoined to the second clause
and is introduced by the conjunction nambu.

The conjunction nambu is often followed by the demonstrative ké ‘that’,
together meaning ‘at that time’, as in (21).

21) Nambu ké nga’o kursus mbeja, kursus rembu.
time that 1sg course finish course all
At that time I had finished the course, the whole course.
mpek092

14.4.8 Contrastive Conjunction édè ‘although; nevertheless’

Édè ‘although; nevertheless’ contrasts propositions in two clauses, and shows
one to be contrary to expectation, based on information in the other,
descriptive clause.

The following sentences illustrate the range of positions which édè may fill in
relation to descriptive and contrastive clauses. In sentences (22) and (23) the
contrastive conjunction édè occurs at the beginning of the clause that is
contrary to expectation; that is, that I wasn’t accompanied by a male relative. In
such uses édè is translatable into English as ‘although’ or ‘even though’.

22) Kau mbana mé’a nuka ndia Bali édè Peter mono tu
2sg go alone go up here B. although P. NEG
accompany
You came to Bali alone, even though Peter didn’t accompany you.

23) Édè Peter mono tu, kau mbana mé’a nuka ndia
although P. NEG accompany 2sg go alone go up here
Bali.

Although Peter didn’t accompany you, you came here to Bali alone.
Édè can also precede the descriptive clause, as in (24), when it follows the
contrary to expectation clause. In such instances édè is translatable into
English as ‘nevertheless’.

24) Peter mono tu, édè kau mbana mé’a.
P. NEG accompany nevertheless 2sg go alone
Peter didn’t accompany you, nevertheless you came alone.

The fourth possible ordering does not occur. That is, it is not possible for the
descriptive clause headed by édè to precede the contrary to expectation clause.

In these sentences, listeners cannot rely entirely on the meaning of the
conjunction to interpret the sentence, as édè can occur at the beginning of
either clause. They must also rely on what is expected behaviour and what is
contrary to expectation, as expressed by the two clauses to interpret the
sentence.

2 Amongst Kó speakers it is the norm that a woman be accompanied by a male relative
when travelling.
14.4.9 **Reason Conjunction 'uru 'because'**

Reason clauses are adjunctival. They provide a reason for the event described in the main, result, clause. The conjunction 'uru 'because' is used to introduce reason clauses. Most commonly, the reason clause follows the result clause, as in (25)–(27).

25) Nègha ké, Om Bruder sena ré-ré-ré, 'uru suster ké after that uncle brother happy very because sister that

    punu bhida kě spoken like that

Then Uncle Brother was very happy, because the sister spoke like that.

MPKY1025,026

26) Nègha dhu dau Dili, dau Atambua, nga'o mona ka, already arrive south D. south A. 1sg NEG eat

    'uru nga'o joi mona because 1sg money NEG

Arriving in Dili, in Atambua, I didn't eat because I didn't have any money.

RBSQ052

27) Siri ka'é bhia ngaro, 'uru mbaï réi.

3pl older sibling not want allow because too far

She forbade it because it was too far.

RBSQ026,027

As it is adjunctival, a reason clause may also precede the result clause, as in (28) and (29).

28) Nègha ké, 'uru musim ghéjé, wuda ghéjé already that because season watermelon month watermelon

    négha mbeja nga'o nggáë kema ta pesa. already finish 1sg search work REL different

After that, because watermelon season was finished I searched for other work.

RBSQ124

29) 'Uru kita dhadhë ka né'é 'ana, kau because 1pl.incl give birth already with children 2sg

    si'i nga'o ngema 'uma lema. order 1sg cut grass garden first

Because we have children you've ordered me to work in the garden.

HEDN069

14.4.10 **Conditional Conjunction ngara 'if'**

There is one conditional conjunction: ngara 'if'. As with conditional sentences containing *ka wéké*, the conditional mood marker\(^3\), conditional sentences using *ngara* have a condition clause and a consequence clause. *Ngara* can occur either between the two clauses, as in (30) and (33), or it can precede both, as in (31) and (32). In this way, the conditional clause can either precede or follow the consequence clause.

28) Nga'o réké ndia ngara kau mhaana pasa. 1sg rest here if 2sg go market

    I'll wait here if you go to the market.

---

\(^3\) Note that *ka wéké* is not a conjunction. It is described in §12.3.2.1.
31) *Ngara nga'o ngé mbé'o, nga'o tuli sura*
   1sg more know 1sg write letter
   sara Kéo.
   language K.
   If I understand more, I'll write letters in Kéo.

32) *'Imu tungga na'u jara 'imu, 'Ngara a'aa podo mo'o*
   3sg just order horse 3sg if person sorcerer PROS
   pongga nga'o, kau wedhi né'é a'i".
   hit 1sg 2sg kick with legs
   He just ordered his horse, "If the sorcerer is going to hit me, you
   kick with your feet".
   SRWB035

The most commonly occurring order is for the conditional clause to come
first. The reason for this is that *ngara* is often interpretable as meaning
'when' when it occurs between the two clauses, as in (33).

33) *Nga'o lita ngara sira bhia ngaro.*
   1sg cry if/when 3pl not want give
   I cried when she forbade it.
   RBSD042

Unlike conditional sentences containing *ka wéké*, those which contain *ngara*
can co-occur with the temporal adverb *napa* meaning 'later' (see §5.13.2), as
in (34).

34) *Ngara ngada joi woso, napa nga'o mo'o mbeta 'oto.*
   if get money much later 1sg will buy car
   If I get lots of money I'm going to buy a car.

As mentioned in §14.4.4, the conditional conjunction *ngara* and a negator
occur in constructions which can be translated into English by 'either ... or
...', 'otherwise' or 'if not', as in (35). There is slight rising intonation on the
second syllable of *mona*, the negator, to indicate that the utterance is
incomplete. This is accompanied by a slight pause between *ngara mona* 'if
not' and the remainder of the second clause.

35) *Napa nga'o mbana nggaë dhato lampu meja, ngara mona,*
   later 1sg go search RLF lamp table if NEG
   Emil mendí.
   E. bring
   Later I'll go and look for the desk lamp, if not Emil will bring it.

### 14.4.11 Indonesian Conjunctions

Despite there being a variety of indigenous conjunctions, Kéo speakers often
use Indonesian conjunctions in the same way in which they would use the Kéo
ones. As with other loans from Indonesian, conjunctions are typically
borrowed by younger speakers, well educated speakers, or speakers in towns
or villages with electricity and good transport. A list of borrowed conjunctions
is presented in Table 14.1.

The first column of Table 14.1 lists Indonesian conjunctions which are being
increasingly used by Kéo speakers. The second column lists the indigenous
Kéo conjunctions. The third and fourth columns give the English translation
for the conjunctions and their functions. The Indonesian conjunctions have the
same meaning and function as the Kéo conjunctions and have either the same
or very similar distribution.
14.5 Embedded Clauses

There are two types of embedded clause: complement clauses, which are described in §14.5.1 and relative clauses, described in §14.5.2.

14.5.1 Complement Clauses

Complement clauses function as objects (see §3.4). There is no overt marker of complementation. The verbs that take complement clauses are speech act verbs and verbs of cognition, including verbs expressing emotions and attitudes. Speech act verbs and the verb *piki* ‘to think’ behave in the same way and so are discussed together in §14.5.1.1. It is possible to embed a complement clause within another complement clause, as can be seen in example (41) in section §14.5.1.1.

14.5.1.1 Speech Act Verbs and *piki* ‘to think’

Speech act verbs and the verbs *piki* and *é* both meaning ‘to think’ can be followed either by direct or indirect speech or thoughts which function as complement clauses. Direct speech imitates another speaker’s utterance using their exact words, whereas indirect speech reports the meaning of another speaker’s utterance. There is no overt grammatical particle to differentiate direct speech from indirect speech. However, the two can be distinguished by intonation and deictic orientation. There is typically a slight rise in intonation on the speech act verb and a brief pause before direct reported speech, both of which are absent in indirect reported speech. In direct speech the deictic orientation of the complement clause is focused on the person whose speech is reported, whilst in indirect speech the deictic orientation of the complement clause is focused on the person reporting the speech. This can be seen in (36) and (37), both using the interrogative speech act verb *‘adé* ‘to ask’. Sentence (36) is an example of direct speech. The intonational break and slight pause between the speech act verb and direct speech is indicated by a comma. Sentence (37) is an example of indirect speech, where there is no intonational
break and pause and the deictic orientation of the current speaker remains on himself as can be seen through the use of the first person singular pronoun in the complement clause.

36) Rina 'adê, "Ta 'odo kau wado?"
R. ask REL NOM 2sg return
Rina asked, "Why did you return?"
RBSD076

37) 'Imu 'adê mogha ta 'odo nga'o wado.
3sg ask also REL NOM 1sg return
He also asked why I’d returned.
RBSD093

As with the interrogative speech act verb 'adê ‘to ask’ other speech act verbs take complements indicating both direct and indirect speech and thoughts. In the following examples the speech act verb or verb of thinking is in bold, while the complement clause is underlined.

**piki ‘to think’**

Although semantically the verb **piki ‘to think’** is a verb of cognition, syntactically it behaves the same way as speech act verbs, reporting thoughts either directly or indirectly. For this reason it is shown here along with speech act verbs.

Example (38) contains a complement clause indicating direct thought, while example (39) contains a complement clause indicating indirect thought. In both examples **piki ‘to think’** is used transitively.

38) 'Imu piki, "**Nga'o piara pasga wai apa 'ana té?**"
3sg think 1sg care for feed with what child this
She thought, “What can I feed this baby?”
AMMS008

39) **Nga'o tungga piki nga'o ngesi wado.**
1sg only think 1sg must go home
I just kept thinking that I had to go home.
RBSD039

The verb **piki ‘to think’** cannot occur ditransitively. Some of the other speech act verbs can occur ditransitively as they convey something said to someone, whereas thinking is not conveyed to anyone, it is an internal process.

All of the speech act verbs discussed below are realised as either transitive or ditransitive. The object of the transitive use is always a complement clause. If there is only one object and it is nominal, the verb appears transitive, but is actually ditransitive with an ellipsed complement clausal object.

**sodho ‘to tell’**

In sentence (40) the verb **sodho ‘to tell’** takes a direct speech complement clause as its only object, while in (41) it takes an indirect speech complement clause. The complement clause in (41) behaves syntactically as a second object, with the third person plural pronoun **sira** acting as the first object. See §3.3.2.4 for a discussion of primary and second objects.

40) **Nga'o sodho, "Nga'o né'é masala.***
1sg tell 1sg with problem
I said, “I have a problem”.
RBSD051

41) **Nga'o piki nga'o négha sada mona sodho sira nga'o**
1sg think 1sg already wrong Neg tell 3pl 1sg wado.
return
I thought I was wrong not telling them that I’d returned.
RBSD049

Note also in (41), that there is a complement clause embedded within a complement clause, with the verb **piki ‘to think’** taking the remainder of the
sentence as a complement clausal object, including the complement clause following sodho ‘to tell’.

dhewo ‘to answer’

The verb dhewo ‘to answer’ is ditransitive. It is often realised as transitive with a complement clause as object.

In examples (42) and (43) dhewo ‘to answer’ is used transitively. In (42) it takes a complement clause indicating direct speech as its object. In (43) it takes an indirect speech complement clause as object.

42) ‘Ata sa’o wé’é dhewo, “Mona, kami mona téi sai”.
people house close answer NEG 1pl.excl NEG see who
The neighbours answered, “No, we didn’t see anyone.
HWT052

43) ‘Ata sa’o wé’é dhewo mona téi sai.
people house close answer NEG see who
The neighbours answered (that they) didn’t see anyone.

In (44) dhewo is used ditransitively with imu as the first object and the complement clause as the second object.

44) Nga’o dhewo imu, “Nga’o bhia minu”.
1sg answer 3sg 1sg not want drink
I answered her, “I don’t want a drink”.

supu ‘to order’

The verb supu ‘to order’ can occur transitively and ditransitively, with a complement clause as the second object. In (45) supu takes a complement clause indicating direct speech as object. In example (46) it is realised ditransitively, with the first person singular pronoun nga’o as first object and a direct speech complement clause as second object.

45) Konjak ké supu, “Kal’
   conductor that order eat
   That conductor ordered, “Eat!”

46) Konjak ké supu nga’o, “Kau’ ka.”
   conductor that order 1sg 2sg eat
   That conductor ordered me, “You eat.”

In example (47) supu takes a complement clausal object indicating indirect speech.

47) Konjak ké supu nga’o ka.
   conductor that order 1sg eat
   That conductor ordered me to eat. / That conductor ordered that I eat.
   RBS0053

Example (47) is actually ambiguous. It could be that supu is being used transitively with an indirect speech complement clause as object or it could be that supu is being used ditransitively, where nga’o ‘1sg’ is the nominal object and ka ‘eat’ is an indirect speech complement clause object. If direct speech were used as a complement clause then this utterance would not be ambiguous, as there are clear intonational breaks and often slight pauses before direct speech quotes.

síli ‘to say’


dhewo/ and is sometimes realised as /dhewo/, with no functional difference. The form /dhewo/ occurs more frequently in the data, and so is taken as the basic form.

4 It is possible to use 2nd person pronouns in Kao imperatives. See §15.3.
The verb *si‘i ‘to say* can be used with both direct speech, as in (48) and indirect speech, as in (49). In both instances the verb is transitive, and the object is a complement clause.

48) *Ndewé Effi si‘i, “Fonga ka apa?”*  
   earlier E. say want eat what  
   Earlier Effi said, “What do you want to eat?”

49) *Bhodo nga‘o si‘i nga‘o ka négha.*  
   but 1sg say 1sg eat PER.PER  
   But I said I’d already eaten.

The verb *si‘i ‘to say* can also be used ditransitively, as in (50),

50) *Ndewé Bapa guru si‘i nga‘o ‘imu mbépu.*  
   earlier Mr. teacher say 1sg 3sg hungry  
   Earlier the teacher told me he was hungry.

### 14.5.1.2 Verbs of Cognition

Verbs of cognition that take complement clausal objects include verbs of thinking, emotion verbs, and verbs of desire. The complement clausal objects of verbs of cognition cannot be fronted, unlike nominal objects, as evidenced by the ungrammaticality of (51) (see §3.3.2.3 and §10.5.1.1).

51) **‘Imu séha bhodo, nga‘o ‘ama.*  
   3sg healthy only 1sg hope  
   *He’s healthy, I hope.

The behaviour of three verbs of cognition – *‘ama ‘to hope*, *sena ‘to like*, and *téi ‘to see* – is illustrated below.

*‘ama ‘to hope*

The transitive verb *‘ama ‘to hope* always takes a complement clause as object, as in (52).

52) *Nga‘o ‘ama ‘imu séha bhodo.*  
    1sg hope 3sg healthy only  
    I hope he’s healthy.

*sena ‘to like*

*Sena ‘to like, to be happy* is an ambitransitive verb. When behaving transitively it can either take a nominal object, as in (53), or a complement clause as object, as in (54).

53) *Nga‘o sena muku.*  
    1sg like banana  
    I like bananas.

54) *Nga‘o sena mbana nuka daub ma‘u.*  
    1sg like go go down beach  
    I like going to the beach.

*téi ‘to see*

*Téi ‘to see* is also an ambitransitive verb. It can occur intransitively, as in (55), without an understood ellipsed object. When occurring transitively *téi ‘to see* can either take a nominal object, as in (56), or complement clause object, as in (57).

55) *Nga‘o mogha téi.*  
    1sg also see  
    I also see.

56) *Nga‘o téi Effi.*  
    1sg see E.  
    I see Effi.

57) *Nga‘o téi ‘ata palu téwo.*  
    1sg see people run random  
    I see people running around.
tau ‘to do, to make’

Although, semantically tau ‘to do, to make’ is not strictly a verb of cognition, it behaves like other verbs of cognition in that it may take either nominal or complement clausal objects. When the object is nominal, as in (58), tau + NP can often be translated as ‘to become the NP’. When tau takes a complement clausal object the construction forms an analytic causative construction, meaning ‘to make whatever is in the complement clause happen’.

58) Téi bhida ké raja supu 'lké 'imu pëu radé see like that ruler order tie 3sg tie down
déwu sa'o mo'o tau o'o raja. under the house house PROS make slave king

Seeing that, the ruler ordered him to be tied up under the house to become a slave of the ruler’s.

59) Nga'o tau 'imu ka. 1sg make 3sg eat

I made him eat.

The verb tau ‘to do, to make’ also occurs in causative serial verb constructions (see §11.5.2).

14.5.1.3 Possessive Noun Phrases that take Complement Clauses

A small set of possessive noun phrases can take complement clauses. These possessive noun phrases use the juxtaposed POSSESSOR possessed adnominal possessive construction (see §8.2). The possessor can be realised as a pronoun, personal name, or an animate common noun. The possessed is a nominal that has a corresponding speech act verb or verb of cognition. In some cases a verb may be nominalised, as with fonga ‘to want’ in bold in (60), to fill the possessed slot. In other cases the one lexical entry may be realised by two lexemes, one of which is nominal and the other verbal (see §4.1.1), as with dhewo ‘answer’ in bold in (61).

60) ‘Odo fonga nga'o dhodho réta Tarus. NOM want 1sg descend up T.

I wanted to get off up at Tarus. (Lit. My wish was to get down up at Tarus.)

61) “Modo,” dhewo wawi. alright answer pig

“Alright,” answered the pig. (Lit. “Alright,” was the pig’s answer.)

As can be seen from the above examples the complement clause may either follow the possessive noun phrase, as in (60), or precede it, as in (61). Only complement clauses containing either direct or indirect speech can precede the possessive noun phrase. In all other cases the complement clause follows the possessive noun phrase.

14.5.2 Relative Clauses

Relative clauses function as modifiers of the heads of noun phrases. They are themselves embedded within the noun phrase. As with most other nominal modifiers in Kéo relative clauses are postnominal (see §7.2.2.7).

There are two ways relative clauses are marked: some are marked by the relativiser ta, and some have no overt marking without any obvious difference in meaning. The form ta is also an emphatic particle (see §7.2.2.3). Relative clauses without the relativiser ta typically only contain one or two elements, as in (62), in which the relative clause is in bold. It is possible to
use the relativiser ta with such short relative clauses, and speakers often do, so that example (62) could be expressed as in (63).

62) P'u kaju nga mona ndé, kita mona mbé'o ko'o kaju
   tree tree name NEG that 1pl.incl NEG know SPEC tree apa.
   what
   That tree with no name, we don't know what kind of tree it was.
   AMMS037

63) P'u kaju ta nga mona ndé kita mona mbé'o ko'o
   tree tree REL name NEG that 1pl.incl NEG know SPEC
   kaju apa.
   tree what
   That tree with no name, we don't know what kind of tree it was.

In the matrix clause, noun phrases that can be relativised are: subjects, objects, possessors and oblique noun phrases, that is, those found in prepositional phrases. By far the most commonly relativised noun phrases are those that perform the grammatical role of object. Regardless of its grammatical role, a relativised noun phrase in a matrix clause is always ellipsed from the relative clause. In the relative clause the nominal argument's syntactic role is restricted to either that of subject, as in (64) and (65), or object, as in (66).

64) 'Imu wiki peja ma'u ta te'a.
   3sg fetch pandanus REL ripe
   She fetched ripe pandanus fruit.
   AMMS010

65) Baksi nio ta wajo 'imu ko'o keda sapi né'e topo.
   plank coconut REL old 3pl split chop with machete
   They split and chop old coconut planks with machetes. (Lit. Coconut planks that are old, they split and chop with machetes.)
   ANIO74

66) Mona ébhó 'oto ta kami nai démbe
   NEG long timebus REL 1pl.excl ride arrive
   wado rekor éna nia nga'o.
   return rest LOC face 1sg
   Not long afterwards the bus that we rode returned and stopped in front of me.
   RBS066

Both nominal predicates, as in (67), and verbal predicates, as in (68), can occur intransitively within relative clauses.

67) 'Imu téi ana tolo loa ta fa'i.
   3sg see newborn child REL girl
   She saw a newborn baby girl.
   AMMS005

68) Péo ta mudu so'o gaga wadi.
   sacrifice post REL first more beautiful again
   The earlier sacrificial post was better.
   AMMS061

The relative clause in example (69) consists of a transitive clause.

69) Kepa ta 'imu bhobha mona mata.
   mosquito REL 3sg hit NEG die
   The mosquito he hit didn't die.

Kéo has headless relative clauses, that is relative clauses which themselves refer to the head noun that they relativise. This can be seen in (70).

70) Latu ta papa naka.
   exist REL REC steal
   There are (people) that steal from each other.
   YNN078

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6 This example comes from a Kéo speaker from the hamlet of Bado in the village of Ulu, which is located on the coast near the western border between Kéo and Ngada. The word latu 'exist' here is the same as datu 'exist' in Udévorovatu Kéo.
In some cases headless relative clauses are themselves specified by a fronted noun phrase, as in (71).

71) *Ta pēsa papa noyo, 'ana né'é amé.*
   REL other REC angry child with father
   Others, children and fathers, are angry with each other. (Lit. Others are angry with each other, children with fathers.)

15
INTERROGATIVES
AND IMPERATIVES

15.1 Introduction

Up until now, this grammar has been largely concerned with declarative sentences. This chapter is devoted to examining the other two major sentence types: interrogatives and imperatives. As there are many more different interrogative structures than imperative structures the larger part of this chapter is devoted to interrogatives.

The terms ‘declarative’, ‘interrogative’ and ‘imperative’ refer to linguistic forms that have prototypical functions. However, they do not always correspond to the prototypical function. For example, interrogatives are typically used for utterances with the illocutionary force of questions. However, they can be used for utterances with the illocutionary force of orders (see §15.2.4.1 below). This chapter is initially divided into interrogatives (§15.2) and imperatives (§15.3). Subsections are then based on a combination of form and function.

15.2 Interrogatives

Three types of interrogative can be identified in Kéo. Their primary function is, of course, to ask questions. These are polar questions (§15.2.1), content
questions (§15.2.2), and echo questions (§15.2.3). They are identified based on their different intonation contours and differing grammatical structures. Many questions are interpreted as being questions based solely on intonation.

Both polar questions and content questions have rising intonation on the first syllable of the constituent that is being questioned. In polar questions this may be any constituent in the utterance, while in content questions it is the epistememe (see §15.2.2) that receives the rising intonation. In polar questions typically, although not always, the constituent that is questioned occurs at the end of the sentence. When whole propositions are questioned in polar questions, the first syllable of the last word receives the rising intonation, as in (1). In content questions epistememes can occur in several places. Regardless of the placement of the epistememe within a sentence the rising intonation is always placed on its first syllable, as in (3) and (4). In those questions that take phrasal epistememes (see §15.2.2.2) with the second word being either 'embə or apa - rising intonation occurs on the first syllable of the second words. This can be seen in (4). In all syntactically marked questions there is falling intonation at the end of the sentence.

1) 'Imu litau?
   'imu lita o
   3sg cry Q
   Did s/he cry? (Questions the whole proposition)

2) Imu o lita?
   3sg Q cry
   Did s/he cry? (Emphasis is on 'imu)

3) Miu kema sa'o wea apa?
   2pl build house with what
   What do you build a house with?

4) Bhida 'embə miu kema sa'o?
   how 2sg build house
   How do you build a house?

15.2.1 Polar questions

15.2.1.1 Introduction

All polar questions except for one type – confirmation-biased questions – are marked by intonation. Intonation distinguishes polar questions from declaratives: sometimes the same string of words can have either interpretation. Sentence (5), with rising intonation on the final word in the utterance, the aspect particle négha (see §12.2.1), is interrogative, while sentence (6), with flat intonation falling at the end, is declarative.

5) Rio négha?
   bathe PER.CON
   Have (you) already bathed?

6) Rio négha.
   bathe PER.CON
   (I) have already bathed.

Confirmation-biased questions appear to have derived from alternative questions (see §15.2.1.2), with the conjunction o 'or' being used as a question marker in confirmation-biased questions.

7) Bhida té o?
   like this or/Q
   Like this?
8) Numai Arno río?
Numai Arno río o?
yesterday Arno bathe or/Q
Did Arno bathe yesterday?

15.2.1.2 Types of Polar Questions

There are six types of polar questions, which have differing syntax. These include three types of alternative questions: focused alternative questions; multiple alternative questions; and open alternative questions. In addition, there are confirmation biased questions and two types of neutral questions: those marked by o, and those marked by intonation.

Alternative Questions

Alternative questions provide alternative possibilities as a response. Three types are distinguished according to the number of alternatives and how they are expressed: focused, multiple or open.

Focused alternative questions are used when all of the possible options are expressed, and the speaker does not know, or assumes, which option the listener will choose. Such questions have rising intonation on the first syllable o of each of the questioned options, with utterance-final falling intonation. The conjunction o ‘or’ links the alternatives, as can be seen in (9) and (10).

9) Mbana nangu fonga o bhia?
go swim want or not want
Do you want to go swimming or not?

In (10), because the second option teh ‘tea’ is monosyllabic, it takes falling intonation, rather than rising intonation as would occur on the first syllable of a disyllabic word in the same position. Final falling intonation also occurs in sentences ending in the monosyllabic question marker o.

10) Minu kopi o teh?
drink coffee or tea
Do you drink coffee or tea?

Focused alternative questions can have a corresponding declarative sense, with the same words and syntax, with different intonation. The following two sentences arose out of a discussion as to what someone would do if they could not climb a coconut tree. Sentence (11) is declarative, while (12) is interrogative.

11) Nga’o ponggo wi’e o tau né’tangí nai.
1sg cut just or make with ladder climb
I’ll either just cut it down or make a ladder.

12) Kau ponggo wi’e o tau né’tangí nai?
2sg cut just or make with ladder climb
Will you just cut it down or make a ladder?

Multiple alternative questions are alternative questions with more than two options. When a question presents multiple options a variation on list intonation is used (see §7.3.3), where the first syllable of the questioned item takes falling intonation and there is rising intonation over the second syllable and conjunction o ‘or’, as in (13).

13) Miu simo kamba o jara o wavi?
2pl accept buffalo or horse or pig
Would you accept water buffalo or horses or pigs?

This is in contrast to list intonation in a declarative sentence, as exemplified in (14) which does not have falling intonation on the first syllable of items in the list.
14) \textit{Kamba o jara o wawi kambi simo.}
\textit{buffalo or horse or pig 2pl.excl accept}
We would accept water buffalo, or horses, or pigs.

In focused alternative questions all of the possible options for replies are given. For example, ‘tea or coffee’ is focused, because only tea and coffee are being offered. In an open alternative question there are other unstated possibilities, for example, ‘tea or coffee (or whatever you like)’ (Comrie 1984:23). In Kéo open alternative questions the stated alternatives must be linked by the conjunction \textit{o ‘or’} and another \textit{o ‘or’} occurs at the end, leaving other options open. This final \textit{o} takes rising intonation, and is long. An example of this occurs in (15).

15) \textit{Minu kopi o té o?}
\textit{drink coffee or tea or}
Do you want coffee or tea (or anything else)?
This construction can also occur as a declarative sentence but with differing intonation. In this type of question rising intonation occurs on the first syllable of the items being questioned, while in a declarative sentence rising intonation occurs on the last syllable and conjunction \textit{o ‘or’}, sounding much like English list intonation, as in (16).

16) \textit{Miu baya wado wai apa?}
\textit{2pl pay return with what}
What will you pay me back with?
\textit{Wai kamba o jara o longo:}
\textit{Wai kamba o jara o longo o}
with buffalo or horse or goat or
With buffalo or horses or goats (or whatever you like)

Note that example (15) with different intonation, and the final \textit{o} not lengthened, could also be a polar question with the idiomatic meaning ‘would you like a hot drink?’

17) \textit{Minu kopi o té o?}
\textit{drink coffee or tea Q}
Would you like a hot drink?

**Confirmation-Biased Questions**

With confirmation-biased questions the questioner expects a positive response, while in disconfirmation/denial questions a negative response is expected. In Kéo there are no disconfirmation-biased questions, that is, there are no questions that show a bias towards the speaker expecting the addressee to disagree with them.

At the end of confirmation bias questions, as in open alternative questions, the word \textit{o} is used and it takes rising intonation. However, in confirmation bias questions the final \textit{o} is not lengthened. Unlengthened \textit{o} at the end of the utterance demonstrates a bias towards confirmation of the question by not overtly stating another option. Negative questions can also be asked in this way (see example (19) below), where the speaker expects the addressee to confirm the negative statement.

Whether the speaker uses a confirmation-biased construction or not, an addressee can of course deny the statement if appropriate.

In rapid speech when the word preceding \textit{o} ends in the low central vowel \textit{[a]} the two vowels become a diphthong \textit{[au]}. This can be seen in (18) and (19).

In rapid speech, when the word final vowel \textit{e} preceding \textit{o} is the mid back vowel \textit{[o]}, then this vowel is lengthened.
The second type of neutral polar question is marked solely by intonation. The same string of words can be interpreted either as a declarative sentence or as an interrogative sentence depending upon the intonation contour. In example (22), because there is rising intonation on the final constituent – ndé ‘that’ – the utterance is interpreted as a polar question. This same string of words with falling intonation on the final constituent, as in (23), would be interpreted as declarative.

22) Guru komputer ta Rofi sodho ndé?
   teacher computer REL R. say that
   That computing teacher that Rofi talked about?
   GTW023

23) Guru komputer ta Rofi sodho ndé.
   teacher computer REL R. say that
   That computing teacher that Rofi talked about.

Responses to o ‘or’ Polar questions

Answers to polar questions in Kéo can have a minimum answer of e or a, (see §5.13.1) which indicates agreement and confirmation, or either mona or nggedhé, both meaning ‘no’. However, one of these responses by itself sounds rather blunt, and partial or full repetition of the question typically occurs as a statement.

There are two possible responses to the question presented in (24), either a confirming positive response as in (25), or a negative response as in (26).
24) *Kau démbo o?*
   2sg come or
   Are you coming?

25) *E, nga'o démbo.*
   yes 1sg come
   Yes, I'm coming.

26) *Mona, nga'o mona démbo.*
   NEG 1sg NEG come
   No, I'm not coming.

Likewise there are two possible responses to the negatively phrased confirmation-biased question in (27): either to confirm the negative question, as in (28) or to negate the negative statement, by using a positive statement, as in (29).

27) *'Imu mona démbo?*
   *'imu mona démbo o*
   3sg not come or
   Didn't she come?

28) *E, 'imu mona démbo.*
   yes 3sg NEG come
   Yes, she didn't come.

29) *Mona, 'imu démbo.*
   NEG 3sg come
   No, she did come.

Whether one uses *e* or *a, nggedhé* or *mona* is based on agreement with the question, regardless of whether the question contains a negative or not. This is quite a common technique in the world's languages, but differs from English in one respect: If the addressee agrees with a negative statement they would use *e* (agreement marker 'yes') and repeat the negative statement, as in (28) above.

There is a third possible response to a confirmation-biased question – *aio* 'I don't know', as in (30).

30) *Aio, napa téi.*
   don't know later see
   I don't know, I'll see later.

15.2.1.3 *O – Conjunction or Question Marker?*

The word *o* placed at the end of an utterance can indicate one of two things. Firstly, *o* can indicate that not all possible options for a response have been expressed. Secondly, when *o* is lengthened, it may indicate that the speaker expects confirmation of a question. In closed and multiple alternative questions, and in neutral questions marked by a clause, *o* functions as a conjunction as it does in declarative sentences (see §7.3.4 and §14.4.4). Thus *o* has two functions – that of a conjunction and that of a question particle.

In two circumstances *o* can appear in non-final position, and in these positions is obviously not employed as a conjunction. These two situations are: question echo questions (see §15.2.3.2); and when one constituent in a clause is questioned in particular, rather than the whole utterance, as in (31).

31) *'Imu o ta naka pau?*
   3sg Q REL steal mango
   Was it him that stole mangoes?

15.2.2 *Content Questions*

15.2.2.1 *Epistememes*

In content questions a part of a clause or phrase is questioned by means of a content question word, phrase or clause. In this grammar content question words, phrases and clauses are labelled 'epistememes' (see §5.13.5).
(Durie 1985) on ‘epistemological classifiers’ and (Mushin 1995) for discussion of the term ‘episteme’. Episteme are used with either an interrogative sense or with indefinite meaning to indicate unspecified quantities, entities or time.

Episteme cross-cut several word classes and grammatical functions. This is because each episteme represents a particular word class or type of phrase or clause. The list of Kéo episteme, with their meanings and word class memberships or grammatical functions, appears in Table 15.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Episteme</th>
<th>Interrogative Meaning</th>
<th>Indefinite Meaning</th>
<th>Word Class / Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘apa?’</td>
<td>what?</td>
<td>whatever</td>
<td>(non-human) noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sai?</td>
<td>who?</td>
<td>someone; whoever</td>
<td>(human) noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wengi?</td>
<td>when?</td>
<td>whenever</td>
<td>temporal adverb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pira?</td>
<td>how much/many?</td>
<td>however</td>
<td>numeral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PREP ‘émab’?</td>
<td>where?</td>
<td>wherever</td>
<td>prepositional phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta ‘émab’?</td>
<td>which (one)?</td>
<td>whichever</td>
<td>relative clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhida ‘émab’?</td>
<td>how? why?</td>
<td>however</td>
<td>adverbial phrase</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 15.1: Kéo episteme

15.2.2.2 Phrasal Episteme

The question word ‘émab’ cannot occur on its own, but must be preceded by other words to create ‘phrasal episteme’. In this respect it appears very much like a marker of content questions. However, the presence of other episteme precludes it from being labelled as such.

In content questions ‘émab’ takes rising intonation on its first syllable, as do other episteme, rather than the constituent preceding it. When ‘émab’ is reduplicated, none of the words that it occurs with in the phrase are reduplicated (see §6.3.2.2). Some common phrasal episteme that contain ‘émab’ are listed in Table 15.2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question Phrase</th>
<th>Gloss of constituents</th>
<th>Indonesian equivalent</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bhida ‘émab’?</td>
<td>like + ‘émab’</td>
<td>bagaimana</td>
<td>how? why?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éna ‘émab’?</td>
<td>in/at/on + ‘émab’</td>
<td>di mana</td>
<td>where?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>péro ‘émab’?</td>
<td>specifically</td>
<td>in/at/on + ‘émab’</td>
<td>where exactly?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pu ‘u émab’</td>
<td>from + ‘émab’</td>
<td>dari mana</td>
<td>from where?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma ‘émab’</td>
<td>PROG + ‘émab’</td>
<td></td>
<td>where (at the moment)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘uru ‘émba?</td>
<td>REL + ‘émab’</td>
<td>yang mana</td>
<td>which (one)?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 15.2: Common ‘émab’ phrasal episteme

1 The use of ‘émab’ has parallels with mana in Indonesian. The Indonesian word mana also combines with other words to create phrasal episteme. Where there are Indonesian equivalents these are also shown in Table 15.2.
There is only one phrasal epistememe which does not contain ‘émba: ‘uru apa, literally ‘because of what’, meaning ‘why’.

15.2.2.3  Content Question Constituent Order

Kéo epistememes – words, phrases and clauses – occur in the same syntactic slots as the constituents which are questioned. This can be seen in the following examples. In question (32) pira ‘how much?, how many?’ is a numeral, and it is replaced by the numeral wutu ‘four’ in the response given in (33). In the question in (34) sai ‘who?’ is a noun. In (35) a noun phrase occurs in the same syntactic position, as a response.

32) Ki uju pira?
   grass Ct. how many
   How many bundles of grass?

33) Datu ka uju wutu.
    there is grass Ct. four
    There are four bundles of grass.

34) Arno nangu né’é sai?
    A. swim with who
    Who did Arno swim with?

35) Arno nangu né’é minda-woé ‘imu Nus.
    Arno swim with friend 3sg Nus
    Arno swim with his friend Nus.

If the order of constituents in a declarative sentence can be altered, then the order in a corresponding content question can also be altered. This is demonstrated in examples (36) – (43) showing sai ‘who?’, wengí ‘when?’ and éna ‘émba ‘where?’ appearing in various positions in the sentence. Typically the constituent that occurs first is the most topical within the sentence.

sai ‘who’
 ‘Who did Arno swim with?’

36) Arno né’é sai nangu?
    A. with who swim

37) Né’é sai Arno nangu?
    with who A. swim

38) Yrno nangu né’é sai?
    A. swim with who

wengí ‘when’
 ‘When did Arno swim in the sea?’

39) Wengí Arno nangu ‘aé mesi?
    when A. swim water salt

40) Arno nangu ‘aé mesi wengí?
    A. swim water salt when

41) Arno wengí nangu ‘aé mesi?
    A. when swim water salt

éna ‘émba ‘where’
 ‘Where did Arno swim?’

42) Arno nangu éna ‘émba?
    A. swim where

43) Éna ‘émba Arno nangu?
    where A. swim

Questions can only contain one epistememe. If someone wants to question several constituents of a sentence, the questions must be expressed in separate sentences. Instead of asking ‘who did what to whom’, as is possible in English, three questions need to be formed along the lines of ‘what happened?’; ‘who did it?’; ‘who did it happen to?’.
15.2.2.4 Interrogative Usage of Epistemeses

**Apa ‘What?’ and Sai ‘Who?’**

The epistemeses *apa* ‘what?’ and *sai* ‘who?’ are nouns (see §4.2.2). *Sai ‘who?’* questions the identity of humans, as in (44), while *apa* ‘what?’ questions non-human entities, as in (45).

44) *Sai* ka muku ké?
    who eat banana that
    Who ate that banana?

45) *Bapa* ndewé ka *apa?*
    dad earlier eat what
    What did Dad eat earlier?

When questioning the name of a person *sai ‘who?’* must be used, as in (46), whereas when questioning the name of any non-human entity *apa ‘what?’* must be used, as in (47).

46) ‘Ana ta palu ké ngara *sai?*
    child REL run that name who
    What’s the name of the child who’s running?

47) *Ngara apa* kédi ké?
    name what mountain that
    What’s the name of that mountain?

*Sai ‘who?’* is commonly used in questions pertaining to ownership. In such cases *sai ‘who?’* behaves as any other possessor, and is often preceded by the possessive particle *ko’o* (see §8.2), as in (48) and (49).

48) *Ko’o sai sa’o té?*
    POSS who house this
    Whose house is this?

49) *Sa’o ko sai?*
    house POSS who
    Whose house?

**Wengi ‘when?’**

The content question word *wengi ‘when?’* belongs to the class of temporal adverbs (see §5.13.2). It most commonly occurs at the end of a clause, but is capable of occurring in other positions (see §15.2.2.3 above and §3.5.3).

50) *Dëmba wengi?*
    arrive when
    When did (you) arrive?
    OCHH

51) *Wengi miu tendo jawa?*
    when 2pl plant corn
    When do you plant corn?

**Pira ‘how many?, how much?’**

*Kéo has a single episteme, pira ‘how much?, how many?’ to question both quantity and number. Distributionally, pira is a numeral and requires a classifier (see §9.3). As with classifiers and numerals, no other constituent can come between the classifier and episteme pira.*

52) *Kau kômbé pira ̀ëru éna Maumbawa?*
    2sg night how many sleep Loc M.
    How many nights did you sleep at Maumbawa?

53) *Nọ ̀esa pira?*
    coconut Cl how many
    How many coconuts?

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2 This also happens with the equivalent question word in some other languages that have classifier systems, for example Taba (Bowden 2001) and Tukang Besi (Donohue 1995).
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'Uru apa 'why?'

The phrasal epistememe 'uru apa 'why?, for what reason?' includes the epistememe apa 'what?'. Literally 'uru apa means 'because of what?' It usually occurs sentence-initially, as in sentence (54).

54) 'Uru apa kau mona démá numá?

because what 2sg NEG come yesterday

Why didn’t you come yesterday?

**Bhida 'émba, literally 'how?'' is also used to mean 'why'.

**Bhida 'émba 'how?, why?''

The phrasal epistememe bhida 'émba can mean either 'how?' or 'why?'. It is most commonly used to mean 'how?', as in (55). Typically, when the sense is 'why?', the question is of such a nature that a 'how' interpretation may also be possible, as in (56).

55) N'gara kau luka dako mbani kau tau bhida 'émba?

if 2sg meet dog vicious 2sg do how

If you came across a vicious dog how would you behave?

56) Bhida 'émba kau mada jawa ta wa'ú lépo?

why 2sg take corn REL final

Why did you take the last corn?

How could you have taken the last corn?

**'Émba in 'where?' questions**

'Where?' questions are formed by combining 'émba with either a preposition or the progressive aspect particle ma. Depending on the choice of preposition the resulting phrasal epistememe will have different meaning. By far the most common 'where' phrasal epistememe is éna 'émba, using the general locative preposition éna (see §13.2.3), as in (57).

57) Wodo Bako 'adé, "Iné bapa kau éna 'émba?"

W. B. ask mother father 2sg where

Wodo Bako asked, "Where are your parents?"

SRWB

Other prepositions such as péro 'at precisely' (see §13.2.4), as in sentence (58), and pu'u 'from' (see §13.2.7), as in sentence (59), also frequently occur in 'where?' question phrases.

58) Iné, sa'o ko'o dera singga péro 'émba?

maam house POSS sun rise at where

Maam, where exactly is the house of the rising sun?

SRWB

59) Miu pu'u 'émba?

2pl where

Where have you come from?

When the progressive aspect particle ma is used in ‘where?’ questions the phrasal epistememe has the meaning ‘where at this moment?’, as in sentence (60).

60) Ko'o kamba ta kau janji ma 'émba?

POSS buffalo REL 2sg promise PROG where

Where are the buffalo that you promised me at the moment?

**Ta 'émba 'which one?''

'Émba commonly occurs with the relativiser ta (see §14.5.2) to create questions asking 'which one?', as in (61).

61) Iwa ta 'émba kau mo démá?

year REL where 2sg will come

Which year will you come?

This ta 'émba construction does not mention possible alternatives that the addressee can respond to. By using the same structure and replacing the
content question word 'émba with a specific option the question becomes a neutral polar question, as in (62) (see §15.2.1.2 above).

62) Kau fongga ta ngau?
2sg want REL blue
Do you want the blue one?

15.2.2.5 Indefinite Usage of Epistememes

When used indefinitely, epistememes are typically reduplicated, although not in all cases. Several epistememes when reduplicated take on the indefinite meaning ‘Q-ever’, for example, sai-sai ‘whoever’, wengi-wengi ‘whenever’. Three of the epistememes – sai ‘who’, apa ‘what’ and wengi – can also occur unreduplicated as indefinites. There are examples of each of the epistememes being used indefinitely below.

Apa used indefinitely

The epistememe apa ‘what?, whatever’ can occur indefinitely either unreduplicated, as in (63) or reduplicated, as in (64). All instances of apa and apa-apa used indefinitely in the data were relativised. There does not appear to be a semantic difference between apa and apa-apa.

63) "Modo ongga, apa ta kau punu nga’o paké.”
right young man whatever REL 2sg speak 1sg believe
"Okay mate, whatever you say I’ll believe.”
SRMW039

64) Apa-apa ta mi kau ma’e ka.
whatever REL sweet 2sg don’t eat
You’re not allowed to eat anything sweet.

Sai used indefinitely

Like apa ‘what?, whatever’, the epistememe sai ‘who?, whoever, someone’ is often relativised, as in (65). However, there are examples in the data of sai used indefinitely and not relativised, as in (66). There does appear to be a difference in meaning between sai-sai and sai. When reduplicated, sai-sai means ‘whoever’, while the unreduplicated sai means ‘someone’ or ‘anyone’.

65) Sai-sai ta naka longo masu bui.
whoever REL steal goat enter jail
Whoever steals goats goes to jail.

66) Mona sai ti’i. Kamba tengé nga’o.
NEG someone give buffalo one’s own 1sg
No one gave it. It’s my own water buffalo.

Wengi used indefinitely

There are only examples of wengi ‘when, whenever’ used indefinitely in a reduplicated form in the data, as in (67). This may be because the conditional conjunction ngara ‘if, when’ (see §14.4.10) occurs in positions that unreduplicated wengi ‘when’ would be likely to occupy.

67) Wengi-wengi kau dëmba datu muku kosé.
whenever 2sg come exist banana roast
Whenever you come there will be roast bananas.

Wengi ‘when’ occurs with the numeral two rua in an idiomatic expression meaning ‘day after tomorrow’ or ‘two days ago’.

68) Ja’o wado wengi rua.
1sg return when two
I’ll return the day after tomorrow.
I came home two days ago.
Wengi is not a classifier. If one wishes to count days the classifier dera (from the word ‘day’) or kombé (from the word ‘night’) must be used.

**Pira used indefinitely**

The reduplicated form of pira ‘how much, how many’ pira-pira, has indefinite meaning, as in (69).

69) *Imu bhobha nga'o n déka pira-pira.*
3sg hit 1sg time however many
He hit me however many times.

**Éna ’émba-’émba used indefinitely**

When a ‘where?’ question containing ’émba is reduplicated it becomes indefinite, with the meaning ‘wherever’, as in (70) and (71).

70) *Na ’émba-’émba nga'o mbana nga'o téi tentara.*
wherever 1sg go 1sg see army
Wherever I go I see the army.

71) *Éna ’émba-’émba kau mbana kau jaga weki.*
wherever 2sg go 2sg look after body
Wherever you go look after yourself.

**Ta ’émba-’émba used indefinitely**

When ta ’émba-’émba ‘which (one), whichever’ is used indefinitely, as in (72), it can be interpreted as meaning either ‘whichever’ or as ‘all’ or ‘everything’.

72) *Ja'o négha punu rembu ko'o pata péde ta ’émba-’émba*
1sg PER.PERSpeak all SPEC talk chant which
kau ’oa.
2sg request
I’ve already told you everything that you have asked.

15.2.2.6 Negation in Content Questions

Unlike English, where question words can be negated, for example in ‘not why, but when did they do it?’ in Këo epistememes used interrogatively cannot be negated. If a negative marker occurs with an epistememe the only interpretation possible is that of a negative indefinite, as in (73).

73) *Mona sai.*
NEG who
No-one.

Even if this were to occur with neutral polar question intonation (see §15.2.1.2 above) the only interpretation possible is ‘no-one?’, as in (74).

74) *Mona sai?*
NEG who
No-one?

Instead of saying something like ‘not who, but when did they do it?’ in Këo one needs to specifically say ‘I didn’t ask...I asked...’, as in the last turn in (75).

75) *Sa'o té kena wengi?*
house this build when
When was this house built?

Paulino ta kena.
Paulino REL build
It was Paulino that built it.

*Mona. Nga'o mona ’adé ’sai’ bhodo ’wengi’.*
NEG 1sg NKS ask who but when
No. I didn’t ask ‘who’ but ‘when’.

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15.2.3 Echo Questions

Echo questions are questions in which a part or a whole of a previous utterance is repeated in the form of an interrogative. There are two types of echo questions: declarative echo questions (§15.2.3.1) and interrogative echo questions (§15.2.3.2).

15.2.3.1 Declarative Echo Questions

In declarative echo questions a part or whole of a previous utterance is repeated in the form of a question when a listener did not comprehend the whole of the utterance, or is surprised at what they have heard. The aim of such a question is to seek clarification from the first speaker. In Kéo either the whole utterance, as in (76) or just the part that was misheard, or mis-spoken can be repeated, as in the third turn in the conversation in (77).

76) Ngaito ndua dau ma’u.
1sg go down down beach
I’m going down to the beach.

Dua dau ma’u?
go down down beach
Going down to the beach?

OR

77) Ngaito nuka dau ma’u.
1sg go up down beach
I’m going up down to the beach.

Nuka?
go up
Going up?

E mona. Ndua dau ma’u.
hey NEG go down down beach
Hey, no. (I’m) going down to the beach.

Echo questions can also be asked by using epistemes. In English one can ask things such as ‘who did what to whom?’, where more than one element in a sentence can be subject to echo-questioning. In Kéo only one element per sentence can be questioned. If one wishes to question more than one element in an utterance it must be phrased in the form of a separate clause for each question. Example (78) was misheard and the examples following it illustrate in which ways the utterance could be questioned.

78) Nga’o wedu kaju dau kopo wawi.
1sg put wood down pen pig
I put the wood down in the pig sty.

79) Na ‘emba?
at where
Where?

80) Péro ‘emba?
at where
Where exactly?

81) Sait?
who
Who?

OR

82) Sait ta wedu?
who REL put
Who put it (there)?
83) *Sai ta wedu kaju éna kopo wawi?*
   who REL put wood Loc pen pig
   Who put the wood in the pig sty?

84) *Kau wedu apa (dau kopo wawi)?*
   2sg putwhat down pen pig
   You put what (down in the pig sty)?

85) *Kau apa kaju?*
   2sg what wood
   You’re doing what to/with the wood? (Lit. You’re whating the wood?)

**15.2.3.2 Interrogative Echo Questions**

In polar question echo questions, the question particle *o* can occur at the beginning of an utterance, and also be repeated as a question standing by itself. In (86) below a confirmation-biased polar question is asked in the first sentence; the speaker receives no response and so rephrases the question placing the question particle *o* at the start of the second sentence; and finally receives a response. This is the only context in the data in which *o* occurs at the beginning of a question.

86) *Miu mona dém‑ba o?*
   2pl NEG come Q
   Aren’t you coming?
   *O, miu mona dém‑ba?*
   Q 2pl NEG come
   Hey, you’re not coming?

87) *Kau mo’o sékola o? O? O? O?*
   2sg Pros school Q Q Q Q
   You’re going to school aren’t you? Aren’t you? Aren’t you? Aren’t you?

In polar questions, as seen in the examples above, the question particle *o* is repeated. In content questions it is the epistememe that is repeated, as in (88).

88) *Sai ta dé dém‑ba? Sai?*
   who REL just arrive who
   Who just arrived? Who?

**15.2.4 Other Uses of Interrogatives**

The main function of interrogatives in Kéo is to seek and obtain information for various reasons. There are also three other uses of interrogatives. These are: orders (§15.2.4.1); rhetorical questions (§15.2.4.2); and greetings (§15.2.4.3).

**15.2.4.1 Orders**

It is rare that questions are used to express orders in Kéo. However, sarcastic questions can be used as orders. This is a technique predominantly used by parents to make their children behave. For example, if a child climbs a tree and looks like falling a mother, scared for the safety of her child, may say the following in (89) as an order to climb down.

E, nga’o mona dém‑ba.
yes 1sg NEG come
Yes, I’m not coming.

In certain contexts *o* can be repeated at the end of an utterance. This typically occurs when the speaker knows that their question has been heard, but the listener does not respond, as in (87).
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89) Kau ngoggo mata o?  
2sg like die Q  
Do you like dying?

15.2.4.2 Rhetorical Questions

Rhetorical questions, that is, those questions to which the speaker does not expect an answer, are used by Kéo speakers with different kinds of illocutionary force. Some have the meaning of ‘no one could possibly know the answer to this question’, while others express shock, horror or surprise. Depending on whether a person is asking a rhetorical question or a genuine question changes the intonation of a question. Question (90) is asked rhetorically, showing that the speaker has no idea of the answer and that the answer could not reasonably be known by anyone.

90) Wësa poa, wengi rua, ‘imu mo dëmba. Sai mbé o?  
tomorrow when two 3sg PROG come who know  
Tomorrow, two days from now he will come. Who knows?

Question (91) is a genuine question with the questioner expecting a genuine answer. There is rising intonation on the content question word sai ‘who’ in (91), indicating that it is a genuine question.

91) Ha ‘ëko kesa ha ‘ëko jadi ‘ëko pira? Sai mbé o?  
one CL plus one CL become CL how much who know  
One plus one equals how much? Who knows?

In (92) the rhetorical question expresses a strong negative reaction such as indignation or dismay. The intonation of this rhetorical question contrasts with a similar question seeking information in (93).

92) Miu bhida ‘ëmba kema sa’o bhida té?  
2pl like where build house like this  
How did you build a house like this?  
(How could you possibly build a house like this?!)  

93) Miu kema sa’o bhida ‘ëmba?  
2pl build house like where  
How do you build a house?

15.2.4.3 Greetings

Questions are frequently used as greetings between people of equivalent status. If someone of equal status passes by it is quite rude not to greet them. Typically these greetings have to do with where one is going, or what one is doing at the time of meeting. They are expected to be answered honestly, and may or may not lead onto further conversation. The following are some common greetings that use interrogatives.

94) Kau nuka éna ‘ëmba?  
2sg go up Loc where  
Where are you going?

95) Río négha?  
bathe already  
Have you bathed?

96) Miu ndua pu’u éna ‘ëmba?  
2pl come down from Loc where  
Where have you come down from?

97) Dë dëmba o?  
just come  or  
Have you just arrived?
There are restrictions on who can greet each other using such questions as above. Typically, greetings of this sort only occur between equals, that is people of the same age and status. It would be considered extremely rude if a child were to ask an adult such a question and may be answered with something along the lines of ‘who do you think you are, my business has nothing to do with children.’ Likewise, if a child were to try and involve a non-parental adult in ‘child-business’ the adult would most likely be offended and say something along the lines of ‘I’m not a child I don’t know anything about child-business.’ Of course if an adult were to address a child using one of these questions an answer would be expected. In the case of an adult using such questions to children the utterance would not so much be a greeting as a genuine question, wanting to know what the child was doing.

15.3 Imperatives

Imperatives are a sentence type typically used to express commands or orders. Three types of imperatives can be identified: positive imperatives (§15.3.1), prohibitive imperatives (§15.3.2), and socially motivated imperatives (§15.3.3). In Kéo polite requests have a declarative form, but are discussed in §15.3.4 to complete this section.

15.3.1 Positive Imperatives

Positive imperatives tell people what to do (rather than what not to do). These imperatives may either occur with or without the imperative marker sai or si,
which occurs at the end of a sentence. Speakers say that by adding the

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3 In careful speech speakers used the form sai, whilst in everyday conversation and rapid speech si was always used.

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imperative marker the utterance is made more polite. Therefore sentence (98) is more polite than (99).

98) To'o si!
    get up IMP
    Get up!

99) To'o!
    get up
    Get up!

The imperative marker sai or si is used when there will be some benefit to the addressee for carrying out the action in the imperative. When the intended outcome of an imperative benefits the speaker the imperative marker is not used. Therefore, aside from politeness reasons, a second interpretation of examples (98) and (99) is possible: that sentence (98) is uttered for the benefit of the addressee (for example, the addressee may have slept in and be late for a meeting), while sentence (99) is for the speaker’s benefit (for example, the addressee may be sitting on something the speaker wants).

If both speaker and addressee will benefit from compliance with the imperative the imperative marker sai is typically used. For example, (98) is often reciprocally said amongst people when they decide that it is time for them to leave a place and go somewhere else.

In (98) and (99) above a bare predicate is used in both of the examples. This is very common, because the arguments of the predicate typically are clear from context. Being the recipient of the imperative the addressee does not need to be mentioned overtly in the subject slot. Despite this, it is common for imperatives to contain subjects in the form of a second person pronoun, as in (100), a kin term or a proper name, as in (101), referring to the addressee.
100) *Kau wado dama!* 2sg go home fast You go home quickly!

101) *Gerry mai ndia stil* G. come here here IMP Gerry come here!

When the subject slot is filled in this way the imperative marker is typically not used, although it can be, as in (101) above.

The intonation and speed of an imperative sentence varies dependent firstly on who the recipient of the imperative is and on their relative status to the speaker, and secondly on whether the imperative is for the benefit of the speaker or the addressee. Generally, if the speaker is older than the recipient then the imperative will be ‘harsher’ than if the speaker is younger than the recipient, in which case the imperative must be made to sound more polite. In sentence (102) below the recipient (Gerry) is a young boy, the speaker his grandfather. The imperative was said quickly, with the only rising intonation occurring on Gerry’s name to attract his attention.

102) *Gerry wiki piri ke!* G. get plate that Gerry, get that plate!

The imperative in (103) was directed toward the speaker’s father. The sentence was longer and slower than (102), with rising intonation on the kin term for the recipient, the word ‘plate’ in the middle of the utterance, as well as utterance final rising intonation.

103) *Bapa wiki piri ti’i ja’o!* dad get plate give 1sg Dad get that plate for me!

The auxiliary *ngada* ‘able’ is often used in imperatives directed towards older recipients, as in (104). This appears similar to English ‘whimperatives’, which take the form of a question with the illocutionary force of an order.

104) *Ngada pati pora.* able give meat Can you divide the meat?

In (102) – (104) the speaker will benefit from the action in the imperative being carried out. In imperatives spoken for the perceived benefit of the addressee there is no rising intonation anywhere in the utterance, as in (105). This imperative was spoken rapidly, with very strong emphasis on the first syllable of *ngesi* ‘must’. The lack of rising intonation and emphasis indicates that this imperative must be obeyed or there will be unpleasant repercussions.

105) *Kau ngesi mbana sekola!* 2sg must go school You must go to school!

15.3.2 Prohibitive Imperatives

Prohibitive imperatives tell someone not to do something. These imperatives are marked by the prohibitive *ma’e* ‘don’t’ which precedes the predicate, as in (106).

106) *Ma’e ngau!* don’t naughty Don’t be naughty!

As with positive imperatives (see §15.3.1), prohibitive imperatives commonly do not contain any arguments, only the prohibitive marker and a predicate. The bare prohibitive can be, and often is, used on its own when the context is clear for both speaker and addressee, as in (107).
107) Ma’él!
don’t
Don’t!!

Typically prohibitive imperatives are uttered urgently. This is because prohibitive imperatives are often used in dangerous situations to avoid an accident, as in (108), or when the speaker is angry and wants to convey their message as quickly as possible, as in (109).

108) Ma’él bhodhu! Nio!
don’t sit coconut
Don’t sit down! Coconuts!

109) Ma’él wiki ko jam ké!
don’t take SPEC watch that
Don’t take that watch!

Urgency may be one reason why prohibitive imperatives are so short. A second reason may be that, as with positive imperatives (see §15.3.1), the arguments of the predicate are typically clear from context. As the addressee is the person to whom an admonition is directed, they do not need to be mentioned overtly in the subject slot of the imperative. However, they often are, as in (110) below. There are no grammatical restrictions on the presence of arguments within a prohibitive imperative.

110) Kau ma’él ghéwo mbeta sabu!
2sg don’t forget buy soap
Don’t you forget to buy soap!

Longer prohibitive imperatives containing more than the prohibitive and predicate are considered more polite than short ones. Short prohibitive imperatives can be ‘softened’ by adding an explanation, as in (108) above, or

(111) below. Kéo speakers believe that the prohibitive imperative is also more likely to be complied with if a reasonable explanation is provided.

don’t noisy younger sibling T. asleep
Don’t be noisy! Little sister Tessa is asleep.

Short prohibitive imperatives are most commonly directed at children, or in dangerous situations, while longer ones are more common amongst adults. For example, when prohibitive imperatives are used as warning advice they typically occur in expanded sentences, as in (112).

112) Louise, ngara kai dau Belanda kau ma’él mbana mé’a L. when go down Netherlands 2sg don’t go alone
‘oda ora kombé.
at middle night
Louise, when you go to the Netherlands, don’t go out alone in the middle of the night.

15.3.3 Socially Motivated Imperatives

In Kéo, socially motivated imperatives are utterances with the form of imperatives, but without the illocutionary force of orders or commands. Instead of the speaker wanting the addressee to do something, these imperatives give permission, or invite an addressee to do something, typically something that they are already doing. These imperatives always have the form of a bare predicate followed by the imperative marker sai or sì. The presence of the imperative marker shows that these imperatives are for the benefit of the addressee, rather than the speaker.

I was often the addressee of this prohibitive imperative, warning me against sitting under a coconut tree, as a coconut might fall and kill me.
Amongst the Kéo it is very important to acknowledge people when you see them, or when you are in the same vicinity as them (see §15.2.4.3). Socially motivated imperatives are a way of acknowledging people’s presence. For example, upon seeing someone with a spare sarong over their shoulder, soap in hand heading for the well it is the norm (and possibly even socially obligatory) to say (113).

113) *Ríi* *sil*  
   bathe IMP  
   Bathe!

Likewise if someone asks you what you are doing as they pass by, they are likely to close the conversation by telling you to do that precise activity, as in the exchange in (114).

114) *Miiu tau ‘apa?*  
     2pl. do what  
     What are you doing?  
   Kami *kema dapi.*  
     1pl.excl work kitchen  
     We’re building a kitchen.  
   *Kema si!*  
     work IMP  
     Build (it)!

Perhaps the most commonly heard socially motivated imperative is (115).

115) *Ka si!*  
    eat IMP  
    Eat!

This particular imperative is uttered every time a group of people eat together. It is not proper to start eating until several or all people present have said *ka si* ‘eat!’ When eating only with close family members who all live in the same house the imperative marker *si* is often dropped, resulting in ‘*Kat!*’ ‘Eat!’.

This is the only context in which I ever heard a socially motivated imperative without the imperative marker *si*.

### 15.3.4 Polite Requests

In Kéo, when making requests neither interrogative nor imperative sentences are typically used, but rather declarative sentences are used, and the illocutionary force of the utterance inferred by the listener. Examples can be seen in sentences (116) – (118).

116) *E, lago ‘angi e.*  
     hey rather windy hey  
     Hey it’s rather windy. (Speaker wants the door closed.)

117) *‘Iné, a’éc té’a sèwé.*  
     mother papaya ripe many  
     Mother, you have a lot of ripe papaya. (Speaker wants some fruit.)

118) *‘Iné, sira radé mona pisi kami.*  
     mother 3pl there NEG feed 1pl.excl  
     Mother, they over there didn’t feed us. (Speaker wants food.)

Where someone present at the time of any of the utterances cited above later reported what was said, the reporter would use the word *‘oa* meaning ‘request, ask for something’ to describe the purpose of the utterances. For example, if one were to say (119) it would likely be reported as in sentence (120).

119) *Ngā’o mo koso ngi’í bhodo ‘aé mona.*  
    1sg will brush teeth but water NEG  
    I want to brush my teeth, but there isn’t any water.

120) *‘Imu ‘oa ‘āé.*  
    3sg request water  
    She requested water.
Declarative sentences are also occasionally used when someone asks a question seeking information. For example, in some contexts sentence (121) could imply the question Dako ké mbani o? ‘Isn’t that dog vicious?’ Even though the sentence is in a declarative form an answer is expected, as in (122).

121) E, nga’o dédé dako ké kiki ‘ata.
hey 1sg hear dog that bite people
Hey, I heard that dog bites people.

122) Mona, dako mau.
no dog docile
No, it’s a docile dog.

APPENDIX A
LIST OF TEXTS

The following table contains a catalogue of the texts collected and used in the preparation of this grammar. In addition to the texts I collected during fieldwork, some of the texts were collected by Father Philipus Tule SVD during periods of anthropological fieldwork he undertook. These texts are marked with an asterisk <*>. Some of these texts are presented in full in Tule (2001). The majority of texts are spoken texts. Those that were written are marked as such by (w).

The first column gives the name of the speaker, the second column indicates which hamlet the speaker is from and/or where the text was recorded. The third column provides a description for the text. Some texts have Kéo names, most of which have been translated into English. Those texts that only have a Kéo name are titles that contain personal names. Some texts have been given Indonesian names with translations, while others have only been given an English title. The text type or genre is shown by an abbreviation in the fourth column. A discussion of Kéo speech genres is found in Appendix B. The abbreviations and conventions used are as follows.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AP</th>
<th>Apa raja – Apa raja</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Bhéa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Conversation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CR</td>
<td>Combination of ritual speech genres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DNN</td>
<td>Dongeng Nuru Nange</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Elicited Text</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Em</td>
<td>Email letter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>Letter</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Examples in the body of the grammar are referenced using the abbreviations found in column five under 'Ref'. When an example in the body of the grammar does not have a reference, that particular example was either elicited or noted down during the course of unrecorded conversations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SPEAKER</th>
<th>HAMLET</th>
<th>DESCRIPTION OF TEXT</th>
<th>TYPE</th>
<th>REF</th>
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<tr>
<td>Albert Pio</td>
<td>Maundai</td>
<td><em>Cari Hidup</em> Making a Living</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>APCH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albert Pio</td>
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<td><em>Nggaé Kubi</em> Hunting Octopus</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>APNK</td>
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<tr>
<td>Albert Pio</td>
<td>Maundai</td>
<td>Message for Louise and Peter</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>APM</td>
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<tr>
<td>Alde</td>
<td>Maundai</td>
<td>Possession Story</td>
<td>E</td>
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<td><em>Mbu' e Wondo</em></td>
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<td>AMMW</td>
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<td>'Émbu Tonga Mbu'e So'a</td>
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<td>AMS</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anas Aso</td>
<td>Maundai</td>
<td>'Odo Muri Tné Aso  Mrs. Aso's life</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>AAMA</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aris</td>
<td>Bade</td>
<td><em>Nua Ja'o</em> My Hamlet</td>
<td>N(w)</td>
<td>ANJ</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dede</td>
<td>Mbengga</td>
<td><em>Tua Ara</em> Palm Wine</td>
<td>N(w)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>from Maunori, recorded in Kupang</td>
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<tr>
<td>Diana Ndiwa</td>
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<td><em>Hidup Mama Ndiwa</em> Mrs. Ndiwa's Life</td>
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<td>Eman</td>
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<td>'Éko Dima Rua, Pongga Ha Ndea* Seven in one hit</td>
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<td>Telkom walk</td>
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APPENDIX B
SPEECH GENRES

B.1 Introduction

Eastern Indonesian languages are renowned for their rich variety of speech genres. However, for most languages that have been described linguistically there are no detailed description of the speech genres used within a speech community. The job of describing speech genres has typically fallen to anthropologists who investigate their cultural significance, for example, Fox (1988), Forth (1996), Keane (1997), and Kuipers (1998). Ideally both an anthropological and linguistic analysis of speech genres should be undertaken, but this very rarely occurs in practice.

The major problem that I personally encountered in gathering samples of, and information about different speech genres was one of timing and location. Certain forms of speech are only employed in specific places at specific times and I was not able to be present in all the right places at the right time. The primary focus of my field-research was on everyday conversational Kéo, and it took priority over collection of other materials. The same priorities were involved with the transcription and analysis of collected data. This appendix, then, is far from a comprehensive examination of the speech genres that occur in Kéo. It simply offers an overview of the Kéo speech genres that were used in texts collected for the preparation of this grammar. It also includes some information concerning speech genres that were discussed with language helpers. I hope that there will be an opportunity for further research on Kéo speech genres in the future.
Kéo speech genres fall into two major types: everyday genres (§B.2) and ritual genres (§B.3). Section B.4 provides some illustrative examples of situations within which different genres are employed. The final section (§B.5) discusses the transmission of oral traditions.

### B.2 Everyday Speech Genres

Everyday speech genres can be uttered by anyone, or have very few limitations on who may utter them. These genres are commonly heard, and include su’a soda (§B.2.1), doa (§B.2.2), numu nange (§B.2.3), ’oja nèbha (§B.2.4), pata (§B.2.5), papa nèké or nèké pédé (§B.2.6), senu-mbewé (§B.2.7), and st’i-né (§B.2.8).

#### B.2.1 Su’a Soda

Su’a soda refers to a kind of prayer used to avoid danger or to request a particular outcome for a situation. Such prayers are directed towards whoever or whatever is appropriate in the situation of utterance, as opposed to doa (see §B.2.2) which are directed towards God. The su’a soda presented in (1) is directed at an owl. Owls are considered to be the messengers of sorcerers, and therefore are not warmly greeted.

1) Rèu, mbana so rèu, mena o radé, dau so rèu.  
Far go more far east or west down more far  
Far, go further away, east or west, go down far away.

Kami ndia sada mona dheko nggedhè.  
Ipl.excl here wrong NEG follow NEG  
We here have done no wrong, followed nothing.

Su’a soda are also used when asking for forgiveness, or making a promise. Sometimes they are told for other people to hear. In other instances they are said to oneself. Anyone can make up su’a soda, but many are also learned and repeated. There are no restrictions on who can say su’a soda or make them up. Likewise there is no restriction on where a su’a soda can be uttered. Any person can create and utter a su’a soda as the situation dictates.

Some su’a soda are passed from one generation to another, and some have become a part of everyday discourse, such as (2).

2) Mbana kau ri’a-ri’a.  
go 2sg good  
Go carefully.

Su’a soda are typically either one or two sentences in length. They do not typically employ parallelism or rhyme of any sort.

#### B.2.2 Doa

The word doa comes from Indonesian, and means ‘prayer’. These are utterances directed to God requesting something. They contrast with su’a soda (§B.2.1), which are directed to whoever or whatever is appropriate in context. People may, however, say doa in many different situations. Example (3) is a doa uttered before going fishing.

3) ’Ika ta réu mai ndia wé’é.  
fish REL far come here here close  
Peni ja’a té mi rak-ré’é.  
feed 1sg this sweetvery  
Far away fish, come here close. Feed me very sweetly.

The above doa consists of two sentences, each with the same number of syllables. The final word in each rhyme. It is common for doa to rhyme, although not obligatory.

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1 The ‘following’ here refers to following black magic practices.
Anyone can say *doa* in any place or social situation. As they are directed to God one can say *doa* by just thinking them, so that no one else need know you are expressing one.

**B.2.3 Nunu Nange**

*Nunu nange*, also known as *nu nange*, *nuru ngai* or *nuru nange* are narrative stories. They are typically told as entertainment, usually to children. However, *nunu nange* are also recited at certain ceremonies. Anyone can tell *nunu nange* when they are used for entertainment. The authors of *nunu nange* are unknown, and it is very rare that an individual will compose a new one.

Some Kéo speakers with an Indonesian education split *nunu nange* into two types, using Indonesian words to describe them: *dongeng* ‘fables’ and *legenda* ‘legends’. These distinctions are used here, as there are significant differences between the two forms.

**B.2.3.1 Dongeng**

*Dongeng nunu nange* are similar to fables in English, in that they often have animals as central characters behaving in a human manner. These *nunu nange* typically have a moral to them, and are used as warnings against certain behaviour. Sometimes they explain phenomena found in the world. An example of this occurs in the text *Dako nê’ê Longo* ‘The Dog and the Goat’, which explains how the dog lost his horn and the goat gained it.

*Dongeng* are not believed to be true stories. Rather, they are regarded as made-up stories reflecting human behaviour. Their primary function is to entertain children, while the secondary function is to teach them, by offering a moral by which they should live their lives. *Dongeng* may be told indoors, or outdoors, typically in a relaxed manner. One local primary school teacher

made children learn and tell *dongeng* in front of the class in order to learn something of their culture as well as to gain confidence in speaking in front of a group of people.

Kéo *dongeng* always begin with the phrase in (4).

4) *Pu’u nëmbu...*  
   *from long time past*  
   *From a long time ago...*

This functions much as ‘once upon a time’ in English. Similarly there is a formulaic ending, with the closing sentence typically being sentence (5).

5) *Jadi ceritera tungga bhida ké.*  
   *so story enough like that*  
   *So that’s all there is to the story. That’s how the story is.*

*Nunu nange* in my corpus include *Méo nê’ê Wawi* ‘The Cat and the Pig’ (see Appendix C), *Dako nê’ê Longo* ‘The Dog and the Goat’, and *Wodo Bako nê’ê Bako Wodo* ‘Wodo Bako and Bako Wodo’.

**B.2.3.2 Legenda**

*Legenda* are historical narratives, which provide explanations for aspects of the physical world. Unlike *dongeng*, which are indisputably fiction, whether *legenda* are fact or fiction is debated amongst Kéo speakers. Some people believe them in their entirety, while others believe parts of them, but not the whole story. Some people believe that they are purely fiction.

*Legenda* are typically about ancestors and major events in their lives. These stories appear to be a mixture of fact and fiction. People alive today are able to trace their relationship to people in these narratives, while at the same time extraordinary events are portrayed. Such amazing occurrences as transformations of animals into humans or stones or transformation of humans into animals or stones are commonplace. The stories have a variety of
functions. Some stories explain why, now, descendants of certain ancestors are forbidden to eat particular foods. Other stories offer explanations for names of geographical features, such as mountains, rivers and large rocks.

A common theme in *legenda* involves the movement of people between villages. *Legenda* with this theme explain who founded which village, and who and where their descendants are now. Such stories are important to those alive today as they can support claims of ownership of land in the region. This is why *legenda* are often recited at village-wide ceremonies, or family ceremonies, such as bridewealth negotiations (see §B.4.2 below). When recited during village ceremonies the story-teller will stand in the middle of the clearing in the middle of the village by the peó post (see §B.4.9 below) to tell the story. Sometimes the stories are set to a rhythm and a group of people will dance in a circle while telling the story together, in a similar manner to réko (see §B.3.3 below). At family gatherings such as bridewealth negotiations the participants typically sit around the edges of the front room of a family member’s house. In these circumstances *legenda* are told while seated.

The story lines of *legenda* typically begin with an ancestor being in some kind of trouble. They are often rejected from the society in which they live, or considered useless because of financial difficulty, health-problems or their position in the community. A series of events unfolds during the course of the story, some possibly factual, some probably fictional. Finally the ancestor will settle in a place, and have many children, at which point the story-teller will establish who alive today is a relative of the ancestor in the story.

Some *legenda* are used to scare children into behaving, by saying such things as ‘if you don’t behave you’ll turn into a rock like so and so.’ Or ‘If you don’t behave your mum will turn into a forever-crying waterfall, crying over your misbehaviour.’

Unlike *dongeng* (§B.2.3.1) there is no formulaic opening or closing for *legenda*.

The majority of *legenda* to which I have access were collected by Father Philipus Tule SVD during the course of his fieldwork towards a PhD in anthropology, also in the village of Udiworowatu (Tule 2001). These include Mbu’é Wondo ‘Miss Wondo’ (see Appendix C), Watu Kéké Ré ‘The Kéké Ré Stones’, and Wawi Tolo ‘The Red Pig’.

### B.2.4 ‘Oja Nébha

‘Oja nébha is the name used to describe at least two different forms of ‘reversed’ speech, both of which are used for telling secrets. ‘Oja nébha is used in any circumstance when someone wishes to say something to just one person and to keep it secret from anyone else who may be around. Not all people are capable of understanding or producing ’oja nébha, and there are at least two different forms of it. Therefore, it is a secret form of language for those in the know. For example, if a guest arrives unexpectedly just after a meal has been eaten, the exchange in (6) might take place, so as not to lose face in front of the guest, or to discuss domestic issues in front of a guest. The top line in the example is ‘oja nébha and the second line is conversational Kéo.

\[
\begin{align*}
6) & \quad \text{Aka} \quad \text{tuda o namo?} \\
& \quad \text{Ka} \quad \text{datu o mona?} \\
& \quad \text{food exist Q NEG} \\
& \quad \text{Is there any food or not?}
\end{align*}
\]
In another form of 'oja nébha, as in (6) above, syllables are reversed. That is, in disyllabic words the second syllable becomes the first and the first syllable becomes the second syllable. This can be seen in sentence (8) below, which was uttered by someone who had been accused of taking another’s book. The person accused of stealing did not take the book and did not want to make an issue of it by involving other people present, therefore he used ‘oja nébha to keep the whole issue discrete.

8) ‘Oja namo kiwi kubu uka.
   Ja’o mona wiki buku kau.
   1sg NEG take book 2sg
   I didn’t take your book.

B.2.5 Pata

Tau pata means ‘to sing’, or ‘to put verses together’. Pata alone means ‘song’. The Indonesian word nyanyian ‘song’ is also frequently used for this genre. People sing for personal entertainment and in ritual situations. The most typical setting in which people sing for personal entertainment is when groups of people are working together: in the fields, building things, around the house, fishing and so on. Work involving pounding, which has a beat, is especially likely to be sung to. The idea of singing while working is to lighten the burden of the work, and make something not particularly enjoyable an enjoyable experience.

In ceremonial contexts a series of pata are sung to form a réko (see §B.3.3 below). These pata may be sung versions of legenda nuna nange (see §B.2.3.2 above), or contain other culturally significant information.

B.2.6 Papa Néké or Néké Pédé

Papa néké, otherwise known as néké pédé, is essentially flirting in a teasing way between young men and women. It is used wherever young people meet,
and is made up as they go along. It is almost always initiated by men, but
women respond in kind.

In papa néké or néké pédé a speaker will say something negative about
someone they like. Example (9) illustrates this.

9) ‘Ana ko sai ta mai radé mai? A’i ‘imu
Child Poss who REL come here west come here leg 3sg
bhida nopo api.
like butt fire
Whose child is this coming here? Her legs are like cigarette butts.

This kind of taunt would typically receive a like response and teasing taunts
between the two speakers would escalate. The situation is resolved by one of
the speakers leaving the situation or the talk turning into a conversation.

B.2.7 Seno-mbewé

Seno-mbewé is when a person is alluded to by using an animal metaphor.
There are two typical contexts in which this occurs. The first is when a man’s
parents go to a woman’s parents to propose marriage (see §B.4.1 below). The
man and the woman are talked of as two different animals. A typical
metaphor used in this context is for the woman to be referred to as a chicken
whose wings have grown. The second typical situation for using seno-mbewé
is when someone says something bad about someone else, but does not want
to fight with them directly. For example, if guests over-stay their welcome
they may be referred to, within their earshot, as dogs getting in the way in the
kitchen which need to be shooed away.

B.2.8 Si’i-né

Si’i-né are insults. Unlike papa néké (see §B.2.6 above) these are meant to
hurt and/or humiliate someone. The insults are usually about some physical
attribute of a person, as in (10).

10) Nia ‘imu réé-bëngé.
face 3sg ugly
Her face is ugly.

Si’i-né are a way for people to express their dislike of someone. They are
used in arguments, and often lead to physical fights amongst young men.

B.3 Ritual Speech Genres

Some speech genres in Kéo are not as widely used as those discussed above.
These ritual genres often have restrictions on who may utter them, when and
where. The ritual speech genres discussed here are: pata sudha sedho
(§B.3.1), bhéa (§B.3.2), réko (§B.3.3), apa raja – apa raja (§B.3.4), kadha
(§B.3.6) and supa (§B.3.5).

B.3.1 Pata sudha sedho

Pata sudha sedho is speaking in pairs, or using parallelism. It is used in
everyday speech, bhéa (see §B.3.2 below), and during ceremonies. People
regard it as beautiful to listen to. Only some people are good at it, typically
these are bhéa experts. A good speaker will know the combinations of words
that can occur, be able to convey his message clearly to other people, and
make it sound ‘beautiful’. Some examples of this can be seen in examples
(11) – (14), all of which were a part of bhéa (see §B.3.2 below). These
examples were kindly provided by Father Philipus Tule SVD (see also Tule
(2001)).
11) 'Iné kita sa watu mité.  
mother 1pl.incl one stone black  
Our mother is the same black stone.  

'Amé kita sa dadu tolo.  
father 1pl.incl one cock red  
Our father is the same red cock.

12) Pu'u 'iné sa metu mité dhadhi négha  
from mother one female animal black give birth PER.PER.  
mbi.  
increase  
Our mother, a black chicken, has multiplied by birth  

'Amé sa dadu tolo mesá négha kapa.  
father one cock red hatch PER.PER thick  
Our father, a red cock, has multiplied by hatching.

13) Mo'o 'oda kema 'imu ma'é meta.  
PROS NOM work 3sg don't green  
May his work not be green.  

Ghavo 'imu ma'é aso.  
work 3sg don't half-cooked  
His efforts not be half-baked.

14) 'Udu mbé'i kéli.  
head lean mountain  
Head leans towards the mountain.  

A'i ndéli mesi.  
foot stand salt  
Feet reach the sea.

'Speaking in pairs' is very common throughout the province of Nusa Tenggara Timur. Forth (1996), and Fox (1988) are two people who have done research into parallelism amongst the Nage and Rotinese respectively.

B.3.2 Bhéa

Bhéa are a type of ritual chant. They are used to convey the importance of someone, to establish someone's genealogy or to contextualise an event. They are typically recited at important events, such as the ordination of a new religious leader or the arrival of a VIP. They are also used at various stages during marriage proposals, during bride-price negotiations, at weddings, at sacrificial ceremonies and during various other traditional ceremonies.

At all village-wide ceremonies genealogies in the form of bhéa are recited. These state which ancestor came from where, where they settled and, most importantly, who is descended from whom. These are important for lending legitimacy to a participant's right to attend and take part in the ceremonies, showing their kinship affiliation, and possession of land rights in the area. For the same reasons legenda nenu nange (see §B.2.3.2 above) are also often recited at such occasions. Bhéa are also used to set the tone for an event, and to state explicitly why participants have gathered on that particular day.

Very few people can recite bhéa. Only grown men are permitted to recite them, and typically only those men who are skilled in producing the parallel structures within this genre. It is typically the composer who also recites the bhéa. However, there have been occasions, when a bhéa has been composed by an expert for a particular event, and then another person has memorised and recited it at the event. Bhéa have what has been described by Kéo speakers as ‘saw-like intonation’1, where the pitch of the chant varies between being loud and soft in time to the rhythm of the bhéa and movement of the performer.

Some bhéa are very short, containing as few as four clauses. These short bhéa are typically used for self-aggrandisment, as with the bhéa in (15).

B.3.3 Réko

Réko are chants which are sung by a group of people, while they also perform a circular dance. A single réko consists of a series of pata (see §B.2.5 above). These pata are slow and contain information about the performance of rituals, and the history of a hamlet. I have one example of a réko in my corpus, recorded at a ceremony for the consecration of a new ritual house. It contains fifteen pata.

B.3.4 Apa Raja – Apa Raja

Apa raja – apa raja are riddles. They are typically only used when someone has died. Similar genres are used in other parts of eastern Indonesia, such as mantekas riddles in Uab-Meto, the major language of West Timor (Neonbasu 2001).

Amongst Kéo speakers, close family members of the deceased are forbidden to cook following the death of their relative. Other family members and neighbours are obliged to provide all meals for the family for a set period of time. They must be fed with meat for the first week, which must be sacrificed in the appropriate manner.

The exact form that burial rites take is dependant upon the religion of the deceased. If the deceased was Muslim, in keeping with Muslim tradition, the body must be buried the same day as the death occurred. For Catholics, there is an all night vigil of the body. Members of the deceased’s family must stay awake to protect the deceased’s body and soul from being possessed by evil spirits or by sorcerer’s magic. Relatives must also stay awake to protect themselves from malevolent spirits who may come during sleep. Apa raja – apa raja are then recited, in order to keep them awake and alert.

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4 Thanks to Father Philipus Tule SVD who provided me with this bhéa, originally recited by Embo Ndona.

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The recitation of *apa raja* — *apa raja* takes the form of a competition. There are two teams involved, sometimes men against women, sometimes older people against younger, sometimes other combinations. Each team devises riddles for the other. A team loses a riddle if they cannot solve it. At the end of the night, the team which produced the most unsolved riddles is the winner.

The riddles are typically only one sentence in length, such as in (16), and (17).^6^

16) **Poa-poa mai siko dia ta’i.**
   morning every remove clothes anus
   Every morning pants are removed to show a bum.

   **Ké ko’o kolo.**
   that SPEC chilli
   That’s chilli.
   (Every morning the petals of a chilli flower open to reveal the middle of the flower (the bum).)
   VAR

17) **Jara ‘ekotedu saka sa ga’ê**
   horse CL three straddle one CL
   Three horses straddled by one person.

   **Ké ko’o tungku api.**
   That SPEC fireplace
   That’s a fireplace.
   (Kéo fireplaces have three rocks, with fire in the middle (the three horses). Cooking vessels are placed on these rocks during cooking (the person).)
   VAR

B.3.5 Supa

*Supa* are oaths, promises or threats. They are always made up as the situation requires. They are often used when someone has done something wrong, or

when someone is suspected of having done something wrong. For example, someone may say (18) if they suspect the person has stolen food, but the suspect will not acknowledge it.

18) **Ngara kau naka, tuka ku mbo.**
   if 2sg steal stomach 2sg explode
   If you stole, may your stomach explode.

On the other hand, a suspect may say a *supa* to prove their innocence, as in (19).

19) **Ngara ja’o naka oo pi singi réta ra’i,**
   if 1sg steal oh edge up garden bed
   If I have really stolen someone’s land,
   **Tana mo’o ka ja’o, watu mo’o pesa ja’o,**
   land going to eat 1sg stone going to eat 1sg
   The land will swallow me, the stone will eat me.

   **Ngara mona ja’o mona apa-apa.**
   if not 1sg not anything
   If not, I will be alright

If someone admits guilt to a wrong-doing they may say a *supa* to promise that they will never do it again, otherwise something terrible will befall them. *Supas* always take the same form, presenting a condition and a result if that condition is not met.

Anyone can say a *supa*, but only in appropriate circumstances, often accompanied by a ritual. Children are often made to say *supa* in order that they do the things their elders want them to.

B.3.6 Kadha

*Kadha* is a form of speech that has almost completely disappeared. Speakers over the age of sixty can recall from their youth certain old people who used this form of speech. However, I have only been told of one person in his late
eighties who still uses *kadha*. This person resides in a village which I was unable to visit.

*Kadha* is when one talks to oneself, but for the benefit of people in earshot, using *pata sudha sedho* (see §B.3.1), and talking in riddles. Due to the elaborate use of parallelisms and riddles, and the response requiring a similar usage of parallelisms and riddles, very few people had the skill to respond to someone using *kadha*. The speaker sits, and sways in time to rhythm of what they are saying. Some people regard it as a kind of improvised song.

In an everyday context the content of *kadha* was typically a commentary of what was going around the speaker, which the speaker regarded in a negative light. *Kadha* therefore, in this context was a kind of elaborate way of complaining about something. *Kadha* were also used before a battle. In this context they were used to out-psych their opponents.

**B.4 Some Illustrative Situations for Different Genre Use**

There are many situations in everyday Kéo life that require certain customs and traditional practices and ceremonies to be observed. Each of these is accompanied by appropriate speech. Some of these ceremonial occasions include proposal of marriage, bridewealth payment, pregnancy, childbirth, circumcision for Muslim boys, healing rituals, departure on an important voyage, construction of a new residential house, construction of a ritual house and ordination of a new religious leader. Some of these situations have already been referred to in previous sections. As there are sorcerers amongst the Kéo there are various chants and incantations used by these people for typically malevolent purposes. It is impossible to find out anything about these chants and incantations unless one becomes a sorcerer.

In the following sections I discuss some of the ceremonial occasions mentioned above. Many of these ceremonies are discussed in Tule (2001).

**B.4.1 Proposal of Marriage**

There are many rituals associated with a proposal of marriage. Appropriate language must be used during these rituals. Initially the prospective groom’s parents visit the prospective bride’s parents, bringing offerings of betel nut with them. In accepting the betel nut the prospective bride’s parents symbolically accept the marriage proposal. This process takes place in the front room of the prospective bride’s house. In a bamboo house parents will sit on the bamboo floor, in a brick house they will sit on chairs or a woven mat on the floor. In both settings all of the parents would typically be served drinks by the prospective bride. *Seno-ndewé* (see §B.2.7) is typically used in this context.

**B.4.2 Payment of Bridewealth**

The payment of bride-price is a necessary part of the process of getting married in the Kéo-speaking region, as it is across the island of Flores and many other parts of eastern Indonesia. The idea behind payment of bridewealth (at least amongst the Kéo) is that the bride’s parents be compensated with animals, gold and weapons for the ‘loss’ of their daughter and the work she performs around the home and in the gardens, because once she is married, she will live with her in-laws. After the groom’s family has presented the bridewealth, the bride’s family responds by giving both traditionally woven and shop-bought cloth to the groom’s family.
Complex negotiations between male representatives of the bride’s and
groom’s respective families to come to a consensus on the amount of
bridewealth required and how it is to be paid must be completed before a
wedding can go ahead. Typically these negotiations take place well in
advance of the actual wedding. At a later date, at the latest on the morning
of the wedding, further staged negotiations take place. It is at this point that the
bride’s family is presented with the agreed upon amount of animals, gold and
weapons and the groom’s family is presented with the agreed upon amount of
cloth.

As bridewealth negotiations are a family affair they are held in the front room
of an appropriate relative’s house. It is only men that participate in the
negotiations. Female relatives prepare large quantities of food and drink for
the men and serve them as appropriate. Typically all participants will be
seated around the walls of the room to form a circle – either on the floor, or if
enough chairs, on those. People speak from a seated position. When a
ceremony or ritual is carried out in the front room of someone’s house in this
way, there is no difference between audience and performer. All present are
expected to be both. Generally the main speakers, who are typically experts in
pata sudha sedho (see §B.3.1), bhéa (see §B.3.2) and other ritual speech, will
sit at opposite ends of the room, and have their ‘supporters’ surround them.
These experts are typically hired by families to speak on their behalf at
bridewealth negotiations. They are typically paid in animals.

B.4.3 ‘Cutting Teeth’

When a woman is seven months pregnant with her first child she undergoes a
ritual where her front teeth are filed down to an even length. There are several
stages to the process, each stage requiring specific ritual language to be used
by an appropriate expert, who also performs the rituals. These experts are
always old men high up in the social hierarchy. The woman must complete
certain rituals before the actual filing of her teeth takes place. During the
filing the woman must stand. The process is extremely painful as gums are
also cut and bleed profusely during the ritual. It is a sign of the woman’s
strength if she does not cry, and a sign of weakness if she screams due to the
pain.

Several days after the filing ceremony another ceremony must be performed.
This ceremony involves an expert, the parent’s-in-law and the woman (and
unofficially anyone else present in the house at the time). A baby pig is
suspended in the front doorway of the house, making sure that the head points
in the right direction. The woman sits under the pig, and with a few words the
official cuts the pig’s throat with a special instrument which channels the pig’s
blood onto the head of the woman. The mother-in-law mixes the blood with
cocoanut milk obtained by squeezing the flesh of the coconut and bathes the
pregnant woman’s hair, head, shoulders, back and chest with the mixture. The
pig is then cooked, the expert receiving the head and largest portion as
payment for his services.

B.4.4 Healing Ceremonies

There are chants used to heal people, whereby relatives of the ill person
promise to do something, which will usually be of detriment to them, if the
sick person recovers. A common promise made is to exchange the life of an
animal for the life of the sick relative, so that if the person recovers an animal
will be sacrificed.
B.4.5 Departure on an Important Voyage

There are ceremonies with bhéa (see §B.3.2) before and after a long, important journey. The subject matter of the bhéa is made up to suit the occasion, and person. It usually involves mention of the ancestors, and in the case of a religious pilgrimage, God.

A farewell party may be held at which song-experts make up songs – pata, (see §B.2.5) – about the person/people about to embark on a trip, offering advice and demonstrating their pride and support for the person/people. These song experts are always men. For their services the singers are provided with a meal and as much palm wine as they can drink. All persons present at such an occasion are encouraged to make speeches. Typically younger and more inexperienced men used more formulaic speech in such circumstances, whereas older members of the group will be more elaborate and less formulaic in their contributions.

B.4.6 Building/Consecrating a New House

Building a new house requires auspicious dates for the house-building to be commenced. Ceremonies where chants are made over animal entrails are required to determine a date. Further chants must be spoken when the trees for the house-posts are cut down, to appease the spirits in the trees, and to install the ancestor-spirits into the posts. I do not know the term for the chants used in these circumstances.

Further ceremonies are observed at other points in the process including when the house is finally completed. These ceremonies and rituals are performed in various locations, depending on the kind of ritual and its purpose.

B.4.7 Building of New Ritual House

As with a residential house (see §B.4.6 above), building a new ritual house also requires the determination of auspicious dates for the building to take place. Weeks before the commencement of the building, ceremonies must be performed to appease the spirits of the ancestors. Once the building has begun, work must continue every day on the ritual house until it is completed. No rest days are allowed. During the entire time workers must be fed with the meat of sacrificed animals.

Once the ritual house has been built, a large sacrificial ceremony is held, at which the ritual house is consecrated. Bhéa (see §B.3.2), and legenda nunu nange (see §B.2.3.2) are recited. Réko (see §B.3.3) are also performed. These legitimise attendees right to participate.

B.4.8 New Religious Leader

When a new Catholic priest is ordained, or Muslim Imam is installed, there is a large feast and party, where different members of the community sing and dance for the new religious leader. He is initially greeted with a welcoming bhéa (see §B.3.2). This bhéa is typically performed at the entrance to the village from where the guest of honour is accompanied by singers and dancers to the place of the party. A Mass in the case of a Catholic priest, and prayers and sermon, in the case of Muslim Imam are performed. These rituals are followed by feasting and partying.

Due to the numbers of people who attend such celebrations a large shelter with bamboo support poles and coconut leaves for roofing, is erected next to the house of the family hosting the celebrations. In such conditions there is a very marked difference between audience and performers, with those singing,
dancing or giving speeches performing at the front, or in the middle of the crowd. The audience sits facing or surrounding the performers.

**B.4.9 Installation of a Péo Post**

Péo posts are culturally significant artefacts in the Kéo region. During sacrificial ceremonies animals are tied to the péo post before being slaughtered.

There are ceremonies in the jungle from where a tree for the péo post is cut down. There chants are performed to appease the spirit in the tree and to ensure the spirit remains in the wood of the tree. I do not know the term for these chants. On the day of the installation animals must be sacrificed, and many bhâa (see §B.3.2) are recited, containing genealogies. Other post-installating chants are also recited.

**B.5 Transmission of Oral Traditions**

All of the rituals mentioned in this chapter are still performed regularly in remote village settings, suggesting that they will continue to be used into the future. Older language specialists bemoan the fact that younger Kéo speakers are not learning how to use ritual speech. However, it is yet to be ascertained whether this is an indication that younger speakers are really not learning ritual speech, or if the language has changed, with older speakers thinking of a ‘golden age’ of ritual speech which has passed. In the case of kadha (see §B.3.6) it is obvious that the speech genre is almost extinct, and not likely to survive the coming decade.

The majority of Kéo rituals and ceremonies are only performed in villages. That is, those people who have moved to towns do not practice them at home.

However, those people who have moved to towns do return to villages for major rituals and ceremonies, such as those mentioned in the above sections. Marriage practices in the Kéo region have changed during the last century with the introduction of Catholicism and Islam. However, traditional rituals and ceremonies have not been lost. These days marriage ceremonies are a combination of traditional practices and world-religious practices. The ceremonies leading up to a marriage – the proposition, bride-price negotiations, exchange of bride-wealth – all involve the use of ritual speech. However, the marriage ceremony itself is either a Catholic or Islamic ceremony, in Indonesian (and, for Muslim ceremonies, partly in Arabic) with no additional Kéo ritual speech. After the ceremony, when partying gets under way, people will then make speeches in Kéo again. Some of this speech-making may involve using ritual speech genres.

For those people with no access to state health facilities traditional medicines and relevant chants are still often used. Many people turn to chants and traditional medicines when other methods of healing, namely Western medicine, has failed.

Not all ceremonies and rituals performed in a village setting are accompanied by the Kéo language. The Indonesian national language Bahasa Indonesia is now used at most village-level ceremonies. Things associated with ‘national culture’ in some way trigger the use of Bahasa Indonesia, as do events involving people from a different dialect or language group, or those involving either Catholic or Islamic religious ceremonies. The use of Bahasa Indonesia in these settings does not seem to constitute a threat to Kéo oral traditions, as none of these situations existed a century ago, before Catholicism and Islam were introduced. Events associated with national
culture began even more recently, with the advent of Indonesian independence in 1945.

APPENDIX C
TEXTS FROM DIFFERENT GENRES

Several texts are presented in this appendix, each from a different speech genre. See Appendix B for discussion of some of the different speech genres found in Kéo.

C.1 Dongeng Nunu Nange: Méo né'é Wawi

*Méo né'é Wawi* (The cat and the pig) is a *dongeng nuru nange* (see §B.2.3.1). It is similar to English fables in that animal characters are used to teach children a moral lesson — in the case of this particular *dongeng*, to trust your friends. This story can be found in Baird and Tule (In Press), in which the Kéo version is translated into both Indonesian and English.

*Nuru nange,* *méo né'é wawi.*

*fable* *cat and pig*

Fable: the cat and the pig.

*Méo né'é wawi 'imu rua minda-woé pawé.*

*cat and pig 3sg two friend good*

The cat and pig, those two were good friends.

*Nambu ha ndeka méo punu né'é wavi,*

*time one time cat speak with pig*

(At) one time the cat spoke with the pig,
“Rembu kita ta muri ndia wawo tana ta all 1p.incl REL live here above ground REL
so ‘o mbani tungga manusta.” more fierce only human
Of all of us who live here upon the earth, (those) that are the most fierce are only humans.

“Nga’o mona paké,” seru ko’o wawi. 1sg NEG believe voice POSS pig
“I don’t believe (you),” said the pig.

“Ngora kau mona paké rapa mbana kita rua.” if 2sg NEG believe try go 1pl.incl two
“If you don’t believe me let’s go.”

“Modo,” dhewo wawi. alright answer pig
“Alright,” answered the pig.

“Ngora bhida ké, to’o sail!” if like that rise IMP
“If that’s how it is, let’s go!”

‘Imura mbana. Nambu ‘imu rua mbana luka né’é 3sg two go when 3sg two go meet with ‘ana sekola.
child school
Those two went. While they were walking they met a school child.

Wawi ‘adé éna ‘ana sekola ké ndé, “Kau o ta mbani pig ask at child school that that 2sg Q REL fierce réé-ré’é?” very
The pig asked the schoolchild, “Is it you that is very fierce?”

“Mona, ‘imu dhatu ‘ana go’o,” seru ko méo. NEG 3sg IMP.CON child small voice POSS cat
“No, he’s still a little child,” said the cat.

Négha ké ‘imu rua mbana wadi.
already that 3sg two walk again
Then they walked on again.

Nambu mbana ‘imu rua luka né’é ata ta négha time walk 3sg two meet with person REL PER.PER mbupu-dhugu old
While walking they met with an old person.

Wawi ‘adé, “Kau o ta mbani réé-ré’é?“ pig ask 2sg Q REL fierce very
The pig asked, “Is it you that is very fierce?”

Méo sodho, “Mona. ‘Imu tungga lési ta uwa.” cat tell NEG 3sg only remains REL grey
The cat said, “No. He’s just grey remains.”

‘Imu rua mbana wadi.
3sg two walk again
They walked on again.

Dhu éna komba ‘imu rua luka né’é ‘ata ha arrive at jungle 3sg two meet with person one
ngga’enambu paza rawa.
Cl while shoot wild pigeon
Arriving at the jungle, they met with a person (who) at that time was shooting wild pigeons.

“Kau o ta sodho mbani réé-ré’é?” 2sg Q REL tell fierce very
“Are you the one said to be very fierce?”

“‘Imu mënga ké. Kau dhatu ‘imu napa ja’o réu pu’u éna 3sg still that 2sg approach 3sg later 1sg far from at té.”
this
“That’s him. You approach him, later when I’m far away from here.”
"Modo. Mvana sai kau!"
Alright go IMP 2sg

"Alright. You go!"

Mona ëbhо wawi dhato 'ata ké ndé.
NEG long time pig approach person that that
Not long (afterwards), the pig approached that person.

'Ata ké ndé simba pasa née mbendi dawa tuka
person that that shoot with gun at stomach
ko'о wawi.
Poss pig
That person then shot with (his) gun at the pig's stomach.

Wawi dhatu dhato wadi.
pig IMP.CON approach again
The pig approached again.

'Ata ké ndé langgi ta toko kasa esa ta inga jeka
person that that rip EMP bone chest pull EMPear until
sá'ē.
torn
That person ripped ribs and pulled (the pig's) ear until it tore.

Wawi dëdë lo. 'imu simba palu mbana nggaë wado méo.
pig feel hurt 3sg then run go search return cat
The pig felt pain. He then ran to go search again for the cat.

'imu rua papa luka, 'imu simba punu née méo.
3sg two REC meet 3sg then talk with cat
Those two met, he then talked with the cat.

"Modo ongga, apa ta kau punu tu'u-mbë'ë."
Alright young man what REL 2sg talk true
"Okay mate, that which you said is true."

'imu simba punu, "Nga'о dhato ha ndeka ka,
3sg then say 1sg approach one time PER.INV

'ata ké ndé rupi née ngai 'imu dawa
person that that blow with breath 3sg at

Tuka nga'о jeka mbira.
stomach 1sg until tear
"I approached one time, that person blew with his breath at my stomach until it tore.

Dhato wadi ha ndeka 'imu langgi toko kasa nga'о
approach again one time 3sg rip bone chest 1sg

née wisi inga nga'о.
and tear ear 1sg
Approaching again he ripped by ribs and tore my ear.

Nga'о dëdë lo, nga'о simba palu.
1sg feel hurt 1sg then run
I felt pain, I then ran.

Tu'u-mbë'ë mamusia ké mbani ré'ë-ré'ë."
really people that fierce very
Truly people are very fierce."

"Mengkë ndé ongga nga'о punu kau mona pakë.
still that that young man 1sg talk 2sg NEG believe
"That's it mate, I told (you), (but) you didn't believe (me).

Kau tëi sai ké wadi-wadi apa ta nga'о punu kau
2sg see IMP that in the future what REL 1sg talk 2sg
ngisa pakë."
must believe
You see, in the future what I say you must believe."

"Modo ongga. Apa ta kau punu nga'о pakë.
alright young man what REL 2sg talk 1sg believe
"Okay mate, that which you say I'll believe."
C.2 Legenda Nunu Nange: Mbu'ë Wondo

Mbu'ë Wondo is a legenda nunu nange. It is debated amongst speakers whether the events portrayed in this story are wholly true, partially true, or completely fictional. This story can also be found in Baird and Tule (In Press), in which the Kéo version is translated into both Indonesian and English.

The speaker (from the hamlet of Worowatu in the village of Udiworowatu) occasionally uses Endenese words in this story. For example he uses the word *metu* “should” and the word *na* “that”, when reporting the speech of animal characters. He also uses *oja nḗbha* for an animal character.

Pu’u do’é-do’ë ’ata Wondo. ’Ata Wondo ndua, mbu’ë from first people W. people W. go down girl
The people of Wondo a long time ago. Seven young Wondo women

ngga’ë dima rúa mbana kima éna watu mérë wë’ë.
CL five two go mollusc at stone big close went down to collect molluscs at a big stone close to

Dowo Doke. Nèhga kima kima kima, ngada.
D. D. PER.PER mollusc mollusc mollusc catch
Dowo Doke. After searching and searching for molluscs (they) caught (some).

Bhodo ta sépu susu mona ngada. Napa ’imu téë ko’o but REL end milk NEG catch later 3sg see SPEC
But the youngest didn’t catch any. Then she saw a

ka’ë éna dia wi’e. ’Imu ghonggë.
shell in hole only 3sg grope in hole
shell just in a hole. She groped in the hole.

Ho ghonggë ndé, dima ’imu mélë ka
Oh grope in hole that arm 3sg stuck PER.INV
Oh that groping in the hole, her hand was stuck

’uru në’ë kara subho.
because have bracelet. Shell bracelet
because she had a shell bracelet.

Nambu mélë ndé, ’aë mesi nuka ka.
when stuck that water salt go up PER.INV
When (she) got stuck, the tide was already coming in.

Ta ka’ë ’imu niù,
REL older sibling 3sg call
Her older sisters called,

"Mai sai ’isi eee...mai sai ’isi eee!
come here IMP miss hey come here IMP miss hey
Come here Miss, come here Miss!"

Nuka ndia!"
go up here
Come up here!

"Ooo miu nuka pau, nga’o nuka tado”,
oh 2pl go up again 1sg go up unable
“Oh you go up, I can’t go up”;

dhewo Mbu’ë Wondo. ’Aë mesi simba nuka.
answer M. W. water salt then go up answered Mbu’ë Wondo. The tide then came in.

"’Isi eee mai sai!"
miss hey com here IMP
"Hey Miss, come here!"
“Mi u naka mu du. Nga’o naka tado ka.”
2pl go up first 1sg go up unable PER.INV
“You go up first. I can’t go up.”

Mb’u Wondo ta ngga’e dima ‘esa naka mu du.
young woman W. REL.CL five CL go up first
The six young Wondo women went up ahead.

Téi négha mbai ‘éhho, ta nala ‘imu ha ngga’e
see PER.PER rather long time EMP brother 3sg one CL
Seeing it had been a rather long time, her one brother went down.

ndua. ‘Imu ndua tau né’é sapa kowa.
go down 3sg go down do with canoe
He went down with a canoe.

Poro ndua radé, bhodo nai naka réta langgí
dive go down down but climb go up rip up
(He) dove down, but (just) returned to the surface with

wai peja ma’u. ‘Imu négha réta wawo sapa,
DM sea pandanus 3sg PER.PER up top canoe
sea pandanus. He was already in the canoe,

‘imu téi wéta ‘imu ndé. ‘Imu sobhé téi wai peja ma’u.
3sg see sister 3sg that 3sg dive see DM pandanus
he saw his sister. He dove, (but only) saw sea pandanus.

‘Utú bhida ké, ‘imu ndé simba lita nangi pau
because like that 3sg that then cry cry EMP
Because of that he then cried and cried

wado naka rédé Wondo. Bapa né’é ‘iné ‘imu ‘adé,
go home go up up W. dad and mum 3sg ask
going home up to Wondo. His dad and mum asked,

“Bhida ‘émba wéta ndé?”
how sister that
“How is that sister?”

“Ooo tado, ‘imu ma dau vé’é. watu méré ndé, mélé.”
oh unable 3sg PROG down closerock big that stuck
“Oh (I) couldn’t do anything, she’s down close to that big rock,
stuck.

Sira todo lita nangi.
3pl random cry cry
They cried all over the place.

Bapa, ‘iné, ‘ana ndua wadi, bhodo lawu wadi
dad mum children go down again but pull out again
The parents and children went down again, but only pulled out

wai peja ma’u. ‘Imu-ko’o wado nuka rédé Wondo todo
DM pandanus 3pl go home go up up W. random
sea pandanus again. They returned up to Wondo crying.

lita nangi. ‘Embu ngembu ha ‘éko dëmba mada
cry cry whale one CL come take
A whale came and took

Mb’u Wondo ndé, mendí ndua dau dema, tau fai ‘imu.
miss W. that take go down down deep make wife 3sg
that young Wondo woman, took (her) down deep, to make her her

Nambú ‘imu-ko’o lita nangi, seru ko’o ‘ana mengé,
while 3pl cry cry voice POSS musk
While they were crying a musk said,

“Nauoat-toa. Ti’i nga’o nóé ndiko né’é peli wané.
Tau noa-noa. Ti’i nga’o ndoké nio né’é weni palé.
do easy give 1sg leftover gratings coconut and leftover rice
“It’s easy. Give me the leftovers from gratings coconuts, and the
leftovers from pounding rice.”

Du ndé ‘imu nggedhé percaya. Négha kombé rua,
afternoon that 3sg NEG believe already night two
That afternoon he didn’t believe it. After two nights,
‘imu wedu ka weni palé nê’ed nkóko nio.
3sg place food leftover rice and leftover gratings coconut
he placed out the food of leftovers from pounding rice and leftovers from grating coconuts.

O’i ka ko’o weni palé nê’ed nkóko nio ndé,
after eat SPEC leftover rice and leftover gratings coconut that
After eating those leftovers from pounding rice and leftovers from grating coconut,

ha dama wë’he, ‘ana mengé ndé ridi ka ‘aé mesi,
one fast only musk that down PER.INV water salt
in just a moment that musk was down in the sea,

deta éna sa’o ko’o ‘émbu ngémbu.
immediately at house POSS whale
immediately at the whale’s house.

Mbu’ë Wondo ndé ma sënda pau.
miss W. that PROG weave like this
That young Wondo woman was weaving.

‘Imu këvi këvi éna dima ko’o Mbu’ë Wondo nê’ed sodho,
3sg scratch scratch at hand POSS miss W. and say
It scratched and scratched at the young Wondo lady’s hand and said,

“Sira rédé ma lita nangi, ’até susa kau.
3pl up PROG cry cry liver difficult 2sg
Those up there are mourning, (they’re) very upset because of you.

Mai kita wado rédé nua.”
come here 1pl.incl go home up hamlet
Come here and we’ll go home up to the hamlet.”

Mbu’ë Wondo si’i, “Nga’o wado tado.”
miss W. say 1sg go home unable
Miss Wondo said, “I can’t go home.”

oh don’t 1pl.incl go home say musk
“Oh don’t. We’ll go home,” said the musk.

“Nga’o nau toa wë’ë.
tau noa
1sg make easy just
“I’ll make it easy.

Metu kau bere negi ko’o di’ë mata kau ké.”
should 2sg close eyes strongSPEC seed eye 2sg that
You should close your eyes tightly.”

Mbu’ë Wondo ndé wedu dhoa pau sënda ‘imu ndé.
miss W. that place lose like this weaving 3sg that
That young Wondo woman left her weaving.

‘Imu dhepe éna ‘udu ko’o ‘ana mengé ndé
3sg interlock fingers at head POSS musk that
She interlocked her fingers around the musk’s head

bëida ko’o dëhoko ké.
like SPEC carry on head with string that
like (a woman) carrying a basket on her head.

“Kau bere sai!” ‘ana mengé si’i.
2sg close eyes IMP musk say
“Close your eyes!” the musk said.

‘Imu bere ha ngai, ‘imu-ko’o ndé simba rédé tana mara.
3sg close eyes one breath 3pl that then up land dry
She closed her eyes for a moment, they were then up on dry land.

‘Imu simba tonu pu’u éna mbata.
3sg then lack from at wave
She was then out of reach of the waves.

Nëgha ké ‘imu nuka dheko rédé Dandu, mena Momo.
already that 3sg go up follow up D. across M.
Then she went up passing by Dandu at Momo.
Négha ké to'o poa, 'aé mesi nuka ka.
already that rise morning water salt go up PER.INV
Then waking in the morning, the sea had risen.

'Émbu ngémbug nggaé fa' i imu ndé.
whale search wife 3sg that
The whale was searching for that wife of his.

Négha ké ’émbug ngémbug dhu réta Dandu,
already that whale arrive up D.
Then the whale arrived up in Dandu,

ngonda wena todo kaju déwa.
look upwards under top tree tall
looking upwards from under the top of a tall tree.

'Sira Mbu'ê Wondo né'é 'iné bapa ka'ê 'arti 'imu
3pl miss W. with mum dad older sibling younger sibling 3sg
They, Miss Wondo with her family

ma pémé pau réta todo kaju ndé, 'oné kéka go'o.
PROG hide like this up top tree that in hut small
were hiding up the top of that tree, in a small hut.

'Émbu Ngémbugu s'ê, “Miù woku sai fai ja'o nai”
whale say 2pl throw IMP wife 1sg that
Whale said, “Throw down that wife of mine!”

'Imu-kô'o réta todo déwa dhewo, “Kau napa sadiki.
3pl up top tall answer 2sg later a little bit
They, up high, answered, “You wait a moment.

Kami paké ro pakia ki na; mbutu gêda kã�ì.
1pl.excl dress skirt clothes her that necklace brass bracelet her
We’re putting on her clothes, necklace and bracelet.”

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1 ki is a third person possessive pronoun used in Ensdeneese.

"Modo miu pakê dama,“ *‘Émbu Ngémbugu dhewo.*
alright 2pl dress fast whale answer
“Alright, dress her quickly,” Whale answered.

‘Imu-kô'o réta wawo pépa ko'o api ndé raa teda,
3pl up top fan fire 3SG fire that two three
At the top they hurriedly started a fire,
né'é walu, besi, né'é ngavu nhau ta pesa.
with stone metal and property REL other and (heated) stones, metal and other objects.

“Kau nganga sai mumu, fai kau ma té,” ‘imù-kô'o si'ê.
2sg open mouth IMP mouth wife 2sg PROG this 3pl say
“You open your mouth, here is your wife,” they said.

Négha ké, ‘imù-kô'o woku watu petu, besi petu né'é
already that 3pl throw stone hot metal hot and
Then they threw hot stones, hot metal and

ngavu ta petu 'oné mumu ko'o 'Émbu Ngémbugu.
thing REL hot in mouth POSS whale
other hot things into Whale’s mouth.

‘Imu négha bega bega.
3sg PER.PER flounder flounder
He floundered.

‘Aé mesi né'é ‘émbug ngémbug ndé ngoló wako mavé mavé.
water salt with whale that retreat return slow slow
The sea with the whale ran treated and returned slowly.

‘Émbu Ngémbugu simba mata, mbusu pau réta ‘aé mbedhu
whale then die fall like this up water fall
Whale then died, falling like this up at the waterfall

ghoé Jawa Wawo, simba jadi watu méré hâ dî'é.
slope J. then become rock big one CL
on the (east) slope of Jawa Wawo, then became a big rock.
Ngara 'imu "Watu Dédé Ngémbu". name 3sg rock hear whale
It's name is "The rock that smells of whale".

'Aé mesi ndua tero.
water salt go down continue
The sea continued to go down.

Dau 'Aé Sésa, ridi 'épo Worowatu ké simba sembé
down water tuna down bottom W. that then caught
Down at 'Aé Sésa, down at the bottom of Worowatu, then a tuna fish

'ika sésa ha 'épo.
fish tuna one Cl
was caught.

'Aé mesi ké simbandúa tero dau réu.
water salt that then go down continue down far
The sea then continued to go down, down a long way.

Kita ndia ké jadi ndu'a.
1pl.incl here that become highlander
We here became highlanders.

Napa 'Émbu Úta téi 'aé mesi ké mbaí réu méré.
later grandma U. see water salt that too far big
Later Ancestor Úta saw the sea had gone to far.

'Imu ndua né'é mbodo mbaé ré'a.
3sg go down with basket carry pandanus
She came down carrying a pandanus basket.

Né'é palé 'imu né'é têdo 'imu tau wesa léla.
with rice 3sg with egg 3sg do scatter release
With her rice and with her eggs (she) offered them.

Négha dau, 'imu su'a soda, "Bhida 'Émbu kau négha.
already down 3sg pray like ancestor 2sg PER.PER
Once there she prayed, "You ancestor have been sulking.

lo'i. Pégha négha mbai déwa.
sulk part PER.PER too long
(We've) been parted too long.

Kita mo'o pato wado dé déghu nuka wado.
1pl.incl PROS return return just return go up return
We'll return, go back up, and return

rédé da'é dondo kita ndé." up place space 1pl.incl that
back up to our place."

'Imu wesa palé, poké têdo ha di'é.
3sg scatter rice throw egg one Cl
She scattered rice and threw one egg.

Dhatu da'é dhatu.
IMP.CON IMP.INC IMP.CON
Nothing happened yet.

Dhatu mbata pau.
IMP.CON wave like this
There were still many waves.

"Ma'é. Miù to'o wado sai! Pato wado dé déghu.
don't 2pl rise return IMP return go home just return
"Don't! Rise and return! Return, go home, just return.

Mo déghu wado rédéda'é miù."
PROS return go home up place 2pl
Going to return, go home, up to your place."

'Imu poké wado têdo ha di'é, né'é wesa palé réa.
3sg throw return egg one Cl and scatter rice contents
She again threw one egg, and scattered rice.

Négha ké, 'imu si'i, "Kita mo'o to'o sai kita."
already that 3sg say 1pl.incl PROS rise IMP 1pl.incl
Then she said, "We're going to go."
Appendix C

Négha ké 'imu simba tuda mudu.
already that 3sg then walk in front first
Then she walked in front.

'Aé mési simba dheko 'imu wa'o muri.
water salt then follow 3sg behind
The sea then followed her from behind.

Négha rédé, éna wé'é dangga ridi ké, 'imu si'i,
already up at close mosque down that 3sg say
When they were up close to the mosque down there, she said,

"Miú rédé éna té. Rédé ma'é mbai rédé, ridi ma'é mbai
2pl rest at this up don't too up down don't too
"You stay here. Don't go up too far up, don't go down too far down.

ridí. Kami té tau téko su'i.
down 1pl.excl this do cut mollusc
This is where we want to collect mollusc.s"

'Imu simba toní né'é peja ma'u ha bari éna ké.
3sg then plant DM pandanus one line at that
She then planted a line of sea pandanus there.

'Aé mési simba rédé éna ké.
water salt then rest at that
The sea then stayed there.

Ta rédé simba rédé, Mbu'é Wondo ndé.
REL up then up miss W. that
The young Wondo woman remained living up in her hamlet.

Watu dau Dowo Doke ndé, éna Mbu'é Wondo ta mélé
rock down D. D. that at miss W REL stuck
That rock down at Dowo Doke, where the young Wondo woman got stuck,

ndé, simba séu ngara 'Watu Mbu'é Wondo'.
that then call name rock young woman W.
was then given the name 'The Young Woman from Wondo Rock'.

C.3 Bhéa: Udi’s Right to Participate

This bhéa was recited at a large sacrificial ceremony in 1960, at which 28 buffaloes were slaughtered. Men recited bhéa as representatives of their respective hamlets. They each recited a short bhéa to assert that hamlet’s right to participate in the ceremony. The bhéa presented here was recited by Embu Nuga Tolo on behalf of the hamlet of Udi (of the village of Udiororowatu). I gratefully acknowledge Father Philipus Tule SVD who provided me with data from this ceremony.

Bhéa rivu ééé! Bhéa rivu ééé!
chant community hey chant community hey
Everybody, I’m chanting! Everybody I’m chanting!

Ja’o poro pu’u rédé Koto.
1sg jump from up K.
I come from the Koto mountain.

Ja’o ‘émbu Nggadi Wodo.
1sg ancestor N. W.
I am the ancestor Nggadi Wodo.

Ja’o simba ndua wa’o Wodo Luma.
1sg then go down leave W. L.
I then came down through Wodo Luma.

Ja’o simba nono wa’o Woji Odo.
1sg then go down leave W. O.
I then came down through Wuji Odo.
C.4 Procedural Text: Né’i Dengi

The following procedural text Né’i Dengi ‘Cooking Oil’ was written by a Kéo speaker from the hamlet of Bade, located in the far eastern part of the Kéo speaking region.
Ngara paké paru, ghoma ta sapi, dima
if grater difficult REL take shell offhand
neka nggena topo.
wind hit machete
If using a coconut grater, the difficult thing is taking the shell off, hand is wounded, hit by the machete.

Négha paru mbeja ha dama wi’e.
already grate finish one fast only
Then grating is finished in just a moment.

Nio ta paru négha kita lamé.
coconut REL grate PER.COM 1pl.incl mix
Coconuts that have been grated we mix.

Kesa né’e ‘aé ha go’o, mbulu ghejo.
add water one small just knead
Add a little water, just knead.

Ghejo négha mbulu posi.
knead PER.COM just squeeze
After kneading just squeeze.

Posi ta ndaté raka-re’e.
squeeze REL heavy very
It is the squeezing that is very heavy (work).

Kita posi nio ta katu ‘oné kaé ta méré
1pl.incl squeeze coconut REL enter in cloth REL big

sama sapu tanga, podé méa paké dima papa rua.
same handkerchief enter alone use hand REC two
We squeeze the coconut that is put in a cloth the size of a handkerchief, squeezing alone using two hands.

Ké ngara weki kura.
that if body lack
That’s if there aren’t many people.

Ngara weki wosu biasa paké lésa.
if body many usual use coconut press
If there are many people it’s usual to use a coconut press.

Lésa so’o noa.
coconut press INT easy
(Using a) coconut press is easier.

Kita pedi wedu ko’o nio ta katu ‘oné karu
1pl.incl pick place SPEC coconut REL enter in bag
plasti (ngara nggedhè paké tapi)
plastic if use palm tree sheath here middle

kaju ’esa rua ta kita so nuka radé
wood CL two REL 1pl.incl enter into hole go up across

‘oné dla kaju.
in hole wood
We place the coconut that has been placed in a plastic bag (otherwise a palm tree sheath) in between two pieces of wood that we push into the hole of the wood.

Kaju papa radé wena so bhoko.
wood REC across under INT short
The (pieces of) wood are across each other, the (one that is) underneath is shorter.

Radé wena kaju té né’e déké bhoko mo’o tau taka
across under wood this have pole short PROS make endure ‘imu.
3sg
Under this wood there’s a short pole to prop it up.
Radé wena kaju bhoko té kita wedu embe, across under wood short this 1pl.incl place bucket
ngara nggedhé basko, mo'o tau noro
if NEG basket PROS make catch

'aè nio.
water coconut
Under that short (piece of) wood we place a bucket, if not a basket, to catch the coconut juices.

Mbenga kaju kita uku pa né'è kaju 'esa
hole wood 1pl.incl measure exact with wood CL rua té.
two this
We measure exactly the wood hole with these two pieces of wood.

Ngara kaju ta bhokapa radé wena mata-
if wood REL short REC across under leave it
dimba, buka-dai tado.
in and out unable
The short (piece of) wood underneath is left, it can't move in and out.

'Imu tau taha ko'o nio né'è kaju déwa.
3sg make endure SPEC coconut with wood long
They secure the coconut with the long (piece of) wood.

Kaju ta déwa buka-dai ngada.
wood REL long in and out able
The long (piece of) wood can move in an out.

Ngara nio négha éna wavó kaju bhoko, kaju
if coconut PER.PER on top wood short wood
déwa kita ro nuka radé 'one mbenga.
long 1pl.incl push go up across in hole
When the coconut is on top of the short (piece of) wood, we push the long (piece of) wood into the hole.

Négha kê kita bhodhu ngga'è rua tenu réta wawo
already that 1pl.incl sit CL two three up top
kaju déwa.
wood long
Then several people sit on top of the long (piece of) wood.

Dédé ndaté, 'aè nio mulai nggedho mbélé nuka radé
feel heavy water coconut begin go out flow go up across
wena basko.
under basket
When it feels heavy the coconut juices begin to flow out, going down into the basket.

Dheso tero mo'o nio ha karu kê nggena
move continue PROS coconut one bag that hit lésa.
coconut press
Move continually so the bag of coconut hits the coconut press.

Ngara 'aè négha mbélé mbeja, nio ké kita tau
when water PER.PER flow finish coconut that 1pl.incl make mara.
dry
When the water has finished flowing, we dry the coconut.

Nio ta négha mara kita si'i "pé'a nio".
coconut REL PER.PER dry 1pl.incl say waste coconut
The dry coconut we call "pé'a nio" (coconut waste).

Pé'a nio ngada ti'i wawi.
waste coconut can give pig
The coconut waste can be given to pigs.

'Aè nio kê kita ambuné'é kawa.
water coconut that 1pl.incl boil with pot
We boil the coconut fluids in a pot.
APPENDIX D

DIALECT WORD LISTS

This appendix contains two comparative word lists collected in the Kéo speaking region. The first shows forms for 30 lexical items, while the second shows the alternative forms for 223 lexical items. Both English and Indonesian translations for the items have been provided. The items were elicited using the Indonesian words.

The headings in the top line of each of the tables denotes a hamlet from where the lexical items were elicited. For a map of most of these hamlets see Map 5 in Chapter 2.
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<tr>
<th>English / Indonesian</th>
<th>Maruori</th>
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<p>| 44. 3pl Mereka         | demu| demu| demu| siya kai| siza| kau | imu ko’o |
| 45. Wing Sayap         | blei| bele| bele| bele | bele| mede| mede |
| 46. Rat Tikus          | dheke| mata kobe| dheke| mata kobe| ana coja| ana come| mata kobe |
| 47. Tail Ekor          | eko | eko | eko | eko | eko | eko | eko |
| 48. Dog Anjing         | lado| lado| lado| lado | lado| dako| lado |
| 49. Pig Babi           | wawi| wawi| wawi| wawi| wawi| wawi| wawi |
| 50. Fish Ikan          | ika | ika | ika | ika | ika | ika | ika |
| 51. Snake Ular         | nipa| nipa| nipa| nipa| nipa| nipa| nipa |
| 52. Goanna Biawak      | gho’a| bo | ghoya| eti | eti | eti | eti |</p>
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**Dialect Word Lists**

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|   | muza | ana seko | - | ana suko | ana bu’e | - | se dama | - |
| 162. Young Muda | bana | petu | - | petu | masu | petu | budi | petu |
| 163. Hot Panas | eta | kete | - | kete | kete | kete | kete |
| 164. Cold Dingin | modhe | modhe | - | modhe | pawe | pawe | pawe |
| 165. Good Balk | e’e | e’e | - | e’e | e’e | le’e | mona pawe |
| 166. Bad Jelek | benu | benu | - | benu | benu | benu | benu |
| 167. Full Penuh | we’e | we’e | - | we’e | we’e | we’e | we’e |
| 168. Near Dekat | zeu | zeu | - | yeu | zeu | jeu | yeu |
| 169. Far Jauh | basa | dheli | - | bita | dhemo | dhemo | bita |
| 171. Dry Kering | tu'u maza | maza | - | tu'u | tu'u | madha | meya |
| 172. Long Panjang | lewa lewa | lewa | - | lewa | lewa | dewa | lewa |
| 173. Tall Tinggi | dedhi dedhi | lewa | - | lewa | tegi | dewa | degi |
| 174. Short Pendek | bhoko bhoko | bhoko | - | bhoko | bhoko | bhoko | bhoko |
| 175. Fat Gemuk | hume hume | bhoge | - | amu | uga | bhuge |
| 176. Round Bulat | mogo mogo | mogo | - | mogo | mogo | moko | mogo |
| 177. Blind Buta | ana mata bo | meze | - | gibe | gibe | gibe | gibe |
| 178. Deaf Tuli | hingo ingo | dhoka | - | dhoka | dhoka | dhoka | dhoka |
| 179. See Lihat | gula gula | gula | - | tei | tei | tei | tei |

<p>| 180. Hear Dengar | rele lele | - | lele | lele | dede | lele |
| 181. Know Tahu | be'o be'o | - | be'o | be'o | be'o | be'o |
| 182. Speak Berkata | punu so lo'e | - | punu e | ngasi te | ngesi te | sayu ngasi |
| 183. Wake up Bangun | to'o to'o | - | do'o | to'o | to'o | to'o |
| 184. Wake s.o up Kasih bangun | peku eku | - | to'o sa'i | eku | to'o | peku |
| 185. Sleep Tidur | nade nade | - | mene | nade | eru | - |</p>
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538
APPENDIX E
WORD LISTS

E.1 Kéo Words

The native Kéo words found in most of the texts used in the preparation of this grammar are presented below. The first column provides the most commonly used Kéo form. The second column presents alternative Kéo forms that were also used in texts. An Indonesian gloss is provided in the third column, and an English gloss is provided in the fourth column.

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Bagaimana
'ako
aku
'ama
amba
'ambo
ambu
amé
'ana
'ana 'ado
'ana go'o
'ana mбу'é
'ana mбу'é
'ana měngé
'ana sukô
'ana tolo loa
anga
'angi
ango
antí-antí
'sné
apa
apa-apá
'spi
'spo
apé
ara
'ari
asa
'ata
'ata dhépa
'atu
'até
'até ngai
su
'avu
'avu dapu
'avu-awu

akor
mendidih
harap
kejam
budak
berlayar
rebus
bapak
anak
anak yatim piatu
anak kecil
pemudi
penyelewang
tikus kasti
pemuda
bayi
priok
angin
sepele, enteng
anting anting
keponakan
apa
apa apa
api
ampun
petak
panaz
adik
pagar
orang, seseorang
banci
perangkap ikan
hati
kesadaran
di bawah
tana
abu
abu-abu

good relationship
boiling
hope
cruel
slave
sail
boil
father
child, children
orphan
child
young lady
adulterer
musk
teenage boy
newborn baby
saucepan
wind
unimportant, inconsequential
ear rings
nephew, niece
what
anything, whatever
fire
mercy
garden bed
hot
younger sibling
fence
person, people, someone
transvestite
rock fish trap on beach
liver
conciúsness
under
dust, dirt
ash
grey

a'é
a
'aé
'aé dula
'aé mbeka
'aé ngasi
'aé nggolo
'aé nio
'aé uta
babhi
bagi
ba'i
baku
bala
bálé
bapá
bapa susu
babi
babi senggu
bega
bere
besi
bélé
béó
bési
bha
bhádè
bháki
bháki
bhala
bhandá
bhasso
bhasso
tora bhasso

papaya
burung gagak
air
air mulut
banting
pembicaraan
air mengalir
air kelapa
kuah
rata & tipis
bagi
pahit
bangku
balas
putar
bapak
paman
semacam tarian
menggelepar
tutup mata
besi
belek
burung beo
labu
piring
balik
CL
balok
putih
kaya
piring
dapat bagian
untuk keluarga
celah
pecah
bentang
bawa baby
pecah

crow
air
saliva
flood
talk
flowing water
coconut milk
sauce
flat & thin
divide
bitter
bench
reply
spin
father, sir
uncle
dance
k o dance
flounder, flutter
close eyes
iron
tin can
starling
gourd
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rich
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to get food on behalf
of family at
ceremonies
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unroll
carry pig
break
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| bi | CL | selling divisions of an animal |
|    | kandung kemih | CL |

| bila | CL | bladder |
| bili | cut teeth when 7 |
| binti | months pregnant |
| bota | jail |
| bomo | divorce |
| bou | try |

| bou | penjara |
|     | ceral |
| budi | coba |

<p>| cobé | tumbuk bambu | spice grinder |
| dada | hancur | crushed |
| dadhu | CL | CL |
| dado | ndado | visit |
| dai | mengunjungi | mengambil |
| dai | linpa | lurus |
| dai | lurus | membantu |
| daka | merangkak | ternyata |
| daka | kau | CL |
| daka | anjing | dog |
| dako | walang cengkadi | praying mantis |
| dako raro | omi, lama, rama | fast |
| dama | One | |
| damba | kendang | drum |
| dambu | baju | shirt |
| dangga | mesjid | mosque |
| dani | bantal | pillow |
| dapu | dapur | kitchen |
| dapé | tahap | phase |
| dasu | zakar | penis |
| data | alas | chopping board |
| datu | ada | exist |
| daé | tempat tidur | bed |
| dawu | bawah | down |
| dawu | bambu | bamboo |
| dawu | LOC | LOC |
| dawo | sarong | sarong |
| daé | belum | not yet |
| daé | tempat | place |
| daé do uno | tempat | space |
| dedi | demam | fever |
| deghu | wado deghu, deghu wado | return |
| deke | klereng | balang |
| deke | tiang rumah | house post |
| dema | lidah | tongue |
| dema | dalam | deep |
| dembu | domba | sheep |</p>
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<p>| fè'a | ringan | light |
| fè'a | kalapa yg | half ripe coconut |
| fèngga | setengah tua | a type of bird |
| féo | semacam burung | candle nuts |
| fì | kemiri | high pitched scream |
| fidu | buyi tinggi kuat | biscuit |
| fì'i | kue | CL |
| fingo-fango | muka kotor | red dirty face |
| foci | siul | crying |
| foko | leher | whistle |
| foko nggolo | kerong kongan | neck |
| fone | ingin | throat |
| foro | kapas | want |
| fo | rambut | unprocessed cotton |
| fu | kupur | hair |
| fula | gacung | lime |
| gaco | cantik | hunting fork |
| gaga | gaga lai, gaga rata | beautiful |
| ga'i | senang | happy |
| ga'i gadé | gembira | happy |
| ga'i me'a | senang sekali | very happy |
| ga'í | senang | happy |
| gara | tetes | to drip |
| geda | gelang kuningan | brass bracelet |
| geju | koget | surprised |
| geja | gelas | glass |
| gele | gel | ticklish |
| gêbu | putar, gabung | turn, mix |
| ghako | laki | born |
| ghako | sendong | carry |
| ghala | loteng | loft |
| ghawo | bangun | build |
| gheimbe | sembang | hide |
| ghébé | tangkap binatang | catch |
| ghéngo | aduk | stir |
| ghévo | lupa | forget |
| ghí | limpa | bountiful, fruitful |
| ghi | CL | CL |</p>
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<tr>
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<td>berkokok</td>
<td>crow</td>
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| kalo   | duri | thorn |
| kalu   | kalung | necklace |
| kalé   | mengais | scratch |
| kama   | kasur | mattress |
| kamba  | kerbau | buffalo |
| kambu  | lemak perut | intestinal fat |
| kami   | lpl exc | 1pl exc |
| kamu   | akar | root |
| kana   | palung | trough |
| kanga  | jari | finger |
| kanga a'i | sepanjang jari | fingerwidth |
| kanga dima | jari kaki | toes |
| kanga 'éko | jari tangan | fingers |
| kao    | jari keliling | little finger |
| kā'o   | gayung | scoop |
| kapa   | gendong | carry |
| kapa sola | tebal | thick |
| kara   | pesawat | airplane |
| kara kata | gelang | bracelet |
| kasa   | karanjang dari | basket from coconut |
| kasi-ana | daun kelapa | leaves |
| katari | dada | chest |
| katé   | kerasukan | possessed |
| kau    | jaringan | fishing net |
| kau    | gatal | itchy |
| kawu   | 2sg | 2sg |
| kawu   | iras | ladle |
| ka'è   | kuali | wok |
| kaé    | kakak | older sibling |
| kaé sapo | semacan kerang | small clamshell |
| keda   | kantung | handbag |
| keda   | rumput gajah | elephant grass |
| kedha  | membelah | split |
| kedi   | melepas | release |
| kedi   | kuat | strong |
| kema   | kerja | work |
| kemba  | rambut panjang | long hair |
| kemba  | to place leaves on top | to place leaves on top of leaves then burn for farming |
|-------|-------|------|-------|--------|------|----------|------|------|-----------|-------|------|------|-----|------|------|---|------|-------|------|------|------|------|-----|------|------|---|-------|------|
| binding | semacam ubi | diam | menyepak | kepala | nyamuk | menghaluskan, menggaruk | tambah | dingin | injak padi | siput kecil | menyadap | itu | melepaskan | cabut | gunung | pondok | penyu | memastikan | tanggal | kurus | di sana itu | tunggu | lembab | merangkal | alang alang | siput | memintal | kira kira | pinggul | 1 pl inc | 1 pl inc | kelopak kelapa | menidurkan bayi | tekukar | merpati | wall | k o tuber | quiet | to kick | handful | mosquito | many together | to rub, to soften |
| add | cold | thresh | small rock molluscs | to tap, to touch lightly | with finger or hand to get so 's attention | that | barang yg sudah | dibongkar | pull out | mountain | hut | turtle | fix a date | thin, malnourished | over there | wait | dingin, wet cold | embrace | tail grass | mollusc | spinning | about | hip | put baby to sleep | wild pigeon | pigeon |

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| **lita** | **menangis** | **cry** |
| **lita-bhé** | **tangisan** | **crying sound** |
| **liwu** | **banyak** | **much** |
| **liwu** | **ribu** | **thousand** |
| **lo** | **sakit** | **hurt** |
| **loa** | **membakar** | **burn** |
| **lo’a** | **kerja** | **monkey** |
| **lo’i** | **merajuk** | **sulk** |
| **longgi** | **ribut** | **noisy** |
| **longo** | **kambing** | **goat** |
| **luka** | **bertemu** | **meet** |
| **liii** | **pinggir kebun** | **garden edge** |
| **lunga** | **keringat** | **sweat** |
| **ma** | **sedang** | **PROG** |
| **mabha** | **padang** | **plain** |
| **mada** | **ambil** | **lake** |
| **madi** | **ahl** | **expert, skillful** |
| **mai** | **jiwa** | **soul, spirit** |
| **ma’i** | **mari** | **come on** |
| **mako watu** | **cangkir** | **china cup** |
| **maku** | **keras** | **hard** |
| **mama susu** | **bibi** | **aunt** |
| **mané** | **paman** | **uncle** |
| **mang** | **lapar** | **hungry** |
| **mangu** | **tang, tiang** | **pole, mast** |
| **manu** | **perahu** | **chicken** |
| **manu dadu** | **ayam** | **rooster** |
| **mapa** | **jago** | **big lizard** |
| **mara** | **kadal?** | **dry** |
| **masa** | **kering** | **clean** |
| **maso** | **bersih** | **enter** |
| **mata** | **masuk** | **die** |
| **mata** | **mati** | **eyes** |
| **mata dera** | **mata hari** | **sun** |
| **mate** | **lintah** | **leech** |
| **mau** | **janak** | **docile** |
| **ma’u** | **pantai** | **beach, coast** |
| **mawa** | **CL** | **CL** |
| **mawé** | **pelan** | **slow** |
mawé mawé
ma'ë
ma'ë
mbado
mbado tadi
mbadé
mbai
mbaka
mbala
mbamba
mbana
mbani
mbata
mbatá
mbéda
mbéda
mbala
mbéja
mbéka
mbéku
mbéné
mbelu
mbemba

bata
pelan pelan
panggian babi
jangan
bekas
goresan
jati
tertalu
tepi sungai
ular pohon
terdampar
berjalan, pergi
berani
ombak
gendong
jatuh
nyamuk malaria
habis
banjir
kotoran, sampah
baru
herbicara atau
berjalan sambil
mimpi
sangat raijin
senapan
nuangan
mengkerut
penuh
rumput
lapar
jatuh
beli
miring
sukun
runtuh
baru
tempat sirih
pinang
slowly
pig call
don't
left over
scratch
happen
too
river bank
tree snake
gone aground
walk, to go
brave
wave
carry
fall
malarial mosquito
finished
flood
dirty, rubbish
just
talk or walk in o's
sleep
workaholic
gun
shade
frown
full
grass
hungry
fall
buy
lean
breadfruit
collapsed
then
betel nut box

mbéki
mbéku
mbéndu
mbéni
mbé'o
mbé'o
mbéru
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mbeda
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mbuku dima
mbuku déa

kamar
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ahu, mengerti,
kenal
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<p>| naké ura | walet | swallow |
| nala     | saudara | brother |
| nama     | ikut | track |
| nama ké  | di mana-mana | anywhere, everywhere |
| nama té  | sekarang | now |
| nama nama | setap | every |
| nambu    | waktu | time |
| nambu na | kadang-kadang | sometimes |
| nambé    | batu altar | altar stone |
| nandé    | tidur | sleep |
| nanga    | danau | lake |
| nanga    | muara | estuary |
| nanggé  | asam | sour |
| nanggi   | menangis | cry |
| nangu    | berenang | swim |
| nao      | ijak | palm fibre |
| na'o     | sejenis tali | k o rope |
| napa     | nang | later |
| naru     | diam | quiet |
| naru mbu | pendiam | silent |
| nasa     | pacar | partner |
| nasi     | menggaruk | to scratch |
| nasu     | masak | cook |
| nata     | kampung | hamlet |
| na'u     | berpesan | request |
| nawé     | serai | citrusella |
| nda’a    | dahan | branch |
| ndada    | bintang | star |
| ndadho   | diboava dengan | side saddle |
| ndai     | kuda | slice |
| ndaté    | iris | slice |
| ndeka    | berat | heavy |
| ndelí    | kali | time |
| ndeti    | berdiri | stand |
| ndewé    | bocor | leak |
| ndewé dera | tadi | earlier |
| ndewé poa | tadi siang | this afternoon |
| ndé      | itu | that |
| ndéli    | berdiri | to stand |</p>
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<td>Ndía</td>
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<td>Ne</td>
<td>Dengan, mempunyai, dan</td>
<td>Stake out</td>
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<td>Ada</td>
<td>To have, and, to be</td>
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| nggedho        | keluar              |
| nggedhé       | NEG                 |
| nggelu       | cicak               |
| nggena       | kena                |
| nggesu       | tuakang             |
| nggeté       | memotong            |
| nggi’i        | setiap              |
| nggo         | sebelum             |
| nggoi        | meriang             |
| nggoka       | gong                |
| nggua        | waktu               |
| nggau        | jatuh               |
| nggalu       | ular                |
| ng’i          | upacara             |
| nggá         | cincin              |
| ngusi        | gigi                |
| ng’i          | harus               |
| ngisi        | harus               |
| ngí          | makan tulang        |
| ngisi        | tunjuk gigi         |
| ngite-ngato   | semangat            |
| ngodho        | muncul              |
| ngoja        | makan tu lang       |
| ngoló        | bujak               |
| ngolé        | istirahat           |
| ngonggo      | mundur              |
| ngongo       | suka                |
| ngoní        | bisu                |
| ngopo        | mengejek            |
| ngule        | ludung              |
| ngura        | mimisan             |
| nla          | muda                |
| nidho        | muka                |
| nighi        | rota n liar         |
| nika         | kelewar             |
| nio          | nikah               |
| nio ‘ari     | kelapa              |
| nio ipa      | kelapa muda         |

| nggua mbapu | kelapa              |
| nggua       |离开                |
| nggau       | NEG                 |
| nggau       | small lizard        |
| nggau       | skilled labourer    |
| nggau       | slice, cut off      |
| nggau       | every               |
| nggau       | before              |
| nggau       | shiver              |
| nggau       | gong                |
| nggau       | when                |
| nggau       | fall                |
| nggau       | snake               |
| nggau       | ritual              |
| nggau       | ring                |
| nggau       | teeth               |
| nggau       | must                |
| nggau       | must                |
| nggau       | to gnaw bones       |
| nggau       | show one's teeth    |
| nggau       | enthusiasm          |
| nggau       | appear              |
| nggau       | to eat              |
| nggau       | persuade            |
| nggau       | rest                |
| nggau       | retreat             |
| nggau       | like                |
| nggau       | dumb                |
| nggau       | mock                |
| nggau       | crippled            |
| nggau       | blood nose          |
| nggau       | newborn, young      |
| nggau       | face                |
| nggau       | wild rattan used for|
| nggau       | string              |
| nggau       | bat                 |
| nggau       | coconut             |
| nggau       | marry               |
| nggau       | coconut             |
| nggau       | coconut             |
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<td>nail</td>
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| paku | sayur paku | ko edible fern |
| paké | pakai, percaya | use, believe |
| paké wai | perhitasan | adornment |
| pala | batu | rock |
| pala | korban | sacrifice |
| pala bhélé | pesta korban | big buffalo sacrifice |
| pala | besar | |
| pala | lari | run |
| pala | nasi | rice |
| palé | ladang | dry field |
| palé keri | sangat sayangi | love deeply |
| palé mesu | tapak | palm of hand |
| pamba | tangan, jari | hand |
| pamba dima | tangan | |
| pangga | jengkal | handspland |
| panggé | langkah | one step |
| papa | saling | REC |
| papa | sebelah | joking swear words |
| papa momo | kata maki | to inform |
| papa punu | memberi, memberihab | |
| nderi | parut | grate |
| paro | pasar | market |
| pasa | tembak | shoot |
| papa | CL | CL |
| pata | bicara | talk |
| pata | memberi | to give |
| pata | kembaliakan | return st |
| pati | sesuatu | |
| pati wado | jendela | window |
| paté | EMP | EMP |
| pau | mangga | mango |
| pau | sementara, sambil | while |
| pau | begeni | like this |
| pau | lagi | again |
| pau | garuda | garuda |
| pawu | baik | good |
| pawé | menyalakan api | to light a fire |
| paé | panggil pakai | to beckon |
| paé pebhu | tangan menyala leis, kumpul dit satu tempat gotong royong selebar talapak tangan jerang menanak nasi sisp, menyelipkan sesatu masuk di antara orang atau tempat yg sesak sesak nanas taruh pandan laut habis taruh semua kasih makan memenuhi puntu hilang tembus memadamkan api bambu menghaluskan, membersihkan makan kentut menjejit menashahi potong panas, masak sakit panas sekali menghancurkan | to light divide s t, gather s t in one place mutual cooperation width of hand heat boil rice insert, insert s t in between to enter a crowded area struggle in small area pineapple place pandanus tree finish place all feed to fill door disappear pierce to put out a fire bamboo to rub s t clean to eat fart pinch advise cut in one go hot, cook sick very hot destroy |
| pebhu tindu pebhé | pedhé pedhé ka pedi | pedé | pedé peja peja peja ma'u peka pembé punga peni penu pené pera pera pera 'api peri peri pesa pesu pesé pesé na'u peta petu petu ké'é pewa | pesé tenu |
| pewo | tempat | hidden place, bush |
| pégha | pelá | part |
| pémba | pérna | berpisah |
| pémba jawa | pélæ | tunjuk |
| pémé | memangku | berimpit kaki |
| pégga | melepas pelan | melepas pelan |
| péó | pelan | bersembunyi |
| pépa | tabrak | patah korban |
| péra | kedengaran | meremukan |
| péro | melempar | bersembunyi |
| péro-péro | di | cadang-cadang |
| péró ba'í | semacam kerang | pemuku besi |
| pésa | lain | metal hammer |
| pésa | ikat | other |
| péu | belah | tie |
| pia | bekas | crack |
| pida | pilih | remains |
| pidi | memetik | choose |
| pidí | kue | pick |
| pidi | pikir | cake |
| pidu | haram | think |
| piki | rewel, kurang | unlawful |
| pilè | selera | fussy eater, no appetite |
| pl'o | pl'o-dimo | |
| pipi | pipi | cheek |
| pira | berapa | how much, how many |
| pira-pira | banyak | much, many |
| piri | piring | plate |
| piru | mencium | kiss |
| pisa | lumpur | mud |
| nisí | tawar | offer |
| niso | pisau | knife |
| po | burung hantu | owl |
| poa | pagi | morning |

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<td>spill</td>
<td>herd</td>
<td>two</td>
<td>push</td>
<td>face</td>
<td>blow</td>
<td>enrage, incite</td>
<td>cloud, fog</td>
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<td>awhile</td>
<td>foggy</td>
<td>patient</td>
<td>scar</td>
<td>soap</td>
<td>wrong</td>
<td>who</td>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>obtain, arrive, catch up to whoever</td>
<td>slice thinly</td>
<td>sack</td>
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</table>

| sati | sawa | sa'ë | sedha | seka | seku | seké | sembe | sena | sengga | senggu | sengu | sepå | sepi | sepo | sepå | serå | sere | seru | sewé |
|-----|-----|-----|------|------|------|------|-------|-------|--------|--------|--------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|-------|
| jahit | sawah | tarik | taruh di atas | menyiangi | kencur | gelang gading | tertahan | senang | tikam | semacam tarian | cisau bau | makan sayur | sisir pisang | mengumpulkan | duduk sopan | ujung | menyerah | taruh | berbicara | menanam tidak dalam | sehat | sembayang | menenun | sendal | tinju | mengusir | sudah dewasa, mampu | goreng | sepak | CL | sarang lebah | nyaris | terjebak | tertinggal | tebing laut | mencukil | menamakan |
| sew | rice fields | pull up vegetation | place on top | weed | galangale | ivory bracelet | caught | happy | stab | k o dance | smell s t | to eat vegies | comb of bananas | to collect | to sit politely | end | give in | place carefully | to talk | plant shallowly | well | pray | weave | thongs | fist | to chase away | come of age, capable | to fry | kick | CL | beehive | almost | fish caught in puddle | with tide gone out | reef | toss | to name |
| séwo     | menyiang | to weed       |
| sévė     | banyak   | many, much   |
| sidé     | kilat    | lightening   |
| sî'e     | garam    | salt         |
| sî'i     | bilang   | say          |
| síiku     | bahwa    | that         |
| síiku     | siku     | elbow        |
| sílé     | kelaparan| cubit        |
| simba     | langsung | starve       |
| simo     | terima   | then         |
| sina     | Cina     | accept       |
| sindé     | temunang yg tua | Chinese    |
| singga    | terbit   | old foreign weaving |
| singi     | air kencing | rise       |
| singi     | pinggir  | urine        |
| sio wora  | burung kantu 3pl | edge     |
| sira     | ketika, lalu | owl        |
| so        | angkat   | 3pl          |
| so        | begitu   | when, then   |
| so        | selam    | carry        |
| sobhé     | memberihau | thus       |
| sodho     | mencangkok | dive        |
| soko      | kaduk leher | tell       |
| soko ndoé | terbang  | to move a plant |
| solá     | kutukan  | nape         |
| somba     | hangat   | fly          |
| som     | bawang merah | curse     |
| somu     | pilul    | warm         |
| sondo     | dahi     | onion        |
| songga    | agak     | carry        |
| so'o     | lebih, terlalu, paling | forehead |
| so'o     | koret    | rather       |
| sopi     | mengumpulkan, mengangkat | more, too, most |
| sopé     | sampan   | matches      |
| su'a     | suntik   | collect      |
| su'a soda | su'a     | canoe        |
| su'a taka | su'a     | injection    |
| suh     | su'     | prayers      |
| suha     | su'     | yamstick, scythe |
| suh     | su'     | shell bracelet |
| suh     | su'     | muncul       |
| suh     | su'     | siput        |
| suh     | su'     | pemuda       |
| suh     | su'     | kali         |
| suh     | su'     | anyam sisa   |
| suh     | su'     | suma         |
| suh     | su'     | sumbu        |
| suh     | su'     | sunga        |
| suh     | su'     | supra        |
| suh     | su'     | supu         |
| suh     | su'     | sura         |
| susu     | susu     | susah         |
| susu     | susu     | susu, menyusui |
| su'u     | su'u     | jinjing      |
| ta       | ta       | yang         |
| ta       | ta       | EMP          |
| ta wa'u lépo | ta wa'u muri | yang terakhir |
| ta      | ta       | yang terakhir |
| tadi     | tadi     | tali         |
| tado     | tado     | CL           |
| taga dai | taga dai | tidak bisa  |
| tahu     | tahu     | tomat        |
| ta'i     | ta'i     | tahun        |
| ta'at     | ta'at    | kotoran      |
| ta'ka     | ta'ka    | cacing       |
| taka     | taka     | berkarakat   |
| taka     | taka     | menghindari, menghalang |
| taki     | taki     | menindis     |
| taki     | taki     | langket, kental |
| taku     | taku     | takat        |
| tala     | tala     | taiji        |
| tala     | tala     | to prevent, pick |
tama
tana
tana watu
tangge
tani
tapa
tara
tau
tawa
tedo
tedo-manu
tedu
tefa
tegu
tekapo
hekso
teni	
tema
temba
tembu
tembu
tenda	
tendo	
tendu
tengga	
tenggo	
tengge	
teni	
tepa
tepu	
tero	
teru	
tetiteti	
tetifidu
tewa
tewu
té	
té	
té'
masuk
tanah
tanah
nak tangga
petani
bakar
mengembar,
menggali
bufat
tertawa
telur
betis
tiga
meludah
gemuruh
memahat
potong
sempurna
cuci
CL
bentuk
ingkat
menanam
memburu
menghancurkan
keras
hubungan darah
menindis
bahu
pegang
terus
harum
tetes
membuat kue asil
membalas
tebu
sekarang
int
barangkali
masak
enter
ground
territory
climb stairs
farmer
grill
hoe
to do
laugh
egg
calf
three
to spit
thunder
carve
cut
perfect, eloquent
wash
CL
budding
level
plant
to hunt
to destroy
hard
blood relation
shred
shoulder
hold
continue
fragrant
to drip s t
to cook local cake
respond
sugarcane
now
this
perhaps
ripe
lihat
jual
angkat
tokek
tembak
serambi
ruang tamu
bakau
gantung
ambil priuk dari
tongku
tikar
memberi
kasih makan
dengar
gembala
semacam kelawar
pertemuhan
ampang
tumpah
merapat ke pantai
serbarangan
bagian dlm
rumah
sepasu puasnya
di atas
dalam
kastela
tulang
CL
tulang rusuk
merah
tumpukan
kurang
menanam
bangun
parang
parang muda
terlipat
potong gigi
see
sell
lift
lizard
shoot
verandah
guest room
sea mangrove
hang
pick s t up from low to
high
mat
to give
feed
listen
tend
a small bat
gathering
dam
pour
anchored
at random
inner house
over-
on top
di atas
inside
pumkin
bone
CL
ribs
red
mound
lack
plant
to wake up, rise
machete
weak machete
tea cutting ritual
| topo waja | parang kuat | strong machete |
| tora | labu | gourd |
| toto | hewan bunting | pregnant animal |
| toto | sambil | while |
| tu | tusuk | to connect |
| tu | mengantar | accompany |
| tu | arak | palm wine |
| tu | mertua | parents in law |
| tua | arak | wine |
| tua | tunggul | trunk |
| tua | tai lat | freckles |
| tua | biarkan hewan | allow animal to walk |
| tua | jalan di depan | in front |
| tudi | singgah | stop by |
| tudi | perut | stomach |
| tudi | tapak kaki | sole |
| tudi | pelem pap | palm |
| tudi | jenulis | to write |
| tudi | 'sun | arrange |
| tu'édé | anya | only |
| tu'édé | cukup | enough |
| tu'édé | bakar | grill |
| tu'édé | tusuk | pierce |
| tu'édé | tutup | to fill |
| tu'édé | kering | dry |
| tu'édé | benar | true, really |
| tu'édé | kepala | head |
| tu'édé | lutut | knee |
| tu'édé | ulat | caterpillar |
| tu'édé | daging liar | wild meat |
| tu'édé | kulit | skin, bark |
| tu'édé | tikus | mouse |
| tu'édé | binatang | animal |
| tu'édé | CL | CL |
| tu'édé | CL | CL |
| tu'édé | curcaci | spirit |
| tu'édé | kebun | garden |
| tu'édé | hujan | rain |
| tu'édé | karena | because |
| tu'édé | pasak | bolt |

| Word Lists |
| 'uta | sayur sayuran | vegetables |
| 'uta 'aé | sayuran direbus | cooked veggies |
| 'uta dera | makan siang | lunch |
| 'uttu | menang | win |
| 'uttu | untuk | for |
| 'uttu | kult | skin |
| 'uwa | rambut putih | white hair |
| 'uwa | kult yg | shed skin |
| 'uwa du | ditanggalkan | yam |
| 'uwi | ubi | sweet potato |
| 'uwi jawa | ubi jalar | cassava |
| 'uwi kaju | ubi kayu | yam |
| 'uwi sura | semacam ubi | base |
| 'uwi | alas | again |
| 'uwi | lagi | in a moment |
| 'uwi | sebentar | later, in a moment |
| 'uwi | nanti, sebentar | in the future |
| 'uwi | kali mendatang | to return, go home |
| 'uwi | kembali, pulang | widow |
| 'uwi | janda | with |
| 'uwi | dengan | sure |
| 'uwi | pasti | old |
| 'uwi | tua | pound |
| 'uwi | tumruk | stand |
| 'uwi | berdiri | current |
| 'uwi | arus | dry |
| 'uwi | jemur | carry |
| 'uwi | pikul | leave |
| 'uwi | kelas | spray water |
| 'uwi | stiram | basket |
| 'uwi | bangku | stone |
| 'uwi | bau | bad smell |
| 'uwi | bad | pass |
| 'uwi | melewat | later |
| 'uwi | kemudian | pig |
| 'uwi | habi | upper |
| 'uwi | atas | part |
| 'uwi | bagian | kick behind |
| 'uwi | wada | |
| wedi | tendang ke | |
| wedi     | mahal | expensive  |
| wedi wedi | apalagi | what's more |
| wedu     | taruh | put, to leave behind |
| wega     | meninggalkan | pieces |
| wegha    | pecahan | split |
| weghu    | membelah | to fish |
| weke     | tendang | body |
| weki     | pancing | under |
| wena     | badan | when |
| wengi    | di bawah | in the future |
| wengi-wengi | kapan | whenever |
| wengi-wengi | kapan-kapan | day after tomorrow, |
| wengi_rua | kapan saja | day before yesterday |
| weni     | lusa | grain leftovers |
| weni     | sisa tum Buchanan | squid |
| weni     | cumi cumi | door |
| weni     | pintu | paddle |
| weni     | dayung | feed |
| weni     | kasih makan | sister |
| wesi     | saudari | mention |
| weta     | sebut | chew betelnut |
| weta     | makan sirih | sorghum |
| weti     | jelai | yard |
| weti     | halaman | gold |
| weti     | emas | cut |
| wepé     | potong | shake |
| wéa      | goyang | scatter |
| wesa     | menaburkan | tomorrow |
| wésa     | besok | thrown by a horn |
| wésa     | dilemparkan dgn | to fan |
| wésa poa | tanduk | to shake one's head |
| wéti     | kipas | close |
| wéti     | menggelinding | CL |
| wéti     | dekat | to take |
| wéti     | CL | peel |
| wéti     | mengambil | tear |
| wéti     | kupas | |
| wéti     | robek | |
| wisu     | we'é   | sudut |
| wi'é     | saja  | corner, angle |
| wode     | tandan | just |
| wodo     | bukit | stem |
| woku     | buang | hill |
| wonga    | bunga | throw |
| wosó     | banyak | flower |
| wotí     | menyap | many |
| woé      | teman | to feed |
| woé      | mengikut, melilit | friend |
| wua      | memuat | to bind, to wind |
| wuda     | bulan | to load |
| wudhi    | pohon ara | moon, month |
| wudi     | semacam kerang | fig tree |
| wuku     | memanggil | a type of shell |
| wunu     | daun | call |
| wunu     | CL | leaves |
| wunu     | pohon wuwu | palm leaves |
| wunu dai | bibir | lips |
| wunu mumu | empat | four |
| wutu     | pohon wuwu | rattan |
### E.2 Loan Words

Many loan words are used in everyday Kéo conversations, and are found in many of the texts used in the preparation of this grammar. They are identified as loan words based on native speakers’ comments regarding their origins, and the commonly expressed desire to replace them with indigenous Kéo words and phrases when transcribing texts. Below is a list of most of the loan words used in data collected for the grammar. As can be seen, the majority of the loan words come from Indonesian.

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|---------------|---------------|---------|------|--------|-----|--------|-------|------|-----|--------|-----|-------|-----|-------|-----------|------|---------|-------|------|--------|-------|----------|------|-----------|------|--------|-----|-------|------|-------|-----------|------|-------|------|-------|------|-------|------|
| pray | doctor | two | before | email | four | six | family | fax | ferry | MSG | photo | photocopy | wage | disturb | title | tend | church | sugar | obstacles | hanyah | hara | harap | hari | harus | hasil | hera | hidup | hitung | hospital | hotel | hubungan | hukum | ibu | ilmu | Inggris | ini | isi |</p>
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| punya | punya | have |
| puskemas | puskemas | local health centre |
| Rabu | Rabu | Wednesday |
| radio | radio | radio |
| raja | raja | (Dutch installed) ruler |
| rai | rai | diligent |
| rasa | rasa | feel |
| ratu | ratu | queen |
| rejeki | rejeki | fortune |
| rencana | rencana | plan |
| ribu | ribu | thousand |
| ro | ro | skirt |
| rumah sakti | rumah sakti | hospital |
| rumah | rumah | house |
| rusak | rusak | break |
| sabar | sabar | patient |
| sablon | sablon | silk screening |
| Sabtu | Sabtu | Saturday |
| saja | saja | only |
| Salam | Salam | greetings |
| sama | sama | with |
| sama-sama | sama-sama | together |
| sambil | sambil | while |
| sambung | sambung | continue |
| sampai | sampai | until |
| saring | saring | strain |
| satu | satu | one |
| saudara | saudara | you |
| saya | saya | lsg |
| sayang | sayang | love |
| SD | SD | love |
| seakan-akan | seakan-akan | primary school |
| sebelum | sebelum | as if |
| sebenarnya | sebenarnya | before |
| sederhana | sederhana | truth |
| segala | segala | simple |
| sehingga | sehingga | all |
| sekarang | sekarang | so |
| sekitar | sekitar | now |
| sekola | sekolah | about |
| sekolah | sekolah | school |
selalu | always
selama | as long as
good wishes
semangat | further
details
all
enthusiasm
seminar
seminary
hope
suffering
Monday
weapon
shoes
ten
ten
give in
along with
half
agree
rent
prepare
savings
brief
thesis
senior high school
k.o. high school
technical senior high school
junior high school
sauce
k.o. hig school
study
thrive
holy
already
deserted
in order to

suruh | order
Suster | Sister
swasta | private
tahun | year
hulu | know
tahun | year
tambah ban | tire repair
tanda | sign
tanggal | stair
tanggal | date
tanggung | handle
Tante | Aunt
Tapi | but
Tas | bag
Telepon | phone
tempat | phone
tentukan | place
terima | determine
terima kasih | accept
terjadi | thank you
terlalu | happen
terlambat | too
terminal | late
terpaksa | terminal
tersebar | forced
terus | spread
teruskan | continue
Test | continue
tetap | test
tidak | always
tidur | NEG
Tiga | sleep
Tiket | three
timur | ticket
tingkat | East
tipu | level
titip | lie
toh | entrust s.t
tua | isn't it
old
### Appendix E

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Bibliography


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