PERSONAL PRONOUNS OF DHAO IN EASTERN INDONESIA[1]

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Abstract

This paper describes the properties of personal pronouns in Dhao, a language spoken by about 3000 people mainly on the island of Ndao in East Nusa Tenggara (NTT). Dhao is genetically classified into Sumba-Hawu subgroup of Central Malayo-Polynesian (CMP) branch of Austronesian languages. The focus of this paper is to describe the pronominal system of Dhao, highlighting different types of pronouns and their syntactic distribution. Dhao has three sets of morphologically independent personal pronouns and one set of bound form (affixes). The three sets can occur as independent clausal arguments, except for the clitics nga '1PL-ex' and two variants of 3SG clitics which differ in syntactic distribution. As for the bound forms, the affixes are cross-referenced with NPs or full pronouns in subject positions. Personal pronouns also co-occur with other constituents as identifying expressions.

Keywords: *personal pronoun, clitics, argument, Dhao*

Abstrak

Makalah ini membahas properti pronomina persona dalam Bahasa Dhao, sebuah bahasa yang digunakan oleh sekitar 3000 orang terutama di Pulau Ndao, Nusa Tenggara Timur (NTT). Secara genetis, Dhao diklasifikasikan ke dalam kelompok Sumba-Hawu dari sub-rumpun Central Malayo Polynesian, Austronesia. Fokus makalah ini adalah untuk mendeskripsikan sistem pronomina bahasa Dhao dengan menyoroti tipe-tipe pronomina yang berbeda dan distribusi sintaksisnya. Bahasa Dhao memiliki tiga perangkat morfem mandiri dan satu perangkat bentuk terikat (afiks). Ketiga perangkat morfem mandiri dapat menempati argumen klausa secara independen, kecuali klitika nga '1PL-ex' dan dua varian klitika 3SG yang berbeda dalam hal distribusi sintaksis. Adapun bentuk terikat afiks merujuk-silang dengan frasa nomina atau pronomina bebas pada posisi subjek. Pronomina persona juga hadir bersama konstituen lain sebagai pengidentifikasi.

Kata kunci: *pronomina persona, klitika, argumen, Dhao*

INTRODUCTION[2]

Dhao is a language spoken by about 3000 people, mainly in Ndao, a tiny island west of Rote in East Nusa Tenggara Province (NTT). Due to migration throughout the province, a few Dhao speakers also live on the islands of Rote, Timor, and Flores. Dhao belongs to the Central Malayo-Polynesian (CMP) branch of Austronesian languages which is genetically subclassified into the Sumba-Hawu group, and thus is similar to languages spoken on the islands of Sumba and Sawu (Blust, 2008, 2009, 2013; Donohue & Grimes, 2008). While Dhao is genetically similar to Hawu (spoken in Sawu), it has no direct contact with Hawu. Instead, it is in contact with Rote because of its geographic proximity and because Dhao falls under the same administration as Rote (Balukh, 2013). Dhao is also said to have been influenced for a long time by Rote due to socio-cultural contact (Fox, 1987).

Dhao was previously considered a dialect of Hawu by Jonker (1903). More recently, Walker (1982) and Grimes (2010) have argued that Dhao is a separate language from Hawu, though they show many lexical and phonological similarities. One salient difference between the two languages is that, in Hawu, the basic word order is VS(O), while Dhao has SV(O) word order. Another important difference between these languages is that Dhao has a more complex pronominal system than Hawu. Hawu only has full personal pronouns, while Dhao has full and reduced pronouns, as well as clitics pronouns and affixes. Dhao's full pronouns are similar to those found in Hawu, but the clitics and affixes are similar to those found in the neighboring language of Rote, and some other languages in the Timor area. These linguistic observations have led Balukh (2013) to support Fox's (1987) anthropological claim that Dhao is intermediate between Sawu and Rote.

This paper examines the morphosyntactic behaviour of personal pronouns of Dhao and their use in argument positions. Other related points, such as the phonological constraints on the pronouns and other constituents appearing as identifying expressions, are also discussed in brief to support the proposed analysis. Before describing personal pronouns, it is important to briefly introduce the basic clause structure and the distribution of the noun phrase (NP) in Dhao. One-place predicates can be either verbal or non-verbal and they have the order subject–predicate (SP). Moreover, two-place predicates are always verbal and have fixed subject-predicate-object (SPO) order. As illustrated in (1) and (2) below, the changes in word order are not possible.

(1) *nèngu   pa-kajape   èsu   ana   ne'e*   (NP   VP   NP)
    3SG   CAUS-to.hang navel child PROX.SG
    'She hangs the umbilical cord of the baby'

(2) *?èsu   ana   ne'e   pa-kajape   nèngu* (NP   VP   NP)
    navel child PROX.SG   CAUS-to.hang   3SG
    'The navel of the baby hangs her'

In argument position, NPs can be modified by demonstratives (such as *èèna* 'DIST.SG' and *ne'e* 'PROX.SG'), numerals or quantifiers, and can occur in prepositional phrases. As mentioned above, Dhao employs non-verbal predicates, such as the nominal predicate *dhèu dedha liru* 'a person living on the sky' as in example (3). Therefore, NPs and VPs can only be syntactically distinguished by their position in a sentence. For instance, the word *lii* 'to say' in example (4) is a noun and is the head of the object NP *lii èèna* 'that voice' but it is a verb in example (5) as it describes an action *lii* 'to say' that takes arguments.

(3) *ina   nèngu **dhèu   dedha   liru***
    mother 3SG   person above sky
    'His mother is a person living on the sky'

(4) *ja'a tadèngi **lii**   èèna*
    1SG   hear   voice DIST.SG
    'I heard that voice'

(5) *nèngu **lii**   boe dènge ina   =na*
    3SG   to.say   not with   mother 3SG
    'He does not say (anything) to his mother'

The discussion of personal pronouns of Dhao in this paper is organized as follows. The next section presents pronominal paradigms followed by the discussion on the distribution of pronouns in argument positions and other syntactic functions. This paper closes off with a summary and a conclusion.

PERSONAL PRONOUN PARADIGMS

Dhao has four sets of personal pronouns; three of which are morphologically independent (full pronouns, reduced pronouns and clitic pronouns), while one is bound (affixes). These affixes are in turn considered cross-reference affixes. All full forms are bisyllabic, except '2SG', and have monosyllabic counterparts that are labeled here as reduced forms. Clitic pronouns are monosyllabic. The paradigms for these pronouns are shown in Table 1 below.

Table 1. Dhao Personal Pronoun Paradigms

	Pron.	Full	Reduced	Clitics	Affixes	
					Pref.	Suf.
First	1SG	*ja'a*	ja	ku	kU-	-ku
	1PL-ex	*ji'i*	ji	(nga)[3]	ngA[4]-	-'a
	1PL-in	*èdhi*	(ti)	ti	tA-	-ti
Second	2SG	*èu*	-	mu	mU-	-mu
	2PL	*miu*	(mi)	mi	mI-	-mi
Third	3SG	*nèngu*	nu	na / ne	nA-	-'e
	3PL	*rèngu*	ru	ra	rA-	-si

The table shows that the pronouns are distinguished into two categories: person and number. Dhao has first, second, and third persons, and singular and plural number. The plural form for first person is distinguished between exclusive and inclusive. Gender and case are not distinguished in Dhao. The reduced forms occur only in rapid speech. Pronouns are amongst the most frequently used words in many languages, making them particularly susceptible to phonological reduction (Dixon, 2010a:192). There are two types of phonological reduction. In the first type, the initial syllable remains, while the final syllable is reduced: this applies to '1SG', '1PL-ex', and '2PL'. In the second type, the tonic sounds are reduced: this applies to '1PL-in', '3SG', and '3PL'. The sound orthographically symbolized as *è* is a schwa /ə/ that, in Dhao phonology, lacks syllable weight, i.e. it neither occupies the syllable nucleus nor the root final position, although Dhao exhibits an open syllabic system in word. Whenever the schwa /ə/ occurs, the following consonant is geminated, for instance *èna* [ən:a] 'six' and *kètu* [kət:u] 'head'. In root final position, it is always followed by high vowels, /i/ and /u/, for example *bèi* [bəi] 'grandmother' and *rèu* [rəu] 'leaf'.

The table also shows that there is a clear phonological relationship between full pronouns and their reduced pronoun counterparts. Clitic pronouns and their corresponding affixes[5] also exhibit very similar phonological forms. However, clitic pronouns and affixes are clearly different from full/reduced pronouns, suggesting that they are not derived from the same source historically. One explanation for this is that Dhao borrowed the clitic forms from neighboring languages through contact. Jonker (1903) claims that the clitics are historically borrowed from Rote.

Syntactically, clitics and affixes behave differently. While clitics can be true arguments, like full pronouns, affixes can only be referential elements. Therefore, instead of pronominal affixes, I use the term "cross-reference affixes."

PRONOUNS AND ARGUMENT POSITION

Personal pronouns in Dhao can substitute full NPs as clausal arguments, either as subject (S), object (O), or as the complement of a preposition. The following subsections provide a discussion of full pronouns and their distribution in argument positions.

Full Pronouns as S of Intransitive Predicates

Intransitive constructions in Dhao can take verbal and non-verbal predicates which have only one core argument. With such predicates, additional arguments are marked, for example with a preposition. The S argument of intransitive predicates may involve different semantic roles, depending on the meaning or semantic properties of the verb; S may be an agent or patient. Examples (6) through (8) below show that full pronouns can occur in the S argument position of intransitive verbs. In (6) and (7) the semantic role of S is agent, while in (8), S is a patient. In (6) an additional argument is marked with the preposition *ngèti* 'from', which is optional in the clause.

> (6) ***ja'a*** *mai*   (*ngèti Sahu*)
>   1SG come   from Sawu
>   'I came from Sawu'

> (7) *bèli*   *èèna*   ***èdhi*** *la-ti*
>   tomorrow DIST.SG 1PL go-1PL
>   'In the following day, we left'

> (8) ***nèngu*** *madhe*
>   3SG   die
>   'S/he died'

The S argument in Dhao is canonically pre-verbal, but for a few verbs, which have a patient S argument, it is possible for this argument to appear in post-verbal position. This is in line with the clause structure for transitive constructions wherein O occurs in the post-verbal position. One such example is presented in (9). The verb *madhe* 'die' is an intransitive verb that syntactically requires a single patient core argument. In the case of this verb, and others like it, we observe a split in the alignment properties of the verb, since the intransitive S argument looks like a transitive O argument in terms of syntactic position (cf. Dixon, 2010a:140).

> (9) *madhe* ***ja'a***, *bèi*   *e*
>   die   1SG grandmother PRT
>   'I would be in difficulty, grandmother' (Lit: I die, grandmother)

As already mentioned, Dhao allows non-verbal predicates. The non-verbal predicates in Dhao express attributes, location, and existence, and, in terms of syntactic category, can be headed by a noun, adjective, adverb, numeral, or preposition (Payne, 1997:111-125). The S argument for intransitive non-verbal predicates must come before the predicate. The non-verbal subject and predicate are juxtaposed because Dhao does not have any specific marker to link

them. Examples (10) through (12) are non-verbal predicates which occur with a full pronoun as S arguments.

(10) **rèngu** [*dhèu   Lodho*]_{NP}
 3PL   person Lodho
 'They are people of Lodho clan'

(11) **nèngu** [*ètu   suu   haa*]_{PP}
 3SG   LOC tip   west
 'S/he is at the west side'

(12) **nèngu** [*kapai*]_{Adj}
 3SG   big
 'S/he is big'

Full Pronouns as Arguments of Transitive Predicates

In Dhao, transitive verbs can appear as 'single' or serial verbs. The arguments of transitive verbs have fixed positions: S is pre-verbal and O is post-verbal. The examples in (13) and (14) present full pronouns as S and NPs as O. In (15), full pronouns function as O and NPs as S. Pronouns in both S and O positions are shown in example (16).

(13) **ja'a**   *puu*   *hua*
 1SG   pick   fruit
 'I picked the fruit'

(14) **èdhi**   *t-inu*   *èi*   *di*   *mèra*
 1PL   1PL-drink water only   just
 'We only drink water'

(15) *busa*   *n-a'a*   *aa'i*   **èu**
 dog   3SG-eat   all   2SG
 'The dog kills you' (Lit: the dog eats the whole of your body)

(16) **èu**   *pa-madhe*   **ja'a**
 2SG   CAUS-die   1SG
 'You kill me'

Transitive constructions consisting of serial verbs are presented in (17) and (18). Serial verbs in Dhao include two verbs that occupy one functional slot in a clause (Aikhenvald, 2006:4). In (17), both verbs *ngee* 'think' and *-èdhi* 'see' are intransitive. Example (18) involves the intransitive verb *la-* 'go' and the transitive verb *karèi* 'ask'. In both cases, the serial verb requires two arguments, S and O. The prefix *k-* is attached to the verb *–èdhi* 'see' as in (17). In (18), the suffix *–si* is attached to the verb *la-* 'go'. These affixes are co-indexed with the full pronouns in the subject position.

(17) *ja'a*_i   **ngee k_i-èdhi**   *sa-saba*   *èci*   *ka*   *ne'e*
 1SG   think 1SG-see DUP-work one   PRT   PROX.SG
 'I remember I work here'

(18) *rèngu*ᵢ ***la-si***ᵢ ***karèi*** *ana bhèni dhèu dua dara dhasi*
     3PL   go-3PL ask   child girl   person two inside sea
     'They proposed to two girls from sea'

In ditransitive constructions, both objects can appear as bare NPs. As shown in (19), the full pronoun *ja'a* '1SG' functions as the direct object of the verb *hia* 'give' and is immediately followed by the indirect object. In (19), the verb *hia* 'give' is immediately followed by the indirect object NP *doi ca nguru riho* 'ten thousand rupiahs'. The full pronoun *ja'a* '1SG' occurs in a peripheral position, marked by the preposition *asa* 'to'.

(19) a. *Rini hia **ja'a** doi ca nguru riho*
      Rini give 1SG money a ten   thousand
      'Rini gives me ten thousand'
   b. *Rini hia doi ca nguru riho asa **ja'a***
      Rini give money a ten   thousand   to   1SG
      'Rini gives ten thousand for me'

Reduced Pronouns

Unlike full pronouns, reduced pronouns are only found in non sentence-final positions. As shown in (20) and (21), the reduced pronouns occur in sentence initial position as a subject. The reduced forms like *ja* '1SG' in (20) and *nu* '3SG' in (21) cannot occur as O arguments in sentence final position. However, the reduced pronoun *nu* '3SG' does occur as an O argument in non-final position, as shown in (22).

(20) a. ***ja*** *lolo dua bèla*
      1SG roll two sheet
      'I roll two sheets of yarn'
   b. *èu ne'e aka ja'a/***ja***
      2SG PROX.SG   trick   1SG
      'You fooled me'

(21) a. ***nu*** *ètu suu haa*
      3SG prep tip west
      'She was at the west part'
   b. *èu ne'e aka **nèngu / *nu***
      2SG PROX.SG trick 3SG
      'You fooled him'

(22) *ana*ᵢ [*dhu bantu **nu***] *sèra*ᵢ *kako hari la-si*ᵢ
     child REL help   3SG DIST.PL walk again go-3PL
     'The children who helped him already left'

Clitic Pronouns

Like reduced pronouns, all clitic pronouns cannot occur in sentence final positions. With the exception of '1PL.ex' and '3SG', they can replace their corresponding full pronouns in any other argument position. As shown in (23), the clitic *ra* '3PL' appears in S position, the same as its full pronoun counterpart *rèngu* '3PL'. Likewise, in (24) and (25), the S argument positions

are filled with the full pronoun *èdhi* '1PL.in' and its clitic counterpart *ti* respectively. In O position, clitics are restricted to non-final positions. Therefore, the clitic *ra* '3PL' is acceptable in (26a), but not in (26b). The full pronouns are preferred in final position.

(23) a. **rèngu**   *mai*   *heka*
      3PL   come no.more
      'They did not come anymore'

    b. **ra**   *mai*   *heka*
      3PL   come no.more
      'They did not come anymore'

(24) **èdhi**   *tao*   *rèu* *sabha*
     1PL.in make leaf water.container
     'We took palm leaves'

(25) **ti=**   *abhu* *doi*   *dhari* *ho*   *hèli* *èi*   *mènyi rai*   *do…*
     1PL   get   money rope   so.that buy water oil   land   or
     'We can make some money to buy some kerosene or …'

(26) a. *ja'a* *pa-kajape*   *=ra* *ètu* *kolo* *aj'u*
      1SG   CAUS-hook 3PL LOC top   tree
      'I hook them on the tree'

    b. *ja'a* *pa-kajape*   ***=ra/rèngu**
      1SG   CAUS-hook 3PL
      'I hook them'

The two forms of the clitic '3SG' have distinct syntactic functions. The variant *na* preferably occurs in S position, while *ne* can only occur in O position. As illustrated in (27), it is the clitics *na* '3SG', not *ne*, that is acceptable in S position. While only *ne* is acceptable as O in (28a), either *na* or *ne* is acceptable in (28b).

(27) **na/*ne=**   *puu*   *hua*
     3SG   pick   fruit
     'He is picking fruit'

(28) a. *ja'a* *game*   ***=ne*/*na**
      1SG hit   3SG
      'I hit him/her'

    b. *ja'a* *game* **na/ne** *pake* *hadhu*
      1SG hit   3SG   use   stone
      'I hit him using stone'

Walker (1982) and Grimes (2010, 2012) list *nga* '1PL.ex' in the pronoun inventory of Dhao, but they did not demonstrate any supporting examples. In my data, it did not occur as an independent pronoun. Example (29) illustrates the use of the full pronoun *ji'i* '1PL.ex' in S position. Walker's and Grimes' pronoun inventory suggests that the clitic counterpart *nga* fills the same position in (29), yet it is ill-formed. Similarly, in (30), while it is grammatical for the clitic *ra* '3PL' to occupy an S position, it is not for the clitic *'nga* '1PL.ex'. As such, the clitic *nga* does not appear to exist in Dhao.

(29) a. ***ji'i***   *heka*   *tutu*   *kadèna*   *ka*   *èèna*
       1PL.ex just   cut   firewood PRT DIST.SG
       'We just cut the fire wood'

     b. ****nga***   *heka*   *tutu*   *kadèna*   *ka*   *èèna*
       1PL.ex just   cut   firewood PRT DIST.SG

     c. *dhèu*   *aae*   *èèna*   *piara*   ***ji'i /*nga***
       person   big   DIST.SG   look.after(IND)   1PL.ex
       'The king took care of us'

(30) a. ***ra***   *la-si*
       3PL go-3PL
       'They go'

     b. *****nga***   *la-'a*
       1PL-ex   go-1PL.ex
       'We go'

Cross-reference Affixes

In the case of inflection, Dhao has eight vowel initial verbs that obligatorily take prefixes. Only one verb, which is *la-* 'go', takes suffixes. The affixes in turn "agree" with S arguments. They are called cross-reference affixes here because the affix and the verb already constitute a complete clause. Furthermore, the dependent NP requires the affix on the verbal head, whereas the head and the marker can occur without the dependent NP (Bloomfield, 1933:193; Haspelmath, 2013). This phenomenon is not unique in Dhao, since the languages in the neighboring areas also have similar phenomena, such as Kambera in Sumba (Klamer, 1998), Rote (Balukh, 2005), and Tetun (Van Klinken, 1999). The eight vowel initial verbs that require prefixes are listed in Table 2 below.

Table 2. Dhao Verb Inflection with Prefixes

Pron.	Pref.	*-a'a* 'eat'	*-are* 'take'	*-e'a* 'know'	*-èdhi* 'see'	*-èti* 'bring'	*-o'o* 'want'	*-inu* 'drink'	*-èd'u* 'hold'
1SG	*kU-*	*ku'a*	*kore*	*ke'a*	*kèdhi*	*kèti*	*ko'o*	*kinu*	*kèd'u*
2SG	*mU-*	*mu'a*	*more*	*me'a*	*mèdhi*	*mèti*	*mo'o*	*minu*	*mèd'u*
3SG	*nA-*	*na'a*	*nare*	*ne'a*	*nèdhi*	*nèti*	*no'o*	*ninu*	*nèd'u*
1PL-in	*tA-*	*ta'a*	*tare*	*te'a*	*tèdhi*	*tèti*	*to'o*	*tinu*	*tèd'u*
1PL-ex	*ngA-*	*nga'a*	*ngare*	*nge'a*	*ngèdhi*	*ngèti*	*ngo'o*	*nginu*	*ngèd'u*
2PL	*mI-*	*mi'a*	*mere*	*me'a*	*mèdhi*	*mèti*	*mo'o*	*minu*	*mèd'u*
3PL	*rA-*	*ra'a*	*rare*	*re'a*	*rèdhi*	*rèti*	*ro'o*	*rinu*	*rèd'u*

As shown in Table 2, there are two types of inflected verbs. The first type is labeled as irregular that includes the verbs *–a'a* 'eat' and *–are* 'take'. The second type is regular and includes the other six verbs. In the case of the irregular inflected verbs, the vowel within the prefix assimilates with the initial vowel of the verb root. In contrast, in the regular verbs, the vowel in the prefix is deleted, only the consonant is retained.

       The illustrations of the cross-references are given in (31) and (32). As illustrated in (31), the same verb root *-a'a* 'eat' takes different prefixes -- *k-* and *r-* respectively – according to the S argument with which they are co-indexed. Another evidence is given in (32). With a control

verb *neo* 'want', the prefix *k-* is also co-indexed with the full pronoun *ja'a* '1SG' in the matrix clause. It indicates that both clauses share the same subject, that is *ja'a* '1SG'.

(31) a. *ja'a_i* ***k_i-u'a***   *tarae-sina*
       1SG   1SG-eat   corn
       'I eat corn'

     b. *rèngu_i* ***r_i-a'a***   *tarae-sina*
       3PL   3PL-eat   corn
       'They eat corn'

(32) *ja'a_i*   *neo*   ***k_i-u'a***   *katuka*   *se'e*
      1SG   want   1SG.eat   rice.cake   PROX.PL
      'I wanted to eat the rice cakes'

When the full NP or pronoun has been made clear in the previous discourse or clause, it is absent in S position. A construction as such is judged grammatical, since the prefix itself on the verb already provides information about the subject referent. As shown in (33), the prefix *n-* signals that the S argument must be a 3SG referent. Likewise, in (34), the prefix *r-* gives information that the S argument must be a 3PL referent.

(33) ***n-o'o***   *boe*   *bhèni*   *aae* *èèna*   *conge*   *èmu*
      3SG-want NEG   woman   big   DIST.SG   open   house
      '(S/he) didn't want the queen to open the door'

(34) ***r-inu***   *sèna*   *ka*   *ana*   *madha* *baku*   *sakaa*
      3PL-drink   so.that PRT   child   eye   NEG.PROH. sleepy
      '(They) drink in order not to be sleepy'

As mentioned previously, cross-reference suffixes are applied only to one verb, that is *la-* 'go'.[6] The paradigm is shown in Table 3 below.

Table 3. Dhao Inflectional Suffix

Pronoun	Suffix	*la-* 'go'
1SG	*-ku*	*la-ku*
2SG	*-mu*	*la-mu*
3SG	*-'e*	*la-'e*
1PL-in	*-ti*	*la-ti*
1PL-ex	*-'a*	*la-'a*
2PL	*-mi*	*la-mi*
3PL	*-si*	*la-si*

The suffix "agrees" with the subject of the verb. It is proven by the fact the suffix is co-indexed with both full pronoun and full NP appearing as the clausal subject before the inflected verb. In (35), for example, the suffix *–ku* is attached to the verb *la-* 'go' and it is co-indexed with the full pronoun *ja'a* '1SG'. Another example is also shown in (36) with the suffix *–ti* which is co-referential with the full pronoun *èdhi* '1PL.in' in clause-initial position. The imperative sentence in (37) and prohibitive sentence in (38) demonstrate that the co-referential NPs or full pronouns are absent. The suffixes themselves are already enough to indicate the subject referents. The subject of imperative sentences is in general unexpressed (Aikhenvald, 2010:145). However, in

this regard the information of the subject is made available by the suffixes and therefore, the person and number of the subject are obviously seen by the presence of the suffixes. Example (39) contains subordinate clauses where the suffix *–ku* represents the subject of the subordinate clause and it is indexed to the subject of the matrix clause, which is the full pronoun *ja'a* '1SG'.

(35) *ja'a_i* ***la-ku_i*** *èmu,* *aku*   *nèngu*
      1SG   go-1SG house   according.to 3SG
      'He said, 'I went home''

(36) *èdhi_i* ***la-ti_i***   *dhasi*
      1PL.in   go-1PL.in sea
      'We went to the beach'

(37) ***la-mi*** *pare*   *ku* *a'ju*
      go-2PL slaughter   tag   wood
      'Please (you all) go to cut the wood'

(38) *baku*   ***la-ti***   *ku*
      PROH.NEG   go-1PL.in tag
      'Please don't go'

(39) *ja'a_i* *neo* ***la-ku_i***   *babha*
      1SG   want go-1SG   gong
      'I wanted to play gong'

The clitics are in complementary distribution with full pronouns in that either one of them appears as the subject referent. The affixes are obligatory elements in this case. As illustrated in (40), either a clitic or full pronoun occurs as the S argument of the clauses and therefore (40) is not acceptable. Another example is given in (41) where the suffix is obligatory and S argument is denoted by either a full pronoun or a clitic, not both.

(40) a. ***ra= r-èti***   *dènge* *babha*
         3PL 3PL-bring with   gong
         'They brought gongs'
      b. ***rèngu* *r-èti***   *dènge* *babha*
         3pl   3pl.bring   with   gong
         'They brought gongs'
      c. ****rèngu*   *ra=* *r-èti***   *dènge*   *babha*
          3PL   3PL 3PL.bring   with   gong

(41) a. *mai* ***èdhi/ti la-ti***   *pèci*   *eele* *asa* *dara*   *dhasi*
         come 1PL.in go-1PL.in   throw   PRT   to   inside sea
         'Let us go to throw (something) into the sea'
      b. **mai* ***èdhi* *ti*   *la-ti***   *pèci*   *eele* *asa* *dara*   *dhasi*
         come 1PL.in 1PL.in go-1PL.in throw   PRT   to   inside   sea
         'Let us go to throw (something) into the sea'

Prepositional Complements

Dhao allows only full pronouns to occur as complements of prepositions. Clitics never occur in this position. As complements, pronouns appear after prepositions. The prepositions that permit personal pronouns are presented in (42) below.

(42)   Prepositions
   ètu   'LOC'
   mi   'unto'
   ma   'toward'
   ngèti   'from'
   asa   'to'
   dènge   'with'
   sèmi   'as, like'

As illustrated in (43), the full pronoun è*u* '2SG' follows the locative preposition *ètu* 'LOC'. The same full pronoun is replaced by the corresponding clitics *mu* in (43), but it becomes ungrammatical. The same is also true when the pronouns follow the prepositions *mi* and *ma* in (44) and (45). These examples give evidence that prepositions require full pronouns only.

(43)   a. *ja'a   lèka   mèdha   èèna   **ètu   èu***
          1SG   believe   goods   DIS.TSG   LOC   2SG
          'I entrust this thing to you'

       b. **ja'a lèka   mèdha   èèna   **ètu   mu***
          1SG   believe   goods   DIS.TSG   LOC   2SG
          'I entrust this thing to you'

(44)   *da-dui   ne'e   ja'a   kahero **mi   èu/*mu***
       DUP-carry   PROX.SG   1SG   strike   unto   2SG
       'This stick I hit unto you'

(45)   *èu   neo   ngaa dhu   ja'a   tao   **ma   èu/*mu***
       2SG   want   what REL   1SG   make   toward 2SG
       'You want what I am doing toward you'

Personal Pronouns as Possessors

This section does not discuss in detail the types of possessive construction attested in Dhao,[7] but rather focuses on the position of personal pronouns in possessive constructions within an NP. Possessive constructions that countain a pronoun in Dhao can be expressed through NP structures in which the possessor is a pronoun or clitic pronoun. The possessor occurs to the right of the possessed NP. There is no dedicated possessive marker. This construction is an NP-internal possessive construction (Dixon, 2010a). There is no distinction between alienable and inalienable possession in this case.[8] In such a construction, the reduced pronouns are rarely used, unless they are in non-sentence final positions. A typical possessive construction that countains a full NP is given in (46). In this example, the first noun *ngara* 'name' is the possessum and the second noun *rai* 'land' is the possessor. There is no marker at all. While all full pronouns can be possessors in any position, most clitics occur only in subject position. Examples (47a) and (47b) show full clitic pronouns as possessors in subject position. As

illustrated in (48b), only 3SG clitic can occur as a possessor within the NP in object position. There must be a pragmatic reason for this, which is beyond the scope of the present paper.

(46) [*ngara rai*]   *dhu   miu pea   ne'e…*
     name   land   REL   2PL stay   PROX.SG
     'The name of the place where you are living …'

(47) a. [*ma-muri   **ji'i***]   *dhoka   hua   a'ju   di*
       DUP-live   1PL.ex   only   fruit   wood only
       'Our life only depends on fruits'
     b. [*ma-muri   **ku***]   *dhoka   hua a'ju   di*
       DUP-live   1SG   only   fruit wood only
       'My life only depends on fruits'

(48) a. *ja'a   pua   nèngu dame   dara*   [*èmu   **ja'a/*ku/*ti***]
       1SG   ask   3SG   paint   inside   house   1SG/1PL.in/
       'I asked him to paint the inside part of my house'
     b. *ja'a   pua   nèngu dame   dara*   [*èmu   **na***]
       1SG   ask   3SG   paint   inside   house   3SG
       'I asked him to paint the inside part of his house'

   In cases where the possessum is clear from the previous discourse, it can be substituted by *unu* 'own'. Within this type of NP, clitic possessors are possible. For example, (49a) explains a situation where a group of people went fishing and brought back all the fish that they caught, leaving nothing behind for others. The unexpressed 'fish' is interpreted as the possession, which is, since it is clear from previous discourse, substituted by the word *unu* 'own'. It is seen in (49b) that the possessum *i'a* 'fish' is in the same position as *unu* 'own' and it is acceptable. The co-occurrence of the possessum *i'a* 'fish' and *unu* 'own' as in (49c) violates the construction.

(49) a. *dhèu   se'e   r-are   aa'i* [***unu   =ra***] *ka...*
       person   PROX.PL   3PL-take   all   own   3PL   PRT
       'The people brought all (the fish) that they had, then…'
     b. *dhèu   se'e   r-are   aa'i*   [***i'a   =ra***] *ka...*
       person   PROX.PL   3PL-take   all   fish 3PL   PRT
       'The people brought all the fish that they had, then…'
     c. **dhèu   se'e   r-are   aa'i*   [***i'a unu   =ra***] *ka...*
       person   PROX.PL   3PL-take   all   fish own   3PL   PRT

PRONOUNS AND OTHER CONSTITUENTS

Pronouns with Demonstratives

Like full NPs, full pronouns in Dhao are allowed to take demonstratives as modifiers. These demonstratives in turn are used by the speaker for evaluating or appraising oneself. The demonstratives follow the full pronouns, both in S and O positions. Other sets of personal pronouns cannot take modifiers. It is cross-linguistically common that the modification of pronouns exhibits a constraint on space and number (cf. Bhat, 2004:37–57; Dixon, 2010:198–223). Thus, the pronoun *ja'a* '1SG' and *èu* '2SG' can only be modified by the proximal singular demonstrative *ne'e* 'PROX.SG', whereas *nèngu* '3SG' can take all singular demonstratives. For

plural pronouns, only *rèngu* '3PL' can be modified by any plural demonstrative, while the other three pronouns, *ji'i* '1PL.ex', *èdhi* '1PL.in' and *miu* '2PL' can only be modified by the proximal plural *se'e* 'PROX.PL'. As illustrated in (50), the second singular pronoun is modified by proximal singular demonstrative; while, in (51) and (52), the third singular pronoun can be modified by both proximal and remote singular demonstratives. Furthermore, the first plural pronoun in (53) takes a proximal demonstrative, whereas the third plural pronoun in (54) takes a remote demonstrative.

(50) [*èu*   ***ne'e***]   *pa-j'èra*   *ja'a*   *sèmi*   *ngaa*
2SG   PROX.SG   CAUS-suffer   1SG   like   what
'You make me in a big trouble'

(51) ***nèngu***   ***ne'e***   *dhèu*   *hiu*   *ètu*   *ne'e*
3SG   PROX.SG   person   new   LOC   PROX.SG
'S/He is a new comer here'

(52) *ja'a*   *pa-èi*   [*nèngu* ***nèi***]
1SG   CAUS-water   3SG   REM.SG
'I soldered it'

(53) [*èdhi*   ***se'e***]   *dhèu*   *a'a*   *ari*
1PL.in   PROX.PL   person   older.sibling   younger.sibling
'We are brothers and sisters'

(54) [*rèngu*   ***sèi***]   *dhèu*   *limuri*
3PL   REM.PL   person   latest
'They are young people'

Unlike full pronouns, clitics cannot take demonstratives as modifiers. As shown in (55a), the full pronoun *nèngu* '3SG' is modified by the demonstrative *ne'e* 'PROX.SG'. If the full pronoun is replaced with the clitic *na* ''3SG', as in (55b), the sentence is judged ungrammatical. The sentence is grammatical only if the clitic *na* '3SG' is not modified by *ne'e*, as shown in (55c). One possible explanation for this condition is that clitics are prosodically dependent elements (cf. Dixon, 2010:20-27). Further research is required to verify this assumption, which is beyond the scope of this paper.

(55) a. ***nèngu***   *ne'e*   *ka*   *dhu*   *mai*   *meda*   *èèna*
3SG   PROX.SG   PRT REL   come   yesterday   DIST.SG
'He was the one who came yesterday'

b. *****na*** = *ne'e*   *ka*   *dhu*   *mai*   *meda*   *èèna*
3SG   PROX.SG   PRT   REL   come   yesterday   DIST.SG

c. ***na=*** *ca'e*   *hari*   *asa*   *kolo*   *ana*   *aj'u*
3SG climb   again   to   top   child   wood
'He climbs again to the top of the tree'

Pronouns with Numerals/Quantifiers

In Dhao, pronouns can co-occur with numerals and quantifiers. Numerals are used to specify the exact number of referents that pronouns have left unspecified. Only plural pronouns take numerals. They do not directly modify pronouns, but rather provide additional information with

regard to the identity of their referents. The pronoun-numeral construction must be interpreted as referring to a selection of the persons that belong to a particular group, instead of referring to the whole group (Bhat, 2004:55). Meanwhile, quantifiers are used to refer to the whole group. Example (56a) shows a typical noun phrase where the noun *dhèu* 'person' functions as the head and is modified by the numeral *dua* 'two' followed by the plural demonstrative *se'e* 'PROX.PL'. When the noun head is absent, the numeral becomes the head, indicating the number of referents, leaving the type of referent (animate or inanimate) unspecified, as in (56b). In (56c), deleting the numeral makes the number of the referent unspecified. With numeral, the relevant demonstrative (either singular or plural) is obligatory, otherwise the construction is ungrammatical, as in (56d).

(56) a. *dhèu* ***dua*** *se'e*   *ètu*   *èmu*
person   two   PROX.PL LOC house
'These two people are in the house'

b. ***dua***   *se'e*   *ètu*   *èmu*
two   PROX.PL LOC house
'These two (people) are in the house'

c. *dhèu*   *se'e*   *ètu*   *èmu*
person   PROX.PL LOC   house
'These two (people) are in the house'

d. **dhèu*   *dua*   *ètu*   *èmu*
person   two   LOC   house
'These two (people) are in the house'

When numerals co-occur with pronouns, the clitic version of the pronoun is obligatorily present. The clitic is a necessary extra nominal modifier in this specific construction with no independent semantic contribution. In pronoun-numeral constructions, only the third plural person *rèngu* '3PL' is acceptable with both the relevant demonstrative, resembling a full NP construction, as in (56) above, and the clitic counterpart. For instance, (57a) shows that the clitic *ra* '3PL' appears after the numeral *dua* 'two', whereas (57b) applies a plural demonstrative *sèi* 'REM.PL' in the same position as the clitic. The full pronoun *rèngu* '3PL' can be deleted, as indicated between brackets, without affecting the meaning of the subject referent. Either a clitic or a demonstrative is obligatory, otherwise the construction is ungrammatical, as shown in (57c).

(57) a. (*rèngu*) ***dua***   ***ra=***   *pa-raga*
3PL   two   3PL   RECIP-meet
'The two of them met?'

b. (*rèngu*) ***dua***   *sèi*   *pa-raga*
3PL   two   REM.PL   RECIP-meet
'The two of them met?'

c. **rèngu*   ***dua***   *pa-raga*
3PL   two   RECIP-meet

Other pronouns do not allow demonstratives in pronoun-numeral constructions, but only the corresponding clitics. As demonstrated in (58a) , the full pronoun *èdhi* '1PL.in' requires its corresponding clitic *ti* to follow the numeral *dua* 'two'. When the proximal plural

demonstrative *se'e* in (58b) appears in the position of a clitic, the sentence is judged ungrammatical. Another evidence comes from the pronoun-numeral construction in object position as illustrated in (59) where only clitics applies, not demonstrative.

(58) a. (*èdhi*) *dua* **ti=** *t-a'a*
         1PL.in two 1PL.in 1PL.in-eat
         'We two of us eat (together)?'
     b. *(*èdhi*) *dua* *se'e* *t-a'a*
         1PL.in   two   PROX.PL 1PL.in-eat
         'We two of us eat (together)?'

(59) *rèngu pua èdhi telu =ti/*se'e*
     3PL   ask   1PL.in three 1PL.in/PROX.PL
     'They asked three of us'

Contrastively, both the clitic and the demonstrative are acceptable when the identifying element is a quantifier, *aa'i* 'all', as shown in (60). Like pronoun-numeral construction, pronouns are optional in this construction. With the quantifier, only plural pronouns apply. Since the clitic already provides information about the referent, the absence of pronouns does not violate to the construction. Other quantifying expressions use *ciki* 'a few' and *pèri* 'how many'. They have a different grammatical constraint in that they require a human classifier *dhèu* 'person',[9] as illustrated in (61) and (62) below.

(60) *ja'a mengajak (èdhi) aa'i =ti/se'e*
     1SG urge(IND) 1PL.in all   1PL.in/PROX.SG
     'I am asking all of us'

(61) (*ji'i*)   *dhèu ciki ood'e di dhu la-'a*
     1PL.ex   person a.few INT   only REL go-1PL.ex
     'Only a very few of us go'

(62) (*ji'i*)   *dhèu pèri   di   ètu èmu*
     1PL.ex person how,many only LOC house
     'Some of us are at home'

Pronouns with Relative Clauses

Like modifying NPs, relative clauses follow pronouns. The relative clauses in Dhao are marked with *dhu* 'REL', as exemplified in (63) . Such a relative clause specifies the context of the referent of the pronoun *èu* '2SG', that is the one who does not want to be a king. Clitics never take relative clauses, thus a clitic as exemplified in (64) is unacceptable. It is only acceptable when clitics co-occur with a numeral, as shown in (65).

(63) **èu**   [**dhu** neo boe j'aj'i   dhèu   aae na]REL   mai kalua
     2SG REL want not become person   great COMPL   come exit(IND)
     asa li'u   mai
     to   outside come
     'You, who do not want to be a king, go out and come here'

(64) ***rèngu/*ra dhu*** *padhae* *lii* *r-èdhi* *boe*
    3PL   REL speak   voice 3PL-see not
    'They who have not had conversation'

(65) *ja'a* *ngee* *na*   ***dua***   ***ra*** ***dhu*** *mahu*
    1SG think COMPL two   3PL REL drunk
    'I think that two of them are the drunk ones'

Pronouns with NPs

In situations in which the speakers intend to provide information regarding the identity of the referents, they will use full NPs in addition to the personal pronouns. This construction is employed by speakers to prevent contextual ambiguity in the situation in which, when the speaker has an assumption that the addressee might not be able to identify the referent other than the speaker him/herself (Bhat, 2004:45). In Dhao, third person pronouns require NPs to precede them in a topical position, whereas other pronouns require NPs to follow them in an appositional position. The third singular pronoun is illustrated in (66a) and (67), and the third plural pronoun is given in (68). In those sentences the NPs and the full pronouns refer to the same referent. The NP-pronoun order is fixed; therefore (66b) is unacceptable.

(66) a. [*Pesa.Kèli*] ***nèngu*** *ètu*   *talora*
       Pesa Kèli   3SG   LOC middle
       'Pesa Kèli, he was in the middle part'
    b. *****nèngu*** [*Pesa.Kèli*] *ètu*   *talora*
       3SG   Pesa Kèli   LOC middle

(67) [*oka*   *ne'e*]   ***nèngu*** *kapai*
    garden PROX.SG 3SG   big
    'This garden, it is big'

(68) [*mone* *èci* *dènge* *bhèni* *èci*] ***rèngu*** *padhai lii*
    male   one with   female one 3PL   speak voice
    'A man and a woman, they are talking'

     Two examples of other pronouns are exemplified as follows. In (69), the speaker uses the full pronoun *ji'i* '1PL.ex' with the noun phrase *dhèu Dhao ne'e* 'Dhaonese here' as an identifying expression for the sake of disambiguation of the subject *ji'i* '1PL.ex'. Likewise, example (70a) employs the noun phrase *ana sakola* 'school children' to specify the individuals intended by the speaker as *miu* '2PL'. Unlike third person pronouns, these pronouns do not allow the NPs to precede them; therefore (70b) is unacceptable.

(69) *ji'i*   ***dhèu*** ***Dhao ne'e***   *parlu*   *boe tenge*   *èi*
    1PL.ex person Dhao PROX.SG need(IND) not look.for water
    'We, Dhaonese here, do not need to look for water'

(70) a. *miu* ***ana*** ***sakola***   *mai* *ka*   *ne'e*
       2PL child school(IND) come PRT PROX.SG
       'You, school children, come here'
    b. *****ana*** ***sakola***   *miu*   *mai* *ka*   *ne'e*
       child school(IND) 2PL   come PRT PROX.SG

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SUMMARY

As has been discussed in the preceding sections, personal pronouns in Dhao function as the heads of NPs, which in turn fill the grammatical functions of subject, object, prepositional complements, and possessor within an NP possessor construction. Personal pronouns belong to two distinct paradigms, based on their phonological relationship: the first consisting of full pronouns and reduced pronouns, and the second consisting of clitic pronouns and cross-reference affixes. Each group has two distinct types of syntactic behavior. Full pronouns can fill in any argument position without any constraints, while reduced pronouns are limited to S and non-sentence final position. This is also the case for clitics and affixes. While clitics occur in any position, except *nga* '1PL.ex' and 3SG clitics, affixes only occur as S arguments.

The above-mentioned description has explicitly confirmed that the pronominal system of Dhao has morphological and syntactic strategy; the affixes are attached only to selected verbs that require inflection. Clitic pronouns exhibit a more 'flexible' distribution, since they constitute separate syntactic words. Clitic pronouns constitute independent syntactic words, but not independent phonological words (Dixon, 2010a:212). The use of personal pronouns of Dhao in different syntactic roles can be summarized in Table 4 below.

Table 4. Summary of Personal Pronouns in Different Syntactic Roles

Forms	S	A	P	Poss.
Full Pron.	√	√	√	√
Reduced Pron.	√	√	√	√
	nu '3SG'	*nu* '3SG'	?	-
	ru '3PL'	*ru* '3PL'	?	-
Pron. Clitics	√	√	√	√
	*nga '1PL.ex'	**nga* '1PL.ex'	**nga* '1PL.ex'	**nga* '1PL.ex'
	*ne '3SG'	**ne* '3SG'	*ne* '3SG'	**ne* '3SG'
	na '3SG'	*na* '3SG'	**na* '3SG'	*na* '3SG'
Prefixes	√	√	-	-
Suffixes	√	-	-	-

It has also been described that personal pronouns can co-occur with other constituents, such as demonstratives, relative clauses, NPs, and numerals/quantifiers. When applying demonstratives, they have constraints on number and space. Only third persons can occur with all types of demonstratives, while others can only occur with proximal demonstratives. All full pronouns can be modified by relative clauses. In this case, the relative clauses restrict the context of the referents in argument position. When co-occurring with other NPs and numerals/quantifiers, only plural pronouns apply. Except for 3SG, singular pronouns do not take NPs in this kind of construction. This is perhaps because the singular pronouns have already implied definiteness; therefore, they do not require additional information as identifying element to refer to the referent. The summary of the co-occurrence of personal pronouns and other constituents is presented in Table 5 below.

Table 5. Summary of Personal Pronouns and Other Constituents

Pron.	Full	DEM	REL	NP	NUM
1SG	*ja'a*	√	√	-	-
2SG	*èu*	√	√	-	-
3SG	*nèngu*	√	√	√	-
1PL-in	*èdhi*	√	√	√	√
1PL-ex	*ji'i*	√	√	√	√
2PL	*miu*	√	√	√	√
3PL	*rèngu*	√	√	√	√

CONCLUSION

This paper has shown that Dhao has three sets of morphologically independent personal pronouns and one set of bound form (affixes). In argument positions, full pronouns and clitics are in complementary distribution. While full pronouns can occur in any argument position, the reduced pronouns can only occur in non-sentence final positions. Furthermore, clitics except for *nga* '1PL.ex' and 3SG clitics can occupy any argument position. Affixes exclusively co-refer to subjects, whether they are present or not. Only full pronouns are employed as prepositional complements. Both full pronouns and clitics can occur as possessors in NP constructions. In argument positions, pronouns can also co-occur with other elements that function as additional information for identifying the referents. In this case, pronouns are followed by demonstratives, relative clauses, and numerals/quantifiers. These constituents function as identifying expressions to restrict the context in which the pronouns are employed. Identifying NPs have constraints: plural pronominal subjects require identifying NPs to follow, whereas third pronominal subjects allow them to precede.

NOTES

[1] The earlier version of this paper was presented in the International Congress of Linguistic Society of Indonesia, February 18-22, 2014 at Sheraton Hotel Bandar Lampung.

[2] Some consonants used in this paper that are orthographically different from IPA symbols are transcribed as follows: b' /ɓ/, d' /ɗ/, j' /ʃ/, bh /bβ/, dh /ɖʐ/, ng /ŋ/ ny /ɲ/, ' /ʔ/ and vowel *è* /ə/.

[3] This clitics pronoun is never attested in any argument position .

[4] It is phonemically an open mid unrounded vowel /ʌ/.

[5] The clitics and affixes are in fact the reflexes from proto-AN pronouns (Ross, 2006) that are retained in Dhao and some neighboring languages, such as Kambera (Klamer, 1998) and Rote (Balukh, 2005; Jonker, 1915) (but not in Hawu (Walker, 1982)). The capital symbols of the prefixes represent abstract vowels that will account for the phonological conditions of irregular inflected verbs (see Table 2, see also Grimes, 2010:267; 2012:30). Another different form comes from the suffix *-si* '3pl' which is most probably grammaticalized from Dhao's remote plural demonstrative *sèi* 'Rem.pl' (Ross, 2006:536). In addition to that, the pronoun *rèngu* '3pl' in Dhao can also refer to a non-human entity indicating plurality, while its clitics counterpart *ra* '3pl' is not attested as a plural marker in Dhao.

[6] Grimes (2010:267) calls the cross-reference suffixes.

[7] Dhao has three strategies for possessive constructions; one is the NP structure, and the other two are predicative *unu* 'own' and *dènge* 'with'. The word *unu* 'own' can be nominal and verbal but *dènge* 'with' can only be verbal for this regard.

[8] While NP-internal possessive constructions apply to both types, predicative possessive constructions can only apply to alienable possession.

[9] The discussion of grammatical properties of classifiers is beyond this topic.

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