2

Language background

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter I give an overview of the synchronic features of the Rote and Meto clusters, necessary for understanding the content of this dictionary. This includes an overview of the phonology (§2.4), morphophonemic processes (§2.5) and morphology (§2.6). The sources of data for this overview are the same as those for the body of the dictionary (§1.3).

Map 2.1: Language groups of Timor

Source: Owen Edwards and UBB.

The Rote languages are spoken on the island of the same name immediately to the south-west of the island of Timor.¹ The Meto cluster is spoken in the western part of Timor including Oecusse, which is politically an enclave of Timor-Leste. The locations of the Rote and Meto clusters along with other languages of Timor are shown in Map 2.1. The location of languages in Timor-Leste is largely based on Williams-van Klinken and Williams (2015), who summarise census data.

2.2 Rote

The island of Rote is divided into 19 political units known in the anthropological literature as domains (*nusa-k* or *nusa-ʔ* in the languages of Rote), and many speakers claim that each domain has its own language (Fox 2016a:233). A map of the domains of Rote is given in Map 2.2. (The language of Dhao is not part of the Rote cluster.)

Map 2.2: Rote domains

Source: Owen Edwards and UBB.

The Rote cluster is a language/dialect chain like the Romance or West Germanic chains in Europe. Fox (2016a:233) summarises the complexity stating:

Speakers in neighbouring domains are generally able to understand one another, but for speakers in domains separated from one another intelligibility is reduced. Domains at a distance from one another find mutual intelligibility difficult or impossible. Based on these criteria Rotenese [sic] consists of more than one language.

¹ There are also pockets of Rote speakers on the Timor mainland. Such populations are due to migrations in historical times.

Given that we are dealing with a language/dialect chain, any classification that places an exact figure on the number of languages or dialects on Rote is necessarily somewhat arbitrary, depending on which criteria are privileged. Nonetheless, it is helpful to consider the classifications that have been made by various researchers. The different classifications are summarised in Table 2.1.

The earliest published classification of the speech varieties of Rote is that of Manafe (1889), a Rote speaker. Manafe (1889) identifies nine different Rote *lagu* (Malay ‘song, tune, dialect’): (1) Oepao, Rikou and Landu; (2) Bilbaa, Diu and Lelenuk; (3) Korbafo; (4) Termanu, Keka and Talae; (5) Bokai; (6) Ba’a and Lole; (7) Dengka and Lelain; (8) Tii; (9) Dela and Oenale.

Jonker (1913) reviews the classification of Manafe (1889) and notes differences between varieties that Manafe grouped together as well as similarities between those he separated. One of the main points that arises from Jonker (1913) is that there is a sharper division between Dela-Oenale and Dengka in the west compared with the other Rote lects. This difference is found in morphology and lexicon, as well as the historical phonology, the latter which provides good evidence for a West Rote group separate from all other varieties of Rote (see §3.3).

The most recent classification is that of Fox (2016a) who to some extent follows the earlier classifications, though Fox groups related dialects together rather than differentiating them. Fox identifies six groupings: (1) Eastern dialect area: Rikou, Oepao and some of Landu; (2) East-Central dialect area: Bilbaa, Diu, Lelenuk, Korbafo and some of Landu; (3) Central dialect area: Termanu, Keka, Talae, Ba’a, Lelain and Bokai; (4) South-Western dialect area: Tii and Lole; (5) North-Western dialect area: Dengka; and (6) Western dialect area: Dela and Oenale.

Examining only the historical phonologies of the different speech varieties of Rote (see §3.2), we can identify 12 distinct varieties. (1) Dela and Oenale, (2) Dengka, (3) Tii, (4) Lole, (5) Ba’a, (6) Termanu and Keka, (7) Korbafo, (8) Bokai, (9) Bilbaa, (10) Rikou, (11) Landu² and (12) Oepao. Varieties in each of these 12 groupings currently appear to have undergone the same sound changes. No data is available from Lelain, Talae, Diu or Lelenuk to make a proper assessment of the sound changes in these varieties, though all classifications treat Talae with Termanu, as well as placing Diu and Lelenuk with Bilbaa.³

The different classifications of the Rote languages that have been made are summarised in Table 2.1, along with the names, ISO 639-3 codes, and Glottocodes (Hammarström et al. 2020) of each variety.

2 The population of Landu was decimated in 1756 by the Dutch. It was later resettled, partly from Rikou (Fox 2016a:236). During my fieldwork, Landu speakers reported that genuine/native Landu is spoken in the western/central villages (*desa*) of Sotimori, Bolatena and Nifuleu. Rikou is spoken in other areas.

3 Although Manafe (1889) appears to present data from Lelain, Talae, Diu and Lelenuk, such data always consist of a single form, which is labelled ‘Dengka dan Lelain’, ‘Bilba, Diu dan Lélénuk’ or ‘Termanu, Keka dan Talaë’ (where *dan* is Indonesian for ‘and’). Similarly, he presents single forms for ‘Baä dan Lâlë’, including in one instance when other sources show that Ba’a and Lole are different. Thus, Manafe (1889:641) gives Ba’a and Lole <*m’Pui-kah lah*> *mpui-k=a laa* for ‘a bird flies’ while data from Jonker’s works and Zacharias et al. (2014) never attest a voiceless prenasalised plosive in Lole. Instead, Zacharias et al. (2014) have *mbui-k* ‘bird’. This indicates that in other cases the forms in Lelain, Talae, Diu and Lelenuk may differ from those presented in Manafe (1889).

Table 2.1: Classifications of Rote speech varieties

Lect	ISO	Glottocode	Sound changes	Manafe (1889)	Fox (2016a)	Lect
Dela	row	dela1252	1	1	1	Dela
Oenale	row	oenal237	1	1	1	Oenale
Dengka	dnk	deng1253	2	2	2	Dengka
Lelain	dnk	lela1245	2/5?	2	4	Lelain
Tii	txq	tiii1241	3	3	3	Tii
Lole	llg	lole1239	4	4	3	Lole
Ba'a	llg	baaa1237	5	4	4	Ba'a
Termanu	twu	pada1259	6	5	4	Termanu
Keka	twu	keka1234	6	5	4	Keka
Talae	twu	tala1297	6?	5	4	Talae
Bokai	twu	boka1251	7	6	4	Bokai
Korbafo	twu	korb1237	8	7	5	Korbafo
Bilbaa	bpz	bilb1242	9	8	5	Bilbaa
Diu	bpz	diuu1237	9?	8	5	Diu
Lelenuk	bpz	lele1271	9?	8	5	Lelenuk
Landu	rgu	land1257	10	9	5 6	Landu
Rikou	rgu	nuc11538	11	9	6	Rikou
Oepao	rgu	oepa1237	12	9	6	Oepao

2.3 Meto

Meto (a.k.a. Uab Meto, Dawan(ese), Timorese, or Atoni) is a language/dialect chain spoken in the western part of Timor.⁴ Meto speakers usually identify their speech as a single language and call it *uab meto?*, *molok meto?*, (*uab*) *Timor*, or occasionally, to outsiders, (*bahasa*) *Dawan*. Speakers of Meto recognise more than a dozen named varieties. These varieties themselves have named dialects, with further differences being found between different villages and hamlets of a single dialect. A map of self-identified Meto varieties is given in Map 2.3.

While the Meto cluster is numerically and geographically larger than the Rote cluster,⁵ it has less diversity in its segmental phonology. Based only on the historical phonologies of Meto (see §3.2), we can identify four different varieties, each of which is currently known to have undergone different sound changes: (1) Ro'is Amarasi, (2) Kotos Amarasi, Amabi and Kusa-Manea, (3) Amanuban and Amanatun, (4) all other varieties. Among

4 In earlier works I referred to this language cluster as Uab Meto. In many varieties *uab meto?* can be glossed as ‘dry/indigenous speech’. However, not all Meto speaking areas use *uab* for ‘speech’. Thus, in Amfo'an ‘speech’ is *aguab*, in Timaus it is *molok* and in Baikeno *lasi* is used for ‘language’. Use of Meto alone thus covers more varieties in an emic manner. It also matches the use of speakers in which *meto?* alone can refer to the language. Such use is seen in phrases like Kotos Amarasi *iin nahiin meto?* ‘S/he knows (how to speak) Meto’.

5 Ethnologue (Eberhard et al. 2020) estimates 842,000 Meto speakers as opposed to 116,000 speakers for all Rote languages combined. Both these figures are probably underestimated.

other varieties, Amfo'an and Timaus can further be grouped together as, based on current knowledge, these are the only varieties that have developed consonant insertion after all vowel final roots (see §2.5.2).

Map 2.3: Self-identified Meto varieties

Source: Owen Edwards.

While the historical sound changes within each of these groupings are mostly the same, there are many lexical and semantic differences between different varieties, as well as significant differences between different varieties in the forms and functions of the morphophonemic processes of metathesis, consonant insertion, vowel assimilation and diphthongisation. Differences in lexicon, semantics and morphophonemic processes are also found between individual hamlets or ‘dialects’ of the different varieties shown in Map 2.3.

The different varieties of Meto are listed in Table 2.2, along with ISO 693-3 codes, Glottocodes and their classification according to historical phonology. Not all varieties occur in Ethnologue (Eberhard et al. 2020) or Glottolog (Hammarström et al. 2020) and, of those that do, all except Kotos Amarasi, Ro'is Amarasi and Baikenno are listed as dialects/varieties of Meto.⁶

⁶ Amabi is lumped as part of a single ‘Amfo'an-Fatule'u-Amabi’ variety of Meto in both Ethnologue (Eberhard et al. 2020) and Glottolog (Hammarström et al. 2020). My consultants report that it is most similar to Kotos Amarasi, with occasional lexical and semantic differences.

Table 2.2: Varieties of Meto

Lect	ISO	Glottocode	Sound changes
Ro'is Amarasi	aaz	rois1241	1
Kotos Amarasi	aaz	koto1251	2
Amabi	aoz	amfo1237	2
Kusa-Manea	aoz	kusa1252	2
Amanuban	aoz	aman1265	3
Amanatun	aoz	aman1264	3
Molo	aoz	moll1242	4
Fatule'u	aoz	amfo1237	4
Miomafo	aoz	moll1242	4
Baiken	bkx	baik1238	4
Insana	aoz	bibo1238	4
Biboki	aoz	bibo1238	4
Kopas	—	—	4
Ketun	—	—	4
Baumata	—	—	4
Amfo'an	aoz	amfo1237	5
Timaus	—	—	5

2.4 Segmental phonologies

In this section I describe the essential features of the segmental phonologies of the Rote-Meto languages. This is necessary to understand the historical sound changes that have occurred in these languages (§3.2).

2.4.1 Rote

The Rote languages have different consonant inventories. Consonants occur at four places: labial, coronal, velar and glottal with up to seven manners of articulation: voiceless plosive, prenasalised plosive, voiced plosive (often implosive), voiceless fricative, nasal, trill/tap and lateral.

Four voiceless stops /p t k ʔ/, two voiced stops /b d/ and three fricatives /f s h/ are present in all varieties.⁷ Among other consonant series there is variation in which segments different varieties attest. Some varieties have two liquids /l r/, while others have only a single liquid /l/. Some varieties have only two nasals /m n/, while others have /ŋ/ in addition. Some varieties have a full series of prenasalised stops /mb nd ŋg/, while others have only a partial series or lack prenasalisation entirely.

⁷ In all Rote lects for which data is available, the voiceless coronal plosive /t/ is dental [t̪] while the voiced plosive /d/ or /dʔ/ is alveolar or even slightly retroflex.

There are also differences in the phonetic qualities of these consonants. In south-western lects including Dela-Oenale, Tii and Lole, voiced plosives are usually lightly imploded in all word positions. For these languages, imploded stops /b/ and /d/ can be treated as phonemes. Based on two Dengka recordings made available to me by Thersia Tamelan, it appears that Dengka /b/ is usually unimploded [b] while the apical voiced plosive is usually lightly imploded [d].

In Termanu voiced plosives are reported as imploded only medially, thus /b/ → [ɓ] /V_V and /d/ → [ɗ] /V_V. During my fieldwork on Bilbaa, Landu and Oepao, I did not record implosion for /b/, but did occasionally record light implosion for intervocalic /d/, thus /b/ → [b] and /d/ → [d]~[ɗ] /V_V. The phonetics of voiced plosives in other Rote varieties are currently unknown. Regarding prenasalisation, in Ba'a the bilabial prenasalised stop is voiceless /mp/ while in other varieties it is voiced /mb/. The consonant inventories of the Rote lects are summarised in Table 2.3.

Table 2.3: Consonant inventories in Rote Languages

Dela-Oenale, Tii	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>ʔ</i>	<i>mb</i>	<i>nd</i>	<i>ŋg</i>	<i>ɓ</i>	<i>d'</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>(ŋ)[†]</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>l</i>
Dengka	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>ʔ</i>	<i>mb</i>	<i>nd</i>	<i>ŋg</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>d'</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>			<i>l</i>
Lole	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>ʔ</i>	<i>mb</i>	<i>nd</i>	<i>ŋg</i>	<i>ɓ</i>	<i>d'</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>			<i>l</i>
Ba'a	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>ʔ</i>	<i>mp</i>	<i>nd</i>	<i>ŋg</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>			<i>l</i>
Termanu, Korbafo	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>ʔ</i>		<i>nd</i>	<i>ŋg</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ŋ</i>		<i>l</i>
Bokai, Bilbaa	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>ʔ</i>				<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ŋ</i>		<i>l</i>
Rikou, Landu	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>ʔ</i>		<i>nd</i>		<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>		<i>r</i>	<i>l</i>
Oepao	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>ʔ</i>		<i>(nd)[‡]</i>		<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>		<i>r</i>	<i>l</i>

† In Dela the velar nasal /ŋ/ is a marginal phoneme only occurring in onomatopoeic words.

‡ In my Oepao data /nd/ occurs in Rikou borrowings and one possible native word.

All (known) varieties of Rote have five vowels /i e a o u/. For Termanu the mid-vowels are described as lax [ɛ] and [ɔ] in unstressed syllables, and when they bear stress followed by a syllable containing another mid vowel. Tense mid-high allophones [e] and [o] occur in stressed syllables followed by a syllable containing a high vowel. When the following syllable has /a/ as its nucleus there is apparently variation between tense [e]~[o] and lax [ɛ]~[ɔ] in Termanu (Jonker 1915:2f, Fox and Grimes 1995:614).

In Dela the low vowel /a/ is centralised to [ə] after stressed syllables and often further reduced towards schwa [ə] in antepenultimate syllables. The mid-vowels are mid-high [e] and [o] before a syllable containing a high vowel and mid-low [ɛ] and [ɔ] elsewhere. The high front vowel /i/ is [ɪ] in unstressed closed syllables while /u/ is slightly centralised to [ʊ] after stressed syllables (Tamelan 2021:22).

Content words contain at least two vowels. Some functors, such as the conjunction *ma* ‘and’, are monosyllabic. Stress falls on the penultimate vowel of a word with secondary stress assigned to every second syllable to the left. All vowel sequences occur with the exception of /uo/.⁸ This includes double vowels (sequences of two identical vowels)

⁸ The vowel sequence /ie/ does occur in the Rote languages, but is rare. Based on current data it appears to only be found in Dela-Oenale, Dengka, Tii and Lole.

/ii/, /ee/, /aa/, /oo/ and /uu/. Such double vowels are realised phonetically as a single long vowel, i.e. [i:], [e:], [a:], [ɔ:] and [u:]. Given the placement of stress, one member of a vowel sequence will always bear stress.

2.4.2 Meto

All (known) Meto varieties have 11 core consonants /p t k ʔ b f s h m n/ and either /r/ or /l/. A few varieties have both /r/ and /l/ and thus have 12 core consonants. To these core consonants most varieties of Meto add voiced obstruents /dʒ/ and /gw/, though some lack /gw/.

The obstruents /dʒ/ and /gw/ are restricted in distribution. They only occur under processes of consonant insertion (§2.5.2) that operate at clitic boundaries and/or word finally in different varieties of Meto, as well as between certain historic sequences of vowels. Both these obstruents are a result of glide fortition. These glides are still present in Amanuban which lacks these obstruents but has glides /y/ and /w/ in comparable environments.

All voiced obstruents are realised as plosives [b dʒ gw] or fricatives [β ʒ ɣw]. Fricative realisations are most common in unaffected speech, except after nasals, when the plosive realisations usually occur. The consonant inventories of several different varieties of Meto are summarised in Table 2.4 for comparison.

Table 2.4: Consonant inventories in Meto

Amarasi	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>ʔ</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>dʒ</i>	<i>gw</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>r</i>	
Amanuban	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>ʔ</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>y</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>		<i>l</i>
Amfo'an, Kopas	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>ʔ</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>dʒ</i>	<i>gw</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>		<i>l</i>
Timaus	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>ʔ</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>dʒ</i>	<i>gw</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>l</i>
Baikeno, Molo	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>ʔ</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>dʒ</i>		<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>		<i>l</i>
Kusa-Manea	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>ʔ</i>	<i>b</i>			<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>l</i>

Known Meto varieties have five vowels /i e a o u/. The mid vowels are usually phonetically mid-low [e ɔ] but are raised to mid high [e o] in certain environments, particularly before high vowels. In some varieties of Meto this difference is becoming phonemic due to vowel assimilation after metathesis (§2.5.1). Thus, for instance, in Naitbelak Amfo'an *na-leko* → *na-leek* [na'le:k] 'good' contrasts with *na-henu* → *naheen* [na'he:n] at the surface level. As in the Rote languages, content words are minimally disyllabic, stress is penultimate, and double vowels /ii/, /ee/, /aa/, /oo/ and /uu/ are realised phonetically as a single long vowel.

Varieties of Meto have a process of glottal stop insertion whereby an automatic glottal stop is inserted before vowel initial words in all phrase positions. While there is a contrast between vowel initial roots and glottal stop initial roots, this contrast only surfaces after the addition of certain prefixes, e.g. Kotos Amarasi *n-ani* 'before' contrasts with *n-ʔani* 'head towards'. Because many Meto roots have never been attested with any prefixes, the status of many initial glottal stops is thus ambiguous. The issues surrounding initial glottal stops in one variety of Meto, Kotos Amarasi are discussed at length in Edwards (2017).

For the purposes of this dictionary, all words with an initial ambiguous glottal stop are transcribed as vowel initial, with the exception of words that have *k* in Ro'is Amarasi but initial glottal stop in other varieties of Meto (see Table 3.4).⁹ One such example is the reflexes of *katefuan ‘wasp’ > Ro'is Amarasi *katfua*ʔ, Kotos Amarasi, Molo *ʔatfuan*, Kusa-Manea *ʔaetfuan*, all ‘kind of wasp’. Wherever evidence from prefixes is available for such words, it shows that their initial glottal stop is underlying and not an automatic insertion.

2.5 Meto morphophonemic processes

Meto has many complex morphophonemic processes including metathesis, multiple processes of vowel assimilation, consonant insertion, diphthongisation and epenthesis. All of these processes can co-occur to different extents depending on a number of semantic, phonological and syntactic factors. This results in a single word having a diversity of surface forms in a single variety and across different varieties of Meto. In this section I discuss only those processes that affect the presentation of words in this dictionary: metathesis, consonant insertion, vowel assimilation and diphthongisation.

2.5.1 Metathesis

All varieties of Meto have productive final CV → VC metathesis producing alternates such as Kotos Amarasi *fafi* → *faif* ‘pig’ or *nen* → *neon* ‘sky, day’. Metathesis is a morphological process in Meto. In Kotos Amarasi it marks attributive modification in the noun phrase and resolution for verbs. Edwards (2020) provides a detailed description of metathesis in Kotos Amarasi.

When the final vowel of such words is /a/, it assimilates to the quality of the previous vowel after metathesis in most known varieties of Meto, except for Kusa-Manea. Thus, Kotos Amarasi *n-sena* → *n-seen* ‘plant’ and *nima* → *niim* ‘five’. This results in surface minimal pairs such as Kotos *n-nene* → *n-neen* ‘push’ and *n-nena* → *n-neen* ‘hear’. In Kusa-Manea such vowel assimilation does not occur, thus Kusa-Manea *n-sena* → *n-sean* ‘plant’ and *nima* → *niam* ‘five’. Similarly, in Ro'is Amarasi assimilation of /a/ does not occur after metathesis when the medial consonant is /ʔ/, but does occur in all other situations. Thus, Kotos Amarasi *n-roʔa* → *n-rooʔ* ‘vomit’ but Ro'is Amarasi *n-roʔa* → *n-roaʔ* ‘vomits’.

Many other processes of vowel assimilation also occur after metathesis to different extents in different varieties of Meto, but none are present in forms included in this dictionary. An overview of known instances of these processes is included in Edwards (2020:163–167).

Meto words are given in the unmetathesised form throughout this dictionary whenever these forms are known. When such data is lacking, I give the metathesised form with the putative unmetathesised form(s) given in the notes when it may be ambiguous.

⁹ All words with initial *k* in Ro'is Amarasi and ʔ in other varieties of Meto belong to the k-2b pattern for initial PRM *k. See §1.5.3.6 for discussion of patterns.

2.5.2 Consonant insertion

Most varieties of Meto have a process of consonant insertion that operates after vowel final words, before vowel initial enclitics, as well as phrase finally in some varieties. Consonant insertion has been described most fully for Amfo'an by Culhane (2018). Throughout this dictionary inserted consonants are separated from the stem by a hyphen. This means they are represented in the same way as suffixes.

Amfo'an, Timaus, Kopas, Fatule'u and Baikeno all have consonant insertion for certain nouns when phrase final, including in citation form. Consonant insertion also occurs with transitive verbs to mark a known third person object. Examples of consonant insertion in six different varieties of Meto are given in Table 2.5 to illustrate the following discussion.

Table 2.5: Phrase final consonant insertion

		Amfo'an	Timaus	Kopas T. [†]	Kopas U.	Fatule'u	Baikeno	Gloss
<i>ai</i>	→	<i>aidʒ</i>	<i>aar</i>	<i>aadʒ</i>	<i>aadʒ</i>	<i>aadʒ</i>	<i>aidʒ</i>	'fire'
<i>tei</i>	→	<i>teidʒ</i>	<i>teer</i>	<i>teedʒ</i>	<i>teedʒ</i>	<i>teedʒ</i>	<i>teidʒ</i>	'faeces'
<i>oe</i>	→	<i>oel</i>	<i>oel</i>	<i>oel</i>	<i>oel</i>	<i>oel</i>	<i>oel</i>	'water'
<i>fee</i>	→	<i>feel</i>	<i>feel</i>	<i>feel</i>	<i>feel</i>	<i>feel</i>	<i>feel</i>	'wife'
<i>ao</i>	→	<i>aog</i>	<i>aagw</i>	<i>aag</i>	<i>aagw</i>	<i>aob</i>	<i>aob</i>	'mineral lime'
<i>meo</i>	→	<i>meog</i>	<i>meegw</i>	<i>meeg</i>	<i>meegw</i>		<i>meob</i>	'cat'
<i>hau</i>	→	<i>haug</i>	<i>haadʒ</i>	<i>haag</i>	<i>haagw</i>	<i>haub</i>	<i>haub</i>	'tree, wood'
<i>kiu</i>	→	<i>kiug</i>	<i>kiidʒ</i>	<i>kiig</i>	<i>kiigw</i>	<i>kiub</i>	<i>kiub</i>	'tamarind'
<i>uki</i>	→	<i>ukidʒ</i>	<i>ukar</i>	—	—	—	—	'banana'
<i>tani</i>	→	<i>tanidʒ</i>	<i>tanar</i>	—	—	—	—	'rope'
<i>ume</i>	→	<i>umel</i>	<i>umal</i>	—	—	—	—	'house'
<i>ane</i>	→	<i>anel</i>	<i>anal</i>	—	—	—	—	'field rice'
<i>nen</i>	→	<i>nenog</i>	<i>nenugw</i>	—	—	—	—	'day, sky'
<i>kolo</i>	→	<i>kolog</i>	<i>kolugw</i>	—	—	—	—	'bird'
<i>fatu</i>	→	<i>fatug</i>	<i>fatidʒ</i>	—	—	—	—	'stone, rock'
<i>feʔu</i>	→	<i>feʔug</i>	<i>feʔidʒ</i>	—	—	—	—	'new'

[†] Kopas T. is from Tuale'u hamlet and Kopas U. is from Usapisonba'i hamlet. The difference between final [g] and final [gw] is distinctive and noticeable to native speakers.

In Amfo'an and Timaus final consonant insertion affects all vowel final nouns while in other varieties in which it is attested it only affects words that end in a vowel sequence VV#. Which consonant is inserted is conditioned by the quality of the final vowel. All varieties have insertion of /l/ after /e/ and most have insertion of /dʒ/ after /i/, with the exception of Timaus, which has insertion of /r/ after /i/. After /o/ and /u/ Amfo'an and Kopas have insertion of /gw/ (with /gw/ → [g] /_# in some varieties), Fatule'u and Baikeno have insertion of /b/, while Timaus has insertion of /dʒ/ after /u/ and /gw/ after /o/.

Furthermore, consonant insertion is often accompanied by assimilation or shift of the final vowel. When the root ends in a vowel sequence the final vowel undergoes complete assimilation in Kopas and Timaus with the exception of /e/, which does not assimilate.

In Fatule'u only /i/ assimilates after consonant insertion. In Timaus if the root ends in a consonant followed by a vowel (that is, CV#), the following vowel shifts occur: /i/ → /a/, /o/ → /u/, and /u/ → /i/.¹⁰

Phrase final consonant insertion similar to that in Baikeno occurs to a lesser extent in Molo, though for the varieties of Molo on which I have collected data it is not as consistent or regular and does not seem to have become phonological to the same extent as other Meto varieties with consonant insertion. In the variety of Molo represented by Middelkoop (1972), insertion of *l* occurs after *e* for some, but not all, words with a final vowel sequence.

In Middelkoop (1972) insertion of *l* also occurs for some words with final *a*. The three examples that are included in this comparative dictionary are *sikəh > **sia > *sia-l* 'lath', *fia > *fia-l* 'kind of wild tuber' and *hūŋga > *uka-l* 'chop big branches'. Insertion of *l* after *a* is also attested in Fatule'u and Amfo'an, but in both varieties (and probably also in Molo) it does not appear to have exactly the same distributions and functions as consonant insertion in other varieties of Meto.

2.5.3 Diphthongisation and vowel assimilation

Ro'is Amarasi has two productive phonological processes that affect the citation forms of consonant final words: diphthongisation and assimilation of /a/. Both these processes affect words of the shape (C)VCVC# so long as the final consonant is not the glottal stop /ʔ/. Both processes are productive and affect vowel final words when their final syllable is closed by a following mono-consonantal enclitic or a word with an initial consonant cluster. See Edwards (2020:137f, 181) for more examples and discussion.

Firstly, the penultimate vowel of such words is diphthongised by addition of an off-glide of the same quality as the final vowel; that is, $V_a CV_\beta C\# \rightarrow V_a \underset{\sim}{V}_\beta CV_\beta C\#$. This process does not affect words that have /a/ as final vowel in varieties of Ro'is for which I have collected most data. Examples are given in Table 2.6 alongside their Kotos Amarasi cognates for comparison. Throughout this dictionary Ro'is Amarasi diphthongs that are a result of this process are transcribed with a tie-bar < $\sim$ > to distinguish them that underlying vowel sequences.

Table 2.6: Ro'is Amarasi diphthongisation

Kotos	Ro'is	Gloss	Kotos	Ro'is	Gloss
<i>tefis</i>	<i>tẽfik</i>	'roof'	<i>niis eno-f</i>	<i>niis ẽono-f</i>	'incisors'
<i>masik</i>	<i>mā̃sik</i>	'salt'	<i>n-ʔator</i>	<i>n-ʔãotor</i>	'arrange'
<i>toʔis</i>	<i>tõiʔis</i>	'trumpet'	<i>siʔu-f</i>	<i>sĩuʔu-f</i>	'elbow'
<i>hun̄ik</i>	<i>hũin̄ik</i>	'turmeric'	<i>esuk</i>	<i>ẽusuk</i>	'mortar'
<i>an̄et</i>	<i>ãen̄et</i>	'needle'	<i>manus</i>	<i>mā̃unus</i>	'betel pepper'
<i>rone-f</i>	<i>rõene-f</i>	'brain'	<i>ponu-f</i>	<i>pō̃unu-f</i>	'body hair' [†]

¹⁰ To further complicate matters, the variety of Timaus spoken in Sanenu hamlet where most of my Timaus data was gathered has *e > a /C #. Thus, Proto-Meto *ume > *uma* 'house' phrase medially and *uma-l* phrase finally. This change occurred after the development of consonant insertion in Timaus.

† Ro'is Amarasi *pounu-f* is 'body hair' and Kotos *ponu-f* is moustache.

Secondly, when the final vowel of (C)VCVC# words is /a/ (and the final consonant is not /ʔ/), this vowel usually assimilates to the quality of the penultimate vowel. Examples are given in Table 2.7. There is some variation in the application of this process and some words have been attested with and without variants with assimilation of final /a/. Assimilation of /a/ in final closed syllables also occurs in Timaus.

Table 2.7: Ro'is Amarasi assimilation of final /a/ /_C#

Kotos	Ro'is	Gloss
<i>ʔnima-f</i>	<i>nimi-f</i>	'arm, hand'
<i>sbeta-f</i>	<i>sbete-f</i>	'upper arm'
<i>ekam</i>	<i>erem, eram</i>	'wild pandanus'
<i>na-tenab</i>	<i>na-teneb</i>	'think'
<i>okam</i>	<i>okom, okam</i>	'gourd, melon'
<i>oras</i>	<i>oros</i>	'time'†
<i>ruman</i>	<i>rumun</i>	'empty'
<i>utan</i>	<i>utuk, utak</i>	'vegetables; pumpkin, squash'‡
<i>surat</i>	<i>surut</i>	'paper, book'§

† From Portuguese *horas* [oras] 'hours'.

‡ Kotos Amarasi *utan* means only 'vegetables'.

§ From Malay *surat* 'letter'.

Finally, Kotos Amarasi has historic assimilation of final /a/ in syllables preceded by a glottal stop and closed by a consonant other than a glottal stop; that is, $V_aʔaC\# \rightarrow V_aʔV_aC\#$. Examples include Kotos Amarasi *keʔen*, other Meto *keʔan* 'room' and Kotos Amarasi *poʔon*, other Meto *poʔan* 'orchard'.

2.6 Morphology

In this section I provide an overview of the affixal morphology of the Rote-Meto languages. The purpose here is to present a succinct summary of the forms and usual semantic functions of morphology that occurs in this dictionary. This summary is based on Jonker (1915) and Tamelan (2021) for the Rote languages, as well as my own fieldwork for Meto. A more comprehensive description of Meto affixal morphology is Edwards (2020:439–458).

A summary of morphology is also needed as many forms included in this dictionary are only attested in morphologically complex forms with no putative mono-morphemic root attested. In most cases all such morphology is marked in the same way as productive morphology. Strings that can be confidently identified as an instance of frozen morphology are separated from the (historic) base by the vertical bar |, as discussed at the beginning of §1.4.

2.6.1 Nominal suffix *-k/-ʔ*

Many nouns in the Rote languages occur with the suffix *-k/-ʔ*. Tii, Lole, Ba'a, Keka, Termanu and Bokai have *-k*, while Dela-Oenale, Dengka, Korbafo, Bilbaa, Landu, Rikou and Oepao have *-ʔ*. The presence or absence of this suffix is partially lexically dependent. Nouns can be divided into two classes: those that are eligible to take this suffix, and those that never take this suffix (except after derivation with other nominalising morphology, see §2.6.4). Thus, for instance, Termanu *bafi* ‘pig’ and *manu* ‘chicken’ never occur with this suffix while *neʔe-k* ‘ant’ and *bau-k* ‘bat’ do take this suffix in appropriate environments. Nouns that are eligible to take this suffix in the Rote languages are given in this dictionary with this suffix.

One function of this suffix is to mark the end of the noun phrase. Thus, nouns modified by another noun do not take this suffix, with the final noun of an attributive phrase taking this suffix as long as it is a member of the class of eligible nouns. Examples of attributive phrases from Termanu extracted from Jonker (1908) are given in Table 2.8. Note also that there does not appear to be a grammatical basis for a noun/adjective distinction in the Rote languages.

Table 2.8: Termanu nominal *-k*

Noun			Modifier			Phrase	
<i>lima-k</i>	‘arm/hand’	+	<i>kuʔu-k</i>	‘finger/toe’	→	<i>lima kuʔu-k</i>	‘finger’
<i>lima-k</i>	‘arm/hand’	+	<i>dale-k</i>	‘inside’	→	<i>lima dale-k</i>	‘palm’
<i>ei-k</i>	‘foot/leg’	+	<i>kuʔu-k</i>	‘finger/toe’	→	<i>ei kuʔu-k</i>	‘toe’
<i>ei-k</i>	‘foot/leg’	+	<i>buʔu-k</i>	‘joint’	→	<i>ei buʔu-k</i>	‘ankle’
<i>neʔe-k</i>	‘ant’	+	<i>ŋgeo-k</i>	‘black’	→	<i>neʔe ŋgeo-k</i>	‘black ant’
<i>timi-k</i>	‘jaw’	+	<i>dui-k</i>	‘bone’	→	<i>timi dui-k</i>	‘jawbone’
<i>beba-k</i>	‘leaf stalk’	+	<i>tula</i>	‘gebang’	→	<i>beba tula</i>	‘gebang palm leaf stalk’
<i>iʔa-k</i>	‘fish’	+	<i>tasi</i>	‘sea’	→	<i>iʔa tasi</i>	‘ocean fish’

There also appear to be certain Termanu nouns that only take the suffix *-k* in isolation and do not take it when they are the final member of a phrase. Two examples are *meʔe* ‘snake’ + *maa-k* ‘tongue’ → *meʔe maa* ‘snake tongue’, and *kaa-k* ‘fig tree’ + *daa-k* ‘blood’ → *kaa daa* ‘fig tree sap’. The extent to which there are similar nouns in other varieties of Rote is currently unknown.

When a noun that is eligible to take the suffix *-k* is modified by a non-nominal modifier, such as a quantifier, numeral or demonstrative, the suffix *-k* occurs on the head noun. One example is Termanu *bula-k* ‘moon, month’ + *telu* ‘three’ → *bula-k telu* ‘three months’.

Tamelan (2021) identifies two main (non-derivational) functions for Dela nominal *-ʔ*. The first is as an attributive suffix with functions similar to Termanu *-k*. Like in Termanu, there are certain words that are eligible to occur with this suffix and certain words that are not. Those nouns that are eligible take this suffix in isolation and when they are the final member of an attributive phrase.

The second function is as a generic genitive in non-referential genitive constructions for nouns that are in a part-whole relationship with the possessor. In this second function the suffix *-ʔ* is not restricted to a subset of eligible nouns (as in the attributive use), but occurs on all nouns. Two examples are *noo oe-ʔ* ‘water of a coconut’ and *sapi tei-ʔ* ‘faeces of a cow’. Neither *oe* ‘water’ nor *tei* ‘faeces’ occurs with *-ʔ* in isolation or as the final member of an attributive phrase.

The non-derivational uses of this suffix do not occur in Meto. However, Meto cognates of words that take the nominal suffix *-k/-ʔ* in Rote languages often have a final *k* or *ʔ*. These final consonants are probably not best analysed as suffixes in Meto, but as part of the root. When all Rote members of a cognate set are eligible to take *-k/-ʔ* and at least one variety of Meto has a final *k* or *ʔ*, I reconstruct the PRM noun as eligible to take **-k*. This is indicated by the presence of this suffix in the morphology field (§1.5.3.1).

In some instances when PRM **-k* has become a glottal stop in Meto, and Meto has a root final vowel sequence, perceptual metathesis (Blevins and Garrett 1998:510–522) of the glottal stop (from **-k*) with the root final vowel has occurred; thus $*V_1V_2ʔ > V_1ʔV_2$. Examples include PRM **beu-k* ‘new’ > Amanuban *feu|ʔ* > Amarasi *feʔu*, and **doo-k* ‘leaf’ > Amanuban *noo|ʔ* > Amarasi *noʔo* ‘leaf’. Consistent with the origin of these glottal stops as affixes, they do not occur when such nouns take a productive suffix. Thus, Amarasi has *moen feu-f* ‘son-in-law’ and *noo-n* ‘leaf-3SG.GEN’.

Finally, Kusa-Manea has a nominal suffix *-k*, the function and productivity of which is unclear. While it is possible that this suffix is a direct reflex of PRM **-k*, this is not certain. Instead, this suffix may be borrowed from/influenced by Tetun *-k*, which occurs with a number of different nominal functions (van Klinken 1999:58ff). Examples include Kusa-Manea *fatu ~ fatu-k* ‘stone, rock’ (Tetun *fatu ~ fatuk*) and *noʔo-k* ‘leaf’ (but *noo-n* ‘leaf-3GEN’).

2.6.2 Possessive morphology

The Rote-Meto languages have productive possessive morphology that is attached to the possessed noun and agrees with the possessor in person and number. The Rote languages have enclitics and Meto has suffixes. The possessive paradigms of the Rote-Meto languages are given in Table 2.9.

Table 2.9: Rote-Meto possessive morphology

	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL.INCL	1PL.EXCL/2PL	3PL	0
PRM	<i>*ŋga</i>	<i>*ma</i>	<i>*na</i>	<i>*nda</i>	<i>*ma</i>	<i>*nda</i>	
Dela	<i>=ŋga</i>	<i>=ma</i>	<i>=na</i>	<i>=na/=ta</i>	<i>=ma</i>	<i>=na</i>	
Oenale, Dengka, Tii	<i>=ŋga</i>	<i>=ma</i>	<i>=na</i>	<i>=na</i>	<i>=ma</i>	<i>=na</i>	
Termanu, Bilbaa, Bokai, Korbafo, Ba'a	<i>=ŋa</i>	<i>=ma</i>	<i>=na</i>	<i>=na</i>	<i>=ma</i>	<i>=na</i>	
Rikou	<i>=ka</i>	<i>=ma</i>	<i>=na</i>	<i>=na</i>	<i>=ma</i>	<i>=na</i>	
Ro'is	<i>-k</i>	<i>-m</i>	<i>-n</i>	<i>-r</i>	<i>-m</i>	<i>-r</i>	<i>-f</i>
Kotos Amarasi	<i>-k</i>	<i>-m</i>	<i>-n</i>	<i>-k</i>	<i>-m</i>	<i>-k</i>	<i>-f</i>
Amfo'an	<i>-k</i>	<i>-m</i>	<i>-n</i>	<i>-k</i>	<i>-m</i>	<i>-k</i>	<i>-f</i>
Kusa-Manea	<i>-k</i>	<i>-m</i>	<i>-n</i>	<i>-k</i>	<i>-m</i>	<i>-n</i>	<i>-f</i>

In Rote all possessed nouns take a genitive enclitic. These enclitics have four forms. In addition to the =*Ca* forms given in Table 2.9, these enclitics also have a reduced form with no final vowel, thus =*C*. When they attach to a consonant final stem the vowel /a/ is inserted between the stem and the enclitic. Thus, for example, the 3SG genitive enclitic has four forms: =*na* or =*n* with vowel final stems and =*ana* or =*an* with consonant final stems. The only Rote genitive enclitic that occurs in this dictionary is the 3SG enclitic, which occurs on a small number of terms given by Jonker (1908), as well as some Landu words collected during my fieldwork (§1.3.1.2).

The Meto languages have a paradigm of genitive suffixes. Unlike the Rote languages, only some nouns take genitive suffixes in Meto. Most such nouns are in a part-whole relationship with the possessor and typically include body parts or properties of the possessor. Furthermore, many nouns have only been attested with a genitive suffix. Such nouns are given in this dictionary with the suffix -*f*, which is used for unpossessed parts. Exceptions are a number of Ro'is Amarasi nouns that have only been attested with the 3SG suffix -*n*, as well as a number of Molo nouns that are only given by Middelkoop (1972) with either the 1SG suffix -*k* or 3SG suffix -*n*.

Some kin terms also occur with genitive suffixes in Meto. In Ro'is Amarasi the suffixes taken by kin terms are the same as those taken by other nouns, while in most other known varieties of Meto kin terms with 3SG possessors take the suffix -*f* while other possessors usually trigger no suffix.¹¹ In Kusa-Manea, kin terms do not appear to take any genitive suffixes, though this observation is based only on words elicited in isolation.

2.6.3 Reduplication

The Rote-Meto languages have two kinds of reduplication: partial reduplication and full reduplication. In the Rote languages partial reduplication copies the first (C)V syllable of a base and places it to the left of that base.¹² Termanu examples include *deʔa* 'say, speak' → *de~deʔa-k* 'that which is said', *bali* 'mix' → *ba~bali-k* 'mixture' and *n-inu* 'drink' → *ni~ninu-k* 'a drink'.

In all known varieties of Meto except Kusa-Manea, partial reduplication copies the first CVC syllable of a disyllabic CV(C)V(C) foot and places it to the left of this foot. If a root contains consonant clusters or has more than two syllables, the reduplicant is an infix. One productive use of syllable reduplication in Meto is as an intensive. Examples from Kotos Amarasi include: *koʔu* 'big' → *koʔ~koʔu* 'very big', *anaʔ* → *an~anaʔ* 'very small', *ʔroo* 'far' → *ʔro~roo* 'very far', *maʔfenaʔ* → *maʔfen~fenaʔ* 'very heavy' and *paumakaʔ* 'near' → *paumak~makaʔ* 'very near'.

11 The situation regarding kin terms and possessive suffixes in Meto is complex. Thus, in Kotos Amarasi third person plural possessors also occasionally trigger use of the suffix -*f* while in Koro'oto hamlet (where most of my Amarasi data was collected) all possessors optionally trigger use of the suffix -*f* with this suffix only not occurring for unpossessed kin terms, such as vocatives.

12 The base for reduplication in the Rote is identical to an underlying root in nearly all cases. The only exception is vowel initial verbs, which obligatorily occur with a consonantal prefix (§12.6.5) for which the third person form is the base for reduplication; e.g. the reduplicative base for *ʔ-inu* 'drink' is *n-inu*.

The reduplicant in Kusa-Manea consists of the first consonant of the final foot and the default vowel /a/. Like other varieties of Meto, this reduplicant is placed to the immediate left of the foot; thus, $C_1V(C)V(C) \rightarrow C_1a\sim C_1V(C)V(C)$. This structure is the same as partial reduplication in Tetun (van Klinken 1999:44). Examples include the following: *nenō* ‘sun, day’ $\rightarrow na\sim nenō\text{-}ʔ$ ‘bright, midday’, *mii* ‘urine’ $\rightarrow ma\sim mii\text{-}f$ ‘bladder’, $*mukə > **k|muʔa \rightarrow k|ma\sim muaʔ\text{-}r=aa$ ‘wild pigeon’, and *na-ʔboniʔ* ‘hang’ $\rightarrow ʔba\sim boniʔ$ ‘hanging’.

Full reduplication in Meto copies the entire root. Examples include *batuur* ‘true’ $\rightarrow batuur\sim batuur$ ‘truly’ and *nenō* ‘day’ $\rightarrow nenō\sim nenō$ ‘every day’. Full reduplication has the same structure in the Rote languages. Examples from Dela include *ume* ‘house’ $\rightarrow ume\sim ume$ ‘various houses’, *nduar* ‘sleepy’ $\rightarrow nduar\sim nduar$ ‘very sleepy’, and *na-mbeta* ‘3sg-painful’ $\rightarrow nambeta\sim nambeta$ ‘intensely painful’ (Tamelan 2021:41).

Many forms in the Rote-Meto languages are only attested in a reduplicated form without any known base. Such frozen reduplication is not differentiated from productive reduplication in this dictionary. In both cases the reduplicant is separated from the base by a tilde ‘~’. Likely cases of frozen reduplication can be identified by the lack of any base without reduplication in their entry.

2.6.4 Nominalisation

The Rote languages have a handful of nominalising processes, which are attested in this dictionary. Firstly, partial reduplication combined with the nominal suffix $-k/\text{-}ʔ$, as seen in Termanu *deʔa* ‘say, speak’ $\rightarrow de\sim deʔa\text{-}k$ ‘that which is said’, *bali* ‘mix’ $\rightarrow ba\sim bali\text{-}k$ ‘mixture’, and *n-inu* ‘drink’ $\rightarrow ni\sim ninu\text{-}k$ ‘a drink’. In Dengka and Dela-Oenale such reduplication combines with one of three suffixes: $-ʔ$, $-s$ or $-t$. Examples from Dela include *bae* ‘pay’ $\rightarrow ba\sim bae\text{-}ʔ$ ‘payment’, *lemba* ‘carry with a shoulder pole’ $\rightarrow le\sim lemba\text{-}t$ ‘shoulder pole’, and *fitiʔ* ‘fire slingshot’ $\rightarrow fi\sim fiti\text{-}s$ ‘fire with a slingshot’. In Dela, stems with a /t/ only take $-s$ while other stems take any of the three suffixes.

Another Rote nominalising morpheme in this dictionary is the property prefix *ma-*. Examples from Termanu include *tane-k* ‘sharp, pointy, sharpness’ $\rightarrow ma\text{-}tane$ ‘sharp’, *dalu-k* ‘long’ $\rightarrow ma\text{-}dalu$ ‘long, length’, and *tobi* ‘burn, scorch’ $\rightarrow ma\text{-}tobi\text{-}k$ ‘hot’. The prefix *ma-* is also a verbal prefix, in which case it forms stative verbs (§2.6.6).

The Meto cluster has half a dozen affixes that serve a nominalising function, given in Table 2.10. All except one of these affixes are circumfixes. A more complete discussion of the different functions of these affixes in Kotos Amarasi is given in Edwards (2020:439–458).

Table 2.10: Meto nominalisation morphology

Form		Gloss	Notes
	$-t$	result NMLZ	$-s$ when root contains /t/
$ʔa\text{-}$	$\dots$	$-t$ actor NMLZ	$ka\text{-}\dots\text{-}t$ in Ro’is Amarasi, suffix $-s$ when root contains /t/
$ʔ\text{-}$	$\dots$	$-ʔ$ tool NMLZ	final $-ʔ$ is an intervocalic infix for VV# final roots
<i>ma-</i>	$\dots$	$-ʔ$ property NMLZ	final $-ʔ$ is an intervocalic infix for VV# final roots
<i>m-</i>	$\dots$	$-ʔ$ stative NMLZ	not fully productive, final $-ʔ$ intervocalic infix for VV# final roots
<i>Ca~</i>	$\dots$	$-ʔ$ NMLZ	only known in Kusa-Manea, initial element is a reduplicant

2.6.5 Verb agreement

The Rote-Meto languages have productive verbal subject agreement prefixes. In all Rote-Meto languages there are two paradigms: a vocalic paradigm with prefixes of the shape CV-, and a consonantal paradigm in which the prefixes consist of a single consonant, which is the first consonant of the corresponding prefix in the vocalic paradigm. The vocalic and consonantal agreement prefixes are given in Table 2.11 and Table 2.12, respectively.¹³

Table 2.11: Vocalic agreement prefixes

	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL.INCL	1PL.EXCL/2PL	3PL
PRM	*ku-	*mu-	*i-/*na-	*ta-	*mi-	*ra-
Dela, Oenale	ʔu-	mu-	na-	ta-	mi-	ra-
Dengka	ʔu-	mu-	na-	ta-	mi-	la-
Tii	ʔa-	ma-	i-/na- [†]	ta-	ma-	ra-
Lole	ʔa-	ma-	ni-/i-/na- [†]	ta-	ma-	la-
Termanu, Ba'a	ʔa-	ma-	na-	ta-	ma-	la-
Bilbaa, Bokai, Korbafo	ka-	ma-	na-	ta-	ma-	la-
Rikou, Oepao	ʔa-	ma-	na-	ta-	ma-	ra-
Ro'is Amarasi	ku-	mu-	na-	ta-	mi-	na-
Nuclear Meto	ʔu-	mu-	na-	ta-	mi-	na-

[†] Jonker (1915:411) has Tii 3SG *i-* and Lole 3SG *ni-*. Unit Bahasa and Budaya (2016:vi) and Zacharias et al. (2014) have Tii and Lole *na-*. For Lole, Adika Balukh (pers. comm. September 2020) reports that *i-* is still used regularly and is particularly associated with northeast regions. She reports that she may have heard *ni-* in the past, but is not confident. For Tii, Yanti Tunliu-Mooy (pers. comm. September 2020) recalls hearing *i-* more often in the past and associates this form with certain regions. The *na-* form is dominant.

Table 2.12: Consonantal Agreement prefixes

	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL.INCL	1PL.EXCL/2PL	3PL
PRM	*k-	*m-	*n-	*t-	*m-	*r-
Bilbaa, Bokai, Korbafo	k-	m-	n-	t-	m-	l-
Dela, Oenale, Rikou, Tii	ʔ-	m-	n-	t-	m-	r-
Dengka, Lole, Termanu, Ba'a	ʔ-	m-	n-	t-	m-	l-
Ro'is Amarasi	k-#V ʔ-#C	m-	n-	t-	m-	n-
Nuclear Meto (all other Meto)	ʔ-	m-	n-	t-	m-	n-

Verbs that take agreement prefixes are usually cited throughout this comparative dictionary in the third person form. Tii and Lole verbs that take vocalic prefixes are usually cited with the third person prefix *na-*, except where Jonker (1908) gives only a form with *i-* or *ni-*.

In Meto nearly all verbs take agreement in most circumstances. One exception is Kusa-Manea, for which consonant initial verbs that take consonantal prefixes are often cited without any prefix. When this is the only form of a Kusa-Manea verb I have so far collected, I give this form as it is attested in my data without any prefix.

¹³ In addition to the prefixes given in Table 2.11, Tamelan (2021:129) also gives 0 person (a kind of obviative used when the subject is irrelevant or not in focus) *ne-* for Dela.

The 1SG consonantal prefix displays allomorphy in Meto. In all known varieties it is realised as Ø before another glottal stop; that is, $\text{ʔ-ʔ} \rightarrow \text{ʔ}$. In Ro'is Amarasi it has the form *k-* before vowels and *ʔ-* before consonants other than glottal stop (where it is realised as Ø).

Which paradigm is used in Meto is partially determined by the phonotactic shape of the verb, partially determined by the semantics of the verb and partially lexically determined. The use of each paradigm is summarised in Table 2.13, with examples from Kotos Amarasi to illustrate. Roots that have more than two syllables, as well as vowel initial roots, take consonantal prefixes.¹⁴ Roots that begin with a consonant cluster take the vocalic set. Consonant initial roots that consist of a single foot take either set with the choice lexically specified. Verbs that have both transitive and intransitive forms are an exception. Such verbs take the vocalic set when transitive and the consonantal set when intransitive.

Table 2.13: Meto agreement according to stem shapes

Stem Shape		Paradigm	Kotos Example	Gloss
(σ)σσσ	three or more syllables	consonantal	<i>n-ʔeus/fani</i>	‘sneeze’
#CC	cluster initial disyllable	vocalic	<i>na-m naha</i>	‘hungry’
#V	vowel initial disyllable	consonantal	<i>n-inu</i>	‘drink’
#C	consonant initial disyllable	75% consonantal†	<i>n-sae</i>	‘go up’
		25% vocalic	<i>na-sai</i>	‘flow’
#C	transitive	vocalic	<i>na-tama</i>	‘make enter’
	intransitive	consonantal	<i>n-tama</i>	‘enter’

† Percentages for Kotos Amarasi based on 836 verbs, of which 557 are consonant initial disyllables.

Like in Meto, there are a range of phonological, lexical and morphological factors that determine verb agreement in the Rote languages. However, unlike in Meto, there are many verbs that do not take any agreement prefix. My discussion in this section is based mainly on data from Dela, which is most clearly described (Tamelan 2021:129–138). The main conditioning factors determining verb agreement in the Rote languages are summarised in Table 2.14, illustrated with examples from Dela.

Table 2.14: Rote agreement according to stem shapes

Stem Shape		Paradigm	Dela Example	Gloss
#V	vowel initial	consonantal	<i>n-ala</i>	‘get’
		vocalic	<i>na-iru</i>	‘pregnant’
		none	<i>ale</i>	‘chew’
#C	consonant initial	vocalic	<i>na-riu</i>	‘bathe’
		none	<i>mae</i>	‘ashamed’
N/V → V	derived verb	vocalic	<i>oe → na-oe</i>	‘watery’
			<i>mae → na-mae-ʔ</i>	‘make ashamed’
<i>ma-</i>	with stative <i>ma-</i>	none	<i>ma-lole</i>	‘good’
CV-	with other prefix (§2.6.6)	vocalic	<i>na-sa-roi</i>	‘lean’

14 Loan words in Meto also take prefixes drawn from the consonantal paradigm.

Derived verbs nearly always take vocalic prefixes. This includes verbs derived from a nominal base and verbs derived from another verb. For verbs derived from other verbs, agreement prefixes are used with causatives, such as in Dela *mae* ‘ashamed’ → *na-mae-?* ‘make ashamed’ or reciprocals, such as Dela *ʔidu* ‘kiss’ → *na-ʔidu* ‘kiss one another’.¹⁵ Similarly, verbs that take any derivational CV- prefix (see §2.6.6) take vocalic prefixes, with the exception of verbs derived with the stative/inchoative prefix *ma-*, which do not take prefixes. All other verbs are divided into lexical classes. Vowel initial verbs are divided between verbs that take consonantal agreement prefixes, those that take vocalic agreement prefixes, and those that take no agreement prefixes. Consonant initial verbs are divided between those that take vocalic agreement prefixes, and those that do not take agreement prefixes.

Apart from the verbs that take agreement prefixes, there are also two verbs that have partially suppletive paradigms in some of the Rote-Meto languages. These are the reflexes of *emə ‘come’ and *eu ‘go, to’. See the respective entries for each of these verbs for their declensions.

2.6.6 Derivational verbal morphology

There are two fully productive verbal derivational prefixes in the Rote languages and a number of unproductive or semi-productive prefixes. The most productive prefix in the Rote languages is *ma-*, which derives non-active verbs with a stative or process sense. In addition to productive prefixes, the Rote languages have a number of non-productive, or semi-productive, CV- prefixes that occur with verbs. Verbs that occur with these prefixes also take vocalic agreement prefixes. The semi-productive verb prefixes that can be identified in the Rote languages are given in Table 2.15, listed roughly in order of their productivity in Dela.

Table 2.15: Rote verb prefixes[†]

Dela, Oenale	<i>ʔV-</i>	<i>mV-</i>	<i>kV-</i>	<i>sV-</i>	<i>mbV-</i>	<i>lV-</i>	<i>tV-</i>	<i>fV-</i>	<i>pV-</i>	<i>ŋgV-</i>	<i>rV-</i>
Dengka	<i>ʔV-</i>	<i>mV-</i>	<i>kV-</i>	<i>sV-</i>	<i>mbV-</i>	<i>lV-</i>	<i>tV-</i>	<i>fV-</i>	<i>pV-</i>	<i>ŋgV-</i>	<i>lV-</i>
Tii	<i>kV-</i>	<i>mV-</i>	<i>kV-</i>	<i>sV-</i>	<i>mbV-</i>	<i>lV-</i>	<i>tV-</i>	<i>fV-</i>	<i>pV-</i>	<i>ŋgV-</i>	<i>rV-</i>
Ba'a	<i>ka-</i>	<i>ma-</i>	<i>ka-</i>	<i>sa-</i>	<i>mpa-</i>	<i>la-</i>	<i>ta-</i>	<i>fa-</i>	<i>pa-</i>	<i>ŋga-</i>	<i>la-</i>
Termanu, Bilbaa, Bokai, Korbafo	<i>ka-</i>	<i>ma-</i>	<i>ka-</i>	<i>sa-</i>	<i>pa-</i>	<i>la-</i>	<i>ta-</i>	<i>fa-</i>	<i>pa-</i>	<i>ŋa-</i>	<i>la-</i>
Rikou	Ø	<i>ma-</i>	Ø	<i>sa-</i>	<i>pa-</i>	<i>la-</i>	<i>ta-</i>	<i>fa-</i>	<i>pa-</i>	<i>ka-</i>	<i>ra-</i>

[†] The unspecified vowel in Dela, Oenale, Dengka and Tii assimilates to the quality of the vowel of the previous agreement prefix.

There are many verb roots in the Rote languages that always occur with one of these prefixes and do not occur without any verbal prefix. Thus, for instance, in Dela the verbs *na-ʔa-mina?* ‘play’ and *na-sa-pedo?* ‘fold legs’ always occur with these prefixes and the hypothetical roots $\sqrt{mina?}$ and $\sqrt{pedo?}$ do not occur independently.

15 The use of vocalic prefixes to derive verbs from a verbal base also occurs with vowel initial verbs that take consonantal prefixes, such as in *n-inu* ‘drink’ → *na-n-inu-?* ‘make drink’.

Apart from this, some of these prefixes have some use in deriving verbs from nouns or deriving alternate meanings from verbal stems. Tamelan (2021:139) describes the selection of these prefixes in Dela as partly semantically determined and partly lexically determined. The prefixes *ma-* and *mba-* tend to form stative or inchoative verbs, while *ʔa-* often derives process verbs from property nominals.¹⁶ However, even among the more productive prefixes, any semantic properties are only tendencies and none are fully semantically determined.

All verbs that occur with a prefix usually also take an agreement prefix (§2.6.5). The vowel of the derivational prefix assimilates to the quality of the vowel of the agreement prefix. Examples from Dela are given in Table 2.16. Whether this assimilation occurs in the Nuclear Rote languages is mostly a moot point as the vowel of nearly all agreement prefixes in these languages is /a/. However, this assimilation does occur with Tii 3SG *i-* and Lole 3SG *ni-*. Examples include Tii *i-mi-nene*, and Lole *ni-mi-nene* ‘hear’ (see **nene*), as well as lole *ni-fi-lende* ‘remember’ (see **farəndən*).

Table 2.16: Assimilation of prefix vowel in Dela

	‘play’	‘become smart’	‘remember’	‘reach’	‘scatter’
	<i>-ʔV-minaʔ</i>	<i>-mV-hine</i>	<i>-sV-neda</i>	<i>-mbV-nai</i>	<i>-lV-ono</i>
1SG	<i>ʔu-ʔu-minaʔ</i>	<i>ʔu-mu-hine</i>	<i>ʔu-su-neda</i>	<i>ʔu-mbu-nai</i>	<i>ʔu-lu-ono</i>
2SG	<i>mu-ʔu-minaʔ</i>	<i>mu-mu-hine</i>	<i>mu-su-neda</i>	<i>mu-mbu-nai</i>	<i>mu-lu-ono</i>
3SG	<i>na-ʔa-minaʔ</i>	<i>na-ma-hine</i>	<i>na-sa-neda</i>	<i>na-mba-nai</i>	<i>na-la-ono</i>
1PL.INCL	<i>ta-ʔa-minaʔ</i>	<i>ta-ma-hine</i>	<i>ta-sa-neda</i>	<i>ta-mba-nai</i>	<i>ta-la-ono</i>
1PL.EXCL/2PL	<i>mi-ʔi-minaʔ</i>	<i>mi-mi-hine</i>	<i>mi-si-neda</i>	<i>mi-mbi-nai</i>	<i>mi-li-ono</i>
3PL	<i>ra-ʔa-minaʔ</i>	<i>ra-ma-hine</i>	<i>ra-sa-neda</i>	<i>ra-mba-nai</i>	<i>ra-la-ono</i>
0	<i>ne-ʔe-minaʔ</i>	<i>ne-me-hine</i>	<i>ne-se-neda</i>	<i>ne-mbe-nai</i>	<i>ne-le-ono</i>

In several instances, the presence of one of these prefixes on a verb in the Rote languages is due to reanalysis of a historic antepenultimate syllable that was lost in one form but retained in another, leading to alternations with and without the prefix. One example is PRM **salili* ‘armpit’ for which Meto has *snini-f* ‘armpit’ and *na-snini* ‘carry slung under the armpit’ while Termanu has the noun *lili bolo-k* ‘armpit’ (*bolo-k* = ‘hole’) and the verb *na-sa-lili* ‘carry slung under the armpit’.

Apart from these prefixes, the only other Rote derivational verbal morphology that features in this dictionary is the applicative/transitive suffix *-k/-ʔ*. This suffix has the same form as the nominal *-k/-ʔ* suffix. That is, Tii, Lole, Ba'a, Keka, Termanu and Bokai have *-k*, while Dela-Oenale, Dengka, Korbafo, Bilbaa, Landu, Rikou and Oepao have *-ʔ*. Because verbs that take this suffix are derived, they also usually take agreement prefixes, as discussed in §2.6.5.

¹⁶ There are two formally similar prefixes in Dela: *ma-*, which productively derives non-active state or process verbs from nouns; and *mV-*, which is semi-productive. They can be distinguished, as verbs with fully productive *ma-* do not take agreement prefixes while those with semi-productive *mV-* always take vocalic agreement prefixes.

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