

# NOTES ON THE MALAY OF KUPANG (TIMOR)

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About a hundred years ago, de Clercq and Donselaar separately published some Kupang Malay vocabulary notes. The following contribution marks a resumption of the study of this long-neglected dialect of Malay. Based on spoken and written materials, it offers a preliminary description of Kupang Malay phonology and morphology as well as a detailed analysis of function words. This analysis forms a solid beginning for the consideration of the syntax, not only of this dialect but of all the variants of Malay spoken throughout East Indonesia.

## 1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 The use of Malay in Kupang probably has a long history. Timor used to be attractive to foreign traders because of its sandalwood and the bay of Kupang provided a natural harbour. It is practically certain that in the early 16th century Kupang was the first Timorese settlement the Portuguese effectively occupied (cf. Faria de Morais, 1934, p. 90). When the Dutch, to the detriment of the Portuguese, consolidated their position in the Lesser Sunda Islands, Kupang soon became the centre of their power. The fort they built there in 1676 is still utilized by the Indonesian army. To safeguard themselves from attacks by the Portuguese or their presumed tools, the Timorese from the interior, from the early 19th century the Dutch surrounded themselves with people from other areas, especially from Roti or Rote (west of Timor). This island had been forced to acknowledge Dutch rule ever since the last quarter of the 17th century; in the middle of the last century it also became a concentration area of Dutch educational and proselytizing activities. This engendered a tradition of Rotinese in administrative, educational and clerical positions, which is still felt today. These circumstances explain the noticeable influence of Rotinese on Kupang Malay (KM).

At the beginning of this century, when the Dutch had established their colonial power all over the archipelago, the interior had been "pacified" and the Portuguese were no longer felt to be a threat, Kupang had become a town of little significance. In 1916 it had 3500 inhabitants,

230 of whom were European, while more than 1000 were Chinese, Arab or "other foreign Asiatics"<sup>1</sup>. The majority of the "Indonesian" population must have been Rotinese. Gradual spontaneous immigration of Sabunese small-traders changed the composition of the population of Kupang in the following decades. According to the census of 1930 (*Volkstelling 1930*, vol. V) Kupang had doubled its 1916 population. The official reports give the following specifications: 342 Europeans, 930 Chinese, 263 other foreign Asiatics, 1721 Rotinese, 1705 Sabunese, 275 Solorese, 269 Javanese, 244 Ambonese, 225 Atoni, 95 Belunese, 80 Alorese, 66 Kupangese<sup>2</sup>, 15 Larantukans, 12 Sumbawans and 8 Krowenese, i.e. 6250 in all. As the total population is given as 7171, however, one must conclude that 921 inhabitants were unclassifiable indigenes, i.e. probably native speakers of KM.

The Second World War, during which part of the city was bombed, and the ensuing independence of Indonesia reduced the number of Europeans. The composition of the rest of the population did not change dramatically, until Kupang became the capital of the new Indonesian province, Nusa Tenggara Timur, in 1958. As such it became not only the centre of administration and education (with all kinds of private and state-owned schools and the university Nusa Cendana), but also an important military centre. Furthermore it became the seat of the only Roman Catholic bishop in the province, as well as the base for the Protestant Church of Timor (GMIT, with its theological college, exploited jointly with the Reformed Church of Sumba) and of many smaller Protestant sects. All this attracted people from all over the prov-

ince, easily representing some thirty different languages.

This population increase is illustrated by the figures for 1966 (34,261), 1967 (38,731), 1971 (49,354) and 1980 (between 80,000 and 90,000) <sup>3</sup>.

Besides the medley of people from all over Indonesia working for the military and in the civil service, there are recent concentrations of retailers and fishermen from South and South-east Sulawesi along the coast. In recent years, moreover, quite a number of Javanese pedlars have found their way to Kupang. The tragic events which led to the present status of East Timor put a stop to the steady stream of cheap tourists who used to pass through Kupang on their way from Darwin via Dili to Bali and vice-versa, but it led to an increased influx of East Timorese.

Of course, the extent to which newcomers mix with the original population varies. In various parts of Kupang, KM can hardly be considered the local language. And for the majority of today's inhabitants KM is at best a second language.

1.2 With the above-mentioned mixture of people, with the extension of education and with the introduction of television about eight years ago, Kupang is developing traits of the pan-Indonesian urban culture, in which expressions of local culture are valued only on such marginal occasions as the Independence Day rally. Nonetheless, KM, though obviously under pressure, has held its position so far, because of its function in the Kupang polyglossia: it remains the mother tongue of part of the population and KM (or approximations of it) is the vehicle of interethnic informal communication. In more formal circumstances such as religious meetings, education, jurisdiction and administration standard Indonesian, BI, (or approximations of it) is used.

The influence of Indonesian on KM is noticeable, especially in the sphere of common neutral words with a clear KM cognate. For example, besides KM /*lao*/ 'sea' the more BI-like /*laot*/ occurs (cf. BI *laut*), but a more intimate word, apt to be used within the family, such as /*konto*/ 'fart' (BI *kentut*) is not complemented by a /*t*/-final pendant.

To establish the parameters of all types of variation in the sociolectic and functiolectic continua ranging from the purest KM to stilted standard Indonesian requires much more data than I had at my disposal during the preparation of this article.

1.3 It should be noted here that KM is also subject to geographical variation. It is common knowledge that the inhabi-

tants of the *desa* Airmata speak a dialect of their own. The word for 'no, not' for instance (which, with /*beta*/ 'I' is the layman's characteristic of KM) is [*hon(de)*] in Airmata, but /*son(de)*/ elsewhere. Though geographically in the centre of Kupang, it lies rather isolated between the Koanino river and the hills of Fatufeto. Moreover, it is one of the two Islamic *desa*'s of Kupang (the remaining twenty three being Christian in majority). Below I shall describe the general variety of KM.

1.4 With the 19th century bias in favour of written language in general and classical Malay in particular, De Clercq's and Van Donselaar's studies are mainly concerned with KM words deviating from that norm. Indeed, the number of non-Malay words in the lexicon, together with certain phonemic innovations in the Malay ones, is one of the characteristics of KM. Below, however, I will mainly be concerned with two other characteristics: the restricted system of productive morphology, and - consequently - the important role of function words (or, in general, words belonging to closed classes).

Apart from what I rather subconsciously picked up when I used to live in Kupang (1974-1976), I have collected the material for these notes from the following sources: 1. Meillyana C. Berelaka, my wife, born in Kupang in 1954, the daughter of KM-speaking monolingual parents; where she lived until 1976 with an interruption of about seven years (1958-1965); and 2. Letters from relatives and friends in Kupang which clearly show the relative position of KM vis-à-vis Indonesian: neutral informative parts tend to be written in more or less standard Indonesian, as well as, of course, the formalized introductions and endings, but spontaneous emotional parts are in often pure KM. The only changes I have made concern an occasional obvious Indonesianism, names irrelevant for the construction, but mostly spelling and punctuation. Occasionally I have checked doubtful cases with other (former) speakers of KM who have lived in Holland for longer or shorter periods. I am grateful for all the help I have received. At the same time I stress that mistakes in the final shape of the data and in their interpretation are completely my responsibility.

What follows is only a first inventory of elements and problems, which can hardly be presented as a well-ordered system of semantic oppositions. In this, it resembles the lexicalistic approach of the 19th century publications on KM. An apparent difficulty is that the same formal elements often seem to have more than one function. As my data are by no means inexhaustible my analyses waver between extensional and intensional definitions.

I will discuss phonology, morphology, pronouns, and function words successively.

2.0 PHONOLOGY

2.1 KM has the following vowel system (Chart 1):

	unrounded		rounded
	front	central	back
high	i (i')		u
mid	e (ē)	ə	o (ó)
low		a	

Chart 1: KM vowel system

/i'/ is opposed to a sequence of two /i/'s; it occurs only in exclamatory interjections such as /a'wi'/, expressing awe, and /i'/, expressing disgust. The only example of /ii/ I found is /pii/ 'to go' (alongside /pigi/ and /pi/). The only other indication of phonemic vowel length is the optional length of the vowels in the particles /sa/ (see 8.1 below), /o/ and /e/ (see appendix). As the demarcation of this length and the effects of sentence intonation have to be investigated first, I have not indicated this optional length as a distinctive feature in the chart, nor in the spelling.

In most contexts /o/ and /e/ are phonetically intermediate between [o] and [ɔ] and [e] and [ɛ], respectively. The scarce data suggest that /o/ is phonetically raised before /u/ or a continuant + /u/. Likewise /e/ is realised as [e] before a continuant + /i/. (I have not found any example of /ei/). There are a few loanwords, however, in which a phonemic [o] is found, symbolized by /ó/: /óm/, 'uncle' (see also the appendix), /fótó/ 'photograph, picture', /ótó/ 'motor-car'; the latter word forms a near minimal pair with /oto/ 'bib'.

The tag /u'ē/ 'isn't it' (etc.) is the only word in which a nasal vowel is found. /ə/ occurs rarely, e.g. /'səstər/ 'nurse', [ber'bak] 'beard', [kakər'lak]

'cockroach', [kə'na] 'to be struck', [səbə'la, sə'bla] 'other side', ['dɔktər] 'doctor', [bə'la] 'to split, to part (hair)', [kə'nek, kər'nek, knək] 'conductor on public transport'.

In a number of other words there is no opposition between [ə] and [a] in direct pretonal position: the realization of the vowel, which I consider a separate phoneme (/A/) ranges from [ə] to [a]; e.g. [kə'tumu, kɔ'tumu, ka'tumu] 'to meet', [kə'riŋ, kɔ'riŋ, ka'riŋ] 'dry' [lapə'neu, lapɔ'neu, lapa'neu] 'kind of basket plaited from leaves', [kə'temak, kɔ'temak, ka'temak] 'cooked dried maize', etc.

There are also words, however, in which in pretonal position [a] seems to be the only possible pronunciation, e.g. [ba'rat] 'heavy', [ka'rotok] 'globule of snot', [ka'tumak] 'louse', [da'dolek] 'filthy', [tapa'leuk] 'to walk aimlessly', [sa'soruk] 'shin-bone', [pa'lɛse] 'to blubber', [ka'kafik] 'wrinkling (of skin)', etc.

Further investigation and a more complete inventory of words are necessary to establish the exact relation between /ə/, /A/ and /a/.<sup>4</sup>

2.2 Word-stress in KM is phonemic. In the vast majority of words it is on the penult. When the penult contains /ə/ or /A/ it always falls on the final syllable (unless this contains /ə/, in which case it is on the penult again). There are, however, a number of words with end-stress and another vowel in the penult; cf. the following minimal pairs: /'barat/ 'west' vs. /ba'rat/ 'heavy', /'batu/ 'stone' vs. /ba'tu/ 'correct', /'sisik/ 'fish-scale' vs. /si'sik/ 'kind of edible sea-snail', /'parut/ 'to rasp' vs. /pa'rut, pa'ru/ 'belly' /'badak/ 'rhinoceros' vs. /ba'dak/ 'powder'.

Below I will indicate stress only when it falls unpredictably on the final syllable.

2.3 Chart 2 shows the system of KM consonants.

		bilabial	dental	alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
stop	voiced	b		d	j	g	
	voiceless	p	t		c	k	ʔ
fricative		f		s			h
nasal		m (m')		n	ɲ	ŋ	
glide		w			y		
lateral, trill				l, r			

Chart 2: KM consonant system

Voiced stops and alveopalatals do not occur word-finally. In that position /p, t, k, ʔ/ are more often than not unreleased. As Chart 2 shows /t/ is not the exact voiceless equivalent of /d/: the latter consonant belongs to the alveolar series, /t/ is the only dental stop.

/n/ is alveolar in all positions except when followed by /t/, in which case it too becomes (tip)dental.

/f/ frequently occurs in KM in words of non-Malay origin: /fufuk/ 'mouldered', /fu/ 'to blow', /fafake/ 'knee-cap', /bof/ 'mumps', /fa'rek/ 'damn it!' etc.

/h/ also is frequent in non-Malay words: /horo/ 'to saw', /hao/ 'to feed', /huk/ 'corner', /lelehanak/ 1. 'k.o. tree with hairy-skinned fruits which cause extreme itching when touched', 2. 'struck with itching', 3. 'lascivious, horny', etc. Word-finally it occurs in a few words belonging to the sphere of religion or administration: /aer bah/ 'deluge', /kawin sah/ 'to marry legally'. In words of Malay origin it is preserved between like vowels: e.g. /mahal/ 'expensive', /leher/ 'neck', and sometimes word-initially: e.g. /hari/ 'day', /hantu/ 'ghost'.

Morpheme initially, [ʔ] is never opposed to Ø; it tends to be pronounced in this position before a vowel when the morpheme is spoken after a pause or after a morpheme ending in a vowel. The only certain case of morpheme final /ʔ/ is /toʔ/ 'pure-blood, pure, without admixture'; after a consonant it occurs in /malʔunuk/ 'innumerable'. Intervocally it is frequent in words of non-Malay origin: /baʔi/ '(man of) grandfather('s generation)', /maʔale/ 'to chew', /poʔe/ 'to shit', /puʔu/ 'mushroom', /poʔa/ 'to pour', /noʔo/ 'cunt', /fiʔi/ 1. 'to call (impolitely) elder people by name', 2. 'to pull apart'.

The only consonants that deserve some further discussion are /w/ and /y/. There are no perfect minimal pairs opposing /i/ and /y/; for /u/ and /w/ I found only /pawe/ 'rally' vs. /bau e/ '(it) stinks I-assure-you'. The phonetic opposition between /w/ and /u/ in the above pair justifies the identification as /u/ of the slightly vocalic back rounded off-glide between a full vowel and a consonant or word-boundary, as in /fiuk/ 'bad (of smell)', /mau/ 'to be about to', /pareu/ 'cooking pot'. The back rounded on-glide between a consonant and a stressed vowel is also vocalic e.g. in /cuaca/ 'weather', /kuatir/ 'to be anxious', /kuaci/ 'titbit made of watermelon seeds cooked in salted water and dried'; morpheme-initially, however, the back-rounded on-glide is non-vocalic, e.g. in /wik/ 'wig', /ba'wik/ 'to use a wig', and in loan-words from Indonesian, such as /wakil/ 'deputy', /pərwakilan/ 'agency' etc.

For palatal glides the distribution of vocalic and non-vocalic ones is parallel: /harnois/ 'soft (of sound), melodious', /maloi/ 'to peep, to leer', /faik/

'to hit in order to hurt', /fuik/ 'to run away', /bui/ 'jail', /piara/ 'to breed, to keep (of animals)', /loyor/ 'nappy', /ayak/ 'a sieve; to sieve', /yaŋ/ (relative clause marker). The long /mː/ finally, only occurs in the interjection /mː/, expressing pensive scepticism.

### 3.0 MORPHOLOGY

3.1 Because of the influence of non-Malay languages and of modern Indonesian a description of KM morphology should involve quite a number of phenomena of an incidental nature. The border between original KM morphological *procédés* and imported Indonesian ones is especially difficult to determine. Below I will discuss only four (formal) *procédés* which can be considered typical for KM.

3.2.1 As in Indonesian and in related languages reduplication is frequent; it represents a variety of categories.

First of all morphological reduplication should be distinguished from "lexical reduplication", i.e. words with a formally reduplicated structure without there being a non-reduplicated form from which it could have been derived: /gaʔangaʔaŋ/ 'to stammer', /galagala/ 'k.o. tree of which the white flowers are used as a vegetable', /balebale/ 'bamboo cot', /tomutomu/ 'large basket for clothes or rice' (also /tomtomu/).

I found one case of transpositional reduplication, producing a noun from a verb base: /gepe/ 'to squeeze', /gepe-gepe/<sup>5</sup> 'tweezers, tongs' (alongside the partially reduplicated form /gagepe/).

The other reduplication categories are not transpositional.

3.2.2 When the base is a noun, the reduplicated form expresses variety or similarity:

(1) /kalo bo'toŋ su pi, tau sAndiri, bolu-bolu doŋ kasi bo'toŋ hao/ 'whenever we go there - you know it yourself - they give us various kinds of cakes to eat',

(2) /dia dataŋ bawa akar-akar, suru mama maʔale ko sumbur di toʔo puŋ bAlakaŋ/ 'he came with a selection of roots and ordered mother to chew them in order to spit them on uncle's back',

(3) /di klapalima sAkaras su fol den ruma-ruma/ 'in Klapalima it is already full of houses nowadays',

(4) /be mau harap toʔo, te toʔo su sama ke baʔi-baʔi, su sonde kuat lai/ 'I would have relied on uncle, but uncle is already like a grandpa, he is no longer strong'.

3.2.3 When the base is an adjective or



a verb the reduplicated form expresses repetition in time and/or space (implying variety) in most contexts:

(5) /beta tulis lucu-lucu sampe lu katawa ko lu pun gigi su mau pata sa/ 'I write funny things getting you to laugh so that your teeth are about to break',

(6) /badan-badan doᅇ masi kram-kram ko ?/ 'are the various parts of your body still seized with cramp all the time?'<sup>12</sup> (For use of /doᅇ/, see 4.3)

(7) /di ruma su suᅇi: su sonde ada oraᅇ mara-mara, maruak-maruak lai/ 'at home it is quiet now: there is no longer any one angry or cross all the time',

(8) /ma india, beta pun aer liur ni sonde tau barenti-barenti lai/ 'but this is how it is, I cannot stop drooling any more however I try',

(9) /beta ba-lompa, seka-seka mata, trus kasi baᅇun saᅇ nona/ 'I jumped up, rubbed my eyes a couple of times and woke up Nona',

(10) /su ta-robek-ta-robek dia pun sisi/ 'its side is already torn in various places',

(11) /kə'toᅇ su ba-tidor-ba-tidor di bawa lante, sampe-sampe kə'toᅇ pun leher su mau pata sa, tapi sonde mau barenti/ 'we were lying on the floor all the time until our necks were already at breaking point, but (we) did not want to stop'.

3.2.4 After the negative command /jaᅇ/ 'don't', however, the reduplicated form expresses a less urgent command than the single form:

(12) /jaᅇ deka-deka deᅇ beta/ 'don't come near me' could be interpreted as jesting;

(13) /jaᅇ maen-maen itu lilin/ 'don't play with that candle' is a warning rather than a prohibition.

3.2.5 As in Indonesian the reduplicated forms may have other interpretations as well. In the appropriate contexts reduplicated forms from bases such as /dudu/ 'to sit', /jalan/ 'to walk', /ba-tidor/ 'to lie' add an additional notion of 'done aimlessly, at leisure'. Parallel to the duplicated form of noun bases, the duplicated adjective may express similarity, e.g. /puti-puti/ 'whitish'; cf. also /ba(e)-bae/ in (32). Further investigation is necessary to establish the semantic status and lexical range of these various interpretations.<sup>6</sup>

3.3 The prefix /ta/ occurs with transitive verbal bases, but also with some intransitive ones. In both cases /ta/ indicates the absence of a conscious actor causing the state of affairs expressed by the base. Examples:

(14) /beta pun hati ta-puku sa/ 'my ears are burning' (lit. 'my liver just got hit')

(15) /sabantar bapa tua su ta-bakar

deᅇ miᅇa panas/ 'in a while the old man will have burnt himself with the hot oil'

(16) /doᅇ sAmua ta-batiᅇ, om anus panas tingi sampe omoᅇ su harbabiruk/ 'they all got laid low (by illness), uncle Anus had a high fever so that his speech became confused';

(17) /dia pun aer mata su ta-dudu/ 'he has got tears in his eyes already'.

Example (10) shows that /ta/ forms can also be reduplicated.

3.4 The prefix /tar/ 'not' has a stronger negative value than the word /sonde/ 'no, not', and its allegro form /son/ 'not'. With an adjective base the resultant meaning is pejorative: /tar-bae/ 'morally bad' versus /son(de) bae/ 'not good', /tar-ba'tu/ 'confused, crazy, deranged, mixed up' versus /son(de) ba'tu/ 'not true, wrong'.

The most frequent verb bases are /tau/ 'to know, to be able to' and /bisa/ 'to be able to':

(18) /sAkaraᅇ beta mau omoᅇ bahasa ingris, tar-tau ba'tu ko sonde, jaᅇ katawa o/ 'now I am going to speak English, I do not know whether it is right or wrong, don't laugh for God's sake'

(19) /sAkaraᅇ di kupaᅇ ujan tᅇrus, sampe ba-lompor ko ko'toᅇ su tar-bisa jalan lai/ 'it keeps on raining now in Kupang so that it has become muddy and we cannot walk any more'.

In general the use of /tar/ seems to be restricted. My data suggest a tendency (which may be only statistical) to use it with peripheral verb types: /tar-usa/ 'not to need to', /tar-ada/ 'not to be there, to be absent', /tar-mau/ 'not to want', /tar-jadi/ 'not to become' (with the special meaning 'to become mentally deranged'). But cf. also /tar-apa-apa/ 'it does not matter' and

(20) /untuᅇ sa andreas tar-cubi be pun panta di muka umum o/ 'it was a good thing that Andreas did not pinch my bottom in public I tell you'.

3.5.1 The verbal prefix /ba/ is extremely frequent in KM. With noun bases it partly parallels Indonesian ber-. Cf.:

(21) /ko'toᅇ pun jagoᅇ su besar ma bolom ba-buᅇa, tungu sa ko dia ba-pulek/ 'our maize is already well-grown but is not blossoming yet; just wait until it has cobs';

(22) /baru sAkaraᅇ beta ba-surat kasi susi mia doᅇ/ 'only now I write a letter to you' (literally: '...letter give elder-female-of-ego's-generation Mia and-related-people');

(23) /itu dendeᅇ bisa ba-kula/ 'that dendeng can grow mouldy'.

The meaning of most words consisting of /ba/ and a noun base can be paraphrased as either 'have', 'produce' or 'use' an appropriate referent of the noun base; cf. /ba-tᅇlor/ 'to lay an egg', /ba-takis/ 'to have branches', /ba-carita/ 'to tell a story', /ba-konto/ 'to fart', /ba-kaca/

1. 'to have glass (e.g. windows)', 2. 'to look at oneself in a mirror', /ba-oba/ [ba'oba] 'to use medicine, to get cured' (from the nouns /talor/ 'egg', /takis/ 'branch', /carita/ 'story', /konto/ 'fart', /kaca/ 'glass (material), window-pane, looking-glass', /oba/ 'medicine').

Other words of this type express a reciprocal relationship and should either be complemented with a nominal expression preceded by /deŋ/ 'with' or be combined with a plural subject; cf. the following three sentences with /sodara/ 'member of one's family' as base:

(24) /dia ba-sodara deŋ beta/ 'he is related to me'

(25) /dia deŋ beta ba-sodara/ 'he and I are related'

(26) /doŋ ba-sodara/ 'they are related'.

Reciprocity can be stressed (? , or made more explicit?), however, by adding the prefix /baku/:

(27) /doŋ baku-ba-sodara/ 'they are related to each other'.<sup>7</sup>

Similar cases are /ba-səbla/ 'to be adjacent', /ba-musu/ 'to be enemies' and /ba-kawan/ 'to be friends' (from /səbla/ 'the other side', /musu/ 'enemy', /kawan/ 'friend'). If the noun base refers to a meteorological phenomenon the /ba/ form is the corresponding verb 'to be ...-y', cf.

(28) /ada ba-ujan baŋini mau kaLuar bekiŋ apa/ 'why do you want to go out in this rainy weather?' (/ujan/ 'rain').

Of some derivatives the meaning cannot be predicted, e.g. from /mulu/ 'mouth':

(29) /jaŋ ba-mulu deŋ anus/ 1. 'don't scold Anus', 2. 'don't pass it on to Anus (i.e. when you speak with him)'<sup>8</sup>.

A formal exception is /bar-ana/ 'to give birth'; as an attribute following /ibu/ 'mother', /bapa/ 'father', /oraŋ tua/ 'parents', /ana/ 'child' it has to be translated as 'real' or 'biological' (cf. Indonesian *kandung*).

3.5.2 The majority of /ba/ forms from adjective bases have no BI equivalent. I have not been able to conceive categorical meanings for these forms covering more than just a restricted number. Consequently it is not possible to establish to what extent the apparent constraints on their occurrence are of a linguistic nature. I shall only mention a few cases of these forms with a tentative categorization; a more complete description requires a study in itself.

When the adjective denotes a state of mind, the /ba/ form indicates the existence of activities related to the state of mind in question:

(30) /dia ada ba-mara deŋ beta/ 'he is angry with me' (noticeable from his behaviour)

(31) /bo'toŋ ada ba-mara/ 'we are angry with THE entity' (noticeable from our behaviour)<sup>9</sup>. 'THE entity' in the last gloss is, in the absence of contra-

dictory context interpreted as 'each other'. Reciprocity can be made explicit, however, by adding the prefix (or proclitic) /baku/:

(32) /doŋ ada baku-(ba-)mara/ 'they are angry with each other' (The prefix /ba/ adds again the notion 'noticeable in (their) behavior'.)

Similar cases are /((ba-)bae/ 'to be well-disposed towards THE entity' (note that /bae/ has in fact the wider meaning of 'good' in general) and /((ba-)dame/ 'to be peaceful towards THE entity' (The prefixed form in this case usually has the interpretation of 'to make/conclude peace with THE entity'.)

In many cases the /ba/ form seems to imply that the quality denoted by the simple form is the result of outside activities or of application from outside, or that the entity bearing the quality does so only partially or discontinuously. The base itself is semantically unmarked in this respect. Cf. (33) - (38).

(33) /daon papaya, paria, buŋa papaya saMua pait abis/ 'papaya leaves, bitter melon, papaya flowers, all are bitter without exception'

(34) /potoŋ itu ayam ba(e)-bae saDiki, jaŋ sampe dia puŋ pait pica, te nanti saMua daŋiŋ ba-pait abis/ 'cut that chicken with a bit of care, lest its gall bursts, for then all the meat will turn completely bitter'.

(35) /dia puŋ rambu ba-puti/ means that 'his hair is white' either because of there being white hairs or because of it being full of chalk, flour or snow or the like, whereas

(36) /dia puŋ rambu puti/ just means that the color of 'his hair is white', whatever the cause. Similarly,

(37) /bo'toŋ ada ba-saki/ means that we are affected by the illness that is raging, while

(38) /bo'toŋ ada saki/ merely states the fact that we are ill.

Other examples are: *baŋka/* 'swollen' versus /ba-baŋka/ 'with swellings', /panas/ 'warm, hot' versus /ba-panas/ 'to have a fever', and /cape/ 'tired' versus /ba-cape/ 'overcome by tiredness'.

It may in fact be possible to connect the cases discussed in this section (from (31) onwards) with those of a nominal base prefixed with /ba/; the general meaning would then become something like 'to have ...-ness'. In other words prefixation with /ba/ to an adjective base has the effect of making the adjective semantically substantivized, i.e. the quality the adjective refers to is abstracted from its bearer and presented as a thing. The above examples already indicate that in usage at least such a 'thing' is more concrete than the paraphrase '...-ness' would suggest: whereas /tua/ 'old' and /tua-tua/ 'old in varying degrees and measures' can be applied both to human beings and things, it appears to be difficult to find a situation in which /ba-tua/ is applicable to human beings, but when it is said of asparagus for instance, it would refer to

the woodiness of the stalk and to similar tangible characteristics. Defectiveness of reality would explain the apparent non-existence of /ba/ forms from adjectives such as /besar/ 'big', /kici/ 'little, small', /tinggi/ 'high, tall', /panjang/ 'long' etc.

A different case is presented by the /ba/ forms from adjectives which refer to an inherently reciprocal relation, such as /deka/ 'nearby' and /jao/ 'far': /ba-deka/ and /ba-jao/ are comparable to Indonesian *berdekatan* 'close to each other' and *berjauhan* 'far from each other'. /jao/ and /deka/ are seen from the position of one of the participants in the relation as a point of orientation, which is usually given by context or situation, in such a way that only the other participant has to be mentioned explicitly; cf. the following dialogue:

(39) A: /doŋ teŋa deka/. B: /deŋ apa/.  
A: /deŋ sAkola/ A: 'they live near'. B: 'to what?'. A: 'to the school'.

With /ba-deka/ and /ba-jao/, however, both participants have to be mentioned;

(40) /doŋ teŋa ba-deka/ can only be interpreted as 'they live close to each other', while

(41) /doŋ teŋa ba-deka deŋ sakola/ means 'they live close to the school'. The essential difference with /jao/ and /deka/ is that the /ba/ forms view the relation from a neutral distance instead of from the position of one of the participants.

3.5.3 What has been said above of /ba/ derivatives from adjective bases is even more pertinent for verbal bases.

First of all there are instances of incidental semantic shifts: /lompa/ means 'to jump' without further qualifications, whereas /ba-lompa/ 'to jump up hastily, to jump to and fro or up and down'; one meaning of /ba-lia/ (from /lia/ 'to see' is 'to crib' (see below for other meanings); /ba-tidor/ means 'to lie (for other purposes than sleeping)' as opposed to /tidor/ 'to sleep', so that one of the interpretations of

(42) /doŋ su ba-tidor/ is 'they are now sleeping together'; /nae/ means 'to climb, to mount (a bicycle), to board (a plane), to get in (a car etc.)', /ba-nae/, however, is 'to fuck'; from /kawin/ 'to marry, to be married' one has /ba-kawin/ 'to mate'; /tare/ 'to pull' is the base of /ba-tare/ 'to urge to come along'. (For other meanings see below.)

Intransitive verbs denoting some process of decay have /ba/ forms (comparable to those with adjective bases such as /ba-tua/) with the approximate meaning 'to have the observable effects of ...' (that process), e.g. /ba-robek/ 'to have rips/tears', /ba-pica/ 'to have cracks/broken off pieces (of glass, pottery etc.)', /ba-pata/ 'to have splits/breaks/broken parts (of wood, sticks etc.)', /ba-ratak/ 'to have cracks' (from /robek/ 'to rip, to tear', /pica/ 'to crack, to smash, to

break (of glass, pottery etc.)', /pata/ 'to break, to snap (of wood, bones, sticks etc.)', /ratak/ 'to crack').

Many /ba/ forms from transitive verb bases show the already familiar possibility of being interpreted reciprocally, but only when the situation or context provides sufficient clues, such as in:

(43) /doŋ ba-kosi/ 'they had a kicking match, they kicked each other'.

The first gloss is a better representation of the construction because of

(44) /doŋ ba-kosi deŋ beta/ 'they had a kicking match with me', and

(45) /beta ba-kosi/ 'I was involved in a kicking match'.

Pure reciprocity is expressed by means of the prefix /baku/, in which case a plural subject or complementation with a /deŋ/ phrase is obligatory:

(46) /beta baku-kosi deŋ dia/ 'I and he kicked each other';

(47) /bo'toŋ baku-kosi/ 'we kicked each other'.

Other examples of the /kosi/ type are /ba-po'lo/, /ba-cubi/, /ba-kisu/, /ba-tikam/, /ba-rodok/, /ba-katumu/, /ba-maki/, /ba-puku/ from /po'lo/ 'to embrace', /cubi/ = /kisu/ 'to pinch', /tikam/ = /rodok/ 'to stab', /katumu/ 'to meet', /maki/ 'to abuse', /puku/ 'to hit'. Cf. also (48)-(54):

(48) /be lia doŋ ba-lia di pesta/ 'I saw them exchange glances at the party';

(49) /ba-gepe-ba-gepe, andia ko pa'ru su banka/ '(she is) exchanging-squeezings-all-the-time, no wonder she is pregnant' (lit. belly already swollen);

(50) /gepe ini tas di lu puŋ katea/ 'squeeze this bag under your armpit';

(51) /kalo lu masi bekiŋ lai, be pi kəstau lu puŋ bapa/ 'if you do it once more, I'll go and tell your father';

(52) /be deŋar doŋ maen ba-kəstau/ 'I heard them continuously prompting each other'

(53) /gape saŋ dia te dia son lia/ 'wave at him for he hasn't seen (us)'

(54) /bo'toŋ omoŋ ba-gape sa, ko abis baGitu jao na/ 'we talk just exchanging gestures, after all, it was such a distance, so you can imagine'.

In a few cases this aspect of reciprocity, or rather plurality of participants (with the same role), is combined with a notion of 'contesting'; collocation with a specifying nominal complement is usual:

(55) /ba-horo layaŋ-layaŋ/ 'to fly kites trying to cut each other's kite-string with powdered glass stuck onto them' (a popular game and recurrent craze) (from /horo/ 'to cut off, to saw off, to slaughter');

(56) /ba-taro uaŋ/ 'to stake money' and

(57) /ba-taro ayam/ 'to gamble on a cock-fight' (from /taro/ 'to put');

(58) /ba-tare tali/ 'to have a tug-of-war' (from /tare/ 'to pull').

For many unprefixing verbs (among them apparently the majority of those allowing a reciprocal interpretation of



their /ba/ derivatives) the opposition with the corresponding /ba/ forms can be interpreted to be a matter of 'activity seen as an undivided whole' versus 'activity seen as being composed of a series/variety of actions'. This would explain why the unprefixated transitive verb is usually accompanied by a noun-phrase referring to a specific entity as the object: the construction expresses the mere existence of a relation between 'actor' and 'goal'. The /ba/ form on the other hand most often occurs with an indefinite object or without any explicit object at all: it focuses on the content of the relation. There is some parallelism between this opposition and the one between /mara/ and /ba-mara/, and between /lomba/ and /ba-lomba/ (see above). The clumsy glosses of

(59) /óm, piko apa tu/ 'uncle, what are you carrying there?' and

(60) /i', su ba-piko apa ni e?/ 'hey, what is it that makes you carry like this, huh?' should illustrate that in (59) information about the nature of the burden is requested, whereas in (60) the reason for the addressee's toiling is sought. Similarly in

(61) /dia son bisa nis satu kali, musti lima kali/ 'he doesn't sneeze once, it has to be five times', /nis/ is a countable unit; while in

(62) /m', ba-nis-ba-nis baAgitu, te itu su son lama lai/ 'hm, sneezing like that all the time, then it won't take much longer for that (i.e. for a serious cold to manifest itself)', /ba-nis/ refers to a complex of events. Other examples are (63)-(72).

(63) *dia tola sañ beta, andia ko be jato di lompur/* 'he pushed me, no wonder I fell in the mud';

(64) */suru sañ dia, masi mau ba-tola lai/* 'they told him to do it, but he is still trying to get out of it'

(65) */be suru sañ dia pi beli kurus di pasar/* 'I ordered him to go and buy red pepper at the market';

(66) */orañ su cape baAgini, masi ba-suru-ba-suru/* 'one is already tired like this, yet (they are) giving all kind of orders';

(67) */jañ taña sañ beta, te be son tau/* 'don't ask me about it, for I don't know';

(68) */jañ ba-taña, te be son tau/* 'don't ask questions, for I don't know';

(69) */lu mau iko deñ beta ko?/* 'do you want to come with me?';

(70) */ba-iko-ba-iko, andia ko su dapa/* '(he) kept going with (her), no wonder (he) has already got (her)';

(71) */coba pi lur sañ dia, dia su tidor ko/* 'please go and peep at him (to see) whether he is asleep already';

(72) */mama lia anus dolo, dia ba-lur orañ mandi/* 'mother, look at Anus, he spies on people bathing'.

show that /ba/ forms can be reduplicated. I have not found any /ba/ derivative from a reduplicated base, however, except /ba-ribu-ribu/ 'thousands'<sup>10</sup>.

In this connection the /ba/ form of non-reduplicated numerals should be mentioned. As in BI they can be paraphrased as 'in a group of ...' (i.e. whatever number the base refers to) :

(73) */doñ ada pi nonton ba-dua/* 'they are out at the movies together'.

The KM forms, however, contrary to their BI counterparts, are used only in syntactic positions such as the above, but never as a numerical specification of the referent of a personal pronoun; in the latter case the plain numerals are used:

(74) */doñ empat ada pi nonton/* 'the four of them are out at the movies'.

The tentativeness of most that has been said above will be obvious. I stress once again that a special investigation is needed to establish the various types of /ba/ prefixes, their distribution over the lexicon and its categories, and the constraints to their occurrence. This investigation should include a clear demarcation of the functions of /ba/ and /baku/.

#### 4.0 PRONOUNS

4.1 In this section I will discuss in some detail only the KM personal and demonstrative pronouns. The interrogative pronouns will be mentioned in passing: /sapa/ 'who', /apa/ 'what, what kind of', /kapan/ 'when', /barapa/ 'how much, how many', /k(ə)napa/ 'why', /karmana/ 'how', /akurañ/ 'what's wrong, how can it be that'; the difference between the three latter pronouns is illustrated in the following sentences (75)-(81):

(75) */k(ə)napa (sañ) dia/* 1. 'why him?', 2. 'Why is he acting like that?'

(76) */karmana (sañ) dia/* 'how is he?' (i.e. how is his health, how is he as a lover, etc.)

(77) */akurañ (sañ) dia/* 'what's wrong with him?'<sup>11</sup>; in contradistinction with /karmana/, /k(ə)napa/ and /akurañ/ can only be used clause-initially:

(78) */k(ə)napa dia dudu/* 'why does he sit?'

(79) */karmana dia dudu/* 'how does he sit?'

(80) */dia dudu karmana/* 'how does he sit?' (no obvious difference with (79))

(81) */akurañ dia dudu/* 'how can he be sitting (he shouldn't)'.

The interrogative pronoun /mana/, finally, has different functions in different syntactic positions or collocations as the case may be: sentence-initially, in collocation with /muñkin/ 'possible, possibly' it means 'how would it be possible (that), how could it be (that)', while without a following /muñkin/ the approximate trans-



lation would be 'where is/are (the) ... I expected to be here', e.g.

(82) /mana dia puŋ bini/ 'where is his wife'

(83) /mana muŋkin dia puŋ bini/ 1. 'how could he have a wife', 2. 'how is it possible that his wife (would ...), how could it be his wife'; after a (simple or compound) preposition denoting direction or place it means 'what place': /pi mana/ 'whither', /liwat mana/ 'via what place, beyond what place', /di atas mana/ 'above/on top of what place' etc.; in collocation with preceding /yaŋ/ (which has the same functions as BI *yang*) it means, likewise as in BI, 'which (one)'.  
4.2 In Chart 3 the KM personal pronouns are listed.

nr.	person	reduced	full
sg.	1	/be/	/beta/
	2	, /lu/	
	3	/di/	/dia/
pl.	1	exclusive	/bətoŋ/, /bo'toŋ/
		unmarked	/kətoŋ/, /ko'toŋ/
	2	/bəsoŋ/, /bo'soŋ/	
	3	/doŋ/	

Chart 3: KM personal pronouns

I have not been able to detect any difference between the plural pronouns with /ə/ and their variants with /o/.

In careful speech /beta/ is preferred to /be/, in more rapid speech /be/ is frequent; in all kinds of speech, however, /beta/ should be used sentence-finally and after (simple or compound) prepositions:

(84) /dia singa di beta/ 'he drops in at my place'

(85) /deŋ beta dia barani/ 'with me he dares'

(86) /dia taña (saŋ) beta/ 'he asked me'

(87) /be(ta) yaŋ masak/ 'it is me who cooks'

(88) /lu dapa lia be(ta) puŋ b(a')ruk?/ 'did you by any chance see my trousers?'

(89) /be(ta) su mandi/ 'I have bathed already'

(90) /be(ta) mandi lu masak/ 'I bathe; you cook'

(91) /be(ta) deŋ nona su ba-cinta/ 'I and Nona have already fallen in love'. /di/ is an allegro form, never occurring in the position of /beta/ in (82)-(84), (88)-(89); it is rare if not impossible in contexts such as (85) and (87), but it occurs mostly before /puŋ/ 'to have', when the latter is used as a

marker of possessiveness (cf. (86)).

The opposition between /bətoŋ/, /bo'toŋ/ (presumably from \*beta oraŋ) and /kətoŋ/, /ko'toŋ/ (presumably from \*kita oraŋ) may have been originally a matter of exclusiveness versus inclusiveness. The former forms are still used with exclusive reference, apparently also by the younger generation. The forms /kətoŋ/ and /ko'toŋ/, however, are used indiscriminately with exclusive and inclusive reference.

4.3 The form /doŋ/ deserves a special discussion. Apart from being the third person plural pronoun, it has two other functions. After a personal name or a construction denoting a relative or a functional /doŋ/ has the meaning 'and related people':

(92) /karmana, səs lis doŋ su pulaŋ dari alor?/ 'tell me (lit. how), have Lis and her family already returned from Alor?'

(93) /abis tu masi pi kasi tau saŋ tanta doŋ/ 'after it (she) still went to tell auntie and her family (about it)'

(94) /be rasa ida doŋ lebe bae lai/ 'I think that you (i.e. Ida and husband) are even better'

(95) /andia ko susi ida deŋ maksu bilaŋ ko'toŋ su lupa saŋ susi ida doŋ/ 'no wonder you (i.e. Ida and Maksu) say we have already forgotten you (lit. Ida and the people around her)'. In other contexts it refers to a collective of people or things. /tanta doŋ/ in (93) may also refer to a group of 'aunts' (female acquaintances of ego's parents generation are also appropriately referred to with the word /tanta/).  
Examples:

(96) /te to'o ju(ga) harus cari kerja untuk to'o puŋ bini ana doŋ/ 'for uncle (mother's brother) also has to look for work for his wife-and-children'

(97) /bapa doŋ kasi turun klapa muda ko kasi makan itu makasar doŋ bekiŋ apa?/ 'why on earth did father and his mates pick young coconuts to have them eaten by that bunch of Makassarese?'

(98) /ida deŋ nona jaga pi minta sampe kaki doŋ su mau pata, ma sonde tau dapa/ 'Ida and Nona kept going and asking until their legs were nearly dropping off, but they did not succeed in getting (it)'<sup>12</sup>

(99) /itu pakian doŋ botoŋ su ukur/ 'that lot of clothes we have tried on already'

(100) /bo'toŋ puŋ coklat doŋ su noe-noe karna su lama/ 'our chocolates have gone all mushy because they are old'

(101) /te tar-bisa ni, karutuk-karutuk doŋ sAkaraŋ su kApala batu/ 'but this is completely impossible you know, the little ones nowadays have become obstinate'

(102) /beta ba-pasaŋ itu apa tu sampe badan doŋ saki/ 'I have been fitting together that what's-its-name until every limb in my body is aching' (referring to a jigsaw puzzle)<sup>12</sup>

(103) /stadion tar-bisa tampuŋ oraŋ-oraŋ doŋ/ 'the stadium could not contain all the people'

(104) /bəsoŋ beli kartu pos doŋ di pingir jalan ko, atau di tanpa piramide doŋ?/ 'did you buy the postcards by the roadside or at the site of the pyramids?'

(105) /karna tulis surat ni malam, mata doŋ su pa'dis abis/ 'because (I) am writing this letter at night my eyes are already burning all over'.

4.4. The KM system of demonstratives consists of four subsystems: (a) manner, (b) location, (c) definiteness, and - for lack of a better term - (a) the 'pure' demonstratives.

a. Manner: /bAgini/ 'like this', /bAgitu/ 'like that'.

b. Location: /sini/ 1. 'this place', 2. 'here, hither', /situ/ 1. 'that place', 2. 'there, thither', /sana/ 1. 'yonder place', 2. 'over there, to yonder place'. The first interpretations (to be distinguished from /ini tanpa/ 'this place' etc.) are actualized after simple and compound prepositions:

(106) /be simpan lu puŋ doi di ba(wa) sini/ 'I put your money under here'

(107) /di sana aer susa mau mati/ 'it is terribly (lit. want to die) difficult (to get) water there'.

The second interpretation in the above glosses is applied after predicates that contain a verb which indicates change of place. Besides that /sini/ and /sana/ can be used as impatient commands:

(108) /*(mari)* sini/ 'come here!'

(109) /kasi sini itu muti/ 'give that bead here!'

(110) /dia sonde bawa sana itu fafiti/ 'he did not take that catapult there (to yonder place)'

(111) /pi nae pohon sana su/ 'go over there now and climb that tree'

(112) /dia geser sini itu keler/ 'he shifted that case this way'.

c. Definiteness: /ni/ and /tu/ indicate that THE speaker considers the referent of THE preceding construction to be identifiable by THE hearer; /ni/ moreover expresses that this referent is relatively close to THE speaker spatially and/or temporally or psychologically, while /tu/ seems to be neutral in this respect.

When the preceding word ends in a vowel the variant forms /ini/ and /itu/ may occur, with the first vowel, extremely reduced in most cases, however. The following sentences (113)-(124) illustrate the syntactic constructions in which the demonstrative articles occur.

(113) /jaŋ lupa foto-foto yaŋ hebat tu/ 'don't forget the pictures that were so terrific'

(114) /di muka umum ni, bekiŋ malu-malu sa/ 'in public like this is just embarrassing (the speaker had witnessed the hearer crying at the airport)'

(115) /oraŋ di stadion tu sama ke apa ko/ 'the people in the stadium were like I-don't-know-what'

(116) /te te'o su sonde ada lai na, ta'raŋ bapa puŋ bini tiri ni su jadi raja/ 'but auntie (father's sister) is no longer here so you can imagine this step-wife 12 of father is the boss now'

(117) /beta ada pikir-pikir tu bAgini .../ 'I was pondering then like this ...'

(118) /ma waktu mateos barankat itu hari dari kupaŋ beta sonde tau lai ada oraŋ ko sonde, be su gas tu/ 'but when Mateos departed from Kupang that day I didn't care whether there were people or not, I just stepped on the gas you-know' (i.e. the speaker was crying his lungs out)

(119) /beta su maŋanto kode ni/ 'I am dropping off already now'

(120) /beta pi di mama ko mau kasi baŋun ni/ 'I went to mother as I wanted to wake her up you-see'

(121) /beta sanŋa ini yaŋ kə'toŋ tunggu-tunggu su dataŋ ni/ 'I thought that this thing we had been waiting so long for, had come now' (an oblique reference to a promised Christmas parcel)

(122) /baru-baru ni kə'toŋ makan ayam laot yaŋ lalolak panjaŋ tu/ 'quite recently we ate a 'sea chicken' (a kind of eel) such a long and lanky one'

(123) /dia ni yaŋ biasa kala/ 'now it is he who usually loses'

(124) /karmana ni, bisa toloŋ cari kasi beta pa'i tua ko?/ 'now how (about this plan of mine), could (you) help and find me a husband?'. Idiomatic is the following expression:

(125) /lu (i)ni (talalu)/ 'silly twit; come off it; that's too much'.

d. The 'pure' demonstratives are /ini/ 'this' versus /itu/ 'that', opposed to each other like /ni/ and /tu/; they are either connected with a following noun or they occur independently; cf. (126)-(130):

(126) /jagoŋ muda ini taon talalu baŋa; sampe sonde kuat makan/ 'there is this year too much young maize, so that (people) cannot eat it all'

(127) /abis itu simpan baranŋ ko mau pulaŋ/ 'after that (we) packed our things for (we) wanted to go home'

(128) /itu hari mama bilaŋ mau beli kasi kə'toŋ baju 'kobo'i deŋ taŋan yuken'si/ 'that day mother said she wanted to buy us a cowboy jerkin without sleeves'

(129) /kalo bo'toŋ di kupaŋ lia itu-itu terus sa/ 'as for us in Kupang, we only see those same old things all the time'

(130) /beta sonde suka lai lia ini sAkola/ 'I don't like to see this school anymore'. The above sentences show that the exact relation between /ini/ and /itu/ on the one hand and /ni/ and /tu/ on the other deserves a more thorough investigation. The more so as combinations of them are also frequent. It suffices to give two examples:

(131) /ini tanta ni yaŋ bapa bilaŋ puti ke balanda karna pano tu puŋ sifat puŋ tar-bai lai/ 'this woman now of whom father says that she is white as a Dutch-

woman because of that leukoderma of hers has a totally rotten nature'

(132) /itu tas yaŋ lu ganton di bahu tu lu sonde bisa ganti lai ko?/ 'that bag you have there hanging from your shoulder you cannot change it, can you?'

(133) /ini ni su bae ko? parsetan pi/14 'is this right now? O, to hell with it' The /ini ni/ refers to the English phrase which formed the preceding context. Finally mention should be made here of (*india*) (presumably from \**ini dia*), which can best be translated as 'that's (how) it (is)'. Cf. (8) and

(134) /india bo'ton puŋ kərja/ 'that's what our work's like'.

## 5.0 FUNCTION WORDS

5.1 The important role of these words in the structure of KM has been mentioned above. Endeavours to arrive at a clear-cut classification of these words are impeded by the following facts: the same form in the same syntactic environment often allows more than one interpretation; the same form with the same meaning often has quite heterogeneous syntactic valencies; any common denominator is (consequently) doomed at the outset to be nebulous. I have grouped my enumeration of function words (with remarks and illustrations) into four parts: (A) preposition-like, (B) aspectual, (C) co-ordinating and subordinating and (D) other function words.

### 5.2 A. PREPOSITION-LIKE FUNCTION WORDS.

5.2.1 The core of this group is formed by /dari/ 'from', /di/ 'in, at; to', /pi/ 'to'. They may be combined into compound prepositions with words denoting some spatial aspect of an object: /dari ba(wa)/ 'from under', /di dalam/ 'inside', /di səbla/ 'next to', /pi atas/ 'onto' etc. (These constructions can also be used without a following nominal expression, in which case they should be glossed 'from underneath', 'inside', 'at the other side, next door' and 'up(stairs)').

/di/ may often be interpreted as 'at the house/place of', e.g. in (135) /be cari itu bokor di tanta agus/ 'I looked for that bowl at aunt Agus'. The semantic range of BI *ke(pada)* 'to (in the direction of)' is divided between /di/ and /pi/ in KM. A special investigation is needed to establish their exact values. /di/ in the meaning 'to' tends to be used before nominal expressions referring to persons. (I have never heard or seen /pi/ in these positions.) After the verbs /datan/ 'to come' and /pi(gi)/ 'to go' only /di/ can be used. The latter verb, however,

can also be followed directly by a noun; in that case the action in question apparently has to be a social habit:

(136) /don pi(gi) sAkola/ 'they go to school', but

(137) /don pi(gi) di sAkola/ 'they go to the school'.

Similarly /pi(gi) kantor/ 'to go to the office (to work)', /pi(gi) gereja/ 'to go to church', /pi(gi) kupaŋ/ 'to go to (the main shopping area of) Kupang'.

After other verbs which imply a movement, the difference between /pi/ and /di/ seems to be that /pi/ rather means 'in the general direction of', while /di/ also covers the meanings 'in(to), against', e.g.

(138) /lempar pi pohon/ 'to throw towards the tree'

(139) /lempar di pohon/ 'to throw to/into/against the tree'.

5.2.2 Another usage of BI *kepada*, introducing the receiver after verbs like 'to give' and 'to send', is covered in KM by /kasi/ or /sa(ŋ)/. With /kirim/ 'to send' the following constructions are possible:

(140) /don kirim itu baju kasi beta/

(141) /don kirim kasi beta itu baju/

(142) /don kirim saŋ beta itu baju/

(143) /don kirim itu baju saŋ beta/,

and moreover

(144) /don kirim itu baju kasi saŋ beta/

(145) /don kirim kasi saŋ beta itu baju/.

All these constructions can be translated as 'they sent me that shirt'. It is possible to use /di/ instead of /kasi/ in (140) and (141) resulting in the interpretation 'to my address'. The differences in the order of segments is a matter of assembling the message in different ways. In the latter two sentences /kasi/ is the verb 'to give'; /kasi/ in (140) and (141) also expresses that the shirt sent is a gift. (For another function of /kasi/, see the section on aspectual function words below.) /sa(ŋ)/ is a general complement marker.

5.2.3 Before discussing this, and the marker of possessiveness, /pun/, more extensively, I shall give a number of examples of two other preposition-like function words, /deŋ/ and /ke/, skipping others (such as /untuk/ 'for', /liwat/ 'past; to pass') which do not differ basically from their BI cognates.

/deŋ/ means 'with' and is used also instead of BI *dan* 'and'. Examples:

(146) /beta sonde par'na katumu deŋ trei lai/ 'I never meet Trei anymore'

(147) /trin yaŋ ambe deŋ ko'ton puŋ tustel/ 'it was Trin who took (them) with our camera'

(148) /be makan deŋ roti tamba deŋ lima potoŋ kokis tolo kuda/ 'I ate it with bread and moreover with five pieces of horse-prick-biscuits'

(149) /beta pi ba'suk di tanta agus deŋ minta surat pamiŋ di tamukuŋ/ 'I went



to pay a visit on aunt Agus and to ask for a permit at (the house/office of the) village head'

(150) /beta rubus daon papaya deŋ buŋa/ 'I cooked papaya leaves and flowers'

(151) /mimi deŋ nona sonde mau koko itu ana/ 'Mimi and Nona did not want to carry that child'

(152) /te mama pi sampe di ujung bumi deŋ lama lai/ 'for mother went to the ends of the earth and for a long time at that'.

As BI *dengan* followed by an adjective, /deŋ/ in the same position may also express manner:

(153) /beta su sidi deŋ bae/ 'my confirmation (ceremony) went off successfully'.

/ke/ means 'as, like' and is most often preceded by /sama/ 'same':

(154) /sAkaraŋ bapa su sama ke ba?i-ba?i sa/ 'now father already looks just like a kind of grandfather'

(155) /oraŋ omoŋ ma dia ke tar-tau sa/ 'it has been explained to him but he just seems not take it in'; cf. also (115) and (131).

5.2.4 /saŋ/ and its variants /sa/ introduces a noun phrase complement. Its use, however, is restricted or not always obligatory. There seems to be a tendency to use it before personal pronouns and names; likewise there is a tendency not to use it before nominal expressions which do not refer to a human being and before longer expressions in general, including those referring to a human being. This latter tendency may be a consequence of the fact that human beings are referred to by means of longer expressions in formal style rather than in informal, and in formal style the influence of standard Indonesian is strong. The variant /sa/ is the only form used before /lu/ 'you (sg.)'; /saŋ/ [saŋ] is used elsewhere, but this realization co-varies in casual speech with [sa] before a following nasal, [saŋ] before a following palatal, [san] before a following alveolar/dental stop and [sam] before a following labial stop. Examples:

(156) /knapa mia nika sonde undaŋ saŋ beta/ 'why did Mia marry without inviting me?'

(157) /ada sester dataŋ di ruma untuk tensi saŋ to?o/ 'a nurse came to take mother's brother's blood-pressure'

(158) /mama suru paŋe om eli dataŋ lia saŋ to?o/ 'mother had uncle Eli called to come and see uncle (i.e. mother's brother)'

(159) /doŋ koko (saŋ) itu ana sama ke doŋ koko baraŋ/ 'they carry that child just like they carry luggage'

(160) /beta kasian (saŋ) mama deŋ adi-adi/ 'I feel sorry for (my) mother and (my) younger brothers and sisters'

(161) /jaŋ bilaŋ saŋ ibu mimi/ 'don't say (it) to Mrs. Mimi'.

The latter sentence illustrates the fact that with verbal constructions de-

noting a speech-act (such as /bilaŋ/ 'to say', /jaŋji/ 'to promise', /carita/ 'to tell', /kasi tau, /kastau/ or /kəstau/ 'to inform', /kasi iŋa/ 'to remind', /omoŋ/ 'to speak') /sa(ŋ)/ introduces the nominal expression referring to the person to whom the speech-act is directed. That /sa(ŋ)/ also may introduce the expression referring to the receiver after the verbs /kasi/ 'to give' (it cannot be replaced by /kasi/ after this verb) and /kirim/ 'to send' was indicated above ((140-(145)). (75)-(77) show yet another kind of complement introduced by /sa(ŋ)/.

5.2.5 As said above /puŋ/ is the marker of possessive constructions. The same form can be used as a verb meaning 'to have' as well:

(162) /be su puŋ ini buku/ 'I already have this book'

(163) /ini buku be su puŋ/ 'this book I have already'

(164) /be su bisa nae motor ma sayaŋ sonde puŋ sim/ 'I can ride a motor-bike already but unfortunately I have no driver's license'

(165) /itu tanta sonde puŋ gigi lai, dia musti makan dagiŋ yaŋ su fi?i/ 'that woman has no teeth anymore, she has to eat shredded meat'.

In the majority of occurrences it connects a noun phrase referring to a person and one referring to the thing possessed into a possessive noun phrase; cf.:

(166) /be saŋka gontor yaŋ ada di be puŋ rebis/ 'I thought it was thunder that was beside me' (said about someone crying loudly)

(167) /itu nona puŋ susu ta-bembeŋ sama ke nene-nene/ 'that girl's breasts are sagging like (those of) a grandmother'.<sup>15</sup>

The thing possessed may be clear from the context:

(168) /ini buku sama ke be puŋ/ 'this book is the same as mine'

(169) /ko'toŋ musti bekiŋ pohon taraŋ lebe bagus dari doŋ puŋ/ 'we had to make a Christmas tree which was more beautiful than their's'.

A subject - predicator construction is nominalized by inserting /puŋ/:

(170) /bo'toŋ sonde par'na rasa klapa muda puŋ enak/ 'we never tasted the deliciousness of young coconuts'

(171) /lu puŋ mau haŋa itu sa/ 'what you want is that and that alone'

(172) /barenti deŋ lu puŋ balajar suda/ 'stop now with your studying'

(173) /dia puŋ puku sonde saki/ 'his hitting does not hurt'

(174) /lu tau dia puŋ pamalas/ 'you know his laziness'

(175) /dia teŋa di bakunase puŋ pi lai/ 'he lives past Bakunase'.

A further development of /puŋ/ is shown in (176)-(179), where it expresses amazement; in this function it may precede an intransitive verb, but mostly an adjective. Usually the construction is

closed by /lai/, which seems to strengthen the expressiveness of the utterance.

(176) /ini ana doᅇ puᅇ bataria!/  
'these children are yelling!'

(177) /a'wi' lu puᅇ kake'ek lai/ 'God, how stingy you are!'

(178) /dia puᅇ ba-kaca puᅇ lama lai/  
'how long he takes standing in front of the mirror!'

(179) /dia puᅇ panta puᅇ tepos lai/  
'how flat her bottom is!'

Finally /puᅇ/ occurs in combination with /ada/, meaning 'to have the ... pertaining to it'; cf. (180)-(182):

(180) /sonde ada puᅇ guna/ 'it has no use'

(181) /doᅇ sonde ada puᅇ pikiran/  
'they don't have any thoughts (on the matter)'

(182) /itu klas su ada puᅇ guru/  
'that class already has its teacher'.

It should be mentioned here that not all standard Indonesian sequences AB of two nouns is paralleled by a KM construction B /puᅇ/ A. There are quite a number of KM compounds of the shape AB. Cf. for instance foot-note 11 and the following minimal pairs:

(183) /pendeta puᅇ ruma/ 'the minister's house'

(184) /ruma pendeta/ 'manse'

(185) /papaya puᅇ daon/ 'leaf/leaves of a/the papaya tree'

(186) /daon papaya/ 'papaya leaves (as a vegetable dish)'

(187) /gaja puᅇ kaki/ 'leg(s) of an/the elephant'

(188) /kaki gaja/ 'leg(s) affected by elephantiasis'.

Two compounds have the inverted order as compared with BI:

(189) /mata biji/ 'eye-ball'

(190) /panta lobanᅇ/ 'arse-hole'.

## 6.0 B. ASPECTUAL FUNCTION WORDS.

6.1 'Aspectual' is used here as a cover term. The words discussed in this paragraph pertain to causativity and to aspect combined with temporal and modal features.

Verbs are made causative when they are directly preceded by /kasi/. As the examples above showed, /kasi/ means 'to give', roughly speaking when it is the main predicate of a clause, and 'for, on behalf of' when it follows the main predicate. Needless to say these classificatory distinctions should be refined in a 'definitive' description of KM. On the one hand, there exist serial verbs such as in

(191) /dia su mau lari pi suru tidor saᅇ meki/ 'he already wanted to run off to go and tell Meki to go to bed'

On the other hand, there are composite predicates such as in (144) and (145). This makes it hazardous to select the 'main' predicate. The causative function of /kasi/ is most common when it precedes

an intransitive verb: /kasi tidor/ 'to put to bed', /kasi maso/ 'to let enter, to put in', /kasi badiri/ 'to erect, to set up', /kasi teᅇa/ 'to leave behind', /kasi banun/ 'to wake up (tr.)' etc. Furthermore it is frequent with verbs like /iᅇa/ 'to remember' and /tau/ 'to know'; in the latter case contraction often occurs: /kastau/, /kəstau/ alongside /kasi tau/.

Below in (192) is an example of a transitive verb made causative with /kasi/:

(192) /be kasi jae itu baju di tukanᅇ jae/ 'I had that shirt made at the tailor's'. With most transitive verbs, however, a special causative category is lacking. The idea is expressed implicitly with various circumscptions, e.g.

(193) /be minta saᅇ tanta agus tolonᅇ bekiᅇ roti goreng/ 'I asked aunt Agus to help making fried dough cakes'.

Causativity with adjectives can always be expressed by /bekiᅇ/ 'to make' (also /bikin/). The sentences discussed so far present examples of this. A number of adjectives can be causativized with /kasi/ as well, the constraints of which have to be further investigated. (194)-(198) are examples.

(194) /be kasi kici api/ 'I reduce the fire'

(195) /dia kasi malu dia puᅇ oranᅇ tua/ 'he shames his parents' (but not \*kasi mara)

(196) /doᅇ kasi mera doᅇ puᅇ bibir/ 'they redden their lips' (but not \*kasi mera pintu)

(197) /kasi ta'raᅇ kamar sAdiki/ 'light up the room a bit'

(198) /nene kasi manis itu kokis/ 'grandmother made those biscuits sweet'.

Idiomatic is:

(199) /jaᅇ kasi enak saᅇ dia/ 'don't make it easy for him (by doing everything for him)'. In all these cases /bekiᅇ/ can be used instead of /kasi/.

6.2.1 The system of aspect markers in a narrower sense consists of four forms. Comparatively rare are /maen/ (also 'to play') and /jaga/ (also 'to guard, to stay awake'). Both express repetition of the event referred to be the following verb, but /maen/ conveys a notion of 'it cannot be stopped', whereas /jaga/ seems to imply conscious effort. Cf. (52), (98) and (200)-(202).

(200) /bo'tonᅇ sAndiri jadi malu maen pi minta sonde tau-tau dapa/ 'we ourselves grew ashamed of going and asking repeatedly without ever succeeding in getting (what we wanted)

(201) /be jaga jato/ 'I keep falling' (consciously, e.g. in a game)

(202) /be maen jato/ 'I keep falling' (inadvertently).

With these aspectual meanings /maen/ and /jaga/ occur also with a restricted number of adjectives: seemingly only those which refer to non-durable qualities.

The more frequent aspect markers are /ada/ and /su/, which occur regularly

with adjectives as well as with verbs. Both also contain an element of time reference, i.e. are temporally deictic. They cannot be combined with aspectual /maen/ and /jaga/, nor with each other. However, /su/ but not /ada/ can precede /ada/ 'to be there/at/in, to exist' or with /ada puŋ/ (see (180)-(182)) or with /ada/ in constructions such as:

(203) /sAkaraŋ to'o su ada kərja/  
'now mother's brother has work already'<sup>16</sup>  
Aspectual /ada/ expresses that the event referred to by the following verb or adjective is in its progress at THE time of orientation. /su/ expresses that at THE time of orientation the event referred to by the following verb or adjective has passed its beginning stage. It depends on context/situation or nature of the event (e.g. when it is spontaneous) whether the interpretation 'having passed its end' is possible as well. Predicates without any of the aspect markers are less frequent than BI predicates without the comparable *sudah* or *sedang*. The exact function of such predicates in KM vis-à-vis those with one of the aspect markers, has to be further investigated. For the moment I assume that it is just semantically unmarked. The negation of /su/ is /bolom/ 'not yet'. The interpretation 'having passed its end' is obligatory when /abis/ is inserted between /su/ and the verb. In this position, immediately preceding the verb, /abis/ means 'to complete, to finish'. Postverbally /abis/ expresses that the event referred to by the verb has reached its logical conclusion:

(204) /makan abis/ 'to eat up, to eat (it) all'  
(205) /lu puŋ lilin su ta-bakar abis/  
'your candle has burnt right down'

Mention should be made here of the use of /abis/ after adjectives and their derivatives with /ba/. As (105), (33) and (34) show it indicates that the bearer of the quality expressed by the adjective or the /ba/ form is marked by it (i.e. the quality) completely.

6.2.2 In contradistinction to /ada/, /maen/ and /jaga, /su/ can occur also sentence-finally. In that position it bears the main sentence stress and can be interchanged with /suda/. The expressed meaning is approximately 'earlier than was expected' (in imperatives to be interpreted: 'earlier than you seem to be inclined to do', cf. (206)).

(206) /makan su(da)/ 'do eat - don't hesitate'. /suda/ (not /su/) can be used as a sentence in answering a yes or no question that contains /su/ or /bolom/ in its main predicate:

(207) A: /bo'soŋ su makan ko?/ B:  
/suda/ A: 'have you eaten?' B: 'yes'

(208) A: /bo'soŋ bolom makan ko?/  
B: /suda/ A: 'haven't you eaten yet?'  
B: 'yes, we have'. Another use of /suda/ will be discussed below.

6.2.3 I skip a discussion in this section of postverbal /t(ə)rus/ 'without interruption', /do(lo)/ or /dolu/ 1. 'before (doing) anything else', 2. 'in former times', /masi/ 'still, yet' and /baru/ 1. 'new, recent', 2. 'not until (then), only (then), just now', 3. 'only (that), nothing else occurring previously', because they do not differ from their BI cognates, *terus*, *dulu*, *masih* and *baru*.

6.2.4 The last two words to be discussed here, /memaŋ/ and /mau/, do differ from BI *memang* and *mau*, however. KM /memaŋ/ occurs not only clause-initially or between a subject and a predicate in the meaning 'indeed', like BI *memang*, but also sentence-finally to express that the referent of the subject has suddenly transferred to the state or activity referred to by the predicate when it is atelic or to its implied result when it is telic. An example is (222) below.

When /mau/ is used alone (i.e. not preceding a verb or adjective) it can only be interpreted as 'to want, to wish', e.g.:

(209) /dia mau ikan/ 'he wants fish'

(210) /makan dia mau/ 'to eat he does want'.

When /mau/ is followed by a verb or an adjective, however, the interpretation 'to be going to (be), to be on the point of' seems to be always possible, alongside - in appropriate contexts - 'to want to'. Nevertheless I consider human will to be grammaticalized, because of the fact that constructions such as (209) allow nominalization:

(211) /dia puŋ mau haña ikan sa/ 'all he wants is fish', whereas from

(212) /itu pohon mau jato/ 'that tree is on the point of falling down' no similar nominalization is possible;

(213) /itu dia puŋ mau/ (with /dia/ referring to that tree) is considered strange, apparently not because the interpretation \*'that's what it is about to' would not fit, but because its meaning is indeed 'that's what it wants'.

## 7.0 C. CO-ORDINATING AND SUB-ORDINATING FUNCTION WORDS.

7.1 I will only enumerate here the words pertaining to this section, but having clearly recognizable BI cognates with comparable syntactic functions. They are: /sampe/ 1. 'to reach', 2. 'until', /t(ə)rus/ 'without interruption, (and) immediately after that' (cf. (9)), /karna/ 'because, because of', /tapi/ 'but', /dan/ 'and', /atau/ 'or', /kalo/ 'when, if', /biarpun/ and /walaupun/ 'although', /jadi/ 1. 'to become, to come off', 2. 'so'. All seem to be cases of BI influence. Their functions are covered by KM /ju/, /te/, /ma/, /ko/, /ke/ and /na/.



which will be discussed here in some detail. KM /ju/ to be distinguished from /ju/ = /juga/, which will be dealt with below, has the same function as co-ordinative /t(ə)rus/: '(and) immediately after that', e.g.:

(214) /beta kasi tanda saŋ dia, ju andia ko dia iŋa/ 'I gave him a sign, and immediately of course he remembered'.

7.2 /te/ is an example of Rotinese influence also on KM grammar. Jonker remarks in his dictionary (1908, p.606) that *tè* "door ons dikwijls door 'maar' kan worden weergegeven" to which he adds: "dikwijls is *tè* ook door 'want' weer te geven". Exactly the same holds true for KM. In (4) and (101), the translation should be definitely 'but' (the preceding context of the latter being 'elder brothers should read letters first' while the following sentence is (241). In (215)-(217) the translation must be 'for, because';

(215) /jaŋ kasi tau saŋ anus te nanti be malu besar ni/ 'don't tell it to Anus for otherwise I'll be awfully ashamed you know'

(216) /beta su maŋanto, te besok mau pi sAkola/ 'I am tired already (and am going to bed) for tomorrow I want to go to school'

(217) /beta saŋka bæsoŋ pi nonton di argentina, te kətoŋ tunggu bæsoŋ puŋ surat sa, lama skali/ 'I thought you (pl.) had gone to watch in Argentina, because we waited such a long time for your letter'.

Another kind of /te/ occurs in

(218) /yaŋ biasa kala te mimi/ 'the one who usually loses is Mimi'.

I have not found it outside cleft sentences such as these. In this order of sentence segments its presence seems to be obligatory.

7.3 /ma/ 'but' is far more frequent than /tapi/. (219)-(221) are a few examples.

(219) /nanti oraŋ bilaŋ su tua baŋka ma masi palese/ '(if you don't pull yourself together) people will say (you're) already grown up but still blubbering'

(220) /doŋ maŋao abis, ma doŋ sonde kaLuar/ 'they responded alright, but they did not come out'

(221) /dia bilaŋ ada oraŋ laki-laki, ma parcuma sa, dia haŋa mau makan tidor sa/ 'he says there is a man (in the house), but that's no use at all, he is only interested in eating and sleeping'.

For another (function of) /ma/ see below.

7.4 In one of its uses the form /na/ belongs to the subordinators; three other functions will be discussed below. It closes a temporal subordinate clause, that precedes a main clause, expressing that 'when(ever) the event referred to by the subordinate clause, then the event referred to by the main clause'; cf.

(222)-(227).

(222) /maksu, kalo su kala na, dia fuik memaŋ/ 'as for Maksu, whenever he loses, he shoots through straightaway'

(223) /kalo oraŋ tua omoŋ na, prop lu puŋ mulu(t)/ 'when elder people talk, (you) keep your mouth shut'

(224) /kalo su lapar na, ko'toŋ makan supərmi manta/ 'when we got hungry, we ate raw instant noodles'

(225) /kalo upu teni pulaŋ na, doŋ su sambu(t) di pinggir jalan/ 'when grandchild Teni comes home, they (are) already (waiting to) welcome him at the side of the road'

(226) /mandi na, jaŋ pake aer baŋa-baŋa/ 'when (you) bathe, don't use too much water'

(227) /bapa bilaŋ neu, mau kasi apa na, bapa tarima sa/ 'father said: 'don't bother, if (she) wants to give anything, I'll just accept it''.

The constructions without /kalo/ refer to events at the present time or in the immediate future, those with /kalo/ have a more general or a more distant time reference (longer ago in the past, farther away in the future).

7.5 Opposed to /((kalo) ... na/, which has real time reference, sentence initial /co/ has irrealis time reference:

(228) /co tadi lu su singa di tanta agus ko minta balimbiŋ, maŋkali ko'toŋ su bekiŋ rujak/ 'if you just now had dropped by at aunt Agus' to ask for carambola we would probably have rujak (fruit salad) made by now'.

7.6.1 Probably the most frequent function word in KM is /ko/. In many of its uses - if it is indeed one word - it seems to convey a notion of uncertainty on the side of THE speaker. It occurs in different syntactic positions. Clause-finally it is a question marker: (115), (139) and (229)-(232) are examples.

(229) /dia su sonde iŋa saŋ beti lai ko?/ 'doesn't he remember Beti anymore?'

(230) /a'wi'! apa kabar ko?/ 'hey! how are things?'

(231) /karmana deŋ mai mantu doŋ ko?/ 'how (do you get along) with your mother-in-law and her family?'

(232) /mimi su baraŋkat ko tanta?/ 'did Mimi leave already, auntie?'

As a question marker it may also occur after questionwords in other positions in the sentence:

(233) /tar-tau karmana ko be jato/ 'I don't know how I came to fall'.

Between two phrases of equal syntactic status /ko/ means 'or':

(234) /su ada bebi ko bolom?/ 'do (you) already have a baby or not yet?'

(235) /a'wi'! tantu mata doŋ tar-tau iko mama ko bapa e/ 'hey! certainly its eyes take after - heaven knows - its mother or its father!'

(236) /karmana mama, diŋin ko? ko karmana?/ 'how is it mother, cold? or what?'

When a series of alternatives is presented (to be translated as 'whether (it is) ... or ... (or ...)') /ko/ can be repeated. Opposed to /ko/ in the other cases discussed above and to be discussed below, these /ko/'s may be replaced by as many /ke/'s:

(237) /*mera ko, blau ko, ijo ko, be sonde mau pake b(a')ruk macam bAgitu/* 'whether they are red, or blue, or green, I don't want to wear such trousers' (also: /*mera ke, blau ke, ijo ke/* etc.);

(238) /*malam ko, sian ko, beta yan jaga cuci piring/* 'whether night or day, it is me that keeps on washing dishes' (also: /*malam ke, sian ke/* etc.).

7.6.2 Within the realm of uncertainty lies the meaning of /ko/ in the following sentences. Here it opens a main clause and is often sentence-initial; by using it THE speaker asks for consent/empathy/recollection from the side of THE hearer.<sup>17</sup> Examples:

(239) /*dia puṅ aer sama ke aer lompor, tapi bo'toṅ mandi sa; ko abis kalo mandi mau ambe aer barisi di mana?/* 'its water was like liquid mud, but we bathed (in it) all the same; after all where would one get clean water?'

(240) /*be iṅa bo'toṅ sAmua ada bakar lilin di muka ruma; ko usi mia bakar kəmbaṅ api lalu kəjar saṅ markus tu/* 'I recall that we were all burning candles in front of the house; and Mia burnt sparklers and chased Markus, remember?'

(241) /*doṅ kalo su baca lebe dolo, doṅ su carita saṅ kətoṅ ko bAgini bAgini, bekiṅ oraṅ kaloṅ ko sa/* '(for) they, when (they) have read it before (we have), they start telling us such and such don't they, only making you feel frustrated'

(242) /*untuṅ ko beta kasi iṅa saṅ dia, ko beta bilaṅ: ko bətoṅ nae kapal di penfui/* 'it was fortunate that I reminded him, that I said: we go aboard in Penfui, don't we?'

(243) /*mama suru doṅ kAluar, ko bo'toṅ mau boṅkar/* 'I (mother) ordered them to leave the house, for we want to pull it down'. The last /ko/ of (242) conveys a kind of protest and an appeal towards THE hearer to change his position. Cf. also:

(244) /*ko be haña pi situ sa sonde bole?/* 'am I not even allowed to go just to there?'. /ko/ in combination with preceding /*andia/* means 'no wonder, of course'; cf. (63), (70), (95) and (214).

7.6.3 As a conjunctive particle, /ko/ connects a subordinate clause to a main clause. The event referred to by the subordinate clause is the aim or consequence of the event referred to by the main clause. Cf.:

(245) /*doṅ kAluar ko tunṅgu oto trək dataṅ/* 'they went out to wait for the truck to come'

(246) /*tunṅgu sa ko dia ba-pulek, dataṅ ko ko'toṅ kipas saṅ dia/* 'just wait

until it bears cobs, (then) come and we'll pick them'

(247) /*jam steṅa dua mia dataṅ ko kasi baṅun saṅ ko'toṅ/* 'at half-past one Mia came to wake us up'

(248) /*kali di rebis sampe ta-po'a ko malele sampe di tanpa oraṅ jalan-jalan tu/* 'the river at the side (of the house) even ran over so that the water spread right up to where the people used to walk'

(249) /*maṅkali bo'soṅ baru pulaṅ dari alor ko badan doṅ saki ko cape ko apa/* 'probably because you've just returned from Alor that every bone in your body is aching or tired or something or other'.

## 8.0 D. OTHER FUNCTION WORDS

8.1 The particle /sa/ has two functions. It may correspond in the first place with BI *saja* 'just, only':

(250) /*makan tidor makan tidor bekiṅ ta'i besar sa/* '(you) eat and sleep and eat and sleep only making big turds'

(251) /*ujan turun terus-terus, jadi bo'toṅ ada kukuru'u sa di ruma/* 'it rains on and on, so we are just hunching together in the house'

(252) /*səs lis lia lu puṅ muka, dia kətawa mau mati sa/* '(when) Lis saw your face, she just laughed her head off'

(253) /*be baru garatak sa, dia su fuik/* 'I only just threatened, he had already shot through'

(254) /*so'e sa ko'toṅ bolom par'na lia, apa lai jakarta/* 'we never even saw So'e, let alone Jakarta'. But when /sa/ stands between a subject and a predicate it topicalizes the subject while, at the same time, it seems to express disapproval:

(255) /*itu om sa, dudu-dudu sampe ta-tidor/* 'that uncle didn't do anything but sit until he just dozed off'

(256) /*i'! dia puṅ pano sa, ponu di balakaṅ/* 'ugh! his leukoderma was all over his back'

(257) /*bəsoṅ puṅ surat sa, puṅ lama lai/* 'your letter took an awfully long time!'

(258) /*dia puṅ rambu sa, ba'bo/* 'his hair stinks terribly!'

(259) /*itu tanta sa, paliṅ culas sAkali deṅ ko'toṅ/* 'that woman is extremely mean to us'.

8.2 Apart from the function discussed above, the form /na/ has three more functions. In the first place it can be an exclamation, translatable as 'there you are!' or 'didn't I tell you!'. Secondly it can be a sentence-initial interjection, introducing a change of topic; cf. one of the popular ending patterns of a letter:

(260) /*na, sampe di sini dolo, beta su maṅanto/* 'well, (only) that's all for now, I am sleepy already'.

Finally it can be glossed 'so you can imagine', when it is used sentence-

finally. Cf.:

(261) /ko'toŋ bekiŋ saŋ dia sama ke oraŋ kərja, ko abis sonde nae na/ 'we treated him as a worker, for after all he didn't move on to the next class, did he, so ...'

(262) /su bosan ma, tapi mau bilaŋ apa lai, memaŋ su baŋitu na/ 'I am bored already (sigh!), but what else can (you) say, indeed such is life'.

8.3 The last sentence shows an example of clause-final /ma/, which expresses resignation; cf. also:

(263) /ma tanta ni bole dudu, ko sama ke ñoña, dan kalo te'o sonde ada, suda, dia jadi raja suda ma/ 'but this woman may sit down, just like a lady really, and when father's sister is away, there she goes, (and) she proceeds to rule the roost (sigh!)'.

8.4 /suda/ in this example cannot be replaced by /su/. It expresses that THE situation was expected, '(and) there it starts'. As it is frequently combined with resignatory /ma/, it seems to imply that THE expected situation is disagreeable.

8.5 The particle /ju/ - covarying with /juga/ especially when stressed - is comparable to BI *juga*. Appropriate translations are 'also', 'either', 'nevertheless', 'even(so)', its meaning might be formulated as 'THE event occurring in addition to a similar event'. Examples:

(264) /beta ju sonde maso gereja/ 'I did not set foot in the church either'

(265) /satu kali ko'toŋ ju bisa pi lia kalabahi/ 'some time we will also be able to go and see Kalabahi'

(266) /sonde ada satu ju(ga) yaŋ dataŋ/ 'not even one single soul showed up'

(267) /bo'toŋ coba sonde pake barenti lai, ma sonde tau jadi ju(ga)/ 'we tried non-stop, but nevertheless it did not come off'

(268) /lima ribu rupia sa, ma pi minta utaŋ sampe doak ju sonde tau kasi/ 'only five thousand rupiah (did they have to pay), but go and demand payment even to the point of belching (they wo)n't manage to give (it) either'.

8.6 Above /lai/ has been mentioned as part of the construction /puŋ/ + adjective or intransitive verb + /lai/ to express amazement. In other instances it fulfils the same functions as BI *lagi*. A suitable translation is 'anymore, any longer' in a negation when it is unstressed, and 'again' when it is stressed. After interrogative pronouns stressed /lai/ should be translated as 'else' (though /apa lai/ is also 'moreover, let alone'), unstressed /lai/ as 'again'. This seems also the most suitable translation in the great

majority of other contexts. Cf., however, also

(270) /nasi manta karna ujan, tana basa lai/ 'the rice was half-cooked because of the rain, moreover the ground was wet'.

8.7 No description would be complete without explicit mention of the aforesaid layman's characteristic of KM, the negator /sonde/ 'not, no' and its allegro form /son/ (which never occurs sentence-finally). It is also used where BI uses *bukan* (but see note 16). The other negators are /bolom/ (also /bo'lom/) 'not yet' and the prohibitives /jaŋ/ 'don't', its duplication /jaŋ-jaŋ/ 'lest, if only not' and the composite /jaŋ sampe/ with the same meaning. As an example of /son(de)/ I give one more quotation from a letter:

(271) /itu sa, sonde ada laen lai, beta son tau lai/ 'just that, there is nothing else, I don't know'

Needless to say, the middle part of last statement does not hold for KM. The rest of it is nearer to the truth, however. It is hoped that this fact will stimulate others to study KM more thoroughly.

#### NOTES

1. Around the same time, Manado had about 12,000 inhabitants (600 Europeans, + 3400 Chinese and 460 Arabs and other 'foreign Asiatics'). Ten years earlier Ambon had 879 European, 539 Chinese, 277 Arab, 66 'foreign Asiatic' and 6567 'Indonesian' inhabitants. Cf. *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch Indië*.
2. In spite of the supposition on p. 17 (*op.cit.*) I identify these with Helon(g)ese. Cf. also Jonker (1904) and Capell (1944) whose 'Kupang language' is not KM but *bahasa Helon(g)*.
3. The figures for 1966 and 1967 are from Departemen Pekerjaan Umum etc. (1969). The one for 1971 is taken from *Proyek Pengembangan* etc. (1976?), p. 56; on p. 97 however the figure 46,177 is given. Neither in the Netherlands nor in Jakarta are data on the census of 1980 below *kabupaten* level available. The estimate for that year is based on a comparison of the population increase of the four west Timorese *kabupaten*. The average population increase of Timor Tengah Selatan, Timor Tengah Utara and Belu is below 1/6 between 1971 and 1980. It can be safely assumed that that same rate holds for the rural parts of the *kabupaten* of Kupang as well. There remains an extra increase of about 30,000 people to be accounted for, which I attribute to the absorptiveness of the city of Kupang. The surplus of about 20,000 males for the *kabupaten* also points to urbanization. Cf. Badan Koordinasi etc. (1982).
4. The whole existence of /A/ may turn out to be



a matter of interference of Indonesian.

5. A morpheme boundary will be indicated by a hyphen. In longer stretches of phonemic text, punctuation symbols have their normal function. In the English paraphrases categorial distinctions such as number, tense, gender and definiteness, which are foreign to KM, are made as much as possible in accordance with probability and/or context. The paraphrases of longer constructions are rather free. An appendix presents a word-list with reference - if necessary - to the relevant paragraphs of the grammatical notes.
6. Reduplication of numerals is not discussed here, as it seems to be the same as in Indonesian.
7. The difference in the glosses of (26) and (27) are not meant to represent the KM opposition exactly. The use of /baku/ suggests to me consciousness or active involvement of those related in maintaining the relationship. The Indonesian translations of the KM constructions, (*saling*) *bersaudara*, may be parallel, but are equally difficult to differentiate.
8. Instead of /deŋ anus/, /di anus/ 'at Anus's place' or /pi anus/ 'going to Anus (to do so)' can be used to express the second meaning.
9. 'THE' means that THE speaker considers his hearer to be capable of identifying which one is meant, given hearer's supposed knowledge of the situation, frame of reference and context. 'THE' in this definition accounts for the possibility that the actual hearer is able to distinguish whether (a part of) an utterance is meant to be a direct quotation or not.
10. Cf. BI *berpuluh-puluh*, *beratus-ratus*, *beriburu* etc. The cited KM form is the only one which regularly occurs. The foreign character of the form is corroborated by the shape of the form for 'with tens' - if it does occur - to wit, /ber-pulu-pulu/.
11. I could not establish the exact difference between (75) - (77) with /sa/ or without it. Instead of /saŋ/ also /deŋ/ can be used, with at least one additional interpretation, namely, 'why with him?', 'how is it (to be) with him?', 'how could you be with him?' respectively. See below for a discussion of /saŋ/.
12. /kaki doŋ/, denoting a 'collective' of legs, should not be confused with /doŋ puŋ kaki/ 'their legs'; likewise /badan (-badan) doŋ/ vs. /doŋ puŋ badan (-badan)/.
13. Speaker's contamination may have been called forth by her reluctance to utter the word /ibu/ 'mother' in connection with the woman in question.
14. /pi/ in /parsetan pi/ seems to be idiomatic; /parsetan/ itself means 'damned!'; /pi/ adds the notion 'it has to be like that' and cannot be replaced by /pigi/ or /pii/ 'to go', with which the preposition /pi/ is at least historically related. Cf. also /teŋa pi/ 'leave it, let it be', /ator pi/ 'have it your way'.

15. When the above sentence is pronounced with a rising intonation on /nona/ and a fall after it, the translation would be 'that girl has sagging breasts like a grandmother'. The translation chosen in the text presupposes a rising intonation on /susu/ and a fall after it.
16. Instead of /kərja/ in (203) /bini/ 'wife' or /ana/ 'child' can be used. Apparently only nouns referring to 'possessions' normal to certain stages of life, allow such constructions. One cannot say in Kupang culture \**dia su ada ruma/guru*.
17. It is impossible to render this meaning of /ko/ adequately in English. When I use a tag-question in the translation, it should be remembered that KM also has tag-questions, formed with the tags /bukan/ or /u'ẽ/, which are opposed to the /ko/ construction. The former are questions, the latter is not.

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## APPENDIX

The word-bases and prefixes that occur in (1)-(271) are given below. Compounds and collocations are regularly added, derivatives only when they have not been discussed explicitly in the grammatical notes. Reference to these notes is made where necessary. The alphabetical order chosen is as follows: a A b c d e ə f g h i i' j k l m m' n o ó p ? r s t u w y

- /abis/ 1. 'to complete', 2. see 6.2.1  
/ada/ 1. 'to be there, to be at/in; to exist', 2. see 6.2  
/adi/ 'younger sibling'  
/aer/ 'water'; /aer liur/ 'saliva', /aer mata/ 'tear'  
/agus/ girl's name  
/akar/ 'root'  
/akurən/ 'what's wrong, how can it be that' (see 4.1)  
/alor/ name of an island north of Timor  
/am(b)e/ 'to take'  
/ampat/ 'four'  
/ana/ 'child, offspring, young'  
/andia/ always combined with /ko/ the com-

- ination meaning 'no wonder (that), of course'  
/andreas/ boy's name  
/anus/ boy's name  
/apa/ 'what?' (see 4.1); /apa lai/ 'moreover, let alone'  
/api/ 'fire'  
/argentina/ 'Argentina'  
/atau/ 'or' (see 7.1)  
/a'wi'!/ exclamation expressing awe  
/ayam/ 'chicken'; /ayam laot/ 'kind of eel'  
/ba/ allegro form of /bawa/  
/ba-/ see 3.5  
/ba'bo/ 'to stink'  
/baca/ 'to read'  
/badan/ 'body'; /badan don/ 'bodyparts'  
/bae/ 'good'  
/bagus/ 'beautiful'  
/bahasa/ 'language'  
/bahu/ 'shoulder'  
/baju/ 'shirt'  
/bakar/ 'to burn'  
/baku-/ 'each other' (see 3.5)  
/bakunase/ name of one of Kupang's *desa*'s  
/balajar/ 'to learn'  
/balanda/ 'Holland, Dutch'  
/balimbiŋ/ 'k.o. fruit (*Averrhoa belimbi*)'  
/banting/ 'to throw down'  
/banŋka/ 1. 'swollen', 2. see /tua/  
/banun/ 'to stand up, to wake up (intrans.)'  
/baña/ 'much, many'  
/bapa/ 'father'; /bapa e/ exclamation expressing amazement  
/ba'i/ 'old man, man of grandfather's generation'  
/barani/ 'to dare, daring'  
/baraŋ/ 'things, luggage'  
/baraŋkat/ 'to leave'  
/barenti/ 'to stop'  
/baru/ 1. 'new', 2. see 6.2.3  
/ba'ruk/ 'trousers' (also /bruk/)  
/basa/ 'wet'  
/ba'suk/ 'to visit'  
/bataria/ 'to shout, to yell'  
/batu/ 'stone'  
/ba'tu/ 'correct, right'  
/bawa/ 1. 'to bring', 2. = /ba/, second part of a series of compound prepositions, e.g. in /di ba(wa) ruma/ 'under the house'; but /di ba(wa) lante/ 'down on the floor'  
/bAgini/ 'like this' (see 4.4)  
/bAgitu/ 'like that' (see 4.4)  
/bAlakan/ 'back, back part'  
/be/ 'I, me' (also /beta/, see 4.2)  
/bebi/ 'baby' (loan-word instead of /ana mea/, not regularly used)  
/bekiŋ/ 1. 'to make', 2. marker of causativity (see 6.1)  
/beli/ 'to buy'  
/besar/ 'big, large'  
/besok/ 'tomorrow'  
/beta/ 'I, me' (also /be/, see 4.2)  
/beti/ girl's name  
/bəsoŋ/ 'you (plur.)' (also /bo'soŋ/, see 4.2)  
/bətoŋ/ 'we, us' (also /bo'toŋ/, see 4.2)  
/biasa/ 'normal(ly), usual(ly)'  
/bibir/ 'lip'  
/biji/ 'grain, seed, kernel, stone' (see also /mata/)  
/bilan/ 'to say'

/bini/ 'wife'  
 /bisa/ 'to be able to'  
 /blau/ 'blue'  
 /bokor/ 'basin, bowl'  
 /bole/ 'to be allowed to'  
 /bolom/, /bo'lom/ 'not yet' (see 6.2.1)  
 /bolu/ 'kind of little round cake (preferably pink and yellow colored)'  
 /boŋkar/ 'to pull down'  
 /bosan/ 'bored'  
 /bo'soŋ/ = /bəsoŋ/  
 /bo'toŋ/ = /bətəŋ/  
 /bruk/ = /ba'ruk/  
 /buku/ 'book'  
 /bumi/ 'world, earth'  
 /buŋa/ 'flower'  
 /cape/ 'tired'  
 /cari/ 'to look for'  
 /carita/ 1. 'to tell', 2. 'story'  
 /cinta/ 'love'  
 /co/ 'if only' (see 7.5)  
 /coba/ 'to try'  
 /coklat/ 'chocolate'  
 /cubi/ 'to pinch'  
 /cuci/ 'to clean'; /cuci piriŋ/ 'to wash up the dishes'  
 /culas/ 'mean'  
 /dagiŋ/ 'meat, flesh'  
 /dan/ 'and' (see 7.1)  
 /daon/ 'leaf'  
 /dapa/ 'to get'  
 /dari/ 1. 'from' (see 5.2.1), 2. (in comparatives) 'than'  
 /datan/ 'to come'  
 /deka/ 'close, nearby'  
 /dendeŋ/ 'kind of spiced dried meat'  
 /deŋ/ 'with, and' (see 5.2)  
 /deŋar/ 'to hear'  
 /di/ 'in, at, to' (see 5.2)  
 /dia/ 3d person singular pronoun (see 4.2)  
 /diŋin/ 'cold'  
 /do/ 'first, before anything else' (also /dolo/, /dolu/)  
 /doak/ 'to burp, to belch'  
 /doi/ 'money' (also /uaŋ/)  
 /dolo/ = /do/  
 /dolu/ 1. = /do/, 2. 'in former times, formerly'  
 /do/ 1. 'they, them' (see 4.2), 2. see 4.3.  
 /dua/ 'two'  
 /dudu/ 'to sit'  
 /e/ usually sentence-final emphasizing interjection  
 /eli/ boy's name  
 /enak/ 'tasty'; /kasi enak/ 'to indulge too much'  
 /fafiti/ 'catapult'  
 /fi'i/ 1. 'to shred', 2. 'to call an elder person (impolitely) by name'  
 /fol/ 'full'  
 /fótó/ 'photograph, picture'  
 /fuik/ 'to run away, to fly'  
 /gaja/ 'elephant'  
 /ganti/ 'to change, to replace'  
 /ganton/ 'to hang, to hang up'  
 /gape/ 'to signal with one's hand'  
 /garatak/ 'to threaten, to snarl'  
 /gas/ 1. 'gas', 2. 'to step on the gas'  
 /gepe/ 'to squeeze'  
 /geser/ 'to shift'  
 /gareja/ 'church'  
 /gigi/ 1. 'tooth', 2. 'to bite'  
 /gontor/ 'thunder'  
 /goreŋ/ 'to bake' (see also /roti/)  
 /guna/ 'use, usefulness'  
 /guru/ 'teacher'  
 /haña/ 'only'  
 /hao/ 'to eat'  
 /harap/ 'to hope, to put one's hopes upon'  
 /harbahiruk/ 'without order, confused'  
 /hari/ 'day, 24 hours'  
 /harus/ 'to have to, must'  
 /hati/ 'liver, heart'  
 /hebat/ 'terrific'  
 /horo/ 'to cut/saw through, to slaughter'  
 /ida/ girl's name  
 /ijo/ 'green'  
 /ikan/ 'fish'  
 /iko/ 'to follow, to take after'  
 /india/ 'that's it, that's how it is' (see 4.4)  
 /ini/ 'this' (see 4.4)  
 /iŋa/ 'to remember'  
 /iŋgris/ 'England, English'  
 /itu/ 'that' (see 4.4)  
 /i'!/ exclamation expressing disgust  
 /jadi/ 1. 'to become, to come off' 2. 'so' (see 7.1)  
 /jae/ 'to sew' (see also /tukaŋ/)  
 /jaga/ 1. 'to guard, to stay awake', 2. see 6.2.1  
 /jagon/ 'maize'  
 /jakarta/ 'Jakarta'  
 /jam/ 'hour'; /jam dua/ 'two o'clock'  
 /jan/ 'don't' (see 8.7)  
 /jao/ 'far'  
 /jato/ 'to fall'  
 /ju/ 1. '(and) immediately after that', 2. = /juga/ 'also'  
 /juga/ 'also' (also /ju/)  
 /kabar/ 'news'; /apa kabar/ 'how are you?'  
 /kaca/ 'glass (material), mirror'  
 /kake'ek/ 'stingy'  
 /kaki/ 'foot, leg'; /kaki gaja/ 'leg affected by elephantiasis'  
 /kala/ 'to lose, to be defeated'  
 /kalabahi/ name of the capital of Alor  
 /kali/ 1. 'river', 2. 'time, -fold'  
 /kalo/ 'when, if' (see 7.4)  
 /kaloŋko/ 'frustrated'  
 /kamar/ 'room'  
 /kapal/ 'ship, plane'  
 /kapala/ 'head'  
 /karmana/ 'how' (see 4.1)  
 /karna/ 'because'  
 /kartu/ 'card'  
 /karutuk/ 'little (of children)'  
 /kasi/ 1. 'to give', 2. marker of causativity (see 6.1), 3. 'to' (see 5.2.2)  
 /kasian/ 1. 'to feel sorry for, to pity', 2. 'what a pity'  
 /katawa/ 'to laugh'  
 /katea/ 'armpit'  
 /katamu/ 'to meet'  
 /kAluar/ 'outside (direction), gone out'  
 /ke/ 1. 'like' (see 5.2.3), 2. see 7.6.1  
 /keler/ 'case, chest'  
 /kəjar/ 'to chase'  
 /kəmbaŋ/ 'flower'; /kəmbaŋ api/ 'fireworks, sparkler'  
 /kənapa/ 'why' (also /knapa/, see 4.1)  
 /kərja/ 'work'  
 /kəstau/ = /kasi tau/, see 6.1  
 /kətoŋ/ 'we, us' (also /ko'toŋ/, see 4.2)  
 /kici/ 'small, little'  
 /kipas/ 'to pick (bones, cobs)'



/*kirim*/ 'to send'  
 /*klapa*/ 'coconut, coconut tree'  
 /*klapalima*/ name of one of Kupang's *desa*'s  
 /*klas*/ 'class'  
 /*knapa*/ = /*kənapa*/  
 /*ko*/ see 7.6  
 /*ko'boi*/ 'cowboy'  
 /*kode*/ 'monkey'  
 /*kokis*/ 'biscuit'  
 /*koko*/ 'to carry in one's arms'  
 /*kosi*/ 'to kick'  
 /*kram*/ 'struck with cramps'  
 /*kuat*/ 'strong'  
 /*kuda*/ 'horse'  
 /*kukuru<sup>u</sup>*/ 'to hunch together'  
 /*kula*/ 'mould'  
 /*kupang*/ 'Kupang'  
 /*kurus*/ 1. 'thin', 2. 'pepper (pods)'  
 /*laen*/ 'different, other'  
 /*lai*/ 1. 'again (see 8.6)', 2. see 5.2.5  
 /*laki*/ 'husband'; /*laki-laki*/ 'man, male'  
 /*lalolak*/ 'lengthy, lanky'  
 /*lalu*/ '(and) then'  
 /*lama*/ 'long (of time), old (of things)'  
 /*lante*/ 'floor'  
 /*laot*/ 'sea' (see also /*ayam*/)  
 /*lapar*/ 'hungry'  
 /*layaŋlayaŋ*/ 'kite'  
 /*lebe*/ 'more'  
 /*leher*/ 'neck'  
 /*lempar*/ 'to throw'  
 /*lia*/ 'to see'  
 /*lilin*/ 'candle'  
 /*lima*/ 'five'  
 /*lis*/ girl's name  
 /*liur*/ 'spittle' (see also /*aer*/)  
 /*lobaŋ*/ 'hole' (see also /*panta*/)  
 /*lompa*/ 'to jump'  
 /*lompur*/ 'mud'  
 /*lu*/ 'you (singular)' (see 4.2)  
 /*lucu*/ 'funny'  
 /*lupa*/ 'to forget'  
 /*lur*/ 'to peep, to spy upon'  
 /*ma*/ 1. 'but' (see 7.3), 2. see 8.3  
 /*macam*/ 'kind, sort'  
 /*maen*/ 1. 'to play', 2. see 6.2.1  
 /*mai*/ 1. 'female (of animals)', 2. 'mother' (of animals; coarse or at least familiar also of people); /*mai mantu*/ 'mother-in-law' (familiar)  
 /*malele*/ 'to ooze, to leak'  
 /*malu*/ 'ashamed'; /*malu besar*/ 'awfully ashamed'  
 /*mama*/ 'mother'  
 /*mana*/ 'which?' (see 4.1)  
 /*mandi*/ 'to bathe'  
 /*manis*/ 'sweet'  
 /*manta*/ 'raw'  
 /*mantu*/ '-in-law' (see also /*mai*/)  
 /*maŋanto*/ 'sleepy'; /*maŋanto kode*/ 'to drop off'  
 /*maŋkali*/ 'probably'  
 /*maŋao*/ 'to respond'  
 /*ma<sup>a</sup>ale*/ 'to chew'  
 /*mara*/ 'angry'  
 /*mari*/ 'come on!'  
 /*markus*/ boy's name  
 /*maruak*/ 'cross, angry without reason'  
 /*masak*/ 'to cook'  
 /*masi*/ 'still, yet'  
 /*maso*/ 'to enter'  
 /*mata*/ 'eye'; /*mata biji*/ 'eye ball'  
 /*mateos*/ boy's name  
 /*mati*/ 'dead, to die'; /*mau mati*/ (after adjectives) 'terribly'  
 /*mau*/ 'to want, to be going to, to be on the point of' (see 6.2.4)  
 /*memaŋ*/ 1. 'indeed, really', 2. see 6.2.4  
 /*mera*/ 'red'  
 /*mia*/ girl's name  
 /*mimi*/ girl's name  
 /*mintu*/ 'to ask for, to beg'  
 /*miña*/ 'oil, grease'  
 /*motor*/ 'motorcycle'  
 /*muda*/ 'young'  
 /*muka*/ 'face, front(part)'  
 /*mulu(t)*/ 'mouth'  
 /*musti*/ 'to have to, must'  
 /*muti*/ 'bead'  
 /*m*/ interjection expressing pensive scepticism  
 /*na*/ 1. 'when, if' (see 7.4), 2. see 8.2  
 /*nae*/ 'to climb, to mount, to get in/on (a vehicle), to get one's remove'  
 /*nanti*/ 'in a while, otherwise'  
 /*nene*/ 'grandmother, woman of the age of a grandmother'  
 /*neu*/ interjection meaning approximately 'don't bother, it doesn't matter'  
 /*ni*/ see 4.4  
 /*nika*/ 'to marry'  
 /*nis*/ 'to sneeze'  
 /*noe*/ 'soft, weak'  
 /*nona*/ 1. 'adolescent girl', 2. girl's name  
 /*nonton*/ 'to watch (a spectacle), to go to the movies'  
 /*ñoña*/ 'lady'  
 /*o*/ sentence-final particle meaning approximately 'be sure'  
 /*omoŋ*/ 'to speak'  
 /*oraŋ*/ 'people'; /*oraŋ tua*/ 1. 'old people', 2. 'parent(s)'  
 /*óm*/ 'uncle' (familiar term of address and reference for men in middle age who do not manifest themselves as Sabunese or Rotinese by their clothes, for those will be called /*ama*/)  
 /*ótó*/ 'motor-car'  
 /*pa'dis*/ 'spicy, hot; burning (of eyes)'  
 /*pait*/ 1. 'bitter', 2. 'gall'  
 /*pake*/ 'to use'; /*sonde pake*/ + verb 'without ...-ing'  
 /*pakian*/ 'clothes'  
 /*palese*/ 'to blubber'  
 /*paliŋ*/ (+ adjective) 'most, ...-est'  
 /*pamalas*/ 'lazy'  
 /*panas*/ 'hot, warm'  
 /*pano*/ 'skin discolourment sim. to leukoderma'  
 /*panta*/ 'bottom, buttocks'; /*panta lobaŋ*/ 'arse-hole'  
 /*paŋe*/ 'to call'  
 /*papaya*/ 'papaya (fruit or tree)'  
 /*pa<sup>i</sup> tua*/ 'old man', (familiar: 'husband')  
 /*parcuma*/ 'in vain'  
 /*paria*/ 'bitter-melon'  
 /*parmisi*/ 'permit, permission'  
 /*par'na*/ 'ever'  
 /*parsetan*/ 'damned!'; /*parsetan pi*/ 'to hell with it'  
 /*pa'ru*/ 'belly'  
 /*pasan*/ 1. 'to fit', 2. 'to aim (a rifle)', 3. 'to shoot (trans.)'  
 /*pasar*/ 'market'

/pata/ 'to break'  
 /pendeta/ 'minister, pastor'  
 /pen'fui/ 'name of village near Kupang's airport'  
 /pesta/ 'feast, party'  
 /pi/ 1. 'to go' (also /pii/, /pigi/),  
 2. 'to' (see 5.2.1), 3. see note 14  
 /pica/ 'to break, to burst'  
 /pigi/ 'to go' (also /pii/, /pi/)  
 /pii/ = /pigi/  
 /pikir/ 'to think'  
 /pikiran/ 'thought'  
 /piko/ 'to carry on one's shoulder'  
 /pintu/ 'door'  
 /pinggir/ 'side, edge, brim'  
 /piramide/ 'pyramid'  
 /pirin/ 'plate, dish'  
 /pohon/ 'tree'; /pohon taran/ 'Christmas-tree'  
 /ponu/ 'full, filling'  
 /po'a/ 'to pour'  
 /pos/ 1. 'mail', 2. 'post (sentry)'  
 /poton/ 1. 'to cut into pieces',  
 2. 'piece, slice'  
 /prop/ 'to stop, to close up, to cork up'  
 /puku/ 'to hit'  
 /pulan/ 'to return home'  
 /pulek/ 'cob'  
 /puŋ/ 'to have' (see 5.2.5)  
 /puti/ 'white'  
  
 /raja/ 'king'  
 /rambu/ 'hair'  
 /rasa/ 'to feel, to taste'  
 /rebis/ 'side'  
 /ribu/ 'thousand'  
 /robek/ 'to tear, torn'  
 /roti/ 'bread'; /roti goreng/ 'fried dough cakes'  
 /rubus/ 'to cook in water'  
 /rujak/ 'dish of fruit with sweet pungent sauce'  
 /ruma/ 'house'  
 /rupia/ 'rupiah'  
  
 /sa/ 1. 'just, only' (see 8.1),  
 2. = /saŋ/ (see 5.2.4)  
 /sabantar/ 'in a while'  
 /sakada/ 'flat-bottomed' (= /tepos/)  
 /saki/ 'ill, painful'  
 /sakola/ 'school'  
 /sama/ 'same'  
 /sambu(t)/ 'to welcome'  
 /sampe/ 1. 'to reach', 2. 'until'  
 /sana/ 'over there' (see 4.4)  
 /saŋ/ introduces complement (see 5.2.4)  
 /saŋka/ 'to suppose, to assume'  
 /satu/ 'one'  
 /sayan/ 1. 'unfortunately, alas', 2. 'to care for'  
 /sAdiki/ 'a bit'  
 /sAkali/ 'very' (also /skali/)  
 /sAkaran/ 'now, nowadays'  
 /sAmua/ 'all'  
 /sAndiri/ 'self'  
 /seka/ 'to wipe, to rub, to brush'  
 /səs/ = /((s)usi/ (see /usi/)  
 /səstər/ 'nurse'  
 /sian/ 'day(light), morning'  
 /sidi/ 'to be accepted as a member of the Protestant church.'  
 /sifat/ 'character, nature'  
 /sim/ 'driver's licence'  
  
 /simpan/ 'to store, to put away'  
 /sini/ 'here' (see 4.4)  
 /singga/ 'to drop by, to drop in'  
 /sisi/ 'side'  
 /situ/ 'there' (see 4.4)  
 /skali/ = /sAkali/  
 /sodara/ 'member of one's family'  
 /son/, /sonde/ 'no, not'  
 /so'e/ name of place on Timor  
 /stadion/ 'stadium'  
 /steŋa/ 'half'  
 /su/ see 6.2.1  
 /suda/ 1. 'already' (see 6.2.1), 2. see 8.2  
 /suka/ 'to like'  
 /sumbur/ 'to spit out'  
 /suñi/ 'quiet'  
 /supərmi/ 'instant noodles'  
 /surat/ 'letter'  
 /suru/ 'to order'  
 /susa/ 'difficult, troublesome'  
 /susi/ = /səs/, /usi/ (see /usi/)  
 /susu/ 'milk, breast'  
  
 /ta-/ see 3.3  
 /tabembən/ 'hanging down'  
 /tadi/ 'a while ago, just now'  
 /tai/ 'excrement, turd, filth (also /ta'i/)  
 /talalu/ 'too, too much'  
 /tali/ 'rope'  
 /tamba/ 'to add'  
 /tampa/ 'place, site, spot'  
 /tampun/ 'to take up, to catch, to collect'  
 /tamukun/ 'village head'  
 /tana/ 'soil, earth'  
 /tanta/ 'aunt' (familiar term of address and reference for women in middle age) (also /tantə/)  
 /tantu/ 'certain(ly)'  
 /taŋan/ 'hand, arm, sleeve'  
 /taña/ 'to ask (for information)'  
 /taon/ 'year'  
 /tapi/ 'but' (more usual /ma/)  
 /ta'i/ = /tai/  
 /tar-/ see 3.4  
 /ta'ran/ 'clear, bright'  
 /tare/ 'to pull'  
 /taro/ 'to put'  
 /tas/ 'bag'  
 /tau/ 'to know (that/how to), to succeed'  
 /te/ 1. 'tea', 2. 'but, for' (see 7.2)  
 /teŋa/ 1. 'half', 2. to live (in), to stay'  
 /te'o/ 'aunt (father's sister)'  
 /teni/ boy's name  
 /tensi/ 'to measure the blood pressure'  
 /tepos/ = /sakada/  
 /təran/ see /pohon/  
 /tərus/ 1. 'on and on', 2. 'immediately after that' (also /trus/)  
 /tidor/ 'to sleep'  
 /tingi/ 'high, tall'  
 /tiri/ 'step-'  
 /tola/ 'to push, to refuse'  
 /tolo/ 'prick'  
 /tolon/ 'to help'  
 /to'o/ 'uncle (mother's brother)'  
 /trək/ see /ótó/  
 /trus/ = /tərus/  
  
 /tu/ see 4.4

/tua/ 'old'; /tua banka/ 'very old,  
senile' (often used ironically: 'old  
enough not to behave so childishly')  
/tukang/ 'expert'; /tukang jae/ 'tailor'  
/tulisi/ 'to write'  
/tunggu/ 'to wait, to await'  
/turun/ 'to go down, to fall (of rain)'  
/tustel/ 'camera'

/uang/ 'money' (also /doi/)  
/ujan/ 'rain'  
/ujung/ 'tip, end'  
/ukur/ 'to measure'  
/umum/ 'general, public'  
/undang/ 'to invite'  
/untuk/ 'for'

/untung/ 'fortune, profit'  
/upu/ 'grandchild'  
/usi/ term of reference and address for  
elder female relatives of ego's  
generation, usually followed by a  
Christian name (also /susi/, /səs/)  
/utang/ 'debt'  
  
/waktu/ 'time'  
  
/yang/ 'that, who, which, the one(s) that/  
who/which'  
/yukensi/ (of clothes) 'not covering,  
look-through'; /deŋ taŋan yukensi/  
'leaving the arms visible, without  
sleeves'

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