

The Fehan dialect of Tetun Terik

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1. Introduction

Tetun Terik is an Austronesian language spoken on the island of Timor, situated within Eastern Indonesia.

There are two distinct language varieties which are both traditionally called “Tetun”, even though the speakers of each variety find the speakers of the other very difficult to understand. Tetun Terik is spoken along the border between West and East Timor, as well as along parts of the south coast of East Timor, including Soibada and Viqueque. It has been relatively little influenced by Indonesian or Portuguese. Tetun Dili is spoken as a first language in Dili, the capital of East Timor, and is also spoken as a lingua franca throughout most of East Timor. Tetun Dili shows extensive influence from Portuguese, particularly through a large number of Portuguese loans. It has also in some respects been simplified relative to Tetun Terik; for instance it has lost many of the Tetun Terik affixes, and does not have subject marking. For a fuller discussion of the differences between Tetun Dili and Tetun Terik see Thomaz (1981), Williams-van Klinken (2002) and Williams-van Klinken et al. (forthcoming).

Tetun Terik itself appears to have three dialects. Eastern Tetun is spoken around Soibada and Viqueque on the south coast of East Timor. The *Foho* (mountain) or northern dialect of Tetun is spoken around the northern part of the West Timor – East Timor border, including the northern part of the regency (*kabupaten*) of Belu. The southern dialect is spoken in the south part of that region, including southern Belu and parts of Suai. The variety of the southern dialect described in this article is known locally as *Fehan* (plain). It is spoken on a plain in the south coast of central Timor, centred around the old kingdom of Wehali, and the modern towns of Betun and Besikama.

There are a number of grammars and dictionaries on various dialects of Tetun. This article is based on the author’s grammar of Fehan (van Klinken 1999). Grammars written in Indonesian or English on other varieties of Tetun include grammars the Foho dialect of Tetun Terik (Troeboes et al. 1987), and Tetun Dili (Hull and Eccles 2001, Williams-van Klinken et al. 2002). Other publications on Tetun Terik (mainly on the Foho dialect) include one on morphology (Saliwangi et al. 1991), a dictionary into Tetun Dili and Indonesian (Serantes and Doko 1976), another dictionary into Indonesian (Monteiro 1985), and a dictionary into Dutch (Mathijssen 1906). Morris (1984)’s dictionary is from eastern Tetun into English. For a fuller list of publications, including those in Portuguese and Tetun, and further materials on Tetun Dili, see Hull (1998) and Van Klinken (1999).

2. Registers

This article describes the language as it is spoken on an everyday basis. There are however also other registers of the language, which are each associated with particular contexts, and which each have their own characteristics.

One is poetry (*kananuk*, Indonesian *pantun*). Many people can recite a large number of poems. Poetry was used for traditional courtship, and is still used for the formal telling of origin myths, in prayers (both traditional and Christian), for publicly welcoming important guests, and for telling riddles, amongst other things. As in much eastern Indonesian poetry, *kananuk* mostly consist of pairs of lines, in which the second line is an echo of the first, except for the replacement of one or more words or expressions by related ones. For a large collection of *kananuk* in the Foho and Fehan dialects, with Indonesian translations, see Seran (1986).

A second important register is that used on formal occasions when speaking to God or important people, as well as in everyday conversations with people of noble rank. This *lia na'in* or 'noble language' uses special vocabulary to humble oneself, while honouring nobility. For instance, a commoner addressing a noble will refer to himself as *ha'u ata* 'I slave', and will encourage the noble to sit not using the normal *tuur* 'sit', but *hatodan aan*, which literally means 'make yourself heavy'.

A third register is used on fishing trips, which are mainly conducted in the mangrove swamps. On such occasions, people should speak as little as possible, and must replace a number of common words with other terms, to confuse the spirit beings and prevent evil happening to one during the excursion. For instance, in sea taboo vocabulary, women are referred to not as *feto* 'woman' but as *metan* (literally 'black'), and fish traps and fish nets are referred to as *asu* (literally 'dog').

For further information on these registers, and on the anthropology of the Fehan-speaking region, see Therik (1995).

3. Phonology

3.1. Syllables, words and stress

Phonological words in Fehan usually consist of two or three syllables (e.g. *da.da* 'pull', *ha.te.ne* 'know'), with a maximum of four (e.g. *bi.bi.li.ku* 'kind of drum'). Grammatical function words can consist of a single syllable (e.g. *la* 'not'); in this case they are unstressed clitics, and phonologically attach to the preceding or following word (e.g. *la.be.le* (not can) 'cannot').

Primary stress falls on the penultimate (second-last) syllable (e.g. *ma.té.nek* 'clever'). In words of four syllables, secondary stress falls on the initial syllable (e.g. *mà.ta.bí.an* 'spirit'). Although stress is usually on the second-last vowel, some words have the primary stress on the final vowel instead. Examples showing contrastive stress patterns include initial-stress *hare* 'rice' versus final-stress *haree* 'see', and initial-stress *hakat* 'pace' versus final-stress *hakaat* 'fight'. There are a number of reasons (spelled out in Van Klinken 1999:19-23) for analysing such final stressed vowels as in fact a sequence of two vowels, heading two consecutive syllables (e.g. *hakaat* is analysed as /ha.ka.at/). Under this analysis, all primary stress in Fehan is on the penultimate syllable.

The orthography used in this article is similar to that used by native speakers of Fehan, except that, when stress is not on the second-last vowel, it is marked by a double vowel (e.g. *hakaat*).

Fehan syllables consist of (Consonant) Vowel (Consonant), as illustrated by *a.nin* ‘wind’ and *me.an* ‘red’.

There are two types of consonant clusters in Fehan. One occurs in the middle of words when the second syllable of a four-syllable word is shortened. This is common in compounds and reduplications; for instance, *manu-tolun* ‘bird-egg’ is usually shortened to *mantolun*, and the reduplicated form of *tebes* ‘true’ is often shortened from *tebe-tebes* to *teb-tebes* ‘truly’. The vowel can however also be omitted in underived words of four syllables; for instance *bitilili* ‘dragonfly’ can be shortened to *bitlili*.

The second type of consonant cluster in Fehan occurs word-initially and at the interface between a prefix and a root. In this type, the first consonant is always /k/, and the second is any consonant except the glottals (/ʔ, h/) and /k/ itself (e.g. *knees* ‘fragment’, *hakdahur* ‘celebrate’ (from *dahur* ‘celebration’)). Such word-initial clusters are avoided in many varieties of Tetun; for instance by being omitted, or by having an /a/ vowel inserted following the /k/.

3.2. Phonemes

Fehan has five vowel phonemes:

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e		o
Low		a	

The following table illustrates these vowels in the initial stressed syllable of a disyllabic word, and in the final unstressed syllable.

	Initial (stressed) syllable		Final (unstressed) syllable	
i	<i>fila</i>	Vt. turn	<i>fali</i>	Adv. in turn
e	<i>hela</i>	Vt. leave	<i>lale</i>	Adv. no
a	<i>sala</i>	Vi. err	<i>tala</i>	N. gong
o	<i>hola</i>	Vt. take	<i>halo</i>	Vt. make, do
u	<i>tula</i>	Vt. put up high	<i>falu</i>	Vt. overturn

There are thirteen consonants:

		Labial	Coronal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	voiceless		t	k	ʔ
	voiced	b	d		
Fricatives	voiceless	f	s		h
	Lateral		l		
	Trill		r		
Nasal		m	n		
Approximant		w			

The following tables (from Van Klinken 1999:27) illustrate the consonants in word-initial position, immediately following the consonant /k/, word-medially, and word-finally. Note that only five of the consonants (/t, k, s, r, n/) can occur word-finally.

	Initial		After k-		Medial	
b	<i>baka</i>	Vt. split in two	<i>kbadak</i>	Adj. short	<i>tabar</i>	Vt. join
t	<i>taka</i>	Vt. close	<i>ktakak</i>	Adj. curved down	<i>tata</i>	Vt. bite
d	<i>dakar</i>	Vt. guard	<i>kdahur</i>	N. festivity	<i>tadas</i>	N. sign
k	<i>kaka</i>	Vt. point out	-		<i>takan</i>	N. betel pepper
'	-		-		<i>ta'an</i>	Vt. hold palm-up
f	<i>fakar</i>	Vt. tip out	<i>kfatan</i>	Adj. excellent	<i>afak</i>	Adj. blunt
s	<i>sakat</i>	Vt. cut strips	<i>ksadan</i>	N. sacred place	<i>tasan</i>	Adj. cooked
h	<i>hakat</i>	Vt. pace	-		<i>tahan</i>	N. leaf
l	<i>laka</i>	Vi. shine	<i>klaran</i>	N. middle	<i>tala</i>	N. gong
r	<i>raka</i>	Vt. sell (meat)	<i>krakat</i>	Adj. angry	<i>taran</i>	N. thorn
m	<i>m-akat</i>	Vt. 2S-pace	<i>kmakur</i>	Adj. lazy	<i>taman</i>	Vt. plant
n	<i>n-akat</i>	Vt. 3S-pace	<i>knaban</i>	N. basket for liquid	<i>tanan</i>	Adj. plain
w	<i>wani</i>	N. bee	<i>kwakat</i>	N. mangrove	<i>nawan</i>	N. breath
-	<i>akar</i>	N. sago palm	-		<i>taan</i>	Adv. on top

	Final	
t	<i>m-oot</i>	Vt. 2S-squeeze against
k	<i>mook</i>	Adj. clear (liquid)
s	<i>moos</i>	Adj. clean; finished
r	<i>moor</i>	Adj. downhearted
n	<i>moon</i>	Adj. pure
-	<i>m-oo</i>	Vt. 2S-accompany

4. Derivational morphology

4.1. Introduction

Tetun has relatively little productive morphology. Only the more productive derivations will be considered here.

The examples below illustrate that in certain instances, consonants may be added or removed when affixes are added to roots. For instance, /h/ is inserted to separate the vowels when a vowel-final prefix is added to a vowel-initial root (e.g. *hahoa* 'give birth' from verbalising *ha-* and *oan* 'child'). In some words, cluster-initial /k/ is omitted when a prefix is added (e.g. *hamukit* 'impoverish' from *kmukit* 'poor'), while in others, the word-final /n/ of the root noun is omitted when a verbalising prefix is added (e.g. *hanaa* 'treat as brother' from *naan* '(woman's) brother').

4.2. Derivation of verbs

4.2.1. *ha-*

The causative prefix *ha-* derives transitive causative verbs from adjectives and intransitive verbs (e.g. *habadak* 'shorten' from *kbadak* 'short', *halakon* 'lose' from *lakon* 'disappear').

This prefix also derives verbs from nouns. Intransitive verbs derived by *ha-* refer to producing the entity which is denoted by the root noun (e.g. *hahabut* ‘put down roots’ from *abut* ‘root’). For transitive verbs there are a wide range of semantic relationships between the verb’s object (or more accurately, the entity denoted by the verb’s object) and its root (or rather, the entity denoted by the root noun). These include making the object become like the root (e.g. *haklaut* ‘cut (betel or cassava) into slices’ from *klaut* ‘slice (of betel or cassava)’), causing the object to possess the root (e.g. *hafoli* ‘respect’ from *folin* ‘value, price’), using the root as an instrument (e.g. *hata’u* ‘dye (cotton) in mud’ from *ta’u* ‘mud’), or putting the object into the root (e.g. *haknua* ‘put in a sheath’ from *knua* ‘sheath (for a knife)’).

4.2.2. *hak-*

The verbal prefix *hak-* has four separate uses. In some of these, it is paired with a suffix *-k*, which is applied only if the root ends in a vowel.

1. It derives intransitive verbs from transitive verbs. The subject of the derived verb corresponds to the object of the root (e.g. *hakfalu* ‘capsize, be overturned’ from *falu* ‘overturn, turn’, *haksaki* ‘be split in two’ from *saki* ‘cut lengthways’).
2. It derives verbs from other verbs with no change in transitivity and little change in meaning; in this case *hak-* is sometimes accompanied by the suffix *-k* (e.g. *hakro’an* Vi ‘implore, plead’ from *ro’an* ‘groan’, *hakasuk* from *kasu* both Vt ‘perform healing ceremony’).
3. It derives verbs indicating reciprocal action from transitive roots; in this case *hak-* is always accompanied by a suffix *-k* if the root ends in a vowel (e.g. *hakteik* ‘kick each other’ from *tei* ‘kick’, *haktudak* ‘throw spears at each other’ from *tuda* ‘throw spears at’).
4. *Hak-* (or *ha-*), with or without a suffix *-k*, derives verbs referring to the making of sounds, from roots which indicate the sound that is made (e.g. *hakmee* ‘bleat; call goats (making the sound *mee*)), *hahe’e* ‘reply *he’e* (to a greeting)’, *hahaek* ‘laugh as Fehan women do, shouting *hae!*’).

4.2.3. *mak-*

The combination *mak-* (*-n*), and its variant *ma-* (*-k*), derives words describing typical actors, from both transitive and intransitive verb roots. For instance, *makfa’en* ‘who sells’, derived from *fa’en* ‘sell’, describes a seller.

These actor derivations form a unique word class. They are like verbs in that they are either intransitive as in (1), or transitive as in (2). Like verbs, they can occur in serial verb constructions.

- (1) *Ita mahilik sia ksotir.*
 1PI who-pick (*hili*) PL fortunate
 ‘We who pick up (the fallen beans) are fortunate (if many beans have fallen from the plant).’
- (2) *See n-a-la’e n-ola Busa Oan ma-haa laho ma-haa kedo ne’e?*
 who 3S-make-husband 3S-take cat child who-eat mouse who-eat frog this
 ‘Who would marry this Kitten that eats mice (and) eats frogs?’

However, unlike other verbs, most actor derivations cannot function as predicate within a clause, and cannot be marked for aspect by words such as *ti'a* ‘already’. The most common function for actor derivations is as a modifier of a noun, as in (3). It is however quite common for the derivation to be introduced by the relative clause marker *mak*, as in (4). A few actor derivations can function as head of a noun phrase, as in (5). A very few can function as predicate (e.g. *makilik* ‘be ticklish’ from *hakili* ‘tickle’).

- (3) *roo maksemon*
 boat who-fly (*semo*)
 ‘boat that flies (i.e. aeroplane)’
- (4) *karawa mak mahoak* *ne'e*
 monkey REL who-give.birth (*hahoa*) this
 ‘this monkey that gave birth’
- (5) *nia-kan mak-tuir*
 3S-POS who-follow
 ‘his followers/disciples’

There are two differences between *mak-* and *ma-*, both of which are phonological. Firstly *mak-* is paired with the suffix *-n*, while *ma-* is paired with the suffix *-k*. Secondly, *mak-* is used when the root verb consists of two syllables, and starts with any consonant other than /h/ (e.g. *maksoin* ‘rich person, noble’ from *soi* ‘rich’), while *ma-* is used if the root begins with /h/ (e.g. *mahalok* ‘who causes (it)’ from *halo* ‘do, make’), or if it is a trisyllabic word beginning with the prefix *ha-* or *hak-*. In the latter case, the *ma-* replaces the initial /ha/ of the root (e.g. *madiduk* ‘always begging’ from *hadidu* ‘beg’, *makweek* ‘pig (in sea taboo language)’ from *hakwee* ‘squeal’).

Although the form of the suffix (*-k* or *-n*) is determined by the prefix, there are two other factors which determine whether the suffix is used at all. The first is phonology: as is the case with all suffixes in Fehan, the suffix is applied only if the root ends in a vowel. (Consonant-final roots in Fehan cannot take suffixes.) Secondly, there is no suffix if the derivation is transitive, being followed by an object noun phrase. The contrast is illustrated by the following example, where both the underlined derivations are from the root *hoo* ‘accompany, be with’.

- (6) *Baa husu baa ema mahook sia.*
 go request to person who-accompany PL
 ‘Go and ask the people who are with (her - i.e. her adopted parents)’
- Baa husu baa ema mahoo nia sia*
 go request to person who-accompany 3S PL
 ‘Go and ask the people who are with her.’

4.3. Derivation of nouns

Partial reduplication derives abstract nouns from adjectives and intransitive and transitive verbs. In this type of reduplication, only the final two syllables of the root are relevant. The reduplicative prefix consists of the onset consonant of the penultimate syllable, followed by the vowel /a/ (e.g. *ba-beik* ‘stupidity’ from *beik* ‘stupid’). If there is an initial /k/ before the onset, the

/k/ remains in word-initial position (e.g. *kra-rakat* ‘anger’ from *krakat* ‘angry’). If there are three syllables in the root, the initial syllable is simply omitted (e.g. *ka-kees* /ka.ke.es/ ‘talking’) from *hakees* /ha.ke.es/ ‘talk’). Where the root ends in a vowel, either *-k* or *-n* is added as a suffix; there appears to be no present-day reason why some derivations use *-k* while others use *-n* (e.g. *sa-soi-n* ‘wealth’ from *soi* ‘rich’, *ha-halo-k* ‘behaviour’ from *halo* ‘do, make’).

Partial reduplication also derives nouns from transitive verbs, where the noun names a typical instrument or undergoer (i.e. object) used with the activity of that verb. Here too, a final *-k* or *-n* is added if the verb ends in a vowel (e.g. *ka-korus* ‘grater’ from *korus* ‘grate’, *ha-hoo-k* ‘possessions’ from *hoo* ‘have’, *sa-simu-n* ‘that which is received’ from *simu* ‘receive’).

The prefix *ka-* (or *k-*) similarly derives instrument or undergoer nouns from transitive verbs. Where the root ends in a vowel, some (but not all) such derivations include a *-k* suffix (e.g. *ka-feur* ‘spinning top (kind of toy)’ from *feur* ‘spin’, *k-sela* ‘saddlecloth’ from *sela* ‘put saddlecloth on (horse)’), *k-lele-k* ‘boat (in sea taboo language)’ from *lele* ‘float’). In some instances, where Fehan derives a noun using *ka-* or *k-*, other dialects use partial reduplication or *k-* followed by partial reduplication. For instance, Fehan *ka-miik* ‘bladder’ from *mii* ‘urinate’ corresponds to Morris’ (1984) dictionary entries for eastern Tetun of *ma-miik* and *k-ma-miik* ‘bladder’.

Many nouns are also derived by compounding two roots together. Compounds consist of a maximum of four syllables. The initial root is generally truncated (the final consonant must be deleted; further shortening is optional). If the second root begins with a consonant cluster, its initial /k/ is omitted (e.g. *ba-tasak* ‘young corn’ from *batar* ‘corn’ and *tasak* ‘ripe’). Nearly all compounds follow the normal syntax for noun phrases. Common types include possessor-noun (e.g. *man-tolun* ‘bird’s egg’ from *manu* ‘bird’ and *tolun* ‘egg’), noun-modifier (e.g. *ba-tomak* ‘maize and bean dish’ from *batar* ‘maize’ and *ktomak* ‘whole’), and noun-noun (e.g. *ina-ama* ‘parents’ from *ina* ‘mother’ and *ama* ‘father’).

The prefix *ma-* attaches to numeral roots to derive words indicating the number of days between the present time and the specified future time (e.g. *ma-tolu* ‘in three days time’). When preceded by the preposition *hori* ‘since’, the time indicated is in the past (e.g. *hori ma-hitu* ‘seven days ago’). For past time, the suffix *-k* is obligatory for the root *tolu* ‘three’, optional for *lima* ‘five’, and not allowed for higher numbers (e.g. *hori ma-tolu-k* ‘three days ago’, *hori ma-lima(k)* ‘five days ago’).

4.4. Derivation of adjectives

There are a number of affixes which derive adjectives. The only one which is moderately productive is the combination *k-* *-k*, which derives result adjectives from transitive verbs. The adjective describes the state that results when the verb is carried out on an undergoer (e.g. *k-sira-k* ‘torn’ from *sira* ‘tear’, *k-tesi-k* ‘broken’ from *tesi* ‘break’).

4.5. Derivation of adverbs

Full reduplication derives adverbs from a range of word classes, particularly adjectives. In full reduplication, as in compounding, the final consonant of the initial root is omitted, and that root is optionally shortened further to a single syllable. If the second root begins with a consonant

cluster, the initial /k/ of that cluster is omitted (e.g. *di-di'ak* 'well' from *di'ak* 'good', *ktoma-tomak* 'entirely' from *ktomak* 'complete', *kala-kalan* 'nightly' from *kalan* 'night').

4.6. Other functions of full reduplication

Fully-reduplicated verbs occur together with a preceding *na'i* to indicate that the action is being done aimlessly, without reason, or regardless of the normal rules for doing that action. Note that when a trisyllabic root is fully reduplicated, as is *hakees* (/ha.ke.es/) in example (7), then the initial syllable is omitted.

- (7) *Nia na'i ke-kees nuu bulan ida.*
 3S just RDP-talk (*hakees*) like crazy.person one
 'He talks aimlessly/ramblingly/randomly, like a crazy person.'

Full reduplication of numbers has three functions. It can indicate that a group of the specified number of items are being considered together, as in (8). For powers of ten, it can alternatively show plurality, with *ida-ida* (RDP-one) meaning 'a few', *atus-atus* (RDP-hundred) meaning 'hundreds', and *rihun-rihun* (RDP-thousand) meaning 'thousands'. Finally, reduplication can be distributive, as in (9).

- (8) *Ita furi musan ha-haat.*
 1PI plant seed RDP-four
 'We plant four seeds at a time.'

- (9) *Hola ida-ida dei.*
 take RDP-one just
 'Take only one each.'

Reduplication of adjectives usually indicates that there is more than one item being described by the adjective. Frequently it also suggests that the items are diverse in some way.

- (10) *Hudi selu-seluk la haa.*
 banana RDP-other not eat
 'They didn't eat other types of bananas.'

The same meaning of plurality and variety can be given to nouns by repeating them. In this case, the whole noun is repeated, even if it is longer than two syllables.

- (11) *Nia sudi dato dato sia.*
 3S collect aristocrat aristocrat PL
 'He assembled the *dato* nobles.'

5. Phrases

5.1. Noun phrases

5.1.1. Basic noun phrase structure

A noun phrase in Tetun can consist simply of a single noun. This is normal for generic noun phrases. It is also quite common for other noun phrases, since Tetun does not require that the number or definiteness of noun phrases be marked.

Most noun phrase modifiers in Tetun follow the head noun. The usual order of modifiers after the noun is as follows, where ‘NP’ stands for a modifying noun phrase, ‘Adjective’ stands for an adjective phrase (see section 5.2), ‘Numeral’ stands for a numeral phrase (see section 5.3), ‘PP’ stands for a prepositional phrase (see section 5.4), and ‘RelClause’ stands for a relative clause (see section 5.1.4). Determiners are discussed in 5.1.3; it is not unusual for a single noun phrase to contain two determiners, as in (16).

Noun + Possessor + NP + Adjective + Numeral + Determiner* + PP + RelClause + Determiner

Note that short phrases (noun, adjective and numeral) occur closest to the head noun, while typically longer modifiers (prepositional phrases and relative clauses) occur further from the head. While any of the determiners can precede a prepositional phrase or relative clause, it seems that only *ne’e* ‘this’ and plural *sia* follow these modifiers.

Although the formula shows many modifiers, it is in practice extremely unusual to have more than two modifiers (other than determiners) modifying a single noun. For instance, a noun phrase can readily include both an adjective and a numeral phrase, but a sequence of three adjectives, or an adjective, numeral plus prepositional phrase, would be rare.

The following examples illustrate each of these modifiers.

- (12) *uma boot*
house big
‘(a/the) big house’ (Noun + Adjective)
- (13) *rai ita-k aat e’e*
land 1PI-POS bad this
‘this our bad land’ (Noun + Possessor + Adjective + Determiner)
- (14) *ema Wehali*
person Wehali
‘a person/people of Wehali’ (Noun + NP)
- (15) *ema na’in rua ne’e*
person CLS:human two this
‘these two people’ (Noun + Numeral + Determiner)

- (16) *oan ki'ik nuu ne'e ne'e sia*
 child small like this this PL
 'small children like these ones' (Noun + Adjective + PP + Determiner + Determiner)
- (17) *ai-fuan oi-oik mak siin*
 plant-fruit RDP-type REL sour
 'various fruits which are sour' (Noun + Adjective + Relative clause)

Possessors (see section 5.1.2) can either precede or follow the head noun.

There are in addition two classes of modifiers which always precede the head noun. The first consists of the two words *ohin* 'aforementioned' (Indonesian *tadi*), and *sura* 'every' (e.g. *sura loron* 'every day'). Note that *sura* is also a transitive verb meaning 'count' (e.g. *sura loit* 'count money').

The second class of premodifiers consists of verbs which modify a following noun *fatik* (or *fatin*) 'place'. The resulting compound refers to a place where the action of the verb is usually carried out (e.g. *hariis fatik* 'bathe place', *toba fatik* (sleep place) 'bed'). Although the premodifier is usually a single verb, it can be a sequence of subject and verb, or verb and object (e.g. *fasi dai fatik* (wash net place) 'place for washing nets').

5.1.2. Possession

The possessor in a Fehan noun phrase may either precede or follow the head noun (e.g. *nia-kan tais* (3S-POS cloth) or *tais nia-k* (cloth 3S-POS) 'his/her cloth'). The position preceding the noun is the more common, accounting for about 80% of possessors.

Where the possessor precedes the head noun, there are several main possibilities. A pronoun may be explicitly marked as possessive by a following clitic *-kan* (e.g. *ha 'u-kan mama* (1S-POS betel) 'my betel'), or it may occur simply as a bare pronoun; in the latter case, the short form of the preposition is usually used (e.g. *ni naran* (3S name) 'his/her name'). A noun phrase possessor in this position can similarly be explicitly marked as possessive by a following third person possessive pronoun, either 3S *nia-kan* (or informal *na* or *ni*) for singular possessors, as in (18), or 3P *sia-kan* (or informal *sa* or *si*) for plural ones, as in (19). Alternatively, the possessor noun phrase can immediately precede the head noun, without any explicit possessive marking (e.g. *foho leten* 'mountain top'). Lack of possessive marking is usual for part-whole relationships (e.g. *faru kakuluk* 'clothes pocket', *ni ulu-n* (3S head-GEN) 'his/her head'); for all other relationships it is more common to mark the possession explicitly with *-kan*.

- (18) *tamukun nia-kan fee-n*
 village.head 3S-POS wife-GEN
 'the village head's wife'
- (19) *ina-ama sia-kan sasoin*
 mother-father 3P-POS wealth
 'parents' wealth'

Where the possessor precedes the head noun, and the noun ends in a vowel, there are certain further conditions under which a genitive clitic is added to the noun, as in (18). This clitic is obligatory for part-whole relationships (e.g. *ha'u-kan lima-n* (1S-POS hand-GEN) 'my hand') and kin relationships (e.g. *nia-kan ina-n* (3S-POS mother-GEN) 'his/her mother'). It is usual for *rai* 'land' and *uma* 'house', but is not used for any other possessions. For many Fehan speakers, the genitive clitic is always *-n*. Others retain vestiges of an older system, using *-r* if the possessor is marked by a plural pronoun without *-kan* (e.g. *sa ata-r* (3P slave-GEN) 'their slave'), and *-n* in all other cases.

The order in which the possessor precedes the head noun is the only order allowed for part-whole relationships (e.g. *nia kabun* (3S stomach) 'his/her stomach'), and is the usual order for expressing kin relationships (e.g. *ni ina-n* (3S mother-GEN) 'his/her mother'). Other relationships (e.g. between a person and his/her possessions) can be expressed by either order.

The possessor can alternatively follow the head noun. In this case a pronoun possessor is marked as possessive by a following *-k* (e.g. *uma ita-k* (house 1PI-POS) 'our house'), and a nominal possessor is marked by a following *nia-k* '3S-POS' or *sia-k* '3P-POS', as in (20). There is no possibility of shortening the possessor, and the head noun does not take a genitive suffix (e.g. *ama oo-k* (father 2S-POS) 'your father').

- (20) *surik ama nia-k*
 sword father 3S-POS
 'father's sword'

5.1.3. Pronouns and determiners

The personal pronouns are listed below. The full form of the pronoun can be used in all situations. The short form is used only in speaking, and is restricted to subjects and possessors (when they precede the noun they modify). The short form tends to cliticise (i.e. attach phonologically) to the following word. Both the short and the long form are illustrated in (21).

Full form	Reduced form	Gloss	Description
<i>ha'u</i>	<i>ha, h</i>	1S	I
<i>oo</i>	<i>a</i>	2S	you (singular)
<i>ita</i>		2S.HON	you (singular respectful)
<i>nia</i>	<i>ni, na</i>	3S	he, she, it
<i>ita</i>	<i>it</i>	1PI	we (including addressee)
<i>ami</i>	<i>am</i>	1PE	we (excluding addressee)
<i>emi</i>	<i>em</i>	2P	you (plural)
<i>sia, sira</i>	<i>si, sa</i>	3P	they

- (21) *Nia baa n-usu ni ina-n.*
 3S go 3S-ask 3S mother-GEN
 'She went and asked her mother.'

The main demonstratives are *ne'e* 'this' and *nia* 'that, there'. When it follows a word ending in a consonant, *ne'e* is pronounced *e'e* (e.g. *oras e'e* (time this) 'now'). *Ne'e* is far more common than *nia*; it indicates either that something is close to the speaker (e.g. *uma ne'e* (house this) 'this

house’), or that it has been referred to recently (e.g. *Bete ne’e* (Bete this) ‘Bete (the one I referred to just now)’). *Nia* is also the third person singular pronoun. Less common are *nemai* ‘here, this’ (from *ne’e mai* ‘this come’) and *nebaa* ‘there, that’ (from *ne’e baa* ‘this go’).

Fehan appears to be unique amongst Tetun dialects in having a definite article *aa*. It marks a noun phrase as being definite, either because it refers back to something that has already been mentioned (e.g. *mane aa* (house DEF) ‘the man (whom I mentioned just now)’), or because its existence is well-known (e.g. *fulan aa* (moon DEF) ‘the moon’) or can be inferred.

Ida (also the numeral ‘one’) can mark noun phrases as being both singular and specific indefinite (e.g. *ema ida* (person one) ‘someone’).

Sia (or *sira*; also the third person plural pronoun) optionally marks a noun phrase as plural (e.g. *asu sia* (dog PL) ‘dogs’).

The interrogative pronouns are *see* ‘who’, *saa* ‘what’ and *nabee* ‘where; which’.

5.1.4. Relative clauses

Most relative clauses begin with the relative clause marking clitic *mak* (sometimes *ma’ak*). This is however optional. Where relativization is on the subject or object, the subject or object slot within the relative clause is simply left empty, as illustrated in (22) and (23) respectively. Where relativization is on the object of a preposition, either *ne’e* ‘this’ or *nia* ‘that’ occurs as the object of that preposition, as in (24).

(22) *ema mak simu matak-malirin*
 person REL receive unripe-cold
 ‘a person/people who receive blessings’

(23) *manu ma’ak ita atu ho’o ne’e*
 bird REL 1PI IRR kill this
 ‘this bird which we are about to kill’

(24) *tasi ida mak sia atu n-akdiuk iha ne’e*
 sea one REL 3P IRR 3-play LOC this
 ‘a (part of the) sea in which they would play’

5.2. Adjective phrases

Most adjective phrases consist of a single adjective (e.g. *uma boot ida* (house big one) ‘a big house’). Intensifiers follow the adjective (e.g. *wa’in basuk* (many very) ‘very many’).

5.3. Numerals and numeral phrases

Tetun has a decimal numeral system. The basic numerals are listed below. The number ‘million’ is *juta*, borrowed from Indonesian. There is a taboo on saying *tolu* ‘three’, and this numeral is commonly replaced by *kabau* (lit. ‘buffalo’). Quantity is questioned by *hira* ‘how much, how many’, which is also used as an indefinite quantifier to mean ‘several, however many’.

Numeral	Gloss
<i>ida</i>	1
<i>rua</i>	2
<i>tolu</i>	3
<i>haat</i>	4
<i>lima</i>	5
<i>neen</i>	6
<i>hitu</i>	7
<i>walu</i>	8
<i>siwi</i>	9
<i>sanulu</i>	10
<i>atus</i>	100
<i>rihun</i>	1000

The formula for numbers from eleven to just under a million is as follows, where ‘Digit’ represents any of the numerals from one to nine. The only exception to this formula is that ‘thirty’ is *to-nulu* not **tolu-nulu* (presumably to avoid saying the taboo *tolu*). The examples are lined up with the formula to simplify comparison with it.

Numeral	→	(<i>rihun</i> Numeral)	(<i>atus</i> Digit)	(Digit- <i>nulu</i>)	(<i>resin</i> Digit)	
		‘1000’	‘100’	‘10s’	‘extra’	
(25)		<i>rihun sanulu resin lima</i>				‘15,000’
		<i>rihun atus rua to-nulu</i>				‘230,000’
		<i>rihun ida</i>	<i>atus siwi</i>	<i>siwi-nulu</i>	<i>resin lima</i>	‘1995’
				<i>lima-nulu</i>	<i>resin hira?</i>	‘50-what?’

When people and certain other entities are counted, it is usual to precede the numeral with a numeral classifier. The most common ones are *na’in* (lit. ‘noble, owner’) for people, *matan* (lit. ‘source, eye’) for buffalo and pigs, *lolon* (lit. ‘trunk’) for long cylindrical objects, *tahan* (lit. ‘leaf’) for thin flat objects, *fuan* (lit. ‘heart, fruit’) for whole roundish objects, and *musan* (lit. ‘seed’) for tiny round objects. For instance, two people would normally be referred to as *sia na’in rua* (3P CLS:human two) ‘they two’ rather than just *sia rua* (3P two). (When it modifies a noun phrase, ‘two’ can alternatively be expressed by the adjective *ruas*, which is used without a classifier: *sia ruas* ‘they two’.)

5.4. Prepositional phrases

Prepositional phrases consist of a preposition followed obligatorily by a complement noun phrase. The prepositions are listed below. Note that many of the prepositions are also classed as conjunctions (i.e. they can introduce clauses as well as noun phrases), verbs, or adverbs.

Preposition	Gloss	Other word class
<i>baa</i>	at (time)	Vt 'go (to)'
<i>baa</i>	for	Vt 'go (to)'
<i>baa</i>	to (result)	Vt 'go (to)'
<i>bodik</i>	for, as for	Conjunction
<i>hanesan</i>	resemble	Vt 'make alike'
<i>hetak</i>	as for	Adverb 'increasingly'
<i>hori</i>	from (above/below)	
<i>hori</i>	since (time)	Conjunction
<i>hosi</i>	about (a topic)	Vt '(come) from, be at, via'; Conjunction
<i>iha</i>	LOC, in, at, on...	Vi 'be present'
<i>natoon baa</i>	at (time)	Vt '3S-responsible for'; Conjunction
<i>nuu</i>	like, just like	Adverb 'like, for example'
<i>nudar</i>	like, be as if	Conjunction
<i>ree</i>	at (location)	
<i>to'o</i>	until (time)	Vt 'reach, arrive at (location)'; Conjunction

Some of the more common prepositions are illustrated here.

- (26) *Tuir bei sia, matabian tuur iha rai klaran.*
follow grandparent PL spirit sit LOC earth middle
'According to the ancestors, the spirits of the dead live on earth.'
- (27) *Toba ti'a, toba to'o kalan boot, na'in feto foin tanis.*
sleep already sleep until night big noble woman only.just cry
'When they had lain down, and slept until deep into the night, only then did the noblewoman cry.'
- (28) *Oo la bele todak ha ulun nuu nia!*
2S not can yank 1S head like that
'You can't yank my hair like that!'
- (29) *Karian nudar ata, haa nudar na'in.*
work as.if slave eat as.if noble
'(If you) work like a slave, (you will) eat like a noble.'

By far the most common preposition is *iha* which is glossed 'LOC' (for 'location', Indonesian *di*) because it can be translated as 'in, at, on, under...' depending on context. To specify more exact location relative to an entity, the noun is followed by a location noun. As the list of location nouns below shows, many of these also refer to body parts.

Word	Location meaning	Body part meaning
<i>oin</i>	in front	face
<i>kotuk</i>	behind	back
<i>sorin</i>	beside	side
<i>kbelan</i>	beside	side
<i>leten</i>	at the top of, on top of	
<i>fohon</i>	on top of	
<i>kidun</i>	underneath, at the bottom of	buttocks, bottom
<i>ohak</i>	underneath, at the bottom of	
<i>laran</i>	interior	character, emotion
<i>klaran</i>	middle	
<i>molin</i>	outside	

- (30) *Nia ti'a ha'u nonook iha ke'an laran dei.*
 3S already 1S be.silent LOC room interior only
 'Then I just stayed quietly inside the room.'

6. Clauses

6.1. Basic clause structure

6.1.1. Verbal clauses

Verbal clauses have subject-verb-object word order. There is no system of voice (i.e. no passives).

- (31) *Ha'u k-atene oo.*
 1S 1S-know 2S
 'I know you.'

Verbs take subject marking if they satisfy certain phonological conditions. Only verbs starting with /h/ take the full range of subject marking prefixes, which replace the /h/. These prefixes are 1S *k-*, 2S *m-*, 3S *n-*, and 3P *r-* (or *n-* for some speakers and dialects); for 1P and 2P subjects, the initial /h/ of the verb is retained, as in (35). Such subject-marking is illustrated for *halai* 'run', *hola* 'go via' and *hikar* 'go back' in example (32). Verbs beginning with other consonants (except /k/) take subject marking only for 1S subjects, with the prefix *k-* preceding the root (e.g. *k-mai* '1S-come'). This restriction is consistent with the fact that all word-initial consonant clusters in Fehan begin with /k/. Vowel-initial verbs are very rare, and do not take subject marking; nor do other word classes such as adjectives, numerals or prepositions, even when these function as predicates.

- (32) *Sia r-alai r-ola r-ikar loro-sa'e-n baa.*
 3P 3P-run 3P-go.via 3P-back sun-ascend-GEN there
 'They ran away further to the east.'

Object noun phrases can be topicalised by fronting them to a position immediately preceding the subject.

- (33) *Oa ne'e oo m-atene lale?*
 child this 2S 2S-know no
 'This child – do you know (him) or not?'

Fehan also allows a subject-object-verb order in irrealis clauses (such as negative clauses or questions), if the object noun phrase is non-referential. This order is obligatory for the negative verb *lalek* 'lack', shown in (34). However it is optional in other irrealis clauses, as shown by the alternatives in (35).

- (34) *Nia feton lalek, manemalun lalek.*
 3S (man's).sister lack (man's).brother lack
 'He has no sisters or brothers.'

- (35) *Mais ami malae la hatene.* *Mais ami la hatene malae.*
 but 1PE non-native not know but 1PE not know non-native
 'But we don't know Indonesian (language).'

Oblique objects (such as recipients or addressees) follow the direct object, and are introduced by the general locative preposition *iha* 'LOC' or by the prepositional verb *baa* (often unstressed *ba*).

- (36) *Ama foo henu ba Nona.*
 father give necklace to Nona
 'Father gave a necklace to Nona.'

Reciprocals are formed by placing the word *malu* in the slot otherwise filled by the object, recipient, or addressee.

- (37) *Sira hakelek malu.*
 3P verbally.abuse each.other
 'They verbally abuse each other.'

Reflexives can be formed by placing the reflexive marker *aan* (or its variants *aa*, *oon*, *oo*, or *oan*) in the object slot. An alternative is to use the adverb *hikar* 'back' (which is exceptional in that it takes subject marking), or to use both *hikar* and *aan* together.

- (38) *Nia n-o'o aan.* *Nia n-o'o n-ikar aan.*
 3S 3S-kill REFL 3S 3S-kill 3S-back REFL
 'He killed himself.'

6.1.2. **Existential and possessive clauses**

Existential clauses frequently make use of *noo* 'exist'. This verb is unique in that its single argument can either precede it, as in (39), or follow it, as in (40). The postverbal position is usually used to introduce new (usually minor) participants in the discourse. The preverbal position is used when the noun phrase is already topical; such clauses in which the subject precedes *noo* indicate contrast with some other (earlier, later, or expected) state of affairs. Note that *noo* is also the 3S inflection of *hoo* 'have'.

- (39) *Batar la noo ti'an, tan rai hala'a.*
 corn not exist already because earth hungry
 'There is no longer any corn, as there is a famine.'
- (40) *Nuu, noo biin iha uma laran, biin mak foo baa.*
 like exist older.sister LOC house inside older.sister REL give go
 'If for instance there is an older sister in the house, it is the older sister who gives
 (drinks) to (the man courting her younger sister).'

Possession can be indicated by the verb *hoo* 'have'. Alternatively, the possessor can be specified by an initial topic noun phrase, and the possessed entity can be the argument of an existential verb *noo*. These two alternatives are illustrated in example (41)

- (41) *Ha'u buat e'e sia noo.* *Ha'u k-oo buat e'e sia.*
 1S thing this PL exist 1S 1S-have thing this PL
 'I have these things.' (So there is no need for you to give them to me.)

To specify that something is present or available (or, more often, not present or available), Fehan uses the intransitive verb *iha*. This is also the general locative preposition. The contrast between *iha* and *noo* is illustrated in (42).

- (42) *Ina la iha.* *Ina la noo.*
 mother not present mother not exist
 'Mother is not here. (She is out.)' 'There is no mother. (e.g. She had died.)'

The verb *lalek* 'lack' indicates lack of possession of something. It is unique in that the object must occur before the verb, as illustrated in (34) in the previous section.

6.1.3. Other clause types

Non-verbal clauses usually have subject-predicate order, and no copula between the subject and predicate. In clauses consisting of two noun phrases, the first usually represents 'given' information (and so is definite), while the second presents new information, as in the first clause of (43). The reverse order is however possible, as illustrated by the second clause in (43).

- (43) ... *Buku Lasak e'e ata. Na'in mak Bitu Nahak.*
 Buku Lasak this slave noble REL Bitu Nahak
 '(The nobleman had taken a liking to Buku Lasak. But) This Buku Lasak was a slave. It was Bitu Nahak who was the noble.'

Fehan does however have an optional copula *nii*; it indicates a relationship of unique identity, in which the referent of the second noun phrase is presented as uniquely satisfying the description given in the initial noun phrase.

- (44) *Lale. Tais oo-k nii nia.*
 no cloth 2S-POS be 3S
 'No. That is your cloth. (None of the others are yours.)'

Other types of non-verbal clauses include possessors (45), adjective phrases, numeral phrases (46), prepositional phrases, relative clauses (47), and ‘body-good’ expressions (discussed below).

(45) *Kabau ne'e ha'u-kan.*
 buffalo this 1S-POS
 ‘This buffalo is mine.’

(46) *Nia-kan ulu-n aa hitu.*
 3S-POS head-GEN DEF seven
 ‘It (this snake) has seven heads.’ (Literally ‘Its heads are seven.’)

(47) *Mate, ha'u mak mate uluk, foin emi.*
 die 1S REL die first only.then 2S
 ‘(If we) die, it is I who will die first, and only then you.’

‘Body-good’ expressions are frequently used to express character, emotions and physical attributes. They usually consist of a single noun denoting a body part or other characteristic (e.g. *naran* ‘name’) followed by an intransitive verb or adjective. Such predicates often constitute standardized expressions (e.g. *isin di'ak* (body good) ‘well’, *folin ktodan* (price heavy) ‘expensive’); however they can also be creative (e.g. *raan midar* (blood sweet) ‘has sweet-tasting blood’).

(48) *Ida matan aat, ida tilun diuk.*
 one eye bad one ear deaf
 ‘One was blind, and one was deaf.’

6.2. Negation

Verbs and adjectives (but not nouns) can be negated by a preceding *la*, which is phonologically an unstressable clitic. All clause types can alternatively be negated by the slightly more emphatic *ha'i*, which follows the negated constituent (50). Further emphasis can be given by using both *la* and *ha'i* in the one clause. These options are illustrated for a verbal clause in (49). A wide range of constituents can be negated by a preceding *lahoos*; this is typically used when there is an explicit contrast between the negative statement and an accompanying positive one (51).

(49) *Nia la baa. Nia baa ha'i. Nia la baa ha'i.*
 3S not go 3S go not 3S not go not
 ‘He’s not going.’ ‘He’s not going’ (stronger) ‘He’s certainly not going.’

(50) *Oo! Buat e'e Bei Beur ha'i!*
 oh thing this Mr deceive not
 ‘Oh! This thing (actually a person) isn’t Mr Trickster!’

(51) *Ne'e lahoos ema lian. Manu lian.*
 this indeed.not person voice bird voice
 ‘This isn’t a person’s voice. (It’s) a bird’s voice.’

6.3. Tense and aspect

Tense and aspect are not obligatorily marked in Tetun, and are often determined by context. For example, *Nia baa* (3S go) can be interpreted, depending on the context, as ‘He went’, ‘He is going’, or ‘He will go’. Temporal relationships can however be made explicit, either through expressions which refer to time (e.g. *aban* ‘tomorrow’), or through a set of tense-aspect terms which occur either before or after the verb.

The common Tetun temporal and aspectual adverbs that occur after the verb are *ti’an* ‘already’ (perfective aspect), *ti’a* ‘and after that’, *kedan* ‘immediately’, *onan* (sometimes *-n*) ‘imminent’ (marking the event specified by the clause as imminent and inevitable), and *lai* ‘first, beforehand’ (indicating that the event in the clause must happen before some other, often unspecified, event takes place; Indonesian *dulu*).

Aspectual auxiliaries that occur before the verb are progressive *ho’i* (Indonesian *sedang*), *foin* ‘only just’ (Indonesian *baru*), *sei* ‘still’ (Indonesian *masih*), *sei dauk* ‘not yet’ (Indonesian *belum*), and *atu* ‘about to, want to, intend to, in order to’.

A verb (including its subject marker) can be repeated to indicate continuation of the action.

6.4. Questions

Information questions are formed by placing an interrogative word in the same position as the answer would go.

- (52) *Oo buka saa?* *Ha’u k-buka tais ha’u-k aa.*
2S seek what 1S 1S-seek cloth 1S-POS DEF
‘What are you looking for?’ ‘I’m looking for my cloth.’

The basic question expressions are: *see* ‘who’, *saa* ‘what’, *nebee* ‘where; which’, *hira* ‘how much, how many’, *horihirak* ‘when (in the past)’, *wainhira* ‘when (in the future)’, and *taan saa* and *baa saa* ‘why’. Most of these expressions are also used outside of questions to indicate indefinite, unknown, entities (e.g. *see* can mean ‘someone, anyone, whoever’).

Yes-no questions can have both the positive and the negative options specified in full. However, it is more common for the alternative to be shortened to *ka lale* ‘or not’, further truncated to *lale* ‘not’, or be left open by a final *ka* ‘or’. Alternatively, final rising intonation alone can signal that an utterance is a question. Example (53) illustrates these alternatives.

- (53) *Di’ak ka la di’ak?* *Di’ak ka lale?* *Di’ak lale?* *Di’ak ka?* *Di’ak?*
good or not good good or not good not good or good
‘(Is it) good or not?’

6.5. Commands

Most commands in Tetun have no particular imperative marker; instead, they are recognised as commands by their context. Just as in other clauses, the subject can be omitted.

- (54) *Iku! Mai lai!*
 tail come first
 ‘*Iku* (a common name for the youngest child)! Come here!’

Commands or invitations for the addressee to do something without the speaker can be indicated by final *baa* (go), as in (55). Invitations to do something with the speaker can be preceded by *mai ita* (come 1PI) ‘let’s’, as in (56). Prohibitions typically have *keta* ‘do not’ before the verb.

- (55) *Haa baa!*
 eat go
 ‘You eat (without me)!’

- (56) *Mai ita la’o liu dei.*
 come 1PI walk further just
 ‘Let’s just keep going.’

6.6. Serial verbs

In Tetun serial verb constructions, two verbs occur together within a single clause. There is no word to coordinate them, or to make one verb subordinate to the other. The second verb does not have its own subject; instead, its subject is interpreted as being the same as either the subject or object of the first verb, depending on the type of construction.

In some types of serial verb constructions, the two verbs must be consecutive (i.e. there can be no word between them), and only the first verb takes subject marking. These types are summarised here:

- The first verb is transitive and describes an action, while the second verb is intransitive, and describes the result of the action. The object of the first verb occurs after the second verb, and is interpreted as the subject of that verb.

- (57) *Nia n-itak be’o bikan.*
 3S 3S-throw.down shatter plate
 ‘She threw the plate down, shattering it.’

- The first verb is either transitive or intransitive, and usually specifies manner of motion. The second verb is from a small set of intransitive direction verbs: *sa’e* ‘ascend’, *tuun* ‘descend’, *tama* ‘enter’ or *sai* ‘exit’), as in *halai sai* ‘run outside’. Variants on this pattern are an initial motion verb followed by *liu* ‘go further’ (e.g. *halai liu* ‘run further’), or a verb followed by *uluk* ‘go first, go ahead’ (e.g. *mate uluk* ‘die first (before someone else dies)’). In each of these sub-types, the two verbs share the initial subject.

In the following types of serial verb construction, both verbs take subject marking.

- Both verbs are transitive, and share both the initial subject and the object (which follows the second verb). It appears that the second verb must come from a closed class of verbs, of

which the most common is *hola* ‘take, fetch, hold’, illustrated in (58). Other verbs in this slot include *ho’o* ‘kill’ and *hela* ‘leave’.

- (58) *Nia kawen n-ola Feto Ikun.*
 3S marry 3S-take woman tail
 ‘He married Youngest Sister.’

- The initial verb is a verb of motion, usually *baa* ‘go’ or *mai* ‘come’. The second verb is non-stative; the two verbs share the subject. This construction is usually interpreted to mean that the moving was done before the activity of the second verb, and that it was done in order to do the second activity.

- (59) *Ha’u k-mai k-ola ita at baa haa.*
 1S 1S-come 1S-take 2S.HON IRR go eat
 ‘I have come to fetch you to go and eat.’

- One verb introduces a noun phrase which is semantically an oblique object for the other verb. In particular, the verb can introduce source (*hosi* ‘from’), goal location (e.g. *baa* ‘go’, *mai* ‘come’, *to’o* ‘reach, arrive at’), instrument (*hodi* ‘bring, take’), or co-actor (*hoo* ‘accompany’).

- (60) *Nia monu n-osi ai leten.*
 3S fall 3S-from tree top
 ‘He fell from the top of the tree.’

- (61) *Sia n-odi knuru ne’e tetas n-alo kweer.*
 3P 3-use spoon this smooth 3S-make smooth
 ‘They use the trowel to smooth (the cement) making it smooth.’

- (62) *Ha biin sia r-oo ha’u mai r-ariis.*
 1S older.sister PL 3P-accompany 1S come 3P-bathe
 ‘My older sisters came with me here to bathe.’

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Abbreviations used

Code	Meaning	Code	Meaning
1PE	1 st person plural exclusive (<i>ami</i>)	GEN	default genitive marker (<i>-n</i>)
1PI	1 st person plural inclusive (<i>ita</i>)	IRR	irrealis (<i>atu</i>)
1S	1 st person singular (<i>ha'u, k-</i>)	lit.	literally
2P	2 nd person plural (<i>emi</i>)	LOC	general locative (<i>iha</i>)
2S	2 nd person singular (<i>oo, m-</i>)	N	noun
2S.HON	2 nd person singular respect (<i>ita</i>)	PL	plural (<i>sia</i>)
3	3 rd person, no number (Suai <i>n-</i>)	POS	possessive (<i>-kan, -k</i>)
3P	3 rd person plural (<i>sia, r-</i>)	RDP	reduplication
3S	3 rd person singular (<i>nia, n-</i>)	REFL	reflexive (<i>aan</i>)
Adj	adjective	REL	relative clause marker (<i>mak</i>)
Adv	adverb	Vi	intransitive verb
CLS:	classifier for following category	Vt	transitive verb
DEF	definite (<i>aa</i>)		