Describing Makasae: A Trans-New Guinea Language of East Timor

A. J. G. Correia

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
University of Western Sydney
2011
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Dedication

This work is dedicated to Laga-mata, the people of Laga past and present, who welcomed and cared for me and my family, and shared with us their language and culture. May this project help them to preserve and develop their language and identity for future generation.

Adérito José Guterres Correia

(29 July 2011)
Acknowledgements

The successful undertaking of this study would not have been possible without the assistance of my supervisors. I am immeasurably indebted to my Principal Supervisor, Dr George Saunders, who was always ready to provide me with academic advice, review my thesis drafts and involve me in his other linguistic projects through which I gained practical experience in grammar analysis and lexicography.

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Makasae speakers, and my sister Jaquelina Correia arranged meetings with groups of Makasae-speaking women.

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Lastly, my sincere appreciation goes to my wife Inês da Costa Moreira and children Denize, Josué and Natanael for their patience and encouragement throughout the entire course of my quest to apply scientific criteria to the study of an important language of my homeland.
Statement of Authentication

The work presented in this thesis is, to the best of my knowledge and belief, original except as acknowledged in the text. I hereby declare that I have not submitted this material, either in full or in part, for a degree at this or any other institution.

Adérito José Guterres Correia
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<th>Meaning</th>
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<td>acrolectal (variety)</td>
<td>PARAG</td>
<td>paragographic</td>
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<td>Malay</td>
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<td>Malay</td>
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<td>&gt;</td>
<td>becomes</td>
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Abstract

This thesis constitutes a grammatical analysis of the north-eastern variety of Makasae, a largely undocumented language spoken in the district of Laga in East Timor. With some 110,000 speakers, Makasae is one of four languages in East Timor which belong to the Trans-New Guinea phylum. Although the dialect of Laga is taken as normative in this thesis, variant forms in other dialects are considered whenever possible. It is hoped that the creation of a scientific descriptive grammar of this vernacular and practical application of the data it presents will make a contribution to the education of its speakers, raising their awareness of its social and literary potential.

In conducting and documenting the research, the principles of Basic Linguistic Theory have been applied. The order followed in this descriptive grammar is essentially from the smallest to the largest units within the grammatical hierarchy.

Makasae has been in contact with more recently implanted Austronesian languages, especially its linguistic neighbours, its wider context being a Sprachbund or linguistic area covering the whole of Timor. As a result, its morphosyntax is much eroded and its phonology partly attuned to that of contiguous languages. Sprachbund features examined in particular detail in this work include basilectal, mesolectal and acrolectal levels of speech; polarity markers; honorific functions; avoidance of personal pronouns; verb markers; adjectival verbs; and parataxis.

Enduring Trans-New Guinea grammatical phenomena analysed in the thesis are: SOV word order; marked plurals; two different polarity markers; multiple degrees of deixis in demonstratives, adverbials and even verbs; possessive-like attributive gi; conditional; postpositions and circumpositions.

It was found that Makasae speakers have a strong positive attitude towards their language which augurs well for its long-term survival despite competition from East Timor’s two official languages, Tetum and Portuguese. The study also considers possible modalities for the active involvement of state and non-government institutions essential for the maintenance and development of this vernacular.
1. Introduction

1.1 Aim and Rationale

The aim of this study is to describe Makasae by means of a comprehensive scientific analysis of the language in its social and historical context, and to provide a synthesis and development of foregoing research in this field.\textsuperscript{1} The study also endeavours to contribute linguistically sound basic materials on the Makasae language to aid in the development of teaching and learning programs for the language.

Little has been written about Makasae and it is hoped that the following description will not only add to scientific knowledge but will also lend itself to a practical application: a detailed thesis of this kind could be used by the Government of Timor-Leste, especially the Ministry of Education, as a written resource for the language. The study can furthermore be seen as a contribution to the work of preserving small endangered languages throughout the world. Although Makasae does not seem to be threatened at present, it is never certain what the future holds, especially in unstable developing nations. Since Portuguese and Tetum are being strongly promoted by the government, there may be a shift towards these Timorese mainstream languages and away from the vernaculars over the coming decades.

Indeed, what is done now is important, because the younger people are becoming culturally impoverished and are losing much of the traditional linguistic knowledge of their societies. By preparing this detailed description of Makasae, I hope to contribute to the preservation of this particular vernacular.

1.2 A Brief History of Makasae

Linguistic research has demonstrated that the ancestor of Makasae as well as the other Trans-New Guinea languages of Timor, Pantar and Alor, was introduced to the islands possibly 4,000 years ago by migrants from the Bomberai Peninsula of north-western Papua. Linguistic evidence suggests that the migrating Papuans, who may have been avoiding the encroachments of seafaring Austronesian invaders,

\footnote{In the literature the name of the language is spelt either ‘Makasai’ or ‘Makasae’, the latter being the spelling used in the language itself. In this study the form ‘Makasae’ is used, although in quotations the spelling used by a particular writer is retained.}
sailed initially to either Ceram or to the island of Watubela (Hull, *Lian* 16 and *Papuan* 57). They then advanced to the other islands following the Arafura Sea current and made their way to the island network of Timor, Wetar, Alor and Flores, settling there and intermarrying with the natives. Their Bomberaian speech was implanted in these regions, but the influence of the pre-Papuan substrata was so great that hybrid languages appeared everywhere.

Peter Bellwood (qtd. in Klamer, Reensik and Staden 8) and Geoffrey Hull (*Languages of Timor* 22) state that the ancestors of the speakers of all the modern indigenous languages of New Guinea in their several phyla had lived in the region for several millennia before the Austronesians arrived. Previous to this Papuan migration there had been a lengthy seaward expansion of Austronesians in the region.

Having penetrated Celebes and the Moluccas, the Austronesian seafarers sailed as far east as north-western New Guinea (the Bird’s Head Peninsula). Although the Austronesians could not colonise the whole island because of its rugged mountainous terrain, they were able to conquer some native Papuans living in the lowlands, for instance those inhabiting the coast of the Bomberai and Onin Peninsulas. This had enabled contact among people of two different language families to take place, whether through intermarriage or other different types of interactions. The Papuans learned from their occupiers new skills such as cultivating lands, raising animals, making boats and seafaring.

Some scholars have suggested that the migration of these Papuans may have occurred somewhat later around 3000 BC; this is supposedly proved by the existence of stone tools they left behind (Glover as qtd. in Fox and Soares 4). In other words, the Timor region was supposedly austronesianised around the same time as north-western New Guinea, the Moluccas and Celebes. By contrast, Hull (*Basic* 109-153) contends that the Austronesian languages of Timor are of much more recent implantation. This scholar hypothesises that they were introduced to the island some time before the 11th century AD by people migrating from the region of Muna, Buton and the Tukang Besi archipelago (‘Butonia’) in the south-east of Celebes. Hull

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2 For discussion on the indigenous languages of New Guinea, see Bellwood, *From Bird’s Head* 951-975. See also the study on the Papuan languages of Timor by Hull, *Papuan* 23-99. The Austronesians reached Timor by the middle of the third millennium (Higham 298 and Ross, *Papuan* 42).
argues that the tools in question were more likely to have been brought in by Papuans who had established contact with their Austronesian conquerors in the period before they migrated to Timor.

Hence, according to this perspective, Tetum and its cogeners belong to the Celebic subdivision of the Western Malayo-Polynesian (Hesperonesian) languages, and not to the Central Malayo-Polynesian division hypothesised by Robert Blust and others.⁵ Old Butonese, the putative ancestor of Tetum, has evolved into various modern languages of South-Eastern Sulawesi. Even if this hypothesis is correct, the arrival of Austronesian speakers in Timor in an earlier period cannot be excluded a priori. However, there appears to be no linguistic evidence of such an event, given the ‘modern’ characteristics of the Timoric languages (Hull, Basic 109).

Today the Trans-New Guinea languages can be found mainly in the eastern and central regions of the island. With regard to Makasae, apart from being spoken in its home district, it is also used among Makasae communities in Dili (specially Becora and Bidau) and is scattered in other parts of East Timor.

1.3 The East Timor Language Situation

1.3.1 Genetic Classification

In terms of language, East Timor is a complex mosaic, being one of the most polyglot islands in the world.⁴ Although a tiny territory, it has at least sixteen different indigenous vernaculars deriving from two separate linguistic families. Twelve of them are of Austronesian origin: Dawan (Baikenu dialect), Kemak, Bekais (Welaun), Tetum, Tokodede, Mambai, Idalaka, Galoli, Wetarese (Rahesuk, Resuk and Raklungu dialects), Habun, Kawaimina and Makuva (Lovaia).⁵ All of the

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⁵ Bellwood, Man’s Conquest 123. See criticism of Central Malayo-Polynesian by Hull, Basic 167-169.

⁴ On the question related to Timor being a polyglot island, see Hull, Languages of Timor 1; Dalby 392; Thomaz, Babel 21; Campagnolo and Lameiras-Campagnolo 94.

⁵ Idalaka is the name attributed to the dialects of Idaté, Isni, Lolein and Lakalei. Similarly, Kawaimina is an acronym from the four dialects of Kairui, Waima’a, Midiki and Naueti, Hull, Languages of Timor 3-4.
remaining languages of East Timor belong to the Trans-New Guinea phylum: Bunak, Fataluku, Makalero and Makasai (Hull, Papuan 50).  

Map 1.1: The Languages of East Timor and its neighbouring regions

The speakers of the vernaculars within each phylum intuitively recognise the similarities among their different languages in East Timor, however, they may not realise how their languages are related to each other in their environs and to other languages outside of their geopolitical context. In particular, the difference between a ‘language’ (i.e. a linguistic unity) and a component dialect is not one normally understood by the speakers of East Timorese vernaculars. Their concepts of linguistic classification are primarily cultural and based on certain minor lexical

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6 For further discussion on Trans-New Guinea languages of Timor, see Hull, Languages of Timor 21-24; Dalen 17-21 and Morphological 89-124. See also Wurm, Papuan, 76. In his 1998 study of the earlier work by Wurm and others in 1975, Pawley (Trans New Guinea, 683) provisionally classified the Timor-Alor-Pantar group of New Guinea languages into West Trans-New Guinea Phylum on the basis of their lexicon.

7 Map courtesy of Dr Geoffrey Hull.
differences (often used as shibboleths) and non-linguistic concepts imposed by the colonial powers throughout the country’s history in order to divide and rule ethnic groups.

Even today, few well-educated East Timorese recognise the dialectal status of Kairui, Wama’a, Midiki and Naueti for which Hull proposes the acronymic name ‘Kawaimina’. The same applies to Idalaka, which comprises dialects of the central regions, namely Idáte, Isní, Lolein and Lakalei. However, in the realms of accent and pronunciation, many speakers of East Timorese vernaculars such as Tetum, Makasae, Mambai, Dawan and others are aware of the fact that the speakers of the numerous dialects of each of these vernaculars speak the same language but with regional differences.⁸

As a result of being a multilingual country, most of the East Timorese population of 980,000 can speak different languages, and many people grow up speaking more than one vernacular as their mother tongue.⁹ Foreigners are often surprised to notice the ease with which most Timorese frequently switch from one language to another, a practice that depends on the social context in which the language users are involved.

One crucial question which confronts the naturally polyglot East Timorese is the fact that the majority of these languages have been used only in spoken form. Apart from occasional mention in general descriptions of Portuguese Timor and listings of language names, little that could pass as scientific literature was written about most of them before 1974. The first ever language development project culminated in 1889 with the publication of a Portuguese-Tetum dictionary by Fr Sebastião Maria Aparício da Silva.¹⁰ This, like most of the other studies, was work undertaken by the Catholic missionaries.

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⁸ Bellwood, Pre-History 105 states that “dialects of a language share sufficient basic vocabulary in common, usually 80% so that they remain mutually intelligible”. These dialects are classifiable as separate languages once they diverge so much in their common features as to be no longer mutually intelligible, which usually takes a millennium or more for the process of separation allowing a parent language to become separate from daughter languages.

⁹ According to the 2005 census undertaken by the East Timor Government.

¹⁰ From the time of his arrival in Timor, Fr da Silva began noting the most commonly used words in Portuguese and their corresponding meanings in Tetum. His Diccionario de Portuguez-Tetum was published twelve years later in Macau by Tipografia do Seminário.
1.4 Locality of Makasae Community

Many speakers of Makasae, the third most spoken language in East Timor today with the total number of speakers around 110,960 in 2003,\textsuperscript{11} are bilingual or multilingual. These speakers as well as speakers of other East Timorese languages living in places bordering other areas with different vernaculars tend also to speak the neighbouring languages. As a result, apart from Tetum, most Makasae speakers have a good command of one or two of the adjacent vernaculars: Fataluku, Makalero, Kawaimina or Eastern Tetum.

Map 1.2: The languages of East Timor\textsuperscript{12}

The speakers of Makasae are geographically divided into two main regional dialects, the southern and northern variety, however, they are all mutually intelligible.

\textsuperscript{11} Timor-Leste, Ministério das Finanças, \textit{Levantamentu Suku nian, Rezultadu Xave no Atualizadu} (Dili: Ministério das Finanças, 2003) 40-51.

\textsuperscript{12} Based on Hull, \textit{The Languages of Timor} xii.
1.4.1 Southern Makasae

The southern dialect is subdivided into the dialect of Viqueque, Ossu, Uatolái and part of Venilale (Wailaha). Apart from having lexical and morphological differences among these two main varieties, the most noticeable feature of southern Makasae is the maintenance of the bilabial voiceless stop /p/, which is usually changed to the labial voiceless fricative /ʃ/ in the northern varieties.\(^{13}\)

1.4.2 Northern Makasae

The northern variety of Makasae is subdivided into several dialects: Wada is spoken in the subdistrict of Laga to the south bordering the Naueti dialect in Baguia; Sokolari is spoken in eastern part of Laga and west of Lautém (Laivai and Ililai); Sa’ani is used in the subdistrict of Luro (Lakawaa and Baikafa) which is in the central part; Wairafi speakers are spread in some parts of Laivai, Lakawaa and Daudere; Makasae-Quelicai is used in most of the Quelicai regions; finally Makasae-Baucau is mainly spoken around Baucau and has been greatly influenced by Waima’a.

1.5 Varieties of Makasae

The Makasae spoken today along the northern coast, particularly the Laga region, can be divided into three principal varieties: basilectal, mesolectal andacrolectal. The low and high varieties are characterised by the presence or absence of certain phonemes of Tetum or Portuguese origin.

1.5.1 Basilectal

Speakers of this variety, as a result of being those least exposed to both Tetum and Portuguese, do not produce certain phonemes in loanwords from these two languages. As a result the following changes occur in the pronunciation of these

\(^{13}\) Makasae speakers can easily identify the two varieties based on the phoneme used in speech. Research specifically conducted on the dialectometry of Makasae by Wain in 2006, involving various places and speakers of the two varieties, proved the use of /p/ in the south and /ʃ/ in the north.
borrowings: dropping the consonant /h/ at the beginning of a word; placing a vocalic glide (glide vowel) between consonant clusters (§3.3.5); adding a vowel to words ending in consonant (§3.3.6); omitting the final vowel in a sequence of non-identical disyllabic vowels ending a word (§3.3.7); and dropping preconsonantal /m/ and /n/.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(1) Basilectal Tetum</th>
<th>Portuguese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>akana’uku hakna’uk</td>
<td>‘retail, barter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aramari armáriu</td>
<td>armário ‘cupboard’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bartera parteira</td>
<td>parteira ‘nurse’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boloku bloku bloclo</td>
<td>‘block’, ‘bloc’, ‘brick’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dotoro doutór dotor</td>
<td>‘doctor’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kafu kampu campo</td>
<td>‘field (sport)’, ‘camp’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kanaba knaban</td>
<td>‘bucket’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kulu-daka kulu-jaka</td>
<td>‘jackfruit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maromaka Maromak</td>
<td>‘God’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rofa roupa roupa</td>
<td>‘clothes’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.5.2 Mesolectal

The users of this variety are typically people who have a moderate knowledge of both Tetum and Portuguese, but due to their imperfect command of both languages, they do not fully produce the original phonemes when pronouncing loanwords from those languages. It is common in this variety to replace certain phonemes with others, e.g. /b/ replaces /v/; to ignore word stress; and to be inconsistent in the replacement of phonemes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(2) Mesolectal Tetum</th>
<th>Portuguese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>abiaun aviaun avião</td>
<td>‘plane’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bidru vidru vidro</td>
<td>‘glass’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>desfesa despeza despesa</td>
<td>‘expense; cost’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hatun hatún -</td>
<td>‘lower’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>istudanti estudante estudante</td>
<td>‘student’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kulu-saka kulu-jaka</td>
<td>‘jackfruit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ofisial ofisiál oficial</td>
<td>‘official’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1.5.3 Acrolectal

This variety is often used by speakers of Makasae who have had considerable exposure to Tetum and Portuguese and are able to pronounce loanwords more or less as they are pronounced in the original languages. Bible text translations and prayers are usually pronounced using this variety. Well-educated speakers prefer to use the acrolectal variety in their speech because in the social context it is regarded as more prestigious; however, it is the mesolectal rather than the acrolectal variety that comes close to the role of a Makasae lingua franca, even for highly educated speakers.

(3)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acrolectal</th>
<th>Mesolectal</th>
<th>Basilectal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abril</td>
<td>Abril</td>
<td>Abirili</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>berlindes</td>
<td>birlindus</td>
<td>birlindusu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>definisaun</td>
<td>definisaun</td>
<td>definisaunu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>estrika</td>
<td>istrika</td>
<td>isitirika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>forte</td>
<td>forti</td>
<td>foriti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hamulak</td>
<td>hamulaka</td>
<td>amulaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>movimentu</td>
<td>mobimentu</td>
<td>mubimetu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>primeiru</td>
<td>primeru</td>
<td>birimeru, firimeru</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘April’  
‘marbles’  
‘definition’  
‘to iron’  
‘strong’  
‘pray, invoke’  
‘movement’  
‘first’

1.6 Language Policy

After independence in 2002 Portuguese was restored as the official language of East Timor together with Tetum. At the same time Indonesian and English were granted the status of working languages in the civil service. Nevertheless, Section 13 of the 2002 Constitution also places importance on the development of the other national languages.

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14 See East Timor Constitution 2002, Section 13, on Official Languages and National Languages in paragraph 1 (16).

15 See Constitution Part VII on Final and Transitional Provisions, Section 159 on Working Languages (64).
In this complex polyglot environment the role of government has been a crucial one in establishing an appropriate language policy and guiding its implementation. Although Section 13 states clearly that the national vernaculars shall be “valued and developed by the State”, in reality language development has been hampered by limited funding, the lack of professional Timorese linguists, and the emphasis placed on promoting the two official languages.

Other foreign languages are also spoken in East Timor with very limited numbers of speakers: Malay, used by a small Arab community in Dili (Kampu Alor) and the two Chinese dialects Hakka and Cantonese employed mainly by Chinese business people. Two Portuguese creoles were also once spoken in Dili: Português de Bidau (of Solorese and ultimately Malaccan origin) and Português Macaísta or Macanese Creole (Thomaz, Portugaliae 297). The Chinese dialects have declined in use since most of their speakers left the country during the Indonesian occupation in 1975 though considerable numbers have returned since 1999. The two Portuguese creoles have disappeared completely.

As far as the local vernaculars are concerned, the government explains its inaction by claiming the need for resource development in these languages involving experts in the fields of education, language and culture. In the case of Makasae,\(^{17}\) I have observed that most of the resources used today for teaching and learning processes at primary level in the Makasae-speaking areas are written in Portuguese with a limited number of reading materials in Tetum. Educational resources in this vernacular consequently remain lacking. This is in contrast with UNESCO’s policy of 1953, formally adopted by the East Timorese government, that the best medium for the teaching and learning process is the mother tongue of the pupil.\(^ {18}\)

The fact that Tetum is a well-established language in comparison to the other national vernaculars, possesses various resources, and is used by most Timorese in their daily life, can pose a threat to the other East Timorese languages if they are not

\(^{16}\) The term ‘national languages’ in the Constitution refers to the other fifteen languages of East Timor, describing them as East Timor’s linguistic heritage. Paragraph 2 states that “Tetum and the other languages shall be valued and developed by the State.”

\(^{17}\) Makasae speakers name the language sohobu-makasae or sobu-makasae.

developed. Therefore, at a time when well-trained native linguists are lacking, foreign professional researchers have been challenged to tackle the linguistic complexity of the island and have contributed much time and energy to their study, examining the character and distinguishing features of the indigenous vernaculars in the light of their evolution and interrelationships.

1.7 Makasae Literature

1.7.1 Literature in Makasae

The mention of literature on Makasae began in 1772 with the work of Francois E. de Rosily, a Frenchman, who had visited the north coast of Timor and added to his mémoire 417 different words of Galoli, Makasae, Tetum and possibly Waimaha (Hull, Languages of Timor 6). Although this first data collection on this vernacular was conducted in the eighteenth century, actual work written in Makasae was produced much later in the early nineteenth century through the language projects undertaken by the Catholic missionaries. Fr Manuel Calisto Duarte Neto, apart from preparing religious books, compiled a Makasae dictionary (Domingues 149).19

During the Portuguese colonisation period very little was done with regard to East Timor language projects. Apart from a linguistic description of Timorese vernaculars, nothing was mentioned of their usage as the medium of transmitting written information. Tetum as the lingua franca of the colony, especially used among Timorese, had received a great deal of attention at the end of eighteenth and in the early nineteenth century in comparison to the other languages. As a result, more printed texts were in Tetum (Thomaz, Formation 60).

In his 1998 study, Hull suggests that the fall of Salazar’s government in Portugal in 1968, paved the way for the development of the cultures and languages of the overseas provinces. One language project was the completion of a small grammar of Makasae in 1973 by the Salesian fathers in Baucau (Languages of Timor 16). Apart from this grammar project, the Salesian priests and laymen in the Parish of

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19 Domingues also mentioned that Fr Neto prepared Baikenu and Waimaha dictionaries. However, these works were destroyed during the Second World War.
Laga also translated the Holy Gospel and catechism into Makasae between the 1980s and 1990s. Another Makasae-related project, which was undertaken in 1984, was the work of Fr Alfonso Maria Nácher, a Salesian priest from Spain working in Fuiloro, who completed his private edition 275-page Fataluku dictionary, with the listed words, idioms and illustrative sentences glossed in Tetum and Makasae. A copy of this unpublished dictionary was given to Hull in 1994 by Fr Joseph Vattamparil, an Indian missionary working in Fuiloro. Having received authorisation from Fr Andrew Wong, the Superior Father of the Salesians in East Timor, Hull revised the work and published it in two separate editions of the INL’s journal Estudos de Língua e Culturas de Timor-Leste.

In Portugal, Tito Lívio Nunes Marques, an expatriate native of Baucau, produced a Makasae-medium grammatical synopsis in 1997. This 182-page compilation contains brief explanations of certain grammatical aspects of Makasae followed by a short exercise. However, regardless of the abundant information he has provided, further analysis and descriptions need to be conducted particularly on the morphosyntactic aspects as well as the influence of Portuguese and Timoric languages on this particular vernacular. The orthography will have to be refined to be consistent with the standardised orthography, as the Makasae sound systems have been greatly enriched by neighbouring vernaculars as well as foreign languages, such as Portuguese and Malay.

Apart from the works by the missionaries and non-linguists on this language, there is also one bilingual publication on Makasae, a small dictionary which was undertaken and completed by Hull in 2006. This 48-page Makasae-Tetum/Tetum-Makasae dictionary has been a medium in the process of helping Makasae speakers value and learn their vernacular and Tetum, the national and official language, based

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20 The lectionaries in Makasae for each liturgical year have not been published.

21 The first half of the dictionary, the letters A to L, was published by Geoffrey Hull in ELCTL volume 5, 2003 (Léxico 135-196), whereas the rest was made public in ELCTL volume 6, 2004 (Léxico 119-177).

22 Marques based his study on the Makasae of Baucau, his native language, while neglecting other dialects which possess certain features different from his dialect.
on the official orthography. Furthermore, it helps non-native speakers of Makasae to learn the language.23

1.7.2 Literature about Makasae

As already mentioned, the first data collection on Makasae was undertaken by de Rosily in 1772, however, his manuscript was never published. Nevertheless, a short review of this work was made and published by Luís Filipe Thomaz, a Portuguese philologist, in 1982 (qtd. in Hull, Languages of Timor 6). For a long period of time, no linguistic research was conducted, apart from some mentions in the linguistic description of the island by the missionaries.

Makasae was first studied in a scientific manner by Arthur Capell, an Australian linguist, in 1943.24 Capell had drawn on the work of José A. Martinho, a Portuguese sea captain working in East Timor who had previously written an article entitled ‘Quatro séculos de colonização Portuguesa’ in which he noticed that most of the vernaculars of Timor shared a great degree of resemblance with only minor internal variation.25 In the first part of his article Peoples and Languages of Timor, published in the Australian journal Oceania, Capell summarised the ethnology of Timor. The last two parts of his article were concerned with his analysis of the phonology and morphosyntax and provided a comparative wordlist of 170 items as well as a short text translation in Makasae and several other languages of Timor.26

Capell noted that Makasai and Bunak do not possess any basic affinity to Austronesian languages in terms of their core vocabulary, generally more complicated grammar, morphemic peculiarities (for instance the use of postpositions instead of prepositions) and their SOV word order. He therefore classed them as a

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23 For further explanation on the objectives of the dictionary, see Hull, Dictionário iv.

24 For a further discussion on Makasae as a non-Indonesian language, see Capell 314.

25 José S. Martinho, Quatro Séculos de Colonização Portuguesa (Oporto: Livraria Progredior, 1943) 272.

26 Capell included Tetum, Tokodede, Mambai, Galoli, Waimaha, Bunak, Rotinese, Western Tetum Dawan and Helong. His work was also based on the work of a number of Dutch missionaries working in Indonesia, whose data were primarily systematised by van de Veen, in his De Noord-Halmahersche Taalgroep tegenover de Austronesische in 1915.
group which he termed ‘non-Indonesian’. In Part II of *Peoples and Languages of Timor*, Capell discussed the Oirata language of the islands of Kisar (lying close off the north-eastern coast of Timor), and agreed with the conclusion of de Jong’s 1937 study that this vernacular has “a considerable amount of agreement with Makasae. In general, however, “the language is much fuller, and certainly is not derived directly from modern Makasai” (Capell 328-329). Much later, Hull in 1998 observed that Capell, not having had the chance to study Fataluku, was unaware of the fact that this non-Austronesian language of Oirata was a dialect of Fataluku, not Makasae (*Languages of Timor* 11).

Meanwhile, in Portuguese Timor some language-related projects were undertaken including Artur Basílio de Sá’s 1952 work on a phonetic representation system in which Makasae words were also presented in the examples. This project was primarily conducted to elaborate a phonetic transcription system that could be conveniently applied to East Timor vernaculars.

Another account on Makasae was also made by António de Almeida, a Portuguese specialist in tropical medicine sent to Timor in 1953 with an anthropological mission, who, working in collaboration with Ernest Westphal, a prominent linguist of African languages, classified into only seven major linguistic systems the dialect characteristics of the 31 ethnolinguistic groups of Portuguese Timor from east to west, these being Bâiqueno/Baikenu, Búnaque/Bunak, Tétum/Tetum – the lingua franca – Mambáe/Mambai, Macassáe/Makasae, Fata Luco/Fataluku and Macu’a/Maku’a. This ethnolinguistic study, which came with a linguistic map of the colony, involved Maria Emília de Castro e Almeida, Almeida’s daughter in its editing and publication many years later.27

Apart from the grammar and some religious texts on this vernacular, Makasae-related linguistic research and language development were further distracted by the Indonesian invasion. This is understandable given the context of Indonesian military occupation and the fact that the Maksasae-speaking region was considered a hot spot. The one exception was a linguistic study of this language

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27 For more discussion of the 31 ethnolinguistic groups of Portuguese Timor, the ethnographic study of the people of the colony and the data gathered on each of the dialects through writing and recording, see Almeida, *Estudo* 578.
produced in Indonesia in 1998 by I Wayan Sudiartha of the Ministry of Education and Culture.\textsuperscript{28}

However, some language projects were carried out overseas by members of the Timorese diaspora. In 1990, Marques published in Lisbon his \textit{Método Prático para Aprender o Makasae}. This 161-page volume includes a guide to pronunciation, a grammatical synopsis, a set of topical vocabularies, 36 Makasai dialogues with a Portuguese translation and a long Makasai-Portuguese vocabulary. In 1997, Justino Maria Aparício Guterres, a Timorese refugee in Melbourne, submitted his Master of Arts thesis to the University of Melbourne on \textit{The Makasae of East Timor: The structure of an affinal alliance system}. In this anthropological study, he focused on Makasae ethnolinguistics by analysing the complex social relations of its speakers.

In 2001, Hull undertook a study on the linguistic area of the twelve Timoric vernaculars where the distinguishing morphemes of these languages were analysed by relating them to their Old Timorese forms. This study also included Makasae and the other non-Austronesian languages of Timor for purposes of comparison. Two years later, Anna Brotherson, an Honours student at the Australian National University, produced her (Bachelor of Arts) thesis on \textit{A Spatial Odyssey: Referring to Space in Makasai}. In this study she specifically analysed the use of various word classes to talk about space in Makasae.

More studies were produced in the subsequent years on the Makasae vernacular, including the publication of Hull’s 2004 article on \textit{The Papuan languages of Timor}. This comparative and historical study analysed the characteristics and the internal lexical affinities of the four languages and their substrata in the Austronesian vernaculars of Timor, as well as their relationships to Alor and Pantar languages. It also took into account the migration of Bomberaic vernaculars. For the study of its lexical data, Hull attempted a reconstruction of ‘Old Neo-Bomberaic’ (ONB) etyma representing the forms of the immediate ancestor of the four non-Austronesian languages of Timor”, and Proto Neo-Bomberaic phonemes were also presented for the comparison of these four vernaculars (Hull, \textit{Papuan 67}). In the last part of his article, Hull discussed the morphology and syntax

\footnote{28 This was part of the project for language maintenance and development devised by the Ministry of Education and Culture of Indonesia.}
of the Timorese Neo-Bomberaic vernaculars, which in comparison to the languages of Bomberai and Berau regions, he found to be simple in their morphology.\textsuperscript{29}

In that same year, Felicity Mary Carr, a student at the Australian National University, submitted her Master of Arts thesis on \textit{Pupuuk, Masu Moru and Data: Three genres of Makasai}. This is an anthropological study of the Makasai-speaking people of Ossu. She includes in her study a brief discussion of Makasae phonology and morphosyntax. The following year, \textit{Makasai}, volume No. 6 of Geoffrey Hull’s \textit{East Timor Language Profiles}, was published. This sketch grammar discussed Makasae vowels and consonants and morphosyntax, focusing on the dialect of Baucau, with some references to the dialect of Quelicai and Ossu. One of the author’s views was that Makasae had been “very strongly influenced in all respects by the Austronesian Timoric languages and in particular by Kawaiimina, which is spoken in the same region” (Hull, \textit{Dili Tetum} 1).\textsuperscript{30}

Another linguistic work conducted in 2005 was that by Juliette Huber, a student at Zürich University, on \textit{First steps towards a grammar of Makasae}. Her study focused mainly on the phonology, syntax and morphology of the vernacular. Mention should also be made of an important Master of Arts thesis in 2006 at Gadjah Mada University, Indonesia, by a Florinese Catholic priest residing in East Timor, Fr Paulus Hurat Sina Wain, on \textit{Bahasa Makasai di Timor-Leste: Kajian geografi dialek} (\textit{The Makasae Language of Timor-Leste: A Dialect Geography Study}). This study of dialectometric calculations concentrated on the differences in their lexicon and phonology based on each regional dialect. In the same year Hull published his first monograph for the Instituto Nacional de Linguística on the names of Timorese plants and their origins.\textsuperscript{31} This project presents the divisions and classes of plants in Latin and their equivalents in Makasae and the other fourteen vernaculars of East Timor. In some of the classes, he presents the differences between the southern and northern variety.

\textsuperscript{29} Hull, \textit{Papuan} 74.

\textsuperscript{30} His opinion on this strong influence was confirmed by the fact that many Makasae and Kawaiimina native speakers are bilingual in each other’s language. This is especially true of the Baucau area and some northern parts of Ossu (Viqueque). See also Saunders, \textit{Comparative} 79.

1.8 The Study of Makasae

The present description of Makasae complements previous works on the grammar of this particular vernacular, already mentioned above, such as the grammars of Makasae by the Salesian priests in 1973 and by Marques in 1990 as well as a synopsis prepared by Sudiartha in 1998 and Hull in 2005. Furthermore, it will supplement earlier studies on the grammar of Tetum undertaken by Hull in 1993 and 2002, van Klinken in 1997, Hull and Eccles in 2001 and 2004 and van Klinken, Hajek, and Nordlinger in 2002 which have covered all the principal aspects of that language, such as on its phonology and morphosyntax. These descriptions have also been complementary resources, as what was not studied in the research of one can be found in the work of another. Apart from Tetum, it will be a supplement to the short grammar of Galoli by Silva in 1900, a grammatical synopsis of Idaté by Purwa in 1994, Kemak by Sadnyana and his colleagues in 1999, as well as profiles of Galoli, Baikenu, Waimaha, Mambai and Fataluku by Hull.  

The main focus for the present study of Makasae is a thorough grammatical analysis describing the phonology and morphosyntax of the vernacular with occasional reference to sociolinguistic questions. The focus is particularly on the nominals and the verb and its modifiers, which have not been covered much in past studies. The phonological study will include Makasae orthography, presenting spelling conventions in accordance with the standardised orthography approved by the government. The influence of Portuguese on the evolution of the sound system of Makasae will also be considered.

With regard to the sociolinguistic aspects of the study, questions of register are considered: how the language is used in everyday life and in traditional ritual contexts, such as in wedding ceremonies, funerals and in invoking prayers for a certain purpose.

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32 Between 2001 and 2007, Geoffrey Hull, who was a language consultant for the East Timor government-sponsored INL, prepared the profiles of seven vernaculars of East Timor, including Makasae.

33 The decree on standardised orthography was published on 14 April 2004 via the East Timor Government Decree No. I April 2004. The standardised orthography was prepared by the government-sponsored Instituto Nacional de Linguística/INL (National Institute of Linguistics) with the professional assistance of Australian linguist, Prof. Geoffrey Hull.
2. Methodology

2.1 Aim and Rationale

The method used in this research is aimed at establishing proper procedures for describing and analysing various linguistic phenomena which exist in Makasae. The linguistic theory followed in this thesis is that known as Basic Linguistic Theory, a framework into which virtually all theories of language description can fit. This theory has developed over the past century and has been employed by linguists to provide, using a common terminology, user-friendly grammatical descriptions of many different languages.\(^{34}\)

2.2 Hypothesis

A study of this nature is designed to describe different phenomena in Makasae by presenting a thorough grammatical analysis of its phonology and morphosyntax, with occasional reference to sociolinguistic questions. The writer, therefore, would like to emphasize that this thesis does not focus exclusively on a single issue in Makasae as an exploratory question, but rather it intends to describe, analyse and document various grammatical questions in order to help readers understand the description. Given that positing hypotheses is not part of descriptive linguistics as an empirical discipline, there is hence no hypothesis proposed in the present description of the Makasae language.

2.3 Framework

Basic Linguistic Theory follows the general principles of linguistic description where data are analysed, described and presented in order from the smallest to the largest units within the grammatical hierarchy, that is, progressing from the sound systems to nominals and verbs and their modifiers. This theory is evidenced in the work of well-known linguist R.M.W. Dixon and of his colleagues in

\(^{34}\) For additional discussion on Basic Linguistic Theory, see Dixon and Aikhenvald, Amazonian xxvi-xxviii, Dixon, Rise 116-138 and Basic 182-213. See also Dryer, Descriptive 207-234.
the ANU’s Research School of Asian and Pacific Studies and in the Pacific Linguistics publications series.\textsuperscript{35}

The present study also draws on the work of leading specialists who have described some of the languages of East Timor, such as the significant work of G. Hull and L. Eccles on Tetum grammar.

2.4. Fieldwork

The methods employed for gathering useful data were to assess the collected recorded materials available at the National Institute of Linguistics (INL) in Dili as well as those elicited through interviews, questionnaires and story-telling sessions during the writer’s fieldwork. A number of written materials, including text translations by Catholic missionaries and laymen, were also examined. As a near-native speaker of Makasae (since infancy), the writer also employed self-observation and reflection in carrying out this study. Verification of materials analysed was also carried out with various native speakers to determine exact meanings, forms and functions.

Data collection for this study in the form of interviews, open-ended questions and questionnaires, was conducted during three two-week fieldwork visits in December 2008, September 2009, and January 2010. The first fieldwork visit served to conduct interviews, ask open-ended questions and record personal stories. The second fieldwork focused on the 450 morphological and lexical questionnaires, and the main purpose of the last visit was to consult and verify certain information which had been collected from either the INL office or the previous fieldwork visits.

2.5. Language Sources/Informants and Corpus

This study is based on a corpus that contains about 20,000 words of recorded speech, written and elicited texts through interviews, questionnaires, story-telling and translations. In (4), I list the Makasae speakers with whom I have worked, their

\textsuperscript{35} In his book \textit{The Rise and Fall of Languages} published in 1997, Dixon repudiates the theory of “formalism” employed in descriptivist methodology predominant at the time in Australian universities where indigenous languages are studied, as used in his own 1972 publication on \textit{The Dyirbal Language of North Queensland} published by Cambridge University Press. He claims that writing a grammar in accordance with any particular formalism (narrow theory) means ignoring any features that formalism fails to account for.
gender, ages at the time of elicitation, text name and number of words; for reasons of confidentiality, their names are not given. The number of words for the questionnaires and translation is also mentioned at the end of this list.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initials</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Text Name</th>
<th>Number of Words</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A.S.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>Fleeing Dili</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Driving car</td>
<td>355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Describing various Makasae dialects</td>
<td>305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.C.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>Describing time</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The story of salt lake in Laga</td>
<td>391</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.X.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>Indonesian invasion</td>
<td>598</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Describing fishing area dispute</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.B.</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Formal Education</td>
<td>543</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The arrival of INTERFET</td>
<td>319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E.</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>Planting corn</td>
<td>259</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Selling rice at the market</td>
<td>109</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tebedai (dance)</td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E.A.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>University experience</td>
<td>320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Waibuilawa spring</td>
<td>260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.X.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>Selling fish</td>
<td>313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H.C.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>Gardening</td>
<td>389</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Telling seasons and months</td>
<td>972</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Folktale: Ancestor of Makasae speakers of Laga</td>
<td>716</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Folktale: Mermaid</td>
<td>275</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Invocation at totem house</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J.P.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>Going fishing</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lost at sea</td>
<td>231</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Describing Portuguese rule</td>
<td>469</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Describing 1975 invasion of East Timor</td>
<td>420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Activity 1</td>
<td>Page</td>
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<td>------</td>
<td>--------</td>
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<td>------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J.P.</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>Working in the paddy field</td>
<td>602</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Taking refuge</td>
<td>536</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Repairing tin roof</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Rebuilding totem house</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>Describing 2006 crisis</td>
<td>97</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Describing fishing activity</td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.C.</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>Holiday</td>
<td>84</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>How to prepare <em>katupa</em></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>How to prepare <em>kalauru</em></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>How to prepare <em>koerambu</em></td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.A.X.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>Selling at the kiosk</td>
<td>318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R.B.</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>Massaging feet</td>
<td>251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Weaving <em>rabi</em> and <em>kola</em></td>
<td>307</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Describing hot weather</td>
<td>267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Curing knee injury</td>
<td>272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Describing family</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>Escaping into the jungle</td>
<td>218</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lexical questionnaires (elicited from H.C. and R.B.)</td>
<td>1344</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Morphological questionnaires (elicited from A.S., E, J.P and RB)</td>
<td>2603</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Religious text translations by Catholic missionaries and laymen</td>
<td>4232</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As I am a near-native speaker myself, I was able to elicit data during these visits monolingually in Makasae. The participants were excited about my initiative to write about and describe their language and culture. During data elicitation most of these people were keen to talk about their experiences, life and traditions. Older speakers often explained certain constructions and concepts used in specific traditional ceremonies by providing examples, and they raised the subject of the different varieties of Makasae spoken on the north coast. They frequently interrupted whenever young Makasae speakers replaced a Makasae word with Tetum or Indonesian.

On one of the occasions after the interview, the informant, who was highly respected for being the guardian of a totem house in Laga, said to me that he would
take me to the totem house to see for myself the sacred spear and other artifacts whenever I had time, because he regarded me as one of his own people for writing about Makasae. These revered objects have been kept there for generations and are not for public display.

2.6 Techniques

The techniques used in this study to obtain data were conducting interviews, administering questionnaires, recording story-telling, analysing written short stories and translated documents, as well as reflecting on my own natural experiences of the vernacular.

2.7 Tools

Certain tools were made use of to collect various data on Makasae, such as open-ended questions, 450 questionnaires on morphology and syntax, cassette recordings of topical stories and oral histories, Bible text translations, and my own theoretical and practical knowledge of the language.

2.8 Data Analysis

The analysis of the data follows the framework of Basic Linguistic Theory. It focuses primarily on the spoken language recorded through interviews, open-ended questions and story-telling. All the recorded materials from various sources were transcribed and organised together with written short stories and unpublished documents translated by the Catholic Church, such as Bible texts and prayers.

Following Dixon’s descriptivist methodology as well as the description of Tetum grammar by Hull and Eccles, my data were analysed, described and presented in order from the smallest to the largest units within the grammatical hierarchy, that is, progressing from the sound systems to nominals and verbs and their modifiers. The sociolinguistic description concentrates on the use of the vernacular in society. Although this aspect is peripheral to the main focus of this thesis, it is hoped that it will enable the reader to gain insight into where and how Makasae is used. A Makasae-English glossary was also compiled to enable quick reference and comparison.
In the analysis of the data, the gloss of each word or its corresponding meaning in any construction is given, as well as a correct English translation. The corresponding translations in other Timorese vernaculars, particularly Tetum and Kawaimina, are also provided whenever analysis of certain material is meant to relate to any of those particular languages.

At the same time, for verification purposes and in the interest of accuracy, certain questions were able to be discussed with knowledgeable native speakers if it was deemed necessary at any point. I was able to check some contradictory results on the spot with other native speakers. In this case, the facilitating role of the elders in the society became an essential aspect of my consultation.

2.9 Order of Data Presentation

The data in this study are organized as follows. In chapter 3, I give an analysis and description of the Makasae phonological system. The categories of Makasae morphosyntax are presented in the subsequent chapters. Chapter 4 focuses on Makasae syntax. In chapter 5 nominals are described, followed by personal pronouns in chapter 6. Interrogatives, relativisation and demonstratives are presented in chapter 7, 8 and 9 respectively. In chapter 10, quantifiers and indefiniteness are described. Ordinal numerals and expressions of time are discussed in chapter 11. In chapter 12, the focus is on the analysis of the verb and its modifiers. The final chapter describes the sociolinguistic setting of the language. A Makasae-English glossary is also given in the appendices together with a number of texts and questionnaires.
3. Phonology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the phonology and orthography of Makasae as one of the modern Neo-Bomberaic languages of East Timor. The influence of foreign languages on its phonology is also taken into account, as they have helped shape the language.

The analysis of phonology begins with the phonemes and varieties of the Makasae spoken along and near the north coast of the island with some mention of Ossu Makasae. This is followed by a study of the vowel system and concludes with the consonant system.

As a vernacular which has gone through various forms of contact with different foreign languages and with other Trans-New Guinea and Austronesian languages of the region, Makasae presents a sound system which does not show significant differences from those of its Timoric neighbours.36

Makasae is delivered with syllable-timed rhythm. It does not have an obvious expiratory accent, but certain syllables in an utterance stand out on account of their higher pitch. It appears that in Makasae, as in its close relative Fataluku, tone is lexical. A word may have a prominent syllable, usually the second or first, marked by higher pitch than the surrounding syllables; nevertheless, the actual pitch of the syllable depends on the overall intonation of the sentence or phrase.

Makasae tone is unlikely to resemble either that of East Asian tone languages, in which syllable or word tone is little effected by sentence intonation, or that of African tone languages, which have contrasting high and low tones following the intonational trend of the sentence.

Discussion of Makasae prosody is beyond the scope of this thesis, and future research on this subject would consider both pitch accent in individual words and the mutual influence of pitch accent and sentence intonation. Such research would ideally also consider to what extent Makasae resembles in this regard its cogener, Fataluku, whose 'accent' is a high tone associated with the first or second syllable of a full word and some clitics (the high tone preceding the low tone in statements, and

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the low tone preceding the high tone in questions), and to what extent these tones coincide with actual stress within the word.

3.2 The Phonemes of Makasae

Through the contact which Makasae has had with various languages, the gradual enrichment of the vernacular in the area of vocabulary through the borrowing of numerous words directly or indirectly, has given the language ample opportunity to redefine its phonological features: new phonemes have been adopted into the sound system. Northern Makasae phonemes are divided into the following categories:

(5) Basic oral vowels: /a/ /e/ /i/ /o/ /u/
    Native consonants: /b/ /d/ /f/ /g/ /h/ /k/ /l/ /m/ /n/ /r/ /s/ /t/ /w/ /’/
    Foreign consonants: /p/ /ʎ/ /ɲ/ /rr/ /ʃ/ /ʒ/ /z/ /v/

In the Ossu variety of Makasae /f/ is replaced by /p/, and replacement of /d/ by /z/ is typical of eastern dialects transitional to Fataluku, in which /c/ is the equivalent of Makasae /d/.

It should be noted that since Makasae has been subject to the influence of Tetum and Portuguese, certain phonemes, particularly those used in names of persons and places in official documentation, are written in accordance with the acrolectal variety of official Tetum or retain the original forms of the donor language, Portuguese (§5.1.1).

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37 Rubel Stoel, "Question Intonation in Fataluku". Power point presentation at the University of Leiden, 2 August 2007; post at www.fataluku.com.

38 /p/ does not exist as a native phoneme in the Makasae of the north coast. /p/ is always assimilated to /f/ or /b/ in the popular pronunciation of loanwords, see Hull, Makasai 6. The consonant /p/ occurs mostly in Ossu Makasae where on the north coast speakers would use /f/.

39 Most of these phonemes appear in Christian names of Portuguese origin, given to individuals when they are baptised. Official Tetum is the variety considered standard in accordance with the East Timorese Government Decree I April 2004. The official spelling for Tetum and the other Timorese vernaculars was introduced by the INL in 2001 with the publication of Hakerek Tetun tuir Banati: Kursu Ortografi Padronizada ba Tetun Ofisial (Writing Standard Tetum: A Course in Standard Orthography for Official Tetum) and Matadalan Ortografi ku Tetun Prasa (A Spelling Guide for Tetum).
(6) **Portuguese original name** | **Makasae**
---|---
João | Suaunu Duanu | ‘John’
Valentim | Balenitini | ‘Valentine’
China | Sina | ‘China’
Nova Zelândia | Noba Selanadia | ‘New Zealand’

Certain Makasae words, particularly ones borrowed from Tetum (Tet.) or Portuguese (Ptg.), may appear in two different forms, both of which are usually understood by Makasae speakers. These words differ according to the north-eastern (NE) and southern (SM) varieties and between acrolectal (A), mesolectal (M) and basilectal (B) forms. The words and sounds of this vernacular will be presented (1) in the list of examples that follow the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA); (2) phonemic transcription and (3) standard Makasae spelling.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(7) Meaning</th>
<th>Phonetic</th>
<th>Phonemic</th>
<th>Standard</th>
<th>English meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>perdão</em> (Ptg.) (SM)</td>
<td>[perdaunu]</td>
<td>/perdaunu/</td>
<td>perdaunu</td>
<td>‘forgiveness’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(NE)</td>
<td>[ferdaunu]</td>
<td>/ferdaunu/</td>
<td>ferdaunu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hamulak</em> (Tet.) (SM)</td>
<td>[hamulaka]</td>
<td>/hamulaka/</td>
<td>hamulaka</td>
<td>‘to invoke’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(NE)</td>
<td>[amulaka]</td>
<td>/amulaka/</td>
<td>amulaka</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>escola</em> (Ptg.) (B)</td>
<td>[isikɔla]</td>
<td>/isikɔla/</td>
<td>isikɔla</td>
<td>‘school’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(M)</td>
<td>[isikɔla]</td>
<td>/isikɔla/</td>
<td>isikɔla</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(A)</td>
<td>[eʃkɔla]</td>
<td>/eskɔla/</td>
<td>eskɔla</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>uma-lulik</em> (Tet.) (NE)</td>
<td>[omaluliki]</td>
<td>/omaluliki/</td>
<td>omaluliki</td>
<td>‘sacred house’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(SM)</td>
<td>[umaluliki]</td>
<td>/umaluliki/</td>
<td>umaluliki</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

40 Some dialects of Makasae, particularly the variety spoken in Laga, frequently efface the /h/ in initial or medial position.

41 In the form *uma-luliki*, the first element is a typically Timoric form. By contrast, the word *oma* in *oma-luliki* has been through a long process of borrowing. It is from Proto-Austronesian *Rumaq > Ambonese *Ruma [ɾuma] > Makasae *oma*, see Hull, *Basic* 152 and *Lian* 14-16. A semi-native synonym used by Makasae speakers in Laga and surrounding regions is *oma-falu* ‘sacred house’.
3.3 The Vowel System

The Makasae vowel system consists of the vocalic phonemes /a e i o u/. Nasalisation is not significant in Makasae native words except in the acrolectal variety.

3.3.1 Oral Vowels

The five oral vocalic phonemes are given in (8):

(8) Makasae oral vowels

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>phoneme</th>
<th>interpretation</th>
<th>examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>[i] high front</td>
<td>/iara/ ‘cry’ /dila/ ‘frog’ /imiki/ ‘bedbug’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[^42]: The homonym suri means ‘to comb’.
In the acrolectal variety the phoneme /o/ is interpreted as [o] when it is followed by another vowel or by a final syllable with /i/ or /u/.43

\[
\begin{align*}
boli & [boli] \text{ ‘hungry’} & \textit{soru} [\text{soru}] & \text{‘horn’} & \sim & \textit{soba} [\text{sɔba}] & \text{‘lowlands’} \\
soli & [soli] \text{ ‘enemy’} & \textit{molu} [\text{molu}] & \text{‘lost’} & \sim & \textit{dolo} [\text{dɔlɔ}] & \text{‘clothes mite’}
\end{align*}
\]

3.3.2 Nasal Vowels

Nasalisation is not a basic characteristic of Makasae.44 Its speakers in fact denasalise all loanwords involving nasals from Tetum or Portuguese by applying either simple denasalisation resulting in an oral vowel in the basilectal variety, as illustrated in (9), or denasalisation resulting in an oral vowel followed by the alveolar nasal consonant /n/ before the labio-dental fricative /ʃ/, alveolar /t/ and /s/, post-alveolar /d/, and velar /k/ and /g/ (10), or the bilabial /m/ before the bilabial stop /b/ and /p/ as in the acrolectal or mesolectal varieties, as in example (11).

(9) \textit{Acrolectal variety of Tetum} \quad \textit{Basilectal variety of Makasae}

\[
\begin{align*}
domingu & > & \textit{dumigu} [\text{dumigu}] \text{ ‘Sunday’} \\
tenda & > & \textit{teda} [\text{teda}] \text{ ‘tent’} \\
segunda & > & \textit{siguda} [\text{siguda}] \text{ ‘Monday’} \\
dansa & > & \textit{dasa} [\text{dasa}] \text{ ‘dance’}
\end{align*}
\]

43 Parallel allophones for /e/ do not exist. Hull, \textit{Makasai} 3 found that the phoneme /o/ with two allophones is a feature common to most Timoritic languages. In this respect Makasae appears to have been influenced by its neighbour Waima’a.

44 Marques, \textit{Método} 1.
manda > mada [mada] ‘order’
konta > kota [kota] ‘count’
komunga > kumuga [kumuga] ‘communion’

(10) Acrolectal variety of Tetum  Acrolectal and mesolectal varieties of Makasae

konfesa > (A) konfesa [konfesa] ‘confess’
(M) kunfesa [kunfesa]
derrepente > (M) deripenti [deripenti] ‘suddenly’
(M) derifenti [derifenti]
dansa > (A) dansa [dansa] ‘dance’
mundu > (A) mundu [mundu] ‘earth’
kanku > (A) kanku [kaŋku] ‘water spinach’
longar > (M) longar [lɔŋɡar] ‘loose; slack’

(11) Acrolectal variety of Tetum  Acrolectal and mesolectal varieties of Makasae

kampu > (A) kampu [kampu] ‘field’
kampál > (M) kampal [kampal] ‘open mass’
tambór > (M) tamboro [tamboːɾo] ‘drum’
bomba > (A) bomba [bomba] ‘pump’

3.3.3 Atonic Vowels

Atonic Portuguese /e/

The atonic /e/ in the acrolectal variety of Tetum deriving from Portuguese loanwords is normally raised to /i/ in the mesolectal and basilectal varieties of

---

45 In the basilectal variety of Makasae, bilabial /m/ in kampu and kampala becomes /n/ followed by fricative /l/ as in kanfu and kanfala.
Makasae. This occurs in initial, medial and final syllables, as in example (12) below.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(12) Portuguese</th>
<th>Tetum (acrolectal)</th>
<th>Makasae</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>escola</td>
<td>eskola [e'kɔla]</td>
<td>(B) isikula [isikula] ‘school’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(B) isikola [isikɔla]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(M) iskola [iskɔla]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ezmola</td>
<td>ezmola [e3'mɔla]</td>
<td>(B) isimula [isimula] ‘charity’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(M) ismola [ismɔla]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>precisa</td>
<td>presiza [pre'siza]</td>
<td>(B) firisisa [firisisa] ‘need’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(B) pirisisa [pirisisa]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(M) prisisa [prisisa]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>estudante</td>
<td>estudante [eʃtu'date]</td>
<td>(B) isitudati [isitudati] ‘student’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(M) istudanti [istudati]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>couve</td>
<td>kouve ['kouve]</td>
<td>(B) kobi [kobi] ‘stalk’, ‘cabbage’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(M) kovi [kovi]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Atonic Portuguese /o/**

Atonic Portuguese /o/ in the acrolectal variety of Tetum becomes /u/ in the basilectal and mesolectal varieties of Makasae. Unlike atonic /e/, raising to /u/ occurs mainly in pretonic and intertonic positions, as in examples (13) and (14) below.

(13) Pretonic position

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Portuguese</th>
<th>Tetum (acrolectal)</th>
<th>Makasae</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>obriga</td>
<td>obriga [o'briga]</td>
<td>(B) ubiriga [ubiriga] ‘force’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(M) ubriga [ubriga]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>protesta</td>
<td>protesta [pro'teʃta]</td>
<td>(B) furutesta [furutesta] ‘protest’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

46 The mesolectal variety of Makasae normally follows the basilectal variety of Tetum.

47 For the treatment of the parallel phenomenon in Tetum, see Hull and Eccles, *Tetum* 211-12.
3.3.4 Vowel Length

Stress

Makasae stress is naturally labile, hence in contrast with Tetum, most Makasae polysyllabic words are stressed equally (15). However, when a speaker emphasises a word, the penultimate syllable is usually lengthened (16).

(15) *falunu* [falunu] ‘sacred, holy, taboo’
* hodesara [hodesara] ‘fall down’
* tufu-berekama [tufuberekama] ‘older sister’
* giragira [giragira] ‘mad or crazy’

(16) *oma* [ɔ:ma] ‘house’
* dera [de:ra] ‘thing/property’

---

48 Hull states that certain Makasae speakers whose language is strongly influenced by Tetum tend to stress words as they would in Tetum (*Makasai* 4).
omene [ome:ne] ‘shy’
laihona [laiho:na] ‘onion’

Long (Disyllabic) Vowels

Makasae has long vowels occurring in monosyllables, as in the following examples:

(17) sii [si:] ‘sword’
    muu [mu:] ‘quail’
    loo [lɔ:] ‘sky’
    daa [da:] ‘wife’

In other situations, long vowels can occur dialectally (e.g. in the Laga district) through the effacement of an intervocalic /h/.

(18) bihiki > biiki [bi:ki] ‘bitter’
    dedehe > dedee [de:də:] ‘like, as’
    lelehe > lelee [le:le:] ‘open air’
    suhu > suu [su:] ‘scold’
    oloho > oloo [ɔlɔ:] ‘howl’
    sahara > saara [saəɾa] ‘dried’

Diphthongs

Apparent diphthongs in Makasae are actually disyllabic, i.e. vocalic sequences of equally stressed vowels.

(19) sai ~ sa-i [sa:i] ‘opposite-sex cross-cousin’
    sabalae ~ sabala-e [sabala:ə] ‘witch, sorceress’
    boe ~ bo-e [boe] ‘betel nut’
    dadau ~ dada-u [dadau] ‘must’
    sia ~ si-a [sia] ‘variety of sweet yam’
    rei ~ re-i [rei] ‘pull’
    lou ~ lo-u [lou] ‘trim’
The vocalic sequences ai, au, ei, eu, ia, oe, oi, ua and ui functioning as true diphthongs in short variants of native words ending in a liquid or nasal consonant normally take the paragogic final vowel.49

(20) lair ~ lairi [lairi] ‘incline, slant’
   saun ~ saunu [saunu] ‘many, much’
   keil ~ keili [keili] ‘to pick up fruits (with a stick)
   seur ~ seuru [seuru] ‘roll, drive (vehicle)’
   rial ~ riala [rial] ‘many’
   boer ~ boere [boere] ‘sleepy’
   doil ~ doili [doili] ‘hang’
   suan ~ suana [suana] ‘draw (with a glass, cup or bucket)’
   fuin ~ fuini [fuini] ‘brave’

Most of the diphthongs in the acrolectal and mesolectal variety of Makasae have been readapted from Portuguese.50 However, they are monophthongised in the basilectal variety.

(21) Portuguese loanwords in Makasae:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Portuguese</th>
<th>Tetum</th>
<th>Makasae</th>
<th>Basilectal variety of Makasae</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cadeira</td>
<td>kadeira</td>
<td>(A) kadeira</td>
<td>kadera ‘chair’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>primeiro</td>
<td>primeiru</td>
<td>(A) primeiru</td>
<td>firimeru, birimeru, pirimeru ‘first’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(M) pirmeiru</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>doutor</td>
<td>doutór</td>
<td>(A) doutór</td>
<td>dotoro ‘doctor’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(M) doutor</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>couve</td>
<td>kouve</td>
<td>(A) kouve</td>
<td>kobi ‘stalk cabbage’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(M) koubi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

49 Being a vocalic language with all its native words ending in a vowel, forms with paragogic final vowels are more popular. However, forms with consonantal endings are also common in the cases of -l, -n and -r, see Hull, Makasai 4 and Brotherson, Spatial 24.

50 Diphthongs do not exist in native Tetum words. Where they occur in Tetum, they are borrowings from Portuguese, see Hull and Eccles 206-207. Portuguese loanwords are normally adopted by Makasae through Tetum.
3.3.5 Vowel Epenthesis

In two or three-syllable loanwords with consonant clusters, speakers of the basilectal variety of Makasae tend to place a vocalic glide (glide vowel) between the consonants.\textsuperscript{51}

(22) Portuguese etymon \hspace{0.5cm} Tetum \hspace{0.5cm} Makasae spelling and Pronunciation

\begin{tabular}{llll}
\textit{armário} & \textit{armāriu} & \textit{aramari} [aramari] & ‘cupboard’ \\
\textit{termo} & \textit{termu} & \textit{teremu} [teremu] ‘thermos’ \\
\textit{atravão} & \textit{travaun} & \textit{tarabaunu} [tarabaunu] ‘brake’ \\
\textit{serviço} & \textit{servisu} & \textit{siribisu} [siribisu] & ‘work/service’ \\
\textit{livro} & \textit{livru} & \textit{liburu} [liburu] ‘book’ \\
\textit{plástico} & \textit{plástiku} & \textit{falasatiku} [falasatiku] ‘plastic’ \\
& & \textit{balasatiku} [balasatiku] or \textit{palasatiku} [palasatiku] & \\
\textit{clima} & \textit{klima} & \textit{kilima} [kilima] ‘climate’ \\
\textit{clubo} & \textit{klubu} & \textit{kulubu} [kulubu] ‘club’ \\
\textit{escola} & \textit{eskola} & \textit{isikula} [isikula] ‘school’ \\
& & \textit{isikola} [isikola] & \\
\textit{espelho} & \textit{espellu} & \textit{isifelu} [isifelu] ‘mirror’ \\
& & \textit{isibelu} [isibelu] or \textit{isipelu} [isipelu] & \\
\textit{aspirina} & \textit{aspirina} & \textit{asifirina} [asifirina] ‘aspirin’ \\
& & \textit{asibirina} [asibirina] or \textit{asipirina} [asipirina] & \\
\textit{desculpa} & \textit{deskulpa} & \textit{disikuluфа} [disikuluфа] ‘apology’ \\
& & \textit{disikuluba} [disikuluba] or \textit{disikulupa} [disikulupa] & \\
\end{tabular}

\textsuperscript{51} According to Foley the lack of consonant clusters is a typical feature of Papuan languages (\textit{Languages} 369).
3.3.6 Paragoge

In the basilectal variety, paragoge similarly affects loanwords ending in a consonant.

(23) Portuguese  Tetum  Makasae

sinal  sinál  >  (B) sinala  ‘sign’
altar  altár  >  (B) alatara  ‘altar’
               (B) altara
Carlos  Karlus  >  (B) Karalusu  ‘Carl’
               (B) Karlusu
cacador  kasadór  >  (B) kasadoro  ‘hunter’
som  son  >  (B) sono  ‘sound’
Joaquim  Joakín  >  (B) Duakini  ‘Joachim’
               (B) Suakini
jovem  Joven  >  (B) sobene  ‘youth’

3.3.7 Apocope

As in the parallel Tetum varieties, in the basilectal and mesolectal varieties of Makasae, speakers commonly omit the final vowel in a sequence of non-identical disyllabic vowels ending a word. Such instances occur in Portuguese/Tetum loanwords.

(24) Portuguese  Tetum  Makasae

armário  armáriu  >  (B) aramari [aramari] ‘cupboard’
               (M) armari [armari]
Austrália  Austrália  >  (B) Ausutarali [ausutarali] ‘Australia’
               (M) Australi [australi]
história  istória  >  (B) isituri [isituri] ‘history’
               (B) isitori  [isitori]
               (M) istori [istori]
Itália  Itália  >  (B) Itali [itali] ‘Italy’
purgatório  purgatório > (B) furugaturi [furugaturi] ‘purgatory’
(B) burugaturi [burugaturi]
(M) purgatori /purgatori

In pronouncing Makasae native words many mesolectal and basilectal speakers drop a final vowel preceded by a glottal stop at the end of bisyllabic words, as in the following examples:

(25) la’a > la’ [laʔ] ‘go’
    ta’e > ta’ [taʔ] ‘sleep’
    da’a > da’ [daʔ] ‘cook by boiling’
    da’a > da’ [daʔ] ‘cook by boiling’
    lo’e > lo’ [loʔ] ‘open’

3.4 The Consonant System

Makasae consonants have been derived from two different sources: from the native lexical stock, and from two foreign languages, Portuguese and Malay, but usually mediated through Tetum.

3.4.1 Native Consonants

The 14 native consonantal phonemes of Makasae compared with the 13 of Tetum in its pre-Malay and pre-Portuguese phases, share a striking characteristic: most do not have a voiceless or voiced counterpart.
(26) Makasae native consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>bilabial</th>
<th>labiodental</th>
<th>alveolar apical</th>
<th>post-alveolar apical</th>
<th>velar dorsal</th>
<th>glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>stops</td>
<td>vl.</td>
<td></td>
<td>/t/</td>
<td>/k/</td>
<td>/g/</td>
<td>f/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vd.</td>
<td></td>
<td>/d/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fricatives</td>
<td>vl.</td>
<td></td>
<td>/f/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/h/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vd.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sibilants</td>
<td>vl.</td>
<td></td>
<td>/s/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vd.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laterals</td>
<td>vl.</td>
<td></td>
<td>/l/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vd.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasals</td>
<td>vl.</td>
<td></td>
<td>/m/</td>
<td></td>
<td>/n/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vd.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vibrants</td>
<td>vl.</td>
<td></td>
<td>/r/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vd.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>approximants</td>
<td>vl.</td>
<td></td>
<td>/w/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vd.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the mesolectal and basilectal varieties of Makasae consonants occur only in initial and medial (intervocalic) position:

(27) **consonantal phonemes**  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonant</th>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Middle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/b/</td>
<td>voiced bilabial stop [b]: <em>busu</em> [busu] ‘pan’, <em>sebu</em> [sebu] ‘pumpkin’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/m/</td>
<td>voiced bilabial nasal [m]: <em>mosa</em> [mosa] ‘mucus’, <em>ruma</em> [ruma] ‘needle’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/w/</td>
<td>voiced bilabial approximant [w]: <em>we’e</em> [we’e] ‘exist’, <em>lawa</em> [lawa] ‘money’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
/f/  voiceless labio-dental fricative [f]:  
    *fusa* [fusa] ‘peep’  
    *lafa* [lafa] ‘scar’  

/θ/  voiceless unaspirated alveolar stop [θ].  
    Unreleased finally:  
    *taru* [taru] ‘stick’  
    *bati* [bati] ‘distribute’  

/sl/  voiceless alveolar sibilant [s]:  
    *siane’u* [sianeʔu]  
    *base* [base] ‘hit’  
    ‘sea urchin’  

/l/  voiced alveolar lateral [l]:  
    *lumuru* [lumuru] ‘yellow’  
    *afala* [afala] ‘wild’  

/n/  voiced alveolar nasal [n]:  
    *nawa* [nawa] ‘eat’  
    *kina* [kina] ‘show’  

/r/  voiced alveolar tap [ɾ]:  
    *ra’u* [ɾaʔu] ‘plate’  
    *baru* [baru] ‘roast’  

/d/  voiced post-alveolar stop [d]:  
    *dame* [dame] ‘sweet potato’  
    *sodo* [sodo]  
    ‘psoriasis’  

/k/  voiceless velar stop [k].  
    Unreleased finally:  
    *kada* [kada] ‘grasshopper’  
    *soko* [soko] ‘hare lip’  

/g/  voiced velar stop [ɡ]:  
    *ga’a* [ɡaʔa] ‘untie’  
    *dagara* [dagara]  
    ‘walk’  

/l/  voiceless glottal stop [ʔ]:  
    *sa’a* [saʔa] ‘post’  

/h/  voiceless glottal fricative [h]:  
    *harai* [harai] ‘small, young’  
    *aha* [aha] ‘mango’  

---

52 In short variants of words borrowed from Tetum or Malay ending in a consonant, eg. *sikata ~ sikat* ‘insert, fasten, hit or beat’.

53 Like the alveolar stop /θ/, it occurs in loanwords from Tetum or Malay, eg. *seluku ~ seluk* ‘an(other), changed or different’, *salaka ~ salak* ‘fruit of the zalacca tree’.

54 In Makasae, the voiceless glottal stop does not occur in word-initial position.
3.4.2. Portuguese consonants

Eight Tetum or Portuguese consonantal phonemes are part of the phonological inventory of acrolectal Makasae.

(28) Portuguese-derived Makasae consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>bilabial</th>
<th>labiodental</th>
<th>alveolar apical</th>
<th>post-alveolar apical</th>
<th>palatal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>stops</td>
<td>vl.</td>
<td>/p/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vd.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fricatives</td>
<td>vl.</td>
<td></td>
<td>/v/</td>
<td>/z/</td>
<td>/ʃ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vd.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/ʒ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trill</td>
<td>vl.</td>
<td>/ɾ/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vd.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/ɾɾ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laterals</td>
<td>vl.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/ʎ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vd.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasals</td>
<td>vl.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/ɲ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vd.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some contextual examples:

(29) *consonantal Portuguese Tetum Makasae*  
phonemes etymon spelling and pronunciation spelling and pronunciation

/p/ voiceless unaspirated

bilabial stop [p]: porto portu [ˈportu] > (A) portu [ˈportu]  
‘port’

---

55 The popular or colloquial register is preferred even by acrolectal speakers in certain social contexts, such as when one is in the presence of Makasae elders, at a cock-fighting game, in traditional ceremonies to invoke help from ancestral spirits and so on.
/vl/ voiced labio-dental
  fricative [v]:\textsuperscript{56} *vadio* \(\text{nadio} \) \textgreater{} (A) *vadiu* \(\text{vadiu} \)  
  ‘vagabond’
  (M) *badiu* \(\text{badiu} \)

/lz/ voiced alveolar
  fricative [z]:  *zona* \(\text{zona} \) \textgreater{} (A) *zona* \(\text{zona} \)  
  ‘zone’
  (B) *sona* \(\text{sona} \)

/lʃ/ voiceless lamino-post-
  alveolar fricative [ʃ]: *chave* \(\text{ʃave} \) \textgreater{} (A) *xave* \(\text{ʃave} \)  
  ‘key’
  (M) *xavi* \(\text{ʃavi} \)
  (M) *savi* \(\text{ʃavi} \)
  (B) *sabi* \(\text{ʃabi} \)

/lʒ/ voiced lamino-post-
  alveolar fricative [ʒ]:  *jura* \(\text{ʒura} \) \textgreater{} (A) *jura* \(\text{ʒura} \)  
  ‘swear’
  (M) *zura* \(\text{zura} \)
  (B) *sura* \(\text{sura} \)
  (B) *dura* \(\text{dura} \)

/rr/ voiced post-alveolar
  trill [r]:  *bairro* \(\text{bairro} \) \textgreater{} (A) *bairru* \(\text{bairru} \)  
  ‘neighbourhood’
  (M) *bairu* \(\text{bairu} \)

/ʎ/ voiced palatal
  lateral [ʎ]:  *Julho* \(\text{Julho} \) \textgreater{} (A) *Jullu* \(\text{ʒullu} \)  
  ‘July’
  (M) *Zullu* \(\text{ʒullu} \)
  (M) *Zuilu* \(\text{ʒuilu} \)
  (B) *Suilu* \(\text{ʒuilu} \)

\textsuperscript{56} See also Marques, *Método 2.*
/pl/ voiced palatal
nasal [ɲ]:  

\[\text{linha} \rightarrow \text{liña [liña]} \]  
\[\text{liña [liña]} \rightarrow \text{‘line’} \]

In the mesolectal and basilectal varieties phonemic substitutions are normal in the treatment of foreign consonants. The consonantal phonemes /p/, /v/, /z/, /ʃ/ and /ʒ/ in acrolectal Tetum and their substitutes in the basilectal and mesolectal varieties of Makasae occur only in initial or medial (intervocalic) position, as in example (30). The phoneme /rr/ is replaced by /r/ only in intervocalic position (31). The phoneme /ʃ/ becomes /ʃ/ after /e/ and /i/, but in intervocalic position it is replaced by /ʃl/ when occurring after other vowels (32). Likewise, the consonantal phoneme /pl/, when intervocalic, is realised as /n/ after /e/ and /i/, but it becomes /in/ after other vowels (33).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tetum</th>
<th>&gt;</th>
<th>Makasae</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(acrolectal)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(basilectal and mesolectal)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(30) /pl/  >  /b/ or /f/, as in

partidu [parˈtidu]  >  (B) baratidu [baratidu] or faratidu [baratidu]  ‘party’.

(M) bartidu [bartidu] or fartidu [fartidu]

mapa ['mapa]  >  (B) maba [maba] or mafa [mafa]  ‘map’

(M) bars [bart]

(31) /v/  >  /b/, as in

vidru ['vidru]  >  (B) biduru [biduru]  ‘glass’

(M) bidru [bidru]

eskova [ɛʃˈkɔva]  >  (B) isikoba [isikoba]  ‘brush’

(M) iskoba [isikoba]

(32) /ʃ/  >  /ʃl/, as in

zeladór [zelaˈdɔr]  >  (B) seladoro [seladoro]  ‘caretaker’

(M) selador [selador]

meza ['meza]  >  (M) mesa [mesa] or (B) meda [meda]  ‘table’

(M) mes [mesa]
/ʃ/ > /s/, as in
xuteira [ʃuˈtɛɾa] > (B) sutera [ˈsuteɾa] ‘football boot’
(M) suteira [ˈsuteɾa]
moxila [moʃila] > (B) musila [ˈmusila] ‘backpack or rucksack’
(M) mosila [ˈmosila]

/ʒ/ > /s/ or /d/, as in
jelu [ˈʒeu] > (M) selu [ˈselu] ‘ice’
(B) delu [ˈdelu]
keiju [ˈkeiʒu] > (M) keisu [ˈkesu] ‘cheese’
(B) kesu [ˈkesu]

(31)/rr/ > /r/, as in
korreiu [kɔˈreiu] > (B) koreu [ˈkoreu] ‘post or mail’
(M) koreiu [ˈkoreiu]

(32)/ʎ/ > /l/, as in
pilla [ˈpiʎa] > (B) bila [ˈbila] or fila [ˈfila] ‘battery’
(M) pila [ˈpila]
konsellu [kɔˈseʎu] > (B) konoselu [ˈkonoselu]
(M) konselu [ˈkonselu] ‘council or municipality’

/ʎ/ > /il/, as in
toalla [toaʎa] > (B) tuaila [ˈtuaila]
(M) toaila [ˈtoaila] ‘towel’

(33)/ɲ/ > /n/, as in
viñu [ˈvιɲu] > (B) binu [ˈbinu]
(M) vinu [ˈvinu] ‘wine’
enjeñeiru [ɛʒeˈnejɾu] > (B) inisineru [ˈinisineru]
(M) enseneiru [ˈensineiru] ‘engineer’

/l/ > /in/, as in
rekoñese [rekoˈɲese] > (B) rikuinese [ˈrikʉinese] ‘recognise’
(M) rekoinese [ˈrekɔinese]
3.4.3 Apheresis

It is common for speakers of the basilectal and mesolectal varieties of northern dialects of Makasae spoken in Laga, Moru, Luro and Quelicai to efface the initial voiceless glottal fricative /h/ occurring in Tetum loanwords.\(^{57}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tetum</th>
<th>Makasae</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hikar</td>
<td>ikara [ikara]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘fold’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hoban</td>
<td>obana [ɔbana]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘soak’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hatún</td>
<td>atunu [atunu]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘put down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hamulak</td>
<td>amulaka [amulaka]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘invoke’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haka’as</td>
<td>akasa [akasa]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘try’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.4.4 Glottalisation

In northern Makasae (e.g. the dialects of Laga, Quelicai and Lautém-Muro) speakers normally replace the intervocalic voiceless glottal fricative /h/ with the glottal stop /ʔ/.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tetum</th>
<th>Makasae</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>iraha</td>
<td>iɾa’a [iɾaʔa]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘thirsty’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lohi</td>
<td>lo’i [bɔʔi]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘rub, wipe’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ilaha</td>
<td>ila’a [ilaʔa]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘itch’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sarehe</td>
<td>sare’e [sareʔe]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘clean’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{57}\) See Hull, Makasai 6 and Wain, Bahasa Makasai 5.
4. Syntax

4.1 Clause Structure

The unmarked order of elements in a Makasae clause is subject + verb (SV) or subject + object + verb (SOV), a word order which is common in most Trans-New Guinea languages (Wurm, *Papuan* 64).\(^{58}\)

\[\begin{array}{ll}
\text{Subject} & \text{Verb} \\
\end{array}\]

(36) *Ana iara.*

\begin{tabular}{ll}
person & cry \\
\end{tabular}

‘The person cried.’

(37) *Mata lane’e rakalele.*

\begin{tabular}{lll}
child & PL.MRK & cheer \\
\end{tabular}

‘The children cheered.’

(38) *Arabau rou nawa.*

\begin{tabular}{lll}
buffalo & grass & eat \\
\end{tabular}

‘The buffalo ate the grass.’

\[\begin{array}{lll}
\text{Subject} & \text{Object} & \text{Verb} \\
\end{array}\]

(39) *Dukai teli gisa.*

\begin{tabular}{lll}
Dukai & corn & roast \\
\end{tabular}

‘Dukai roasted corn’

(40) *Defa asa tia.*

\begin{tabular}{lll}
dog & fowl & bite \\
\end{tabular}

‘The dog bit the chicken.’

---

\(^{58}\) This word order is “still normal in all the Timorese Bomberaic languages” (Hull, *Papuan* 75). However, it differs from the SVO word order of Makasae’s Austronesian neighbours.
(41) \textit{Ini afi bura.}  \\ 1PL fish sell  \\ ‘We sold fish.’

The position of adverbials in the clause is discussed in chapter 12 (§12.7.3 and §12.7.5). In the case of adjective, it follows the noun it qualifies (§12.5.3).

4.2 Zero Copula

Makasae does not have a copula, but its speakers frequently express the concept ‘to be’ by juxtaposing the subject and an adjectival verb or a noun in apposition.\textsuperscript{59}

(a) Simple juxtaposition of the subject and adjectival verb:

(42) \textit{Duko’o sisiri.}  \\ Duko’o sick.  \\ ‘Duko’o is sick.’

(43) \textit{Asukai lane’e rau-rau.}  \\ man PL.MRK all right  \\ ‘The men are all right.’

(b) Simple juxtaposition of the subject and noun in apposition:

(44) \textit{Gi Suleta.}  \\ 3SG Julieta  \\ ‘She is Julieta.’

(45) \textit{Dili tonai sidade berekama.}  \\ Dili MRK-not city big  \\ ‘Dili is not a big city.’

\textsuperscript{59} The absence of a copula is common in most of the languages of Timor. See also Hull, \textit{Makasai} 7.
Speakers may insert after the subject the demonstrative pronoun ere ‘this/these’ but this functions as a reiterative marker rather than as a copula (§9.1).^{60}

(46) Ani ere lawa-lesa.

1SG DEM1-this money-without
I (the one you know) am moneyless. (cf. Tetum: Ha’u ne’e osan-laek.)

4.3 Polarity

4.3.1 Positive Polarity Marker

The Makasae postposed contrastive markers ene and dete or do, according to Hull (Makasai 8), “highlight and front the topic of a sentence”.^{61} A parallel form occurs in Tetum with the marker maka (mak).^{62} However, whilst Tetum mak(a) can indicate either a subject or an object, Makasae ene indicates only a subject and dete or do, which can be used interchangeably, specify an object, and in certain cases a subject (see below).

Constructions with ene:

(47) Gi ene karita ere sifa.

3SG MRK car DEM1-this hold.
‘S/he (not I or somebody else) drives the car.’/’It’s s/he who drives the car.’
(cf. Tetum: Nia (la’ós ha’u) mak kaer karreta ne’e).

(48) Amaru ene ni noko iluku.

Amaru MRK REF.POS brother pinch
‘Amaru (not anyone else) pinched his brother.’/’It was Amaru who pinched his brother.’
(cf. Tetum: Amaru mak ku’u nia alin).

---

^{60} A construction which commonly occurs in Tetum translations from languages having a copula, such as English and Portuguese.

^{61} The contrastive marker do has not been discussed in any previous study of Makasae.

^{62} Tetum-Terik has ha’e. English does not have a word which corresponds to ene and dete in Makasae or maka in Tetum to indicate marked positive polarity; instead, English stresses the word in question, e.g. I drove the car; it was me (I) who drove the car (i.e. emphasising that it was not someone else.)
Formation with *dete* or *do*:

(49) Waisaa *dete* dai lane’e wori karaka tehu.

pron noun foreigner PL noun - those want buy

‘Those foreigners want to buy *prawns* (not anything else)’/It’s prawns those foreigners want to buy.’

(Tetum: *Boek mak malae sira-ne’ebá hakarak sosa*).

(50) Kotemaa *do* Soru kuikui.

Kotemaa noun MRK noun Soru noun tickle

‘(It’s) Kotemaa (that) Soru tickled.’

(Tetum: *Soru mak kili Kotemaa*.

*Ene* and *dete* are also used in interrogative sentences (§7.1).

(51) Defa *ene* bai tia?

dog noun MRK noun pig noun bite?

‘Did a dog (not any other animals) bite the pig?’/’Was it a dog that bit the pig?’

(52) Fara-mata *dete* inimigu lane’e ataka?

ship noun-child noun MRK noun enemy PL noun MRK noun attack

‘Was it a boat (not a ship) which was attacked by the enemy?’

*Dete*, which commonly occurs in complex sentences, may have a conditional meaning (§12.8.2).63

(53) Era *dete* deti gini, fulisi era mega ma kadea mutu fatana.

3PL noun if noun wrong make police 3PL immediately MRK noun jail noun inside fill up

‘If they commit an offence, the police will put them in jail.’

However, in certain identical constructions *ene* and *dete* are used to convey a different emphasis. In 54 below *ene* has the normal contrastive or adversative meaning, whereas, *dete* (applied to subject as well as object) in 55 is stronger, giving an exclusive meaning.

---

63 *Dete* also functions as adverb, meaning ‘afterwards’ (§3.9.6).
(54) *Antoni ere ene meti gi mata.*
       Antoni DEM1-this MRK sea POS child
   ‘(It’s) Anthony (who) is a coastal dweller.’

(55) *Antoni ere dete meti gi mata.*
       Antoni DEM1-this MRK sea POS child
   ‘(It’s) Anthony (who) is strictly a coastal dweller.’

4.3.2 Negative Polarity Marker

Makasae employs the preposed markers *noto* (often shortened to *to*), *notonai* and *notosai* (shortened to *tonai* and *tosai* respectively) ‘not’. *Noto* (*to*), which is employed to negate a verb, always directly precedes it.

(56) *Ani i noto ma’ene.*
       1SG 2PL MRK-not know
   ‘I don’t know you (PL.).’

(57) *Bui ate-isu to nawa.*
       cat tree-fruit MRK-not eat
   ‘cats don’t eat fruit.’

   Apart from preceding a verb, the negative marker *noto/to* tends to occur before certain adjectives or adjectival verbs. The corresponding form in Tetum is *la* ‘not’.

(58) *Gi ginigini were (no)to du’ulu.*
       3SG attitude DEM2-that MRK-not good
   ‘His/her attitude is not good.’

   Although *noto/to* cannot be separated from its verb, an adverb can intervene between the marker and the verb.

(59) *Guarda lane’e to masene ta’e.*
       guard PL.MRK MRK-not normally sleep
   ‘The guards don’t usually sleep.’
By contrast, the markers tonai and tosai are preferred before nouns, pronouns, and in emphatic use before adjectives and adverbs.\(^{64}\)

\((60)\) Gi \ bu’u gua wo’i \ di’ara, tonai/tosai soba-mutu wo’i .
3SG hill on ADV\(_3\)-yonder sit MRK-not plain in ADV\(_3\)-yonder
‘He/she lives on the hill, not on the plain.’

\((61)\) Arabau were erage’e, tonai/tosai asige’e.
buffalo DEM\(_2\)-those 3PL.POS MRK-not 1S.POS
‘These buffaloes are theirs, not mine.’

\((62)\) Afa ere bokunu, tonai/tosai lebeke.
rock DEM\(_1\)-this round MRK-not flat
‘This rock is round, not flat.’

\((63)\) Fi nei-nei la’a, tonai/tosai bese-bese.
1PL slowly walk MRK-not fast
‘We walk slowly, not fast.’

Speakers may employ tonai and tosai to give an emphatic answer to a negative recommendation (“better not”) (64) or to express a persuasive negative question (“shouldn’t it?”) (65).

\((64)\) Person A: Ai hau (gi) rau to baunu nawa.\(^{65}\)
2SG PERF good MRK-not much eat
‘You’d better not eat a lot.’

Person B: Ani tonai/tosai nawa do ni siribisu gini?
1SG MRK-not eat in order to 1SG.POS work do
‘Shouldn’t I eat in order to do my work?’

\(^{64}\) These forms are parallel to Tetum la’ós ‘not’, which precedes word classes other than verbs. The use of these forms is also similar to Malay/Indonesian bukan, as in Tetum Busa ne’e han ikan, la’ós manu, and in Indonesian Kucing ini makan ikan, bukan ayam ‘This cat eats fish, not chicken’, see Hull and Eccles 90.

\(^{65}\) The preposed possessive pronoun gi is normally dropped under Tetum influence, Hull, Makasai 33.
(65) *Busu ere tonai/tosai ma daburu mutu wo’i mutu?*

pan DEM₁-this MRK-not MRK kitchen inside ADV₃-yonder set

‘Shouldn’t this pan be put in the kitchen?’

4.4 Interrogation

As in Tetum, an interrogative (rising) intonation imposed on the sentence can be one of the strategies adopted to construct a question in Makasae (§7.1).

(66) *Mai ra’u bane?*

3PL plate wash

‘Do they wash the dishes?’

(67) *Isikola-mata lane’e bola ti’ala gau la’a?*

school-child PL.MRK ball kick POSP go

‘Do the students go to play soccer?’

Apart from this construction, speakers also employ the forms with *di* ‘or’, *di ina’a/di nana’a* (often shortened to *di na’a*) ‘or not’ which are appended to the clause.

(68) *Mata ere sisiri di?*

child DEM₁-this sick or

‘Is the child sick?’

(69) *Manele boli di ina’a/nana’a?*

Manele hungry or not

‘Is Manele hungry?’

The question tag *di warinehegu* (often shortened to *di nehegu*) must be used rather than *di ina’a* or *di nana’a* if the question implies ‘yet’. *Warinehegu* or *nehegu* functioning as an adverb is discussed in §12.7.2.

---

66 See Hull and Eccles 91.

67 The parallel forms in Tetum are *ka* (from Malay –kah) ‘or’, *ka lae* ‘or not’ and *karik* ‘perhaps’.
(70) Fulisi lane’e mai hai sifa di nehegu?
   police PL.MRK 3PL MRK capture or not
   ‘Have the police captured them (yet)?’

   The adverb dawa ‘perhaps’ can be placed in the sentence in medial or final position to form a question.

(71) Ai ma’ene dawa gi nahine’e dete ma’u?
   2SG know perhaps 3SG when MRK come
   ‘Do you know when he/she is coming?’

(72) Alunusu lane’e sala hai sarehe gini dawa?
   student PL.MRK r oom INCEP clean make (perhaps)
   ‘Have the students cleaned the room (yet)?

(73) I ene maa ere gehe dawa?
   2PL MRK arrack DEM1-this drink perhaps)
   ‘Did you (perhaps) drink the arrack?’

---

68 The parallel form in Tetum is ka seidauk, which is more common than ka ladauk. The southern Makasae variant is di nahanegu.
5. Nominals

5.1 Noun Types

The Makasae nominal vocabulary consists of native terms as well as forms borrowed from Timoric languages of the surrounding regions (especially Tetum), Old Ambonese, Malay and Portuguese. The indigenous nominal inventory of Makasae consists of specific (proper) names and generic (common) nouns. The nouns do not have synthetic gender distinctions, but gender can be marked by the use of suffixes in the case of human beings and animals (§5.1.2).

5.1.1 Specific (Proper) Nouns

Native proper nouns in Makasae consist of two types: names denoting human beings and names for specific places: institutions and geographical locations (mountains, rivers, villages, towns, cities and countries).

Names of Persons

Like most other Timorese, Makasae speakers have two names: an indigenous name and a Portuguese forename. The Portuguese appellations are Christian names adopted when an individual is baptised, and are commonly written in Portuguese orthography, although vernacular spellings are now available. However, nowadays indigenous names are increasingly less frequent in comparison to Portuguese Christian names.

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69 Hull, Papuan 27 states that “most lexical items in Fataluku and Makalero were borrowed directly from Malay and Portuguese. By contrast, Makasae and Bunak generally received these malayisms and lusisms through Tetum and other local Timoric languages.”

70 The government of East Timor and the Church (especially the Catholic Church) have preferred the names of persons and places to be written in Portuguese orthography.

71 Most people dropped or abandoned their indigenous names during the Indonesian occupation because the military rule in East Timor associated these names with paganism and atheism, which is against the first principal of the Indonesian ideology Pancasila.
(74) Indigenous name

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Male:</th>
<th>Female:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Usa</td>
<td>Darabuti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resi</td>
<td>rikalai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ko’ometa</td>
<td>Ki’ilai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘light’</td>
<td>‘white eucalyptus’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘leftover’</td>
<td>‘the tiny one’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘young black’</td>
<td>‘little one’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(75) Portuguese  Tetum  Makasae  English

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Forenames</th>
<th>(Basilectal variety)</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Celestino | Selestinu [seleštinu]|[Selesetinu [selesetinu] Celestine
| Juliano   | Julianu [γljanu]     | Sulianu [sulianu] or Julian
|           |                      | Dulianu [dulianu] |
| Maria     | Maria [ma'ria]       | Maria [maria] Mary
| Ana       | Ana ['ana]           | Ana [ana] Anne
| Joana     | Joana ['joana]       | Suana [suana] or Jean, Joan
|           |                      | Duana [duana] |

In casual situations speakers prefer the use of pet names derived from Portuguese forenames. Makasae-speaking parents and older people with certain social roles often use the pet names to address others. They are also employed among people in the same age group. However, it is not appropriate for a younger person to address an older person by his or her pet name.

(76) Portuguese forenames  Makasae Pet names  English

| Agustinho  | Agusu, Atinu, Tinu | Augustine |
| Carlos     | Kara               | Charles   |
| Júlio      | Zuli, Suli, Duli   | Julian    |
| Ricardo    | Kadu               | Richard   |
| Joana      | Dua                | Jean, Joan|
| Madalena   | Mada, Amada        | Magdalene |
| Maria      | Ma, Ria            | Mary      |

72 From Timoric ki’ik > Makasae ki’iki’i ‘small’.
Like speakers of other Timorese languages, Makasae speakers have also adopted Portuguese diminutive forms in -inho and -lito for men and -inha and -lita for women. Nevertheless, this has happened mostly among Makasae speakers living in cities, particularly in Tetum-speaking communities.

(77) **Portuguese** | **Diminutive** | **Pet names** | **English**
---|---|---|---
**Forenames** | **Pet names** |  |  |
José | Zezinho | Se, Su | Joseph
Luís | Luizinho | Lui, Alui | Louis
Paulo | Paulito | Pau | Paul
Luisa | Luisinha | Isa, Sa | Louis
Fátima | Fatinha | Afati, Fati | Fatima
Cecília | Celita | Asili, Sili | Cecilia

In monolingual situations, Makasae pet names of Portuguese origin may be combined with the Makasae diminutive markers -ko’o, -kai or -lai. This occurs especially when a person of higher status (parents, religious leaders or teachers) or an elder addresses younger people, and these appellations are also used among people of the same age. It is also a form of address perceived as more intimate in terms of speaker-interlocutor relationships.

(78) **Portuguese forenames Makasae Diminutive Pet Names with -ko’o, -kai or -lai**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Augusto</th>
<th>Ako’o or Akai name</th>
<th>nameDIM.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Júlio</td>
<td>Juliko’o, Zuliko’o, Suliko’o or Duliko’o. name</td>
<td>nameDIM.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

73 Well-educated native Makasae speakers who know Portuguese and Tetum will use the acrolectal pronunciation of -inho [ɪɲu] and -inha [ɪŋa]. However, the forms [ín] and [inka] are common among the speakers of the basilectal variety.

74 The Makasae pet forms of this kind are more popular than their counterparts in Portuguese.

75 The use of -lai with Portuguese-derived pet names is comparatively more limited. However, it can be attached to some Makasae adjectives denoting certain physical features used to replace persons’ names, for example digalai ‘shortish’, boelai ‘slant-eyed’ or imilai ‘red-haired’.
Nicknames in Makasae are often given by the parents or relatives of both parents when a person is still a little child. In some cases, however, individuals will also receive nicknames from their friends, particularly when already adults. These nicknames tend to be adopted from an ancestor’s indigenous name or commemorate a specific event in someone’s life, the birthday or a unique characteristic of the person. A nickname may contain negative references, though not necessarily of an offensive nature. One way of minimising the negative connotations of certain words is by attaching the diminutive suffix \(-lai\).

\[(79)\quad \text{Names} \quad \text{Nicknames} \]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Nickname</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lourença</td>
<td>Labi</td>
<td>whithered</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eduardo</td>
<td>Maukinta</td>
<td>PRE.Thursday</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[76\quad \text{Mau} \text{ is a prefix in male names of Timoric origin. The name } Kinta \text{ is Tetum } kinta \text{ is Portuguese } \text{quinta (-feira) ‘Thursday’is given to a person born on Thursday. The common prefix for women is } A-(\text{in Akuarta}) \text{ and } Bui-, \text{also of Timoric origin, } (\text{in Buiersa, Buikinta and Buisesta}).\]
Makasae speakers usually have two surnames following Portuguese conventions: the mother’s surname (metronymic) will be placed first and followed by the father’s surname (patronymic). In the formal use of someone’s name, such as in an official list, the patronymic surname will always be given (80). However, the metronymic surname may be excluded or (as is common) abbreviated using the first letter as an initial (81).

(80) Forename Metronymic Patronymic Forename Patronymic

António da Costa Ximenes António Ximenes
Marcos Ximenes Belo Marcos Belo
Ermelinda da Silva Pereira Ermelinda Pereira
Carlota Fernandes Pinto Carlota Pinto

(81) Forename Metronymic (abb.) Patronymic

António da C. Ximenes
Marcos X. Belo
Ermelinda da S. Pereira
Carlota F. Pinto

The name loromanasa comes from Tetum loron manas ‘hot sun’.
Christian names are commonly combined with nicknames indicating an individual’s place of origin (city, town, village, hamlet or tribe), his or her role and status in society or certain unique physical characteristics which help clarify a person’s identity. In social contexts nicknames normally occur in a conversation when the speakers wish to identify a person whose baptismal name (e.g. José, Maria) is shared by many others:

(82) Forename

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Nickname</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maria</td>
<td>Defa-Wasi</td>
<td>lit. ‘Mary from the tribe of Defa-Wasi’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary</td>
<td>dog-tooth</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domingos Nana</td>
<td>Fisaka</td>
<td>lit. ‘Dominic with the torn eye’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominic</td>
<td>eye-torn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doroteia</td>
<td>Meti-gua</td>
<td>lit. ‘Dorothy from the seashore’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dorothy</td>
<td>sea-on (living)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pedro</td>
<td>Sefi-Suku</td>
<td>lit. ‘Peter head of the village’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter</td>
<td>head-princedom</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Names of Places

Most Makasae place names (toponyms) are semantically transparent to native speakers.

(83) Laritame < lari tame village name, lit.: ‘village between two slopes’
     slope middle

Samagia < sama gia village name, lit.: ‘village under banyan trees’
     banyan tree under

Soba plain village name, lit.: ‘village on the plain’

Waiaka < wai aka village name, lit.: ‘river flowing among sago trees’
river  sago tree  

*Aihaa-Berekama*  hamlet name, lit.: ‘main gate’

gate-main

*Kotagama < kota gama*  hamlet name, lit.: ‘old fort’

fort  old

*Larisula < lari sula*  hill name, lit.: ‘end of slope’

slope  end

*Waimui < wai mui*  river name, lit.: ‘muddy (murky) river’

river  muddy (murky)

*Wataira < wata ira*  village name, lit.: ‘coconut water’

coconut  water

*Sisugua < sisu gua*  mountain name, lit.: ‘hill top’

hill  top

*Matebia < Tetum matebian*  mountain name, lit.: ‘soul of the dead’

soul of the dead

The Portuguese forms of all such indigenous toponyms were official during the colonial period, for example *Samaguia, Uaiaca, Aihá Berecama, Cotagama, Lariçula, Uaimui, Uataéra* and *Siçugua*.

The names of recent institutions have been spelt according to Portuguese and Tetum official orthographies.

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78 The native name in Makasae is *Umurafa* meaning ‘stone of the dead’. However, Makasae speakers commonly use the Timoric-derived *Matebia* which was frequently used by the Indonesians during their military occupation. It was a hideout for thousands of refugees and freedom fighters and many died there from Indonesian air strikes and starvation.
5.1.2 Common (Generic) Nouns

Gender

Natural gender in Makasae is indicated by free postposed markers, conventionally presented in the modern orthography as suffixes. The markers -asukai ‘man’ and -tufurae79 ‘woman’ are placed after nouns denoting human beings (85), whereas -nami ‘male’ and -fana ‘female’ are attached to nouns referring to animals (86).

(85) Humans

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tetum Orthography</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kaka-asukai</td>
<td>lit. ‘older brother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dada-tufurae</td>
<td>lit. ‘grandmother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mata-asukai</td>
<td>lit. ‘son’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noko-tufurae</td>
<td>lit. ‘younger sister’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bada-asukai</td>
<td>lit. ‘male friend’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nanu-tufurae</td>
<td>lit. ‘great-grandmother’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

79 Tupurae and pana in the Makasae variety spoken in Ossu and its environs.
(86) Animals

- **asa-nami** lit. ‘rooster/cock’
- **bibi-fana** lit. ‘nanny goat’
  - fowl male
  - goat/sheep female

- **lu’a-fana** lit. ‘female monkey’
- **bai-nami** lit. ‘boar/male pig’
  - monkey female
  - pig male

- **bui-nami** lit. ‘tomcat’
- **arabau-fana** lit. ‘female buffalo’
  - cat male
  - buffalo female

Gender in Makasae is also applied to certain inanimate objects such as trees, rocks, seas and mountains. In these cases the free postposed markers are **-tufu** and **-nami**. Makasae speakers sometimes attach the suffixes **~ri** to **nami** and **~ru** to **tufu**, without modifying the meaning.

(87) **kaidila-tufu** or **kaidila-tufuru** lit. ‘female pawpaw tree’
  - pawpaw tree-sister

- **bu’u-nami** or **bu’u-namiri** lit. ‘hill male’
  - hill-male

- **Meti-tufu** or **meti-tufuru** lit. ‘female sea’
  - sea-sister

- **akadiru-tufu** or **akadiru-tufuru** lit. ‘lontar palm’
  - lontar palm-female

---

80 Only those seas and mountains situated within East Timor territory have gender distinctions in local languages. To express the same idea, Tetum uses the forms **mane** ‘male’ and **feto** ‘female’, cf. *Tasi-Mane, Tasi-Feto*.

81 **-tufu** and **-namiri** are the short forms of **tufurae** and **namirae**.

82 The use of gender distinctions in plants refers to those that can (‘female’) or cannot (‘male’) produce fruits.

83 When two hills are located side by side, the higher one with the more difficult terrain is usually considered male.

84 In comparison with **Meti-nami, Meti-tufu** has calmer waves through most of the year.
Umurafa-tufu or Umurafa-tufuru lit. ‘female Umurafa’
Umurafa-female

Makasae has also borrowed the Timoric markers -ama and -ina to show gender distinctions. However, the words in example (88) may cause misunderstanding since both also express the ideas of ‘dirty like a pig’, ‘greedy’ and ‘immoral person’. Speakers, therefore, prefer the use of the (more literalistic) genitive forms: gi ama and gi ina (89) if the use of these markers with certain nouns referring to animals can present ambiguity or express impoliteness.

(88) bai-ama  bai-ina
pig-male   pig-female
‘boar’     ‘sow’

(89) bai gi ama  bai gi ina
pig PRON  male   pig PRON  female
‘boar’     ‘sow’

Makasae speakers commonly use the Malay loanwords mama (‘mother’) and baba (‘father’) in the place of ina and bobo to denote real parents or elders who are still closely related to either the mother or father of the speaker. These two words can have more general meanings when they refer to any person to whom the speaker wishes to show friendliness, affection or trust. These two forms are used by all age groups in cordial or intimate conversation. In the examples below, sentence (90) addresses the mother, while (91) may address a female person of any age. The context in which the latter takes place may be a home (addressing a daughter), on the street (addressing a neighbor) or in a shop (addressing a friend).

(90) Mama nai la’a?
mother where go
‘Where are you going, mother?’

(91) Isi ina nai la’a?
my mother (lady) where go
‘Where are you going, dear (my mother /lady)’?
Affiliation

Makasae nouns are also formed with the suffixed marker -mata ‘offspring’ for humans and animals\(^{85}\); gi mata ‘its offspring’ is used only for animals.

(92) Humans:

\[
Fi \ mata \ asukai-mata \ u. \\
our \ child \ man-offspring \ One \\
‘Our child is a boy.’
\]

\[
Tufurae-mata \ wori \ nahire’e \ gi \ mata? \\
girl-offspring \ DEM_3-those whose \ POS \ child \\
‘Whose child is that girl?’
\]

(93) Animals:

\[
Bibi-mata \ u \ guta \ do \ fi \ fuli \ nawa. \\
lamb-offspring \ one \ kill \ MRK \ we \ together \ eat \\
‘Kill a lamb for us to eat together.’
\]

\[
Kuda-mata \ megahau \ bo’uru. \\
foal-offspring \ very \ fat \\
‘The foal is very fat.’
\]

In Makasae two forms are employed to indicate nationality or place of origin: gi mata is placed after the toponym, while ana ‘person’ is used in a possessive construction with the place name following it.

(94) Dai-meta \ wori \ Angola \ gi \ mata.

\[
foreigner-black \ DEM_3-those \ Angola \ POS \ offspring \\
‘That black man is an Angolan.’
\]

\(^{85}\) Hull, Makasai 10 states that the addition of the suffix -mata is only for humans. In fact, however, Makasae speakers use this form for both humans and animals. The form gi mata is used for animals only.
In casual and colloquial speech, the possessive elementgiis omitted, as in

(96) Antonio ere ana Liquiçá ge’e.
Anthony DEM1-this person Liquiçá POS
‘This Antony is a Liquiçá person.’

**Diminutives**

Apart from the diminutive-style pet names mentioned in example (78) of section (§5.1.1.), Makasae also uses the suffixes -i and -lai as diminutive forms to express politeness, friendliness and affection. When the final syllable ends in -a, the diminutive marker it takes is -i, but if the final syllable ends in -u or -o, the diminutive -lai will be attached to it.

(97) inai ‘mother’ bo’ulai ‘brother’
motherDIM. brotherDIM.

dadai ‘grandparent’ tufulai ‘sister’
grandparentDIM. sisterDIM.

babai or bobai ‘father’ nokolai ‘little brother’
fatherDIM. little brotherDIM.

kakai ‘brother’ ka’ulai ‘little children’
brotherDIM. smallDIM.

**Basic Nouns of Trans-New Guinea (TNG) Origin**

Makasae maintains a large body of basic nouns of TNG origin referring to natural phenomena, parts of the body, reptiles, fish, insects, plants, fruits, vegetables, mammals, birds, family relationship, utensils and simple abstract concepts.
Nouns of non-TNG Origin

Apart from basic nouns of Makasae origin, there are a number of simple and abstract nouns derived from other languages. The examples below show certain nouns of various languages adopted by Makasae.

(98) sawara’e  ‘rainbow’  niki  ‘mosquito’
lili  ‘lightning’  aha  ‘mango’
defu  ‘back’  dame  ‘sweet potato’
wali  ‘ear’  defa  ‘dog’
ofo  ‘snake’  kaba  ‘crow’
leti  ‘lizard’  nanu  ‘great-grandparent’
neba  ‘sardine’  ginigini  ‘behaviour’
lema  ‘eel’  busu  ‘pan’

(99) mateneke < Tetum matenek  ‘intelligence’
isikola < Tetum eskola < Portuguese escola  ‘school’
arabau < Kawa imina karabau  < Malay kerbau  ‘buffalo’
(afi-) tarbana < Malay (ikan-) terbang  ‘flying fish’
dala < Malay jala  ‘fishing net’
amulaka < Tetum hamulak  ‘prayer’
kustumi < Tetum kostume < Portuguese costume  ‘custom/habit’

Title Nouns

There are certain title nouns in Makasae which speakers frequently use to address other people without having to mention the name of the person. These nouns are used to show respect and politeness (100). There are situations where a speaker will attach to the title a noun indicating a person’s employment, social role, place of origin or a place over which he exercises authority (101).\textsuperscript{86}

\textsuperscript{86} The commonly used nouns indicating place of employment and social roles are of Portuguese origin.
Nominal References

Makasae common nouns denote objects or things through specific and generic references. In the specific reference, a noun is identified as denoting a single object, such as *fenu* ‘turtle’. In a generic reference the noun denotes more than one reference as in *ira* ‘water’, which may mean liquid substance, bladder, or cultivation of a rice-field. The differences can be seen in the contextualised examples in (102), (103) and (104).

(102) *Ani karaka ira gehe.*
    I want water drink
    ‘I want to drink water.’

(103) *Isi ira nehe sisiri.*
    my water very sick
    ‘My bladder is full.’ (feeling pain), ‘I’m bursting.’

---

87 *Liurai* refers to a Timorese native king (Portuguese *réguio*).

88 *Dai* has two meanings: its general meaning is ‘stranger’, ‘foreigner’; while as a title noun it equates to ‘Sir’, ‘Madam’ or ‘Your Honour’.
Further examples of Makasae generic nouns are:

- *afa* ‘rock, stone, hard’
- *nana* ‘eye, cover, lid’
- *ata* ‘fire, wood’
- *ula* ‘tail, bunch of (firewood)’
- *bura* ‘price, dowry’
- *uru* ‘moon, month’
- *mu’a* ‘ash, land’
- *watu* ‘sun, day’

**Agentive Nouns**

Makasae forms agentive nouns with the native suffix -sege or the Portuguese-derived concreted suffix ~doro. These agentive nouns may also have adjectival meanings. The suffix -sege always carries a pejorative meaning denoting negative qualities. By contrast, the derived suffix ~doro in Makasae agentive nouns may refer to both negative and positive qualities. These suffixes can be attached to nouns, verbs and adjectives, as in examples (105) and (106).

**-sege:**

(105) *dawala-sege* ‘lady-killer’
*marry-SUF*  *ta’e-sege* ‘lazybones’
*sleep-SUF*  *logo-sege* ‘liar’
*lie-SUF*  *fo’ili-sege* ‘timid’
*shy-SUF*  *nawa-sege* ‘eater’
*eat-SUF*  *maa gehe-sege* ‘drinker (of alcohol)’
*wine drink-SUF*  *iara-sege* ‘cry-baby’
*cry-SUF*  *aga-sege* ‘coward’
*fear-SUF*  *pulitiki-sege* ‘stubborn’
*a’a-sege* ‘big talker’
Makasae speakers also use the possessive construction -ge’e attached to a verb, noun or adjective to form a new noun often with a negative meaning, as in example (107).

(107) nawa-ge’e  ‘glutton(ous)’  ta’e-ge’e  ‘lazybones’
        eat-POS. SUF     sleep-POS.SUF

     maa-ge’e  ‘drunkard’  fana-ge’e  ‘effeminate/prissy male’
     wine-POS.SUF     female-POS.SUF

     umu-ge’e  ‘dead prey, victim’  loloro-ge’e  ‘upright person, decent
     die-POS.SUF      right-POS.SUF      person’

---

89 Makasae fulitiki, politiki < Tetum politiku < Portuguese político.

90 Makasae duga < Tetum joga < Portuguese joga (infinitive joga).

91 Makasae also uses pesakadoro < Tetum peskador < Portuguese pescador.
Another agentive construction used by Makasae speakers is the appended form -guli which means having a particular characteristic; the characterised act has become part of someone’s personality, as in example (108). This form is attached to certain adjectives and verbs, and it survives in only a number of Makasae words. Makasae speakers frequently use the possessive pronoun giduru (109).

~guli:

(108) bodo ‘greedy’ bodoguli ‘stingy person’
    lia ‘steal’ liaguli ‘thief’
    tae ‘lie’ taeguli ‘liar’
    sena ‘steal’ senaguli ‘thief’
    ta’e ‘sleep’ ta’eguli ‘lazybones’

giduru:

(109) aga giduru ‘coward’
    la’a giduru ‘idler’
    fear AG.
    go AG.
    nawa giduru ‘glutton(ous)’
    umu giduru ‘death’s prey,’
    eat AG.
    die AG. victim’

Deverbal Nouns

Some nouns in Makasae have also been formed from verbs. These are typical deverbals because their root is a verb. Reduplicative forms are common in the formation of these nouns, and they may take either complete or partial reduplication. The partial reduplication of the first syllable will occur only if a verb consists of three or more phonemes. The examples in (110) and (111) show complete and partial reduplication.

Full reduplication:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Reduplicated Nouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(110) nawa ‘to eat’</td>
<td>nawanawa ‘food’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

92 The form aga can also be appended directly without the possessive gi, as in agaduru.

93 Hull and Eccles 5.
Partial reduplication:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Partial reduplication:</th>
<th>Paragogic Deverbal Nouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>~ni</td>
<td>~nu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb</td>
<td>Paragogic form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(111) geere ‘to think’</td>
<td>gegeere ‘thought, opinion’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iara ‘to weep’</td>
<td>iaiara ‘weeping’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karaka ‘to want’</td>
<td>kakaraka ‘will, wish’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muiri ‘to play’</td>
<td>muimuiri ‘playing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sukate ‘to measure’</td>
<td>susuka ‘measurement’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ti’ala ‘to kick’</td>
<td>ti’ati’ala ‘kick’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fari ‘to insult’</td>
<td>farini ‘insults with nasty or swear words’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tina ‘to cook’</td>
<td>tinani ‘cooked rice’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tafa ‘to pound’</td>
<td>tafani ‘pounded rice’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gisa ‘to roast’</td>
<td>gisani ‘roasted meat for offering to ancestors’ soul.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>falu ‘to abstain’</td>
<td>falunu ‘forbidden food, drinks or acts’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
seru ‘to weave’  ‘serunu’ ‘the act of weaving’
lulu ‘to fold’  ‘lulunu’ ‘folding’
suhu ‘to scold’  ‘suhunu’ ‘abuse, mistreatment with words’

**Compound Nouns**

Numerous compound nouns are formed in Makasae as semantically logical combinations of various parts of speech.

(114)  *Noun + Qualifying noun*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Compound</th>
<th>English equivalent</th>
<th>compound</th>
<th>English equivalent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sina-mata</td>
<td>‘Chinese’</td>
<td>mu’a-afal</td>
<td>‘desert’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China-child</td>
<td></td>
<td>soil/land-wild</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| loe-limu      | ‘ash’              | aha-uli  | ‘mango skin’       |
|               | ash-powder         |          | mango-skin         |

| wani-ira      | ‘honey’            | ate-isu  | ‘fruit’            |
|               | bee-water          |          | plant-fruit        |

| asa-waha      | ‘egg’              | bai-seu  | ‘pork’             |
|               | chicken-egg        |          | pig-meat           |

(115)  *Noun + quantifying noun*

- **compound**
  - anu-lubunu ‘group, crowd’
  - person-group

---

94 The form *serunu* refers to the Timorese woven cloth called in Makasae *rabi* ‘woman’s cloth’ and *kola* ‘man’s cloth’. They are known in Tetum as *tais-feto* and *tais-mane* respectively.

95 The parallel Tetum formations are: *Xina-oan, rai-rahun, wani-ween/bani-been, manu-tolun, rai-fuk, haas-kulit, ai-fuan, na’an-fahi*. 
ifi-lubunu 'constellation'  
star-group

fara-lubunu 'fleet'  
ship-group

(116)  
Noun + adjective

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Compound</th>
<th>English equivalent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wali-furu</td>
<td>'stubborn, naughty (children)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ear-lopped</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gasi-fani</td>
<td>'sugar'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>salt-sweet</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maa-ko'ulu</td>
<td>'alcohol, spirits'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palm wine-hot</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maa-agaha</td>
<td>'vinegar'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palm wine-sour</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(117)  
Noun + verb

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>compound</th>
<th>English equivalent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sobu-teri</td>
<td>'judgement'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>matter-cut</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bola-ti’ala</td>
<td>'soccer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ball-kick</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nana-boere</td>
<td>'sleepiness'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eye-tired</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keta-gini</td>
<td>'(land) cultivation'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
rice field-do

(118) *Noun + possessive noun*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Compound</th>
<th>English equivalent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>iti-ga’awai</td>
<td>‘footprint’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>foot-place</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oma-fanu</td>
<td>‘façade’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>house front</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tana-ga’awai</td>
<td>‘fingerprint’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hand-place</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oma-gauhaa96</td>
<td>‘host’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>house-owner</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.2 Noun Functions

5.2.1 Unmarked Number

The Makasae noun, like that of Tetum, is unspecified as to number and can therefore express singular or plural meaning without any bound morpheme.97

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Makasae word</th>
<th>Possible meanings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(119) bai</td>
<td>‘pig’, ‘pigs’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liburu</td>
<td>‘book’, ‘books’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bada</td>
<td>‘friend’, ‘friends’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isikoła-mata</td>
<td>‘school child’, ‘school children’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

96 The Ossu variety uses *oma-dade* ‘host’.

97 Although the Makasae noun is unmarked for number, that of its Neo-Bomberaic relative, Fataluku, is marked for plural number if the noun refers to human beings. The suffix marking plural number in Fataluku is -ra, as in lanu ‘friend’ ~ lanura ‘friends’. For further discussion, see Hull, Fataluku 14-15.
The following contextualised examples make it clear whether a singular or plural meaning is intended by the speaker or the writer:

(120) *Fi ni deti ni sala hau sarehe gini.*

1PL POS sins POS wrongdoings PERF clean make

‘We atoned for our sins and our wrongdoings.’

(121) *Idukasaun isi daa la’a fi be’u ni gini-gini muda.*

education LOC pass go 1PL can POS attitudes change

‘Through education we can change our attitudes.’

(122) *Kreda karaka ni mata tulunu.*

church want POS child help.

‘The church wants to help its children.’

5.2.2 Marked Plurals

Postposed Plural Marker

For the sake of clarity, Makasae may use a postposed plural marker, *la’ane’e* [laʔaneʔe], commonly shortened to *lane’e* [laneʔe] in both written and spoken registers. In casual conversation speakers tend to shorten it to *la* [la]. These forms normally follow nouns referring to both animate and inanimate entities.

(123) *Tufurae mahi asukai lane’e sa’i la’a keta isi la’a.*

woman and man PL.MRK all go field LOC go

‘Women and men (all) go to the rice field.’

(124) *Ini bibi mahi arabau lane’e sera bure.*

1PL goat and buffalo PL.MRK also chase

‘We escaped with goats and buffaloes as well.’

---


99 *La* is mentioned in Carr’s 2004 thesis and Huber’s 2005 preliminary study as a Makasae plural marker. However, they did not recognise the fact that the postposed plural marker *la* is just the shortened form of *la’ane’e* and *lane’e*. 
(125) Ani ene ni-hetu ai gini-gini gikote lane’e sarehe gini.
   1SG MARK EMP POS attitudes bad PL.MRK clean make
   ‘(It’s) I (who) myself absolved your sins.’

The postposed plural marker commonly follows the seven deictic
demonstratives of Makasae. However, it normally takes the long form la’ane’e or
lane’e. The short form la may appear with the deictic forms ere, le’ere/uere,
were/uwere and wori/uwori/lowori/liwori (§9). The contextualised examples below
show the use of the plural marker with each of these demonstratives.

(126) Ere lane’e ini sa’i ma waa mutu wo’i rou.
   DEM1-this PL.MRK PRON all MRK village PW ADV3-yonder stay
   ‘We let them (animals) stay in the village.’

(127) Were lane’e fi to konbida di aisuda seti.
   DEM2-those PL.MRK 1PL MRK-not invite or help ask
   ‘We didn’t invite or ask them (those people) for help.’

(128) Ae-hira to rau wori lane’e na’u saugati.
   rain-water MRK-not good DEM3-those PL.MRK just useless
   ‘They (rice fields) are useless because there is no rain.’

(129) ... deri lane’e ana aga do to saga.
   ... DEM4-those PL.MRK people afraid so MRK-not look for (pick)
   ‘... those are not picked up because people are afraid of them.’

(130) Heri lane’e oho ate-isu mahi ate-asa lane’e bura.
   DEM5-those PL.MRK PRON wood-fruit and wood-leaf PL.MRK sell
   ‘Those (sellers) back there sell fruit and vegetables.’

(131) Ena mara lodoro lane’e hai sa’i taba do
   see IMP EMP-DEM6-those PL.MRK INCEP also hole so
   ae-ira na’u ..... rain-water just...
‘See, those (sheets of tin) up there have holes so the rain can just...’

...1PL. sea interior ADV7-there see DEM7-those PL.MRK ship big
‘...we look at the sea, so many

Metana meganehe baunu.
black INT many
black ships are down there.’

The plural marker in Makasae may follow either certain nominalised adjectives, as in examples (133) and (134), or adverbs, as in (135) and (136).

(133) Gi ka’u lane’e reko diili do bu’u gata we’e sa’a ria.
small PL.MRK shout scream and hill POSP ADV2-there up run
‘The children were shouting and screaming as they ran up the hill.’

(134) Bobokoru lane’e ko’inu ti’ala maisi nawa ene hau baunu.
lazybones PRON a little kick but eat MRK PERF many
‘Lazybones dehusked (by trampling) a little but ate a lot.’

(135) Mu’a-gamu lane’e ana mau do resa ti’ala.
at night PL.MRK people come in order to husk kick
‘Those night-time people (night workers) came to dehusk the rice.’

(136) Dotoro Kuba ge’e ene a’ene lane’e ma’u...
doctor Cuba POS MRK ago PL.MRK come...
‘The Cuban doctors came ...’

The long form of the Makasae postposed plural marker la’ane’e or lane’e occurs after the pronouns (ani, ai, gi, fi, ini, i, era, mai) frequently denoting emphasis being placed on the pronoun itself or implying an idea of disbelief, distrust or doubt in reference to a present or past action or event.
(a) Showing emphasis:

(137) Dai to ma’u, era lane’e to ma’u dera tehu.\(^{100}\)
foreigner MRK-not come 3PL PL.MRK MRK-not come thing buy
‘Foreigners didn’t come, they didn’t come to buy things.’

(138) I lane’e wari ka’u-ka’u.
2PL PL.MRK still small
‘You (plural) were still young.’

(b) Showing disbelief, distrust or doubt:

(139) Ai la’ane’e/lane’e isame sa’i basa.
2SG.PRON PL.MRK exam also pass
‘I can’t believe you passed the exam.’

(140) Ini la’ane’e/lane’e siribu ere dedee gini.
2PL.PRON PL.MRK work DEM-1 this POSP do
‘We do this kind of work.’

The form la’ane’e or lane’e following title nouns is commonly used to show respect, politeness and emphasis without any notion of plurality (cf. the English royal plural or Latin plural rejestatis).

(141) Dai la’ane’e/lane’e nahi la’a nana?
sir PL.MRK where go IMMIN
‘Where are you going, good Sir?’

(142) Tinani hai dafuru, isi Liurai la’ane’e/lane’e hau nawa dete.
food INCEP cooked POS King PL.MRK PERF eat first
‘The food is cooked/prepared, eat first, my King (your Majesty).’

---

\(^{100}\) The Makasae pronoun era commonly refers to humans. By contrast, mai refers to humans, animate and inanimate objects.
Reduplicative Plurals

There is another plural form in Makasae which is usually constructed by reduplicating the final syllable or the last two syllables. Although certain nouns of this type are still in use, most of them, especially those denoting humans, are avoided, since they bear pejorative meanings. For this reason people are nowadays inclined to use the postposed plural marker.

(143) *Gi *bobu karaka berekamakama *la’a* *fuli* *wo’i* *di’ara.*
3SG.POS uncle want RED-older go together ADV3-yonder sit ‘His/her uncle wants the older folk to sit together over there.’

The sense of the sentence above is that the older persons are not supposed to sit with or join the others whom he (the speaker) considers younger or immature.

(144) *Tufuraerae* *na’u* *sera* *asa-siili* *gau* *la’a.*
Women only also cockfighting to go ‘Women also go to cockfights.’

The example above implies the idea of disbelief (i.e. how can women go to a cockfight which is a men’s game?).

(145) *La’idaa-berekama ere* *fenulailai hau tuu gua lolo dete guta.*
old-big DEM1-these lamb PERF first invoke then kill ‘The storyteller first invoked the spirits, then killed the lambs

The use of the reduplicative form in (145) is neutral. However, speakers frequently use *lane’e*, as in:

(146) *La’idaa-berekama ere* *fenulai lane’e hau tuu gualolo dete guta.*
old-big DEM1-this lamb PL.MRK PERF first invoke then kill or

(147) *La’idaa-berekama ere* *bibi-mata lane’e hau tuu gualolo*
old-big DEM1-this lamb PL.MRK PERF first invoke
*detete guta.*
then kill
‘The storyteller first invoked the spirits, then killed the lambs.’

5.2.3 Definiteness and Indefiniteness

Definiteness

A definite noun refers to a specific identifiable entity or class of entities which are already known to the listener – what is deemed to be ‘old information’.

Definiteness in Makasae is not overtly marked. Therefore, a noun like *lawa* can be the equivalent of English ‘money’ or ‘the money’.

(148) **Makasae word** | **Possible meanings**
---|---
*lifa* | ‘sarong’, ‘the sarong’
*masu* | ‘voice’, ‘the voice’
*mu’u* | ‘banana’, ‘the banana’
*ofarena* | ‘dream’, ‘the dream’
*gegehere* | ‘thought’, ‘the thought’

The context in which a word occurs helps the reader or speaker to pinpoint the definiteness.

(149) *Mestre usamale fi guba lolini nana.*
   teacher tomorrow we PREP talk IMMIN
   ‘The teacher will talk to us tomorrow.’

(150) *Ministru na’i ma i gau lolo?*
   minister what MRK 2PL.PRON POSP say
   ‘What did the minister say to you?’

(151) *Soldadu ni komadante hau guta suri.*
   soldier POS commandant PERF kill shot
   ‘The soldier shot his commandant dead.’

---

The plural marker la’ane’e, lane’e or la following the noun is commonly used by the speaker to show definiteness.

(152) *Tufurae la’ane’e ailemi gi isu meli.*  
woman PL.MRK tamarind POS fruit pick  
‘The women pick tamarind.’

(153) *Werau defa lane’e base!*  
MRK dog PL.MRK hit  
‘Don’t hit the dogs.’

(154) *Amistradoro mistiri la sorunu.*  
administrator teacher PL.MRK met  
‘The administrator met with the teachers.’

Makasae speakers use the plural marker la’ane’e, lane’e or la when they intend to express plurality in a general sense.102

(155) *Mistiri lane’e iskola-mata la fana do kereke mahi leu.*  
teacher PL.MRK school-child PL.MRK teach MRK write and read  
‘Teachers teach schoolchildren to read and write.’

When an adjective follows a noun, the plural marker is placed after it:

(156) *Mata berekama lane’e dadau ma isikola isi la’a.*  
child big PL.MRK must MRK school LOC go  
‘Grown-up children must go to school.’

(157) *Da’e-Koru pas ma anu mutu-galu*  
head-shell peace MRK person inside-hanging  
‘God promised peace to

... gi rau lane’e gau promete.  
POS good PL.MRK POSP promise

---

102 This is similar to Tetum which uses sira when denoting the plural in “a general sense, whereas in English the would not be used in such cases”, see Hull and Eccles 16.
people of goodwill.’

Indefiniteness

Indefiniteness in Makasae is expressed with the postposed indefinite marker \( u \), which is identical with the numeral ‘one’.

(158) \( Gi \) defa-mata \( u \) teh\( \).  
3SG.PRON dog-child IND buy  
‘He/she bought a puppy.’

(159) Duko’o sabi \( u \) gehe sifa.  
Duko’o crab IND INT catch  
‘Duko’o caught a crab.’

When an adjective follows a noun, the postposed indefinite marker is placed after the adjectives.

(160) Isi boba karatera gi sufa \( u \) tia ma’a.  
1SG.POS father wallet new IND receive  
‘My father received a new wallet.’

(161) Tana-mera \( ere \) sut\( i \) metana \( u \) hau bura.  
soldier DEM\( 1 \)-this knife black IND POSP sell  
‘The soldier sold a black knife.’

Anaphoric Marker

Makasae morphology includes the anaphoric (reiterative) marker \( ere \) which in some functions corresponds to the English definite article ‘the’.\(^{103}\) This form is identical with the non-emphatic deictic demonstrative pronoun for ‘this’ or ‘these’ (§9). It is a demonstrative pronoun used anaphorically. However, functioning as an anaphoric marker, \( ere \) follows a specific noun or a personal pronoun and has a

\(^{103}\) See Hull, Makasai 11.
meaning equivalent to ‘the abovementioned....’, ‘the.... in question, or ‘this/that (same).....’.

(162) Ani Duarte saga. Duarte ere watu lola’e hai molu.
1SG.PRON Duarte search Duarte DEM₁-this day two INCEP lose
‘I have been looking for Duarte. (The) Duarte (I mention) has disappeared for
two days.’

(163) Mai la’idaa-asukai ere gau lawa bati.
3PL.PRON old-man DEM₁-this POSP money give out
‘They gave out the money to (the) old man (in question).’

(164) Sobu ere huala susara.
case DEM₁-this very difficult
‘That case (we’ve been dealing with) is very difficult.’

5.2.4. Possession in Nouns

In Makasae, to express ownership there are two constructions available: the
preposed genitive which puts the possessor first, and the postposed genitive which
puts the possessed entity (human, animate or inanimate) first.¹⁰⁴

Preposed Genitive

Makasae uses the ‘reverse genitive’ construction featuring the possessive
pronoun gi to express possession.

(165) Dili gi meti ere digara.
Dili POS sea DEM₁-this shallow
‘The sea of Dili is shallow.

(166) Maubuti gi dada-asukai ana Makasara isi daa ma’u.
Maubuti POS grand-father person Macassar LOC pass come
‘Maubuti’s grandfather came from Macassar.’

¹⁰⁴ These constructions are similar to those of Tetum. English also has similar constructions expressing ownership.
(167) Fi sai lane’e gi oma fonti male wo’i.
1PL.PRON female cousin PL.MRK POS house bridge near VERB3-there
‘Our (female) cousins’ house is near the bridge.’

The pronoun gi is omitted in genitive constructions when a compound noun is formed; when written, such nouns are normally connected with a hyphen, as in the examples below (168, 169 and 170).

With the pronoun gi:

(168) Akai ate gi tala meli.
DIM.P.NAME tree POS stalk collect
‘Akai collected tree branches.’

Compounding noun (omission of gi):

(168) Akai ate-tala meli.
DIM.P.NAME COMP.N collect
‘Akai collected tree branches.’

(169) Mautersa wani gi ira tehu.
Mautersa bee POS water buy
‘Mautersa bought honey.’

(169) Mautersa wani-ira tehu.
Mautersa COMP.N buy
‘Mautersa bought honey.’

(170) Suli ni da’e gi asa bane.
Julius POS head POS leaf wash
‘Julius washed his hair.’

(170) Suli ni da’e-asa bane.
Julius POS COMP.N wash
‘Julius washed his hair.’

This construction can likewise occur with lusisms, where a Makasae word is compounded with a Portuguese word:

seresa-fuu or seresa gi fuu ‘cherry tree’
sabaun-ira or sabaun gi ira ‘foam (of soap), soap suds’
serbisu-ga’awai or serbisu gi ga’awai ‘work place, office’
fulisi-berekama or fulisi gi berekama ‘(police) chief’
**Postposed Genitive**

This construction is frequently used when the possessor is an inanimate object or an abstract thing. It is formed by placing the possessive ge’e or gige’e after the owner of the thing, as in the contextualised examples (171, 172 and 173) below.

(171) *Bola-ti’aladoro Waukau (gi)ge’e hai he’e rata.*
   ball-kickMRK Baucau POS INCEP ADV₁ here arrive
   ‘Soccer players from Baucau have arrived (here).’

(172) *Mateneke Sina (gi)ge’e hai be’u uru isi la’a.*
   intelligence China POS INCEP can moon LOC go
   ‘Experts from China are able to go to the moon.’

(173) *Oma-falu dagadae (gi)ge’e nau deidei.*
   house-sacred Dagadae POS PRON different
   ‘The sacred house of the ‘Dagadae’ (Fatalukus) is itself different.’

The possessive marker ge’e can be omitted when what is possessed consists of a phrase, as in sentences (174) and (175) or when the possessor is qualified, as in examples (176) and (177).105

(174) *Iskola-mata Dili mahi Waukau usamale bola ti’ala ta sorunu.*106
   school-child Dili and Baucau tomorrow ball kick PRON meet
   ‘Schoolchildren from Dili and Baucau will play soccer against each other tomorrow.’

(175) *Forolema Timoro wa’a hau gi bere ene servisu-lesa.*
   problem Timor REL PERF POS big MRK work-NEG.MRK
   ‘Timor’s biggest problem is unemployment.’

(176) *Ae-bere fonti Bekora ere ma tefu gini.*
   rain-big bridge Becora DEM₁-this MRK break make

---

105 Hull, Makasai 12. Likewise, Tetum uses the possessive form nian to express the same idea.

106 The prefix *ta* ~ is a reciprocal pronoun.
‘Heavy rain has caused the Becora bridge to collapse.’

(177) *Amululiki-berekama misaun Wekeke ere ahire’e*
master sacred big mission Viqueque DEM1-this day after tomorrow
dete ma’u.

MRK come
‘The father superior of the Viqueque mission will return the day after
tomorrow.’

However, the *(gi)ge’e* construction is commonly preferred in set phrases:

(178) *Bisi-Presidenti Partidu UDT (gi)ge’e*  Vice-President of the UDT Party.
*Sefi Subudistiritu Ba’agia (gi)ge’e*  Chief of the Baguia Sub-District
*Uniberisidadi Nasional Timor (gi)ge’e*  National University of East Timor
*Danni-bere Marsu (gi)ge’e*  The March typhoon

When the possessed is plural and comes first in the phrase, the plural marker *la’ane’e, lane’e* or *la* is optional.

(179) *Dera (lane’e) mata ge’e ma deidei rai.*
Thing (PL.MRK) child POS.MRK MRK separate keep
‘Keep the child’s things separate.’

(180) *Gubernu dotoro (lane’e) Kuba ge’e sorunu.*
government doctor (PL.MRK) Cuba POS.MRK meet
‘The government met the Cuban doctors.’
5.2.5 Qualifying Nouns

Qualifying Nouns with Adjectival Meanings

In Makasae when a noun follows another noun, the second may take on an adjectival sense as an epithetic or qualifying noun,\textsuperscript{107} as in \textit{Forsa Australi, Dotoro Kuba and aramari falasatiku}:

(181) \textit{Forsa Australi mai gua daa hani?}
force Australia 3PL POSP pass EMP
‘The Australian soldiers are on their side, right?’

(182) \textit{Dotoro Kuba ene a’ene lane’e ma’u do ....}
doctor Cuba MRK before PL.MRK come MRK ...
‘(It’s) The Cuban doctors (who) yesterday came to buy .... ’

(183) \textit{Wesere’e era aramari falasatiku u tehu.}
yesterday 3PL wardrobe plastic NUM buy
‘They bought a plastic wardrobe yesterday.’

Although the second elements \textit{Australi, Kuba} and \textit{falasatiku} in these compound nouns are translated as adjectives in English, they are really qualifying nouns in Makasae. These phrases can be followed by the possessive marker \textit{ge’e} as in:

(184) \textit{Forsa Australi ge’e mai gua daa hani?}
force Australia POS 3PL POSP pass EMP
‘The Australian soldiers are on their side, right?’

Qualifying Nouns functioning as Suffixes

Makasae has certain nouns specifically referring to males. The female counterparts of those nouns are expressed by adding the qualifying noun \textit{-tufurae} ‘woman’:

\textsuperscript{107} A similar construction is found in Tetum; see Hull and Eccles 21.
Other nouns are semantically gender-neutral. In order to make gender distinctions, a speaker will suffix the marker -\textit{asukai} ‘male’ or -\textit{tufurae} ‘female’ for humans and -\textit{nami} ‘male’ and -\textit{fana} ‘female’ for animals (§5.1.2):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(186) Neutral:</th>
<th>anu</th>
<th>‘person’</th>
<th>dai</th>
<th>‘stranger’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male form:</td>
<td>anu-asukai</td>
<td>‘person male’</td>
<td>dai-asukai</td>
<td>‘male stranger’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female form:</td>
<td>anu-tufurae</td>
<td>‘person female’</td>
<td>dai-tufurae</td>
<td>‘female stranger’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Neutral:</th>
<th>dada</th>
<th>‘grand-parent’</th>
<th>mata</th>
<th>‘child, offspring’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male form:</td>
<td>dada-asukai</td>
<td>‘grand father’</td>
<td>mata-asukai</td>
<td>‘boy, son’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female form:</td>
<td>dada-tufurae</td>
<td>‘grand mother’</td>
<td>mata-tufurae</td>
<td>‘girl, daughter’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Neutral:</th>
<th>fulisi</th>
<th>‘police’</th>
<th>mesitiri</th>
<th>‘teacher’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male form:</td>
<td>fulisi-asukai</td>
<td>‘policeman’</td>
<td>mesitiri-asukai</td>
<td>‘male teacher’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female form:</td>
<td>fulisi-tufurae</td>
<td>‘policewoman’</td>
<td>mesitiri-tufurae</td>
<td>‘female teacher’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Makasae uses the qualifying noun -\textit{mata} ‘offspring’ (§5.1.2) to indicate the young of humans and animals. It is frequently also used for inanimate objects to denote their unevolved or smallest possible form.\footnote{108 A similar construction occurs in Tetum with the qualifying noun -\textit{oan}, equivalent to Malay \textit{anak} ‘offspring’; see Hull and Eccles (22).}

\footnote{108 A similar construction occurs in Tetum with the qualifying noun -\textit{oan}, equivalent to Malay \textit{anak} ‘offspring’; see Hull and Eccles (22).}

86
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Humans</th>
<th>Qualifying nouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(187) <em>Dai</em> ‘Sir’, ‘Mr.’, ‘Master’</td>
<td><em>Dai-mata</em> ‘young master’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Noi</em> ‘Madam’, ‘Miss’, ‘lady’</td>
<td><em>Noi-mata</em> ‘young lady’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>bada</em> ‘friend’</td>
<td><em>bada-mata</em> ‘little friend’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>soldadu</em> ‘soldier’</td>
<td><em>soldadu-mata</em> ‘young soldier’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Animate objects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Qualifying nouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(188) <em>fenu</em> ‘turtle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>defa</em> ‘dog’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>dura</em> ‘mouse’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kuda</em> ‘horse’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Inanimate objects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Qualifying nouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(189) <em>bu’u</em> ‘heap’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>wai</em> ‘river’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>fara</em> ‘ship’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nuru</em> ‘basket’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>karita</em> ‘car’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mesa</em> ‘table’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The qualifying noun *-mata* may also be attached to nouns with two syllables referring to the name of a city, country or nation, to indicate that an individual belongs to that place.\(^{110}\)

\(^{109}\) This is a noun of Timoric origin: Kawaimina *wai* ‘water’. A synonym for ‘river’ is *ira-waa* ‘water jungle’.

\(^{110}\) This parallels *-oan* ‘offspring, son’ in Tetum and *orang* ‘person’ in Malay.
(190) Ani wa’asi Bali-mata u goba lolini.
1SG. today Bali-offspring NUM POSP speak
‘I talked with a Balinese today.’

(191) Era Máriu wa’ara Laga-mata tanba gi Laga iswo’i lafu.
3PL Marius call Laga-offspring because 3SG Laga POSP live
‘They call Marius Laga-mata (son of Laga) because he was born in Laga.’

(192) Dili-mata ere to ba’e keta gini.
Dili-offspring DEM1-this MRK-not know paddy(field) do
‘This person from Dili doesn’t know how to work in the paddy field.’

(193) Mestri Sina-mata were megahau dairi.
teacher China-offspring DEM2-that INT praise
‘The teacher continued to praise that Chinese.’

By contrast, names of places with one syllable only, or with more than two syllables normally take the pronoun marker gi followed by mata.

(194) Kom gi mata ene gi hai seti do dawala nana.111
Com POS offspring MRK 3SG INCEP ask MRK marry IMMIN
‘(It’s) the person from Com (who) has asked her to marry him.’

(195) Paul ere Lisiboa gi mata u goba kabene.
Paul DEM1-this Lisbon POS offspring NUM POSP marry
‘Paul is married to someone from Lisbon.’

(196) Makasara gi mata ere hau ma’ene afi dala.
Macassarese POS offspring DEM1-this PERF know fish cast (net)
‘This Macassarese knows well how to cast a net.’

111 In Makasae the verb dawala ‘to get married’ is used for men, whereas for women, verb samara is used instead.
(197) Lorosa’e gi mata u ene isi dada-tufurae kura.

East POS offspring one MRK PRON grandmother heal
‘(It’s) an Easterner (who) cured my grandmother.’

However, when the compound noun denotes a plural meaning, the qualifying noun -mata can be appended to names of places with one syllable only or more than two syllables and be followed by the plural marker la’ane’e, lane’e or la.

(198) Isitudanti Perth-mata lane’e lawa saga ma Timoro ajuda.

student Perth offspring PL.MRK money search MRK Timor help
‘Students from Perth raised money to help Timor.’

(199) Ausatarali-mata lane’e motoro sifa amu meganehe lafu.

Australia-offspring PL.MRK motorcycle ride body INT live
‘Australians ride motorcycles very hard.’

(200) Lialia fulisi Forutugala-mata lane’e aga.

thief police Portugal-offspring PL.MRK afraid of
‘Thieves are afraid of the Portuguese police.’

(201) Waukau-mata lane’e bola ma Teulale he’i ti’ala.

Baucau-offspring PL.MRK ball MRK Teulale ADV3-there kick
‘People from Baucau play soccer (there) at Teulale.’

(202) Flores-mata lane’e baunu ene katoliki.

Flores-offspring PL.MRK many MRK Catholic
‘Many people from Flores are Catholic.’

The word mata can be an independent qualifying noun which, apart from denoting the meaning ‘little’, is used to show affection particularly when referring to humans. In current spelling conventions postposed mata used in a purely diminutive

---

312 ‘Easterner’ refers to East Timorese from the eastern part of the country, particularly from the districts of Baucau, Lautém and Viqueque.
sense is placed after the noun without a hyphen as it is perceived as functioning as an adjective.\(^{113}\)

(203) *Oma* mata bu’u gua wori meganehe du’ulu.

house little hill on DEM\(_3\)-that INT beautiful

‘That little house on the hill (over there) is very beautiful.’

(204) *Asi* noko mata tobe’u iara.

POS brother little IMP cry

‘My little brother/sister don’t you cry.’

(205) *Tonikai* gi bobo ama mata u sarehe gini.

Tonikai POS father garden little NUM clear do

‘Tonikai’s father cleared a little garden.’

### 5.2.6 Quantifying Nouns

#### Denoting Group or Collection

In Makasae quantifying nouns, the words denoting a group or collection of things are always placed after the names of the members or components:

(a) *Ate* u ‘a set of ten’, *ate lola’e* ‘one score, a set of twenty’ are normally used to denote a collection of four-legged large animals, such as cattle:

(206) *Raja* ene gi arabau baunu, barese ate lola’e erehani.\(^{114}\)

king MRK POS buffalo many maybe collection NUM like that

‘(It’s) the king (who) has many buffaloes, probably a score.’

(b) *Boka* ‘pack’ is used to refer to a collection of countable or uncountable things packed together:

---

\(^{113}\) The parallel in Tetum is *oan* ‘offspring’, e.g. *Alin oan keta tanis* ‘Little brother/sister, don’t you cry.’

\(^{114}\) By contrast, *boku* is used to denote single units. See also Marques, *Gramatika 5*. The word *raja* ‘king’ is Malay.
Two days ago I made two batches of koerambu (hair cakes).

Da’e ‘head’ is used to denote a network of small rice fields forming one main field:

Keta da’e u arabau ula afo di
rice field head one buffalo tail one or
ate u ma liguru.

One main rice field is ploughed by a team of eight or ten buffaloes.

Ga’awai ‘place’, ‘pile’ is employed to indicate a collection of soil, sand, grains, roots, ground vegetables, fruits, fish and firewood:

Saburaka ga’awai u nahiroba?
orange group one PRON

Hoow much is a bunch of oranges?

Safa ‘bundle, bunch’ is used to indicate a tied collection of vegetables and flowers:

Mama modo safa lima tehu.
mother vegetable bunch five buy

Mother bought five bunches of vegetables.

Lubunu ‘group’ is employed to denote any group of animate and inanimate entities:

Anu lubunu u bobakasa base do liurai tia wauru.
person group one drum hit MRK king POSP dance

A group of people is playing drums to dance for the king.

Gitu and tali ‘string’ are used to refer to a group or collection of fish, meat, corn cobs, ground vegetables, fruits and roots tied with a string and hung up:
(212) Afì gitu n nahiroba?
    fish string one PRON

‘How much is a bundle of fish?’

(h) Ula ‘sheaf’ is employed to denote a tied collection of wood, bamboo or stalks of corn or rice:

(213) Ai Bobu-turfurae ata ula lolitū tehu.
    2SG uncle-female fire sheaf three buy

‘Your aunt bought three bundles of firewood.’

The first and second elements of those nouns can be combined with a hyphen to form independent compound nouns (§5.1.2).

(214) Fulisi anu-lubunu gau lolo do taranau ni oma isi la’a.
    police person-group POSP say PRON PRON house LOC go

‘The police asked the crowd to go back to their houses.’

(215) Era bai-kodo ma ama mutu wo’i gini.
    3PL pigsty MRK garden inside ADV3-yonder do

‘They are constructing a pigsty in their field.’

The nouns denoting measured and contained substances normally follow similar constructions. The name of the substance comes first, followed by that of the container or measure.

(216) La’idaa-asukai wori ira kaneka u seti.
    old-man DEM3-that water mug one ask

‘That old man asked for a mug of water.’

(217) Tufurae mahi asukai lane’e foroma do isora kilu afo tia ma’a.
    woman and man PL.MRK queue MRK rice kilo eight receive

‘Women and men queued up to receive eight kilos of rice.’
(218) *Mata sisiri weregau sasoro ra’u u tosa’i nawa.*

child sick therefore broth plate one MRK-not eat

‘The child is sick therefore he/she cannot finish a bowl of rice gruel.’

**Classifiers (Numeral co-efficients)**

One class of quantifying nouns in Makasae followed by numerals measures certain categories of nouns.\(^{115}\) There are twelve classifiers frequently used in Makasae:

(a) *Amu-* is employed to classify ground vegetables and roots.

(219) *Era dame amu-lima tehu.*

3PL cassava CLAS-five buy

‘They bought five tubers of sweet potatoes.’

(b) *Anu-* , used only for human beings, is followed by a numeral. However, after *u* ‘one’ the subsequent three forms take on the numerals reserved for human beings: *mahi* ‘two’, *mitu* ‘three’ or *faa* ‘four’ (§10.1.4).\(^{116}\)

(220) *Falintil anu-mitu usamale la’a Amerika isiwo’i iskola.*

Falintil CLAS-three tomorrow go America POSP school

‘Three members of Falintil will go to study in America.’

(221) *Watu u anu anu-mahi tafuli la’a kasa gau la’a.*

sun one person CLAS-two together go hunt POS go

‘One day two people went out hunting.’

(c) *Asa-* is used to classify things which are flat, thin and small, such as money, cards and papers.

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\(^{115}\) Hull and Eccles (24) have studied this class of quantifying nouns in Tetum and indicated that this is typical of Malay. However, the word order for the Malay equivalents is different from that of Tetum and Makasae. In Malay the numerals precede the classifiers or co-efficients, as in *Tiga orang anak pergi ke sekolah* ‘Three children went to school.’

\(^{116}\) The classifier *anu-* is traditionally joined to the numeral with a hyphen. See Also Hull, *Makasai* 23. Huber (First Steps 26) also discusses forms of numerals reserved for human and non-human beings.
(222) Gi ni foto asa-lola‘e enterega.
    3SG POS photo CLAS-two submit
    ‘She/he submitted two photos.’

(223) Mistiri surate asa-u ma baba gau asara.
    teacher letter CLAS-one MRK father POSP send
    ‘The teacher sent a letter to (my) dad.’

(d) Bata- is a classifier for long solid objects.117

(224) Inimigu fatili bata-lolitu hau nake.
    enemy gun CLAS-three PERF take
    ‘The enemy took three guns.’

(225) Digalai ate bata-lola‘e semana.
    Digalai wood CLAS-two carry (on the shoulder)
    ‘Digalai carried two logs of wood on his shoulder.’

(e) Boku- is mainly employed as an animal classifier, but it may also be used
colloquially to classify human beings, particularly mata ‘child/children’, but this
is considered somewhat impolite. In comparison with the classifier anu-, the
numerals after u ‘one’ in boku- take the numerals designating non-human from
two to four: lola‘e ‘two’, lolitu ‘three’ and lolohaa ‘four’. By contrast, the
subsequent numerals from lima ‘five’ onwards are the same in both anu- and
boku-. (§10.1.4).118

(226) Mata gi ami nehe sege, gi ina boku-siwa hau guta.
    child POS head lice INT a lot POS mother CLAS-nine PERF kill
    ‘The child has a lot of head lice; her mother killed nine of them.’

---

117 The Makasae word bata is derived from Malay batang ‘stem, stalk’. Although Makasae has an
indigenous word tala referring to ‘stem’, ‘stalk’or ‘branch’, it instead uses the Malay loanword for the
classifier referring to parts of the human body. The word tala used independently maintains the
meaning of ‘branch’.

118 According to Hull, Makasai 23; Huber, First steps 27-8; and Marques, Método 5, boku is used
as an animal classifier. Brotherson (Spatial 35) states that boku is employed to classify round objects.
(227) Asi mata tafuli boku-lola’e, tufurae mahi asukai u.
    POS child together CLAS-two female and male one
    ‘I have two children, a girl and a boy.’

(f) Fuu- is a plant classifier referring especially to trees and bushes.

(228) Isi boba aha fuu-daho hai ma uma male
    1PL father mango CLAS-eight INCEP MRK house near
    wo’i saunu.
    ADV3-yonder plant
    ‘Our father has planted eight mango trees there near the house.’

(229) Ira to we’e do tomati fuu-u hai umu.
    Water MRK-not VERB2-there is so tomato CLAS-one INCEP die
    ‘A tomato plant has died as a result of lack of water.’

(g) Isu- is used to classify fruits.

(230) Makai wata isu-lima gafu basara isi la’a.
    Makai coconut CLAS-five POSP market LOC go
    ‘Makai went to the market with five coconuts.’

(h) Lafi- is employed to classify flat, thin objects including those that can be bent or folded:

(231) Dada-tufurae kola lafi-u ma ani gau seru.
    grandparent-female sarong CLAS-one MRK 1SG POSP weave
    ‘(My) grandmother wove a sarong for me.’

(232) Uma u kalene lafi-rurulima ma tara.
    house one tin CLAS-fifty MRK cover (roof)
    ‘A house is covered with fifty sheets of tin.’

(i) Raga- is animal classifier, particularly for goats, sheep and deer.

(233) Keta-gauhaa oho tanehe bibi ula-u di
field-owner PRON sometimes goat CLAS-one or
raga-u erehani guta.
CLAS-NUM thus kill
‘The owner of the rice field will then slaughter one sheep or one goat or more.’

(j) Ufu- is human classifier.

(234) Anu ufu-u gi oma isi la’a koerambu gini.
person CLAS-one POS house LOC go koerambu do
‘One by one people went to his/her house to make koerambu (hair cakes).’

(k) Ula- is an animal classifier.\(^{119}\)

(235) Nunurasa ula-fitu tafuli dolara u.
garfish CLAS-seven together dollar one
‘Seven garfish (together) are one dollar.’

(236) Bai-mata ula-u erehani ma gua guta.
pig-offspring CLAS-one like that MRK POSP kill
‘One piglet or so will be killed.’

(l) Wa’a- is used to classify small round or flat pieces of a solid object or substance, such as seeds, tablets and lollies.

(237) Inferimeru asibirina wa’a-daho ma ani gini.
nurse aspirin CLAS-six MRK 1SG give
‘The (male) nurse gave me six aspirin tablets.’

5.2.7 The Articulatory Suffixes

Makasae has a class of quantifying nouns which denote articulated body parts and which are suffixed to other nouns:

\(^{119}\) Hull (Makasai 23) states that the classifier ula- ‘tail’ is used for fish. However, in my data I found that it can also be employed for other animals, such as buffalo, goat, sheep and pigs.
(a) -kai is suffixed to nouns denoting projecting body parts attached to the face, e.g. munikai ‘nose (ridge)’, manikai ‘neck’ and delakai ‘chin’.\(^{120}\) The suffix -kai, which is meaningless in itself, is not semantically transparent because it is foreign. Being not analysable, it is appended to the first element without a hyphen in the current orthography.\(^{121}\)

\((238)\) Dai wori gi munikai keikei.

foreigner DEM\(_3\)-that 3SG.POS noseQN sharp

‘That foreigner has a pointed nose.’

(b) -asa ‘leaf’ is hyphenated to da’e ‘head’ only, da’e-asa ‘hair’, e.g.

\((239)\) Tufurae wori gi da’e-asa meganehe asana.

woman DEM\(_2\)-that POS head-QN INT long

‘That woman (over there) has very long hair.’

(c) -bata ‘tree’ is suffixed to a noun denoting a body part that is hard and straight, e.g. tana-bata ‘arm’, iti-bata ‘thigh’ and mani-bata ‘neck’.

\((240)\) Duko’o gi tana-bata tefu do reko mata dedee.

Duko’o 3SG.POS hand-QN break POSP scream child like

‘Duko’o broke his arm, so he screamed like a child.’

\(^{120}\) Manikai and turukai are more common in the Makasae variety of Baucau. The form turukai is derived from Waima’a, a dialect of Kawaimina also spoken by most Makasae speakers of Baucau.

\(^{121}\) Makasae kai, similar to that of Waima’a and Midiki, has two different usages. First, it has a diminutive function which is common in pet names. The form kai comes from kaka derived from Malay kakak ‘(big) brother or sister’. However, in its development, the form kaka in Makasae assumed the suffix -i, the element appended to words ending in -a which denote family relationships showing affection, e.g. babai ‘dad’, bobai ‘dad’, ‘Sir’, inai ‘mum’ and dadai ‘grandpa’(§5.1.2). In daily usage kakai can be shortened to kai, and is not restricted to a younger person addressing an adult. For example, if a speaker questions someone he knows, he can address the individual with either kakailkai or only the diminutive pet names, as in Nahi la’a kakai? ‘Where are you going, sister?’ or Nahi la’a Makai? ‘Where are you going, Makai?’(Makai being the diminutive pet name for Maria ‘Mary’). Second, the suffix -kai in a quantifying noun comes from Timoric (Tetum) kain ‘stem, stalk’. However, the suffix -kai in Makasae has been derived from Waima’a, a neighbouring Timoric language, which has a quantifying noun of this type, e.g. turukai ‘nose’. A great number of Makasae and Waima’a speakers are also bilingual in these two languages. Likewise, Tetum and Indonesian have imus-kain and batang hidung ‘stem nose’ respectively.
(d) -koru ‘shell’ is a noun suffixed to a noun denoting a body part consisting of skin covering a hard surface of bone or cartilage, e.g. bidi-koru ‘forehead’, masu-koru ‘throat’, tana-koru ‘elbow’ and iti-koru ‘knee’:


POS forehead-QN and 1PL head-shell PERF all 1PL head contain
‘Our forehead and crown are all part of our head.’

(e) -namu ‘fur’, ‘hair’ is a noun suffixed to body parts on which hair can grow, with the exception of head, e.g. in dela-namu ‘beard’ or nunu-namu ‘moustache’, :

(242) Gi ni nunu-namu hau lou do na’ufetu fo lei-bere erehani.

3SG POS lip-QN PERF shave POSP just like RCT-big like that
‘He shaved his moustache, so that is why he looked just like a young person.’
6. Personal Pronouns

6.1 Specific Personal Pronouns

6.1.1 Basic Forms of Personal Pronouns

(243) Makasae has eight distinct personal pronoun forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ani</td>
<td>‘I’, ‘me’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fi</td>
<td>‘we’ (inclusive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ini</td>
<td>‘we’ (exclusive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ai</td>
<td>‘you’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>‘you’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gi</td>
<td>‘he, she, it’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>era</td>
<td>‘they’ (human)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mai</td>
<td>‘they’ (human, animate, inanimate)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These eight personal pronouns have the same forms for both subject (244, 245) and object (246, 247):

(244) Ani kiri-kiri gini.
1SG wheat fritters do
‘I made wheat fritters.’

(245) I asi boba to ma’ene.
2PL POS father MRK-not know
‘You don’t know my father.’

(246) Noi Ria Sobamutu ani asara usa-usare.
Madam Ria Sobamutu 1SG order everyday
‘Ms. Ria Sobamutu gave me orders every day.’

(247) Mata lane’e tobe’u i tulunu.
child PL.MRK mustn’t 2PL help
‘The children mustn’t help you.’
Like other languages of East Timor, Makasae does not have a gender distinction for the third person singular.\(^\text{122}\)

(248) \textit{Gi tonai Marta, gi nai Maria.}  
\begin{tabular}{ll}
3SG & MRK-not Martha \\
POS & name Mary \\
\end{tabular}  
\begin{tabular}{l}
‘She is not Martha, her name is Mary.’ \\
\end{tabular}  

(249) \textit{Antoni na’uwari sisiri, gi hai watu lolitu to la’a isikola.}  
\begin{tabular}{llll}
Antoni & still & sick & 3SG INCEP day \\
3 & MRK-not & go & school \\
\end{tabular}  
\begin{tabular}{l}
‘Anthony is still sick, he has been absent from school for three days.’ \\
\end{tabular}  

The personal pronoun \textit{gi} is not employed when the subject or object of a clause is non-human. The speakers either repeat the noun or leave it out.

(250) \textit{Ofo ere lereke, lereke dete ofo ere kale u}  
\begin{tabular}{llll}
snake & DEM\textsubscript{1}-this & slither & slither then \\
snake & DEM\textsubscript{1}-this & time & one \\
\end{tabular}  
\begin{tabular}{l}
‘The snake slithered and then \\
\end{tabular}  
\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textit{afa ere isi ti’ala...} & \\
stone & DEM\textsubscript{1}-this \\
it & LOC & kick \\
\end{tabular}  
\begin{tabular}{l}
‘it flicked the rock once...’ \\
\end{tabular}  

(251) \textit{Bibi ere mega bere. Aene’e tauru do watu}  
\begin{tabular}{llll}
sheep & DEM\textsubscript{1}-this & very & big \\
Once & loose & and & day \\
\end{tabular}  
\begin{tabular}{l}
\textit{nahiroba hau molu.} \\
INTER. & PERF & disappear \\
\end{tabular}  
\begin{tabular}{l}
‘The sheep is very big. It got loose once and disappeared for several days.’ \\
\end{tabular}  

The first person plural differentiates between an inclusive form \textit{fi} which includes the person or persons being addressed (we, including you) and an exclusive form \textit{ini} which excludes the person or persons being addressed (we, excluding you).

\(^{122}\) See Hull, \textit{Papuan} 79.
(252) Ani, baba mahi Dukai dadau la’a. Fi karita butiri.
1SG father and Dukai must go 1PL.INC car white

worì misa.
DEM3-that ascend
‘Father, Dukai and I must go. We will ride in the white car over there.’
(= all of us will go in the white car.)

(253) Karlusu na’u nawa, ani mahi Suli ene tina.
Carlos just eat 1SG and Julian MRK cook
‘Carlos just ate, (it’s) Julian and I (who) cooked.

Ini bai-seu gini.
1PL.EXC pig-meat make
We prepared pork.’
(= Julian and I cooked, but Carl didn’t.)

The third person plural has two forms, era and mai. Era refers exclusively to human-beings, as in example (254).\textsuperscript{123} Mai is all-purpose, referring to humans, animals and things (255, 256 and 257).

(254) Era hai be’u la’a isikola pirmaria ou TK isi tama.\textsuperscript{124}
3PL INCEP can go school primary or kindergarten LOC enter
‘They can now go to primary school or enter kindergarten.’

(255) Anu-mahi ere ma’u dete anunu fana do
CLAS-two DEM1-this come then People teach so that
mai la’a surate-ma’ene.
they go paper-know
‘The two then came to teach people so that they (the people) became literate.’

\textsuperscript{123} The form era is considered more polite in the Laga variety of Makasae.

\textsuperscript{124} TK is an Indonesian acronym for Taman Kanak-kanak ‘children’s playground’ or ‘kindergarten’.
(256) Arabau were ini mai ma keta mutu wo’i suri.
buffalo DEM2-those 1PL 3PL MRK field inside DEM3-there let go.
 ‘We left those buffaloes in the rice-field.’

(257) Asi tufu kadernu lolitu tehu. Gi mai hai ma
POS sister note (book) three buy 3SG 3PL INCEP MRK
basta mutu ri’ana.
bag POSP keep
 ‘My sister bought three note books. She keeps them in the bag.’

6.1.2 Honorific Function of Personal Pronouns

Fi

In normal circumstances, the singular form ai ‘you’ is employed to address both children and peers who are the speaker’s relatives or close friends. However, to express politeness and formality in Makasae, the form Fi, which is equivalent to Tetum Ita, is used. It is used when addressing a person of a high social status, a stranger or someone older than the speaker.

(258) Fi bese ma’u bo mata wori ruruu-kaika’ili.
HON quickly come because child DEM3-that shiver-twisted
 ‘(Sir/Madam) come quickly because the child over there has a fever.’

The form Fi also has an honorific sense and is employed in biblical translations and prayers when addressing God, as well as when invoking the spirits of ancestors.

(259) “Da’e-Koru, Fi karaka dawa, be’u ambere gi rau ma ani gini.”
head-shell PRON want if can body POS good MRK 1SG give
 ‘Lord, if Thou so desirest, grant me good health.’

125 As stipulated in the standardised orthography, the first letter of the pronoun form having an honorific function in each of the languages of East Timor is always capitalised. The form Fi ‘you’ in Makasae, therefore, is written with a capital to distinguish it from fi ‘we/us’. 
(260) **Fi ni mata lane’e sera isi buna sera gutu buna.**

HON REC.POS child PL.MRK also LOC look also POSP look
‘(You) also take care of and look after all your children.’

**Fi-Berekama, Isi-Berekama and Asi-Berekama**

There are other honorific forms which are more respectful and more formal than *Fi*. Makasae speakers frequently use *Fi-, Isi- and Asi- prefixed to *Berekama* to address people of some social prominence or anyone having authority in their society:

*Fi-Berekama* lit. ‘great you’ (cf. Tetum *Ita-Boot*)
*Isi-Berekama* lit. ‘great we ’
*Asi-Berekama* lit. ‘great I’ (cf. ‘my lord’)

Contextual examples:

(261) **Ani Fi-Berekama wa’a lolo ere na’u migini afa.**

1SG HON REL say DEM1-this just follow IMMIN
‘I’ll just do as you have said.’

(262) **Sarani lane’e Asi-Berekama tia buna do misa gini nana.**

Christian PL.MRK HON wait MRK Mass do IMMIN
‘The faithful are waiting for Father to say/celebrate the Mass.’

The plural marker *la’ane’e, lane’e or la* is added to the honorific forms to address more than one person.

*Fi-Berekama lane’e* (cf. Tetum *Ita-Boot sira*)
*Isi-Berekama lane’e*
*Asi-Berekama lane’e*

Contextual examples:

(263) **Fianu seti do Fi-Berekama lane’e gana tobe’u ....**

HON ask MRK HON PL.MRK OPTA must not
‘I (your humble servant) request you (good sirs) not to ...’

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(264) Isi-Berekama lane’e hedaa ma’u do hau hedi’ara.
HON     PL.MRK come follow and PERF (here) sit
‘May you (good sirs) come this way and take a seat here.’

**Fi Da’e-Koru, Isi Da’e-Koru and Asi Da’e-Koru**

Other forms of respect employed to address the nobility and Church dignitaries or the local king ‘liurai’ are:

- **Fi Da’e-Koru** lit. ‘your crown’ (i.e. top of the head)
- **Isi Da’e-Koru** lit. ‘our crown’
- **Asi Da’e-Koru** lit. ‘my crown’

Contextual examples:

(265) Fianu-mata ma’u Fi Da’e-Koru sorunu do konfesa nana.
HON     come HON     meet MRK confess IMMIN
‘I (your little slave) have come to see you (Father) to make a confession.’

When referring to more than one person, these forms are also followed by the plural marker.

(266) Mordoro anu-daho ene Asi Da’e-Koru lane’e goba fuli la’a.
guard CLAS-NUM MRK HON     PL.MRK POSP together go
‘(It’s) the six guards (who) will travel with your majesties.’

The Makasae honorific forms have traditionally been used in the ecclesiastical register to address God or the saints, as in (267) and (268). The forms **Fi Da’e-Koru, Isi Da’e-Koru** and **Asi Da’e-Koru** are considered more respectful (269).

(267) Fi Da’e-Koru, ini Fi tia ma’u.
HON     1PL.EXC HON POSP come

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126 For this humilific form, see §6.1.2 below.
‘Lord, we come to you.’

(268) *Fi-Berekama isi welafu goba sa’i ma’ene.*

HON POS life PRON also know

‘Your Lordship also knows our life.’

(269) *Fi Da’e-Koru Jesus Kristu, u wa’a ni vida ma fi gini ere.*

HON Jesus Christ REL.DEM POS life MRK IPL give DEM₁-this

‘My Lord Jesus Christ, Thou who hast given up Thy life for us.’

Apart from using these honorific forms in addressing others, Makasae speakers also employ the humilific or self-humbling forms *fianu* ‘your slave’ and *fianu-mata* ‘your little slave’, which are more respectful than *ani* ‘I’, to address social superiors.\(^\text{127}\)

(270) *Fianu karaka Dai sorunu nana.*

HON want Sir meet IMMIN

‘I (your slave) wish to see you (Sir).’

(271) *Sefi ene fianu-mata asara do rou hau sarehe gini.*

chief MRK HON order and grass PERF clean make

‘(It is you) the chief (who) asked me to tidy the garden.’

6.1.3 Personal Pronoun Avoidance

Using *i*

Although the use of the first person singular *ai* ‘you’ is common among peers and friends when addressing an individual, some speakers may avoid it when wishing to show politeness and indirectness, particularly when others are around but are not necessarily engaged in the conversation. The second person plural *i* ‘you’ can be employed to address a person in this situation.

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\(^{127}\) The form *ani-mata* ‘you’ used as a respectful pronoun and *fianu* ‘your slave’ as a form of self-humbling is particularly typical of southern Makasae.
(272) Suditi, i Tinu gau lolo do wata-isu ma gia lasi.
    Judith 2PL Tinu POSP tell in order to coconut-fruit MRK under cut

   ‘Judith, (would you be so kind as to) tell Tinu to pick some coconuts.’

Replacing with *era* and *mai*

In a casual conversation, particularly when asking a question of a peer, friend or someone younger, speakers may use the third person plural *era* ‘they’ to denote the first person pronoun in order to show friendliness, politeness and intimacy. It normally occurs after the verb.

(273) Nahi la’a era?
    where go PRON

   ‘Where are you going, (my friend)?’

   The pronoun *era* in the example above will bear its original meaning ‘they’ if it is moved to sentence initial position.

(274) Era nahi la’a?
    PRON where go

   ‘Where are they going?’

   However, *era* can still denote ‘you (singular)’ if it is followed by the interjection *ou* (275). In all these instances, the sense of being polite, friendly or intimate is still maintained, and the question is usually asked by an older person, someone of higher status or a person of the same age as the addressee.

(275) Era ou! nahire’e ene ma’u?
    PRON INT PRON MRK come

   ‘Hey there! Who’s coming?’

   The personal pronoun *mai* ‘they’ is used to replace *era* in examples (273) and (275) above if plurality is intended.

(276) Nahi la’a mai?
    where go PRON
‘Where are you (people) going?’

(277) Mai ou! nahire’e ene ma’u?
PRON INT who MRK come
‘Hey there! Who’s coming?’

When *mai* is placed sentence-initially and without being followed by the interjection, it keeps its original meaning ‘they’.

(278) Mai nahi la’a?
PRON where go
‘Where are they going?’

_Era_, which usually ends a sentence, can also function as an emphatic form if the interrogative sentence begins with the pronoun *ai* or *i* (with singular meaning).

(279) Ai na’i nawa era?
1SG PRON eat EMP
‘What are you eating?’

**Using wori**

The personal pronoun *gi* ‘he/she’ is often avoided when referring to a person in their presence, as the use of *gi* in such circumstances is considered impolite. Instead, speakers frequently use the deictic demonstrative pronoun *wori* (§9.1.). This avoidance takes place in both oral and written registers, and can occur with both subjects (280) and objects (281).

(280) Watu-watu wori ini wa’ara la’a gi dala fa’a.
Everyday DEM3-that IPL.EXC call go POS fishing net sew
‘Everyday he asks us to go to sew his fishing net.

(281) Basara u gafu-gafu fulisi wori saga bo noto nerata.
week one entire police DEM3-that search but MRK-not find
‘The police were looking for him for an entire week but he was not found.’
Accordingly, in Scriptural translations, God is always referred to as Wori, never Gi.

(282) Maromak ene fi tuu tia ma’u. Wori fi rau karaka...

God MRK POS first POSP come PRON POS good want...

‘(It’s) God (who) comes to us first. He wants good for us...’

(283) Anu sisi bai-nunu wa’a gene ere, Wori gau ma’u.

people disease pig-lip REL hit DEM1-this PRON POSP come

‘People who were afflicted by leprosy came to Him (Jesus).’

Replacing with Nouns

In spoken Makasae, respectful, friendly, polite and affectionate relationships respectively are reflected in the use of names, titles, professions and nouns denoting family relationships instead of a second person singular pronoun. Substitution of names for pronouns is common among peers, older people and those with higher social status when addressing or talking about younger persons or others with low social status.

(284) Ani karaka Tonikai guba lolini nana, lakuu hedaa, wali?

1SG want Tonikai POSP speak IMMIN later (here) pass listen

‘I just want to talk to you (Tonikai), drop by later, all right?’

(285) Buisina nahine’e ene ma’u?

Buisina when MRK come

‘When did you come, Buisina?.’

Forms of address referring to people’s titles and professions do not necessarily reflect age but are intended to show respect, politeness or formality. In comparison with title nouns (286, 287), the titles referring to people’s professions in Makasae are derived mostly from Tetum or Portuguese (e.g. mestiri, katikista, dutoro, borofesoro, etc.) (288, 289).
Title nouns:

(286) *Amu karaka na’i gehe de’e?*  
    title want PRON drink EMP  
    ‘Sir, what would you like to drink?’

(287) *Fianu ene Asi-Berekama gi oma heini de’e.*  
    HON MRK HON POS house wait EMP  
    ‘(It’s) I (who) take(s) care of your majesty’s house.’

Title referring to profession:

(288) *Ani mestiri sorunu nana, se Fi na’i u*  
    1SG teacher meet IMMIN COND HON PRON NUM to gini dawa.  
    MRK-not do COND  
    ‘I would like to meet you (teacher), if you are not busy.’

(289) *Dutoro nahi la’a nana?*  
    title INTER go IMMIN  
    ‘Where are you going, doctor?’

The titles referring to people’s professions can be preceded by the form *Dai* ‘Mr’ or ‘Sir’. When referring to women, the titles which have gender distinctions usually retain their Portuguese feminine forms and can be placed after *Noi* ‘Mrs’ or ‘Ms’ (§5.1.2).

(290) *Dai infermeru afi nahiga’u tehu nana? Asige’e tali*  
    Mr/Ms nurse fish PRON buy IMMIN POS cord u dolara lima.  
    one dollar five  
    ‘Which fish would you (Mr Nurse) like to buy? Mine are five dollars for a bundle (of fish).’\(^{128}\)

\(^{128}\) A number of fish are attached by a string through the gills for sale.
Nouns denoting family relationships are frequently employed in the second person singular to show respect, politeness and affection. These nouns are not necessarily used by people who are related. Pronoun avoidance is deemed appropriate in situations where a child is addressing parents or other adults and where younger siblings or younger children are talking to older ones. However, parents and other adults addressing younger persons may employ either ai or the nouns denoting family relationships. When family members or relatives address each other, the diminutive suffix -i or -ai is frequently used (§5.1.2). Example (292) shows an adult child addressing his mother and using the noun mama ‘mother’ to replace the pronoun ai. Furthermore, sentence (293) presents a situation where ai is replaced with kakai ‘(older) brother’ when speaking about his father.

Further examples of Makasae generic nouns are:

(294) bo’u ‘brother’ (male sibling) tufu ‘sister’
dada ‘grandparent’ nanu ‘great-grandparent’
noko ‘younger brother’ mata ‘child’

Using nahiroma and nahir’e

It is very common to use the interrogative form nahiroma ‘how much’, ‘how many’ or the standard form with the classifier anu- suffixed to it, and nahir’e ‘whose’ to address people. Nahiroma or anu-nahiroma is always preceded by a noun,
but nahire’e is followed by gi and a noun denoting family relationship. The form nahiroba or anu-nahiroba employed in this context always entails plurality which refers to the pronoun i ‘you’ (plural). By contrast, nahire’e indicates the first person singular ai ‘you’. To mark plurality, therefore, la’ane’e, lane’e or la must be placed after the nouns denoting family relationships. These indirect forms of addressing are considered subtler and more polite than i ‘you’ (plural) and ai ‘you’ (singular), particularly when there is an unfamiliar referent among the addressees. Apart from nahiroba, which can only function in the subject position, the other forms can occur in both the subject and object positions.

_Nahiroba and nahire’e in the subject position:_

(295) _Nahiroba ma’u kafe hau gehe dete mini siribisu._

PRON come coffee PERF drink afterwards again work

or

Anu-nahiroba ma’u kafe hau gehe dete mini siribisu.

CLAS.-PRON come coffee PERF drink afterwards again work

‘You (people) come and have coffee first then go back to work.’

(cf. Tetum: Na’in-hira mai hemu lai kafé hafoin servisu fali.)

(296) _Nahire’e gi iba lawa na’u ma deti sura._

PRON POS father money just MRK wrong count

‘Sir, you just miscounted the money.’

_Anu-nahiroba and nahire’e in the object position:_

(297) _Bisku karaka anu-nahiroba igresa bese-bese binta._

bishop want CLAS.-PRON church quickly paint

‘The bishop wants you (people) to paint the church building quickly.’

(cf. Tetum: Bispu hakarak na’in-hira pinta lalais uma-kreda.)

(298) _Sefi ani mifana do iture’e gi nahire’e gi_  

chief 1SG order in order to three days from now 3SG PRON POS

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129 The word _iba_ is a variant of _boba_ ‘father’. It normally occurs when the preceding word ends in the vowel i (e.g. _gi iba_ ‘his/her father’, _fi iba_ ‘your father’, _asi iba_ ‘my father’).
The chief asked me to tell you that he will

*mata* *lane’e* *wa’ara nana.*

child PL.MRK call IMMIN

‘invite you (people) three days from now.’

The Makasae pronoun *i* placed before *nahiropa* and *anu-nahiropa* is often replaced with title nouns, professions and nouns denoting family relationships to indicate politeness, with *anu-nahiropa* regarded as being more standard. They also occur in the subject and object positions. To express a more polite and formal sentence, speakers can also employ the title nouns (e.g. *Dai* ‘Sir’, *Amu* ‘Mr.’, *Noi* ‘Mrs.’, ‘Ms.’ or *Ba’ino* ‘little Master’) followed by the title of professions or nouns denoting family relationships.

(299) *Ba’ino anu-nahiropa fanu isi naha wori sibi gugu nana.*

master CLAS.-PRON front LOC stand DEM3-that a bit quiet IMMIN

‘You (young gentlemen) over there in front please be a bit quiet.’

(cf. Tetum: *Anó-oan na’in-hira iha oin ne’ebá nonook uitoan lai.*)

(300) *Dai ani sofe tai? Ani ene wa’agamu dotoro anu-nahiropa*

Sir 1SG know TAG 1SG MRK last night doctor CLAS.-PRON.

‘Sir, you know me, don’t you? (It’s) I (who) showed you (doctors)

*gau* *hi’a kina*

POSP road show

the way last night.’

(301) *Mata anu-nahiropa wori nahi la’a nana? Ani i*

child CLAS.-PRON DEM3-those where go IMMIN 1SG 2PL

*leu to walli?*

call MRK-not listen

‘Where are you (kids) over there going? Can’t you hear me calling you?’
(302) Fabor u Noi Katikista anu-nahiroba amululiki
Please one Madam Catechist CLAS.-PRON priest
‘Please (you, Madam Catechist)

isinehe do nawa dete.
Remind MRK eat first
remind the priest to eat first.’

(303) Fianu to deti bo na’igau Ba’ino fulisi
HON MRK-not err but why Master police
‘I did nothing wrong so why are you

anu-nahiroba fianu-mata sifa?
CLAS.-PRON HON-child arrest
(little Master Police Officers) arresting me?’

6.1.4 Non-Honorific Personal Pronoun Omission

Subject Omission

Makasae speakers often omit a personal pronoun denoting the subject of a sentence. It can occur in both a single independent clause and adjacent clauses with or without a coordinator. In a complete independent clause, a speaker sometimes drops the pronoun subject if it has been mentioned in the previous sentence/s, unless the context is changed.

(304) Ini nau titara, ala-mutu la’a do gamu la’a
1PL.EXC EMP flee forest-inside go and night go
wo’i ta’e.
ADV -yonder sleep
‘We (ourselves) fled, we went into the jungle and slept there at night.’

(305) ...fi be’u ni ginigini muda, be’u ni desenbolbe.
1PL can POS attitude change can POS develop
‘...we can change our attitudes, (we) can develop ourselves.’
In a sentence where two adjacent clauses are joined by bo ‘but’, maibe ‘but’, ‘however’, mais ‘but’, tanba ‘because’, nana’adawa ‘otherwise’ and maski ‘although’, and if the second clause refers to the subject of the main clause, the pronoun subject is often omitted.  

(306) Ameu oma isiwo’i daa bo to la’a oma mutu wo’i.
Ameu house POSP pass but MRK-not go house interior DEM3-yonder
‘Ameu went by the house but he didn’t go inside.’

(307) Fi werau nige’e ... ma molu gini,
1PL.INC must not POS ... MRK lose make
‘We must not lose (our) hope,

maibe tenkiser hi’a gi rau saga.
but must be road POS good find
but we must seek a good path.’

(308) Fi krisi mutu he’e, mais wera’u nige’e
1PL.INC crisis inside VERB1-there is but MRK POS
‘We are in a crisis,

Esberansa ma molu gini.
hope MRK lose make
but we must not lose (our) hope.’

(309) Ani were lisaun sibiki’i nai nake tanba ana goba serivisu...
1SG DEM2-that lesson a few only take because people POSP work
‘I only took a few courses because I worked with people....’

(310) Kondotor u tenkiser pasensi nana’adawa be’u asidente gua dula.
driver one must be patient otherwise can accident POSP find
‘A driver must be patient otherwise he/she may have an accident.’

130 The forms maibe and tanba in Makasae are derived from Tetum maibé and tanba (often shortened to tan), whereas the form mais is derived from Portuguese mas ‘but’.
(311) *Maski fi susara gua rata, tobe’u ana lane’e mula di ....*  
although 1PL problem POSP get IMP people PL.MRK curse or....  
‘Although we have difficulties, we mustn’t curse people or ....’

A pronoun subject is also omitted in a conditional sentence if the second clause bears the same subject as in the first clause (§12.8.2).

(312) *Se ani problema u gua rata, sempre naudo’ome adi’a.*  
MRK 1SG problem one POSP get always EMP fix  
‘If I have a problem (with the car), I always fix it myself.’

(313) *Ini ete na’unaga waa mutu wo’i, susara gua dula afa.*  
1PL MRK continually village POSP there problem POSP find IMMIN  
‘If we had stayed on in the village, we could have had problems.’

(314) *Mai lawa baunu dane’e, la’a Dili isi borono.*  
3PL money many MRK go Dili LOC buy in bulk  
‘If they had had a lot of money, they would have gone to Dili to buy in bulk.’

The pronoun subject in the second clause referring to the object in the first clause is simply omitted.

(315) *Ameu mahi gi bada sefi-aldea sorunu,*  
Ameu and POS friend headman-village meet  
‘Ameu and his friends met the village headman,

*Ameu hai noto sofe.*  
Ameu INCEP MRK-not know  
but (he) didn’t recognise him (Ameu) anymore.’

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131 The conditional marker *ete* ‘if’ is short form of *dete* (§12.8.2).
Abstract Subject Omission

In comparison with English, Makasae does not have a counterpart of the abstract subject or the non-referential ‘it’ which functions as a subject in non-imperative sentences. A sentence construction, therefore, often simply begins with an adjective, a marker, a verb or an adverb.

(316) Rau ene fi ta ma noko-kaka dedee ena.
    good MRK 1PL PRON MRK (younger) sibling-elder (sibling) POSP see
‘(It is) good that we treat each other like brothers (and sisters).’

(317) To na’i u, ani ni-hetu siribisu ere gini.
    MRK thing one 1SG EMP work DEM1-this do
(It) doesn’t matter, I will do the job myself.’

(318) Persisa isikola do usamale-ahire’e siribisu gi rau rata.
    need school in order in the future work POS good find
‘(It is) necessary to go to school in order to get a good job in the future.’

(319) Haualu du’ulu waru butiri ma kalsa metana gua gutu.
    INT nice shirt white MRK pants black POSP wear
‘(It is) nice to wear a white shirt with black pants.’

The abstract subject also occurs in simple statements, if content nouns such as ‘time’, ‘weather’, ‘distance’ or other environmental features are not used, as in each pair of contextual examples below:

(320) Orasa ehani tuku siwa gamu, do fi la’a afa.
    time now o’clock nine night so 1PL go IMMIN
‘The time now is 9 o’clock, so let’s go.’

or

Ehani tuku siwa gamu, do fi la’a afa.
    now o’clock nine night so 1PL go IMMIN

132 Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman (Grammar 443) refer to nonreferential ‘it’ as a subject which does not have a “clearly definable antecedent”.

116
‘(It is) nine o’clock now, so let’s go.’

(321) *Mu’a wa’asi nehe ga’ara, ana waru aba’a nai tana.*

earth today INT cold people shirt thick only wear

‘The weather today is very cold, so people are only wearing thick shirts.’

or

*Wa’asi nehe ga’ara, ana waru aba’a nai tana.*

today INT cold people shirt thick only wear

‘(It is) very cold today, so people are wearing thick shirts.’

(322) *Dili mahi Metinaru gi molunu kilometru rulola’e.*

Dili and Metinaro POS length kilometre twenty

‘The distance between Dili and Metinaro is twenty kilomentres.’

or

*Kilometru 20 Dili la’a Metinaru mege.*

Kilometre twenty Dili go Metinaru POSP.

‘(It is) 20 kilometres from Dili to Metinaro.’

**Object Omission**

A pronoun object in Makasae is often omitted in the second clause if the two adjacent clauses govern the same object.

(323) *Ini arabau ma keta mutu wo’i saga, ana hai*

1PL buffalo MRK field inside ADV3-yonder search people INCEP

*ma ala bure.*

MRK bush herd

‘We looked for the buffaloes in the rice field, (but) people had herded them away.’

In two adjacent clauses with or without conjunctions, the omission of a pronoun object may occur in the second clause if the marker *hau* and the postposition *gau* are used.

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133 Makasae speakers also use the forms *disitansi* or *distansi* derived from Portuguese *distância* ‘distance’.
(324) Geribata kalauru saga, ani tanehe hau faere.
    first of all kalauru search 1SG then PERF clean
    ‘First of all I picked kalauru (a vegetable), then I separated the good ones from
    the bad.’

(325) Ani baba-mama saga do gau lolo titara afa.
    1SG father-mother search and POSP tell escape IMMIN
    ‘I looked for my parents and told them to escape.’

When the pronoun object in the second clause refers to the subject in the first
clause, the object before the postposition gau or tia can be omitted.

(326) Ameu karaka wo’i la’a bo ani gau lolo do
    Ameu want ADV3-there go but 1SG POSP tell MRK
    gana ni ena.
    OPTA PRON see
    ‘Ameu wanted to go there but I told (him) to be cautious.’

(327) Bispu ma’u nana weregau sarani lane’e la’a tia buna.
    bishop come IMMIN therefore baptised PL.MRK go POSP see
    ‘The bishop is coming, therefore the faithful are waiting (for him).’

6.2 Generic Personal Pronouns

Makasae generic personal pronouns consist of a phrase. In comparison to
English generic personal pronouns which are written as single words, e.g. somebody,
anything, nobody or everything. Makasae adds generic qualifiers and quantifiers to
nouns or pronouns to form generic personal pronouns.

6.2.1 Human Referents

Makasae generic personal pronouns with human referents are based on the
words anu ‘person’ ana ‘people’, era ‘they’, mai ‘they’ and nahire’e ‘who’.
(a) Formation with *anu* and *ana*:

- *anu u* ‘somebody’, ‘anybody’, ‘anyone’
- *ana u* ‘somebody’ ‘anybody’, ‘anyone’
- *anu lane’e* ‘people (in general)’
- *ana lane’e* ‘people (in general)’
- *anu seluku* ‘someone else’
- *ana seluku* ‘someone else’
- *(anu) hausa’i* ‘everyone’, ‘all’

- *anu damu-damu* ‘everyone (emphatic form)’
- *ana damu-damu* ‘everyone (emphatic form)’
- *anu oho* ‘someone’
- *ana oho* ‘someone’
- *anu u* to... ‘no one’, ‘nobody’
- *anu u... noto* ... ‘no one’, ‘nobody’

Contextual examples:

(328) Ani *anu u* pirisisa do mata gutu buna.
1SG person one need in order to child POSP look
‘I need somebody to look after the child.’

(329) Gi *lolo ma’u nana bo ana seluku ene ma’u.
3SG say come IMMIN but someone else MRK come
‘He said he would come but (it’s) someone else (who) did.’

(330) *Ana damu-damu* titara.
everyone (EMP) flee
‘Everyone fled.’

(331) Se *anu u* tonai hi’a were isi daa,
if person one MRK-not road DEM2-that LOC pass
‘If nobody passes along that road,

*fi susara afa tai.*
1PL.INC difficulty IMMIN EMP
we will definitely be in trouble.’

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134 *Seluku* is derived from Tetum *seluk* ‘(an)other’. The Makasae dialect of Laga also uses the form *selu*, which is preceded by the possessive *gi*, as in *gi selu* ‘others’.
(b) Formation with *era* or *mai*:\(^{135}\)

*era u-u* ‘each of them’  
*mai u-u* ‘each of them’

*era gi seluku* ‘others’  
*mai gi seluku* ‘others’

Contextual examples:

(332) *La’idaa lane’e foroma do dotoro era u-u ena nana.*

old PL.MRK form so that doctor each of them see IMMIN

‘Old people line up so the doctor will check each of them.’

(333) *Ai haulita rau tulunu ma era gi seluku seti.*

2SG INT good help MRK PRON ask

‘You’d better ask others for help.’

(334) *Tanehe watu u fulisi mai u-u sifa do hau kasatigu.*

then day one police each of them catch and PERF punish

‘Then one day the police will arrest each of them and they will be punished.’

(c) Formation with *nahire’e*:

*nahire’e nai* ‘everyone’ (emphatic form)

(335) *Da’e-Koru welafu gi rau ma nahire’e nai gini.*

God life POS good MRK PRON just give

‘God gives a good life to everyone.’

6.2.2 Non-Human and Inanimate Referents

Several Makasae generic personal pronouns with non-human and inanimate referents are based on the noun *na’i* ‘thing’ and the pronoun *mai* ‘they’:

(a) Formation with *na’i*:

*na’i u* ‘something’  
*na’i hausa’i* ‘everything’, ‘all’

---

\(^{135}\) The pronoun *era* is preferred to denote human beings.
na’i damu-damu ‘everything (emphatic)’  na’i u to ... ‘nothing’  
na’i gi seluku (u) ‘something else’  na’i lane’e ‘everything (in general)’  
na’i oho ‘something’  na’i ribaku u ‘anything (at all)’

Contextual examples:

(336) Kareta seuru ere tonai na’i u a’ehe.
car  drive  DEM₁-this MRK-not PRON  easy
‘Driving a car is not something (that is) easy to do.’

(337) Ini  na’i u to  nake  do  to  nawa.
1PL.EXC  PRON  MRK-not  bring  so  MRK-not  eat
‘We didn’t bring anything, so we didn’t eat.’

(338) Ai  dadau mata  gau  na’i gi seluku  u  tehu  nana’adawa
2SG  must  child  POSP  something else  buy  otherwise
wor  iara  afa.
PRON  cry  IMMIN
‘You must buy something else for the child otherwise he/she will cry.’

(339) Duarte  gau  lolo  do  na’i lane’e  ma  daburu  mutu
Duarte  POSP  tell  MRK  PRON  MRK  kitchen  inside
wo’i  rai.
ADV₃-there  keep
‘Tell Duarte to keep everything in the kitchen.’

(b) The formation with mai:

mai u-u ‘each of them’
mai gi seluku ‘others’

---

136 The southern and Baucau varieties use the form na’i riba u.
Contextual examples:

(340) Ini mai u-u mi la’a saga bo ana hai
1PL.EXC each of them POSP go seek but people INCEP
ma ala bure.
MRK bush herd
‘We went to look for each of them, but they had been herded away.’

(341) Ini la-lolitu mini gua rata bo mai gi seluku...
1PL.EXC CLAS-three again POSP find but PRON
‘We found three (buffaloes) again, but others...

6.2.3 Neutral

Makasae generic personal pronoun that can refer to both human and non-human entities are formed with seluku ‘other’ and nahigini ‘any’.

(a) Formation with seluku:

\[
\begin{align*}
& \text{gi seluku} \ ‘\text{another one}’ \\
& \text{seluku lane’e} \ ‘\text{others}’ \\
& \text{gi seluku u} \ ‘\text{someone else}, ‘\text{something else}’ \\
& \text{gi seluseluku} \ ‘\text{others}’
\end{align*}
\]

Contextual examples:

(342) Gi kofu hau dahala gini weregau gi ina gi seluku
3SG glass PERF crack do therefore POS mother another
mini tehu.
POSP buy
‘He/she cracked the (drinking) glass, therefore his/her mother bought another one.’

(343) Antoni tule la’a do era gi seluku u mini asara la’a.
Antoni refuse go so 3PL PRON POSP order go
‘Anthony refused to go, so they sent someone else.’
(344) I hai ma’u bo seluku lane’e nahi?
2PL INCEP come but other PL.MRK where
‘You have come, but where are the others?’

(345) Ai tonai bada anu-mahi nai konbida,
2SG MRK-not friend CLAS.-two only invite
‘You should not only invite two friends, (you)

dadau gi seluseluk sera wa’ara.
must others also call
must invite the others as well.’

(b) Formation with nahigini:

nahigini u ‘anyone at all’, ‘anything at all’

(346) Babai do’ome keta gini do gi karaka nahigini u
FatherDIM alone field do so 3SG want anyone
‘Dad works alone in the (rice) field, so he would like anyone (at all)

gi tulun nana.
3SG help IMMIN
to help him.’

(347) Ani meghau boli, ani nahigini u tehu do nawa dete.
1SG INT hungry 1SG anything buy MRK eat just
‘I am really hungry, I will just buy anything (at all) to eat.’

6.3 Personal Pronouns with Emphasis

The Makasae personal pronouns can be made emphatic by placing nau, nau-
do’ome or ni-hetu ‘the same one’\textsuperscript{137}, after them.

\textsuperscript{137} The equivalent of rasik in Tetum.
(a) The emphatic form nau:

(348) Era nau tinani tina.

3PL EMP food cook
‘They themselves cooked the food.’

The object of the verb may intervene between the personal pronoun and nau.

(349) Ai surate nau kereke.

2SG letter EMP write
‘You yourself wrote the letter.’ (cf. Tetum: Ō rasik hakerek surat.)

In speech, when a slight pause is made after nau, its function is similar to sai – it gives an emphasis to the entire clause, implying a contrast with the speaker’s situation or that of others. However, sai is not normally followed by a pause. This type of emphasis occurs in affirmative, declarative and interrogative sentences.\footnote{The emphatic forms nau and sai are the equivalents of sā in Tetum, as in Makasae Gi nau/sai logo-sege bere u, Tetum Nia sā bosok-teen boot ida ‘A big liar is what he/she is./He/she is a big liar.’}

(350) I nau, matarini lane’e fana.\footnote{The Baucau form for ‘children’ is mataniki, while the southern variety of Makasae uses matakini.}

2PL EMP children PL.MRK teach
‘You teach children.’ (Implication: But I (or others) do something else.)

(351) Mai sai aga do minigali titara.

3PL EMP scared so back escape
‘They were scared and so they retreated.’ (cf. Tetum: Sira sā ta’uk no rekua filafali.)

(b) The emphatic form nau-do’ome:

Nau can also be prefixed to do’ome ‘alone’ to mean ‘oneself’. In contrast with the general emphatic marker nau, nau-do’ome, which can either precede or follow
the object of the clause, confers emphatic meaning only when it is used with personal pronouns.\textsuperscript{140}

(352) \textit{Era nau-do’ome oma gini.}

3PL EMP-alone house make

‘They themselves built the house.’

(353) \textit{Kareta gi ka’u lane’e a’ehe do ani nau-do’ome teta.}

car POS small PL.MRK easy so 1SG EMP-alone pull apart

‘Small cars are easier to manage, so I myself can fix them.’

(354) \textit{Anu wori nana’u sisiri bo gi nau-do’ome osobitala}

person DEM\textsubscript{3}-that still sick but 3SG EMP-alone hospital

\textit{isi la’a.}

POSP go

‘That person (over there) is still sick but he/she himself/herself goes to the hospital.’

(c) The emphatic form \textit{ni-hetu}:

The Makasae possessive pronoun \textit{ni} ‘own’ normally has a reflexive function (§6.4.1). However, when it is suffixed to the word \textit{hetu} ‘the same one’, the form \textit{ni-hetu} expresses an emphatic function which is the equivalent of English emphatic pronouns, e.g. \textit{myself}, \textit{yourself}, \textit{ourselves}, and it is used differently from pronouns expressing a reflexive function. In contrast with neighbouring Fataluku, Makasae does not have emphatic variants of personal pronouns.\textsuperscript{141} Similar to \textit{nau-do’ome}, \textit{ni-hetu} can be placed either before or after the object of the clause.

\textsuperscript{140} Hull (\textit{Makasai} 13) mistakes the emphatic form \textit{nau-do’ome} for \textit{na’u do’ome} ‘just alone’. The forms \textit{nau} and \textit{na’u} can also be placed before verbs as in \textit{Ani tinani nau nawa} ‘I ate the food myself’, and \textit{Ani tinani na’u nawa} ‘I just eat food (without complaining or without doing something else)’.

\textsuperscript{141} In his 2005 study of Fataluku, Hull found that the first, second, fourth and fifth persons of personal subject pronouns have emphatic variants (\textit{Fataluku} 18).

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6.4 Reflexive and Reciprocal Pronouns

6.4.1 Reflexive Pronouns

The all-purpose Makasae reflexive pronoun is the possessive ni, used to replace a noun phrase object that has the same referent as the subject of the sentence.

(357) Ani were sempre ni hakasa do gana istuda.
1SG DEM2-that always REF force in order to OPTA study
‘I forced myself to study.’

(358) Ini ni na’u ma kole gini.
1PL.EXC EF just MRK tired make
‘We only made ourselves exhausted.’

(359) Timor ni ukunu hai ani afo erehani.
Timor REF rule INCEP year eight like that
‘East Timor has ruled itself for approximately eight years.’

When the reflexive pronouns appear in sentences with negative markers, only noto (to) follows the pronouns (360). The other negative markers, notonai and notosai with their respective short forms tonai and tosai (§4.3.2) are placed before the reflexive pronouns (361 and 362).

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142 The Tetum equivalent is an and Indonesian diri. According to Hull and Eccles the form an is from an older noun aan ‘body’ (36).
(360) Era ni noto gatanee weregau ana era
3PL REF MRK-not have confidence therefore people 3PL
nautule fiara.
do not want trust
‘They don’t have any confidence in themselves. People, therefore, don’t want to trust them.’

(361) Isitudanti lane’e notonai ni hakasa isituda bo hai
student PL.MRK MRK REF force study but INCEP
mini muhiri.
POSP play
‘The students are not exerting themselves to study, but are playing instead.’

(362) Soldadu wori tosai ni suri, inimigu gi bala
soldier DEM3-that MRK-not REF shoot enemy POS bullet
ene gi gene.
MRK 3SG hit
‘The soldier over there didn’t shoot himself/herself, (it’s) the enemy’s bullet (which) hit him/her.’

The reflexive ni can be preceded or followed by nau (§6.3) to give greater emphasis, but ni is more commonly placed before nau than after it.

(363) Ana gi boba wori gi fanu-laini do gi
people POS father DEM3-that POS drunk and 3SG
ni nau fari.
REF PRON curse
‘That man over there is drunk and is cursing himself.’

(364) Era nau ni wahaka do ala nai mutu daa ria.
3PL PRON REF untie and forest only interior POSP run
‘They (themselves) untied themselves and escaped into the jungle.’
Makasae postpositions can be placed after *ni* or *ni nau* and be followed by an adjective or adverb, with *ni nau* keeping the emphatic reflexive meaning.

(365) *Isi boba lane’e to aga tanba ani be’u ni nau*

POS father PL.MRK MRK-not afraid because 1SG can REF PRON

‘My parents are not worried about me because I can

*ma rau-rau ena.*

MRK very well look

look after myself very well.’

Similar to the construction with *ni nau*, the phrase *nau ni* can be followed by a postposition, but *nau* functions more as an ordinary emphatic marker than as an emphatic reflexive.

(366) *Mateusu nau-tule la’a siribisu do gi nau ni*

Matthew not want to go work so 3SG MRK REF

*ma sisiri gini.*

MRK sick make

‘Matthew didn’t want to go to work, so he pretended to be sick.’

(367) *Liaguli lane’e nau ni ma susara gini.*

thief PL.MRK MRK REF MRK difficult make

‘The thieves got themselves into trouble.’

### 6.4.2 Reciprocal Pronouns

Reciprocity is expressed in Makasae with the pronoun *ta* ‘each other’, ‘one another’. Similar to the reflexive pronoun *ni*, *ta* is employed to replace a noun phrase object which refers back to a noun phrase subject in the same sentence.

(368) *Gi ina mahi gi oba ta wa’ara festa isi la’a.*

POS mother and POS father REC call feast LOC go

‘His/her mother and father invited each other to the party.’
(369) *I perdaun ma ta gini.*

2PL forgiveness MRK REC give

‘You (plural) offer forgiveness to one another.’

A postposition or an adverb can be placed between the reciprocal *ta* and the verb or adjectival verb:

(370) *Mai kaburu do ta gata sufa.*

3PL quarrel and REC POSP spit

‘They quarrelled and spat at each other.’

(371) *Mata lane’e ta gutu ge’ere bo*

child PL.MRK REC POSP think because

‘The children missed each other because

*hai ani baunu ta fuli isikola.*

INCEP year many REC together school
they had studied together for many years.’

(372) *Era ta gau nokorau.*

3PL REC POSP ADJ.V-bad

‘They have treated each other badly.’

The form *ta* can be followed by the possessive *gi* which occurs with nouns denoting reciprocity and mutuality.

(373) *Marta mahi Sofia hai mu’iri ta gi soli.*

Martha and Sophie INCEP long (time) REC POS adversary

‘Martha and Sophie have been adversaries for a long time.’

(374) *Isi dada isi daa ma’u ini hai ta gi bada.*

POS grandparent LOC pass come 1PL.EXC INCEP REC POS friend

‘We have been friends since the time of our ancestors.’
In a construction with a negative marker, only \textit{noto} follows the reciprocal pronoun. The other negative markers, \textit{notonai} and \textit{notosai}, with their respective short forms \textit{tonai} and \textit{tosai}, are placed before \textit{ta}.

(375) \textit{Kale baunu ene ini ta noto ge’ere-karaka}.\textsuperscript{143}  
\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{tabular}{l}
\textit{time many MRK 1PL.EXC REC MRK-not think-want}  \\
\text{‘Often we don’t love one another.’}  
\end{tabular}
\end{footnotesize}

(376) \textit{Mai notonai ta gehere-karaka weregau na’u gi ta base}.  
\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{tabular}{l}
\textit{3PL MRK-not REC think-want therefore just POS REC hit}  \\
\text{‘They don’t love each other so they keep fighting (each other).’}  
\end{tabular}
\end{footnotesize}

(377) \textit{Fi anu-lafu notosai ta suhu, ta mula}.  
\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{tabular}{l}
\textit{1PL.INC person-live MRK-not REC insult REC curse}  \\
\text{‘We human beings do not insult and curse each other.’}  
\end{tabular}
\end{footnotesize}

Emphatic \textit{nau}, \textit{nau-do’ome} and \textit{ni-hetu} ‘oneself’ (§6.3) can occur with the reciprocal pronoun. All of them can be placed before the pronoun, but only \textit{nau} can follow it.

(378) \textit{Mestiri isikola-mata lane’e fana do era nau ta tulunu}.  
\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{tabular}{l}
\textit{teacher school-child PL.MRK teach so that 3PL EMP REC help}  \\
\text{‘The teacher taught the pupils that they themselves should help one another.’}  
\end{tabular}
\end{footnotesize}

(379) \textit{Ini nau-do’ome ta wa’ara sawere gau la’a}.  
\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{tabular}{l}
\textit{1PL.EXC EMP-alone REC invite swim POSP go}  \\
\text{‘We ourselves invited one another to go swimming.’}  
\end{tabular}
\end{footnotesize}

(380) \textit{Mai ni-hetu ta basala do gi fanu sa’i imiri}.  
\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{tabular}{l}
\textit{3PL EMP REC slap and POS face PRON red}  \\
\text{‘They (themselves) slapped each other and their faces were all red.’}  
\end{tabular}
\end{footnotesize}

\textsuperscript{143} The form \textit{kale} is derived from Malay \textit{kali} ‘time’, e.g. \textit{Saya telah memanggil dia banyak kali} ‘I have summoned him many times’.
(381) *Fi usamale ta nau heini afa.*

1 PL.INC tomorrow REC EMP wait IMMIN

‘We will wait for each other tomorrow.’

6.5 Possession

Possession in Makasae is expressed syntactically in two different modes, the attributive and the predicative. Attributive possessive pronouns are preposed to the noun, e.g. *Baulu gi liburu* ‘Paul’s book’, *asi liburu* ‘my book’, and correspond to the possessive adjectives of English and Tetum. Makasae predicative possessive pronouns, corresponding to English and Tetum possessive pronouns, follow the noun, e.g. *Kofu ere Karulina (gi)ge’e* ‘This glass is Caroline’s’, *Kofu ere gige’e* ‘This glass is hers.’

6.5.1 Attributive Possessive Pronouns

The Makasae attributive possessive pronouns are:

- **asi** ‘my’
- **ai** ‘your’ (singular)
- **gi** ‘his’, ‘her’, ‘its’
- **fi** ‘our’ (inclusive)
- **Fi** ‘your’ (polite)
- **isi** ‘our’ (exclusive)
- **i** ‘your’ (plural)
- **era-gi** ‘their’ (for human beings)
- **mai-gi** ‘their’ (for all entities)

Contextual examples:

(382) *Ani mafi asi bada la tafuli anu-rulima.*\(^{144}\)

1SG and POS friend PL.MRK together CLAS.-fifty

‘My friends and I together make fifty.’

\(^{144}\) In speaking, the short form *rulima* ‘fifty’ is more common than *rarulima.*
(383) Ani ene ni-hetu ai ginigini gi kote lane’e sarehe gini.

1SG MRK EMP POS deeds POS ugly PL.MRK clean make

‘(It’s) I myself (who) atoned for your bad deeds.’

(384) Perdua ma isi mutu-galu sisiri ere gini.

forgiveness MRK POS interior-hanging sick DEM1-this give

‘Forgive our wickedness.’

(385) Da’e-Koru Maromak i waboku lo’e.

head-crown God POS heart open

‘Almighty God opens your hearts.’

(386) Mata lane’e deti-lesa, werau sobu-asa nokorau ma

child PL.MRK mistake-less don’t word bad MRK

‘Children are innocent; don’t say bad words

era-gi fanu isi lolo.

POS face LOC say

in front of them.’

The plural marker la’ane’e, lane’e or la follows the thing possessed if it is plural (387). However, in a clause where plurality is obvious, the marker can be dropped (388).

(387) Rita sisiri do gi raku lane’e la’a gi ena.

Rita sick so POS friend PL.MRK go 3SG see

‘Rita was sick, so her friends visited her.’

(388) Duru-fiuu lane’e hai umu do mai-gi tala (lane’e)

lemon-base PL.MRK INCEP die so POS twig (PL.MRK)

‘The lemon trees are dead, so all their twigs

sa’i sahara.

all dry

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have dried out.’

(389) *Fulisi gi boba mahi gi kaka sifa.*

detective POS father and POS (older) sibling arrest

‘The police arrested his father and his (older) sibling.’

(390) *Da’e-Koru, Fi isi deti isi sala hau sarehe gini.*

head-crown HON POS sin POS sin PERF clean make

‘Lord, You atoned for our sins.’

6.5.2 Predicative Possessive Pronouns

The predicative possessive pronouns in Makasae are formed by suffixing either -ge’e ‘belong to’, ‘of’ or -duru ‘turn’ to the attributive possessive pronouns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ge’e</th>
<th>duru</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>asige’e</td>
<td>asiduru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aige’e</td>
<td>aiduru</td>
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<td>gige’e</td>
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<tr>
<td>ige’e</td>
<td>iduru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>erage’e, era-gige’e</td>
<td>era-giduru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maige’e, mai-gige’e</td>
<td>mai-giduru</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The third person plural of the predicative possessive pronouns in the first column is formed by suffixing either -ge’e or -gige’e to the attributive possessive pronouns era and mai. By contrast, the attributive possessive pronouns era and mai in the second column can take only the suffix -giduru to become predicative.

Contextual examples:

(391) *Fara-mata wori isige’e.*

boat-child DEM3-that POS

‘The boat (over there) is ours.’
(392) *Sina gi dera ene ira-digara weregau ana*

China POS thing MRK cheap therefore people

‘Chinese (people’s) products are cheap, therefore people

*maige’e/mai-gige’e nai saga.*

POS only seek

only look for theirs.’

(393) *Gi liburu u tehu do were giduru tai.*

3SG book one buy and DEM2-that POS EMP

‘She/he bought a book and that one is definitely hers/his.’

In comparison with -duru, the attributive possessives with -ge’e are considered more formal. In a casual conversation, the use of -duru is more common because it carries a sense of friendliness.

(394) *Asi mata anu-mitu bo aiduru anu nahiropa?*

POS child CLAS-NUM but POS CLAS PRON

‘I have three children, but what about yours?’

6.5.3 The Reflexive Possessive

The reflexive pronoun *ni* (§6.4.1), is also employed for all persons in possessive constructions. It refers to all persons in either subject or object position of a clause.

*Ni* referring to all persons in the subject position:

(395) *Ani wesere’e ni oro gahi.*

1SG yesterday REF spear sharpen

‘I sharpened my own spear yesterday.’

(396) *Ai tobe’u ni tabaku-asa falini.*

2SG must not REF tobacco-leaf chew

‘You mustn’t chew your own tobacco leaves.’
(397) Kreda karaka ni mata lane’e tulunu.
Church want REF child PL.MRK help
‘The Church wants to help its own children.’

(398) Fi la’a ni siribusu gini.
1PL.INC go REF work do
‘We went to do our work.’

(399) I ni busu nau bane.
2PL REF pan EMP wash
‘You yourselves washed your own pan.’

(400) Era ni pobu ma rau tarata.
3PL REF people MRK well treat
‘They treat their own people well.’

Ni referring to all persons in the object position:

(401) Mestri karaka ani ni esami bese-bese sa’i gini.
teacher want 1SG REF exam quickly complete do
‘The teacher wanted me to finish my own exam quickly.’

(402) Baba ai ena ni noko tibala.
father 2SG see REF brother slap
‘Father saw you slap your own brother.’

(403) Dotoro wa’asi gi asara ni wasi hau soru.
doctor today 3SG order REF tooth PERF brush
‘The doctor asked him to brush his own teeth.’

(404) Gira-gira wori ini liguru ni oma isi la’a.
crazy DEM3-that 1PL.EXC chase REF house LOC go
‘That madman chased us away to our own house.’
Ani i gau lolo ni dera lane’e kuidadu nana.

1SG 2PL POSP tell REF thing PL.MRK careful IMMIN

‘I told you to look after your own things.’

Da’e-Koru mai fana ni soli lane’e ramiaka.

head-crown 3PL teach REF enemy PL.MRK love

‘God teaches us to love our own enemies.’

By contrast, the ordinary possessive gi refers to a person other than the subject of the clause:

Gi gi busu bane.

3SG POS pan wash

‘He/she washed his/her (someone else’s) pan.’

The forms -ge’e and -duru can also be suffixed to the attributive reflexive pronoun ni to form predicative possessive pronouns:

Fi ni teli hai saunu bo era nige’e nehegu saunu.

1PL REF corn INCEP plant but 3PL REF not yet plant

‘We (including you) have planted our (own) corn, but they haven’t planted theirs (their own corn) yet.’

Antoni gi mata ni tinani nawa, Baulu gi mata

Anthony POS offspring REF rice eat Paul POS offspring niduru nawa.

REF eat

‘Anthony’s child ate his/her (own) rice, Paul’s child ate his/hers (his/her own rice).’

6.5.4 Emphatic Reflexive Possessive Pronouns

Makasae reflexive possessive pronouns can also be made emphatic by placing nau, nau-do’ome or ni-hetu before or after them (§6.3).
(410) *Era nau ni arabau bura.*
3PL EMP REF buffalo sell

or

*Era ni arabau nau bura.*
3PL REF buffalo EMP sell

‘They sold their very own buffalo.’

(411) *Wesere’e Resi nau-do’ome ni keta gini.*
yesterday Resi EMP-alone REF rice field make

or

*Wesere’e Resi ni keta nau-do’ome gini.*
yesterday Resi REF ricefield EMP-alone make

‘Resi worked in his very own rice field yesterday.’

(412) *Tufurae-mata wori ni-hetu ni roba lane’e bane.*
woman-child DEM$_3$-that EMP clothes PL.MRK wash

or

*Tufurae-mata wori ni roba lane’e ni-hetu bane.*
woman-child DEM$_3$-that REF clothes PL.MRK EMP wash

‘The girl (over there) washed her very own clothes.’
7. Interrogatives

7.1 Interrogative Forms

This chapter deals with Makasae pronominal interrogatives. The analysis of adverbials of interrogation is presented in §12.7.2. Makasae interrogatives generally begin with *nahi-* or *na’i*-

- *nahire’e* ‘who?’, ‘whom?’
- *na’i* ‘what?’
- *na’i* ‘which?’
- *nahite’e* ‘which?’
- *(u)wa’a-nahite’e* ‘which one(s)?’
- *nahiga’u* ‘which?’
- *(u)wa’a-nahiga’u* ‘which one(s)?’
- *na’idedee* ‘what kind of?’
- *netanilafu* ‘what kind of?’
- *na’ihanilafu* ‘what kind of?’
- *nahire’e (gi)ge’e, nahire’e giduru* ‘whose?’
- *nahiroba* ‘how much?’, ‘how many?’

A Makasae interrogative word is usually placed either at the beginning of a clause or in medial position following a noun. When an interrogative pronoun occurs clause-initially, it is normally followed by a contrastive marker *ene, dete* or *do*, with *ene* indicating a subject, and *dete* and *do* indicating an object. (§4.3.1).

The following contextualised examples with *ene* and *dete* show the differences of focus intended by the speaker:

(413) *Nahire’e ene Suse suri?*
who MRK Joseph shoot
‘Who shot Joseph?’

A possible answer to the question in reference to the subject is

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145 The form *nahigalu* is common to southern Makasae.
Antoni ene Suse suri.
Anthony MRK Joseph shoot
‘(It’s) Anthony (who) shot Joseph.’

(414) Nahire’e dete Suse suri?
who MRK Joseph shoot
‘Whom did Joseph shoot?’

The answer to the question above in reference to its object could be

Robertu dete Suse suri.
Robert MRK Joseph shoot
‘(It’s) Robert (that) Joseph shot.’

As mentioned in 4.3.1, do can be used instead of dete to indicate the object.

(415) Na’i do mata ere nehela’a?
what MRK child DEM1-this find
‘What did this child find?’

An answer to the question in reference to the object might be:

Noli do mata ere nehela’a.
ring MRK child DEM1-this find
‘(It’s) the ring (that) the child found.’

(416) Nahire’e do Markusu guba lolini?
who MRK Mark POSP speak
‘With whom is Mark speaking?’

The answer to the above question in reference to the object is:

Amululiki do Markusu guba lolini.
priest MRK Mark POSP speak
‘(It’s) the priest (with whom) Mark is speaking.’
7.2 Interrogative Functions

7.2.1 Nahire’e ‘who?’, ‘whom?’

When not occurring clause-initially, nahire’e can be the object of the verb without being followed by the marker dete.

(417) Sefi nahire’e seluru?

chief whom pay

‘Whom did the chief pay?’

However, if nahire’e is placed in initial position (for emphasis), the use of the object marker dete or do is obligatory: Nahire’e dete sefi seluru? ‘Whom did the chief pay?’

(418) Ai inahatu nahire’e afu?

POS aunt whom cradle (in the arms)

‘Whom is your aunt cradling (in her arms)’

A Makasae speaker will use the construction in sentence (418) when he or she does not want to emphasise the object. By contrast, nahire’e as the subject of the verb is always followed by ene. However, speakers may also produce clauses without this contrastive marker, especially in a casual conversation when one is talking coaxingly to children.

(419) Nahire’e rebesadu ma i gini?

who sweets MRK 2PL give

‘Who gave you the sweets?’

(420) Nahire’e ai basala, nokolai?

who 2SG slap brotherDIM.

‘Who slapped you, little brother?’
7.2.2 Na’i ‘what?’

The Makasae interrogative pronoun na’i is used with a similar word order to that of nahire’e. When it begins a clause, the interrogative word is normally followed by the alternative contrastive marker ene, dete or do.

(421) Na’i ene mata wori gi iti-buli ki’i?
INTER MRK child DEM3-that POS toe bite
‘What bit that child’s toe?’

A possible answer to the question above in reference to the subject is:

Mu’ulai ene mata wori gi iti-buli ki’i.
ant MRK child DEM3-that POS toe bite
‘(It’s) the ant (that) bit the child’s toe.’

(422) Na’i dete ai ma ana lane’e gau bati?
what MRK 2SG MRK people PL.MRK POSP share
‘What did you give to those people?’

The answer to the question in reference to the object is:

Gasi-fani dete ani ma ana lane’e gau bati.
salt-sweet MRK 1SG MRK people PL.MRK POSP hate
‘It’s sugar (that) I gave to those people.’

(423) Na’i do soldadu anu-mahi wori semana?
what MRK soldier CLAS-two DEM3-those carry (on shoulder)
‘What did the two soldiers carry on their shoulders?’

The answer to the question above in reference to the object is:

Bata-fuu do soldadu anu-mahi wori semana.
pillar MRK soldier CLAS-two DEM3-those carry (on shoulder)
‘It’s the pillar (that) the two soldiers carried on their shoulders.’

As object of the clause, the interrogative pronoun na’i precedes the verb:
(424) *Mai na’i lolo?*

3PL what say

‘What did they say?’

(425) *I na’i ma fi baniaka lane’e gau tina?*

2PL what MRK POS guest PL.MRK POSP cook

‘What did you cook for our (incl.) guests?’

Apart from functioning as a pronoun, *na’i* can also qualify a noun, as can its English equivalent ‘what’. The interrogative and noun begin the clause and are followed by the alternative contrastive marker *ene, dete or do.*

(426) *Na’i karita ene gali-toku?*

what car MRK overturn

‘What car overturned?’

(427) *Na’i siribisu dete Atinu karaka?*

what work MRK Atinu want

‘What job does Atinu want?’

(428) *Na’i laihona do Maria tehu?*

what onion MRK Maria buy

‘What onion did Maria buy?’

The interrogative word *na’i* marked with *dete* or *do* can also be used in exclamatory sentences and is equivalent to English ‘what a...!’

(429) *Na’i oma do hau du’ulu!*

what house MRK INT beautiful

‘What a beautiful house!’

(430) *Na’i mata dete megahau wali-furu!*

what child MRK INT ear-chipped

‘What a naughty child!’
7.2.3 *Nahite’e* and *nahiga’u* ‘which?’

The Makasae equivalents of ‘which’ are *nahite’e* and *nahiga’u* or *(u)wa’a-nahite’e* and *(u)wa’a-nahiga’u*. They are used to make a choice from a limited range. Although all can be employed to qualify all entities, *nahite’e* is generally considered more formal than *nahiga’u* when qualifying nouns denoting human beings. When the qualified noun or NP in Makasae is placed clause-initially, the alternative contrastive marker *ene, dete* or *do* is required after the pronoun, as in Tetum.

*Nahite’e*:

(431) *Mata nahite’e ene hosesara?*

child which MRK fall

‘Which child fell down?’

(432) *Lu’a (u)wa’a-nahite’e dete ana wa’ara bo to wali?*

monkey which MRK people call but MRK-not hear

‘Which monkey (is it that) doesn’t listen when people call?’ (personification)

If the subject of the clause precedes the object followed by *nahite’e* or *nahiga’u*, the contrastive markers become optional.

(433) *Ai tufurae nahite’e (do) guba lolini?*

2SG woman which MRK POSP speak

‘Which woman did you speak to?’

*Nahiga’u*:

(434) *Ata-fara (u)wa’a-nahiga’u ene Atauru gau ria?*

fire-boat which MRK Ataúro POSP run

‘Which ship sails to Ataúro?’

(435) *Teli nahiga’u dete ai ma ariia lane’e gau bati?*

corn which MRK 2SG MRK orphan PL.MRK POSP separate

‘Which corn did you distribute to the orphans?’
(436) Ana (u)wa’a-nahiga’u do fulisi ma basara mutu
people which MRK police MRK market interior
wo’i liguru?
ADV3-yonder chase
‘Which people were chased by the police at the market?’

To express plurality, the Makasae plural marker lane’e is always suffixed to nahite’e or nahiga’u.

(437) Isikola-mata nahite’e-lane’e ene dadau foramatura mini?
school-child which-PL.MRK MRK must formation follow
‘Which pupils must take part in the formation?’

(438) Gubernu oma nahiga’u-lane’e minigali rau gini nana?
government house which-PL.MRK again good make MRK
‘Which houses is the government going to repair?’

7.2.4 Na’idedee, netani(hani)lafu and na’ihanilafu ‘what kind of?’, ‘what...like?’

Like nahite’e and nahiga’u, these pronouns are placed after the nouns they qualify and are followed by the contrastive marker ene, dete or do. When the pronouns occur clause-finally, bearing the meaning of ‘what...like’ in English, the markers are omitted. These forms can be employed to qualify nouns denoting all entities.

Na’idedee:

(439) Dai na’idedee ene fara isi ma’asi?
foreigner what kind MRK boat LOC descend
‘What kind of foreigners disembarked?’

(440) I biskileta gi sufa na’idedee?
2PL bicycle POS new what kind
‘What’s your bicycle like?’
Netani(hani)lafu:

(441) Ana lane’e netanilafu dete ai sorunu?
people PL.MRK what kind MRK 2SG meet
‘What kind of people did you meet?’

(442) Era gi kakaraka netanilafu?
3PL POS want what kind
‘What do they want?’ (What’s their wish like?’)

Na’ihanilafu:

(443) Nanawa na’ihanilafu do bai lane’e nawa?
food what kind MRK pig PL.MRK eat
‘What kind of food do the pigs eat?’

(444) Dili-mata lane’e gi gigini na’ihanilafu?
Dili-offspring PL.MRK POS behaviour what kind
‘What is the behaviour of people from Dili like?’

7.2.5 Nahire’e (gi)ge’e and nahire’e giduru ‘whose?’

The interrogative possessive pronouns nahire’e (gi)ge’e and nahire’e giduru are always preceded by the nouns they qualify and are followed by the contrastive markers ene (subject), dete (object and subject) or do (object). In a formal context, nahire’e (gi)ge’e is considered more appropriate than nahire’e giduru. If the pronouns are moved to clause-final position, the markers are left out.

(445) Kuda nahire’e (gi)ge’e ene soke mutu sege?
horse whose MRK mud inside get stuck
‘Whose horse got stuck in the mud?’

(446) Defa nahire’e giduru ene kou?
dog whose MRK bark
‘Whose dog is barking?’
Makasae speakers normally move nahire’e and the possessive marker gi to clause-initial position where it is followed by the noun and the contrastive markers ene, dete or do.

(448) Nahire’e gi bai ene teli nawa?
   who POS pig MRK corn eat
   ‘Whose pig ate the corn?’

(449) Nahire’e gi liburu dete mata hau fisaka?
   who POS book MRK child PERF tear
   ‘Whose book did the child tear?’

(450) Nahire’e gi afi do era tehu?
   who POS fish MRK 3PL buy
   ‘Whose fish did they buy?’

7.2.6 Nahiroba ‘how many?’, ‘how much?’

The Makasae interrogative pronoun nahiroba always follows the noun it qualifies. When the noun begins a clause, the contrastive marker ene, dete or do is required after the pronoun.

(451) Ai kulu nahiroba ene hai hau bo’oko?
   2SG breadfruit how many MRK INcep PERF rot
   ‘How many of your breadfruits have gone rotten?’

(452) Lawa nahiroba dete pataraun ma i seluru?
   money how much MRK employer MRK 2PL pay
   ‘How much money did the employer pay you?’
(453) *Ra’u nahiroba do dahala?*

plate how many MRK break

‘How many plates are broken?’ (somebody caused it)

*Nahiroba* may be preceded by a classifier such as *anu* ‘person’ (§5.2.6). In a formal situation, both written and spoken registers always require classifiers to be used in conjunction with *nahiroba*. By contrast, in casual speech classifiers can be dropped without changing the meaning of the clause.

(454) *Lukasa gi noko anu-nahiroba?*

Luke POS brother CLAS.(person)-how many

or

*Lukasa gi noko nahiroba?*

Luke POS brother how many

‘How many brothers does Luke have?’

(455) *Nokoresi afi ula-nahiroba sifa?*

Nokoresi fish CLAS.-how many catch

or

*Nokoresi afi nahiroba sifa?*

Nokoresi fish how many catch

‘How many fish did Nokoresi catch?’

(456) *Saburaka isu-nahiroba ene molu?*

orange CLAS.(fruit)-how many MRK disappear

or

*Saburaka nahiroba ene molu?*

orange PRON MRK disappear

‘How many oranges disappeared?’
8. Relativisation

8.1 The Relative Marker

The basic Makasae relative marker *wa’a* is equivalent to English ‘who’, ‘whom’, ‘which’ and ‘that’. It is often shortened to *a’a* in casual speech (458). Unlike the English words which are pronouns, *wa’a* is not. It is a marker indicating that what follows is some sort of description or qualification of the noun that precedes. Both *wa’a* and *a’a* can refer to either a singular or plural noun.

(457) *Dabid wa’a Dai mistiri Antoni gi mata.*
   David REL Mr teacher Anthony POS child
   ‘David who is the son of Mr Anthony the teacher.’

(458) *Sina-oma a’a biskileta fanu baunu bura.*
   Chinese-house REL bicycle kind many sell
   ‘The Chinese shop which sells many kinds of bicycles.’

Sometimes *u* ‘one’ is prefixed to *wa’a* to form the emphatic relativiser *uwa’a* referring to singular nouns. *Uwa’a* parallels the Tetum *ida-ne’ebé* ‘which’, ‘who’, ‘that’.146 *Uwa’a* ‘the one’ functioning as non-deictic demonstrative is discussed in §9.2.2.

(459) *Kristu uwa’a ni vida ma fi gini ere.*
   Christ REL REF life MRK POS give DEM1-this
   ‘Christ who gave up His life for us.’

(460) *Ai kofu uwa’a defa fa’ili ere hau bane.*
   2SG cup REL dog lick DEM1-this PERF wash
   ‘You wash the cup which the dog licked.’

Normally, the plural marker *la’ane’e*, *lane’e*, or the shortened form *la*, is placed immediately after the head noun when plurality is intended, since there is no special plural form of the relativiser.

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146 See also Hull and Eccles 47.
(461) *Ra’u la’ane’e wa’a gi ra’i dadau hau bane dete ri’ana.*

plate PL.MRK REL POS dirty must PERF wash MRK pack

‘The plates which are dirty must be washed before being packed.’

(462) *Arabau lane’e wa’a meti-gafi isi asara ma’u hai sa’i umu.*

buffalo PL.MRK REL sea-edge LOC send come INCEP all die

‘The buffaloes that were sent from abroad have all died.’

The Makasae relative clause may be closed with the anaphoric marker *ere* (cf. the parallel use of *ne’e* in Tetum). When placed clause-finally in this way, *ere* does not have a clear demonstrative function in comparison with its position after the head noun or adjective (§9.1).

(463) *Inai wa’a Akuarta gi mata gutu buna ere hai*

lady REL Akuarta POS child POSP look DEM1-this INCEP *igiresa isi la’a.*

church LOC go

‘The lady who takes care of Akuarta’s child has left for church.’

(464) *Gi iti wa’a i’u tafa ere hai fatu.*

POS foot REL thorn pierce DEM1-this INCEP swell

‘His foot which the thorn pierced has swollen.’

8.1.1 The Parallel Relativiser

In writing and in religious invocations and other rituals (e.g. dowry negotiations), Makasae speakers place *wa’a* after each head noun which functions as the subject or object of the clause.

(465) *Ae-bere wa’a dani-bere wa’a sorisi gafu ere*

rain-big REL wind-big REL starvation bring DEM1-this

‘The torrential rain and gales which bring starvation

*ini sa’i guta afa.*

1PL all kill IMMIN
will kill all of us.’

(466) Oma wa’a waa wa’a ai mata lane’e isi bere ere
house REL orchard REL 2SG child PL.MRK LOC big DEM1-this.
‘The house and orchard in which your children grew up

hau goe ria.
PERF around run
need to be protected.’

A stylistic device occasionally found in Makasae is the use of two juxtaposed synonymous nouns. In such cases the relativiser is placed after each of the nouns. The first head noun with its relativiser is normally followed immediately by the second head noun without any coordinator.

(467) Funu wa’a sala wa’a hai ani baunu ere
war MRK war MRK INCEP year many DEM1-this
‘The war which has lasted many years

ini hai ma aria gini.
1PL INCEP MRK orphan make
has made us orphans.’

(468) Renu wa’a fogu wa’a ani wa’a nau fala ere, daudau ....
people REL people REL 1SG REL EMP raise DEM1-this must ....
‘The people for whom I myself cared, must....’

The construction in sentence (468) has three relativisers. The first and second occurrences of wa’a are obligatory whereas the third can be dropped as in any normal relativised clause.

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147 The form goe ria is also used in a special ritual involving walking around a house or other place and saying prayers, sprinkling water and spitting betel nut juice to ward off evil spirits.
8.1.2 Omission of the Relativiser

The Makasae relative pronoun *wa’a*, like Tetum *ne’ebé* (or its shortened form *be*), can be dropped, particularly in informal conversation. However, in writing and invocations the relativiser is always present.

(469) Liburu meda gua wau wori baba gige’e.
book table POSP put DEM3-that father POS
‘The book on the table over there belongs to Father.’

(470) Isikola-mata lane’e ni isame to mini ere
school-child PL.MRK REF exam MRK-not follow DEM1-this
‘Pupils who do not take their exams

dadau hau kasatigu.
must PERF punish
must be punished.’

*Wa’a* may also be dropped when it refers to the object of a clause:

(471) Gi afi gi sifa ere baru.
3SG fish 3SG catch DEM1-this roast
‘He roasted the fish which he caught.’

(472) Mata bola Duaun ti’ala were hau taba dafa.
child ball John kick DEM2-that PERF hole spear
‘The child made a hole in the ball which John kicked.’

8.1.3 The Local Relativisers

In comparison with English, which uses phrases like ‘for which’, ‘from which’, ‘in which’, ‘on which’, ‘to which’, ‘with which’, ‘where’ or ‘from where’ to construct relativised clauses indicating place or manner, Makasae relative clauses usually employ postpositions after the relative particle *wa’a* or *uwa’a* and are closed with the non-emphatic demonstrative *ere*.
(473) *Kombania Korea ge’e wa’a ini hai mu’iri gau siribisu*
company Korea POS REL 1PL MRK long POSP work
‘The Korean company for which we have worked for a long time,

*ere taka afa.*
DEM1-this close IMMIN
will be closed.’

(474) *Baba lode wa’a gi naili ma isi daa nake*
father bag MRK 3SG fishing line MRK LOC follow take
‘Father hung up the bag from

*ere ma nama doili.*
DEM1-this MRK up hang
which he had taken the fishing line.’

(475) *Ga’awai uwa’a era anu-mahi isi ta’e ere.*
place REL 3PL CLAS-NUM LOC sleep DEM1-this.
‘The place where (in which) they both sleep.’

(476) *Meda wa’a masemasene fi ni roba ma gua istirika ere.*
table REL usually 1PL POS clothe MRK POSP iron DEM1-this
‘The table on which we usually iron our clothes.’

(477) *Bu’u uwa’a soldadu lane’e ma gau asara do*
hill REL soldier PL.MRK MRk POSP send and
*ataka ere.*
attack DEM1-this.
‘The hill to which the soldiers were despatched to attack.’

(478) *Gubernu karaka gurfu uwa’a ini guba siribisu*
government want group REL 1PL POSP work
*ere hau bandu.*
DEM1-this PERF ban
‘The government wants to ban the group with which we work.’
The police is still investigating the place from where the fire started.

8.1.4 The Possessive Relative Construction

Makasae uses *wa’a* or *uwa’a* followed by the possessive particle *gi* to express the equivalent of English ‘whose’. This possessive relative construction can be applied to all entities. Again, the non-emphatic demonstrative marker *ere* normally ends the clause.

People said that the government is going to pay those whose houses were burnt out.

The white cat (the cat whose colour is white) plays a lot.

The coconut trees whose leaves have withered will fall down.
8.1.5 Emphatic Relativisation

Simple sentences are commonly made emphatic by means of the relativiser wa’a or the alternative singular form uwa’a. They are normally placed after the object of the clause and must be followed by one of the seven emphatic or non-emphatic deictic demonstratives (§9.1).

Simple sentence:  
Emphatic sentence:

(483) Guarda lia-guli ere gesifa.  
Guarda lia-guli uwa’a ere gesifa.  
Guard thief DEM1-this arrest  
Guard thief MRK DEM1-this arrest  
‘The guard arrested this thief.’  
‘The guard arrested this thief.’

(484) Gi asa-nami lodoro  
Gi asa-nami wa’a lodoro  
3SG fowl-male EMP-DEM6-that  
3SG fowl-male REL EMP-DEM6-that  
te hu.  
te hu.  
buy  
buy  
‘He bought that rooster up there.’  
‘He bought that rooster up there.’

(485) Waru lowori mama  
Waru uwa’a lowori mama  
shirt EMP-DEM3-that mother  
shirt MRK EMP-DEM3-that mother  
en e  fa’a.  
en e  fa’a.  
MRK sew  
MRK sew  
‘(It’s) mother (who) sewed the shirt over there.’  
‘(It’s) mother (who) sewed the shirt over there.’

8.1.6 Relativised Demonstratives

U wa’a

When a Makasae speaker constructs a clause with the singular noun subject or object denoting a person, an animal or a thing, the non-deictic demonstrative pronoun u ‘the one’ (§9.2) is often combined with the relativiser wa’a to express the equivalent of English ‘who’, ‘the one who/that’ (circumstances in which Tetum
would also use the combination of the non-deictic demonstrative pronoun *ida* ‘the one’ and the relativiser *ne’ebê*). In speech, a slight hesitation is made after *u* in *u wa’a*, contrasting with the simple relative pronoun marking the singular or non-deictic demonstrative *uwa’a*. The two denote different grammatical functions in Makasae.

(486) *U wa’a isikola berekama ere siribisu na’u-bese gua dula.*

REL.DEM school big DEM1-this work quickly POSP find

‘He who is highly educated, will get a job quickly.’

(487) *Ani karaka u wa’a asi bui guta ere guba lolini.*

1SG want REL.DEM 1SG.POS cat kill DEM1-this POSP speak

‘I want to speak to the one who killed my cat.’

(488) *U wa’a loo mutu sa’a looko ere ma na’ihani wa’ara?*

REL.DEM sky inside along fly DEM1-this MRK PRON call

‘What do you call the one that flies up in the sky?’

If the referent is plural, the third person plural often precedes the relativiser. *Era wa’a* is used with human beings only and *mai wa’a* can be used with either human beings or other entities.

(489) *Era wa’a ana gi oma doe dadau ni*

3PL REL people POS house burn must POS.REF

*deti mi ma’ene.*

mistake POSP know

‘Those who burnt people’s houses must acknowledge their own mistake.’

(490) *Katikista mai wa’a kabene nana ere gau isibilikasaunu dane.*

catechist 3PL REL marry IMMIN DEM1-this POSP explanation give

‘The catechist gave an explanation to those who are going to get married.’

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148 See Hull and Eccles 47.

149 *Gua dula* is commonly used in the Laga dialect, but in the Wairafi dialect, spoken in neighbouring villages (Laivai, Daudere and Lakawaa), *gua rata* is the usual form.
Mai wa’a kodo mutu wo’i wori nami nai.

3PL REL enclosure inside VERB there is DEM those male only

‘Those that are in the enclosure are only males.’

Na’i wa’a, na’i uwa’a

If the referent is abstract or unspecified, Makasae normally uses na’i ‘thing’ followed by wa’a or uwa’a (parallels to buat ne’ebê in Tetum), literally ‘the thing that’.

Na’i wa’a matarini lane’e nawa ere nokorau.

thing REL children PL.MRK eat DEM1-this bad

‘What the children ate was not good.’

Sesus era gau lolo do gana na’i wa’a

Jesus 3PL POSP say in order to OPTA thing REL

‘Jesus told them to do what

Muises fana ere mi gini.

Moses teach DEM1-this POSP do

Moses had taught them.’

Fulisi karaka na’i uwa’a gi nake ere mi seti.

police want thing REL 3SG take DEM1-this POSP ask

‘The police wanted to know what he had taken with him.’

When the referents are plural, the marker la’ane’e, lane’e or la is placed between na’i and wa’a (literally ‘the things that’).

Na’i lane’e wa’a i nawa ere mama ene tina.

thing PL.MRK REL 2PL eat DEM1-this mother MRK cook

‘(It’s) mother (who) cooked what (the things that) you’re eating.’
(496) Na’i la wa’a mistiri lolo ere i dadau
thing PL.MRK REL teacher say DEM₁-this 2PL must
naga sa’anere.
always remember
‘You must always remember what (the things that) the teacher said.’

Anu wa’a, anu uwa’a

The Makasae relative constructions anu wa’a or anu uwa’a are equivalent to English ‘whoever’, ‘he who’ ‘the one who’, ‘a/the person who’, ‘(the) people who’ (paralleling the Tetum use of ema ‘person/people’ and the interrogative pronoun sé ‘who’) (497, 498 and 499). If plurality is intended, the plural marker is placed after anu, and can be followed only by wa’a (‘those who’, ‘people who’) (500).

(497) Anu wa’a ana gi seluku ma rau ena ere
person REL people other MRK good see DEM₁-this
bada na’u baunu.
friend MRK many
‘Whoever (a person who) treats others well will have many friends.’

(498) Mistiri karaka anu uwa’a meda gua mii ere hau kastigu.
teacher want person REL table POSP sit DEM₁-this PERF punish
‘The teacher wants to punish whoever (the person who) sat on the table.’

(499) Ini bibi-mata ma anu wa’a ta liguru manana
1PL sheep-child MRK person REL REC chase win
ere gau guta.
DEM₁-this POSP kill
‘We slaughtered a lamb for the one who (the person who) won the running competition.’

150 See Hull and Eccles 48.
‘Those who (the people who) sell things are always fighting on market day.’
9. Demonstratives

The demonstratives of Makasae, like those of Tetum and English, are classified into deictic and non-deictic demonstratives. With regard to the former, Makasae has seven degrees of deixis. These deixis can replace any of the third person personal pronouns, and can take on an adjectival or pronominal function.

Conservative languages of Europe retain three degrees of deixis which is related to the three persons of the verb, e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>Portuguese</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. <em>este</em></td>
<td><em>este</em></td>
<td>this</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. <em>ese</em></td>
<td><em>esse</em></td>
<td>that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. <em>aquel</em></td>
<td><em>aquele</em></td>
<td>yonder</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Makasae deixis is more elaborate and embraces both person and landscape. Location indicates an entity or entities near which person and in which part of the landscape (§9.1). By contrast, in European languages, landscape-based location can be expressed periphrastically, as in ‘That man up there’.

9.1 Deictic Demonstratives

In comparison with English whose deictic demonstrative ‘this’/‘these’ expresses a sense of nearness, and ‘that’/‘those’ which conveys a sense of distance, or with Tetum which has *ne’e* ‘this’/‘these’ (close to the speaker) and *ne’ebá* ‘that’/‘those’ (at a distance from the speaker), Makasae demonstratives consist of seven degrees of deixis. Hull (*Makasai* 20) divides the seven degrees into non-emphatic and emphatic deictic demonstratives. This study, however, also attempts to propose alternative deictic demonstratives, namely *uere, uwere, uwori, uderi, uheri, udoro* and *uhoro*, which were previously treated as emphatic deictic demonstratives.

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151 Deictic words denote the features of speaker or listener-orientation with regard to their location. The forms demonstrate whether the referent is close to or distant from the speaker or hearer. See Carter and McCarthy, *Cambridge* 899-900 and Brinton, *Structure* 111.

152 There is a formal link with deictic verbs (§12.3.6) and adverbs (§12.7.1) used to indicate particular locations or positions.

153 See also Hull, *Dili Tetum* 19-20.
in Hull’s 2005 research. These forms are commonly used by a speaker to indicate people or things other than the rest within the same category with regard to their distance and location.

(501) The seven degrees of deixis in Makasae demonstratives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Degrees</th>
<th>Non-emphatic</th>
<th>Emphatic\textsuperscript{154}</th>
<th>Alternative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td><em>ere</em> ‘this’, ‘these’</td>
<td><em>le’ere</em> ‘this’, ‘these’</td>
<td><em>uere</em> ‘this other ...’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td><em>were</em> ‘that’, ‘those’ (close to you)</td>
<td><em>lewere</em> ‘that’, ‘those’ (close to you)</td>
<td><em>uwere</em> ‘that other...’ (close to you)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td><em>wori</em> ‘that’, ‘those’ (over there)</td>
<td><em>lewori</em>, <em>liwori</em>, <em>lowori</em>, <em>luwori</em> ‘that’, ‘those’ (over there)</td>
<td><em>uwori</em> ‘that other...’ (over there)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td><em>deri</em> ‘that...ahead’, ‘those...ahead’</td>
<td><em>lederi</em> ‘that...ahead’, ‘those...ahead’</td>
<td><em>uderi</em> ‘that other...ahead’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td><em>heri</em> ‘that...back there’, ‘those...back there’</td>
<td><em>leheri</em> ‘that...back there’, ‘those...back there’</td>
<td><em>uheri</em> ‘that other...back there’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td><em>doro</em> ‘that...up there’, ‘those...up there’</td>
<td><em>lodoro</em> ‘that...up there’, ‘those...up there’</td>
<td><em>udoro</em> ‘that other...up there’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td><em>horo</em> ‘that...down there’, ‘those...down there’</td>
<td><em>lohoro</em> ‘that...down there’, ‘those...down there’</td>
<td><em>uhoro</em> ‘that other...down there’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{154} The forms *udere*, *ledere*, *uheri* and *leheri* as indicated in Hull’s 2005 profile of Makasae are more commonly pronounced *uderi*, *lederi*, *uheri* and *leheri*. See also Marques, Método 17 and Brotherson, Spatial 36. *Uheri* and *leheri* also occur as *u’eri* and *le’eri* or in colloquial speech simply as *u’eri* and *le’eri*.
9.1.1 Deictic Demonstratives with Adjectival Function

The demonstrative *ere* and its emphatic and alternative counterparts indicate that the qualified nouns are close to the speaker and listener.

(502) *Ofo ere gi koro nau deidei metana u butiri u.*
snake DEM₁-this POS colour EMP different black NUM white NUM.
‘This snake has different colours, a black and a white colour.’

(503) *Ani watakae le’ere nau fala afa.*
1SG cockatoo EMP-DEM₁-that EMP adopt IMMIN
‘I myself will raise this cockatoo.’

(504) *Mata faho lola’e sifa, faho uere gi lia baga.*
child pigeon NUM catch pigeon ALT-DEM₁-this POS wing wounded
‘The child caught two pigeons; this other one has a sore wing.’

The forms *were*, *lewere* and *uwere* are employed when indicating people or things far from the speaker but close to the listener.

(505) *Duakini, di’a were wai ma baba gini.*
Joaquim crowbar DEM₂-that HON MRK father give
‘Joaquim, please give that crowbar to father.’

(506) *Asukai lewere ene fenu lane’e ere guta.*
man EMP-DEM₂-that MRK turtle PL.MRK DEM₁-this kill
‘That is the man who killed these turtles.’

(507) *Radiu uwere gi ira nahiroya?*
radio ALT-DEM₂-that POS cost PRON
‘How much does that other radio cost?’

The non-emphatic deictic demonstrative *wori* and its emphatic and alternative counterparts are employed when a speaker wants to specify individuals or things
remote from both speaker and listener, but when the referents are on the same
elevation as the speaker.

(508) Oma wori hau mini gutu di’ara.
    house DEM₃-that PERF again POSP sit
    ‘That house (over there) even completely blocks (the view).’

(509) Ana lowori dete dai saga.
    people EMP-DEM₃-that MRK foreigner search
    ‘Those people (over there) are being sought by the foreigners.’

(510) Tufurae uwori karaka ni afi ma bai-seu tu’ara.
    woman ALT-DEM₃-that want POS fish MRK pig-meat change
    ‘That other woman (over there) wants to barter fish for pork.’

The forms deri, lederi and uderi are normally used to indicate people or
things far ahead of both speaker and listener. The referents are at a higher elevation
than the speaker.

(511) Era bu’u gata sa’a la’a do ailemi deri misa nana.
    3PL hill POSP along walk MRK tamarind DEM₄-that climb IMMIN
    ‘They walk up the hill in order to climb that tamarind tree (ahead).’

(512) Sanela lederi gi biduru hai sa’i dahala.
    window EMP-DEM₄-that POS glass INCEP PRON broken
    ‘The glass of that window (ahead) has shattered.’

(513) Ai mata uderi ma ho’o suri bo gi
    2SG child ALT-DEM₄-that MRK ADV₇-there let down because 3SG
    afraid MRK-not descend
    ‘Please get that other child (ahead) down because he is afraid.’
By contrast, the forms *heri*, *leheri* and *uheri* are often employed to point to entities behind but remote from both the speaker and listener, with the referents at a lower elevation than that of the speaker.

(514) *Anu heri wa’asi isi fi na’u mi la’a.*

person DEM$_3$-that today LOC 1PL just POSP walk

‘That person (down there behind us) started following us today.’

(515) *Kaisa lederi gafu ma’u do tuu ma fanu*

box EMP-DEM$_5$-that POSP come and first MRK front

isi he’e daru.

LOC ADV$_1$-here place

‘Take that box (down there behind us) and put it first here in front.’

(516) *Asi dada-asukai kaiteru uheri nau gini.*$^{155}$

POS grandparent-man umbrella ALT-DEM$_5$-that EMP make

‘My grandfather himself made that other umbrella (down there behind us).’

The Makasae non-emphatic deictic demonstrative *doro* and its emphatic and alternative counterparts *lodoro* and *udoro* often indicate individuals or things far from the speaker and listener with a higher elevation or horizontally higher than the speaker.

(517) *Da’e-koru doro ene masene hai bandu do ...*

head-crown DEM$_5$-that MRK normally INCEP ban MRK ...

‘(It’s) the Lord up above (who) has forbidden ...’

(518) *Siri lodoro meudia do mu’a noto ena*

bat EMP-DEM$_6$-that midday so land MRK-not see

weregau to ririki.

therefore MRK-not fly

‘That bat up there can’t see during the day, therefore it can’t fly.’

$^{155}$ *Kaiteru* is a traditional umbrella made of palm leaves, known in Tetum as *salurik*. The commonly used Western-style umbrella is called *samburelu* (< Ptg. *sombrelo*).
Aha-isu udoro hau gume, uwa’a tane gau mango-fruit ALT-DEM₆-that PERF pick DEM right POSP
tosai wele gau la’a.
MRK-not left POSP go
‘Pick that other mango up there, the one to your right not to your left.’

The forms horo, lohoro and uhoro are used to specify persons or things remote from both speaker and listener that are at a lower elevation or horizontally lower than the speaker.

Tiba ere nehe asana do gi taitaili horo to
well DEM₁-this INT long so 3SG bucket DEM₇-that MRK-not
gatanaha rei misa.
keep pull climb
‘This well is so deep that he can’t keep pulling up that bucket down there.’

Fi bu’u gua he’e be’u keta-gauhaa lohoro
3PL hill top ADV₁-here can (rice)field-owner EMP-DEM₇-that
ma saresarehe ena.
MRK clearly see
‘Being on the hilltop we can clearly see that rice field owner down there.’

Ai sebu uhoro hau ma nama doili
2SG pumpkin ALT-DEM₇-that PERF MRK up hang
‘Hang up that other pumpkin down there

do gana to be’u ra’i.
MRK OPTA MRK-not can dirty
so that it does not get dirty.’

The non-emphatic and emphatic deictic demonstrative forms in Makasae can follow either a singular or plural noun. Plurality with these deictic demonstratives is not necessarily indicated with the markers la’ane’e, lane’e or la except to avoid
ambiguity. Speakers often use la’ane’e or lane’e interchangeably before or after the demonstratives (523). However, the short form la is normally placed after the demonstratives (524).

(523) Kadera lane’e wori wai semana ma’u.
   chair PL.MRK DEM3-that HON carry come
   or
   Kadera wori lane’e wai semana ma’u.
   chair DEM3-that PL.MRK HON carry here
   ‘Please get those chairs over there.’

(524) Mai olo lodoro la suri.
   3PL bird EMP-DEM6-that PL.MRK shoot
   ‘They shot those birds up there.’

   By contrast, in clauses with alternative deictic demonstrative forms, plurality must be marked with the placement of la’ane’e or lane’e before or after these forms. La may occur only after the demonstratives. The use of plural markers indicates that the speaker is referring to an unspecified number of people or things within a group, set or collection.

(525) Soldadu la’ane’e uwori ene balasiu heini.
   soldier PL.MRK ALT-DEM3-that MRK palace wait
   ‘Those other soldiers over there who are guarding the palace.’

(526) Ai dadau sulu udoro lane’e ma ma’asi.
   2SG must spoon ALT-DEM6-that PL.MRK MRK descend
   ‘You must take down those other spoons up there.’

(527) Ana lane’e afa uhoror la sa’i meli do
   people PL.MRK stone ALT-DEM7-that PL.MRK all pick MRK
   MRK house stack
   ‘People are also collecting those other stones down there for building houses.’

156 See also Hull, Makasai 20.
9.1.2 Deictic Demonstratives with Pronominal Function

Each of the Makasae non-emphatic deictic demonstrative forms and their emphatic and alternative counterparts can function pronominally. They can be the subject or object of a clause or sentence. Some contextual examples of the demonstratives in subject position:

(528) Ere karaka hego nai gini.
DEM$_1$-this want joke just say
‘He just wants to make jokes.’

(529) Watu-watu wori ma’u fi leu fi wa’ara.
day-day DEM$_3$-that come 1PL.INC call 1PL.INC invite
‘Every day he/she (that person over there) comes to call and invite us.’

(530) Leheri asara do mega dagara ma’u.
EMP-DEM$_5$-that order MRK INT step here
‘Ask him/her (back there) to step over here immediately.’

(531) Udoro to aga do na’unaga misa.
ALT-DEM$_6$-that MRK-not afraid so still climb
‘The other one (up there) is not scared and keeps climbing.’

Some contextual examples of the demonstratives in object position:

(532) Fi dadau were hau sa’i lolo dete lebe la’a.
1PL.INC must DEM$_2$-that PERF completely say MRK separated go
‘We must solve that completely before we part.’

(533) Mai gi seluku deri noto male ria.
3PL QUANT DEM$_4$-that MRK-not near run
‘The others can’t catch up with him/her (up ahead).’

(534) La’ibere lane’e karaka le’ere gini nana.
adult PL.MRK want EMP-DEM$_1$-this make IMMIN
‘The adults wanted to make this.’

(535) Anu  damu-damu  tafuli  uhoror  rei  ma’u.
Person QUANT together ALT-DEM3-that pull here
‘Everyone together pulled that (other) one down there over here.’

Similar to those with an adjectival function, the non-emphatic and emphatic deictic demonstratives functioning as independent pronouns may carry both singular and plural meaning. However, when a speaker wants to make plurality explicit, the pronouns must always precede the plural markers la’ane’e, lane’e and la, regardless of whether the demonstratives are the subject or object of the clause. These markers are also placed after the alternative deictic demonstrative forms.

(536) Lodoro  lane’e  hai  taba  de  ae-ira
EMP-DEM6-those PL.MRK INCEP hole so rain-water
na’u  mi  nei.
just  POSP flow
‘Those ones (up there) have holes in them so the rain water can just flow through.’

(537) Nogo-nogo  deri  la’ane’e  mi  ria.
mad  DEM4-that PL.MRK POSP run
‘The madman is running after those others up ahead.’

(538) Uere  lane’e  ene  bada’e  rusu.
ALT-DEM1-this PL.MRK MRK know sing
‘The other ones know how to sing.’

(539) Mata  ere  karaka  uwori  lane’e  sorunu.
3SG DEM1-this want ALT-DEM3-that PL.MRK meet.
‘The child wants to confront those others over there.’

Apart from the seven deictics, Makasae speakers also use na’i ere (literally ‘thing this’) or the colloquial form boi ere to express the equivalent of English ‘this’.
and ‘that’ with an abstract sense. Only ere can be placed after na’i or boi in order for the phrase to take on a demonstrative function, and it may take either subject or object position. Na’i is the head noun if it precedes the other demonstrative forms which function adjectivally (§9.1.1).

(540) Na’i ere megahaulita susara do ani to be’u na’i u gini.
    DEM INT difficult so ISG MRK-not can PRON do
    ‘This/that is so difficult that I can’t do anything.’
    (cf. Tetum: Buat ne’e susar liu ne’ebe ha’u la bele halo buat ida.)

(541) Era lane’e na’i ere to ma’ene.
    3PL PL.MRK DEM MRK-not know
    ‘They don’t know this/that.’ (cf. Tetum: Sira la hatene buat ne’e.)

(542) Boi ere gi nai na’i?
    DEM POS name INTER
    ‘What is this/that called?’

9.2 Non-Deictic Demonstratives

The Makasae non-deictic demonstratives do not have forms similar to the deictic ones. They can consist of a single word or combination of words involving pronouns and adjectives.

9.2.1 U ‘the one’

When followed by an adjective, u is reinforced with any of the seven non-emphatic and emphatic deictic demonstratives which always occur after the adjective. U refers to all entities and it can take either subject or object position.

(543) U asana ere asara se’ele.
    DEM tall DEM1-this order jump
    ‘Tell the tall one here to jump.’

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157 It is similar to Tetum buat ne’e ‘this’ and ‘that’ in Hull and Eccles 52.
(544) Maukinta u a’a-bere wori gata si’aka.
   Maukinta DEM mouth-big DEM3-that POSP reprimand
   ‘Maukinta reprimanded the big-mouthed one over there.’

(545) U bo’oko ere meganehe amu’u.
   DEM rotten DEM1-this INT stink
   ‘The rotten one here really stinks.’

(546) Ini u gabara were tehu.
   1PL.INC one yellow DEM2-that buy
   ‘We bought the yellow one (close to you).’

9.2.2 Uwa’a ‘the one’

Like the form u, an adjective must follow uwa’a and it can occur in the
subject or object position. However, it is optional to have any of the non-emphatic
and emphatic deictic demonstratives after the adjective.

Formation with reinforced deictic demonstratives:

(547) Uwa’a mera wori Dukai ge’e.
   DEM sharp DEM3-that Dukai POS
   ‘The sharp one over there belongs to Dukai.’

(548) Nami-du’u ere karaka uwa’a fanu-du’ulu wori goba
   male-unripe DEM1-this want DEM face-good DEM3-that POSP
   wa’uru.
   dance
   ‘That bachelor over there wants to dance with the beautiful one.’

Formation without reinforced deictic demonstratives:

(549) Tufurae-mata lane’e uwa’a foko were gau i’a.
   woman-child PL.MRK DEM stocky DEM2-that POSP laugh (at)
   ‘The girls laughed at the overweight one.’
The tall one knows how to speak a foreign language.

9.2.3 Era or mai ‘the ones’

To express plurality, era and mai can be used when referring to human beings. But if the referents are other entities, mai is employed. Like uwa’a, the use of reinforced deictic demonstratives after the adjective is optional. Both era and mai can take either subject or object position.

Formation with reinforced deictic demonstratives:

(551) Mai mauku lederi karaka minigali ma’u
3PL intoxicated EMP-DEM₄-that want back come
‘The drunk ones (up ahead) want to come back

do fi goba ta base.
and PL.EXC POSS REC hit
and fight us.’

(552) Mistiri ni-hetu era gi ka’u lodoro gau labisi
teacher EMP 3PL POSS small EMP-DEM₆-that POSS pencil
gafu misa.
POSS climb
‘The teacher himself brought the pencils for the little ones up there.’

(553) Fi mai gi tuu deri liguru.
1PL.INC 3PL POSS first DEM₄-that chase
‘We are following the first ones up ahead.’ (mai refers to the object denoting non-human entity).
Formation without reinforced deictic demonstratives:

(554) Era amu-rau ene be’u na’i gi ti’iri semana.
PRON healthy MRK can thing POS heavy carry
‘(It’s) the healthy ones (who) can carry heavy things.’

(555) Antoni wesere’e mai gi deta nai gume.
Anthony yesterday 3PL POS ripe only pick
‘Anthony picked only the ripe ones yesterday.’

In a clause with erë or mai, the plural markers la’ane’e, lane’e or la can be placed either before or after the adjective regardless of whether the phrase with the pronoun functions as the subject or object of the sentence. The use of reinforced deictic demonstratives is also optional.

Formation with deictic demonstratives:

(556) Era la’ane’e berekama were defu isi naha.
3PL PL.MRK big DEM2-that back LOC stand
‘The big ones (close to you) are standing at the back.’

(557) Baba mai lane’e gi atara lodoro hau roka.
father 3PL PL.MRK POS ripe EMP-DEM6-that PERF wrap
‘Father wrapped the half-ripe ones (up there).’

(558) Mai sisiri lane’e lohoro karaka dotoro sorunu.
3PL ill PL.MRK EMP-DEM7-that want doctor meet
‘The sick ones (down there) want to see the doctor.’

(559) Ini wa’agamu mai gi sufa lane’e ere gahi.
1PL.EXC last night 3PL POS new PL.MRK DEM1-this sharpen
‘We sharpened the new ones last night.’
Formation without the deictic demonstratives:

(560) *Onai mai butiri lane’e minaha tehu.*
LadyDIM 3PL white PL.MRK only buy
‘The old lady bought only the white ones.’

(561) *Era la’ane’e gi rika dadau baunu nawa.*
3PL PL.MRK POS skinny must much eat
‘Those who are thin have to eat a lot.’

In colloquial speech, the plural marker can also be placed after the reinforced deictic demonstrative:

(562) *Era gi foriti leheri lane’e be’u ira-waa tau sawere.*
3PL POS strong EMP-DEM$_3$-that PL.MRK can river POSP swim
‘The strong ones back there can swim across the river.’

(563) *Asi tufurae mai butiri ere lane’e nai karaka.*
POS wife 3PL white DEM$_1$-this PL.MRK only want
‘My wife wants only the white ones.’

9.2.4 Adjectival and Pronominal Forms

Adjectival Use

The Makasae non-deictic demonstratives are formed by employing certain adjectives which are placed after the nouns they qualify.\(^{158}\)

(a) *u* ‘some’, ‘any’

(564) *Gi karaka ira u hau gehe dete.*
3SG want water DEM PERF drink first
‘He just wants to drink some water.’

(565) *Ini oma u to nehegena.*
1PL.EXC house DEM MRK-not see

\(^{158}\) See also Hull, *Makasai* 21.
‘We didn’t see any houses.’

(b) oho ‘some’, ‘any’, ‘certain’

(566) Ana bai oho hai hau guta.
people pig DEM INCEP PERF kill
‘People have slaughtered some pigs.’

(567) Ai lawa oho neherata?
2SG money DEM find
‘Did you find any money?’

(568) La’idaa lane’e sobu oho oma-falu gatadaa ge’e lolo.
old PL.MRK matter DEM house-sacred POS POS say
‘The elders are discussing certain problems concerning the sacred house.’

(c) gi seluku ‘the other’, gi seluseluku/gi seseluku ‘the others’

(569) Era meda gi seluku tehu.
3PL table DEM buy
‘They bought another table.’

(570) Mata gi seluseluku hai nawa bo gi ene warinehegu.
child DEM INCEP eat but 3SG MRK not yet
‘Other children have eaten, but (it’s) he (who) hasn’t eaten yet.’

(d) uhani, totahani ‘different’, nau-deidei ‘(completely) different, distinct’

(571) Gi lawa baumu do karita uhani tehu.
3SG money much so car DEM buy
‘He has a lot of money so he has bought a different car.’

(572) Mai gi kereke nau-deidei.
3PL POS writing DEM.
‘Their writings are different.’
(e) *tahani* ‘the same’, *tadedee* ‘the same’, ‘identical’, *milafulafu* ‘similar’, ‘alike’

(573) Noko-kaka wori gi soriti tahani.
brothers DEM3-that POS luck DEM
‘Those brothers have the same luck.’

(574) Na’ihani dete fi sabatu tadedee?
PRON MRK POS shoe DEM
‘How come our shoes are the same?’

(575) Anita ni dada-tufurae milafulafu.
Anita PRON grandparent-woman DEM
‘Anita is similar to her grandmother.’

(f) *fanu baunu* ‘various’, ‘different kinds of’, ‘many kinds of’

(576) Ana wa’asi afi fanu baunu bura.
people today fish DEM sell
‘People were selling different kinds of fish today.’

**Pronominal Use**

Some of the adjectives may also function independently as pronouns.

(a) *oho* ‘some’

(577) Oho karaka la’a nana tanba mu’a hai gamu.
DEM want go IMMIN because land INCEP night.
‘Some wanted to go because it was already dark.’

(b) *gi seluku* ‘the other’

(578) Gi seluku hai ma’u do guarda gi gama ere
dEM INCEP come MRK guard POS old DEM1-this
*tu’ara* nana.
substitute IMMIN
‘The other one has come to relieve the old guard.’

(c) gi seluselukulgi seseluku ‘the others’

(579) Gi seseluku ni guta siribisu bo ai sai lawa tia ma’a.
DEM PRON kill work but 2SG EMP money receive
‘The others worked very hard, but you (are the one who) received the money.’

(d) gi seluseluku lane’e ‘the other ones’

(580) Gi seluseluku lane’e la’a berekama lane’e tia wa’uru.
DEM PL.MRK go big PL.MRK POS dance
‘The others went (there) to dance for the leaders.’

9.2.5 The Emphatic Forms as Demonstrative Determiners

The Makasae emphatic form nau, nau-do’ome or ni-hetu can also take on the function of a demonstrative determiner when placed after a personal pronoun or noun (§6.3). The form is employed to point out the identity of the pronoun or noun it follows.

(581) La’idaa baru-dufu nau la’a betu lasi.
old widow DEM go bamboo cut
‘The old widow herself went to cut bamboo.’

(582) Bibi-rusa nami bere nau-do’ome baka gata wema’a sesara.
deer male big DEM cliff POSP down fall
‘The big deer (itself) fell down the cliff.’

(583) Ini ni-hetu koibasa gi isu lane’e haus’a’i ma bai fa’ana.
1PL.EXC DEM guava POS fruit PL.MRK PRON MRK pig feed
‘We ourselves fed the pig with (the fruit of) guavas.’

Makasae speakers can also place the deictic demonstratives between the pronouns or nouns and the emphatic forms to make the emphasis more obvious.
(584) *Gi bagi-tufurae wori nau banarika tutu.*

POS mother-in-law DEM$_3$-that EMP ginger pound

‘Her mother-in-law herself (over there) is pounding the ginger.’

(585) *Dada-mata lane’é lewere nau-do’ome*

grandparent-child PL.MRK EMP-DEM$_2$-that EMP-alone

*lifa gutu de’e.*

sarong wear MKR.

‘Those grandchildren (close to you) put on their sarongs themselves.’

(586) *Morodoro uheri ni-hetu liurai-mata asukai gau hi’a kina.*

soldier ALT-DEM$_5$-that EMP king-child man POSP way show

‘That (other) soldier (back there) (himself) showed the prince the way.’

When a speaker wishes to highlight the subject of the clause or sentence, the alternative contrastive marker *ene* is placed between the demonstrative and the emphatic form.

(587) *Bui uhoro ene nau dura liguru.*

cat ALT-DEM$_2$-that MRK EMP mouse chase

‘(It’s) that other cat (down there) (itself) (which) chased the mouse.’

(588) *Matako’i lane’é lewere ene ni-hetu bada’e*

child PL.MRK EMP-DEM$_2$-that MRK EMP know how to

*fari-seu baru.*

stingray-meat roast

‘(It’s) those children (near you) (themselves) (who) know how to roast stingray meat.

By contrast, if the object becomes the focus and is placed clause-initially, *dete* or *do* usually occur after the demonstrative and are followed consecutively by the subject noun or pronoun and the emphatic form.

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*159 The form *de’e* is a type of emphatic marker in Makasae which always occurs at the end of a declarative sentence.*
(589) Ufa wori dete Ko’osu nau-do’ome saunu.
sugar cane DEM₃-that MRK Ko’osu EMP-alone plant
‘(It’s) the sugar cane (over there) (that) Ko’osu himself planted.’

(590) Bandera ere do forsa dabanese ge’e
flag DEM₁-this MRK force Javanese POS
‘(It’s) this flag (that) the Javanese forces

ni-hetu gutu bandu to rei.
EMP POSP ban MRK-not pull
themselves banned (us) from raising.’
10. Quantifiers and Indefiniteness

Makasae quantifiers, like those of English, express the quantity of the referent or the amount/number of something. The entity or entities to which the quantity refers can be specified or unspecified.\(^{160}\) This section discusses specific, generic and indefinite quantifiers with some description of those borrowed from Tetum and Portuguese.

10.1 Specific Quantifiers

The Makasae specific or numeral quantifiers, similar to those of Tetum and of Makasae’s fellow Neo-Bomberaic vernaculars of East Timor, are based on the decimal system. According to Hull in his 2004 study of the Papuan languages of Timor, the quinary system was the original counting system of the four Trans-New Guinea languages. However, proximity to the Austronesian vernaculars of the island and the introduction of the decimal counting system resulted in the disappearance of the quinary system.\(^{161}\)

10.1.1 The Units in Cardinal Numerals

The basic forms of the Makasae cardinal numerals which follow the decimal system are:

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
1 & u \\
2 & lola’e \\
3 & lolitu \\
4 & faara\(^{162}\) \\
5 & lima \\
6 & daho \\
7 & fitu \\
8 & afo \\
9 & siwa\(^{163}\) \\
10 & ruu\(^{164}\)
\end{array}
\]


Hull (*Papuan 87*) also states that “three semi-Bomberaic Timor vernaculars, Naueti, southern Mambai and Tokodede” have retained the original quinary counting system.

This form is very common in the Makasae dialect of Laga, but some neighbouring dialects use *lolohaa* or *lolowaa*. In higher numerals, the shortened form *faa* is normally used.

Makasae speakers whose regions border Kawaimina (specially the Waima’a, Midiki and Naueti vernaculars) use instead *siwe* ‘nine’.
10.1.2 Resi and resini

The word resi ‘more than, plus, the rest’ is added to the basic form ruu and followed by the units to form numerals from 11 to 19.165

11 ruu-resi-u 16 ruu-resi-daho
12 ruu-resi-lola’e 17 ruu-resi-fitu
13 ruu-resi-lolitu 18 ruu-resi-afu
14 ruu-resi-faara 19 ruu-resi-siwa
15 ruu-resi-lima

To form higher decimals Makasae suffixes the units to the basic unit ruu ‘ten’:

20 ruulola’e 60 ruudaho
30 ruulolitu 70 ruufitu
40 ruufa 80 ruufo
50 ruulima 90 ruusiwa

The form resini in Makasae, following its original use in Tetum (resin), is usually placed after the decimals and higher numerals, but not the in-between numerals, to indicate more than:

ruulolitu resini ‘more than thirty’
rasa fitu resini ‘more than seventy’
rihunu u resini ‘more than a thousand’
rihunu rasa lola’e resini ‘more than two hundred thousand’

(591) Ehani utasa lane’e gi ira sentabusu ruulima resini.
now vegetable PL.MRK POS cost cent NUM more than
‘The cost of vegetables now is more than fifty cents.’

164 The form ruu is common in the Makasae dialect of Laga, but the dialects of Baucau and Ossu prefer ruru.

165 The reduced form resi is a Timoric form resin ‘plus, rest’. Resin, adopted by Makasae, has also gone through the process of vowel harmony where the vowel i is added to the consonant n to form resini ‘more than’.
(592) Fortugala ani rasa faa resini Timor ukunu.
Portugal year four hundred more than Timor rule
‘Portugal ruled East Timor for more than four hundred years.’

When there is a unit or the figures co-occur with -resi-, the word litaka ‘more than’ is normally employed:

- lolitu litaka ‘more than three’
- ruudaho-resi-lima litaka ‘more than sixty five’
- rasa u ruuafo-resi-faa litaka ‘more than a hundred and than sixty four’
- rihunu daho rasa u-resi-lima litaka ‘more than six thousand one hundred and five’

(593) Ana ruulole’e-resi-lima litaka ene balekoki ere liguru.
people twenty-five more than MRK thief DEM1-this chase
‘(It’s) more than twenty five people (who) chased the thief.’

(594) Kabasa gi gama lewori ini rufia rihunu lola’e mirror POS old EMP-DEM1-that IPL.EXC rupiah two thousand
litaka ma tehu.
more than MRK buy
‘We bought the old mirror over there for more than two thousand rupiah.’

10.1.3 Higher Numerals

In the formation of the in-between numerals, -resi- is always inserted and followed by the unit intended.

Rasa ‘hundred’

- 101 rasa u-resi-u
- 123 rasa u ruulola’e-resi-lolitu
- 375 rasa lolitu ruufitu-resi-lima
- 609 rasa daho-resi-siwa
- 911 rasa siwa ruu-resi-u
However, when the decimals appear with the hundreds, -resi- must be left out:

110 rasa u ruu  
340 rasa lolitu ruufa  
520 rasa lima ruulola’e  
770 rasa fitu ruufitu  
890 rasa afo ruusiwa

*Rihunu* ‘thousand’

2,001 rihunu lola’e-resi-u  
30,057 rihunu ruulolitu ruulima-resi-fitu  
102,729 rihunu rasa u-resi-lola’e rasa fitu ruulola’e-resi-siwa

If there are no units intervening in the decimals or hundreds, -resi- is always dropped:

4,080 rihunu faa ruuafo  
6,220 rihunu daho rasa lola’e ruulola’e

*Tokono* ‘million’ and higher

The formation with -resi- also appears in the millions and higher, but is omitted when there is no in-between numeral. When the numeral is in the billions, Makasae, like the other East Timorese languages, resorts to using the Portuguese-derived word *bilaun*.\(^{166}\)

1,003,064 tokono u rihunu lolitu ruudaho-resi-faa  
50,130,000 tokono ruulima rihunu rasa u ruulolitu  
4,001,303,271 bilaun faa tokono u rihunu rasa lolitu-resi-lolitu rasa lola’e ruufitu-resi-u

The separation of digits in written Makasae, as in the written form of the other East Timorese vernaculars, follows the Tetum system which was adopted from

\(^{166}\) Portuguese *bilião*, Tetum *biliaun* and Makasae *bilaun* ‘billion’. The word *suta*, from Indonesian *juta* ‘million’, is also common in the speech of some Makasae speakers.
Portuguese. In comparison with English which uses a comma to separate four or more digits, Makasae employs a full stop (595). However, Makasae uses a comma to write fractions of percentages (circumstances in which English would apply a full stop). Similarly to Tetum, if the fractions of percentages are spelled out in the native vernacular, the word percentage must always precede the numerals, whereas it is placed after the numerals in English and Portuguese (596).\(^{167}\)

(595) 1.000 rihunu u
   5.750 rihunu lima rasa fitu ruulima
   61.000 rihunu ruudaho-resi-u

(596) 50,2\% bursentu ruulima birgula lol’a’e\(^ {168}\)
   73,9\% bursentu ruufitu-resti-lolitu birgula siwa
   90,05\% bursentu ruusiwa birgula seru lima\(^ {169}\)

10.1.4 Numerals Quantifying Nouns

All Makasae cardinal numerals follow the head noun or the nominalised adjectives. When an adjective describing the noun follows it, the numeral is always placed after the adjective (§12.5).

(597) Nuru lolitu rese gua we’e.
   basket NUMC bed POSP there is
   ‘Three (palm leaf) baskets are on the (bamboo) bed.’

(598) La’idaa u oforae gi luma ma ni goe le’u.
   old NUM python POS tame MRK REF POSP coil
   ‘An old (man) coiled a tame python around himself.’

(599) Taldau gi sahara lola’e ete bui hau gafu ria.
   octopus POS dried two MRK cat PERF POSP run

\(^ {167}\) Makasae and other East Timorese vernaculars often use the Portuguese numerals when saying or writing percentages, for example 7\% seti bursentu, 20\% binti bursentu.

\(^ {168}\) Makasae birgula < Tet. vīrgula < Ptg. vīrgula ‘point’.

\(^ {169}\) Apart from seru < Tet. zeru or zero < Ptg. zero ‘zero’, Makasae also uses the word nolo < Malay nol ‘nil’. However, seru is the one used in writing percentages.
‘(It’s) two dried octopuses (that) were taken by the cat.

The Makasae word *u*, like Tetum *ida* ‘one’, apart from functioning as a numeral (598), also marks indefiniteness (§5.2.3) and can be a demonstrative (§9).

When a noun is followed by a classifier (§5.2.6), the numeral co-efficient is placed after the head noun.

(600) *Tufarae ere boe isu-daho lo’e.*
woman DEM₁-this betelnut CLAS-six open
‘The woman split (open) six betel nuts.’

(601) *Mata anu-mahe wori ni ina baru-dufu*
child CLAS-two DEM₂-that POS.REF mother widow
megahau ramiaka.
INT love
‘Those two children (over there) loved their (own) widowed mother very much.’

In standard Makasae, all head nouns denoting people and personified nouns normally take the classifier *anu-* which is prefixed to numerals. In the case of units 2, 3 and 4, a speaker must employ numerals reserved for human beings -*mahe/-mahi* ‘two’, -*mitu* ‘three’ and -*faa* four’. However, classifiers reserved for nouns denoting other entities are optional.

10.1.5 Numerals Quantifying Pronouns

Makasae numerals can also quantify a personal pronoun plural: *fi* ‘we’ (inclusive), *ini* ‘we’ (exclusive), *i* ‘you’ (plural), *era* ‘they’ (for human beings) and *mai* ‘they’ (for all entities). When the pronoun refers to a person, *anu-* (= Tetum *na’in-*) is usually prefixed to the numerals, with the exception of units 2, 3 and 4 which change to -*mahe/-mahi*, -*mitu* and -*faa*. (§5.2.6).

(602) *Fi anu-mahe to be’u fara nau rei.*
1PL.INC CLAS-two MRK-not can boat EMP pull
‘The two of us (we two) can’t pull the boat ourselves’
(603) *Mama inu-koiri ma ini anu-daho gau tina.* 

mother powder-mix MRK IPL.EXC CLAS-six POSP cook

‘Mother cooked mashed corn for six of us.’

(604) *Mistri i anu-ruruu asara iskola goe la’a safi.* 

teacher 2PL CLAS-ten order school POSP go sweep

‘The teacher asked ten of you to sweep around the school.’

(605) *Gi warina’u era anu-mitu wori gurini do nawa nana.* 

3SG still 3PL CLAS-three DEM3-that persuade MRK eat IMMIN

‘She is still persuading the three children (over there) to eat.’

(606) *Ai mai lola’e gi namu wai hau uka.* 

2SG 3PL two POS feather HON PERF pull out

‘Please pull out the feathers of those two.’

10.2 Generic Quantifiers

In comparison to the specific quantifiers which give specific numbers, the Makasae generic quantifiers like those of English (e.g. *few, little, much, some*) convey indefinite numbers or quantities. The quantifiers normally follow the head nouns they quantify, but they can also take a pronominal position.

10.2.1 Generic Quantifiers with Adjectival Function

The number of Makasae generic quantifiers which can only occur adjectivally is less than those which can occupy both positions:

- *gi resi, hau resini, demaisi*\(^{170}\) ‘too many’, ‘too much’
- *megahau baunu, hau baunu*
  ‘most (of)’
- *gafu-gafu*
  ‘the whole’, ‘all of’
- *sa’i, sa’i-sa’i*
  ‘all’
- *damu-damu*
  ‘all’

\(^{170}\) The form *demaisi* which is *demais* in Tetum has been derived from Portuguese. Although it may precede or follow the head noun in Tetum, this is not the case in Makasae.
goba-goba ‘all’

hausa’i ‘the whole’, ‘all of’

(gi) natono\textsuperscript{171} ‘enough’, ‘the right amount of’

Contextual examples:

(607) Timor kafe gi resi asara meti-gafì isi la’a.

Timor coffee QUANT send sea-across LOC go
‘East Timor exported a lot of coffee (overseas).’

(608) Ae demaisi do hi’a sa’i tefu.

rain QUANT so road all break
‘Excessive rain cut off all roads.’

(609) Oma-kafi hau baunu ene basara mutu wo’i.

house-wedge QUANT MRK market inside VERB\textsubscript{3}-there is
‘Most of the makeshift buildings are in the market.’

(610) Gi lawa kartera gafu-gafu hai na’u molu.

POS money wallet QUANT INCEP just lose
‘He has just lost the wallet with all his money.’

(611) Dotoro anu sisi bai-nunu damu-damu ma deidei ena.

doctor person illness pig-lip QUANT MRK separately see
‘The doctor checked all the people with leprosy separately.’

(612) Ani karaka lawa gi natono ni mata-tufurae gau asara.

1SG want money QUANT REF.POS child-woman POSP send
‘I want to send enough money to my (own) daughter.’

Some of the indefinite numbers functioning adjectivally only can also quantify personal pronouns: \textit{ini sa’i}, \textit{ini sa’i-sa’i} ‘all of us’, \textit{era damu-damu} ‘all of them’, \textit{fi hausa’i} ‘all of us’.

\textsuperscript{171} Tetum \textit{natoon} > Mak. \textit{natono}. It also functions as a stative verb, which means ‘to be adequate’ or ‘to be of average size’. See also Hull and Eccles 61.
(613) *Fi damu-damu tobe’u ta ga’a-ga’a debara.*

IPL.INC QUANT must not REC far live (temporarily)

‘All of us mustn’t live far from one another.’

### 10.2.2 Generic Quantifiers with Pronominal and Adjectival Function

Apart from being placed after the head nouns, the following generic quantifiers can function as pronouns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quantifier</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>oho</em></td>
<td>‘some’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>oho nai, sibi nai</em></td>
<td>‘a few’, ‘not many’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>fanu u</em></td>
<td>‘some’, ‘a small number of’, ‘a number of’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nhiroba</em></td>
<td>‘some’, ‘several’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ko’inuu</em></td>
<td>‘a little, a bit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sibi, sibi-sibi</em></td>
<td>‘a little’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sibiki’i</em></td>
<td>‘a little bit (of)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ka’u-ka’u, ka’u-ka’u</em></td>
<td>‘a bit’, ‘a little’, ‘a few’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>baunu</em></td>
<td>‘many’, ‘much’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>baubaunu</em></td>
<td>‘a great deal’, ‘very much’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>na’u baunu</em></td>
<td>‘quite a lot of’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sibi baunu</em></td>
<td>‘a few’ (fairly a large number)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>to baunu</em></td>
<td>‘not many’, ‘not a great deal’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>torau baunu</em></td>
<td>‘not many’, ‘not much at all’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>rialu</em></td>
<td>‘many (human beings)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>gi rasa</em></td>
<td>‘hundreds of’, ‘a lot (of)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>gi rihunu</em></td>
<td>‘thousands of’, ‘a lot of’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>gi rihu-gi rasa</em></td>
<td>‘tons of’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>u-lola’e, u di lola’e</em></td>
<td>‘one or two’, ‘a couple of’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>u-u</em></td>
<td>‘each (one)’, ‘every’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>anu-mahi, anu-mahi sa’i, lola’e-sa’i</em></td>
<td>‘both (of them)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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172 The form *ka’u-ka’u* or *ka’u-ka’u u* functioning as a quantifier can only be used with or without head nouns denoting non-human beings.
Contextual examples:

(614) (Ana) *oho kalauru ere ma afi gata tina.*
(people) QUANT kalauru DEM1-this MRK fish POSP cook
‘Some (people) cooked kalauru with fish.’

(615) Mistiri *isi-kol-mata* fanu u gi nai hai wa’ara.
teacher (school-child) QUANT POS name INCEP call
‘The teacher has called out some (students’) names.’

(616) (Tinani) *sibi-sibi ma mata faana nana’adawa gi atu-busu sisiri.*
(food) a little MRK child feed otherwise POS stomach ache
‘Feed the child a little (food) otherwise her stomach will ache.’

(617) (Ira) *ka’u-ka’u u gehe nanadawa ai fanu be’u laini.*
(water) a little drink otherwise 2SG face can faint
‘Drink a little (water) otherwise you will faint.’

(618) Ane’e * (ana) to baunu ene integarsaun meli.*
in the past (people) QUANT MRK integration choose
‘Not many (people) opted for integration in the past.’

(619) Wesere *iskola-mata* riala ene ma’u.
yesterday (school-child) QUANT MRK come
‘Many students came yesterday.’

(620) Festi *ma’u do (asa) gi rasa ene la’a bogere umu.*
pest come so (fowl) QUANT MRK go weak die
‘The pest came so a lot (of fowls) became weak and died.’

(621) (Fugu) *gi rihu-gi rasa bandera ma kafu mutu wo’i rei.*
(people) QUANT flag MRK field inside ADV3-yonder pull
‘A lot (of people) are attending a flag raising ceremony in the field.’

(622) (Anu) *u-lola’e wa’a isa-rau were seti do fi tulunu.*
(people) QUANT REL heart-good DEM2-that ask MRK 1PL.INC help
‘Ask one or two (people) who are kind-hearted to help us.’

The quantifier u-u with the meaning ‘every’ in English, like Tetum ida-ida, is used to convey the sense of each in a series. With regard to Tetum, Hull and Eccles state that “ida-ida is not used with time words” (Tetum 61). To express ‘each, every’ with time words, Makasae, like Tetum, always uses full reduplication of the time word in question, as in watu-watu ‘every day’, semana-semana ‘every week’.173

(623) Amululiki loe-limu ma sarani u-u gi bidi-koru gata ...
priest dust-powder MRK faithful QUANT POS forehead POSP ...
‘The priest smeared the forehead of each of the faithful’

(624) Mai ani kasatigu do uru u-u dete ani ni
3PL 1SG punish so moon QUANT MRK 1SG REF.POS
‘They imprisoned me so I could go home only

oma isi la’a.
house LOC go
once a month.’

The forms anu-mahi and anu-mahi sa’i ‘both (of them)’, ‘the two (of them)’ are employed when the reference is to persons or when they are used with head nouns denoting human beings, but the use of lola’e-sa’i ‘both (of them)’ in this situation is considered non-standard and impolite. However, lola’e-sa’i can be placed after head nouns denoting entities other than human beings.

(625) (Asukai) anu-mahi wori asi mali lane’e
(man) QUANT DEM3-yonder POS brother-in-law PL.MRK
guba lolini.
POSP speak
‘The two of them are speaking with my brothers-in-law.’

173 The form semana-semana is transferred from Tetum semana-semana. It has been derived from Portuguese semana ‘week’. Apart from using watu-watu ‘every day’, the Laga dialect also reduplicates the word usa ‘light’ to become usa-usa ‘every day’. However, the former is more common than the latter, particularly in writing and in Bible translations.
(626) I (bai-afa) lola’e-sa’i ma nahi suri?
2PL (pig-wild) QUANT MRK PRON keep
‘Where did you keep both/the two boars?’

Certain generic quantifiers functioning either pronominally or adjectivally may also quantify personal pronouns: fi oho ‘some of us’, mai fanu u ‘some of them’, era baunu ‘many of them’, ini u-u ‘each of us’.

(627) Ana meti bibiri mutu ni waru do dodoo mai fanu u
people sea strong POSP REF bathe and wave 3PL QUANT
‘People were bathing in the rough sea and (as a result) the waves
ma meti rei.
MRK sea pull
pulled some of them.’

(628) Ini u-u ni akasa dai ere gi nai
1PL.EXC QUANT REF force foreigner DEM1-this POS name
‘Each of us tried hard to say the foreigner’s
ma loloro suma.
MRK correctly mention
name correctly.’

10.2.3 Generic Quantifiers with Pronominal Function

There is a certain number of generic quantifiers which can function only as pronominals:

ini oho ‘some of us’ (excluding you)
fi oho ‘some of us’ (including you)
i oho ‘some of you’ (plural)
era oho ‘some of them (human beings)
mai oho ‘some of them (all entities)
Contextual examples:

(629) Ini oho watu-watu keta isi la’a do hau

QUANT every day field LOC go so PERF

‘Some of us went to the rice field every day so

nelu duturina wali gau la’a.

forget doctrine listen POSP go
we forgot to go to catechism.’

(630) Sefi-suku i oho wa’ara la’a siribisu alakataraunu ma

chief-village QUANT invite go work asphalt MRK

‘The head of the village is inviting some of you to work on

hi’a sole nana.

road pour IMMIN
asphalting the road.’

(631) Mai oho hai deta weregau siri gamu na’ugii ma’u.

QUANT INCEP ripen therefore bat night always come

‘Some of them have ripened therefore the bats always come at night.’

10.3 Indefinite Quantifiers

The indefinite quantifiers express the indefinite meaning of an entity. Some of the Makasae quantifiers, like those of English which are conveyed through the use of such words as ‘any’, ‘other’, whatever’, can occupy an adjectival or pronominal position. Some of them can either precede or follow the head nouns.

10.3.1 Indefinite Quantifiers with Adjectival and Pronominal Function

These indefinite quantifiers can follow the head nouns as adjectives or may occur independently as pronouns.

seluku ‘another’

(gi) seluku u ‘another (one)’
(gi) seluseluku ‘others’, ‘other ones’

Contextual examples:

(632) (Anu) seluku ene sobu-leba bo gi deti mini
(person) QUANT MRK matter-carry however 3SG fault by contrast
‘(It’s) another person (who) gossiped, however he

ma ani gua wau.
MRK 1SG POSP put
put the blame on me.’

(633) (Dambua) gi seluku u ma ani gini tanba
(grapefruit) QUANT MRK 1SG give because
‘Give me another one (grapefruit) because

isu-u ere nehe agaha.
CLAS-NUM DEM₁-this INT sour
this one is very sour.’

(634) Dera gi seluseluku foloi dete abiaun tula ma’u.
thing QUANT RCT MRK plane load here
‘The plane just transported the other things here.’

10.3.2 Indefinite Quantifiers with Pronominal Function

Some Makasae indefinite quantifiers can function only as pronouns. In the case of the phrases listed below, the personal pronouns era and mai have already been placed phrase-initially before the form gi seluku or gi seluseluku, and as a result the head nouns must be dropped.

era gi seluku ‘others’ (human beings)
mai gi seluku ‘others’ (all entities)
era gi seluseluku ‘other ones’ (human beings)
mai gi seluseluku ‘other ones’ (all entities)
(635) Asa lane’e ere hai bogere weregau mai gi seluku
fowl PL.MRK DEM₁-this INCEP weak therefore QUANT
‘These fowls are sick, therefore the others

megahaubasina.
INTPERFvaccinate
must be vaccinated immediately.’

(636) Era gi seluseluku ene tuu ria eredete ini mai mi ria.
QUANTMRKfirstrunthen1PL.EXC3PLPOSPrun
‘The other ones ran first, then we ran after them.’

(637) Ere asi dera lane’e bo mai gi seluseluku wori
DEM₁-this POS thing PL.MRKbutQUANTDEM₃-that
tonaiaspective.
MRKnotPOS
‘These are my things, the other ones over there are not mine.’

10.3.3 Indefinite Quantifiers with Circumposed Adjectivals

The Makasae indefinite quantifiers nai gini u and ribaku u ‘any’, ‘whichever’, ‘whatever’ have a circumposed pattern where they can be placed both before and after the head nouns. When they follow the nouns, the quantifying phrase is intact. However, if the quantifiers precede the noun, the elements nai gini and ribaku occur before the head nouns, and u is always placed after them: nai gini ...u ‘any...at all’, ‘whichever’ or ribaku...u ‘any one’.

(638) Kada nai gini u be’u teli fae gini.
locustQUANTcancorndamagedmake

or

Nai gini kada u be’u teli fae gini.
QUANTlocustQUANTcancorndamagedmake
‘Any locust can destroy the corn (crop).’

(639) Mai hau boli weregau nanawa ribaku u tia ma’a.
3PLINThungrythereforefoodQUANTaccept
or

_Mai hau boli weregau ribaku nanawa u tia ma’a._

3PL INT hungry therefore QUANT food QUANT accept
‘They are really starving, therefore they accept any food.’

(640) _Ai be’u sabeu nai gini u da’e._

2SG can hat QUANT wear

or

_Ai be’u nai gini sabeu u da’e._

2SG can QUANT hat QUANT wear
‘You may wear whichever/any hat.’

Besides circumposing the head noun, the forms _nai gini u_ and _ribaku u_ can also occur pronominally:

(641) _Ana Bisku nehe fiara do nai gini u lolo ana mega migini._

people Bishop INT trust so QUANT say people INT obey
‘People trust the Bishop very much so whatever he says they will do.’

### 10.3.4 Indefinite Quantifier _u_ ‘a’, ‘an’

The function of Makasae indefinite generic quantifier _u_, which is exactly like that of Tetum _ida_ ‘one’ or Kawaimina _se_ ‘one’, originates from the numeral quantifier _u_ ‘one’.

(642) _dotoro _u_ ‘a doctor’

doctor QUANT.

_hi’a malara _u_ ‘a wide road’

road wide QUANT.

_sobu-asa gi felu _u_ ‘a nice word’

issue-leaf POS good QUANT.
"oma-falu iti asana u" ‘a high/tall sacred house’

The function of u as an indefinite article is polyvalent. Although it can convey the same meaning as ‘a’ or ‘an’ in English, in Makasae it also expresses the sense of numeric ‘one’, as well as denoting ‘any’, ‘a certain’ or ‘a particular’.\(^{174}\) U can be dropped when the sense is general or inclusive (643). However, when referring to one particular thing, u cannot be omitted (644).

(643) Kondotor u dadau karita mi ma’ene.
    driver QUANT must car POSP know
    ‘A driver must know about cars.’
    or

    Kondotor dadau karita mi ma’ene.
    driver must car POSP know
    ‘Drivers must know about cars.’

(644) Fara-mata u wa’agamu gali-toku.
    boat-child QUANT last night overturn
    ‘A (certain) boat capsized last night.’

\(U\) functioning as an indefinite quantifier always occurs after an adjective. In a variation of the deictic demonstrative construction with pronominal function, u may precede an adjective (§9.1.2).

(645) Gi taru gi bere u ma ni ata gi defu seriki.
    3SG stick POS big QUANT MRK REF.POS child POS back lash
    ‘He beat his child on the back with a big stick.’

In comparison with English, Makasae u, like Tetum ida, is often dropped when it does not imply quantity. The omission of u also occurs in a clause or

\(^{174}\) See also Hull and Eccles 63 for an explanation of the Tetum indefinite generic quantifier.
sentence where English would always require ‘a’ or ‘an’ denoting ‘any’, when referring to “one or more, no matter which” (Jespersen, Essentials 181).\textsuperscript{175}

(646) Borfesora karaka rekereu do mata lane’e

(female) teacher want break so child PL.MRK

‘The teacher wanted a break so the children

\textit{be’u meudia ge’e nawa.}
can noon POS eat
could have lunch.’

(647) Duakini wesere rebeka tehu tanba gi karaka ni-hetu se’i nana.

Joachim yesterday violin buy because 3SG want EMP cut IMMIN

‘Joachim bought a violin yesterday because he himself wanted to play it.’

\textsuperscript{175} Hull and Eccles 63.
11. Ordinal Numerals and Expressions of Time

11.1 Ordinal Numerals

11.1.1 Native Ordinals with *gi*

The Makasae ordinal numerals are formed from the cardinal numerals, with the possessive particle *gi* being prefixed to them. An exception is the numeral *u* ‘one’ which is replaced by the adjective *tuu* ‘first’\(^\text{176}\). In the case of ‘first’ in Tetum, the noun *dala* ‘time’, ‘occasion’, optionally reduced to *dah* is prefixed to the adjective or adverb *uluk* ‘first’, ‘formerly’.

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
    gi tuu & 'first' & gi daho & 'sixth' \\
    gi lola'e & 'second' & gi fitu & 'seventh' \\
    gi lolitu & 'third' & gi afo & 'eight' \\
    gi faara, gi lolohaa & 'fourth' & gi siwa & 'ninth' \\
    gi lima & 'fifth' & gi ruu, gi ruru & 'tenth'
\end{array}
\]

The ordinal numerals higher than ten are also derived from cardinal numerals. However, in forming the first ordinal of each decade (e.g. eleventh, twenty-first, fifty-first, one hundred and first), *tuu* is replaced by the cardinal numeral *u* ‘one’.

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
    gi ruu-resi-*u* & 'eleventh' \\
    gi rulolitu-resi-*u* & 'thirty-first' \\
    gi rudaho-resi-*u* & 'sixty-first' \\
    gi rasa lola'e-resi-*u* & 'two hundred and first' \\
    gi rihunu lola'e ruflu-ti-resi-*u* & 'two thousand and seventy-first' \\
    gi tokono lima rulolae-resi-*u* & 'five million and twenty-first'
\end{array}
\]

All these forms normally follow the head noun to which they refer:

\[(648)\] Barikasa *gi* lolitu na’uwari meti tame wo’i.

\[\text{barge POS three still sea middle VERB}\_\text{there is}\]

‘The third barge is still far out to sea.’

\(^{176}\) To avoid confusion with the adjective, *gi tuu* as an adverb is conventionally written *gituu* ‘first (of all).’
(649) Mata lane’e ta mi naha, uwa’a gi lolohaa
cardinal child PL.MRK REC POSP stand DEM POS four
erere hau digara.
DEM1-this INT short
‘The children are lining up; the fourth one is the shortest.’

When the ordinal numerals refer to nouns denoting time (a particular occasion), day, month or year, they can either follow the noun or be circumposed, cf. gamu gi lima or gi gamu lima ‘the fifth night’.

Contextual examples:

(650) Akai gi tutu gi kale u ene
Akai POS punch POS time one MRK
‘(It was) Akai’s first punch (that)

Duko’o ma hosesara gini.
Duko’o MRK fall make
knocked Duko’o down.’

(651) Ini depois Aikurus isi we’e gi watu afo
1PL.EXC then Aikurus LOC VERB2-there is POS day eight
‘Then we were at Aikurus on

uru Lour-Mata gige’e.
moon September POS
the eighth of September.’

(652) Gi uru fitu ere ma netanihani wa’ara?
POS moon seven DEM1-this MRK INTER call
‘What do you call the seventh month?’

(653) Fi indebedensi hai gi ani daho ge’e gini
1PL.INC independence INCEP POS year six POS make
‘We are in the sixth year of our independence

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bo naga terusu.
but still suffer
but we are still suffering.’

The abbreviation for these numerals is gi- followed by the number, e.g. gi-7, gi-30, gi-200. The use of a hyphen, except with the circumposed form, is seen by modern writers as essential in order to treat the possessive and numeral as a single element, e.g. oma gi-4 ‘the 4th house’, watu gi-30 ‘the 30th day’.

To express ‘last’, Makasae usually employs the word gi dofi. Like gi tuu, it always follows the noun to which it refers.

liburu gi dofi ‘the last book’
watu gi dofi ‘the last day’
esame gi dofi ‘the last exam’
sobu-asa gi dofi ‘the last words’

(654) Batailaun dabanese gi dofi fara misa do Dili isi ra’isa.
battalion Javanese POS last ship climb so Dili LOC get out
‘The last Indonesian battalion left Dili on a ship.’ (The last Indonesian battalion boarded a ship and left Dili).

(655) Maa kaisa gi dofi wori tobe’u hau lo’e.
alcoholic drink box POS last DEM3-that MRK-not PERF open
‘Don’t open the last carton of alcohol over there.’

If plurality is intended, the markers may precede or follow gi dofi.

(656) Sigurasa karita lane’e gi dofi sa’i minigali asara.
security car PL.MRK POS last QUANT back order
‘Security ordered the last cars to return.’

(657) Geribata era karaka gurfu gi dofi lane’e gau lawa bati.
at first 3PL want group POS last PL.MRK POSP money distribute
‘At first they wanted to give money to the last group.’

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Makasae also uses mini or gi mini ‘next’, ‘the following’ to express the meaning of ‘second’. When defining the position of members of a family in a series (e.g. offspring), gi waiula ‘last’ is used to refer to the youngest.

(658) Asi mata gi tuu mafi mini ere tufurae,
POS child POS first and second DEM₁-this woman
‘My first and second child are girls,

gi waiula ene asukai.
POS youngest MRK man
the youngest child is a boy.’

For ‘last (of)’ when referring to foodstuffs, the word gi sa’i, which literally means ‘the end’, is normally employed.

(659) Mantega gi sa’i ene ehani masa mutu wo’i
butter POS last MRK now container inside VERB₃-there is
wori.
DEM₃-that.
‘(It’s) the last of the butter (that) is in the plastic container over there.’

(660) Ai dadau seu gi sa’i wori megahau tina.
2SG must meat POS last DEM₃-that INT cook
‘You must cook the last of the meat over there immediately.’

11.1.2 Portuguese-derived Ordinals

The use of ordinal numerals derived from Portuguese is not as common as in Tetum, because Makasae ordinals are better established among speakers in comparison to Tetum ordinals. However, Portuguese numerals, particularly those up to ten, may often appear in the speech of speakers who have regular interaction with both Tetum and Portuguese.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Portuguese</th>
<th>Tetum</th>
<th>Makasae</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>primeiro</td>
<td>primeiru</td>
<td>birimeru, birmeru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese Ordinal</td>
<td>Tetun Ordinal</td>
<td>Portuguese Ordinal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>segundo</td>
<td>segundu</td>
<td>sigudu, sigundu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>terceiro</td>
<td>terseiru</td>
<td>tereseru, tereseru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quarto</td>
<td>kuartu</td>
<td>kuartu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quinto</td>
<td>kintu</td>
<td>kitu, kintu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sexto</td>
<td>sestu</td>
<td>sestu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sétimo</td>
<td>sétimu</td>
<td>setimu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oitavo</td>
<td>oitavu</td>
<td>uitabu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nono</td>
<td>nonu</td>
<td>nunu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>décimo</td>
<td>désimu</td>
<td>desimu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Gender distinctions in ordinals in accordance with the nouns they qualify are normally maintained in the vernacular if the nouns are of Portuguese origin. Thus, ordinals used with nouns considered feminine usually have a final vowel $a$.

(661) Birmera semana uru-uru dete katikista ma’u katekese dane.  
first week moon-moon MRK catechist come catechism deliver  
‘(It was) the first week of every month (that) the catechist came to teach catechism.’

Certain Portuguese-derived nouns are always used with a Portuguese-derived ordinal, e.g. bes $<$ Tet. vés $<$ Ptg. vez ‘turn’, klase $<$ Tet. klase $<$ Ptg. classe ‘class’, bolta $<$ Tet. volta $<$ Ptg. volta ‘stroll’, ‘ride’.

(662) Tersera bes era ani dudulu bo ani to hosesara.  
NUM time 3PL 1SG push but 1SG MRK-not fall  
‘The third time they pushed me, but I didn’t fall.’

When Portuguese ordinals occur with Makasae nouns, the numerals always follow the nouns to which they refer.

(663) Gi na’uwari tali birmeru ge’u.  
3SG still rope first roll(fold)  
‘He is still rolling up the first rope.’
(664) Asi noko terseru ere siminari isi iskola.

POS younger (sibling) NUM DEM₁ this seminary LOC school

‘My third (younger) brother is studying at the seminary.’

When ordinals up to ten are used in titles, the Portuguese forms are used (665). However, speakers usually employ Makasae cardinals when the numerals are higher than ten (666).


John Paul second Timor LOC come year 1989

‘John Paul II visited East Timor in 1989.’

(666) Bentu Ruu-resi-daho ene ehani Igresa Katolik gi berekama.

Benedict sixteenth MRK now church catholic POS big

‘Benedict XVI is now the head of the Catholic Church.’

Ranks in institutions usually follow the Tetum and Portuguese style, especially if they have been treated as compound nouns since their adoption.

(667) Sabinu tom’iri hai misa la’a sigundu-furele.

Sabino soon INCEP climb go second-corporal

‘Sabino will be promoted to lance corporal (lit. second corporal) soon.’

(668) Birmeru Bisebersidenti Barlamentu ge’e karaka folei-bere

first vice president parliament POS want youth lane’e sorunu.

PL.MRK meet

‘The first Vice-President of the Parliament wants to meet the young people.’
11.2 Expressions of Time

11.2.1 Time

To indicate the hour when telling the time in Makasae, a speaker places a number after the noun *tuku* ‘beat’, ‘stroke’. 177

(669) *Tuku* *lola’e* *meta-meta* *mini* *ra’isa* *oma* *isi* *ma’u*.

stroke two early in the morning again get out house LOC come

‘(We) went back home at 2 o’clock in the early morning.’

Some speakers still use the word *base* ‘stroke’ after *gi* and *kale* ‘time’ followed by a numeral. However, this construction has become less common because bells are no longer used to signal time. 178

(670) *Wa’agamu* *gi* *kale* *ruu* *base* *dete* *fulisi* *nama* *suri*.

last night POS time ten beat MRK police up shoot

‘(It was) at 10 o’clock last night (that) the police fired shots in the air.’

Another way of indicating the time is by employing the Portuguese-derived word *oras* ‘hour’, ‘time’. 179 It is usually placed after the interrogative *na’i* ‘what’ and is followed by the alternative contrastive marker *ene, dete* or *do*. The answer to such questions about time, however, normally features *tuku* not *oras*.

(671) *Na’i* *oras* *ene* *hau* *gi* *rau*?

INTER time MRK INT POS good

‘What time is the best?’

(672) *Na’i* *oras* *dete* *ai* *era* *fana*?

INTER time MRK 2SG 3PL teach

‘What time did you teach them?’

177 The word *tuku* is commonly used among Timoric languages and has also been adopted by Makasae. It is a loan translation of Malay *pukul*.

178 The use of a bell was very popular during the Indonesian occupation because it was a means of controlling people’s movements and of reminding every adult male in the village to carry out the night watch at certain hours.

179 Portuguese *horas* ‘hours’.
In expressing minutes past the hour, *minutu* + numeral must follow the hour. The use of the conjunction *mahi* ‘and’ before *minutu* is optional.

(673) *Hai tuku fitu minutu rulola’e dete ani bibana ....*  
INCEP stroke seven minute twenty MRK 1SG get the chance  
‘(It was) already twenty minutes past seven (when) I had the chance to...’  

The form *litaka* ‘past’, ‘more’ can also be employed to express minutes past the hour.

(674) *Tuku siwa minutu ruu-resi-lima litaka dete gi ma’u.*  
stroke nine minute fifteen past MRK 3SG come  
‘(It was) (at) a quarter past nine (when) he came.’  

When expressing minutes to the hour, a speaker has more than one alternative. The native expression can be constructed with *minutu* after the numeral indicating the minutes, followed by the verb *la’a* ‘go’ + *tuku* and the numeral showing the hour. The imminentive marker *nana* may follow.

(675) *Minutu lima la’a tuku lolitu nana.*  
minute five go stroke three IMMIN  
‘Five minutes to three (o’clock).’  

*La’a* in example 675 can be dropped, but the imminentive marker must always be included.

(676) *Mai laku’u minutu ruu tuku afo nana*  
3PL later minute ten stroke eight IMMIN  
‘(It’s) at ten to eight (that) they are going  

dete biola kebiri.  
MRK guitar rap (with fingernail)  
to play the guitar.’
Another way of expressing minutes to the hour in Makasae is to place *do* after *minutu* + numeral, followed immediately by *tuku* + numeral + *gini* ‘make’ and *nana*.

(677) **Minutu ruu do tuku faa gini nana**

minute ten MRK stroke four make IMMIN
dete sobu ta mila’a.
MRK matter REC follow

‘(It was) at ten to four (that) the matter was agreed upon.’

Makasae speakers also have the option of *tuku* + numeral followed by the lusism *falta* ‘is lacking’ + *minutu* + numeral.

(678) **Tuku ruu-resi-u falta minutu lima sa’i-sa’i daudau sala**

stroke eleven lacks minute five QUANT must room
mutu wo’i.

inside VERB3-there is

‘At five to eleven, everyone must be in the room.’

(cf. Tetum: **Tuku sanulu-resin-ida falta minutu lima hotu-hotu tenke iha sala laran.**)

Makasae uses *gi gafi* ‘half’ (also shortened to *giafi*) to express the equivalent of English ‘half past’. By contrast, Tetum uses *ho balun* ‘and part’ which does not necessarily indicate the exact time of ‘half past’, but may refer to any time in between.180

(679) **Era ani mifana do tuku siwa gi gafi dete**

3PL 1SG tell (through) MRK stroke nine POS half MRK

‘They told me that they will come at a half past nine

*ma’u sidi adi’a.*

come wall repair
to repair the wall.’

180 See also Hull and Eccles 72.
11.2.2 Days of the Week

Speakers commonly alternate between Portuguese and Makasae names of the days of the week. However, the former are more common, perhaps because they are shorter and simpler than the native terms. The Portuguese terms are to be found in the Makasae translation of the Bible and are preferred by educated speakers and those who have some knowledge of Portuguese.

The word basara in Makasae may refer to either ‘week’ or ‘market’. Semana, from Portuguese, which also means ‘week’, is used interchangeably by speakers. The native Makasae names of the days of the week are:

- basara gi watu u
  - market POS day NUM. lit. ‘the first market day’, ‘Sunday’

- basara gi watu lola’e
  - market POS day NUM. lit. ‘the second market day’, ‘Monday’

- basara gi watu lolitu
  - market POS day NUM. lit. ‘the third market day’, ‘Tuesday’

- basara gi watu dfaara
  - market POS day NUM. lit. ‘the fourth market day’, ‘Wednesday’

- basara gi watu lima
  - market POS day NUM. lit. ‘the fifth market day’, ‘Thursday’

- basara gi watu daho
  - market POS day NUM. lit. ‘the sixth market day’, ‘Friday’

- basara gi watu fitu
  - market POS day NUM. lit. ‘the seventh market day’, ‘Saturday’

---

181 The words basar and semana are also used interchangeably by Tetum and neighbouring Kawaimina speakers, but semana is more common in Tetum. Basar is derived from Malay pasar, and semana is from Portuguese semana.

The lusified names of the days of the week are:\textsuperscript{183}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lusified forms</th>
<th>Portuguese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(watu-) dumingu</td>
<td>domingo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(watu-) sigunda</td>
<td>segunda (-feira)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sigunda-fera</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(watu-) tersa</td>
<td>terça (-feira)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tersa-fera</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(watu-) kuarta</td>
<td>quarta (-feira)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuarta-fera</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(watu-) kinta</td>
<td>quinta (-feira)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kinta-fera</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(watu-) sesta</td>
<td>sexta (-feira)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sesta-fera</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(watu-) sabadu</td>
<td>sábado</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{183} The first letter of the names of the days is not capitalised in the current official orthography.

Makasae speakers also use the names of the week together with adverbs of time to express the exact time in the past or future within a period of seven days or a week (§12.7.2). This is not common in Tetum and would appear to be a peculiarity of Makasae.
Formation with names of the week and adverbs of time expressing past time:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sigunda wesere’e} & \quad \text{‘Monday yesterday’} \\
\text{tersa aiane’e} & \quad \text{‘Tuesday two days ago’} \\
\text{kuarta aitune’e} & \quad \text{‘Wednesday three days ago’} \\
\text{kinta aifane’e} & \quad \text{‘Thursday four days ago’} \\
\text{sesta ailimane’e} & \quad \text{‘Friday five days ago’} \\
\text{sabadu aidahone’e} & \quad \text{‘Saturday six days ago’} \\
\text{dumingu aifitune’e} & \quad \text{‘Sunday seven days ago’}
\end{align*}
\]

Contextual examples:

(682) \textit{Era sabadu aiane’e ene tartor gi sufa u tia ma’a.}  
\text{3PL Saturday two days ago MRK tractor POS new one receive}  
\text{‘(It was) Saturday, two days ago, (that) they received a tractor.’}  

(683) \textit{Tersa aidahone’e isikola lane’e sa’i feriadu.}  
\text{Tuesday six days ago school PL.MRK QUANT holiday}  
\text{‘Tuesday, six days ago, all the schools were on holiday.’}  

Formation with names of the week and adverbs of time expressing futurity:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sigunda usamale} & \quad \text{‘Monday tomorrow’} \\
\text{tersa aire’e} & \quad \text{‘Tuesday the day after tomorrow’} \\
\text{kuarta iture’e} & \quad \text{‘Wednesday three days from now’} \\
\text{kinta fare’e} & \quad \text{‘Thursday four days hence’} \\
\text{sesta limare’e} & \quad \text{‘Friday five days from now’} \\
\text{sabadu dahore’e} & \quad \text{‘Saturday six days hence’} \\
\text{dumingu fiture’e} & \quad \text{‘Sunday seven days from now’}
\end{align*}
\]

Contextual examples:

(684) \textit{Kinta usamale basara gi watu.}  
\text{Thursday tomorrow market POS day}  
\text{‘Tomorrow, Thursday, is a market day.’}  

\[184\] It is also shorted to esere’e.
(685) Ai dumingu fare’e misa wali gau la’a?
2SG Sunday four days from now Mass listen POSP go
‘Are you going to Mass on Sunday four days from now?’

11.2.3 Months

Many elders and farmers still prefer to use the Makasae lunar calendar of twelve months, especially when they talk about things related to the agricultural cycle. Unlike National Tetum, which now relies solely on the lusified solar calendar, Makasae speakers may refer to both in their speech, as well as the form with uru- (‘moon’) followed by a numeral. However, all known text translations in Makasae to date use the Portuguese-derived forms.

In the dialect of Laga, uru- ‘moon’ may be prefixed to the names of the months, and the sequence differs to some degree from the dialect of Baucau.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>lunar month</th>
<th>relation to agricultural cycle</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(uru-) Munuduru</td>
<td>The period when grass in the field or garden is cleared to prepare for planting.</td>
<td>‘January’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(uru-) Susulu</td>
<td>The period for the farmers to fix and repair the dykes before ploughing.</td>
<td>‘February’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(uru-) Asaduru</td>
<td>The period of sowing the ploughed fields with seeds (of rice).</td>
<td>‘March’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(uru) Liru-Mata</td>
<td>The period when there is sufficient rain to irrigate the fields and when the rice begins to grow.</td>
<td>‘April’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(uru) Liru-Bere</td>
<td>The period when the rice grains begin to fill out and some of the rice can now be harvested.</td>
<td>‘May’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Belunese Tetum still uses the lunar calendar of thirteen months, see Hull and Eccles 70.

In the sequence from the seventh month onwards, the Baucau dialect has Aeloono ‘July’, Omara ‘August’, Asabala ‘September’, Materé ‘October’, Lutumata ‘November’ and Lilu ‘December’. See also Marques, Método 55.

Those terms are now so ancient that even community elders are no longer aware of their literal meaning.
The period when food is plentiful and the people choose to work in their villages and orchards.

The period when there is no rain, the weather is hot, and most farmers opt to remain at home.

The period when farmers take a break from tending their fields or paddy fields to cut wood and build houses.

The period when small green fruit begins to form.

The period when fruit begins to mature and ripens.

The period when people visit each other and can have a meal in whatever house they visit.

The rainy season approaches, causing the farmers to prepare their equipment and tools for working in the gardens and paddy fields.

When Makasae speakers employ the Portuguese calendar, the native word *uru-* (‘moon’) can be prefixed to the foreign names of the months or native cardinals. In writing, *uru-* is not capitalised. However, the official orthography requires the first letter in the second element to be capitalised, e.g.:

- (uru-) *Butunuru* → *uru-U* → ‘June’
- (uru-) *Omara* → ‘July’
- (uru-) *Matere* → ‘August’
- (uru) *Lour-Mata* → ‘September’
- (uru) *Lour-Bere* → ‘October’
- (uru) *Riba-Riba* → ‘November’
- (uru) *Bae-Ba’e* → ‘December’
(uru-) Agustu  uru-Afo  ‘August’
(uru-) Setemburu  uru-Siwa  ‘September’
(uru-) Utuburu  uru-Ruruu  ‘October’
(uru-) Nobemburu  uru Ruu-resi-u  ‘November’
(uru-) Desemburu  uru Ruu-resi-lola’e  ‘December’

To express the date of the month, speakers interchangeably choose between two different forms. They may use watu + numeral, watu gi + numeral or gi watu + numeral.

(686) Watu fitu ini hai la’a Remesiu gia wo’i ta’e.
    day seven 1PL.EXC INCEP go Remexio POSP ADV3-yonder sleep
    ‘On the seventh (day) we spent the night in the foothills of Remexio.’

(687) Ini Boleha isi rata hai la’a watu gi ruu-resi-loitu.
    1PL.EXC Boleha LOC arrive INCEP go day POS thirteen
    ‘It was already the thirteenth (day) when we arrived at Boleha.’

(688) Gi watu daho dete era anu-lima
    POS day six MRK 3PL CLAS-five
    ‘(It was) on the sixth (day) they

    ni bada lane’e sorunu.
    REF.POS friend PL.MRK meet
    met their (own) friends.’

When the date and month co-occur in a clause or sentence, the month is usually placed after the date and is immediately followed by (gi)ge’e (§6.5).

(689) Gi watu afo uru Lour-Mata gige’e, ini
    POS day eight month September POS 1PL.EXC
    wo’i ra’isa.
    ADV3-yonder leave
    ‘On the eighth of September we left from there’
11.2.4 Seasons

The island of Timor has two seasons, the rainy or wet season and the dry season. The former is known in Makasae as arara and the latter as barere. Makasae speakers also use the phrases ira gi watu ‘the water period’ or ae-ira gi watu ‘the rain water period’ to refer to the wet season because it is the time when farmers and peasants can get adequate water to cultivate their lands for farming. On the north coast around Baucau and Laga, the rainy season normally lasts from December to May. The dry season, also called mu’a-saa gi watu ‘the dry period’, usually begins in June and ends in November.

(690) Barere dete mai tarnau la’a ni oma-falu gini.

dry season MRK 3PL each go REF.POS house-sacred build

‘(It’s) in the dry season (that) each one goes to build his (own) totem house.’

(691) Ae-ira gi watu dodoo bibiri do gi to

rain-water POS time wave strong so 3SG MRK-not

la’a meti sawere.
go sea swim

‘In the rainy season the waves are rough so he doesn’t go swimming (in the sea).’

11.2.5 Years

To express the year in Makasae, the word ani ‘year’ must always precede the native numerals (692). However, if Portuguese numerals are used, especially by the younger generations of Makasae speakers and people who have some knowledge of Portuguese, ani becomes optional (693).

(692) Ani rihunu u rasa siwa ruafo-resi-daho do Laga la’a

year one thousand nine hundred and eight six MRK Laga go

baroki nau-dei.
parish separate

‘In 1986 Laga became a separate parish.’
‘I began my university studies in 2004.’

When the date, month and year are used together, the number of the year is normally placed after the name of the month. However, if it occurs only with the month, the number of the year may either precede or follow the month. The possessive (gi)ge’e is dropped when the month is placed after the year.

‘On 20 September 2000 UNTL (the national university) was reopened.’

‘East Timor gained its very own independence in May 2002.’
12. The Verb and Its Modifiers

12.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the verb and its modifiers. It opens with an analysis of verb types and functions in Makasae. Some of these functions are peculiar to this vernacular, especially deictic verbs and passive-like constructions. Verbal markers can be placed before or after the verb and can occur in combinations.

The Makasae adjective presents an interesting phenomenon where adjectives are formed from native and non-native stock including Portuguese. Prefixed gi can occur only with certain adjectives; there follows speculation on the reasons for this. Types and classes of adjectives will also be described and analysed in this chapter.

Adpositions in this language fall into the categories of basic postpositions and prepositions. Although some prepositions are non-native, namely those derived from Tetum and Portuguese, most postpositions are indigenous.

Discussion of forms and classification of Makasae adverbials is the next section in this chapter. Like verbs and demonstratives Makasae adverbials of place have non-emphatic and emphatic deictic functions. Some of the problematic adverbials are also discussed in this section.

The chapter concludes with a discussion of Makasae conjunctions divided into coordinators and subordinators. Various formations within these sub-categories and borrowed elements from Tetum and Portuguese are considered in some detail.

12.2 Verb Types

Makasae verbs do not undergo any morphological transformation to indicate mood, tense or person. They include verbs derived from Timoric languages and Portuguese. Various types of verbal constructions can be found, including basic verbs, reduplicative verbs, compound verbs and nouns used as verbs. Verb serialisation and adjectival verbs are also common in Makasae, and each is discussed separately in §12.2.4 and §12.5.
12.2.1 Basic Verbs

The basic verbs can be divided into native verbs and loanwords from Tetum, other Timoric languages and Portuguese:

Native verbs:

- **nawa** 'eat'
- **gahi** 'sharpen'
- **gasirini** 'ban’, ‘prohibit’
- **kaulu** 'mix'
- **ririki** 'fly'
- **amara** ‘attack’, ‘maul’, ‘claw’
- **ti’ala** 'kick'
- **ruku** 'trample'
- **lewara** ‘joke with’, ‘tease’
- **ka’aka** ‘acclaim’, ‘cheer’, ‘boo’

Contextual examples:

1. **(696) Babai heri na’uwari ni suti gahi.**
   father-DIM DEM3-that still REF.POS knife sharpen
   ‘That gentleman back there is still sharpening his knife.’

2. **(697) Maukinta mata lane’e gasirini tobe’u lawahae**
   Maukinta child PL.MRK ban must not crocodile
   wori male mara.
   DEM3-that near go
   ‘Maukinta forbade the children to go near the crocodile.’

Tetum-derived basic verbs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Makasae</th>
<th>Tetum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>amulaka, hamulaka</em></td>
<td><em>hamulak</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘pray’, ‘invoke’</td>
<td>(prayers to the ancestors)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>akasa, hakasa</em></td>
<td><em>haka’as</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘force’, ‘strain’, ‘flex’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>atunu, hatunu</em></td>
<td><em>hatún</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘lower’, ‘let down’, ‘bring down’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>obana, hobana</em></td>
<td><em>hoban</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘soak’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>terusu</em></td>
<td><em>terus</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘suffer’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

188 Trampling on rice to separate the grain from the stalk.
Contextual examples:

(698) *La’idaa lane’e hau tuu amulaka dete fi .....*189

elder PL.MRK PERF NUM invoke then 1PL.INC

‘Let the elders invoke prayers first and then we ....’

(699) *Ani 1998 mutu do fobu Suharto hau atunu.*

year 1998 inside when people Suharto PERF bring down

‘In 1998 the people brought down Suharto.’

Lusified basic verbs:

Makasae has also borrowed Portuguese verbs, usually via Tetum. These lusified verbs in popular Makasae may end in -a or -e.190

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Makasae</th>
<th>Tetum</th>
<th>Portuguese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>basa</td>
<td>pasa</td>
<td>passa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>birmiti</td>
<td>permite</td>
<td>permita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diskuti</td>
<td>diskute</td>
<td>discute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>istuda</td>
<td>estuda</td>
<td>estuda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kunfesa</td>
<td>konfesa</td>
<td>confessa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sinti</td>
<td>sente</td>
<td>sente</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tarata</td>
<td>trata</td>
<td>trata</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘pass’

‘allow’

‘argue’

‘study’

‘confess’, ‘go to confession’

‘feel’

‘treat’

Contextual examples:

(700) *Gi mata-tufurae to rau istuda do isame to basa.*

POS child-woman MRK-not well study so exam MRK-not pass

‘His daughter did not study well, so she didn’t pass the exam.’

(701) *Ani ni sinti sibiki’i araska tanba lisaun*  

1SG REF feel QUANT have trouble because lesson

---

189 *Amulaka* can also be replaced with the native phrase *gua lolo* ‘invoke, bless’ (literally meaning to cast a spell on).

190 Normally Portuguese verbs have entered Tetum in their 3rd singular present indicative form, not as infinitives.
‘I felt a little bit troubled because some lessons

\[\text{oho meganehe difisil.} \]
QUANT very difficult
were very difficult.’

12.2.2 Verb Reduplication

A number of verbs in Makasae can be reduplicated to mark repetitive or continuous actions. Words having more than two syllables often undergo partial reduplication. By contrast, bisyllabic words employ full reduplication. Apart from reduplicating verbs which are themselves radicals, speakers can also reduplicate compounded verbs, i.e. roots to which the short forms of verbs, adverbs and adjectives are prefixed (§12.2.3.).

Formation with partial reduplication:

- **bokogini** ‘wet’, ‘dampen’
- **gesifa** ‘hold’
- **hebuna** ‘look’ (hither)
- **hose’ele** ‘jump’
- **misafu** ‘bless’, ‘expel bad spirit’
- **ti’ala** ‘kick’
- **wa’ara** ‘call’, ‘invite’

  - **bokobokogini** ‘wet’, ‘soak’ (entirely)
  - **gegesifa** ‘hold, clutch (tightly, firmly)’
  - **hebunabuna** ‘observe’ (hither with curiosity)
  - **hosese’ele** ‘hop’ (repeatedly)
  - **misafusafu** ‘caress’
  - **ti’ati’ala** ‘kick’ (to resist)
  - **wawa’ara** ‘call’, ‘invite’ (all the time)

Contextual examples:

(702) Ae uta gawa-bere sera weregau ani ma bokobokogini.

  - rain pour wind-big also therefore 1SG MRK RED-wet
  - ‘It was pouring with rain and very windy, therefore I got wet through.’

---

191 Hose’ele is used interchangeably with the form hode’ele ‘jump’. Some other examples: hosesara = hodesara ‘fall down’, hoseriki = hoderiki ‘lash (down)’, gesifa = gedifa ‘catch’, ‘arrest’, ‘hold’.
(703) *Tufurae wori na’u hebunabuna bo gi to ma’u.*
woman DEM$_3$-that just RED-look but 3SG MRK-not come
‘The woman over there is observing (us here) but she isn’t coming over.’

(704) *Resi ni mata misafusafu do gana to iara.*
Resi REF.POS child RED-caress MRK OPTA MRK-not cry
‘Resi is caressing his child so that she will not cry.’

(705) *Maumeta asi kaka na’u wawa’ara do gi radiu adi’a.*
Maumeta POS brother just RED-call MRK POS radio fix
‘Maumeta always asks my brother to fix his radio.’

Formation with full reduplication:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Base-base</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>base ‘hit’</td>
<td>base-base ‘hit’(continually)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fana ‘teach’</td>
<td>fana-fana ‘teach’, ‘instruct’ (relentlessly)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiri ‘urinate’</td>
<td>kiri-kiri ‘urinate’ (all the time)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leu ‘call’</td>
<td>leu-leu ‘call out’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ria ‘run’</td>
<td>ria-ria ‘run’ (continuously)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>se’i ‘cut’</td>
<td>se’i-se’i ‘cut’ (repeatedly)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uka ‘extract’, ‘pull out’</td>
<td>uka-uka ‘extract’, ‘pull out’ (one by one)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Contextual examples:

(706) *Mata ere gi da’e geele. Ani fana-fana bo*
child DEM$_1$-this POS head hard 1SG RED-teach and
na’unaga to ma’ene.
still MRK-not know
‘This child is stupid. I’ve been teaching all this time and he still doesn’t understand.’

(707) *Abetu suma ena do leu-leu nana bo gi a’a geele.*
Abetu spirit see and RED-call IMMIN but POS mouth stiff
‘Abetu saw a ghost and he wanted to call out (for help) but his mouth froze.’
(708) Gi na’u ria-ria la’a ni boba sorunu.
    3SG just RED-run go REF.POS father meet
    ‘He just ran to meet his father.’

(709) Uta-mu’a nehe baunu do ini anu-fitu nau uka-uka.
    bean-soil INT QUANT so 1PL.EXC CLAS-NUM EMP RED-pull
    ‘The peanut plants were so many that each one of us (seven) pulled up our share.’

12.2.3 Compound Verbs

Numerous compound verbs are formed in Makasae as semantically logical combinations of various parts of speech. The formation can take place in various different ways: firstly, by prefixing the short form of the verb mini (mi~) ‘to follow’ to a verb; secondly, by prefixing to the verb the first syllable of certain adverbials, i.e. the intensifier nehe (ne~) ‘very’ and the seven deictic adverbials (§12.7.1); and thirdly, by prefixing to the verb the first syllable of adjectives gehele (ge~) ‘firm’, ‘tight’ and hete (he~) ‘straight’.

Compound Verbs with the Prefixation of mini (mi~)

The form mi~ from mini ‘follow’ is prefixed to verbs, some of which can take shortened forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fusa</td>
<td>‘peep’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gamunu</td>
<td>‘hold’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>la’a</td>
<td>‘go’, ‘walk’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lo’i</td>
<td>‘wipe’, ‘clean’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma’ene</td>
<td>‘know’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saga</td>
<td>‘look for’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suri</td>
<td>‘let go’, ‘set free’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tamunu</td>
<td>‘mention’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mifusa</td>
<td>‘spy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>migamu</td>
<td>‘feel’, ‘groppe’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mila’a</td>
<td>‘follow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>milo’i</td>
<td>‘anoint’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mima’ene</td>
<td>‘recognise’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>misaga</td>
<td>‘search’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>misuri</td>
<td>‘follow’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(in a large number)

192 See also Hull, *Makasai* 25.
Contextual examples:

(710) Gi betu wori migamu do sa’ukira gi tana ki’i.
3SG bamboo DEM3-that feel as scorpion POS hand bite
‘He was bitten on the hand by a scorpion as he felt through the bamboo.’

(711) Bedur ni dala hau suri do Sesus mila’a.
Peter REF.POS net PERF let go and Jesus follow
‘Peter left his (fishing) net and followed Jesus.’

(712) Era Duraku ma gi dada-asukai mitamu.
3PL Duraku MRK POS grandparent-man name after
‘They named him Duraku after his grandfather.’

**Compound Verbs with Prefixation of Adverbials**

The intensifier nehe ‘very’ and the seven deictic adverbials he’e ‘here’, we’e ‘there’, wo’i ‘over there, yonder’ de’i ‘up ahead’, he’i ‘back there’, do’o ‘up there’ and ho’o ‘down there’ can be prefixed to certain verbs to indicate the sense of intensity and mode of action. To form a compound verb, only the short form of any of these adverbials can be prefixed to the root, but in the case of wo’i, de’i and he’i, the glottal stop is dropped when prefixed.

Formation with the intensifier nehe (ne~):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nehe} & \quad + \quad \text{akasa} \quad ‘\text{try’, ‘attempt’} \quad \text{neakasa} \quad ‘\text{try’ (hard)} \\
\text{nehe} & \quad + \quad \text{da’iri} \quad ‘\text{flatter’, ‘praise’} \quad \text{ned’a’iri} \quad ‘\text{flatter’, ‘praise’ (greatly)} \\
\text{nehe} & \quad + \quad \text{gini} \quad ‘\text{do’, ‘treat’} \quad \text{negini} \quad ‘\text{treat’ (really badly)} \\
\text{nehe} & \quad + \quad \text{guta} \quad ‘\text{kill’, ‘slaughter’} \quad \text{neguta} \quad ‘\text{beat’ (badly)} \\
\text{nehe} & \quad + \quad \text{lolo} \quad ‘\text{tell (off), ’scold’} \quad \text{nelolo} \quad ‘\text{scold’(excessively)} \\
\text{nehe} & \quad + \quad \text{ma’e}’ene \quad ‘\text{know’, ‘understand’} \quad \text{nema’e}’ene \quad ‘\text{know’, ‘understand’(well)}
\end{align*}
\]
Contextual examples:

(713) Era neakasa dete karita were ma rairei.

3PL try hard so car DEM2-that MRK pull out.

‘They tried hard so that the car was pulled out.’

(714) Imila gamu ene oma tama do gi ina gi neguta.

Emily night MRK house enter so POS mother 3SG beat badly

‘Emily came home after dark, so her mother beat her badly.’

(715) Ai ba’ino wori fera seti, gi ene nema’ene.

2SG VOC DEM3-that tentatively ask 3SG MRK know well

‘(You) try asking that (young) gentleman over there; he knows very well.’

Formation with the seven deictic adverbials he’e (he~), we’e (we~), wo’i (woi~), de’i (dei~), he’i (hei~), do’o (do~) and ho’o (ho~) (§: 12.7.1):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>he’e</th>
<th>ta’e</th>
<th>‘sleep’</th>
<th>heta’e</th>
<th>‘sleep here’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>we’e</td>
<td>wau</td>
<td>‘put’, ‘set’</td>
<td>wewau</td>
<td>‘put there’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wo’i</td>
<td>safu</td>
<td>‘bind’</td>
<td>woisafu</td>
<td>‘bind over there’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de’i</td>
<td>naha</td>
<td>‘stand’</td>
<td>deinaha</td>
<td>‘stand up ahead’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he’i</td>
<td>rou</td>
<td>‘remain’, ‘dwell’</td>
<td>heirou</td>
<td>‘remain back there’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do’o</td>
<td>kuri</td>
<td>‘draw line’</td>
<td>dokuri</td>
<td>‘draw a line up there’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ho’o</td>
<td>gisa</td>
<td>‘roast’</td>
<td>hogisa</td>
<td>‘roast down there’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Contextual examples:

(716) Asi dada-tufurae wa’agamu heta’e.

POS grandparent-woman last night sleep here.

‘My grandmother slept here last night.’
(717) *Sabatu were bese-bese ma wewau do hau ma’u ete.*

shoe DEM₂-that quickly MRK put there and PERF come first

‘Put the shoes over there quickly and come here first.’

(718) *Ani bani’a lane’e guba woimii.*

1SG guest PL.MRK POSP sit over there

‘I’ll sit over there with the guests.’

(719) *Biskileta deifara deri na’irehe ge’e?*

bicycle park there DEM₄-that whose

‘Whose bicycle is parked there (up ahead)?’

(720) *Mata ni karita-mata ma heiguni.*

child REF.POS car-child MRK hide there

‘The child hid his toy cars back there.’

(721) *Ana bila mutu sa’i la’a bu’u gua dodebara.*

people town inside QUANT go hilltop POSP live up there

‘All the people in the town have gone to live (up there) on the hilltop.’

(722) *Ini bu’u gua wo’i, meti mutu hobuna.*

1PL.EXC hilltop POSP VERB₃-there is sea inside look down

‘We looked down at the sea from the hilltop.’

Apart from expressing the mode of action, the prefixation of *he~* and *ho~* to certain verbs gives an intense quality to their deictic function. Some of these compound verbs can also create new semantic functions.

Formation with *he’e (he~)*:

*basala* ‘slap’, ‘wash’  *hebasala* ‘sweep’, ‘crash’ (of waves)

*mii* ‘sit’  *hemii* ‘give birth’

*naha* ‘stand, ‘erect’  *henaha* ‘rise’ (for toddler, cripple)

*soru* ‘rub’, ‘wipe’  *hesoru* ‘scratch’

*tafa* ‘stab’  *hetafa* ‘crash’
Contextual examples:

(723) Ane’e meti hebasala do Kampu-Mariniri gi gafi
In the past sea sweep here and Kampu-Marinir POS half
hau tarunu.
PERF bury

‘In the past, the sea swept in and half of Campo Marinheiro was buried.’

(724) Marina hai teni hemii, gi mata asukai u.
Marina INCEP again give birth POS child man one
‘Marina has given birth again, she has a baby boy.’

(725) Ani wa’agamu meta mutu ni defu ma sidi gata hesoru.
1SG last night dark inside REF.POS back MRK wall POSP scratch on
‘Last night in the darkness I scratched my back on the wall.’

Formation with ho’o (ho ~):

\[
\begin{align*}
bia & \quad \text{‘cast’, ‘throw’} & \text{hobia} & \quad \text{‘fall’}^{193} \\
buna & \quad \text{‘look’} & \text{hobuna} & \quad \text{‘despise’, ‘scorn’} \\
dane & \quad \text{‘pass’, ‘extend’} & \text{hodane} & \quad \text{‘be humble’; ‘to humble’, ‘denigrate’} \\
li’ana & \quad \text{‘throw’} & \text{holi’ana} & \quad \text{‘slam’, ‘knock to the ground’} \\
rai & \quad \text{‘keep’} & \text{horai} & \quad \text{‘lower’, ‘be humble’} \\
esesara & \quad \text{‘throw’} & \text{hosesara} & \quad \text{‘fall’}
\end{align*}
\]

Contextual examples:

(726) Mata wori iara tanba gi asa-seu hobia do
child DEM3-that cry because POS fowl-meat fall down and
defa hau nawa.
dog PERF eat

‘The child over there cried because his chicken fell down and was eaten by the

---

193 This verb is different from hosesara which also means ‘fall’, but the elements involved in hobia are only small objects which can be seized (e.g. money, pencil). By contrast, hosesara or hodesara is used with either small or large objects.
dog.’

(727) *Fi  damu-damu ni ma hodane do grasa tia nake.*
1PL.INC QUANT REF.POS MRK be humble MRK blessing receive
‘We all must be humble in order to receive blessings.’

(728) *Gi ni soli geko’olo dete ma holi’ana.*
3SG REF.POS enemy hug then MRK throw down
‘He bear-hugged his (own) opponent, then threw him to the ground.’

**Compound Verbs with Prefixation of Adjectives (gehele, hete)**

The prefix *ge*~, derived from the adjective *gehele* ‘firm, tight’, is added mainly to transitive verbs and has an intensifying function similar to *he~* above.

Formation with prefix *gehele* (ge~)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>base</th>
<th>‘hit’, ‘strike’</th>
<th>gebase</th>
<th>‘hammer’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>di’ara</em></td>
<td>‘sit’</td>
<td><em>gedi’ara</em></td>
<td>‘establish’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(oneself)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>booro</em></td>
<td>‘tie up’</td>
<td><em>gebooro</em></td>
<td>‘tighten’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>gesi</em></td>
<td>‘close’</td>
<td><em>gegesi</em></td>
<td>‘lock’, ‘bolt’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ko’olo</em></td>
<td>‘hug’</td>
<td><em>geko’olo</em></td>
<td>‘embrace’,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘include’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sifa</em></td>
<td>‘hold, ‘drive’, ‘catch’</td>
<td><em>gesifa</em></td>
<td>‘hold’, ‘arrest’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>si’ili</em></td>
<td>‘bind’, ‘tie’</td>
<td><em>gesi’ili</em></td>
<td>‘fasten’, ‘secure’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Contextual examples:

(729) *Gi geri-geri fergu ere ma neinei base do*
3SG first of all nail DEM1-this MRK slowly hit and
‘First of all he hit the nail slowly and

*la’a waidofi dete gebase.*
go at the end MRK hammer securely
(it’s) at the end (that) he hammered it.’
‘Before going to bed, we locked the door, otherwise people could just open it.’

By contrast, the synonymous form *hete* ‘straight’ is prefixed in its full form mainly to intransitive verbs denoting position.

Formation with prefix *hete* (*he~*):

- *buna* ‘look’
- *hetebuna* ‘look’ (straight)
  ‘ignore’, ‘disregard’
- *la’a* ‘go’, ‘walk’
- *hetela’a* ‘walk’ (straight)
- *li’ana* ‘throw’
- *heteli’ana* ‘throw a stone’ (straight)
- *mii* ‘sit’
- *hetemii* ‘sit (straight)’
  ‘get up’
- *naha* ‘stand’
- *hetenaha* ‘stand up’
  ‘erect’
- *sesara* ‘fall’
- *hetimesara* ‘fall’ (straight)

Contextual examples:

‘Mabo’u ignored his friends when he walked past them, therefore they abused him.’
(733) *Tuku faa meta-meta era hetemii do redi suri gau la’as.*

beat four early in the morning 3PL get up and net cast POSP go

‘They got up early at four in the morning and went to cast their net.’

(734) *Anu damu-damu hetenaha do ministur tia ma’a.*

people QUANT stand up MRK minister welcome

‘All the people stood up to welcome the minister.’

### 12.2.4 Serial Verb Constructions

Apart from being a characteristic of Tetum, serial verb constructions are also normal in other vernaculars of East Timor.\(^{194}\) This shared feature is part of a larger linguistic area encompassing not only the Timoric and Papuan vernaculars of East Timor (Hull 98) but also varieties of Malay spoken in the eastern zone of Indonesia (van Engelenhoven, as qtd. in Hajek 251).

Serial verb constructions are therefore common in Makasae. To express a concept such as ‘to inform’, for example, a speaker can use either the single verb *lolo* ‘to tell’ preceded by a postposition *gau* ‘to, for’ or use the serial verb construction *gini-wali* ‘give listen’. Similarly, to express ‘to love’ the speaker can employ either the single verb *ramiaka* ‘to love’, or the serial verb construction *gehere-karaka* ‘think-want’. In the official orthography verbs in a serial construction are joined with a hyphen.

In the present study serial verbs are defined narrowly as inseparable sequences of two verbs which have a meaning distinct from that of two component verbs used singly or sequentially, as per Hull & Eccles 9.4. This approach differs, for instance, from that of Williams-van Klinken, Hajek and Nordlinger (*Tetun* 92) who treat all verb sequences as serial verbs, and is close to the definition proposed in Aikhenvald 1; Durie 291; Payne 288; Sebba 3858 which state that apart from expressing a single clause or sentence, neither the first nor the second verb behaves as subordinate or modifier to the other, and these serial verbs are often

\(^{194}\) In the case of Dili Tetum, according to Hajek’s study in 2006, deserialisation has been significant because of the ongoing process of “grammaticalisation, lexicalisation, and contact with Portuguese” (239-40).
conceptualized as pointing to a single event or action and have the same intonation contour. In the present study, other verb sequences are examined in 12.3.5.

**Forms of Serial Verb Constructions**

Serial verbs in Makasae are formed by compounding two distinct verbs which together express a single meaning, with no constituents being permitted to come between them.196

- **bati-lolo** share-say ‘spread (news)’
- **bati-la’’a** separate-go ‘part; split; separate’
- **gafu-ria** bring-run ‘kidnap, abduct’ (= T. lori-halai)
- **gehere-karaka** think-want ‘love’
- **gini-wali** make-listen ‘inform’
- **nelu-ta’e** forget-sleep ‘sleep (soundly)’
- **saga-base** search for-hit ‘hit (randomly)’
- **saga-buna** search for-see ‘observe’
- **saga-la’a** search for-go ‘approach’; ‘befriend’
- **taru-ria** bet-run ‘race’

Contextual examples:

(735) *Iskolanti lane’e Da’e-Koru gi sobu-asa ma bati-lolo.*

student PL.MRK God POS word MRK share-say

‘The disciples spread the word of the Lord.’

(736) *Era mestir hau gini-wali dete oma isi la’a.*

3PL teacher PERF make-listen then house LOC go

‘They informed the teacher before going home.’

195 See also Foley and Olson (Clausehood 1985: 17-60).

196 In a discussion with Dr Hull and Dr Saunders on 21 July 2010, it was noted that a sequence of verbs forming a serial verb construction can appear as a single entry in a wordlist or dictionary, whereas a verb sequence normally does not.

197 The few available Tetum equivalents are given to show that these forms are not all ‘Sprachbund calques’ but some are unique to the Makasae language. Indeed, the greater abundance of serial verbs in Makasae suggests that in Timor this phenomenon originated in the Papuan languages.
Another type of serial verb construction in Makasae is formed from two different verbs, the second of which expresses the principal action, whereas the first verb functions as an adverbial or directional complement. In the current Tetum-influenced orthography a hyphen is not required in such cases.

- **guta ria** kill run ‘run over’
- **guta suri** kill shoot ‘shoot (dead)’
- **mini la’a** follow go ‘return, go back’
- **mini ma’u** follow come ‘return, come back’
- **ra’isa asara** go out order ‘expel; drive out’
- **se’ele misa** jump ascend ‘jump up’ (= T. haksoit sa’e)

Contextual examples:

(739) **OUN** gi karera u wa’agamu isi de fa guta ria.
A UN car one last night POS dog kill run
‘A UN car ran over and killed our dog last night.’

(740) **Mata ere ...., gi mini la’a ni bobo sorunu.**
child DEM1-this 3SG follow go REF.POS father meet
‘This son..., he returned home to see his father.’

(741) **Kaiseru mauku do gi pataran hau ma ra’isa asara.**
cashier drunk so POS employer PERF MRK go out order
‘The cashier was drunk so his employer dismissed him.’
12.2.5 Nouns used as Verbs

Like Tetum whose “grammatical categories are characteristically fluid”, having nouns functioning as verbs (Hull and Eccles 84), Makasae also has a large number of loanwords, particularly from Portuguese, which, apart from retaining their original functions as nouns, have also been assigned new functions as verbs. However, there appear to be no native nouns used as verbs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Makasae</th>
<th>noun/verb</th>
<th>Portuguese noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>basensi</td>
<td>‘patience’/ ‘to be patient’</td>
<td>&lt; paciência</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bomba</td>
<td>‘bomb’/ ‘to bomb’</td>
<td>&lt; bomba ‘bomb’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>interse</td>
<td>‘interest’/ ‘to care about’</td>
<td>&lt; interesse ‘interest’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isikola</td>
<td>‘school’/ ‘to study’</td>
<td>&lt; escola ‘school’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kontartu</td>
<td>‘contract’/ ‘to contract’, ‘to engage’</td>
<td>&lt; contrato ‘contract’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuitadu</td>
<td>‘pity’/ ‘to have pity on’</td>
<td>&lt; coitado ‘poor’, ‘unfortunate’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuidadu</td>
<td>‘care’/ ‘to care’, ‘to be careful’</td>
<td>&lt; cuidado ‘care’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siribisu</td>
<td>‘service’, ‘work’/ ‘to work’</td>
<td>&lt; serviço ‘service’, ‘work’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Contextual examples:

(742) Ana wa’a kareta seuru ere dadau basensi nana’adawa ..... people REL car drive DEM1-this must be patient otherwise .... ‘People who drive cars must be patient, otherwise ....

(743) Infermeru lane’e wori fi interse weregau fi nurse PL.MRK DEM3-that 1PL.INC care about therefore POS baga kura. wound heal ‘Those nurses over there cared about us, therefore they treated our wounds.’
(744) Sina-mata deri karaka i anu-mahi kontartu do

China-child DEM₄-that want 2PL CLAS-two contract MRK

‘That young Chinese (up in front) wants to contract you two

gi  dera  bura.

POS  thing  sell
to sell his merchandise.’

(745) Butunuru were ini la’a waa mutu siribisu.

June DEM₂-that 1PL.EXC go orchard inside work

‘We went to work in the orchard in June.’

12.3 Verb Functions

12.3.1 Non-Inflection of Verbs

Makasae, like Dili Tetum (Tetum-Praça), lacks verbal inflections.¹⁹⁸ The verbs do not change form according to person and number. To determine person and number, speakers usually rely on the pronouns and nouns in a phrase, clause or a previous context.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Makasae</th>
<th>Dili-Tetum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(746) ani laguru</td>
<td>ha’u doko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ai laguru</td>
<td>ó doko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gi laguru</td>
<td>nia doko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fi laguru</td>
<td>ita doko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ini laguru</td>
<td>ami doko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i laguru</td>
<td>imi doko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>era laguru</td>
<td>sira doko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mai laguru</td>
<td>sira doko</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘I shake’
‘you (singular) shake’
‘he/she/it shakes’
‘we (inclusive) shake’
‘we (exclusive) shake’
‘you (plural) shake’
‘they (human entity) shake’
‘they (all entities) shake’

¹⁹⁸ Inflection does exist in Tetum-Terik dialects where the “verbs are inflected for person with a series of prefixes”, see Hull and Eccles 86.
Contextualised examples:

(747) *Mariana surati ma ni raku gau kereke.*

Marinne letter MRK POS friend POSP write

‘Marianne writes a letter to her friend.’ (cf. Tetum: *Mariana hakerek surat ba nia belun.*)

(748) *La’idaa lane’e tu bia weredete gi seluseluku mibota.*

old PL.MRK first cast afterwards QUANT vote (later)

‘The elderly cast their vote first, afterwards the others follow.’

12.3.2 Auxiliary *gini*

**Suffixation with the Auxiliary ~gini**

In comparison with Tetum which uses the prefix *ha~* or *hah~* to form causative verbs, Makasae employs the auxiliary *gini*, which is suffixed to the short forms of certain adjectives or nouns to express causatives.199

| bobokoru | ‘lazy’ | bobokogini | ‘make lazy’
| bokolo | ‘wet’ | bokogini | ‘wet’, ‘dampen’
| dabunu | ‘crumbly’, ‘pulverised’ | dabugini | ‘crush’, ‘pound’
| danara | ‘surprised’, ‘amazed’ | danagini | ‘startle’, ‘shock’
| fukala | ‘slippery’ | fukagini | ‘smooth’, ‘polish’
| gehele | ‘hard’, ‘firm’, ‘tight’ | gegini | ‘tighten’, ‘harden’
| imiri | ‘red’ | imigini | ‘redden’
| labihi | ‘withered’, ‘cringing’ | labigini | ‘wither’, ‘cringe’
| lefene | ‘flat’ | lefegini | ‘flatten’ (of tin, can)
| loloro | ‘right’, ‘straight’ | lologini | ‘straighten’, ‘correct’
| ribaku | ‘disordered’, ‘incompetent’ | ribagini | ‘mess’

199 Hull also states in his 2005 study of Makasae that “synthetic causative verbs” are non-existent in this vernacular. The suffixation of *gini* to adjectives or nouns resembles Tetum *halo* ‘make’ + adjectives or nouns (25).
Contextual examples:

(749) Mai ni lesu ma bokogini do ma
3PL REF.POS handkerchief MRK dampen so POSP
ni fanu lo’i.
REF.POS face rub
‘They dampen their (own) handkerchief in order to rub their (own) faces.’

(750) Watu nehe berihi do telī sa’i ma labigini.
sun very hot so corn QUANT MRK wither
‘The sun was so hot that it withered all the corn plants.’

(751) Asukai wori na’u ribagini do fulisi gi sīfa.
man DEM3-that just mess so police MRK arrest
‘That man over there misbehaved, so the police arrested him.’

Compounding: adjective/ noun + gini

Not all Makasae adjectives can be shortened to form causative verbs. In such cases these adjectives (together with certain nouns) are combined syntactically with the auxiliary gini in a causative function:

Formation with adjective + gini:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sahara</th>
<th>‘dried’</th>
<th>sagini</th>
<th>‘dry’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sisiri</td>
<td>‘sick’</td>
<td>sisigini</td>
<td>‘sicken’, ‘make sick’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tetuku</td>
<td>‘flat’, ‘level’</td>
<td>tetugini</td>
<td>‘flatten’ (of soil, land)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ti’iri</td>
<td>‘heavy’</td>
<td>ti’igini</td>
<td>‘load’, ‘weigh down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>togunu</td>
<td>‘deep’</td>
<td>togugini</td>
<td>‘deepen’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
bo’oko ‘rotten’  bo’oko gini ‘rot’

du’ulu ‘good’, ‘beautiful’  du’ulu gini ‘beautify’

malara ‘wide’  malara gini ‘widen’

ra’i ‘dirty’  ra’i gini ‘make dirty’, ‘soil’

susara ‘difficult’  susara gini ‘afflict’, ‘plague’

Contextual examples:

(752) I        dadau oma     keta     mutu     wori     ma     asana     gini.
2PL must house rice field inside DEM3-that MRK high make
‘You must increase the height of the house in the rice field.’

(753) Soke     ai     tana     lane’e     gata     ere     aihaa     sa’i
mud 2SG hand PL.MRK attach DEM1-this door QUANT.
ma       ra’i     gini.
MRK dirty make
‘The mud on your hands soiled all the doors.’

Formation with noun + gini:

ama ‘garden’  ama gini ‘cultivate’ (in the
garden),
‘to garden’

iana ‘shade’  iana gini ‘(to) shade’

ira ‘water’  ira gini ‘irrigate’

keta ‘rice field’  keta gini ‘cultivate’ (in the rice
field)
‘to grow rice’

loono ‘cloud’  loono gini ‘cool off’

meti ‘sea’  meti gini ‘(to) fish’ (during low
 tide)

(754) Susulu     ere     dete     fi     ira     gini     ama     gini.
February DEM1-this MRK 1PL.INC water make garden make
‘(It’s) in February (that) we irrigate and cultivate the land.’
(755) *Asukai lane’e meta-meta nai hai la’a meti gini.*

male PL.MRK early in the morning INCEP go sea make

‘The men go fishing early in the morning.’

12.3.3 Modal Verbs

Modal verbs are used to express a mood or attitude towards an event described by the following verb. The functions of modals include events such as expressing politeness or indirectness when giving orders, advice, permission or making requests. In Makasae, the functions of modal verbs are classified into possibility and permission, probability, potentiality, skill or ability, desire, necessity, attempt and habit. In the description below, each subclass of the modals is discussed.

**Possibility or Probability: be’u, barese**

The modal verbs *be’u* and *barese* express possibility or probability ‘can, may’. The negative form is *to be’u* ‘cannot’ and is distinguished from the similar negative form *tobe’u*, ‘must not’ which expresses necessity. *Barese*, adopted from Dili Tetum *parese*, is derived from Portuguese *parece* ‘seems’. It can occur sentence-initially as in Portuguese or after the subject of the sentence. In sentence constructions with either *be’u* or *barese*, the direct objects and adverbs can occur between the verbs, e.g. in 756.

Formation with *be’u*:

(756) *Mata wa’a ani gituu gi iti tefu wori ehani hai be’u se’ele.*

child REL year previous POS foot break DEM3-that now INCEP MOD jump

‘The child who broke his leg last year can jump now.’

(757) *Era be’u la’a isikola pirimaria isi tama.*

3PL MOD go school primary LOC enter

‘They can start primary school.’
**Permission: be’u**

Apart from expressing possibility or probability, *be’u* is also used to express permission ‘may, can, be allowed’.

(763) *Baba lolo era be’u la’a filimi ena.*

father say 3PL MOD go film see

‘Father said they may go to watch a movie.’
(764) Ai beu tabaku te’ini maisi tobe’u matarini lane’e malene
2SG MOD tobacco smoke but mustn’t child PL.MRK near
‘You may smoke a cigarette, but you mustn’t get close to the children.’

When making a request, in comparison with Tetum which, under the
influence of Indonesian, can move its modal bele ‘may’ to sentence-initial position
rather than being placed after the subject, Makasae usually has its affirmative or
negative sentences turned into requests by means of rising intonation on the final
word.

(765) Era be’u la’a sinema ena?
3PL MOD go film see
‘Can/may they go to watch the movie?’ (cf. Tetum: Bele sira bá haree filme?)

Chance or Opportunity: berama, bibana

The modal verbs used to describe chance or opportunity in Makasae are
berama and bibana ‘have the chance to’, ‘manage to’, ‘succeed in’. The second form
was derived from Tetum biban. In Tetum biban and konsege are used
interchangeably, with the latter being derived from Portuguese consegue.

(766) Ira-waa ere bibiri bo era berama tau la’a.
river DEM1-this strong but 3PL MOD POSP go
‘The torrent was strong, but they managed to cross.’

(767) Ani berama mai guba lolini.
1SG MOD 3PL POSP speak
‘I had the chance to speak to them.’

(768) Fara-mata toku bo gi bibana sawere la’a meti-wali mege.
ship-child capsize but 3SG MOD swim go sea-edge reach
‘The boat capsized, but he managed to swim ashore.’

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200 Hull and Eccles, 102.
(769) Gi ni soli lane’e bibana saga do geko’olo.
    3SG POS enemy PL.MRK MOD look for and hug
    ‘He managed to find his adversaries and gave them a hug.’

**Skill: ba’e, bada’e**

Makasae speakers usually use the words ba’e and bada’e ‘know (how to)’, corresponding to English ‘can’, to express the concept of knowing something that has been learnt. Bada’e was adopted from the Tetum noun badain ‘tradesman’, ‘artisan’, but in Makasae it has obtained a new function as a verb. The term for ‘tradesman’ in Makasae is badae, representing a later borrowing of the same term. The Tetum etymon itself is the Malay word pandai which functions as either an adjective ‘intelligent’ or a verb ‘know how to’.

(770) Ki’inoa ba’e looro.
    or
    Ki’inoa bada’e looro.
    Ki’inoa MOD swim
    ‘Ki’inoa can (knows how to) swim.’

(771) Kondotor u ba’e karita adi’a.
    or
    Kondotor u bada’e karita adi’a
    driver one MOD car fix
    ‘A driver can (knows how to) fix a car.’

**Desire: karaka, tula or naautula**

The modal verb which expresses desire in Makasae is karaka ‘want’, ‘wish’. Its negative is either tula or naautula ‘not want’, ‘refuse’. Some speakers may also replace the last vowel in these two forms with e (tule, nautele). Tula usually precedes an intransitive verb or follows the object of transitive verb. By contrast, the collocation of naautula is flexible in sentences with both transitive and intransitive verbs. It can be placed either before or after the direct object and is followed by the verb.
Formation with karaka:

(772) *Gi karaka hetenaha bo to be’u tanba gi iti sisiri.*

3SG MOD stand up but MRK-not MOD because POS foot ache
‘He/she wants to stand up but (he/she) cannot because his/her feet are aching.’

(773) *Mata felei-bere lane’e karaka resa ti’ala.*

child RCT-big PL.MRK MOD rice kick
‘The grown-up children want to unhusk the rice.’ (cf. Tetum: *Labarik foin-sa’e sira hakarak sama hare.*)

Formation with tula:

(774) *Anu sisiri wori tula nawa.*

man sich DEM3-that MOD eat
‘That sick man (over there) doesn’t want to eat.’

(775) *Digalai rou tula uka.*

Digalai grass MOD pull
‘Digalai doesn’t want to pull out the weeds.’

Formation with nautula (nautule):

(776) *Alakai nautula isikola weregau gi iba si’aka.*

Alakai MOD school so POS father angry
‘Alakai didn’t want to go to school, so his father was angry with him.’

(777) *Wori aga do nautule uma isi la’a.*

PRON afraid so MOD house LOC go
‘He was afraid so (he) didn’t want to go home.’

(778) *Mu’a hai gamu; ani ni raku lane’e nautula asara uma isi la’a.*

land INCEP night 1SG POS friend PL.MRK MOD order house LOC go
‘It’s already night time; I don’t want to force my friends to go home.’
The verb *karaka* can be preceded by the negative maker *to* to express a negative meaning, but like Tetum *la hakarak*, it tends to mean ‘not to like’. 201

(779) *Ani to karaka era guba baa-tuturu.* 202
1SG MRK-not like 3PL POSP loincloth-carry (on the head)
‘I don’t like to have anything to do with them.’

Compare with:

*Ani nautula era guba baa-tuturu.*
1SG MOD 3PL POSP loincloth-carry (on the head)
‘I don’t want to have a conversation with them.’

**Necessity: *daudau (dadau), tenki, tobe’u, lalika, persiza/persisa***

To express necessity, speakers usually employ the modal verbs *daudau* (*dadau*) and *tenki* ‘must’, ‘have to’, the latter adopted from Tetum *tenke* which is originally from Portuguese *tem que*.

(780) *Fi daudau saga do ni ma Jezus male mara.*
1PL.INC MOD look for MRK REF MRK Jesus near go
‘We have to try to approach Jesus.’

(781) *Sinal i’a ge’e nehe ba’unu ene fi tenki kumpri.*
sign street POS very QUANT MRK 1PL.INC MOD obey
‘We must obey many street signs.’ (cf. Tetum: *Sinál dalan nian barak mak ita tenke kumpre.*)

When a negative is expressed, *tobe’u* ‘must not’ and *lalika* ‘need not’ are used. The sequence with the negative marker *to* preceding the verb *tenki* does not exist in Makasae:

(782) *Maski fi susara, fi tobe’u ana mula.*
although 1PL.INC suffer 1PL.INC MOD people curse
‘Although we are suffering, we must not curse people.’

201 Hull and Eccles 105.

202 *baa-tuturu* is an idiomatic expression meaning ‘to have a conversation with’.
Makasae speakers also use *persiza*, a tetumism from *presiza* meaning ‘need’, to express necessity.\(^\text{203}\) As in English, *persiza* can function as both an ordinary verb or a modal. In comparison with English ‘need’, which can function as a modal in negatives and occasionally in questions but rarely in affirmative sentences, *persiza* can occur in all these constructions. Its negative is *to persiza* which is similar to *lalika* ‘need not’.

(784) *Era* *persiza* *boko*.

3PL MOD hide

‘They need to hide.’ (cf. Tetum: *Sira presiza subar.*)

(785) *Iskola-mata* *lane’e* *to persiza iskola safi* *tanba*  
school-child PL.MRK MRK-not MOD school sweep because  
*wa’asi* *feriadu*.

today holiday

‘The schoolchildren need not sweep the school because today is a holiday.’

**Habit: *toman***

To express the action of the following verb as habitual, Makasae uses the modal verb *toman* ‘be accustomed to’, ‘get used to’, which is derived from Tetum *toman*. When forming a negative construction, the sequence *to tomana* or *noto tomana* is usually employed. The direct object may come either before or after the modal.

(786) *Era tomana siribisu watu u gafu-gafu*.

3PL MOD work day one all (day) long

‘They’re getting used to working all day long.’ (cf. Tetum: *Sira toman servisu loron ida tomatomak.*)

\(^{203}\) Portuguese *precisa*. 
(787) Ani tufurae lane’e to tomana asara keta liguru.

1SG woman PL.MRK MRK-not MOD order rice field chase
‘I am not used to asking women to work in the rice field (preparing the rice field for planting by running buffalo over it).’

(788) Mama to tomana Onako’o guba lolini.
Mother MRK-not MOD Onako’o POSP speak
‘Mother has not got used to speaking with Onako’o.’

12.3.4 Transitivity

Verbs in Makasae can be either transitive or intransitive (789 and 790), and there are many which can be both (791).

(789) Asi tana gi ra’i waru gene weregau waru ra’i.
POS hand POS dirty shirt touch therefore shirt dirty
‘My dirty hand touched the shirt therefore it became dirty.’

(790) Mai na’ugii kaburu do fulisi mai gesifa.
3PL always quarrel so police 3PL arrest
‘They always quarrel so the police arrested them.

(791) Wa’asi gamu-gamu baba sasoro nawa bo meudia wori
today in the morning father porridge eat but noon DEM3-that to nawa.
MRK-not eat
‘This morning father ate porridge, but he didn’t eat at noon.’

There are also verbs used in a more complex relationship with other elements within sentence constructions where the agent of the action can only be assumed, what Crystal (Dictionary 316) calls “pseudo-intransitive” constructions. Makasae speakers often use this passive-like sentence construction when they want to focus on the object as the element which is being acted upon (§12.3.8).
(792) Karlus hai ani lima Bekora deikastigu.
   Carlos INCEP year five Becora jail in
   ‘Carlos has been jailed in Becora for five years.’

(793) Galikai wesere’e Teulale isi woitaurunu.
   Galikai yesterday Teulale LOC be buried at
   ‘Galikai was buried at Teulale (cemetery) yesterday.’

(794) Abirili di Maiu rehani, resa be’u se’i afa.
   April or May like that rice MOD cut IMMIN
   ‘In April or May, the rice can be harvested.’

12.3.5 Verb Sequences

   It is very common in Makasae for verbs to be placed next to each other
   without necessarily having a serial function. Such verb sequences involve the
   juxtaposing of ordinary verbs, modals or causative verbs and ordinary verbs, or
   synonymous and reduplicative verbs. A separate discussion of serial verb
   constructions is presented in §12.2.4.

Verb Sequences with Ordinary Verbs

   When two ordinary verbs occur in a sequence, the sequence may become
   non-contiguous because the direct object, adverbial and postposition of the clause of
   the second verb can intervene between the two verbs:

   (795) Liurai mordoro asara bobakasa base.
   king guard order drum beat
   ‘The king ordered the guard to beat the drum.’

   (796) Mestir isikola-mata lane’e seti nama-nama leu.
   teacher school-child PL.MRK request loudly read
   ‘The teacher asked the students to read aloud.’
(797) Feloi-bere lane’e ni raku lane’e saga guba wauru.

   youth PL.MRK POS friend PL.MRK look for POSP dance

   ‘The young men are looking for their girlfriends to dance with.’

   The sequence of verbs can also be interrupted by the insertion of the particle do to act as a linkage marker in co-ordinate clauses. Although the co-ordinate constructions below can occur without do, its inclusion is preferred in standard Makasae.

(798) Tufurae mahi asukai lane’e sa’i keta isi

   woman and man PL.MRK QUANT rice field LOC
   la’a do siribisu.

   go in order to work

   ‘The men and women went to the rice field to work

(799) Tanki Luge mutu sa’a la’a do suri.

   tank Luge inside cross go and shoot

   ‘The tank passed through Lugue, shooting as it went.’

Verb Sequences with Modals

(800) Fi be’u lolo Timor gi sistema edukasaun na’unaga...

   1PL.INC MOD say Timor POS system education still ...

   ‘We can say that the East Timorese education system is yet to.....’

(801) Amululiki sarani lane’e wa’ara resa.

   priest Christian PL.MRK invite pray

   ‘The priest invited the faithful to pray.’

   When a modal verb is followed by a transitive verb, the object of the ordinary verb may come between the two verbs ($§12.3.3$):

(802) Fi karaka tulunu seti.

   1PL.INC MOD help ask for

   ‘We want to ask for help.’
(803) Se anu kareta nake, mais to ba’e kareta teta
    if person car take, but MRK-not know car fix
    di adi’a....
or put in order
‘If someone drives a car, but cannot fix it ...’

Apart from a direct object, an adverb or postposition which is part of the
clause with the second verb can also interrupt the sequence:204

(804) Era berama rau-rau rusu.
    3PL MOD well sing
‘They could sing well.’

(805) Wori nautula uma isi la’a.
    PRON MOD house LOC go
‘He/she didn’t want to go home.’

Causative Verb Sequences

In Makasae there are two different ways of building causative verb sequence
constructions, both of which are contiguous. The major verbs in both constructions
are usually intransitive:

a) gini ‘make’ followed immediately by the unrestricted or major verb in a verb
sequence construction:

(806) Mata wori usa-usa ni noko gini iara.
    child DEM3-that every day POS (younger) brother make cry
‘That child over there makes his brother cry every day.’

(807) Gi kofu gini hosesara do dahala.
    3SG glass make fall and break
‘He dropped the glass and it broke.’

204 Hull, Makasai 27.
b) The major verb precedes gini ‘make’. The particle ma, an emphasising object marker which usually occurs after the object in standard Makasae, can be dropped in colloquial speech.

(808) Ae-bere wa’agamu ata (ma) ta’i gini.
    rain-big last night light MRK extinguish make
    ‘The heavy rain last night put out the fire.’

(809) Watu-beri’i ate-lafu baunu (ma) umu gini.
    day-hot tree-life QUANT MRK break make
    ‘Hot weather kills a lot of plants.’

**Synonymous Verb Sequences**

Synonymous verbs or near-synonymous verbs which commonly appear in Makasae verb sequence constructions serve different purposes. They may be used to emphasise the duration of an action (810), intensify the meaning of a single event (811), or indicate repetitions of the same action (812):

(810) Era ria ria ria la’a wai-mata nehela’a dete hau naha.
    3PL run run run PREP river-offspring find then PERF stand
    ‘They ran and ran and ran until they found the spring (and) then they stopped.’

(811) Dai kainaun ma Matebia suri suri do ana
    foreigner cannon MRK Matebian shoot shoot and people
    baunu guta.
    many kill
    ‘The Indonesian military pounded Matebian with artillery and many people were killed.’

(812) Ani wori wa’ara wa’ara wa’ara bo diku do
    1SG DEM3-that call call call but deaf so to wali.
    MRK-not hear/listen
    ‘I called and called and called him, but he’s deaf, so he didn’t hear (me).’
The object of near-synonymous verbs can also be dropped when the context is obvious to both the speaker and listener or when intransitive verbs are used.

(813) *Mai wa’agamu nawa-gehe do sa’i mauku.*

3PL last night eat-drink so QUANT drunk

‘They ate and drank last night, so they all got drunk.’

(814) *Mata lane’e reko-ka’aka gamu-gamu tarata.*

child PL.MRK shout-cheer night-night POSP.

‘The children made a racket (shouted and cheered) until the morning.’

When the reflexive pronoun *ni* functioning as an object constituent co-referential with the subject appears in the construction, it usually precedes each verb (815). However, if the verbs are compounds formed from the sequence adverb + verb, the object marker *ma* precedes them.

(815) *I dadau ni ena ni kuidadu.*

2PL MOD REF look after REF to be careful

‘You must take care of yourselves.’

(816) *Fi damu-damu ni ma horai-hodane.*

1PL.INC QUANT REF MRK put down-lower

‘We all must be humble.’

Each of the synonymous or near-synonymous transitive or intransitive verbs in a verb sequence can be preceded by the same adverb, postposition, aspect or negative marker.

(817) *Onai wori mata ere ma rau leu rau wa’ara.*

lady DEM3-that child DEM1-this MRK well call well invite

‘The lady over there coaxed the child to come.’

---

205 The verb *nawa* ‘eat’ also means ‘drink’, particularly when the referred object is the generic term *maa* ‘traditional liquor’. For example: *Ani maa nawa* ‘I drank liquor’, but *Ani serbesa gehe* ‘I drank beer’. The most accurate English equivalent is therefore ‘consume’.
(818) *Liaguli wa’a wesere’e karita tugala ere hai umu*

thief REL yesterday car hit DEM₁-this INCEP die

*hai* gatene.

INCEP wedge

‘The thief who was hit by the car yesterday has died.’

(819) *La’idaa lane’e seu ere gua lolo gua*

elder PL.MRK meat DEM₁-this POSP say POSP

*suma* nana.

mention IMMIN

‘The elders blessed the meat.’

(820) *Ini to liguru to asara bo mu’a hai gamu,*

1PL.EXC MRK-not chase MRK-not order but land INCEP night

‘We don’t really want to ask you to leave, but it’s already dark,

i *bese-bese tagara.*

2PL. quickly walk

so you should go home quickly.’

**Reduplicative Verb Sequences**

Makasae action verbs are often reduplicated to express repetition of an action with some intensity. The verb sequence can be transitive or intransitive:

(821) *Baba ate-bata ere lași-lası bo to tefu.*

father tree-trunk DEM₁-this cut-cut but MRK-not break

‘Father chopped and chopped the tree but it didn’t fall.’

(822) *Gira-gira lewori gamu tame leu-leu do ana*

madman EMP-DEM₃-that night middle call-call so people

to *ta’e.*

MRK-not sleep

‘That madman (over there) was shouting and yelling last night so that people weren’t able to sleep.’
The reduplicated verb sequence in this construction can also be repeated to express duration, intensity and renewal of an action as in the case of synonymous verb sequences:

(823) Ani rou ere hai uka-uka uka-uka bo
1SG grass DEM1-this INCEP yank-yank yank-yank but
na’unaga baunu.
still QUANT.
‘I’ve been pulling and yanking the weeds out, but there are still a lot left.’

12.3.6. Deictic Verbs

Apart from the seven degrees of deixis described in the sections on demonstrative pronouns (§9.1) and adverbials of place (§12.7.2), Makasae also has a series of verbs employed to refer to particular locations.

(824) Seven degrees of deixis in Makasae verb

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Degrees</th>
<th>Non-emphatic</th>
<th>Emphatic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>he’e or e’e ‘to be here’</td>
<td>lehe’e or le’e ‘to be right here’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>we’e ‘to be there’</td>
<td>lewe’e ‘to be right there’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>wo’i ‘to be over there/yonder’</td>
<td>lewo’i ‘to be right over there’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>de’i ‘to be there ahead’</td>
<td>lede’i ‘to be right there ahead’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>he’i or e’i ‘to be there behind’</td>
<td>lehe’i ‘to be right there behind’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>do’o ‘to be up there’</td>
<td>ledo’o or lodo’o ‘to be right up there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>ho’o or o’o ‘to be down there’</td>
<td>leho’o, loho’o, lo’o ‘to be right down there’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Contextual examples:

(825) Ana Laga mutu he’e ene ma’u dera tehu.
people Laga inside VERB MRK come thing buy
‘(It’s) the people here in Laga (who) bought the things.’

(826) Defa-mata lewo’i bo gi gauhaa ene
    dog-child EMP-VERB3-yonder but POS owner MRK
    hai molu.
    INCEP lose
    ‘The puppy is right over there, but the owner has disappeared.’

(827) Baba lane’e he’i tai?
    father PL.MRK VERB5-there is TAG.
    ‘The elders are back there, aren’t they?’

(828) Era hai sa’i ma’u do na’u loho’o.
    3PL INCEP QUANT come and just EMP-VERB7-down there
    ‘They have all come and they are just right down there.’

When the sentence construction is negative, notonai, notosai, tonai, tosai, noto and to always precede the deictic verbs just like with an ordinary verb:

(829) Ini isikola isi la’a bo feriadu do ana
    1PL.INC school LOC go but holiday so people
    to we’e.
    MRK-not VERB2-there is
    ‘We went to school but it was a holiday so nobody was there.’

(830) Mata lane’e notonai ho’o, era hai sa’i lodo’o.
    child PL.MRK MRK-not VERB7-there is 3PL INCEP QUANT VERB
    ‘The children are not down there, they are all right up there.’

When expressing location, the intransitive verb wai ‘stay’, ‘remain’, ‘wait’ can be compounded to the seven non-emphatic deictic verbs (Hull, Makasai 29).

(831) Isi oma wa’a Kuluhun isi wo’i ere hai
    POS house REL Kuluhún LOC VERB3-there is DEM1-this INCEP
na’u  waiwo’i.
just  stay there
‘Our house (which is) at Kuluhún has remained there.’

However, if the emphatic deictic verbs are used, wai usually precedes them as in a verb cluster.

(832) Asukai  lane’e  ama  dila,  tufurae  lane’e  wai  lehe’e
man  PL.MRK garden clean woman PL.MRK stay EMP-ADV1-here
	tinani  tina.
food  cook
‘Men work in the garden while women stay here to prepare food.’

12.3.7 Equative and Existential Sentences

Equative Sentence: Zero Verb

Equative sentences in Makasae are expressed without any copula (‘to be’), as in other Timorese languages (e.g. Tetum, Kawaimina). To form an equative sentence in these languages, a speaker simply juxtaposes the first and second elements.

(833) Rita  logo-sege.
Rita  lie-SUF.
‘Rita is a liar.’ (cf. Tetum: Rita bosok-teen and Kawaimina: Rite n’oso-me’e.)

(834) Ere  afi-seu  bo  were  bai-seu.
DEM1-this fish-meat but DEM2-that pig-meat
‘This is fish, but that is pork.’
(cf. Tetum: Ne’e na’an-ikan maibé ne’ebá na’an-fahi and Kawaimina: Midee sisi-ike mais miki sisi-wau.)
An equative sentence expressing an assertion but with zero copula can also be constructed by having the demonstrative pronoun *ere* placed after the subject. Such affirmative sentences work exactly like those of Tetum and Kawaimina.\(^{206}\)

(835) *Gasi-ra’unu ani-ani ere isi tardsaun.*

salt-scoop year-year DEM\(_1\)-this POS tradition

‘Harvesting salt every year is our tradition.’ (cf. Tetum: *Ra’ut-masin tinatinan ne’e ami-nia tradisaun* and Kawaimina: *Daku-asi ta’a-ta’a de kite-ai tradisaun.*)

(836) *Matere ere gi uru afo, uru-Agostu.*

Matere DEM\(_1\)-this POS month eight month-August

‘*Matere* is the eight month, August.’ (cf. Tetum: *Matere ne’e fulan dauuluk, fulan-Agostu;* Kawaimina: *Matere de ulo kaikaha ninin, ulo-Agostu.*)

When negating an equation, the preposed markers *notonai* and *notosai* with their respective short forms *tonai* and *tosai* are used instead of *noto* or *to* (§4.3.2). This is similar to Tetum which uses *la’ós* for negation in such circumstances instead of *la*. The markers always follow the demonstrative:

(837) *Kareta-seuru ere tonai na’i u a’ehe.*

car-roll DEM\(_1\)-this MRK-not PRON one easy

‘Driving a car is not (something) easy.’ (cf. Tetum: *Kaer-karreta ne’e la’ós buat kmaan.*)

(838) *Timor ere notosai Indonesia gi porbinsi.*

Timor DEM\(_1\)-this MRK-not Indonesia POS province

‘East Timor is not an Indonesian province.’ (cf. Tetum: *Timór ne’e la’ós Indonézia nia provínsia.*)

Apart from juxtaposing or having the demonstrative *ere* between the noun phrases, the constrastive marker *ene* of Makasae, like Tetum *maka*, can also precede

\(^{206}\) See Tetum examples in Hull and Eccles 99.
the predicate of the equative sentence with a definite noun or a personal noun. Contrary to the sentence constructions using juxtaposition or a demonstrative, the latter highlights the topic of the sentence (§4.3.1)

(839) Suse Saelari ene milisi.
    Joseph Saelari MRK militiaman
    ‘Joseph from Saelari is the militiaman.’

    Compared with:
    Suse Saelari milisi.
    Joseph Saelari militiaman
    ‘Joseph from Saelari is a militiaman.’

(840) Ere ene basara-ga’awai.
    DEM1-this MRK market-place
    ‘This is the market (place).’

    Compared with:
    Ere basara-ga’awai.
    DEM1-this market-place
    ‘This is a market (place).’

The Existential Verb *he’e* (*e’e*)

The form of the Makasae existential verb, which expresses the notion of existence, shares the same form as the deictic *he’e*. In its usage, *he’e* can have the meaning ‘to have’ as well as ‘there is’, ‘there are’ in English depending on the class of element which precedes it. This form is parallel to *iha* in Tetum. Like all Makasae verbs, *he’e* cannot be placed clause-initially.

In a clause construction, the existential predicate *he’e* ‘there is’, ‘there are’, is preceded by the subject NP (841 and 842). When expressing negative existence or something that does not exist, the negative marker *noto* (shortened to *to*) is placed before the verb (843).

(841) Wa’asi konsertu he’e.
    today concert exist
‘There is a concert today.’

(842) *Tufarae lane’e oma mutu he’e.*

  woman  PL.MRK  house inside  VERB₁-here  ist

  ‘There are women in the house.’

(843) *Era siribisu-lesa weregau lawa to he’e ma mata*

  3PL  work-less  therefore  money  MRK-not  have  MRK  child
  *gi  amiraе  tehu.*
  POS  milk  buy

  ‘They’re unemployed, therefore there is no money to buy milk for the child.’

The existential predicate with *he’e* can also be used to express positive and negative possession. In a clause construction, the subject noun phrase expresses the possessor, while the possessed item precedes the existential verb *he’e* as part of the predicate phrase. When a definite noun or a personal pronoun is the subject, the sentence demonstrates a temporary physical possession, rather than ownership.

(844) *Ani oma he’e, na’igau to ma’u heta’e?*

  1SG  house  have  INTER  MRK-not  come  (here)sleep

  ‘I have a house, why didn’t you come to sleep there?’

(845) *Iskola-mata lane’e lawa to he’e.*

  school-child  PL.MRK  money  MRK-not  have

  ‘The schoolchildren don’t have any money.’

To express ownership with the verb *he’e* as the predicate, the subject noun phrase usually contains either a definite noun followed by the possessive marker *gi* or any of the nine attributive possessive pronouns, all of which are preposed to the noun (§6.5.1).

(846) *Ameu gi biskileta he’e.*

  Ameu  POS  bicycle  have

  ‘Ameu has/owns a bicycle.’
(847) *Isi bobu-dada gi keta he’e.*

POS uncle POS rice field have

‘Our uncle has/owns a rice field.’

(848) *Bai ere gi kodo to he’e.*

pig DEM₁-this POS enclosure MRK-not have

‘This pig doesn’t have an enclosure.’

The form he’e in examples (846 and 847) coincides formally with the deictic he’e ‘to be here’, both being syntactically possible in affirmative sentences. To avoid misunderstanding, speakers of Makasae take into account all the relevant contexts. In sentence (848), however, the verb definitely expresses possession or ownership because unlike the deictic form (§12.3.6), he’e denoting possession can only be preceded by the negative marker *noto* or *to* (§4.3.2).

### 12.3.8 Passive-like Constructions

Similar to Tetum and Kawaimina, Makasae does not have an overt passive construction like English where an active voice sentence can be made passive by moving the entity being acted upon to clause-initial position. The agent can be left out or moved to clause-final position, and the form of verb must be adjusted, e.g. *He was summoned.* In Makasae, a passive-like sentence can be constructed by having the patient placed before a verb or sequence of verbs, including modals, with the agent being dropped:

(849) *Marikita wa’ara do la’a aministardor sorunu.*

Mariquita call MRK go administrator meet

‘Mariquita was summoned to meet the administrator.’

(cf. Tetum: *Marikita bolu atu bá hasoru administrador* and Kawaimina: *Marikita bolu ba laka soru administrador.*)

(850) *Atoi gi tana gene suri do hai gafu ospitala isi la’a.*

Atoi POS hand hit shoot so INCEP take hospital LOC go

‘Atoi was shot in the arm so he has been taken to the hospital.’

(cf. Tetum: *Atoi nia liman tiru kona; ne’ebe lori ona ba ospítál*
and Kawaimina: *Atoi limen tiru gene, miki-ne hadi ló laka ospital di.*)

(851) **Asudanti dadau sera fana kareta seuru.**

assistant MOD also teach car roll

‘The assistant must also be taught to drive a car.’ (cf. Tetum: *Ajudante tenke hanorin dulas karreta.* Kawaimina: *Azudanti tenki nori ma’a kata karta.*)

Adverbials and postpositions can also be placed between the patient and verb:

(852) **Afi gi sufa do mai na’u bese-bese bura.**

fish POS new so 3PL just quickly sell

‘The fish are still fresh, so they are sold out quickly.’

(cf. Tetum: *Ikan sira foun tan ne’e sira fa’an laalais* and 
Kawaimina: *Ike sira morin nekegau sira rasau blai-blai.*)

(853) **Tabaku ere nokorau weregau ana lane’e gau lolo**

tobacco DEM₁-this not good therefore people PL.MRK POSP say

‘Cigarettes are bad, therefore people must be told

*tebe’u te’ini.*

mustn’t smoke

not to smoke.’ (cf. Tetum: *Sigarru ne’e ladi’ak tan ne’e ema dehan ba labele fuma.* Kawaimina: *Tabaku de da’ihie nekegau kii sala ehe di daime’e moko.*)

(854) **Nahire’e gi kuda Gariwai wo’i guta wori?**

whose POS horse Gariwai ADV₃-yonder kill DEM₃-that

‘Whose horse was killed in Gariwai?’

The preverbal aspectual markers *hau* and *hai* can precede the verb, verb sequence or postposition and verb to express a passive meaning (§12.4):

(855) **Oma ere dadau hau teta nanadawa be’u ana**

house DEM₁-this MOD PERF demolish otherwise MOD people
gua tefu.
POSP break
‘This house had to be demolished, otherwise it could have fallen on people.’

(856) Arabau hai guta weregau ata-li’a bese-bese daru.
buffalo INCEP kill therefore fire-stove quickly pile
‘The buffalo has been slaughtered, therefore the kitchen fireplace must be
stacked quickly.’

When an adverbial occurs between the patient and the verb, the direct object
marker ma can also follow the patient to form passive-like constructions (857). To
express negation, noto or to is placed before ma (858):

(857) Bata ere ma gegehele gini do to tefu.
canal DEM1-this MRK securely make so MRK-not break
‘The canal was securely built so it didn’t break apart.’

(858) Timor dete to ma lolo ro ukunu, pobu lane’e
Timor COND MRK-not MRK properly rule people PL.MRK
na’ugii terusu.
always suffer
‘If East Timor is not ruled properly, the people will always suffer.’

Ma functioning as a postposition can also be used to denote the instrumental
in both active and passive-like constructions (859, 860). In contrast to Makasae,
Tetum usually indicates the instrumental with the preposition ho or hodi placed
before the noun in question:

Active:

(859) Fulisi fistola ma li lia gi iti ere suri.
police pistol MRK thief POS foot DEM1-this shoot
‘The police shot the thief’s leg with a pistol.’ (cf. Tetum: Polísia tiru
na’ok-teen nia ain ne’e ho pistola./ Polísia hodi pistola tiru na’ok-teen
nia ain ne’e.)
Passive:

Lialia gi iti ere fistola ma suri.
Thief POS foot DEM1-this pistol MRK shoot
‘The thief’s leg was shot with a pistol.’ (cf. Tetum: Na’ok-teen nia ain ne’e tiru ho pistola./ Na’ok-teen nia ain ne’e hodi pistola tiru.)

Active:

(860) Badae aka-asa ma oma wori tara.
carpenter palm-leaf MRK house DEM3-that cover
‘The carpenter covered the roof of the house with palm leaves.’ (cf. Tetum: Badain taka uma-kakuluk ho tali-tahan./ Badain hodi tali-tahan taka uma-kakuluk.)

Passive:

Oma-mata wori aka-asa ma tara.
house-child DEM3-that palm-leaf MRK cover
‘The roof of the hut over there is covered with palm leaves.’
(cf. Tetum: Uma-oan ne’ebá taka ho tali-tahan./ Uma-oan ne’ebá hodi tali-tahan taka.)

These passive-like constructions can be used when the agent is not specified or if it has been mentioned in the preceding contexts. However, as in Tetum and Kawaimina, speakers of Makasae avoid the use of passive-like constructions and instead prefer to use impersonal words such as ana ‘people’, fi anu ‘we people’, fi ‘we’, era ‘they’ or mai ‘they’ (applying to all entities) when expressing the agent.207 It is particularly common in the written register.

(861) Maski ana lolo ere fasil mais kareta sifa ere ti’iri.
although people say DEM1-this easy but car drive DEM1-this heavy
‘Although it is said to be easy, driving a car is difficult.’
(Lit. Although people say that it is easy, driving a car is difficult.)

207 Further explanation of Tetum impersonal constructions is given by Hull and Eccles 107.
(cf. Tetum: **Maski ema dehan ne’e fasil maibé lori karreta ne’e todan.**
Kawaimina: **Maski kii he’e de fasil mais kata kareta de t’ede.**)

(862) **Idukasaun geribata fi ma oma isidaa sofe.**
education first of all 1PL.INC MRK house POSP know
‘Good manners are learnt in the home in the first instance.’
(Lit. We learn good manners in the home in the first instance.)
(cf. Tetum: **Edukasaun foufoun ita aprende hosi uma.** Kawaimina: **Idukasaun neienin hire sohe la umo.**)

12.3.9 Questions and Answers

Apart from using interrogative pronouns to form questions (§7.), Makasae usually applies other structures that look like questions but function differently. These interrogatives are not necessarily used to seek information. The discussion below presents each of these interrogatives with some comparisons to Tetum or other Timorese languages and with contextual examples.

**Statement-form Positive Yes/No Questions**

In comparison to English which normally uses inverted questions to form interrogative sentences, Makasae characteristically turns statements or affirmative sentences into questions simply by using rising intonation as in colloquial English. Sometimes the conjunction *di* is also placed sentence-finally to function like a question marker, but it is commonly used in alternative questions (§12.3.9). These forms are used when the speaker is anticipating either a positive or negative answer, or when he simply seeks confirmation of someone’s remark as in echo questions.208

(863) **Afi wanusa tutuku?**
fish bait nibble at
‘Did the fish nibble at the bait?’ (cf. Tetum: **Ikan tuku/han iska?**)

---
208 An echo question is defined as a repetition or modification of a previous utterance, see Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman, *Grammar* 215. The intonation in English echo questions is usually rising as in Makasae and also Tetum.
(864) *Fi karaka Pagere Jaime ena nana?*

HON want priest James see IMMIN

‘Do you want to see Father James?’ (cf. *Ita hakarak atu hasoru Padre Jaime?*)

However, if *dawa* ‘perhaps’ ends the sentence, it may require either a rising or falling intonation. In this type of question, the speaker’s query is still in doubt. When the intonation rises, the speaker is more convinced of the validity of his utterance than in the form with falling intonation. He may have obtained some background information to his inquiry when using the rising intonation.

(865) *I kaka karaka wata-ira u gehe dawa?*

HON brother want coconut-water one drink perhaps

‘Would your brother (perhaps) like to have some coconut juice?’

(cf. Tetum: *Ita-nia maun hakarak hemu nuu-been karik?*)

(866) *Babai karaka neba gi sahara tehu dawa?*

Sir. want sardine POS dry buy perhaps

‘Sir, would you perhaps like to buy some dried sardines?’

There are variants of positive and negative answers to the questions above. In all answers, *di* and *dawa* must be dropped and the intonation is usually falling. In a short answer when agreeing with the question, *loloro* ‘right’, *werehani* ‘yes, indeed’ or *sin* ‘yes’ are used, and the first two forms can be followed by *de’e*, a particle expressing assertiveness in the answer. In a long answer, a full sentence may follow the short answer words above. *De’e* may immediately follow the short answer, with the exception of *sin*, or it is placed at the end of the full sentence. The possible responses to question (863) are:

(867) *Sin.*

‘yes’

*Loloro de’e.*

‘that is right.’

*Afi wanusa tutuku de’e.*

‘The fish did nibble at the bait.’

When giving a negative answer, *noto* or *to* precedes the verb in a short or full sentence. *Notonai, notosai, tonai* or *tosai* can also be used as a negative short answer.
followed by *de’e* or it is followed by a complete positive sentence which contradicts the question. The answer to question (864) can be:

(868) *Fianu noto/to karaka (ena) de’e.* ‘I don’t want to see (him).’

*Fianu noto/to karaka Pagere Jaime ena (de’e).* ‘I don’t want to see Father James.’

**Notonai de’e.**

‘No.’

**Tosai, fianu karaka katikista ena nana de’e.** ‘No, I want to see the catechist.’

Makasae speakers also employ *nana’a* or *ina’a* ‘no’ when disagreeing with a question, but they are usually followed by a full sentence with *noto* or *to*. *De’e* can be placed after *nana’a/ inana* or sentence-finally. The responses to question (866) can be:

(869) *Nana’a de’e, ani noto/to karaka te’u.* ‘No, I don’t want to buy.’

*Ina’a, ani noto/to karaka neba gi sahara te’u de’e.* ‘No, I don’t want to buy dried fish.’

**Statement-form Negative Yes/No Questions**

Makasae negative yes/no questions function like those of English and Tetum, where they indicate that the speaker is asking for confirmation of what he has previously thought was true but which may turn out to be the opposite. To form negative yes/no questions, *notonai, notosai, tonai, tosai, noto* and *to* can be placed before a direct object or a verb.

(870) *Ai tonai isikola isi la’a?*  
2SG MRK-not school LOC go

‘Didn’t you go to school?’ (cf. *Tetum: Ó la’ós ba eskola?*)

(The speaker had expected the listener to go to school, but this turned out to be untrue.)
(871) *Ani na’i gi sufa ma hegini nana: i noto ena?*

1SG PRON POS new MRK (here)do IMMIN 2PL MRK-not see

‘I am about to do something new here: don’t you see?’

(872) *Fulisi to la’a liaguli lane’e sifa?*

police MRK-not go thief PL.MRK arrest

‘Didn’t the police go to arrest the thieves?’

When the answer agrees with the negative question, it can take a short or full sentence, with the negative marker being followed by the verb and *de’e* usually occurring sentence-finally. *Sin* ‘yes’ can also be used to respond to negative yes/no questions. The possible answers to question 872 are:

(873) *Fulisi to la’a sifa de’e.*

‘The police didn’t go to arrest (them).’

*Fulisi to la’a liaguli lane’e sifa de’e.* ‘The police didn’t go to arrest the thieves.’

*Sin, fulisi to la’a liaguli lane’e sifa de’e.* ‘No, (you see) the police didn’t go to arrest the thieves.’

**Yes/No Questions with tai, hani**

Another way of forming questions in Makasae is by putting the question markers *tai* and *hani* clause-finally, so that they function like tags. When *tai* is used, the clause usually ends with a falling intonation. It implies that the speaker does not have any presupposition regarding whether an affirmative or negative answer is possible.

(874) *Fi-Berekama gi tana sisiri tai?*

2PL.-great POS hand sick MRK

‘Is your Honour’s hand aching?’

(875) *Gi noko losa gau ria tai?*

POS brother shop POSP run MRK

‘Did his brother run to the shop?’
By contrast, *hani* requires a rising intonation. It is used when confirming events or actions where the speaker intends to signal that his question is based on some prior information he has received and is believed to be true. In such circumstances he tends to anticipate the answer to be aligned with his expectations, which may, however, turn out to be the opposite.

(876) *Forsa Australi mai gua daa hani?*  
force Australia 3PL POSP pass MRK  
‘Were the Australian Armed Forces on their side?’

(877) *Ana dai u ma Toko-Baru heiguta hani?*  
people foreigner one MRK Toko-Baru (there) kill MRK  
‘Did people kill a foreigner at Toko-Baru?’

When giving positive or negative answers, the interrogative particles are always dropped. In a positive short answer, *loloro, werehani* or *sin* can be used. The first two forms may also be followed by *de’e*. A long response usually takes a full sentence and is followed by *de’e*. To give negative short answers, *notonai* (*tonai*) or *notosai* (*tosai*) are employed and can be followed by *de’e*. The answers to question (876) can be:

(878) Positive: *Loloro de’e.*  
‘That’s right.’  
*Werehani de’e.*  
‘Yes indeed’ (lit. ‘right, as you said.’)

Negative: *Notonai de’e.*  
‘No.’  
*Notosai de’e.*  
‘No.’  
*Mai noto gua daa de’e.*  ‘(The Australian Forces) didn’t side with them.’  
*Forsa Australi mai noto gua daa de’e.*  ‘The Australian Forces didn’t side with them’.

If *nana’a* and *ina’a* are used to express negative answers, they are normally followed by a negative construction or sentence which contradicts the question. *De’e* can be placed after *nana’a, ina’a* or the negative construction. Possible answers to question (877) are:
Using Confirmers

Makasae speakers can also employ various forms of confirmers in their questions, some of which are full-form. These confirmations are intended to show the listener that what is said is believed to be correct.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Confirmers</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ei?</td>
<td>‘Right?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loloro</td>
<td>‘Right?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ere) loloro di?</td>
<td>‘Is that right?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ere) loloro tai?</td>
<td>‘Is that right?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tafiruu di?</td>
<td>‘Is that true?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tafiruu tai?</td>
<td>‘Is that true?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>werehani di?</td>
<td>‘Indeed?/Really? (Is that how it is?)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>werehani tai?</td>
<td>‘Indeed?/Really? (Is that how it is?)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tonai/tosai loloro?</td>
<td>‘Isn’t that right?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tonai/tosai tafiruu?</td>
<td>‘Isn’t that right/true?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tonai/tosai werehani?</td>
<td>‘Isn’t that right?’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most of these confirmers are placed clause-finally. A negative or positive confirmer may follow either a positive or negative statement. The negative confirmer is usually formed with notonai (tonai) or notosai (tosai).

(879) Nana’a (de’e). ‘No.’
       Ina’a (de’e). ‘No.’
       Ina’a de’e, ana dai u noto/to ma Toko-Baru heiguta. ‘No, people didn’t kill any foreigner at Toko-Baru.’
       Ina’a, ana dai u noto/to ma Toko-Baru heiguta de’e. ‘No, people didn’t kill any foreigner at Toko-Baru.’

(880) Timor nau ni ukunu hai ani afo erehani ei?
       Timor EMP REF rule INCEP year eight like that CONF
       ‘East Timor has ruled itself for eight years, right (hasn’t it)’

(881) Era gi oma wa’agamu ana li’ana, tafiruu di?
       3PL POS house last night people throw CONF
‘Their house was stoned last night, is that right (wasn’t it)?’

(882) *Gi* *ira* *hau* *wakala* *do* *ailemi* *ma* *ta* *wau,*

3SG water PERF spill in order to tamarind MRK POSP put, *werehani* *tai?*

CONF
‘He poured the water to be mixed with tamarind, is that right, Madam (did he, Madam)?’

(883) *Ai* *karaka* *dei-malae* *ma* *ira-sebu* *tu’ara,* *were* *loloro* *tai?*

2SG want pine apple MRK water-pumpkin exchange CONF
‘You want to exchange the pineapple for the watermelon, isn’t that right (don’t you)?’

(884) *Fulisi* *ana* *wa’a* *furtesta* *sa’i* *sifa,* *tonai* *tafiruu?*

police people REL protest QUANT arrest NEG true
‘The police arrested all the people who had protested, isn’t that right (didn’t they)?’

A short answer requires only the confirmer without the following particle and can be asserted with *de’e.* Full sentences may also be repeated with the exception of interrogative particles. To negate a question, the short forms *tonai* and *tosai* can be used with the confirmers.

(885) Possible answers to question (881):

*Tafiruu* *de’e.* ‘That’s true.’

*Tonai/tosai* (tafiruu) *de’e.* ‘That’s not true.’

*Tafiruu* *era* *gi* *oma* *wa’agamu* *ana* *li’ana* *de’e.* ‘That’s true, their house was stoned last night.’

Possible answers to question (884):

*Tonai/tosai* (tafiruu) *de’e.* ‘That’s not true.’

*Tonai* *tafiruu* *fulisi* *ana* *wa’a* *furtesta* *sa’i* *sifa.* ‘That’s not true that the police arrested all who had protested.’
Tafiruu fulisi ana wa’a furtesta sa’i sifa de’e. ‘It is indeed true that the police arrested all who had protested.’

**Alternative Question**

In Makasae, an alternative question is used to offer listeners a choice between two alternatives. They may consist of objects, phrases or clauses which are usually conjoined with *di* ‘or’. Contrary to English, where the intonation rises on the first alternative but falls on the second, in Makasae, *di* rises but the second alternative takes falling intonation.\(^{209}\)

(886) *Ai karaka bai-seu di afi-seu?*

2SG want pig-meat or fish-meat

‘(Do) you want pork or fish?’ (cf. Tetum: Ó hakarak na’an-fahi ka na’an-ikan?)

(887) *Usamale watu-bana fi la’a ama dila di bata to’i?*

tomorrow lunch time 1PL.INC go garden weed or canal dig

‘Are we going to weed the garden or dig the canal tomorrow at lunch time?’

(cf. Tetum: Aban meiudia ita ba hamoos to’os ka ke’e bee-dalan?)

There is the possibility of having three conjuncts in an alternative question. In this case, *di* with the rising tone may follow the first and second alternatives or only follow the second one.

(888) *Fulisi lane’e lowori Amerika di Austarli*

police PL.MRK EMP-DEM\(_3\)-that America or Australia

‘Are those police officers from America, Australia

*di Noba-Selandi ge’e?*

or New Zealnd POS

or New Zealand?’

\(^{209}\) It is similar to Tetum *ka* ‘or’ which receives rising intonation.
(889) I karaka farda wa’a imiri, gabara di metana ere gutu?
2PL want uniform REL red yellow or black DEM₁-this wear
‘Do you want to wear the red, yellow or black uniform?’

When responding to alternative questions, a speaker can answer in a full sentence with the alternative answer or mention only the phrase with the alternative answer followed by de’e. Some speakers prefer the use of the alternative contrastive markers ene (subject) or dete and do (object) ($4.3.1$). Possible responses to question (886):

(890) Bai-seu (de’e). ‘Pork.’

Ani karaka bai-seu. ‘I want pork.’
Bai-seu dete ani karaka. ‘(It’s) pork (that) I want.’

In a short answer, when referring to an adjective, the non-deictic demonstratives $u$ or $uwa’$a can precede it and are followed by any of the non-emphatic or emphatic demonstratives ($9.2$). Examples of possible answers to question (889):

(891) Uwa’a gabara.
‘The yellow one.’

Ini uwa’a gabara ere karaka. ‘We want the yellow one.’
Uwa’a gabara ere dete ini karaka. ‘(It’s) the yellow one (which) we want.’

Clauses with different subjects can also appear as alternatives:

(892) Ai oma ere nau tehu di ai boba ene
2SG house DEM₁-this EMP buy or POS father MRK
ma ai gini?
MRK 2SG give
‘Did you buy the house yourself or did your father give it to you?’

In clauses with different subjects, the response usually takes a full sentence and may end with de’e. The conjunction di is then dropped. The answers can be:

(893) Ani oma ere nau tehu (de’e). ‘I bought the house myself.’

Asi boba ene ma ani gini (de’e). ‘(It’s) my father (who) gave it to me.’
The alternative question form can also occur with the second alternative form being an elliptical negative clause. As in an ordinary alternative question, *di* rises in intonation but the negative clause with *nana’a* or *ina’a* receives falling intonation.

(894) Ai karaka wauru *di* nana’a?
2SG want dance or not
‘Do you want to dance or not?’

In a positive short answer, the response simply uses the correct pronoun and is followed by the (modal) verb. But the full form with the exception of the subject pronoun can be repeated as the answer. *De’e* may follow the short and full forms.

(895) Ani karaka *(de’e).*
‘I do want to.’

Ani karaka wauru *(de’e)*
‘I do want to dance.’

When the answer is negative, *nana’a* and *ina’a* can be used in a short response followed by *de’e*. To give a full answer, *nana’a* and *ina’a* are usually followed by a full sentence with the negative form *noto/to* and may end with *de’e*.

(896) Nana’a *(de’e).*
‘No.’

Ina’a *(de’e).*
‘No.’

Nana’a, ani noto/to karaka wauru *(de’e).* ‘No, I don’t want to dance.’

**Combinations of Interrogative and Alternative Questions**

Makasae has a form of interrogative question (§7) combined with an alternative question. The forms of responses are also similar to those used in the alternative question.

(897) Nahire’e ene *ira-sebu* hau se’i – Akuarta *di* Buisina?
who MRK water-pumpkin PERF cut Akuarta or Buisina
‘Who cut the watermelon – Akuarta or Buisina?’

(898) I na’i *aga* – loo-fatilaku, *mu’a-duguru* *di* gawa-bere?
2PL what POSP lightning, thunder or storm
‘What are you afraid of – lightning, thunder or a storm?’
12.4 Verbal Aspects

12.4.1 Aspect and Mood

Makasae, like Dili Tetum (Tetum-Praça), lacks verbal inflections.\(^{210}\) Verbs do not change form according to person, number or time. To determine person and number, speakers usually rely on the word order (§4.1) as well as the pronouns and nouns in a phrase, in a sentence construction or in the previous context. In addition to this, speakers use various markers to describe perfective, habitual or progressive aspect.

Like Tetum, the verbal markers in Makasae are not used to express an action or event viewed with regard to time. They do, however, mark mood and aspect – they focus on the process and quality of an action or event.\(^ {211}\) These verbal markers can be placed either before or after the verbs.

12.4.2 Preverbal Markers

There are a number of markers which can be placed before the verb and each has its own function.

Inceptive Marker hai

The Makasae inceptive markers (corresponding to Tetum ona) are hai (ai) and afa. The latter follows a verb and is discussed in §12.4.3. The use of hai preceding a verb usually indicates specified types of actions or situations.

(a) An action has already begun. When a Makasae speaker uses hai, the individual wishes to indicate that an action has already begun. Hai is generally the equivalent of ‘(by) now’ or ‘already’ in English:

(899) Mata lane’e hai ta’e?
    child   PL.MRK INCEP sleep
   ‘Have the children already gone to sleep?’

\(^{210}\) Inflection does exist in Tetum-Terik dialects where the “verbs are inflected for person with a series of prefixes” (Hull and Eccles, Tetum 86).

\(^{211}\) Hull and Eccles 110.
(900) Ini katuba na ’u natono hai tina.

1PL katupa just QUANT INCEP cook

‘We are now cooking enough katupa.’

(b) An action has begun but the process of the verb has not been completed. It usually expresses the beginning of a continuing action:

(901) I wali mara, era hai rusu.

2PL listen IMP 3PL INCEP sing

‘Listen! They’ve started singing’.

(902) Mai orasa lolae’ gafu-gafu mana hai to’i bo ira

3PL hour two entirely hole NCEP dig but water

noto neto’i.

MRK-not dig

‘They have been digging the hole for two hours but haven’t found water yet.’

(c) A state which has now come into existence. Hai also precedes adjectives or adjectival verbs to highlight the new situation that has arisen:

(903) Meudia minigali ma’u meti hai bibiri.

noon back come sea INCEP fierce

‘When we returned at noon, the sea had become rough.’

(904) Oma ere hai mu’iri do sa’a hai bo’oko.

house DEM1-this INCEP long so base INCEP rotten

‘This house is old so the foundations have rotted.’

(d) An action or situation which is complete. The preverbal marker is used to indicate an action which is completed. The marker can occur with or without an adverb of time. It is typically used when mentioning a new event in the narration of a story.

(905) Wa’asi gamu-gamu hai teni ma’u sigaru mahi kafe tehu.

today in the morning INCEP again come cigarette and coffee buy
‘This morning (they) came again to buy cigarettes and coffee.’

(906) *Suti ere wesere’e baba hai gahi.*
knife DEM₁-this yesterday father INCEP sharpen
‘Dad sharpened the knife yesterday.’

(e) The occurrence of *hai* with a negative marker (§12.4.2) followed by a verb signifies ‘no longer’.

(907) *Ani ai deti ai sala hai noto sa’anere.*
1SG POS sin POS sin INCEP MRK-not remember
‘I will no longer remember your sins.’

(908) *Ameu mahi gi bada sefi-aldea sorunu,*
Ameu and POS friend chief-village meet
*Ameu hai noto sofe.*
Ameu INCEP MRK-not know
‘(When) Ameu and his friend met the village chief, (he) no longer recognised Ameu.’

**Perfective Marker *hau***

This marker is used to indicate a verbal action which is completed at a particular point in time (cf. Tetum *tiha*). However, it may also convey the sense that something will occur in the near future.

(a) *Hau* indicating the completion of an action

This marker is used to specify either the process of an action which has been completed in the past, or of an action which may occur in the present or future. This feature is common in some Timorese vernaculars, such as Tetum and Kawaimina.

Contextual examples of completed action in the past:

(909) *Ini Abafala de’i do meudiadia hau nawa dete*
1PL Abafala ADV₄-there so midday PERF eat then
We were at Abafala, so we had lunch (and) then we continued walking.”

(cf. Tetum: *Ami iha Abafala no meiudia loos ami han tihha hafoin la’o fali.*
Midiki: *Kite la Abafala, meudia kha ulo le’e laka hali.*)

\[(910)\] \textit{Mai wa’a wesere’e esame au basa ere dadau}
\begin{tabular}{cccccccc}
3PL & REL & yesterday, exam & PERF & pass & DEM$_1$ & this must & siribisu & saga. \\
 & & & & & & & & work & search
\end{tabular}

‘Those who passed the exam yesterday must look for a job.’

Contextual examples of completion not in the past:

\[(911)\] \textit{Kareta hau para do ini misa dete ria.}
\begin{tabular}{cccccccc}
 & & car & PERF & stop & so & 1PL.EXC & climb & then & run
\end{tabular}

‘Stop the car so we can get in before (it) takes off.’

(cf. Tetum: *Para tiha karreta atu ami sa’e mak foin halai.*
Kawaimina: *Para ulo karreta ba kita nai le’e uko.*)

\[(912)\] \textit{Fi ni deti ni sala hau saregini.}
\begin{tabular}{cccccccc}
1PL.INC & REF.POS & sin & REF.POS & mistake & PERF & clean
\end{tabular}

‘We must cleanse our sins.’

(b) Hau marking future

The marker is also used with verbs to indicate future action or state. It is usually applied in the context of describing the process of a situation which features sequential or casual conjunctive adverbials.\(^{212}\) The parallel continues here with Tetum tiha.

\[(913)\] \textit{Geribata kalauru saga, ani tanehe hau saregini.}
\begin{tabular}{cccccccc}
 & & fist of all & kalauru & seek & 1SG & then & PERF & clean
\end{tabular}

\(^{212}\) See also Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman 530-1.
‘First of all (I) pick kalauru, then I clean it.’ (cf. Tetum: Ulukanain ha’u ku’u kalaur, hafoin hamoos tiha.)

(914) Ini kalene hau tu’ara nanadawa ae ma’u ini
1PL.EXC tin PERF change otherwise rain come 1PL.EXC
sa’i bokolo.
all wet
‘We’ll change the tin (on the roof), otherwise we’ll all get wet when the rain comes.’

(c) Omission of subject in subordinate clauses

When hau appears in a subordinate clause, the subject preceding it is always dropped. The first clause marks a completed action and it forms a background to the second process in the following clause. This construction resembles English perfect participles in function.213

(915) Kalauru ere ira sarehe hau ma bane, ani ma
kalauru DEM1-this water clean PERF MRK wash 1SG MRK
‘Having washed it with clean water, I cooked

busu u isi tina.
Pan one LOC cook
it (kalaur) in the pan.’

(916) Iskola ere au remata, fi iskola sekundaria ere
school DEM1-this PERF finish 1PL school secondary DEM1-this

 tini gau la’a.
again POSP go
‘Having finished at this school, we continue at secondary school.’

213 Hull also compares this form with that of English in his 2005 profile of Makasae (Makasai 31).
**Recentive marker felei or foloi**

This marker is used to indicate an action which has just occurred and parallels Tetum *foin*. Its meaning is similar to English ‘just’ or ‘just now’. There are also other variant forms: *ofelei* and *ofoloi*.214

(917) *Raimale-male, watu felei hobia, ini Ailemilari*

afternoon day RCT set/fall down 1PL.EXC Ailemilari

*isi* woirata.

LOC arrive at

‘In the afternoon, when the sun had just set, we arrived at Ailemilari.’

(918) *Ehani, ana baunu ene felei kareta ba’e seuru bo karaka ....*

now people QUANT MRK RCT car know drive but want....

‘Nowadays, many people who have just learnt how to drive a car, but want ...’

**Gressive Marker nana’u, wari, na’uwari and warina’u**

When speakers are describing an action in progress, they use *nana’u*,215 *wari, na’uwari, warina’u* (= Tetum *hela, daudaun*) or the postverbal marker *reree*. These aspect markers also double as adverbs meaning ‘still’ (§12.7.2).

(919) *Alunusu lane’e nana’u bola basala.*

student PL.MRK PROSP ball smack

‘The students are playing volleyball.’

(920) *Gamu ini wari nawa dete dai gi fara*

at night 1PL.EXC PROSP eat when foreigner POS ship

*kainaun suri.*

cannon shoot

‘When we were having dinner, the foreigners (contextually: Indonesians) fired the cannon from their ship.’

---

214 Apart from being used as an aspectual marker, *felei, foloi* also functions as an adverb ‘recently’.

215 The form *nana’u* comes from the reduplicated adverb *na’u-na’u* ‘still’.
(921) **Tinu na’uwari ni bai-kodo gini de’e baba.**

Tino GRESS REF.POS pig-enclosure make EMP father

*Tino is still fixing the enclosure for his pigs.*

(922) **Ini warina’u keta mutu wema’asi do dai ma’u...**

1PL.EXC GRESS rice field inside walk down and foreigner come

*‘We were walking down the field when the foreigner came...’*

**Prospective Marker nana’u and wari**

Apart from functioning as gressive markers, *nana’u* and *wari* can also function as future prospective markers (= Tetum *sei*). In comparison with *wari*, the form *nana’u* indicates a higher probability of the action being accomplished in the future.

(923) **Timoro watu u nana’u rau nasaunu gi seluku dedee.**

Timor day one PROSP good country QUANT like

*‘East Timor will one day be prosperous (lit. ‘good’) like other countries.’*

(924) **Ameu wari la’a oma gi numuru ma Solidaridadi seti.**

Ameu PROSP go house POS number MRK solidarity ask

*‘Ameu will check the number of the house at the Ministry of Social Affairs.’*

**12.4.3 Postverbal Markers**

In addition to the preverbal markers, there are also two postverbal markers in Makasae which indicate imminent action but with slightly different purposes:

**Imminentive Marker nana or ana**

*Nana* or its variant *ana* is used in casual speech to indicate an immediate imminent action but with no sense of urgency (= Tetum *atu*).

(925) **Wesere’e ere mai kalene gi taba lane’e tu’ara nana**

yesterday DEM1-this 3PL tin POS hole PL.MRK replace IMMIN

*‘They were about to replace the perforated tin when*
Late in the afternoon, when the sun was about to set, we arrived at Ailemilari.

The rain is going to come in December.

I intend to make a big road in the desert.

I am going to do something new here, don’t you see?

The form *afa* is used by speakers to mark an action which is now beginning or is about to begin. Apart from expressing the idea of an immediate future action, it also conveys a sense of urgency (cf. Tetum *atu...ona*).

Many people took their things and began escaping. (Lit. Many people brought their things and began running up.)
(931) Ani baba-mama saga do gau lolo titara afa.
1SG father-mother search and POSP tell flee IMMIN
‘I looked for my parents and told them to flee (immediately).’

(932) Tinukai sina-oma isi la’a afa, mifana di nana’a?
Tinukai Chinese-house LOC go IMMIN order or NEG.
‘Tinukai is about to go shopping, do you want to order something?’

Gressive Marker reree

Reree, equivalent in function to nana’u, (na’u)wari and warina’u above, is a post-verbal aspect marker indicating that a process has begun and is still in progress (= Tetum hela). This marker focuses more on the action which is or was being carried out, and does not specify the time of the action.

(933) Matarini ta’e reree, sa’i hau du’uru.
children sleep GRESS QUANT PERF wake up
‘All the children who were sleeping woke up.’ (cf. Tetum: Labarik sira hotu ne’ebé toba hela hadeer tiha.)

(934) Abiaun abrigu wa’a inimigu mutu boko reree au geta bomba.
plane shelter REL enemy inside hide GRESS PERF apart bomb
‘The plane bombed and destroyed the shelter in which the enemy was hiding.’

Reree can also be used to specify the verb it follows as the background to the process of the verb in the following clause. The first verb commonly indicates something that is happening while the second verb in the next clause takes place.

(935) Ini nutisiari ena reree dete ata mutu ta’i.
1PL.EXC news watch GRESS when light POSP go off
‘We were watching the news when the electricity went off.’ (cf. Tetum: Ami haree hela notisiáriu bainhira eletrisidade mate.)

(936) Pursisaun Subentudi ge’e la’a reree dete dai mutu suri.
Procession youth POS go GRESS when foreigner POSP shoot
‘The youth procession was underway when the foreigners (= Indonesians) opened fire.’

12.4.4 Combinations of Verbal Markers

There are various combinations of verbal markers which can occur in Makasae sentence constructions.

...hai hau...

When inceptive hai and perfective hau are combined, they mark either a completed verbal process at a particular point or a situation which continues into a point in time. Similar to Tetum tiha ona, the combination can be regarded as a perfect marker.216

(937) Arabau baunu ene ana hai hau guta.
    buffalo QUANT MRK people INCEP PERF kill
    ‘People have killed many buffaloes.’

(938) Gi Ameu hai hau isi nelu.
    3SG Ameu INCEP PERF LOC forget
    ‘He’s forgotten (who) Ameu (is).’

The sequence of these two markers is rarely split, except by the adverb na’u ‘just, only’.

(939) (Kalauru) baunu ene hai na’u hau labi’i.
    (kalaur) QUANT MRK INCEP just PERF whither
    ‘A lot (of kalauru) have just whithered.’

...hau...afa

When the two markers indicating immediate future occur in a sentence construction, the first normally indicates the action is now beginning, whereas the

216 See also Hull and Eccles 124.
second marks the situation with a sense of urgency. They can be separated by other elements such as verbs and adverbs.

(940) Era ni motoro hau bura afa do kareta mini tehu.
3PL REF.POS bike PERF sell IMMIN in order to car back buy
‘They will sell their motorbike in order to buy a car.’

(941) Ini kalene hau tu’ara afa nanadawa ae ma’u
1PL.EXC tin PERF sell IMMIN otherwise rain come
‘We are beginning to replace the tin (roof) otherwise we will

ini sa’i bokolo
1PL.EXC QUANT wet
all get wet.’

...hau...nana

Like the combination with hau...afa, speakers can use hau...nana to indicate that an action is now beginning but has no sense of urgency.

(942) Ini karaka dera hau amenta nana mais ga’awai mooro.
1PL.EXC want thing PERF increase IMMIN but place narrow
‘We want to have more things for sale, but there’s not much space.’

(943) Firaku lane’e gana haus’a’i hau ra’isa nana.
Easterner PL.MRK OPTA PRON PERF get out IMMIN
‘All the Easterners will be leaving.’

...felei hai... or ...felei...hai...

An action which has just been completed may be expressed by combining the recentive with the inceptive marker. This construction focuses on the process and results of the action. When an intransitive verb is used, the markers occur in sequence (944). By contrast, with a transitive verb, hai comes after the direct object (945).
(944) Gi felei hai nawa.
   3SG RCT INCEP eat
   ‘He has just eaten.’ (So he is full now)

(945) Maumeta felei dotoro hai sorunu.
   Maumeta RCT doctor INCEP meet
   ‘Maumeta has just met the doctor.’ (So he may have received some medication)

...felei hau... or ...felei...hau...

In comparison with felei hai, this combination is commonly used to express a recent action which was completed before another action took place. It features the action rather than the process or result. The object may also intervene between the recentive and the perfective markers.

(946) Mama felei hau tina dete igresa isi la’a.
   mother RCT PERF cook then church LOC go
   ‘Mother had just cooked before she went to church.’

(947) Ki’inona felei ni fanu hau bane.
   Ki’inona RCT REF.POS face PERF wash
   ‘Ki’inona had just washed her face.’

...felei hai hau... or ...felei...hai hau...

The form felei can also appear together with the combination of hai and hau to mark a verbal process which has just been completed at a particular point in time. The object can also appear after the recentive marker and be followed by this combination of markers.

(948) Duarte sisiri do mestiri felei hai hau asara
   Duarte sick so teacher RECENT INCEP PERF order
   foromasi isi la’a.
   clinic LOC go
   ‘Duarte was sick, so the teacher has just sent him to the clinic.’
Era felei afi gi bere hai hau baru.
3PL RCT fish POS big INCEP PERF grill
‘They had just grilled the big fish.’

...hai...reree

The combination of the perfective and gressive markers indicate the progress of an action which had been going on, and may have not been completed when another one occurred.

Ani oma isi woirata, era lane’e hai kaburu reree.
1SG house LOC arrive (there) 3PL PL.MRK INCEP quarrel GRESS
‘When I got home, they had been quarrelling.’

Mestiri hai fana reree dete ana telefone do gi ra’isa.
teacher INCEP teach GRESS when person telephone so 3SG go out
‘The teacher had been teaching when he got a phone call, so he went out.’

...felei reree... or ...felei...reree

Felei can also be combined with the gressive marker to indicate that the process of an action had just begun, but was completed at some point in time. In this construction, either a transitive or intransitive verb can occur between the two markers.

Ini felei la’a reree, fara kainaun-morteru
1PL.EXC RCT walk GRESS ship cannon-mortar
‘We had just been walking when the ship fired cannon and mortar,
suri do ini aga.
shoot so 1PL.EXC afraid
so we were scared.’

Mama felei malu seti reree werebo hai
mother RCT betel-pepper ask for GRESS but INCEP
teni isi nelu.
again LOC forget
‘Mother has just been asking for betelpepper but I have forgotten about it again.’

12.4.5 Imperatives

There are a number of syntactic ways to express the imperative mood in Makasae.

Basic Imperatives

The subject is commonly dropped in basic imperative constructions. A speaker knows that a subject actually does underlie imperative sentences. The subject can be either the second person singular ai ‘you’ or the plural subject pronoun i ‘you’. This type of imperative conveys the sense of a simple command or request.

(954) Hetenaha!
stand
‘Stand up!’

(955) Dagara!
step
‘Walk!’

(956) Teba-teba!
calm
‘Calm down!’

When giving commands in Makasae, speakers can employ a postposed imperative particle, either mara or ara. According to Huber (First 108), the former is used to express a more polite command than the latter. However, it has been found in this study that their use is not determined by the level of politeness but by the degree of intensity. Mara is used to convey a milder command where the listener can still refuse to comply. By contrast, ara gives a strong command implying some sense of urgency and obligation, with the speaker expecting the listener to act immediately as
instructed. This is similar to the difference in function of the imperative particles bá and ona in Tetum or di and to in Midiki.

Formation with mara:

(957) La’a mara, ni ma amululiki gau kina!

go PART REF MRK priest POSP show

‘Go and present yourself to the priest!’ (cf. Tetum: Bá bá, hatudu ó-nia an ba amlulik! and Midiki: ‘Laka di, kine mou kamu na la amlulik!’)

(958) Bese-bese nawa mara!

quickly eat PART.

‘Eat quickly!’ (cf. Tetum: Han lalais bá! and Midiki: Ka kha blai-blai di!)

Formation with ara:

(959) Kereke ara!

write PART.

‘Write it down (now)!’ (cf. Tetum: Hakerek ona! and Midiki: Gere to!)

(960) Kareta misa ara!

car climb PART

‘Get into the car (now)!’ (cf. Tetum: Sa’e ona karreta! and Midiki: Nai to kareta!)

Emphatic Imperatives

There are various ways of expressing an emphatic imperative in Makasae. Hull (Makasai 33) points out the use of subject pronouns and the preposed marker hau expressing insistence in the sentence construction as in:

(961) I sa’i hodi’ara!

2PL QUANT sit

‘You all sit down!’
or
I sa’i hau hodi’ara!
2PL QUANT PERF sit
‘You all sit down!’

(962) Ai amirae gehe!
2SG milk drink
‘You drink the milk!’

or

Ai amirae hau gehe!
2SG milk PERF drink
‘You drink the milk!’

The emphatic imperative may be intensified by using the adverbials mega ‘immediately’ and tafi ‘truly, really’. These adverbials always precede the marker.

(963) I roko-roko ere mega hau ra’unu.
2PL rubbish DEM1-this truly PERF scoop (with hands)
‘You must scoop up the rubbish immediately.’ (cf. Tetum: Imi ra’ut kedas fo’er ne’e!)

(964) Ai roba were tafi watu!
2SG clothes DEM2-that truly dry (in the sun)
‘You just dry the clothes (do not get distracted).’

Negative Imperatives

There are various ways of forming a negative command in Makasae. Firstly, there is the use of the imperative marker werau or erau ‘don’t’, conveying a sense of prohibition.

(965) I werau kaaka! Mata wari ta’e.
2PL MRK shout child PROG sleep
‘Don’t (you) shout! The child is sleeping.’
Secondly, there is the use of the modal verbs expressing necessity: tobe’u ‘don’t’ and lalika ‘need not’ (§12.3.3). The former is used when the speaker wants to express a strong command. By contrast, the latter is milder.

(967) Ai tobe’u asa-si’ili gau la’a.
2SG don’t chicken-tie POSP go
‘Don’t you go to the cockfighting!’

(968) Lalika fososa!
need not whistle
‘You need not whistle!’

Thirdly, there is the use of the preverbal adverb of frequency nunka ‘never’ or the adverb of intensity mege ‘too much, excessively’, ‘all the time’ (§12.7.2). In contrast to nunka, the form mege is used in a positive sentence construction. However, it has the restrictive sense of ‘don’t...too much’. All these forms can occur in the initial position without a subject.

(969) Nunka ani tia lolo!
never 1SG POSP say
‘Never talk back to me!’

(970) Mege suu!
excessively (do not) swear
‘Don’t swear excessively!’

(971) I mata lane’e mege gurini!
2PL child PL.MRK excessively (do not) frighten
‘Don’t (you) frighten the children too much!’
Rogative Imperatives

In basic imperatives the marker *dete* is placed at the end of the clause. There are two types of sentence constructions using this morpheme to express a command. When *dete* is combined with *hau* in the first clause, the second clause is always dropped to express a mild command.\(^{217}\)

(972) *I hau ta’e dete!*  
2PL PERF sleep MRK  
‘Please go to sleep.’

*Dete* can also occur without *hau* to express a strong command. However, it will always be followed by another clause explaining the reason for the command.

(973) *Ai nawa ete lolini to bara.*  
2SG eat MRK speak MRK-not stop  
‘Eat and don’t keep talking.’

Inclusive Imperative with First Person Plural (let’s...)

When expressing an imperative that includes the speaker and the addressee or addressees, the form of imperative used is *fi* or *ma’u fi... ‘let’s...’.*

(974) *Fi isikola isi la’a afa!*  
1PL.INC school LOC go IMMIN  
‘Let’s go to school now!’ (cf. Tetum: *Ita bá eskola!*, Midiki: *Hire laka isikola di!*)

(975) *Ma’u fi ni dera ri’ana!*  
come 1PL.INC REF.POS thing pack  
‘Let’s pack up our stuff!’ (cf. Tetum: *Mai ita haloot ita-nia sasán!*,  
Midiki: *Mha hire rakatiki hire-ai whatima’a!*)

When a negative form is expressed, *ma’u* is always dropped and the command is introduced with *fi* followed by *werau* (*erau*) *tobe’u* or *lalika.*

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\(^{217}\) See also Hull, *Makasai* 33.
(976) *Fi* *werau* *ira* *gua* *tahara!*

1PL.INC MRK water POSP fight over

‘Let’s not fight over water!’

*Mege* can also be placed immediately after *fi* followed by an intransitive verb or after the object of a transitive verb to express a negative form of imperative:

(977) *Fi* *mege* *ta* *sesi!*

1PL.INC too (do not) REC argue

‘Let’s not argue (with each other)’

(978) *Fi* *kulu* *mege* *bo’oro!*

1PL.INC breadfruit excessively cook (by boiling with water)

‘Let’s not cook breadfruit (all the time)’

**Optative Imperatives**

To express a wish in Makasae, speakers usually employ the form *gana* ‘that...may’ which can occur either clause-initially or after the subject:218

(979) *Gana* *i* *amu* *na’u* *rau!*

MRK 2PL body just good

‘May you have good health!’

(980) *Dai-mata* *gana* *bese* *mini* *ma’u!*

master-child MRK quickly POSP come

‘May the little master return quickly!’

Apart from being used to mark a milder command (§12.4.5), *mara* can also be used to express the meaning of English ‘let’ and ‘may’ when it is appended to the end of a sentence.

(981) *Matarini* *ate* *gia* *wo’i* *muiri* *mara!*

children tree under ADV3-yonder play MRK

‘Let the children play under the tree!’

---

218 *Gana* functioning as a conjunction is discussed in §12.8.2.
(982) *La’idaa lane’e seu hau gua lolo mara!*

elder  PL.MRK meat PERF POSP say MRK

‘May the elders bless the meat!’

The aspectual marker *hau* + verb *suri* ‘let, allow, permit’ is also employed to express the equivalent of English ‘let’ in an optative function. In colloquial speech, these elements can be placed after the subject. *Mara* may be appended to make the expression milder.

(983) *Hau suri mai ni roba ikara!*

MRK allow 3PL REF.POS clothes fold

‘Let them fold their own clothes!’

(984) *Karako’o hau suri ta’e!*

Karako’o MRK allow sleep

‘Let Karako’o sleep!’

(985) *Hau suri era naudo’ome sawere mara!*

MRK allow 3PL EMP swim MRK

‘Let them swim by themselves!’

Other forms of optative expressions in Makasae are *seti do, baunu seti do* and *bere-bere seti* which all mean ‘let’s hope that’, ‘if only’.

(986) *Seti do funu-sala ere to mini ma’u!*

ask MRK war-wrong DEM1-this MRK-not back return

‘Let’s hope the conflict doesn’t return!’

(987) *Bere-bere seti do gubernu ni anu lane’e*

big ask MRK government REF.POS people PL.MRK

‘If only the government cared about

*gutu gehere!*

POSP care about

its people!’
Imperative with the Reflexive Pronoun *ni*

Imperative constructions can be formed with reflexive pronouns when the object is identical in reference to the subject of the same sentence. This form of imperative is applied only in the second person singular and plural. *Ai* and *ni* as well as *i* and *ni* in 988 and 989 are co-referential because they denote the same person.

(988) *Ai ni ena!*

2SG REF watch

‘Watch yourself!’

(989) *I ni bane!*

2PL REF wash

‘Wash yourselves!’

Diffuse imperatives

This type of imperative is used to express a command which is “directed at anyone and everyone who is present” as well as “an imaginary audience” (Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman 232). They also state that this form of imperative cannot be used in the presence of a speaker and an addressee. Makasae uses *anu u* (§6.2.1) to express a diffuse imperative.

(990) *Anu u malu-asa hau saga ete!*

PRON betel-leaf PERF look for MRK

‘Somebody pick up the betel leaf!’ (One of you here)

The negative form is:

(991) *Anu u to te’ini!*

PRON MRK-not smoke

‘Don’t anybody smoke!’ (none of you here)
12.5 Adjectives

12.5.1. Introduction

Makasae adjectives differ from English adjectives in that they function either as adjectival verbs or as stative verbs. Some of the adjectival verbs are also identical with adverbs (§12.7). Being grammatically similar to verbs, adjectivals can function as the head of an intransitive predicate; they can be negated with verb negator noto or to; and the head can also be a noun, pronoun or noun phrase.

The form of adjectivals in Makasae is rather problematic in comparison with Tetum because they can either be marked with the possessive-like attribute gi or occur without it. However, they share a common feature in that the adjectives have verb quality. Gi is prefixed to both attributive and predicative adjectivals. This shows a similarity to most Papuan Tip languages which still maintain the “pronominal possessive suffix on the adjective”. However, these differ somewhat from Makasae, because in the Papuan languages in question the suffix must “agree in person and number with the noun it describes” (Ross, Proto Oceanic 208), whereas Makasae gi is used with singular and plural head nouns. These similar constructions in the Austronesian languages of the Papuan Tip and Makasae indicate the existence of a widespread areal linguistic feature of genetic origin rather than simply due to language contact.

Gi occurring as a default marker with adjectival verbs in Makasae is actually a noun phrase. The construction with gi + adjectival can be a noun phrase containing an attributive adjectival with the structure of a noun phrase with a possessor. A phrase such as afa gi bere ‘a big rock’ can also express a noun phrase ‘the stone’s bigness’. A comparison can be made with Midiki, a dialect of Kawaimina, in which

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219 Dixon (Where 2) makes the assertion that “not all languages have the major word class Adjective”. Dixon states further in 2004 that being a different class from noun and verb, and differing from one language to another, it becomes “a difficult class to recognise, and a more difficult class to put forward generalisations about” (Adjective 9).

220 See also Ross’s article on possessive-like attribute constructions in the Oceanic languages of Northwest Melanesia published in Oceanic Linguistics, vol. 37, No. 2 (Dec., 1998), pp. 234-276.

221 A consultation with Prof. Geoffrey Hull on 22 August 2010 and e-mail communication with Prof. Malcolm Ross on 21 September 2010, both suggested that the morphosyntactic similarities between Makasae and its Austronesian neighbours (Western Oceanic languages) of the Papuan Tip are most probably genetic.
the possessive marker -n is suffixed to the adjective. The phrase above can be expressed in Midiki as *watu p’arin* ‘big rock’.

A similar phenomenon also occurs in Malay-Indonesian, which may use the third person possessive -nya to create nouns from adjectives, e.g.: *pintar* ‘intelligent’, *pintarnya* ‘intelligence’, *anak pintarnya* ‘the child’s intelligence’. The equivalent of the latter phrase in Makasae would be:

\[
\text{Mata gi mateneke}
\]

child POS intelligent

As outlined above, in another context this Makasae phrase can mean ‘the intelligent child’. The Malay-Indonesian phrase cannot have this meaning; this would be rendered by:

\[
\text{Anak (yang) pintar (itu)}
\]

child (REL) intelligent (DEM)

‘The intelligent child/The child who is intelligent.’

child POS intelligent

A number of adjectives in Makasae have been borrowed from other languages, particularly Portuguese, Tetum and Kawaimina dialects. This chapter examines both native and borrowed adjectives, and how they are formed.

**Adjectives with Prefixed gi**

Questioning of native speakers of Makasae revealed that it was obligatory to use prefixed *gi* with certain adjectives, but it was at first difficult to determine precisely what these particular adjectives had in common. No explanation was available in the existing literature. However, a detailed analysis of the data revealed that it is when an adjective is of Trans-New Guinea, non-Austronesian, origin, that the use of prefixed *gi* is compulsory. All the adjectives listed below are indigenous:

\[\text{222 My thanks to Dr Geoffrey Hull for solving the problem by pointing out this pattern to me.}\]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English Word Order</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aha gi gabara</td>
<td>mango POS half-ripe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘half-ripe mango’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lode gi gama</td>
<td>bag POS. old</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘old bag’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bai gi luma</td>
<td>pig POS tame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘tame pig’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sobu gi logo</td>
<td>word POS false</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘false word’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gegere gi deti</td>
<td>thought POS wrong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘wrong idea’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sita gi kolo</td>
<td>machete POS chipped off</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘blunt machete’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sobu gi garihi</td>
<td>word POS strong/unkind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘strong/unkind word’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ga’awai gi afala</td>
<td>place POS wild</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘wild place’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mata gi redeke</td>
<td>child POS ugly/bad</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘ugly/bad child’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sabi gi ka’u</td>
<td>crab POS small</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘small crab’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Contextual examples:

(992) Ai dadau aha gi gabara nai gume.

‘You must pick only half-ripe mangoes.’

(993) Era bai gi luma lane’e hau suri.

‘They let the tame pigs go.’

(994) Erau sobu gi garihi ma ta gau lolo.

‘Don’t say unkind words to each other.’

**Adjectives with Optional gi**

*Gi* is optionally used before adjectives borrowed from other languages. In the following list the non-indigenous adjectives in question are shared with Kawaimina dialects and often have cognates in Tetum as well:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English word Order</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>busu (gi) bosana</td>
<td>pan (POS.) used</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; Tet. bosan</td>
<td>‘used pan’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
defa (gi) si’aka < Kaw. si’a  dog (POS.) ferocious  ‘ferocious dog’
seu (gi) ha’uku < Kaw. wau, whau  meat (POS.) rotten  ‘rotten meat’
bibi (gi) bo’uru < Mid. boku  sheep (POS.) fat  ‘fat sheep’
plastik (gi) nifi’i < Mid. nihi  plastic (POS.) thin  ‘thin plastic’
mu’u (gi) doroko < Mid. kroe  banana (POS.) rotten  ‘rotten banana’
afi (gi) arai < Nau. rain  fish (POS.) small  ‘small fish’
aha (gi) agaha < Kaw. ga’a  mango (POS.) sour  ‘sour mango’
dera (gi) resini < Kaw. resi  thing (POS.) leftover  ‘remaining things’
sabatu (gi) ra’i < Mid. braki  shoe (POS.) dirty  ‘dirty shoes’

Contextual examples:

(995) Bibi (gi) bo’uru u sifa ma ai kaka gau guta.
   sheep POS fat one catch MRK 2SG older brother POSP slaughter
   ‘Get a fat sheep and slaughter it for your brother.’

(996) Tinuko’o gi bada lane’e wainati (gi) arai ere
   Tinuko’o POS friend PL.MRK oar POS small DEM-1-this
   ma fara waini.
   MRK boat row
   ‘Tinuko’o and his friends rowed the boat with small oars.’

(997) Semana-semana ani gi oma isi la’a do
   RED-week 1SG 3SG house LOC go MRK
   ‘Every week I go to his house to

   roba (gi) ra’i bane.
   clothes POS dirty wash
do the washing.’
The same rule applies to all adjectives of Portuguese origin:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Word Order</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>asukai (gi) forti &lt; Ptg. forte</td>
<td>man (POS.) strong</td>
<td>‘strong man’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasaun (gi) riku &lt; Ptg. rico</td>
<td>country (POS.) rich</td>
<td>‘rich country’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asa (gi) faraku &lt; Ptg. fraco</td>
<td>chicken (POS.) weak</td>
<td>‘weak chicken’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sobu (gi) difisili &lt; Ptg. difícil</td>
<td>mater (POS.) difficult</td>
<td>‘difficult matter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaiboba (gi) karu &lt; Ptg. caro</td>
<td>bag (POS.) expensive</td>
<td>‘expensive bag’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Contextual examples:

(998) Komandanti asukai (gi) forti lane’e asara sa’i foroma.
commandant man (POS) strong PL.MRK order QUANT line up
‘The commandant ordered all the strong men to line up.’

(999) ONU gi anu kareta (gi) karu nai sifa.
UN POS person car (POS) expensive only drive
‘UN people (staff) drive only expensive cars.’

Adjectives without gi

The possessive gi is never used in certain adjectives of Timoric origin when the literal meaning of the adjectives is intended and is unambiguous:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Word Order</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kadera imiri &lt; Tet. mean</td>
<td>chair red</td>
<td>‘red chair’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>farda metana &lt; Tet. metan</td>
<td>uniform black</td>
<td>‘black uniform’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lialia diku &lt; Mid. diku</td>
<td>thief deaf</td>
<td>‘deaf thief’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a’ele koniri &lt; Tet. kunir, kinur</td>
<td>string orange</td>
<td>‘orange string’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asukai mauku &lt; Mid. mau</td>
<td>man intoxicated</td>
<td>‘intoxicated man’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>surati lumuru &lt; Tet. lumut ‘moss’; paper green</td>
<td>‘green paper’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Contextual examples:

(1000) *Ofo metana anu ere gau lolo “ai ma’u
snake black person DEM₁-this POSP say 2SG come
ani gua hemii”.
1SG POSP sit here
‘The black snake said to the man, “Come and sit on me (my back)”.’

(1001) *Asukai mauku wori gau lolo tobe’u hi’a gua
man drunk DEM₃-that POSP tell NEG street POSP
woila’a-hela’a.
walk there-walk here
‘Tell the drunk man over there not to hang around on the street.’

However, when *gi* is prefixed to certain adjectives, particularly those describing colour, it gives a modified, transferred or figurative meaning to the adjective:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English Word Order</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kadera gi imiri</td>
<td>chair POS reddish, golden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘reddish chair’ or golden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mutu gi metana</td>
<td>heart insincere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘insincere heart’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na’i gi butiri</td>
<td>thing POS silvery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘silvery thing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaidawa gi gabara</td>
<td>longan half-ripe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘half-ripe longan’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Contextual examples:

(1002) *Inai wori kelu gi imiri ma ni mata-tufurae
lady DEM₃-that bracelet POS red MRK REF.POS child-girl
gau tehu.
POSP buy
‘The lady (over there) bought a golden bracelet for her daughter.’

(1003) *Dainati gi gabara ere gi ira sentabusu rulola’e-resi-lima.
custard POS yellow DEM₁-this POS cost cent twenty-five
‘The cost of this half-ripe custard apple is twenty five cents.’

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12.5.2 Types of Makasae Adjectives

Makasae adjectivals express all the semantic groupings that make up the grammatical class of adjectives. These semantic fields include “dimension, physical property, colour, human propensity, age, value and speed” (Dixon, Adjective 16). In 1991, Dixon adds three more semantic types, namely qualification, difficulty and similarity, to his previous study, which brings the total of adjectival semantic types to ten. The semantic types of some adjectival classes can also be found in quantification, position and cardinal numbers (Dixon and Aikhenvald 5).

The semantic groupings associated with the grammatical class of adjectives in Makasae may be illustrated with the following examples:


ii. Physical property: (gi) gehele ‘hard, strong’, (gi) ti’iri ‘heavy’, (gi) sarehe ‘clean’, (gi) ga’ara ‘cold’


iv. Human propensity: (gi) boborate ‘jealous’, (gi) mateneke ‘clever’, (gi) si’aka ‘cruel’

v. Age: (gi) waiula ‘youngest’, (gi) la’idaa ‘old’, (gi) mu’iri ‘long (age, time)’

vi. Value: (gi) rau ‘good’, (gi) nokorau ‘bad’, (gi) bosana ‘used’, (gi) gama ‘used, old’

vii. Speed: (gi) bese ‘quick’, (gi) neinei ‘slow’, (gi) umu ‘slow’

viii. Qualification: (gi) loloro ‘true, appropriate’, (gi) deti ‘wrong’, (gi) du’ulu ‘good, nice’

ix. Difficulty: (gi) a’ehe ‘easy’, (gi) gehele ‘hard, difficult’, (gi) susara ‘difficult’

x. Similarity: dedee ‘similar to’, uani ‘different’

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223 See Payne, Exploring 116-17 and Givón, Syntax 81-4.
12.5.3 Classes of Makasae Adjectives

The basic characteristic of the Makasae adjective is that it follows the noun it qualifies when used attributively. However, when an adjective is in predicative mode, it can also express verb quality. There are adjectives formed through reduplication as well as some derivational morphemes associated with them. Basic adjectives can also be compounded with certain nouns to form new adjectives. Apart from native adjectives, there are others adopted from Portuguese.

Attributive Adjectives

Makasae attributive adjectives, as in Tetum, Kawaimina and neighbouring Papuan Makalero and Fataluku, occur in postnominal position.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Literal Word Order</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lode metana</td>
<td>bag black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waru aba'a</td>
<td>shirt thick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>watu wailarlee</td>
<td>day ordinary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>defa si’aka</td>
<td>dog ferocious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seu ba’uku</td>
<td>meat rotten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asa bogere</td>
<td>chicken weak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mu’u deta</td>
<td>banana ripe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Contextual examples:

(1004) Da’e-Koru, perdua ma isi mutu-galu sisiri ere gini.  
head-crown forgiveness MRK POS heart sick DEM1-this give  
‘Lord, grant us forgiveness for our wickedness.’

(1005) Anu lane’e kurus butiri ma bu’u gua donahara.  
person PL.MRK cross white MRK hill POSP erect on there  
(up there + erect)  
‘People erected a white cross on the hill.’

224 Mutu-galu refers to heart in an abstract sense.
(1006) Gi amira ko’ulu ma mata gini.
3SG milk hot MRK child give
‘She gave hot milk to the child.’

**Predicative Adjectives**

When an adjective is placed after a noun in the predicative position, it usually functions as an adjectival verb.

(1007) Fi mutu-galu sarehe.
1PL.INC heart clean
‘Our heart is pure.’ (i.e. open-minded, very accepting).
(cf. Tetum: Ita-nia laran moos.)

(1008) Asi tana to ra’i.
POS hand MRK-not dirty
‘My hands are not dirty.’

(1009) Fige’e sistema edukasaun were ne’egu loloro.
POS system education DEM2-that not yet right
‘Our education system is not right yet.’

Adjectives with verb quality, like other verbs, can also occur with either preverbal or postverbal aspectual markers (§12.4).

(1010) Meudia minigali ma’u, were meti hai bibiri.
noon back come MRK sea INCEP rough
‘When (we) returned at noon, the sea was rough.’

(1011) Oma ere ho hai mu’iri do sa’a hai
house DEM1-this also INCEP long so pillar INCEP
sa’i bo’oko.
QUANT rot
‘Some parts of this house are old so the pillars have rotted.’
(1012) *Se anu u tonai hi’a were isi daa,*
if person one MRK-not street DEM2-that LOC pass
‘If nobody passes through that street,

*fi susara afa tai.*
1PL.INC difficult IMPIN EMP
we will be in trouble.’

(1013) *Dai Indonesia lane’e he’e tama, ani na’uwari arai.*
master Indonesia PL.MRK ADV1-here enter 1SG GRESS little
‘When the Indonesian soldiers came here, I was just a little child.’

**Derived Adjectives**

Another group of adjectives in Makasae can be formed by prefixing the negative particle to- to adjectival verbs to make them negative. *To-* functions like ‘im-, in- or un-’ in English and *la-* in Tetum.

- *tofani* ‘tasteless’
- *totahani* ‘different’
- *togehele* ‘unstable, precarious’
- *tomauku* ‘sober’, ‘not drunk’
- *tokole* ‘tireless’
- *tomera* ‘blunt’, ‘not sharp’
- *tololoro* ‘incorrect, untrue’
- *tosarehe* ‘dirty, unclean, unclear’

Contextual examples:

(1014) *Ae-hira torau wori lane’e na’u saugati.*
rain-water insufficient DEM3-that PL.MRK just useless
‘(If) there is insufficient rainfall, those over there will be useless.’

(1015) *Sasoro ere tofani weregau mata tula nawa.*
porridge DEM1-this tasteless therefore child refuse eat
‘The porridge is tasteless, therefore the child doesn’t want to eat (it).’
I iti tosarehe were hau bane dete sabatu siu.

POS foot unclean DEM₂-that PERF wash then shoe wear
‘Wash your dirty feet first before wearing (your) shoes.’

Apart from to-, Makasae also employs the suffix -lesa, which is equivalent to the prolific privative suffix -laek in Tetum and -less in English. ²²⁵ This form is always added to noun bases, including those derived from Portuguese:

bada-lesa ‘companionless, lonely’
oma-lesa ‘homeless’
deti-lesa ‘guiltless, innocent’
mata-lesa ‘childless’
forosa-lesa ‘powerless’
sintidu-lesa ‘meaningless’
lawa-lesa ‘penniless, broke’
siribisu-lesa ‘jobless’

Contextual examples:

(1017) Ehani ana siribisu-lesa baunu ene Dili
now people unemployed QUANT MRK Dili
mutu woila’a-hela’a.
inside going-coming
‘Now (it’s) the unemployed people (who) are wandering around Dili.’

(1018) Ini sai lawa-lesa do basara-basara nanawa simu.
1PL.EXC EMP penniless so every week food receive
‘We were penniless so every week (we) received food.’

(1019) Asukai wori deti-lesa weregau pulisi gi hau suri.
man DEM₃-that innocent therefore police 3SG PERF release
‘That man (over there) is innocent, so the police let him go.’

**Compound Adjectives**

Another way of forming adjectives in Makasae is by employing semantically logical combinations of different parts of speech. In this formation, various arrangements are possible to form adjectives:

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²²⁵ See other examples of the Tetum privative suffix in Hull and Eccles 134.
i) The first element is a noun to which a basic adjective is compounded;
ii) The reflexive pronoun ni is combined with certain verbs; or
iii) Two symmetrical verbs are combined. However, of the three, this last form of adjective is the least productive in Makasae.

Compound adjectives can be used either attributively or predicatively.

Formation with noun + adjective:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Literal Word Order</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>da’e-gehele</td>
<td>head-hard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fanu-metana</td>
<td>face-black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fanu-sarehe</td>
<td>face-clean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iti-asana</td>
<td>foot-long</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wali-furu</td>
<td>ear-chipped off</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘stubborn’
‘senile’; ‘insane’
‘sober, serious’
‘tall’
‘naughty’

Contextual examples:

(1020) Waru ira-digara ere ma nahi tehu?
shirt cheap DEM1-this MRK where buy
‘Where did you buy this cheap shirt?’

(1021) Maukai ere wali-furu do gi iba gata si’aka.
Maukai DEM1-this naughty so POS father POSP reprimand
‘Maukai was naughty, so his father reprimanded him.’

Formation with reflexive ni + verb (equivalent to Tetum verb + an):

*ni-dairi* ‘arrogant, proud
REF.-flatter/praise

*ni-fiara* ‘confident’
REF.-trust

*ni-gini* ‘arrogant, lofty’
REF.-make
ni-ukunu   ‘independent’
REF.-rule

Contextual examples:

(1022) Nasaun ni-ukunu baunu ene ONU gi membur.
country self-rule QUANT MRK UN POS member
‘Many independent countries are members of the UN.’

(1023) Mata were ni-dairi tanba gi ina-gi bobo riku.
child DEM2-that arrogant because POS.mother-POS.father rich
‘This child is arrogant because his parents are rich.’

The hyphen is used to link ni and a verb to form an adjective. However, if a hyphen is not used, ni retains its reflexive function (§6.4.1), where the object has the same referent as the subject.

(1024) Gi ni bane do isikola isi la’a.
3SG REF wash in order to school LOC go
‘He has a wash to go to school.’ (Lit. ‘He washes himself in order to go to school.)

Formation with verb + verb:

kolu-la’a   ‘naked’
undress-go

nawa-ta’e   ‘lazy’
eat-sleep

Contextual examples:

(1025) Mata na’u kolu-la’a.
child just naked
‘The child is naked.’

A variant form is kola-la’a ‘naked’.
‘The youngsters are lazy and wait (until it is time) to stomp on the rice ...’

12.5.4 Comparison and Equation

Comparative Constructions

To express the comparative in Makasae, speakers can use the verb *lita* or *litaka*, both of which literally mean ‘to pass, surpass’. The form *lita* is usually placed before the adjective, and the possessive particle *gi* preceding an adjective is dropped, except in the case of indigenous trans-New Guinea adjectives with compulsory *gi*, for example *gi ka’u* ‘small, little’, *gi sufa* ‘new’ and *gi gama* ‘old, worn out’. However, when speakers intend to emphasise the comparative adjective, *litaka* is used and placed sentence-finally (1028). Apart from expressing the comparative, *lita* and *litaka* can also be employed to mark the superlative form. In comparative constructions, usually no equivalent of English ‘than’ is used in Makasae; however, see the use of *na’umini* or *mini* in 41 below.

(1027) *Fi welafu ehani fi boba lane’e gige’e lita (gi) rau.*

POS life now POS father PL.MRK POS surpass good

or

*Fi welafu ehani (gi) rau fi boba lane’e gige’e litaka.*

POS life now good POS father PL.MRK POS surpass

‘Our lives nowadays are better than our parents’ lives.’

(1028) *Kuandu teta, otomatiki susara manuala litaka.*

when dismantle automatic difficult manual surpass

‘Automatic cars are more difficult than manual ones to dismantle (for repairing).’
Lita is usually preceded by the quantifier sa’i ‘all’ to express a superlative meaning.

(1029) Ana lolo isikola primaria ere nibel gi seluku sa’i
people say school primary DEM1-this level QUANT QUANT
lita ti’iri.
surpass heavy
‘People say that primary school is the most difficult of all (levels of education).’

Makasae uses the forms mega lita and hau lita, which precede the adjective to express the equivalent of English ‘much + -er’ (1030). These forms can be emphasised further with megahau lita or meganehe lita to convey a sense of absoluteness (1031).

(1030) Lisaun oho laka mega lita difisil.
lesson QUANT EMP INT surpass difficult
‘Some lessons are much more difficult.’

(1031) Arabau ma keta liguru ere rau bo
buffalo MRK rice field plough DEM-this good but
‘Ploughing a rice field with a buffalo is all right, but

\[\text{taratoro ma liguru megahau lita gi rau.}\]
tractor MRK plough INT surpass good.
it is infinitely better to do it with a tractor.’

Speakers also use na’umini or mini ‘back’ to express the meaning of ‘than’. Lita precedes the adjective, whereas litaka ends a clause or sentence.

(1032) Ai wauru gi na’umini/mini lita du’ulu.
3SG dance 2SG than surpass good
or
Ai wauru du’ulu na’umini/mini gi litaka.
3SG dance good than 2SG surpass
‘She dances better than you do.’

When nouns are compared, the forms *lita*, *litaka*, *mini lita*, *na’umini lita*, *mini litaka*, and *na’umini litaka* can also be preceded by a noun. The construction with *litaka* is more colloquial.

(1033) *Inai lane’e ni mata-tufurae ma mata-asukai lita ena.*

mother PL.MRK REF.POS child-woman MRK child-man surpass see

or

*Inai lane’e ni mata-tufurae ena mata-asukai litaka.*

mother PL.MRK REF.POS child-woman see child-man surpass

‘Mothers care more about their daughters than their sons.’

**Equative Constructions**

Equative constructions are formed in a similar way to comparatives. Makasae uses *dedee* and *gobatahani* or *gubatahani*, all meaning ‘like, as’, to express the equivalent of the English equative form ‘as … as’. *Dedee* follows the second element in the construction, appearing in sentence-final position, or is followed by the adjective.

(1034) *Idukasaun ere importanti saudi dedee.*

education DEM₁-this important health as

or

*Idukasaun ere saudi dedee importanti.*

education DEM₁-this health as important

‘Education is as important as health.’

The form *gobatahani*, however, can be placed after the second element, but before the adjective. It also follows the adjective at the end of the sentence when used colloquially.

(1035) *Ani ere ira na’u sahara ani gi tuu gobatahani.*

year DEM₁-this water just dry year POS first as

‘This year water (for the rice field) is just as scarce as last year.’
Era gi gini-gini milisi gobatahani gi kote.

3PL POS behaviour militia as POS bad
‘Their behaviour is as bad as that of the militia.’

The equative construction can also be made negative by using noto (to), notonai (tonai) or notosai (tosai) (§4.3.2). When the negative follows the adjective, the form it takes can be any of the three. However, when following a noun or pronoun in the second element, only the last two forms are used to mark negative.

Inanawa lane’e to netrala forsa gi seluku dedee.227
so-and-so PL.MRK MRK-not neutral force QUANT as
‘They are not as neutral as the other forces.’

Baukau tonai Dili gobatahani gi bere,
Baucau MRK-not Dili as POS big
‘Baucau is not as big as Dili,

do woiria-heria dera saga tehu.
so COMP.run thing search buy
so (we don’t) have to shop around.’

Ana oho lolo fi makasae tonai Osu gige’e
people some say POS Makasae MRK-not Ossu POS
gubatahani du’ulu.
as good
‘People say that our Makasae is not as good as that of Ossu.’

12.5.5 Intensification

Intensifiers

Makasae adjectives can either be premodified or postmodified by an intensifier to indicate that the meaning of an element has been somewhat heightened

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227 Inanawa, inada’e and bobagawa are forms of address used to refer to a specific person or a group of people whom the speaker does not want to call by name (circumstances in which Tetum would use inan-teen or inan-ferik).
or lowered. Most of the adverbs are placed after the adjective. However, in some constructions, one or more adverbs can precede the adjective.

Premodified intensifiers:

nehe ... ‘very, too’
lita ... ‘very, too’
haunehe ... ‘very, too’
meganehe, megalita ... ‘very’
hau, megahau ... ‘very, so’
hauala ... ‘too’
na‘u ... ‘simply, so’
mega ... ‘truly, indeed, simply’
tafiruu ... ‘really, truly’
megahauala ... ‘extremely’
megahaunehe ... ‘extremely’
ko’inuu, sibi, ka‘u-ka‘u u ... ‘a little, somewhat’
para ... ‘so’

Contextual examples:

(1040) Mateusu gi bobu-dada meganehe riku.

Matthew POS uncle very rich

‘Matthew’s uncle is very rich.’

(1041) Basara gi watu tanehe sibi rau bo ana ...  
market POS day sometimes somewhat good but people ...

‘On market day (it is) sometimes a little better, but people...’

(1042) Laga mutu ere kalauru na‘u baunu.

Laga inside DEM1-this kalauru INT a lot

‘In Laga there is a lot of kalauru.’ (a kind of vegetable)

When negative intensification is intended, to ‘not’ is followed by the intensifiers. The form to rau is also used to express the equivalent of English ‘not very, not so’ (§4.3.2).
Harvesting rice is not much fun, but stomping on it is great fun.

When intensifying adjectives which affect physical states negatively, the form *ni-guta* ‘to death’, which literally means ‘kill oneself’, is usually employed (circumstances in which Tetum can use *todan* ‘heavy’, *atumate* or *mate-an* ‘to death’).

- *ni-guta ga’ara* ‘bitterly cold’
- *ni-guta kole* ‘extremely tired, dead tired’
- *ni-guta ko’ulu* ‘boiling hot’
- *ni-guta mauku* ‘dead drunk’
- *ni-guta si’aka* ‘extremely furious’
- *ni-guta sisiri* ‘seriously ill, extremely sick’
- *ni-guta ti’iri* ‘extremely heavy’

Postmodified intensifiers:

- ... *la’a-la’a* ‘really, simply’
- ... *demaisi* ‘too’
- ... *nokorau* ‘badly, seriously’
- ... *haunokorau* ‘extremely’ (for both positive and negative adjectives)
- ... *haugikote* ‘terribly’ (only for negative adjectives)
- ... *na’unokorau, na’ugikote* ‘truly, indeed’

Contextual examples:

(1044) *Mai gi mata gi bere la’a-la’a to asara isikola*

‘Their really big children are not sent’
do surat ba’e leu...

in order to letter know read...
to school to learn to read...

(1045) Anu lane’e wa’a mateneke haunokorau dadau ni akasa ....

person PL.MRK REL intelligent INT MOD REF strive 

‘People who are extremely intelligent must strive to....’

(1046) Ai sisiri nai, dotoro ai mega saunu.

2SG ill INT doctor 2SG immediately inject

‘What, you’re not really all that sick, but the doctor is still going to give you an injection?’

When adjectives denote size, they may be followed by the intensifiers mata ‘a little, somewhat, rather’ and gi ina ‘very, really, e.g. gi ka’u mata ‘rather small’ or gi bere gi ina ‘very big’.

(1047) Ini na’u lona gi ka’u mata gia wedebara.

1PL.EXC just tarpaulin POS small INT POSP (there) live

‘We just lived there under a rather small tarpaulin.’

(1048) Tinani ma busu gi bere gi ina isi tina do rice MRK pan POS big INT LOC cook in order to ma ana faana.

MRK person feed

‘The rice is cooked in a really big pan in order to feed the people.’

There are also certain intensifiers which can only occur with specific adjectives expressing negative physical and non-physical states of any entity. The adjectives usually take their short forms and are followed by the intensifiers diki-diki and kou-kou ‘really, so, very’. Saa and meta in examples (1049) and (1050) come from sahara ‘cold’ and metana ‘black’ respectively. Diki-diki can be used with other adjectives, but kou-kou occurs only with the adjective ‘black’, cf. English ‘pitch-black’.

307
(1049) Keta lane’e hai na’u saa diki-diki.
   rice field PL.MRK INCEP just dry INT
   ‘The rice fields have just been very dry.’

(1050) Gi gamu-gamu ini umurafa isi woibuna
   POS morning 1PL.EXC hill LOC (there) see
   ata-teu meta kou-kou.
   smoke black INT
   ‘In the morning, when we looked at the hill (over there), the smoke was really black.’

A single adjective in a clause or sentence construction can also be intensified through circumposition of both premodified and postmodified intensifiers.

(1051) Resa se’i tanehe watu megahau ko’u diki-diki do mai nautule.
   rice cut sometimes sun INT hot INT so 3PL refuse
   ‘Harvesting rice in the daytime is extremely hot sometimes, so they refuse to do it.’

Reduplication of Adjectives

Intensification of adjectives can also be expressed by complete or partial reduplication.228

Formation with complete reduplication:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(gi) bere} & \quad \text{‘big’} & \quad \text{(gi) bere-bere} & \quad \text{‘very big’} \\
\text{gi ka’u} & \quad \text{‘small’} & \quad \text{(gi) ka’u-ka’u} & \quad \text{‘very small’} \\
\text{gi kote} & \quad \text{‘bad, ugly’} & \quad \text{(gi) kote-kote} & \quad \text{‘very bad, very ugly’} \\
\text{gi lamu} & \quad \text{‘lukewarm’} & \quad \text{(gi) lamu-lamu} & \quad \text{‘very lukewarm’} \\
\text{gi lume} & \quad \text{‘delicate’} & \quad \text{(gi) lume-lume} & \quad \text{‘very delicate’} \\
\text{(gi) mera} & \quad \text{‘sharp’} & \quad \text{(gi) mera-mera} & \quad \text{‘very sharp’}
\end{align*}
\]

228 This feature is similar to that of certain other Oceanic languages in which adjectives are reduplicated to mark intensity. For further discussion, see Ross, Proto-Oceanic 88 as qtd. in Hill 1992. Such reduplication to mark intensity also occurs with some monosyllabic adjectives in colloquial English, but is not normally written, e.g. ‘A big, big man.’
gi sufa  ‘new’  (gi) sufa-sufa  ‘very new’ 
(gi) rau  ‘good’  (gi) rau-rau  ‘very good’
(gi) umu  ‘weak’  (gi) umu-umu  ‘very weak’

Contextual examples:

(1052) I lane’e wari ka’u-ka’u.
2PL PL.MRK GRESS small.INT ‘You all were very little.’

(1053) Sina-oma Baukau wo’i sai dera gi sufa-sufa bura.
China-house Baucau ADV3-yonder EMP thing POS newINT sell ‘The Chinese shop in Baucau also sells brand-new things.’

(1054) Gi asa rau-rau lane’e hau ma deidei wau.
POS leaf good.INT PL.MRK PERF MRK separately place ‘Those very good leaves must be kept separately.’

Formation with partial reduplication:

(gi) asana  ‘long, tall, deep’  (gi) asasana  ‘very long, tall, deep’
(gi) butiri  ‘white’  (gi) butibutiri  ‘very white’
(gi) digara  ‘short, shallow’  (gi) digadigara  ‘very short, shallow’
(gi) fuini  ‘brave’  (gi) fuifuini  ‘very brave’
(gi) ka’ili  ‘twisted, winding’  (gi) kaka’ili  ‘very twisted, winding’
(gi) sahara  ‘dry’  (gi) sasahara, sasaha  ‘very dry’
(gi) si’aka  ‘ferocious, vicious’  (gi) sisi’aka  ‘very ferocious, vicious’
(gi) ti’iri  ‘heavy, difficult’  (gi) titi’iri  ‘very heavy, difficult’

229 Its variant is (gi) rara’u.
(gi) uluru  ‘boiling’  (gi) ululuru  ‘very hot’

Contextual examples:

(1055) Gi fanukai hai na’u butibutiri.
    POS face INCEP just RED-white
    ‘Just (a short time ago) his face was very white.’

(1056) Fuu gi digadigara wori (misa)!
    tree POS short.INT DEM3-that (climb)
    ‘Climb the very low one over there!’

(1057) Matarini gi fuifuini ene bai-afa miliguru.
    children POS braveINT MRK pig-wild chase
    ‘(It’s) those very brave children (who) chased the boar.’

Some Portuguese-derived adjectives (§12.5.6) can also undergo complete or partial reduplication:

(gi) karu < Ptg. caro  ‘expensive’  (gi) karu-karu  ‘very expensive’
(gi) riku < Ptg. rico  ‘rich’  (gi) riku-riku  ‘very rich’
(gi) forti < Ptg. forte  ‘strong, hard’  (gi) foforti  ‘very strong, hard’

There are some adjectives in Makasae which appear to show reduplication-like forms, but which are not formed from any basic adjectives, e.g. nogo-nogo, meaning ‘crazy, mad’. This has been adopted from Midiki, in which language it means ‘stupid’, a typical borrowing due to the proximity of the two languages. The native Makasae word for ‘crazy, mad, bad-tempered’ is gira-gira.

The reduplicated adjectives can also be circumposed by the appropriate adverbs to emphasise the intensity, e.g. mega gi bere-bere nai ‘really very big’. The adverb nai can also follow the basic form.
A Sequence of Identical Adjectives

Apart from reduplication, Makasae may also employ a sequence of synonymous adjectives to intensify the state of an entity, e.g. *gi bere gi atara* ‘very big’, ‘really big’ (cf. the colloquial English sequence ‘huge big’ (house etc.), *gi fuiki gi afala* ‘really wild, uncivilised’, *gi rau gi felu* ‘truly great’, *siulu sarehe* ‘truly civilised’ (literally means ‘truly clean’).

(1058) *Afa ere gi bere gi atara.*
  rock DEM₁-this big POS big
  ‘The rock is very big.’

(1059) *Wori ni ma Maromak gau nama dane, na’unisi gisani gi rau gi felu.*
  PRON REF MRK God POS up extend as sacrifice
  POS good POS good one.
  ‘He (Jesus) offered himself to God as a perfect (truly good) sacrifice.’

(1060) *Sarani ere la’a mu’a ere hai siulu sarehe dete ma’u.*
  Christianity DEM₁-this go land DEM₁-this INCEP clear
  clean then come
  ‘Christianity came when the land (Laga) had become truly pure.’

Like the reduplicated forms, adjective sequences can also take circumposed appropriate intensifiers or adverbs, e.g. *meganehe gi bere gi atara la’a-la’a* ‘extremely huge’ When the possessive particle *gi* is dropped, a similar intensifier can be placed before each adjective in the sequence, e.g. *nehe ti’iri nehe susara* ‘very difficult’ (literally ‘very heavy; very difficult).

12.5.6 Portuguese-Derived Adjectives

Makasae adjectives or adjectival verbs have also absorbed Portuguese adjectives. Similar to the situation in other vernaculars of East Timor, Portuguese
loanwords have been transferred mainly through Tetum. Most of the basic adjectives or adjectival verbs are used to describe modern concepts.

- **akademiku** ‘academic’
- **otomatiku, otomatiki** ‘automatic’
- **forti** ‘strong’
- **pulitiku, pulitiki** ‘political’
- **importanti** ‘important’
- **santu** ‘holy, saintly’

**Contextual examples:**

(1061) *Fi* na’unaga Indonesia gige’e kurikulu akademiku midaa.

1PL.INC continually Indonesia POS curriculum academic follow

‘We continue to follow the Indonesian academic curriculum.’

(1062) Idukasaun ere importanti saudi dedee.

education DEM1-this important health surpass

‘Education is as important as health.’

Unlike Portuguese, Makasae and Tetum do not have grammatical gender. Hull and Eccles state that in Tetum, the “suffixes -mane ‘male’, -feto ‘female’ belong to the realm of word building rather than morphology” (*Tetum* 140). Nevertheless, acrolectal Tetum employs rules which govern noun and gender agreement as in Portuguese, e.g. *profesor australianu* (m.)/*profesora australiana* (f.). By contrast, Makasae usually nominalises the adjectival concept (using the corresponding nouns) and it can be followed by the possessive marker *ge’e* or *gige’e* (§5.2.4).

(1063) *Forsa Australi* mai gua daa hani?

force Australia 3PL POSP pass MRK

or

*Forsa Australi* ge’e mai gua daa hani?

force Australia POS 3PL POSP pass MRK

‘The Australian soldiers are on their side, right?’

(cf. Tetum: *Forsa australiana liu hosi sira, nune’e ka?)

(1064) *Partidu pulitiki* lane’e dadau ta wali ta respeita.

party political PL.MRK must REC listen REC respect

‘Political parties must listen to and respect one another.’
12.6 Adpositions

As a grammatical category, Makasae adpositions embrace postpositions and prepositions. They are used to indicate the location and time of an event; to express the mode in which an event or action is carried out; and to form metaphorical expressions (Tallerman 48). The most typical form of Makasae adpositions are postpositions. By contrast, the majority of Tetum adpositions are prepositions.

In this study adpositions are classed under verbs because the postpositions behave like Makasae verbs in following the noun they govern. Many of these postpositions are nominal in origin.

12.6.1 Basic Postpositions

Postpositions are adpositions which are placed after complements (Payne 124). The grammatical and semantic functions of postpositions in Makasae always relate to a nominal unit within the clause. Most Makasae postpositions are derived from verbs.

Marking Locative Information

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Postposition</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gafi</td>
<td>‘beside’, ‘next to’; ‘across’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gata</td>
<td>‘to’, ‘next to’; ‘beside’; ‘close to’; ‘near’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gau</td>
<td>‘to’, ‘towards, at’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gia</td>
<td>‘under’; ‘inside’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gua</td>
<td>‘on (top of)’; ‘over’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goe</td>
<td>‘around’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isi</td>
<td>‘at’; ‘in’; ‘to’; ‘from’; ‘since’; ‘through’; ‘by’; ‘about’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>male (malene)</td>
<td>‘near, close to’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mutu</td>
<td>‘in’, ‘into’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

230 Hull, Makasai 36.
Contextual examples:

(1065) *Gi iskola sina-oma gafi wo’i.*
POS school China-house POSP there is
‘His school is next to the shop.’

(1066) *Kalauru na’u baunu meti gata wo’i lafu.*
kalauru just QUANT sea POSP ADV_yonder grow
‘A lot of kalauru just grows near the beach.’

(1067) *Ai ni deti ni sala ma*
2SG POS REF sin POSP REF mistake MRK
‘You pile up and heap your sins

*ani gua bu’u ani gua rai.*
1SG POSP pile 1SG POSP put
and faults on me.’

(1068) *Era mata gasirini do noto iskola isi la’a.*
3PL child prohibit in order to MRK-not school LOC go
‘They prohibited the child from going to school.’

(1069) *Anu sisi bai-nunu wa’a gene ere u Jezus*
person illness pig-lip REL hit DEM_this one Jesus
male mara.
POSP go
‘A person who suffered from leprosy went close to Jesus.’

**Indicating Temporal Information**

*dedee* ‘like’
*gata* ‘at’
*gatadaa* ‘about’, ‘concerning’
*gau* ‘for, because of’; ‘for the sake of’
*goba, guba* ‘with’ (in the company of)
haulitaka ‘after’

isidaa ‘from’; ‘since’; ‘through’

mi ‘along’; ‘according to’; concerning’

mutu ‘during’

mege ‘until’, ‘as far as’

sorunu ‘against’

tia ‘against’, ‘for (the purpose of)’

tosera ‘without’

Contextual examples:

(1070) Dai la’idaa lane’e gata reeke, do ini aga.
forigner elder PL.MRK POSP scream so 1PL.EXC scared
‘The soldiers screamed at the elders, so we were scared.’

(1071) Era be’u na’i gi baunu ma’ene, liuliu kereke gatadaa.
3PL MOD thing POS QUANT know especially writing POSP
‘They may know a lot of things, especially about literature.’

(1072) Wata-ira wa’a hai keu ere ma kalauru
cocoanut-water REL INCEP grate DEM1-this MRK kalauru
guba tina.
POSP cook
‘The grated coconut milk is cooked with kalauru.’

(1073) Ini mai ma hi’a mi bure do ria afa tai.
1PL.EXC 3PL MRK road POSP herd and run IMMIN MRK
‘We herded them along the road and fled.’

(1074) Maisi ani wehani asudanti tosera wa’ara.
But 1SG sometimes assistant POSP call
‘But I sometimes (went) without asking any assistant to go along.’
Expressing the mode in which certain actions are carried out

\[ \textit{gafu} \quad \text{‘with’} \]
\[ \textit{ma} \quad \text{‘with’, ‘by means of’} \]

Contextual examples:

(1075) *Mata dete fi gafu ria.*
child MRK 1PL.INC POSP run

‘(It’s) the child (that) we ran away with.’

(1076) *Anu were tali ma si’ili dete...*
person DEM3-that rope MRK tie then

‘That person was tied with a rope, then...’

Some of the postpositions above are also employed in figurative expressions in Makasae, in which case they do not necessarily mark location, time and the manner in which an action is performed.

(1077) *La’idaa lane’e hai ma’u do seu gua lolo afa.*
elder PL.MRK INCEP come in order to meat POSP say IMMIN

‘The elders have arrived in order to cast a spell on the meat.’

(1078) *Oho nanawa gua tahara do dai mutu suri.*
Some food POSP fight over so foreigner POSP shoot

‘Some (people) fought over the food so the foreigners (Indonesian soldiers) opened fire.’

Postpositions can occur in sentence constructions or clauses with intransitive verbs as well as with transitive verbs whose objects do not appear in the postpositional phrase. It is common in Makasae to drop the object. This occurs in situations where the object in question may have been transposed to initial position (1079), it has been referred to in the preceding clauses (1080), or when the underlying context is obvious to both speaker and listener (1081).
(1079) Ana oho kalauru ere afi ma gata wau.
people some kalauru DEM1-this fish MRK POSP put/mix
‘Some people mix kalauru with fish (when cooking).’

(1080) Jezus Pedru wa’ara gi mila’a do gau lolo
Jesus Peter ask 3SG follow and POSP say
ni dala hau suri.
POS.REF fishing net PERF let go
‘Jesus asked Peter to follow him and told (Peter) to leave his fishing net.’

(1081) Dai mini ma mutu lolo weredete fi
foreigner on the other hand MRK POSP say therefore 1PL.EXC
isi nelu ere.
LOC forget DEM1-this.
‘(You) spoke a foreign language, therefore we forgot (what we were talking
about).’

Kontra, which is borrowed from the Tetum preposition kontra < Ptg. contra
‘against’, functions as a postposition in Makasae.

(1082) Ini bola ti’ala mai kontra.
1PL.EXC ball kick 3PL POSP.
‘We played soccer against them.’

12.6.2 Place Phrases with Locational Meaning

It is common in Makasae to express locative phrases by means of a noun
followed immediately by a place word and the appropriate postposition. This is
similar to the Tetum use of noun phrases, except that in Tetum the preposition
precedes the noun and place word (circumstances in which English would use a
simple preposition to indicate the location).

ala tame isi de’i suri ‘set free (up ahead) in the jungle’
jungle PW LOC ADV4-there let go
Postpositions can be reinforced by inserting the non-emphatic deictic adverbials *he’e* ‘here’, *we’e* ‘there’, *wo’i* ‘yonder’, *de’i* ‘there ahead’, *he’i* ‘there behind’, *do’o* ‘up there’ or *ho’o* ‘down there’ after the place word to indicate the precise location of the subject in question (§12.6). When forming locative phrases, some of the place words require the presence of preposed possessive *gi* and are followed by the postposition *isi*.

... *gi bubu isi* ADV. ‘on/at the top of’ (plants, trees)
... *gi defu isi* ADV. ‘behind, at the back of’
... *gi fanu isi* ADV. ‘in front of, before’
... *gi gafi isi* ADV. ‘at the side of, beside’
... *gi leba isi* ADV. ‘in the middle of, among’
... *gi ledana isi* ADV. ‘between, in the middle of’
... *gi sula isi* ADV. ‘on the edge of’
... *gi tame isi* ADV. ‘in middle of, among’
... *gi tuka isi* ADV. ‘behind, at the back of’
... *gi wali isi* ADV. ‘on the side of’

Contextual examples:

(1083) *Ga’awai ere ene na’u mini merekadu*

place DEM1-this MRK just on the other hand market

*gi defu isi he’e.*

POS PW LOC there is

‘This place is just at the back of the market.’

(1084) *gisani gi felu u, do ma Maromak gi*

sacrifice POS good one in order to MRK God POS

---

231 Hull (*Makasai* 36) classes *wo’i* as a basic postposition, but its function is in fact adverbial. The exemplary sentence he gives *Watu oho dete ani bu’u wo’i soro* lacks the postposition *gua* and should read: *Watu oho dete ani bu’u gua wo’i soro.*
fanu isi de’i.
PW LOC there is
‘A good sacrifice which is offered before God.’

(1085) Gi tufurae ene gi gafi isi woid’ara.
POS wife MRK POS PW LOC sit right there
‘(It’s) his wife (who) is sitting beside him right there.’

(1086) ...peredete kareta nokorau ala tame isi wo’i...
so if car break down jungle PW LOC ADV3-yonder
‘... so if the car breaks down in the middle of the jungle...’

(1087) Ini mai ma ira-waa gi wali isi de’i tiauna.
1PL.EXC river MRK bank POS walk POSP ADV4-there wait
‘We walked along the river bank to go to the rice field.’

12.6.3 Prepositions

Although most Makasae adpositions are postpositions, there are a number of prepositions which belong to either the native or non-native word stock deriving from both Tetum and Portuguese.

Native Makasae Prepositions

In comparison with the postpositions, the native prepositions do not have a verbal origin.

haulita ‘after’
malaka ‘before’
malene ‘almost, nearly’
na’unisi, na’unusi ‘like, as’
tosera ‘less than’
warinehegu, warinegu ‘before’

232 Other dialects, particularly those of Ossu, Baucau and Quelicai, use the form nahanegu.
Contextual examples:

(1088) Haulita krisis dete ini Dili isi la’a.233
PREP crisis then 1PL.EXC Dili LOC go
‘After the crisis, then we will go to Dili.’

(1089) Malaka ani were semester fitu isi we’e, ani ...
PREP 1SG MRK semester seven LOC ADV2-there 1SG
‘Before I was in semester seven, I...’

(1090) Wori ni ma Maromak gau nama dane,
PRON REF MRK God POSP up extend
‘He offered himself to God

na’unisi gisani gi felu u.
PREP sacrifice POS good one
as a great sacrifice.’

(1091) Kalauru masene tina tosera minutu ruu mega dafuru.
Kalauru normally cook PREP minute ten immediately cooked
‘Kalauru normally gets cooked (immediately) in less than ten minutes.’

(1092) Warinegu funu, arabau-bibi na’u baunu, bo sala were ...
before war buffalo-goat just much but war DEM1-this
‘Before the war there were just a lot of buffaloes and goats, but this war...’

Non-Native Prepositions

Makasae has also borrowed a number of prepositions from Tetum and Portuguese. In keeping with its role as the lingua franca of East Timor, Tetum has enriched Makasae, like the other Timorese vernaculars, with its own prepositions and those absorbed from Portuguese.

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233 *Krisis* is a borrowing from Indonesian, a language also used by the informant in this case.
Tetum-derived Prepositions:

- *maski*  ‘despite, in spite of’
- *tanba*  ‘because of; owing to’

Contextual examples:

(1093) *Maski susara baunu, ani na’unaga ni akasa.*

Despite difficulty much 1SG keep REF endeavour

‘I keep trying my best in spite of the many difficulties.’

(1094) *Ani ni sinti sibiki’i araska tanba sobu gi sufa.*

1SG REF feel QUANT in trouble because language POS new

‘I felt I was in a bit of trouble because of the new language.’

Tetum/Portuguese-derived Prepositions:

- *duranti* ( < Tet./Ptg. durante)  ‘during’
- *kunformi* ( < Tet. konforme, Ptg. conforme)  ‘according to, just as’

Contextual examples:

(1095) *Duranti ani unibersidadi isi we’e, ani were difikuldadi*

during 1SG university LOC there is 1SG MRK difficulty

*baunu rata*

much got

‘During my study at the university, I had a lot of difficulties.’

(1096) *Kunformi ana lolo kareta otomatiki mina nehe nawa.*

according to people say car automatic petrol INT eat

‘According to what people say, automatic cars consume a lot of petrol.’

**Object Marker ma**

The object marker *ma* typically behaves like a preposition in a sentence construction. It is placed before the noun or pronoun and a postposition after the noun or pronoun. It is referred to in Huber (*First 69*) as a direct object marker. Hull
(Makasai 38) treats it as a preposition. Carr (Pupuuk 27) mentions *ma* as an undergoer marker. It is glossed as a patient marker used for instrument/undergoer in Brotherson (Spatial 8), and Marques (Método 12) refers to it as a postposition.

This marker differs from what is usually treated as circumposition because this phenomenon is in fact a noun phrase whereas circumposition usually refers to a locational/directional marker which is placed on both sides of an argument.

(1097) *Ani ingiles ma ni bada la goba lolini.*

1SG English MRK REF.POS friend PL.MRK POSP speak

‘I speak English with my friends.’

(1098) *Ana ira ma keta gia wau.*

people water MRK rice field POSP put

‘People irrigate the rice field. (literally ‘People put water in the rice field.’)

(1099) *Ini arabau ma keta mutu wo’i saga.*

1PL.EXC buffalo MRK rice field POSP ADV2-yonder search

‘We searched for the buffalos in the rice field (over there).’

(1100) *Dai ma’u fatili ma ini gau dane.*

foreigner come weapon MRK 1PL.EXC POSP point

‘The foreigners (= Indonesian soldiers) came pointing guns at us.’

In some of the sentence constructions where the indirect object is fronted in order to be the focus, *ma* can be dropped. Sentences 1097 and 1099 can be reconstructed as:

(1101) *Ani ni bada la goba ingiles lolini.*

1SG REF POS friend PL.MRK POSP English speak

‘I speak English with my friends.’

(1102) *Ini keta mutu wo’i arabau saga.*

1PL.EXC rice field POSP ADV3-yonder buffalo search

‘We searched for the buffalos in the rice field (over there).’
Speakers sometimes drop the direct or indirect object when it has already been mentioned in the preceding clause, if it is clear to both the speaker and listener, or if it is considered to be common knowledge.

Formation with dropped direct object:

(1103) Erau Ø ma afa gua sesara!
don’t MRK rock POSP drop
‘Don’t drop (it, i.e. the coconut) on the rocks!’

(1104) Kalauru ere ira sarehe hau ma bane, ani Ø ma kalauru DEM₁-this water clean PERF MRK wash 1SG MRK busu isi tina.
pan LOC cook
‘Kalauru is washed with clean water and I cook (it) in the frying pan.’

Formation with dropped indirect object:

(1105) Keta-gauhaa ira noto ma Ø gia suri.
rice field owner water MRK-not MRK POSP let
‘The farmer does not let water in (into the rice field).’ or
(‘The farmer does not irrigate the rice field.’)

(1106) Ana bai ula-u erehani ma Ø gua guta.
people pig CLAS-one like that MRK POSP slaughter
‘People probably slaughtered a pig for (it) (the harvest ceremony).’

When a speaker wants to emphasise the direct object, it can also be fronted to begin a clause or sentence. It can be followed by the anaphoric marker ere + subject + object marker:

(1107) Mateneke ere fi ma mestri isidaa ma’ene.
knowledge DEM₁-this 1PL.INC MRK teacher POSP know
‘We acquire knowledge from the teachers.’
We receive formal education from the school.

I will open up a new road in the desert.

Ma can also occur with the reflexive pronoun ni where the subject and direct object have the same reference. This construction is rigid – the marker is obligatory and it cannot be fronted.

He offered himself to God.

Go, present yourself to the priest!

They (teachers) set a good example for the students.

Meat is just fine. Some cook (it) (kalauru) with (it) (meat) sometimes.
12.7 Adverbials

The adverbials in Makasae are divided into (1) single word adverbs that modify a verb, an adjective, or another adverb; and (2) adverbials in the forms of words, phrases or clauses which can modify a whole sentence or clause. As in Tetum or English, Makasae adverbials are used to convey the notion of place, time, manner, configuration, purpose, negation, affirmation, doubt, interrogation, frequency and intensity. Most adverbs have similar forms to adjectives.

One specific characteristic of Makasae adverbs which does not exist in Tetum or English is adverbials of place reflecting the seven degrees of deixis typical of demonstratives (§9) and verbs (§12.3.6).

12.7.1 Forms of the Adverb

Identical with Adjective

As in Tetum, the form of adverbs in Makasae is identical with that of adjectives or adjectival verbs. In order to distinguish an adverb from an adjective, speakers and listeners usually rely on the word order or the function of the constituents in relation to each other in a sentence construction or clause. Adverbs which are formed from adjectives preceded by the possessive particle gi drop this particle.

(1114) Ini, ni noto rau ma’ene.

1PL.EXC REF MRK-not well know

‘We don’t know each other well.’

(1115) Era bese ria baka gata we’e boko.

3PL quickly run cliff POSP ADV2-there hide

‘They ran quickly to hide by the cliff.’

Reduplicative Adverbs

Adverbs in Makasae can also take the form of reduplication. The primary function of reduplication is to give emphasis. As with adjectives, such adverbs may
be formed with full or partial reduplication, with some of these constructions being similar to adjectives or adjectival verbs (§12.5) but different in function.

**Formation with complete reduplication**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reduplication</th>
<th>Adverbial</th>
<th>Adjectival</th>
<th>Simple form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aga-aga</td>
<td>(with) fearful</td>
<td>fearful</td>
<td>adj. aga ‘afraid, ‘scared’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bese-bese</td>
<td>quickly, fast</td>
<td>fast; early</td>
<td>adj. bese ‘fast’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fuli-fuli</td>
<td>together</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ADV fuli ‘together’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>geri-geri</td>
<td>in the first instance</td>
<td>initial</td>
<td>ADV geri ‘in the first instance; initially’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kote-kote</td>
<td>badly</td>
<td>bad, terrible</td>
<td>adj. gi kote ‘bad’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mega-mega</td>
<td>immediately</td>
<td>immediate</td>
<td>ADV mega ‘immediately’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rau-rau</td>
<td>well</td>
<td>good, excellent</td>
<td>adj. rau ‘good’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Contextual examples:

(1116) Ini roba mahi nanawa bese-bese ri’ana do sera nake.
1PL.EXC clothes and food quickly pack so also take
‘We packed up the clothes and food quickly to take (with us) as well.’

(1117) Ini oma u fuli-fuli ga’awai u isi.
1PL.EXC house one together place one POSP.
‘We, the whole family, are together in one place.’

(1118) Sarani lane’e Festa Paskua ma rau-rau perpara.
baptism PL.MRK feast Easter MRK well prepare
‘The faithful prepare well for Easter.’

Other Makasae reduplicative adverbs are formed from Portuguese-derived adjectives or nouns, for example *forti-forti* ‘strongly, loudly’ < Ptg. *forte* ‘strong’,
forsa-forsa ‘strongly’ < Ptg. força ‘strength’,\textsuperscript{234} semana-semana ‘weekly’ < Ptg. 
semana ‘week’, sigunda-sigunda ‘every Monday’ < Ptg. segunda ‘Monday’.

(1119) Era forti-fori reko do mata mega duuru.

3PL loudly scream so child immediately awake
‘They screamed loudly, so the child woke up immediately.’

(1120) Kinta-kinta ini erutina nava.

Thursday-Thursday 1PL.EXC erutina eat
‘Every Thursday we ate erutina.’\textsuperscript{235}

Formation with partial reduplication

Partial reduplication in Makasae can occur either by the doubling of the first 
two syllables of the root, for example du’ulu > du’udu’ulu ‘beautifully, properly’, 
gehele > gehegehele ‘tightly, strongly, securely’, masene > masemasene ‘usually, 
normally’, sarehe > saresarehe ‘clearly, obviously, visibly, well’ (1121, 1122), or by 
the doubling of the last two syllables of the root, such as felei > feleilei ‘just’, ko’inuu 
> ko’inunuu ‘a little bit, somewhat’, raimale > raimalemale ‘in the afternoon, 
saugati > saugatigati ‘uselessly, fruitlessly, hopelessly’ (1123, 1124).

(1121) Rabi ere dadau ma du’udu’ulu seru gau ana tehu.

sarong DEM\textsubscript{1}-this must MRK beautifully weave so people buy
‘The sarong must be woven beautifully so that people buy (it).’

(1122) Dai ere Makasae lolo saresarehe.

foreigner DEM\textsubscript{1}-this Maksae speak clearly (well).
‘This foreigner speaks Makasae well.’

(1123) Gi feleilei amirae kofu u gehe, ehani u hai teni seti.

3SG just milk glass one drink now one INCEP again ask for
‘He just had a glass of milk, (and) now he’s asking for another one.’

\textsuperscript{234} The form forsa has gained a new function in both Tetum and Makasae as an adjective which 
means ‘strong’ and which is used to describe all entities. However, forti is usually used only for 
human beings and animals.

\textsuperscript{235} Erutina is a native word; it is also known as katuba < Tet. katupa < Mal. ketupat ‘rice 
cooked with coconut cream in palm leaves’.
‘In the afternoon, when the sun was just about to set, we arrived at Ailemilari.’

Deictic Adverbs

Adverbials expressing the seven degrees of deixis are usually placed before verbs as separate constituents in sentence constructions or are prefixed to the verbs. These adverbs are divided into non-emphatic and emphatic deictic forms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Degrees</th>
<th>Non-emphatic deictic Adverbs</th>
<th>Emphatic deictic adverbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td><em>he’e</em> ‘here’</td>
<td><em>lehe’e</em> or <em>le’e</em> ‘right here’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td><em>we’e</em> ‘there’</td>
<td><em>lewe’e</em> ‘right there’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td><em>wo’i</em> ‘over there/yonder’</td>
<td><em>lewo’i</em>, <em>lowoi</em> ‘right over there’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td><em>de’i</em> ‘there ahead’</td>
<td><em>lede’i</em> ‘right there ahead’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td><em>he’i</em> ‘back there’</td>
<td><em>lehe’i</em> ‘right back there’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td><em>do’o</em> ‘up there’</td>
<td><em>ledo’o</em> or <em>lodo’o</em> ‘right up there’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td><em>ho’o</em> ‘down there’</td>
<td><em>loho’o</em>, <em>lo’o</em> ‘right down there’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When a deictic adverb is prefixed to a verb, the glottal stop which typically occurs in intervocalic position is dropped. Long (disyllabic) vowels in the deictic adverb resulting from the effacement of intervocalic /ʔ/, become monosyllabic when prefixed to the verb, for example:
hebuna ‘look here’
lehebuna ‘look right here’
wewau ‘put there’
leewewau ‘put right there’
woidebara ‘reside over there/yonder
lewoidebara ‘reside right there’
deitehu ‘buy there ahead’
ledeitehu ‘buy right there ahead’
heisiu ‘step back there’
leheisiu ‘step right back there’
donawa ‘eat up there’
ledonawa ‘eat right up there’
holi’ana ‘throw down there’
loholi’ana ‘throw right down there’

Contextual examples:

(1126) Ani na’i gi sufa ma he’e gini nana: i
1SG thing POS new MRK ADV1-here make IMMIN 2PL
noto ena?
MRK-not see
‘I want to do something new here, don’t you see?’

(1127) Ana megahau baunu ene ma’asi do
people really much MRK descend and
wo’i debara.
ADV3-yonder reside
‘A lot of people came down and lived over there.’

(1128) Ana dai u ma Toko-Baru heiguta hani?
people foreigner one MRK Toko Baru kill there EMP
‘Did people kill a foreigner at Toko Baru?

(1129) ...... watu ruru-resi lolitu do ini woirata.
day thirteen MRK 1PL.EXC arrive there
‘(It was) on the 23rd (that) we arrived (over) there.’

(1130) I lane’e la’a lowoimuiri!
2PL PL.MRK go play there
‘You (people) go and play right over there!’
An aroko-roko sa’i ma ledeilaku, esa-fuu
people rubbish all MRK dump there pear-tree
gia de’i.

POSP ADV₄-there
‘People threw all the rubbish right there (up ahead), under the wild pear tree.’

12.7.2 Classification of Makasae Adverbials

Adverbials of Place

Apart from the adverbs expressing the seven degrees of deixis, Makasae has the usual repertoire of other adverbs denoting place. These adverbs are mostly native.


\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nahi, nahite’e isi}^{236} & \quad \text{‘where’} \\
\text{gia ho’o} & \quad \text{‘down there’} \\
\text{gua do’o} & \quad \text{‘there on top’} \\
\text{nama do’o} & \quad \text{‘up there’} \\
\text{ga’awai damu-damu isi} & \quad \text{‘everywhere’} \\
\text{ga’awai u isi} & \quad \text{‘somewhere’} \\
\text{isi} & \quad \text{‘down’} \\
\text{misa} & \quad \text{‘up’} \\
\text{isi-misa} & \quad \text{‘up and down’} \\
\text{ere isi he’e} & \quad \text{‘hence’; ‘this way’} \\
\text{were isi we’e} & \quad \text{‘hence’; ‘that way’} \\
\text{ma’u} & \quad \text{‘hither, thence, this way’} \\
\text{mara} & \quad \text{‘hence, thither, that way’} \\
\text{mara-ma’u} & \quad \text{‘to and fro’, ‘backwards and forwards’} \\
\text{ga’a-ga’a isi, molunu isi} & \quad \text{‘from afar’, ‘from a distance’} \\
\text{malene} & \quad \text{‘near’, ‘close by’} \\
\text{goe la’a-gafi la’a} & \quad \text{‘around’} \\
\text{ra’isa, ra’isa la’a} & \quad \text{‘out’}
\end{align*}
\]

\(^{236}\) Southern Makasae uses nahigalu ‘where’.
fanu isi  ‘in front’
fanu gau  ‘ahead’, ‘forward’
defu isi, naruta isi  ‘behind’, ‘at the back’
defu gau, naruta gau  ‘backwards’
gafiti isi  ‘beside, at the side’
ledana isi  ‘in between’
tame isi  ‘in the middle’; ‘in the midst’
lari gia  ‘at the bottom’, ‘below’
lari gua  ‘on top’, ‘above’
weli isi  ‘on the right’
weli gau la’a  ‘to the left’
tane gau la’a  ‘to the right’
walini isi  ‘on the side’, ‘along the side’

Contextual examples:

(1132) Siribisu nahite’e isi ene rau seluru, ana tanehe
work where MRK good pay people sometimes
megahau baunu.
really QUANT.
‘Where the work is well-paid, there will be many people.’

(1133) Soldadu lane’e ria isi-misa orasa u mutu.
soldier PL.MRK run down-up hour one inside
‘The soldiers ran up and down in one hour.’

(1134) Gawa mahi dani-bere meti-ira guhuru ma’u.
wind and storm sea-water blow here
‘The wind and the storm blew the surf this way.’

(1135) Mata ere na’uwari ga’a-ga’a isi, gi boba gi hai
child DEM₁-this still far away POS father 3SG INCEP

tia ria.
welcome
‘When the child was still at a distance, his father had welcomed him.’

(1136) Liaguli anu-mahi ere; u Jezus gi tane mahi
thief CLAS.-two DEM1-this one Jesus POS on the right and
gi weli isi.
POS on the left
‘Of the two thieves, one was on the right and the other was on the left of
Jesus.’

Adverbials of Time

Most Makasae adverbials of time are native, but there are also some non-
native ones derived from Portuguese. Other adverbs are formed through full
reduplication of the root.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wa'asi</td>
<td>‘today’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wa'asi gi gamu, la'aku gamu</td>
<td>‘tonight’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ware’e</td>
<td>‘earlier today’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wesere’e, esere’e</td>
<td>‘yesterday’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aiane’e, aene’e</td>
<td>‘the day before yesterday’, ‘two days ago’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ane’e</td>
<td>‘before’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aitune’e</td>
<td>‘three days ago’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aifane’e</td>
<td>‘four days ago’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ailimane’e</td>
<td>‘five days ago’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aidahone’e</td>
<td>‘six days ago’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>afitume’e</td>
<td>‘seven days ago’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wesere’e gi gamu, wa’agamu</td>
<td>‘last night’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>usamale, usanana</td>
<td>‘tomorrow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ahire’e</td>
<td>‘the day after tomorrow’, ‘two days from now’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iture’e</td>
<td>‘three days from now’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fare’e</td>
<td>‘four days from now’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>limare’e</td>
<td>‘five days from now’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dahore’e</td>
<td>‘six days from now’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
fiture’e ‘seven days from now’
laku’u ‘later’
wane’e ‘in the future’
usanana-ahire’e, usamala-ahire’e ‘in the future’, ‘from now on’, ‘henceforth’
waihira, waira ‘when’
na’inehe ‘when’
watubana ‘in the middle of the day’
gamu tame ‘in the middle of the night’
gamu-gamu ‘in the morning’
meta-meta, raididii ‘early in the morning’
mu’a-metana ‘at dusk’, ‘at sunset’
fu’ubuti ‘at daybreak’, ‘at dawn’
raimalmale ‘in the afternoon’
watu waidofi ‘in the end’
watu wailarle ‘on a weekday’
watu mara watu ma’u ‘every day’
basara-basara, semana-semana ‘every week’
uru mara uru ma’u, uru-uru ‘every month’
ani mara ani ma’u, ani-ani ‘every year’
basara gituu, semana gituu ‘last week’
uru gituu ‘last month’
ani gituu ‘last year’
felei, feloi ‘recently’
ehani ‘at present’
mea ‘immediately’
aiane’e gituu ‘at that time’
ane’e gituu wori ‘at the beginning (long ago)’
gituu ‘first’
nati ‘beforehand’
ehani tarata ‘till now’
mu’iri ‘a long time’
tomu’iri ‘soon’; ‘before long’
tomu’iri nai ‘very soon’
usesera  ‘soon’
nagare’e  ‘in a short time’
lakusera  ‘in a very short time’, ‘not long’
dete  ‘then’, ‘next’, ‘after that’
weredete, eredete  ‘afterwards’
geribata  ‘at first’, ‘to begin with’
gi waidofi  ‘finally’, ‘at last’
warinehegu  ‘not yet’nehegu  ‘not yet’
kale u  ‘once’, ‘one time’
kale nahiroma?  ‘how often?’
wehani  ‘sometimes’
na’uugii  ‘always’, often’
naganisi, na’unaga, naga  ‘constantly’, ‘all the time’
nana’u, na’uwari, wari, warina’u  ‘still’
dumingu fanu isi  ‘next Sunday’
dumingu ma’u ere  ‘next Sunday’
na’i orasa (isi)?  ‘at what time?’
tuku lima  ‘at five o’clock’

Contextual examples:

(1137) Wa’asi hai teni ma’u sigaru mahi kafe tehu.
          today INCEP again come cigarette and coffee buy
       ‘(They) came again today to buy cigarettes and coffee.’

(1138) Usamale-gamu tame ona-mata lane’e hewali ma’u.
          Tomorrow-night mid girl PL.MRK listen to here
       ‘At midnight tomorrow the girls will listen here.’

(1139) Raididii ere ini ra’isa do afi saga.
          early in the morning DEM1-this 1PL.EXC leave in order to fish look for
       ‘We left early in the morning to go fishing.’
(1140) Ini watu wailarlee siribisu to he’e do
1PL.EXC weekday work MRK-not VERB₁-there is so
na’u woila’a-hela’a.
just walk there-walk here
‘We don’t have any work to do on a weekday so (we) just hang around.’

(1141) Abril ere Liru-Mata, weredete mau Liru-Bere.
April DEM₁-this Liru-Mata then come Liru-Bere
‘April is Liru-Mata, then comes Liru-Bere.’

Some Portuguese adverbials of time also occur in Makasae. Like most borrowings, they have usually been adopted through Tetum:

depois, defois, debois ‘afterwards’
deripenti, derifenti, deribenti ‘suddenly’
kuandu ‘when’
nunka, nuka ‘never’
sedu ‘early’
semana-semana ‘every week’
sempre, sembre ‘always’

Contextual examples:

(1142) Ini komesa orientasaun mini depois
1PL.EXC begin orientation participate then
‘We began to participate in the orientation, afterwards
ini hau lita la’a.
1PL.EXC PERF surpass go we passed.’

(1143) Kuandu teta, otomatiki susara manuala litaka.
when dismantle automatic difficult manual more than
‘It’s more difficult to repair an automatic vehicle than a manual one.’
The schoolchildren go to a flag-raising ceremony every week.

**Adverbials of Manner**

As with adverbials of time, reduplication is common in adverbials of manner. Two-syllable words usually undergo full reduplication. Words with more than two syllables, however, are partially reduplicated, i.e. only the first two syllables are doubled.

- na’ihani ‘how’, ‘in what way’
- netanihani, netani ‘how, ‘in what way’
- tani, tanigau, na’igau ‘why’
- netanigau, netanihanigau ‘why’
- netaniginigau, na’iginigau ‘why’
- weredete (werdete), eredete (erdete) ‘then’, ‘after that’, ‘next’
- erehani (erani), werehani (werani) ‘thus’, ‘like that’, ‘that way’
- weregau ‘therefore’, ‘for this reason’, ‘hence’
- (na’u) ribaku ‘any way (at all), ‘any old way’;
  ‘at random’, ‘blindly’;
  ‘incompetently’
- rau ‘well’
- rau-rau ‘better’
- du’ulu ‘well’, ‘beautifully’, ‘elegantly’
- du’udu’ulu ‘really well’
- sarehe ‘clearly’
- saresarehe ‘very clearly’
- na’ulele ‘in vain’
- nai ‘only’, ‘merely’, ‘just’
- dei-dei ‘separately’
- nei-nei, nai-nai ‘slowly’; ‘quietly’, ‘softly’
- nei-nei mata, nai-nai mata ‘very slowly’; ‘very quietly’
taidaa, taidii  
‘certainly’, ‘indeed’

teba-teba  
‘quietly’

raha-raha  
‘slowly’

raha-raha mata  
‘very slowly’

makasa  
‘strongly’; ‘hard’; ‘severely’

gehegehe(le)  
‘tightly’; ‘securely’; ‘strictly’;  
‘properly’

loloro, lolololoro  
‘correctly’; ‘properly’;  
‘honestly’

kasiana, kuitadu  
‘unfortunately’

saugati, toseluru  
‘for free’

na ’u degerasa, na ’u saugati  
‘in vain’, ‘for nothing’

Contextual examples:

(1145) Kareta dete ala tame deinokorau, ma na’ihani adi’a?  
car if jungle middle break down MRK how do 
‘If the car broke down in the jungle, how would you fix it?’

(1146) Werehani, fi be’u la’a fi Boba Maromak sorunu.  
thus 1PL.INC can go POS Father God meet 
‘Thus we can go to see our heavenly Father.’

(1147) Fi ni obirgasaun ani mara ani ma’u ge’e ere  
1PL.INC POS obligation every year POS DEM1-this 
‘We perform our obligations

ma rau-rau gini.  
MRK properly do  
better every year.’

(1148) Kalauru gi asa rau-rau lane’e hau ma dei-dei wau.  
kalaur POS leaf good PL.MRK PERF MRK separately put 
‘The very good kalaur leaves must be kept separately.’
Adverbials of Intensity

This type of adverbial is normally used with adjectives in order to intensify them. Some precede and some follow the adjectives (§12.5.2).

List of adverbials of intensity preceding adjectives:

- **nehe...** 'very'
- **mega...** 'very'; 'truly'
- **megahau...** 'very', 'really', 'truly'
- **megahauala..., megahaune’e** 'extremely'
- **ni-guta...** 'extremely'
- **na’u...** 'simply'
- **megatafi...** 'completely'; 'totally'
- **tafiruu...** 'indeed'
- **sibi...** 'enough', 'a little', 'somewhat'

List of adverbials of intensity following adjectives:

- **...la’a-la’a** 'really', 'simply'
- **...nokorau** 'badly', 'seriously'
- **...haunokorau** 'extremely'
- **...haugikote** 'terribly'
- **...na’unokorau, na’ugikote** 'truly', 'extremely', 'indeed'

Contextual examples:

(1150) **Resa ge’ere ene nehe rame.**

rice trample MRK very cheerful

‘Stomping on rice is a lot of fun.’
(1151) *Mu’a ni-guta ko’ulu do ana to be’u siribusu.*
soil extremely hot so people MRK-not can work
‘It’s extremely hot, so people cannot work.’

(1152) *Era kiniri gi bere la’a-la’a sifa.*
3PL snapper big really catch
‘They caught a really big snapper.’

(1153) *Mata lane’e bobokoru na’unokorau.*
child PL.MRK lazy extremely
‘The children are extremely lazy.’

Adverbials of Affirmation and Definition

- **he’e** ‘yes’
- **loloro** ‘yes’, ‘that’s right’
- **werehani (de’e), erehani (de’e)** ‘yes’, ‘that’s right’, ‘indeed’
- **tafiruu** ‘yes indeed’
- **rau** ‘yes’; ‘all right’
- **werede’e** ‘that’s it’
- **were tai** ‘that’s it’
- **na’u loloro** ‘exactly’, ‘precisely’
- **na’u tafiruu** ‘exactly’, ‘precisely’
- **hau lita-lita(ka)** ‘especially’, ‘above all’
- **rau were** ‘well then’
- **weredawa** ‘so’; ‘and so’, ‘in that case’

Contextual examples:

In 1154 José (A) was asking his nephew Tino (B) to climb a low coconut tree, and he wanted to make sure that Tino would not drop the fruit onto the rocks below.

(1154) A: *Fuu gi digadigara wori! Erau ma afa gua sesara!*
tree POS short DEM3-that don’t MRK rock POSP drop
‘(Climb) the low (coconut) tree over there! Don’t throw (them) on the rocks.’

Answer:

B: Rau, baba.

good father

‘All right, Uncle.’

(1155) Fi karaka Amululiki Saime sorunu?

HON want priest Jaime meet

‘Do you want to see Father Jaime?’

Answer:

Werehani.

like that

‘Yes, that’s right.’

(1156) Kareta gi bere lane’e tenke ajudante gobe, hau lita-litaka

car POS big PL.MRK must assistant take especially

‘Big cars must have assistants, especially

ene kareta projetu ge’e.

MRK car project POS

project cars.’

Adverbials of Configuration

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverbial</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>u-u</td>
<td>‘one by one’; ‘apiece’, ‘per head’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fuli, fuli-fuli</td>
<td>‘together’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dei-dei</td>
<td>‘apart’, ‘separately’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do’odo’ome</td>
<td>‘alone’, ‘by oneself’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta mimi(ni)</td>
<td>‘in a row’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lebe-lebe</td>
<td>‘far and wide’; ‘at random’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hodokulu</td>
<td>‘face down’, ‘prostrate’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nama dokulu</td>
<td>‘face up, supine’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
teri ‘askew’, ‘on a slant’
seka ‘astride’

Contextual examples:

(1157) Ini mai u-u mila’a saga.
1PL.EXC one by one follow search
‘We went to look for them one by one.’

(1158) Era ta mimi naha do ni nai gutu wali.
3PL in line stand and REC.POS name POSP listen
‘They are standing in line waiting for their name to be called.’

(1159) Ana kuda misa were dadau seka mii nanadawa be’u hodesara.
people horse climb MRK MOD astride sit otherwise MOD fall down
‘People riding horses must sit astride them otherwise (they) may fall down.’

Adverbials of Extent

ho ‘also’
sa’i ‘as well’
na’unisi ‘as well (as)’
teni ‘more’, ‘furthermore’, ‘in addition’
hauteni ‘more’
menusu ‘less’
baunu ‘a lot’, ‘much’
baunubere ‘a great deal’
ko’iniu ‘a bit’, ‘a little’
dete ‘a little’; ‘a while’; ‘more’; ‘just’
mahi gi seluseluku ‘and so on’, ‘and so forth’
aga-aga ‘almost’, ‘nearly’
male ‘nearly’, ‘almost’; ‘more or less’
Contextual examples:

(1160) Oma ere ho hai mu’iri do sa’a hai
house DEM₁-this also INCEP long (old) so post INCEP
sa’i bo’oko.
QUANT rot
‘This house is also old, so all the posts have rotted.’

(1161) Ofo butiri teni anu ere gau lolo “lita
snake white again person DEM₁-this POSP say INT
gi rau ai ma’u”.
POSP good 2SG come
‘The white snake also said to the man, “It’s better for you to come”’.

(1162) Gi ina gi gata si’aka do wori iara aga-aga.
POSP mother 3SG POSP mad so PRON cry almost
‘Her mother was angry with her, so she almost cried.’

Adverbials of Interrogation

nahi?, nahiga’u isi?, nahite’e isi ‘where?’
gi loloro nahi? ‘where exactly?’, ‘just where?’
a’inehe? ‘when?’; ‘since when?’
waihira? ‘when?’
kale nahiropa? ‘how often?’; ‘how many times?’
tuku nahiropa (isi)? ‘at what time?’
a’ihani?, netanihani? netani? ‘how?’; ‘how come?’
netanihanigau?, netanigau?, tanigau? ‘why?’
a’igau? ‘why?’
di nana’a? di tonai? ‘or not?’
Contextual examples:

(1163) *Ai kuda hai la’a nahi?*

```plaintext
POS horse INCEP go where
```
‘Where has your horse gone?’

(1164) *Tuku nahiroba dete misa tama?*

```plaintext
strike how many MRK Mass enter
```
‘What time does the Mass begin?’

(1165) *Netanigau dete era na’i u to nake?*

```plaintext
why MRK 3PL thing one MRK-not bring
```
‘Why didn’t they bring something?’

**Adverbials of Doubt**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wehani</td>
<td>‘perhaps, ‘maybe’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dawa</td>
<td>‘perhaps’, ‘if’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raudawa</td>
<td>‘perhaps, ‘maybe’; ‘probably’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tanehe</td>
<td>‘sometimes’; ‘perhaps’, ‘maybe’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nanadawa, ina’adawa</td>
<td>‘otherwise’, ‘or else’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be’u</td>
<td>‘possibly’; ‘probably’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fera</td>
<td>‘by chance’; ‘tentatively’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Contextual examples:

(1166) *Gi ani seti dawa, ani gi wari seluru.*

```plaintext
3SG 1SG ask if 1SG 3SG MOD pay
```
‘If he asks me, I will pay him.’

(1167) *Ai dadau ai abo lolo ere migini, ina’adawa gi*

```plaintext
2SG MOD POS grandparent say DEM1-this comply otherwise 3SG.
```
‘You must listen to your grandparents, otherwise they
wari ai gata si’aka.
MOD 2SG POSP angry
will be angry with you.’

(1168) Ani baba fera ma ama mutu wo’i saga.
1SG father just MRK garden POSP ADV-yonder look for
‘I’ll just go and see if Dad’s in the garden.’

Adverbials of Negation and Restriction

to ‘not’
notonai (tonai), notosai (tosai) ‘not’
nana’a, ina’a ‘no’
torau ‘not so’, ‘not too’, ‘not very’, ‘hardly’
mega noto ‘not at all’
mini ‘by contrast’, ‘on the other hand’
nai ‘only’, ‘just’
so ‘only’, ‘just’

Contextual examples:

(1169) Ani gi oma karaka, tosai ige’e.
1SG POS house want MRK-not 1PL.POS
‘I like his house, not yours.’

(1170) Lode ere torau du’ulu; ani u wari mini tehu.
bag DEM1-this not so good 1SG one MOD again buy
‘This bag is not so good, so I’ll buy another one instead.’

(1171) So Maromaka ene fi distinu mima’ene.
only God MRK POS destiny know
‘(It’s) only God (who) knows our destiny.’
12.7.3 Position of Adverbials

Adverbials in Makasae can occur before or after an intransitive verb, and they precede the object of a transitive verb. However, the general principle is that they precede the verbs they modify. Certain adverbials, such as the seven deictic ones, are rigid and can be placed only before the verb.

(1172) *Latu be’u mu’a gi sahara isi wo’i lafu.*
cactus MOD land POS dry LOC ADV3-yonder grow
‘Cactuses can grow (there) in the dry soil.’

(1173) *Fi festa Paskua ma rau-rau perpara.*
1PL.INC feast Easter MRK well prepare
‘We prepared the Easter feast well.’

(1174) *I soke male muiri dawa, i sa’i ra’i.*
2PL mud near play COND 2PL QUANT dirty
‘If you play near the mud, you will get dirty.’

(1175) *Ini wa’asi oma gia deisiribisu.*
1PL.EXC today house POSP work there
‘We worked in the house today.’

(1176) *Netanigau anu sisiri ere rairia?*
why person sick DEM1-this run out
‘Why did the sick person run outside?’
(cf. Tetum: *Tanbasá ema moras ne’e halai sai?*)

When an adverbial is made emphatic, speakers usually move it to the sentence-initial position preceding the subject head:

(1177) *Usamale fi ate-isu ma era gini.*
tomorrow 1PL.INC tree-fruit MRK 3PL give
‘Tomorrow we will give them fruit.’
(1178) Tafiruu gi ni sai to sofe.
   truly 3SG REF.POS cousin MRK-not recognise
   ‘He truly doesn’t recognise his cousin.’

   The fronted adverbial may also be followed by the contrastive marker ene, dete or do to emphasise it (circumstances in which Tetum would use only maka).\(^{237}\)

(1179) Ani gituu ene ani la’a era ena.
   last year MRK 1SG go 3PL visit
   ‘It was last year that I went to visit them.’ (cf. Tetum: Tinan liubá mak ha’u bá vizita sira.)

(1180) Tanigau dete era ini noto migini?
   why MRK 3PL 1PL.EXC MRK-not obey
   ‘Why didn’t they obey us?’ (cf. Tetum: Tansá mak sira la halo tuir ami.)

(1181) Basara-basara do ini la’a sae ma gasi tu’ara.
   every week MRK 1PL.EXC go candlenut MRK salt barter
   ‘(It’s) every week (that) we go to barter candlenut for salt.’
   (cf. Tetum: Semana-semana mak ami lori kamii hodi troka masin.)

   As already mentioned, as a rule most Makasae adverbials precede the verbs they modify. However, the position of adverbials of time is not as strict as that of the others. As in Tetum (Hull and Eccles 171), most of them can begin a clause or follow the verb for emphasis.

(1182)Usesera abiaun he’e dafala.
   soon (time) plane ADV₁-here land
   ‘Soon the plane will land (here).’ (cf. Tetum: Laoras aviaun sei tun iha ne’e.)
   or
   Abiaun he’e dafala usesera.
   plane ADV₁-here land soon (time)
   ‘The plane will land (here) soon.’ (cf. Tetum: Aviaun sei tun iha ne’e laoras.)

\(^{237}\) Hull and Eccles 169.
(1183) *Aiane’e ani koerambu boka faa gini.*

two days ago 1SG hair cake package four make

‘Two days ago I made four packages of hair cake.’

or

*Ani koerambu boka faa gini aiane’e.*

1SG hair cake package four make two days ago

‘I made four packages of hair cake two days ago.’

### 12.7.4 Comparison of Adverbials

As well as having the same form as adjectives or adjectival verbs, Makasae adverbs also form the comparative in the same way as adjectives (§12.5.1).

(1184) *Ini siribisu mai lita makasa.*

1PL.EXC work 3PL surpass hard

‘We work harder than they do.’

(1185) *Tufurae lane’e surate kereke asukai lita rau.*

woman PL.MRK letter write man surpass good

‘Women write letters better than men.’

(1186) *Isi sobu-asa hau wali, lialia meganehe bese-bese ria.*

POS voice PERF listen thief extremely quickly run

‘Having heard our voice, the thief ran even faster.’

(1187) *Afa lewori leru le’ere megahaulita bese.*

stone EMP-DEM$_3$-that roll EMP-DEM$_1$-this more than quick

‘That stone (over there) rolls faster than this one (right here).’
12.7.5 Some Problematic Adverbials

**Na’ugii ‘always’**

Apart from expressing the idea of ‘always’ in present and past tense sentence constructions, *na’ugii* also means ‘often’, and is placed between the object and the verb in a transitive sentence.

(1188) *Mata lawa na’ugii seti ma karamelu tehu.*

child money always ask (for) MRK caramel buy

‘The child always asks for money to buy caramel.’

(1189) *Ani gi sofe tanba gi ni dera na’ugii ma hebura.*

1SG 3SG know because 3SG REF.POS thing always MRK sell here

‘I know him because he often sold his merchandise here.’

The verb *seti* in sentence 1188 can also be repeated after the adverb *na’u* ‘just’ to express the meaning of ‘always’.

(1190) *Mata lawa na’u seti-seti ma karamelu tehu.*

child money always ask-ask (for) MRK caramel buy

‘The child is always asking for money to buy caramel.’

(cf. Tetum: *Labarik ne’e husu-husu de’it osan atu sosa karamelu.*)

**Na’unaga, naganisi and naga ‘constantly’, ‘continually’, ‘all the time’**

These adverbials also mean ‘still’, used to indicate whether an action is or was continuing.

(1191) *Era gi hai baga gini, bo gi naga ria.*

3PL 3SG INCEP injury make but 3SG still run

‘They have injured him, but he is still running.’

(1192) *Wesere’e feriadu bo gi naganisi siribisu la’a tuku lolitu mege.*

yesterday holiday but 3SG continually work go strike three POSP.

‘Yesterday was a holiday, but he kept working up to three o’clock.’
Na’inehe ‘when’

The use of the contrastive markers *do* and *dete* after *na’inehe* determines different contexts in reference to time. When *na’inehe* is followed by *do*, the question refers to time in the past (1193), whereas the latter expresses futurity (1194).

(1193) Na’inehe *do* Interfet Dili isi *ma’asi*?
when MRK Interfet Dili LOC descend
‘When did Interfet land in Dili?’ (cf. Tetum: *Horibainhira mak Interfet tun iha Dili?*)

(1194) Na’inehe *dete* gubernu ponti gi sufâ gini?
when MRK government bridge POS new do
‘When will the government build the new bridge?’ (cf. Tetum: *Bainhira mak governu sei halo ponte foun?*)

Mu’iri ‘a long time’

This adverbial is used to express the meaning of ‘for a long time’ (cf. Tetum *kleur*) irrespective of tense.

(1195) Barere *mu’iri* *do* tiba lane’e sa’i sahara.
dry season long time so well PL.MRK all dry
‘The dry season lasts for a long time, so all the wells dry up.’
(cf. Tetum: *Bailoro ne’e kleur ne’ebe posu hotu sai maran.*)

If speakers refer to a specific event in the past, the inceptive marker *hai*, implying ‘already’, is used.

(1196) Ini *hai* *mu’iri* Laga isi woidebara.
1PL.EXC INCEP a long time Laga LOC live there
‘We have lived in Laga for a long time.’
(cf. Tetum: *Ami hela kleur ona iha Laga.*)
To express its negative counterpart, the form *tomu’iri*, which means ‘soon’ or ‘before long’, is used.

(1197) *Eini dete: tomu’iri mama minigali ma’u tinani sera.*
wait MRK soon mother back come rice POSP.
‘Wait: soon Mum will come back with rice.’
(cf. Tetum: *Hein lai: lakleur amá fila fali ho etu.*)

*Ane’e ‘before’, ‘formerly’ and *nati ‘beforehand’, ‘in advance’*

The form *ane’e* basically means ‘before’ or ‘formerly’. It also conveys the meaning of ‘used to’ when expressing past habitual action. *Ane’e* may occur before or after the subject noun:

(1198) *Ane’e Laga makasae nai lolo bo ana tetunu to ma’ene.*

or

*Laga ere ane’e makasae nai lolo*
Laga DEM1-this formerly Makasae only speak
‘Formerly (the people of) Laga spoke only Makasae

*bo ana tetunu to ma’ene.*
because people Tetum MRK-not know.
because they didn’t know Tetum.’ (cf. Tetum: *Ema Laga sira uluk ko’alia de’it makasae tanba sira la hatene tetun.*)

(1199) *Ani ane’e sidadi isi deisiribisu bo ehani hai reforma.*

or

*Ane’e ani sidadi isi deisiribisu bo ehani hai reforma.*
in the past 1SG city LOC work there but now INCEP retire
‘I used to work in the city, but I’ve retired now.’
(cf. Tetum: *Uluk ha’u serbisu iha sidade maibé agora reforma ona.*)

Makasae uses the adverb *nati* to express the meaning of ‘in advance’, ‘first’, or ‘beforehand’. It can only precede the verb:
(1200) Na’unisi fi wa’a nati ma’ene (erehani).
PREP 1PL.INC REL in advance know (like that)
‘As we have known in advance (indeed).’
(cf. Tetum: Nu’udar ita be hatene nanis nune’e.)

(1201) Era oma gi ka’u u nati ma bu’u-leba isi gini.
3PL house POS small one at first MRK valley LOC make
‘They first built a small house in the valley.’
(cf. Tetum: Sira harii nanis uma ki’ik ida iha foho-leet.)

Like nanis in Tetum, nati also conveys a process which has been going on for some specific period of time. It may describe an event which has/had taken place before another event occurs/occurred.

(1202) Gi kareta nati sifa do gi lawa he’e.
3SG car beforehand drive so 3SG money has
‘He has been working as a driver for some time, so he has money.’
(cf. Tetum: Nia kaer nanis karreta, ne’be nia iha osan.)

(1203) Era hai nati ni raana dete ini la’a sera leu.
3PL INCEP beforehand REF dress up then 1PL.EXC go also invite
‘They’d got dressed up and then we asked them to go with us.’
(cf. Tetum: Sira hafutar an nanis ona hafoin ami liu ba bolu ho.)

**Sera and ho ‘also’**

The adverbials sera and ho basically mean ‘also’. In a clause or sentence construction, they usually precede the verb or adjectival verb.

(1204) Lawa li’ana sera lolo, ei?
money throw also talk about right
‘I also (need to) talk about throwing money, right?’

---

238 This is a traditional game involving the throwing of coins.
(1205) *Laga mutu ira ho susara.*

Laga  POSP  water  also  scarce

‘Water is also scarce in Laga.’ (cf. Tetum: *Bee mós susar iha Laga.*)

In transitive sentences *sera* follows the object, but *ho* precedes it. This order also applies when a modal verb, preverbal aspectual marker or adverbial is present.

(1206) *Era defa sera fa’ana.*

3PL  dog  also  feed

‘They also fed the dog.’ (cf. Tetum: *Sira mós fô-han asu.*)

(1207) *Asukai lane’e ho tabaku falini.*

man  PL.MRK  also  tobacco  chew

‘Men also chew tobacco.’

(cf. Tetum: *Mane sira mós hakmumuk tabaku.*)

(1208) *Tinu ni sita hai sera nake.*

Tino  REF.POS  machete  INCEP  also  bring

‘Tino has also brought the machete with him.’

(1209) *Era ho hai ala mutu titara.*

3PL  also  INCEP  jungle  POSP  flee

‘They have also fled into the jungle.’

(1210) *Mata lane’e ho wesere’e pursisaun mini.*

child  PL.MRK  also  yesterday  procession  attend

‘The children also attended the procession yesterday.’

Like *mós* in Tetun, *ho* has a semantic range including the concept ‘even’ for emphasis or comparison.

(1211) *Kanfu isi ira sarehe ini gehe ho to he’e.*

camp  LOC  water  pure  1PL.EXC  drink  also  MRK-not  VERB₁-there  is

‘We didn’t even have clean water to drink at the (refugee) camp.’
(1212) *Gi dada lane’e ho Kisara ge’e.*

POS ancestor PL.MRK also Kisar POS

‘Even his ancestors were from Kisar.’

**Werehani (werhani, werani) and erehani (erani) ‘thus’**

*Werehani* literally means ‘like that’, and *erehani* ‘like this’. The two forms and their variants typically signify ‘thus’. Both are usually placed before *gini* ‘do’, ‘make’.

(1213) *Ani wali ana werani gini, asi iti asi tana sa’i ruruu.*

1SG hear people like that do POS foot POS hand all shake

‘Having heard that people did that, both my feet and hands were shaking (with fear).’

(1214) *Ai erehani gini dawa, ai megatafi kastigu guadula.*

2SG like that do if 2SG indeed punishment get

‘If you do that, you will indeed get punished.’

**Teni ‘more’**

The basic meaning of this adverbial is ‘more’ or ‘some more’. However, it may also convey the idea of ‘furthermore’. Like the other adverbials, it precedes the verb.239

(1215) *I, werau na’i-na’i wa’a gituu ge’e ere,*

2PL must not thing REL past POS DEM1-this

*teni sa’anere.*

gain think about

‘You must not think any more about things of the past.’

(1216) *Jezus teni lolo: “La’a mara, ni ma amululiki gau*  

Jesus again say go IMP REF.POS MRK priest POSP

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239 *Teni* also functions as a conjunction meaning ‘and’ or ‘as well as’ (§12.8.1).
Furthermore Jesus said: “Go and present yourself to the priest.”

* Mega ‘immediately’, ‘straight away’

Apart from having the function of an intensifier (§12.5.5), *mega* also expresses the idea of imminence.

(1217) *Lawa hau guadula, gi mega banku isi la’a.*

money PERF get 3SG immediately bank LOC go

‘Having got the money, he immediately went to the bank.’

(1218) *Watu wa’a ani surati ere tianake, ani mega lo’e.*

time REL 1SG letter DEM1-this receive 1SG immediately open

‘The moment I received the letter, I opened it straightaway.’

*Mega* is also used to express the meaning of ‘ever since’ or ‘from the moment’ when it is followed by nouns or the demonstrative *ere/were* and the postposition *isi*.

(1219) *Mega bapa gi tempu isi, ani kareta hai sifa.*

since Indonesian POS time POSP 1SG car INCEP drive

‘I have been driving ever since the Indonesian times.’

(1220) *Mega were isiwe’e, sisi were*

since DEM2-that POSP disease DEM2-that

‘At that moment, the disease

*mega wori gi ambere isiwe’e molu.*

immediately DEM3-that POS body POSP disappear

immediately disappeared from his body.’

(cf. Tetum: *Momentu ne’ebá kedas, moras ne’e lakon kedas hosí nia isin.*)
**Raudawa ‘perhaps’, ‘maybe’, ‘probably’**

This form normally means ‘perhaps’, ‘maybe’ or ‘probably’. However, it may also express the sense of ‘sometimes’, ‘more or less’ or ‘approximately’.

(1221) Ani to ma’ene; Markus raudawa ma’ene.  
1SG MRK-not know Mark perhaps know  
‘I don’t know; perhaps Mark knows.’

(1222) Era lolo anu ere gi ani raudawa rufaa.  
3PL say person DEM1-this POS age perhaps forty  
‘They said this person’s age is approximately forty.’

**Tanehe ‘sometimes’**

*Tanehe* and its colloquial variant *tane* mean ‘sometimes’, and can also express ‘perhaps’ or ‘probably’ when the sentence construction implies a future action or event.

(1223) Elsa ene tanehe finadu-finadu ani asara katupa gini.  
Elsa MRK sometimes All Souls’ Day 1SG ask katupa make  
‘(It’s) Elsa (who) sometimes asks me to make *katupa*  
on All Souls’ Day.’

(1224) Mestiri tanehe era wari fana la’a Desemburu mege.  
teacher sometimes 3PL PROSP teach go December POSP.  
‘The teacher will probably teach them till December.’

**Mini, minigali ‘back’, ‘again’ and gali ‘back’, ‘around’**

*Mini* is fundamentally a verb meaning ‘to follow’. In its adverbial function it expresses a sense of returning or ‘back’, or a sense of repetition or ‘again’ and may occur in a longer form *minigali*.

(1225) Lita gi rau ai surati ere mini kereke.  
surpass POS good 2SG letter DEM1-this again write
‘It’s better for you to write this letter again.’

(1226) *Ahire’e ini minigali oma isi la’a.*

two days from now 1PL.EXC back house LOC go

‘We go back home two days from now.’

As a separate word, *gali* functions as an adverbial to express the meaning of ‘back’ or ‘around’.

(1227) *Fulisi lane’e ana wa’a furbesta hau gali asara.*

police PL.MRK people REL protest PERF back order/force

‘The police forced back people who were protesting.’

(1228) *Mata wori ni raku gi tana ma gali wasiri.*

child DEM3-that REF.POS friend POS hand MRK back twist/break

‘The child over there twisted his friend’s arm back.’

**Fera ‘tentatively’**

The adverb *fera*, which is like *to’ok* in Tetum, implies tentative or uncertain effort with regard to a specific action. *Fera* typically precedes a verb.

(1229) *Babai ere karaka biskilita fera isi misa.*

man DEM1-this want bicycle tentatively LOC climb (ride)

‘This man wants to ride the bicycle.’ (He wants to see if he can ride it.)

(1230) *Asi iti weli hai rau do ani fera se’ele.*

POS foot left INCEP good so 1SG tentatively jump

‘My left foot has recovered, so let me jump.’ (let me see if I can jump)

In this sentence construction with *fera*, the adverb *dete* ‘first’, ‘a while’, ‘a bit’, ‘just’, ‘more’ may also end the sentence to emphasise the exploratory effort. In

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240 See Hull and Eccles 181.
imperative sentences the preposed marker *hau*, indicating insistence or assertion, may occur either before or after *fera*.

(1231) *Ani surati ere fera leu dete.*  
1SG letter DEM$_1$-this tentatively read first  
‘I will just read this letter (to see if it contains something worth knowing).’

(1232) *Kareta wori fera hau adi’a dete!*  
car DEM$_3$-that tentatively PERF repair first  
‘First why don’t you have a go at fixing the car over there (if you can discover what the problem is)?’

### 12.8 Conjunctions

Conjunctions in Makasae are divided into coordinators and subordinators which link certain linguistic units. Apart from native conjunctions, there are also non-native ones which are derived from Tetum and Portuguese.\(^{241}\)

#### 12.8.1 Coordinators

In the case of coordinating conjunctions, linguistic units of an equivalent syntactic category, i.e. sequence of words, phrases and clauses, are linked. It is also common in Makasae simply to juxtapose series of words, phrases and clauses.

**Coordinating Conjunction with Copulative ‘and’**

Various coordinating conjunctions in this class, which carry the meaning of ‘plus’, are used to link linguistic units which are independent of each other:

- **mahi**  ‘and’
- **teni**  ‘and’; ‘and also’; ‘as well as’
- **do**  ‘and (so)’
- **bo**  ‘and’
- **i**  ‘and’ (from Portuguese *e*)

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\(^{241}\) Hull and Correia 77-85.
Contextual examples:

(1233) Ane’e gituu wori Da’e-Koru lo’ono mahi mu’a gini.
In the beginning Head-Crown sky and earth make/create
‘In the beginning (long ago) God created heaven and earth.’

(1234) Perdua ma isi sobu-asa gi kote teni
forgiveness MRK POS word POS bad CONJ
‘Grant us forgiveness for our bad and

isi sobu-asa gi garihi lane’e gini.
POS word POS unkind PL.MRK give
‘unkind words.’

(1235) Roba ere to we’e do anu ere
clothes DEM1-this MRK-not VERB2-there is and person DEM1-this

gi fuiki nai.
POS wild only
‘The people had no clothes and looked wild’

(1236) Ana gi bere lane’e ata ra’unu
people POS big PL.MRK wood collect
‘The adults collected (fire)wood

bo gi ka’u lane’e ira gutu.
and POS little PL.MRK water fetch
and the little ones fetched water.’

(1237) Fi nasaun gi ka’u i ni-ukunu
POS nation POS small and self-rule
‘Our country is small and independent

mais wari na’i baunu falla.
but still thing much lack
but still lacks a lot of things.’

As in Tetum and Midiki, the coordinating conjunctions used to link phrases and clauses may be dropped. These linguistic units can simply be juxtaposed:

(1238) \( \text{Asi noko asi kaka lane’e ere.} \)

POS (younger) sibling POS (older) sibling PL.MRK DEM1-this

‘My brothers and sisters.’ (Lit. ‘My younger brothers and my older brothers.’)

(cf. Tetum: \( \text{Ha’u-nia maun-alin sira.} \) Midiki: \( \text{Au wa’i au wari sala.} \))

(1239) \( \text{Da’e-Koru, Fi isi baga ma rau gini, perdua ma} \)

Head-Crown HON POS wound MRK good make forgiveness MRK

‘Lord, Thou curest our wounds and

\( \text{isi deti isi sala gini.} \)

POS mistake POS sin give

forgivest our sins.’

(cf. Tetum: \( \text{Na’i, Ita-Boot kura ami-nia kanek, perdua ami-nia sala sira.} \)

Midiki: \( \text{Lara-Wulo, Hire lho hie kite-ai eka, waa perduo la kite-ai sala sire.} \))

The sequences/constructions \( \text{mahi...sera} \) and \( \text{do/dete} \) are also used to express correlative conjunctions where English would use ‘both...and’. \( \text{Mahi...sera} \) is used to link two nouns (1240). However, \( \text{do or dete} \) usually follows each noun (1241), and may also be placed after the third noun (1242).

(1240) \( \text{Idukasaun oma isi mahi isikola isi sera} \)

education house LOC and school LOC also

‘Both education at home and at school should be properly supervised

\( \text{ma rau ena rau gini.} \)

MRK good see good do

and implemented.’

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(1241) *Dai gi fara na’u meti mutu wo’i,*
  foreigner POS ship just sea POSP VERB3-yonder
  ‘Seeing the Indonesian ship out at sea,

  *lari do sina do*
  Timorese and Chinese and
  both Timorese and Chinese

  *aga sa’i titara.*
  frightened all flee
  were frightened and fled.’

(1242) *Ofo ere kali u afa ere isi ti’ala, ira*
  snake DEM1-this once rock DEM1-this LOC kick water
  ‘When the snake lashed once at the rock, the water, the young man and

  *anu dete ofo dete kali u raidukala.*
  person and snake and once spurt
  the other snake were immediately expelled.’

Makasae also uses the Portuguese loanword *tanto* with *mahi* in the construction *tantu...mahi* to convey the meaning of the correlative conjunctions *both...and*:

(1243) *Tantu Gariwai mahi Wailili makasae tadedee lolo.*
  both Gariwai and Wailili Makasae same speak
  ‘Both (the people of) Gariwai and Wailili speak the same Makasae.’

To express the opposite of ‘both...and’, Makasae simply adds the negative makers *notonai, notosai, tonai, tosai, to* after the conjunction *do or dete.*

(1244) *Mistiri do alunusu do wesere’e to ma’u*
  teacher and student and yesterday MRK-not come
  ‘Neither the teacher nor the students came to
isikola saregini.
school clean (clean+make)
clean the school yesterday.’

(1245) Mateusu dete Karlusu dete to ba’e karreta seuru.
Matthew and Charles and MRK-not know (how to) car drive
‘Neither Matthew nor Charles knows how to drive a car.’

The conjunction do ‘and’ can also be placed in sentence-initial position to function as an introductory rhetorical word.

(1246) Do nahire’e ene ehani foromasi gi berekama?
and who MRK now pharmacy POS head
‘And who is the head of the pharmacy now?’

Coordinating Conjunction Formation through Juxtaposition of Nouns

Apart from juxtaposing phrases and clauses, Makasae tends to avoid the use of the coordinating conjunction mahi ‘and’ when linking words in pairs. The nouns are simply juxtaposed and joined by a hyphen in accordance with the official orthography.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English Word Order</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tufurae-asukai</td>
<td>woman-man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fanarae-namidu’u</td>
<td>young girl-young man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ina-boba</td>
<td>mother-father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>magere-pagere</td>
<td>nun-priest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umu-lafu</td>
<td>death-life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waru-kalsa</td>
<td>shirt-pants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gi rau-gi kote</td>
<td>goodness-badness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arara-barere</td>
<td>wet season-dry season</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is interesting to note the frequent differences in semantic order here between Makasae and English. The former (like other Timorese languages) customarily places the female partner first in any sequence, which is not always the case in English.

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Contextual examples:

(1247) *Tufurae-asukai lane’e sa’i keta isi la’a do siribisu.

woman-man PL.MRK all rice field LOC go and work

‘Men and women (all) went to work in the rice field.’

(1248) *Fi mutu aga, umu-lafu ini to ma’ene.

1PL.INC heart scare death-life 1PL.EXC MRK-not know

‘We felt scared, we didn’t know whether we would live or die.’

(1249) *Arara-barere gi watu ga’awai oho nanawa

wet season-dry season POS time place some food to he’e.

MRK-not VERB₁- there is

‘Some places don’t have food in the wet and the dry seasons.’

Juxtaposition also occurs with words that belong to the same category but are not necessarily in pairs, for example family, foods or days:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English Word Order</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>boba-mata</em></td>
<td>father child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>morte(i)ru-kainaun</em></td>
<td>mortar-cannon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tinani-tafani</em></td>
<td>rice-cereal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kalsa-sabatu</em></td>
<td>pants-shoes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sabadu-dumingu</em></td>
<td>Saturday-Sunday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>arabau-bibi</em></td>
<td>buffalo-sheep</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘father and child’

‘mortar and cannon’

‘rice and cereal’

‘pants and shoes’

‘Saturday and Sunday’

‘buffalo and sheep’

Contextual Examples:

(1250) *Fara kainaun-morteru suri do ini aga.

ship cannon-mortar shoot so 1PL.EXC frightened

‘The ship fired cannon and mortar so we were frightened.’
Arabau-bibi oho wai waa mutu do’o.
buffalo-sheep some remain orchard POSP VERB-there
‘Some of the buffaloes and sheep remained in the orchard (up there).’

**Coordinating Conjunction with Adversative ‘but’**

In Makasae, the adversative coordinating conjunction meaning ‘but’, ‘however’ or ‘whereas’, is expressed by using either native or non-native conjunctions derived from both Tetum and Portuguese.

- bo ‘but’, ‘however’, ‘whereas’
- maibe ‘but’, ‘however’
- mais, maisi ‘but’, ‘however’

The forms maibe and mais (maisi) are adopted from Tetum (maibé) and Portuguese (mas) respectively. Bo with causal and concessive meanings is discussed in §12.8.2.

Contextual examples:

(1252) *Era iní ma’ene, bo ini era noto ma’ene.*
3PL 1PL.EXC know but 1PL.EXC 3PL MRK-not know
‘They knew us, but we didn’t know them.’

(1253) *Meti-nami gi doodoo nehe bibiri, maibe*
sea-male POS wave INT rough but
‘Waves on the south coast are very rough, but

*meti-tufu gige’e ko’iinu nila-nila.*
sea-female POS quite calm
on the north coast are quite calm.’

(1254) *Fi nasaun gi ka’u i ni-ukunu, mais wari*
POSP country POS small and self-rule but still
‘Our country is small and independent, but it
na'i baunu falta.
(things QUANT lack
still lacks a lot of things.’

(1255) Wa’asi mu’a haunehe ko’ulu, bo wesere’e mu’a haunehe ga’ara.
today soil very hot but yesterday soil very cold
‘It’s very hot today, but it was very cold yesterday.’

Only the conjunctions bo and mais (maisi) can begin a sentence. In the data obtained for this study, the use of bo in sentence-initial position proved very productive among older speakers and in the official Bible translation, but both bo and mais were used interchangeably among younger speakers. The use of maibe in this position was not found in all the data collected, but it is the present writer’s experience that Makasae speakers who are in constant contact with Tetum do use it in initial position.

(1256) Bo Jezus ga’awai wa’a anu u noto malene
but Jesus place REL person one MRK-not near
‘But Jesus only looked for places to go
ere nai saga do isi la’a ni orasaun gini.
DEM1-this only search and LOC go REF.POS prayer make
and pray where no one was nearby.’

(1257) Maisi ana na’unaga titadra do la’a taba-mana lane’e
but people still flee and go hole-cave PL.MRK
mutu boko.
POSP hide
‘But people still fled (from the attack) and went to hide in holes and caves.’

Adversative meaning can also be expressed by using the form mini or its colloquial form sai ‘on the contrary’ after the subject. Like bo and mais, both mini and sai can occur together in a sentence construction with the ideas of the two
clauses being contrasted. The conjunctions are usually placed after the subject in the second clause:

(1258) *Laga lolo bu’u, Laiwai mini lolo bu’uku.*
Laga say hill Laiwai but say hill
\(’(\text{Makasae speakers of})\) Laga say bu’u (for ‘hill’), but (the speakers of)
Laiwai say bu’uku.’

(1259) *Ameu karak de’i la’a, ani sai aga bai.*
Ameu want ADV there go 1SG but afraid EMP
‘Ameu wanted to go there, but I was just so afraid.’

*Mini* and *sai* can also occur in a single sentence whose ideas are contrasted with the ones previously stated:

(1260) *Dai mini ma mutu lolo weredete*
foreign (language) but MRK POSP say therefore
‘But (you) interrupted my talk with a foreign (language), therefore

\(fi isi nelu ere.\)
1PL.INC LOC forget DEM1-this
we forgot (what I was talking about).’

(1261) *Ini sai lawa-lesa do basara-basara nanawa simu.*
1PL.EXC all money-less so market-market food receive
‘But we (were) penniless, so we got food (rations) every week.’

**Coordinating Conjunction with Disjunctive ‘or’**

Disjunctive conjunctions in Makasae are used to express an ‘either-or’ relationship. These also comprise both native and non-native forms:

\(di\) ‘or’
\(ou\) ‘or’
\(ina’adawa, nana’adawa\) ‘or else’
Like the adversative *mais*, the form *ou*, which is also of Portuguese origin, is used particularly by well-educated and younger speakers.

Contextual examples:

(1262) *I Andre mahi Beduru saga di*

2PL Andrew and Peter look for or

‘Are you looking for Andrew and Peter or

*Andre mahi Manele?*

Andrew and Manuel

‘Are you looking for Andrew and Peter or Andrew and Manuel?’

(1263) *Idukasaun were prosesu anu gi selu fi eduka ou*

education MRK process person QUANT 1PL.INC educate or

‘Education is a process by which we are educated or

*fi fana la’a mateneke gua dula.*

1PL.INC teach PREP knowledge POSP get

taught by other people to gain knowledge.’

(1264) *Ai dadau ai abo lolo ere migini, ina’adawa*

2SG MOD 2SG grandmother say DEM1-this comply otherwise

‘You must do as your grandmother said, or else

*gi wari ai gata si’aka.*

3SG MOD 2SG POSP angry with

she will be angry with you.’

(1265) *Kareta seuru ere dadau basensi nana’adawa be’u asidenti*

car drive DEM1-this MOD patient otherwise MOD accident

*gua dula.*

POSP get

‘(We) must be patient when driving a car, or else (we) could have an accident.’
Like the copulative conjunction *mahi* ‘and’, *di* can also be dropped, particularly in the spoken register and when the choice of alternatives is more than two:

(1266) *Ini meti isi la’a tanehe gamu-gamu, raimale,*

1PL.EXC sea LOC go sometimes in the morning in the afternoon
‘We go fishing sometimes, in the morning, in the afternoon,

*gamu, orasa lolohaa erehani.*

at night hour four like that
at night, like that for four hours.’

The conjunction *di* and *di* + negative markers, *notonai, notosai, tonai, tosai, nana’a, ina’a* (§4.3.2.) form corresponding phrases, clauses or sentences constructions implying ‘whether’.

(1267) *... naigini fi heini do seu ere isi nawa*

provide that 1PL.INC wait MRK meat DEM1-this LOC eat
‘...provided that we wait to try the meat (to see) whether

*hai dafuru di nana’a.*

INCEP cooked or NEG.
it is cooked (or not).’

(1268) *Geribata mistiri-mekaniku karaka mima’ene ani ere tafiruu*

at first teacher-mechanic want find out 1SG DEM1-this really
‘At first the master mechanic wanted to find out whether

*kareta ba’e hadi’a di ani ba’e*

car know (how to) fix or 1SG know (how to)
I knew how to fix a car or

*ene kareta sifa nai.*

MRK car drive only
only knew how to drive.’

The use of *di* is very common in alternative questions (§12.3.9). It can also be combined with interrogative questions (§7).

### 12.8.2 Subordinators

In the case of subordinating conjunctions, the linguistic units of different syntactic classes are linked. Any conjunction in this category usually connects a dependent clause as the secondary constituent to the main clause in the sentence construction. A number of subordinating conjunctions expressing causal, concessive, conditional, consecutive, temporal, completive and comparative meanings are found in Makasae. They are of both native and non-native origin.

**Subordinating Conjunction with Causal meaning ‘because’**

The forms of Makasae conjunctions employed to express causal relationships, such as ‘because’, ‘for’, ‘since’, are:

- *bo*  ‘because’, ‘for’
- *tanba*  ‘because’
- *guarou*  ‘because of’
- *weregau, eregau*  ‘since’, ‘for’

**Contextual examples:**

(1269) Asi  *isa ae’e, bo era ani hai seluru.*

POS  mind light  because  3PL  1SG  INCEP  pay

‘I feel relieved because they have paid me.’

(1270) *Ani ni sinti sibiki’i araska tanba lisaun oho laka*

1SG  REF  Feel  a little  to be in trouble  because  lesson  some  EMP

‘I felt I was in a little bit of trouble because some of the lessons

*neganehe ti’iri.*

very  heavy (difficult)
were very difficult.’

(1271) *Uru-Saneru di Munduru eregau, ana ama dila.*
Month-January or *Munduru* therefore people garder weed
‘Since it is January, people are weeding their gardens.’

**Subordinating Conjunction with Concessive Meaning ‘although’**

- **bo (werehani)** ‘even though’, ‘even if’
- **maski** ‘although, though’
- **biara** ‘although, though’
- **mesmu** ‘even if, though’

Contextual examples:

Makasae speakers simply use the adversative *bo* ‘but’, optionally followed by *werehani* or *erehani* ‘like that’ to express ‘although’, ‘even though’.

(1272) *Era gi hai baga gini, bo gi naga ria.*
3PL 3SG INCEP wound make but 3SG still run
‘Although they wounded him, he still ran.’

(1273) *Gi hai mu’iri wo’i, bo werehani anunu*
3SG INCEP long ADV3-there but even people
*gi noto sofe.*
3SG MRK-not recognise
‘Although he has been there for a long time, people don’t recognise (him).’

(1274) *Maski ana lolo ere fasil mais kareta sifa*
although people say DEM1-this easy but car drive
*ere ti’iri.*
DEM1-this hard
‘Although people say it’s easy, driving a car is difficult.’

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243 The forms *maski* and *biara* are adopted from Tetum, and are originally from Malay *meski*(pun) and *biar*(pun). See also Hull and Eccles 189. *Mesmu* is a Portuguese loanword (*mesmo*).
Mesmu dai hai Dili isi ma’asi,
even though foreigner INCEP Dili LOC descend
‘Even though foreigners (foreign troops) had landed in Dili,

ani na’unaga aga do boko.
1SG still afraid and hide
I was still afraid and hid.’

The concessive meaning in a sentence can also be expressed by placing the mild imperative marker mara after the first clause. In English this can be translated as ‘No matter how...”. A parallel construction also exists in Tetum and Kawaimina.

Ini kiaka mara , ini lawa noto ma ai seti.
1PL.EXC poor MRK 1PL.EXC money MRK-not MRK 2SG ask for
‘Although we are poor, we won’t ask you for money.’
(cf. Tetum: Ami kiak bá, ami sei la husu osan ba ó. Kawaimina: Kite kasian di, kite da’i usu osa la ka.)

Subordinating Conjunction with Conditional Meaning ‘if’

...dawa ‘if’
...dane ‘if’
...dete... ‘if’
naigini ‘provided that’, ‘as long as’
weredete, eredete ‘if (that is true)’

Like Tetum and Kawaimina, Makasae sometimes does not use any form of conditional conjunction when expressing a conditional sentence. The two clauses are placed side by side, with the first one containing the condition for the second one to occur.

Contextual examples:

(1277) Timor karaka abansa, anu damu-damu dadau siribisu makasa.
Timor want advance person all MOD work hard
‘If East Timor wants to advance, all the people must work hard.’
(cf. Tetum: Timór hakarak avansa, ema hotu-hotu tenke serbisu maka’aas.
Kawaimina: Timor karaka abansa, kii mama’a dadau siribisu makaas.)

Dawa and dane can be placed only at the end of the first clause, but they express different conditions. The former indicates future, whereas the latter can express either past or present unreal conditions (situations in which Tetum would use only verbal markers followed by se...karik or colloquially karik...).

(1278) Gi ani seti dawa, ani gi wari seluru.
3SG 1SG ask if 1SG 3SG will pay
‘If he/she asks me, I will pay him/her.’
(cf. Tetum: Se nia husu ha’u karik, ha’u sei selu nia.)

(1279) Ani naga foriti dane, ani keta gini gau la’a.
1SG still strong if 1SG rice field make POSP go
‘If I were still strong, I would go to work in the rice field.’
(cf. Tetum: Se ha’u forte nafatin karik, ha’u sei bá halo natar.)

(1280) Dai lane’e ini suri dane, ini anu nahiropa
foreigner PL.MRK 1PL.EXC shoot if 1PL.EXC person QUANT
‘If the foreigners (Indonesian soldiers) had shot at us, some of us

hai sa’i umu.
INCEP all die
would have died.’
(cf. Tetum: Se Indonéziu sira tiru ami karik, ami na’inhira mate hotu tiha ona.)

The contrastive marker dete may follow the subject in the first clause to express the conditional meaning with emphasis. When the marker is moved to clause-initial position, weredete or eredete is used. It can occur in sentence constructions expressing present and future, but typically requires verbal markers when the process is in the past.
Some speakers of Makasae who have good command of Tetum or Portuguese may use the Portuguese-derived conditional marker *se* ‘if’:

(1282) *Se anu u tonai hi’ā were isi daa,*

if PRON MRK-not road DEM₂-that LOC pass

‘If nobody takes that road,

*fi susara afa tai.*

1PL.INC trouble IMMIN MRK

we will be in real trouble.’

A conditional-like construction using *naigini* ‘provided that’ or ‘as long as’ is also common:

(1283) *Naigini na’i-na’i sa’i he’e, ani na’u bese-bese*

provided that things all VERB₁-there is 1SG just quickly

*kiri-kiri gini.*

wheat fritters make

‘Provided that everything is available, I will just quickly make wheat fritters.’

**Subordinating Conjunction with Consecutive Meaning ‘so that’**

*do* ‘in order to’, ‘so that’, ‘in order that’, ‘so as to’, ‘so’

gana ‘in order to’
do gana  ‘in order to’  
gau  ‘so that’  
gau do  ‘so that’

When two clauses occur in the same sentence with the first one illustrating an action expressing the purpose to be achieved in the second clause, do, gana, do gana or do...gana is used. Do is more productive than gana, and more commonly found. The use of gana implies some form of imperative or urgent purpose. The combination of these two occurs typically in the formal register, for example when framing prayers and translating Bible texts.

(1284) Watu-watu ani la’a siribisu do ni lafu saga.
everyday 1SG go work in order to REF.POS life look for
‘Everyday I go to work in order to make a living.’

(1285) Ai hau teba-teba gana mata ta’e.
2SG PERF quiet so that child sleep
‘You must be quiet so that the child can sleep.’

(1286) Ani ira-bere wai-bere gini do gana mu’a-afa mu’a-titi
1SG water-big river-big make COMP.CONJ land-wild land-dry
‘I make lakes and rivers flow and cover

        guadaa nei guadaa lemana nana.
POSP flow POSP run IMMIN
the wilderness and deserts.’

The combination do gana can be separated by a noun, i.e. the noun subject of the second clause, without changing the meaning of the whole construction:

(1287) Gi sobu-as a fi wara, do fi gana
3SG word 1PL.INC invite in order to 1PL.INC CONJ
‘His words invite us to

        ni waboku muda.'
REF.POS heart change
d change our hearts.’

The conjunction *gau* or *gau do*, which is used particularly in the spoken register, expresses the meaning of ‘so that’. Tetum and Midiki would use only *atu* and *ba* respectively to express ‘in order to’ or ‘so that’.

(1288) *Ani aihaa hau gisi gau defa werau mutu la’a.*
1SG door PERF close so that dog must not POSP go
‘I must close the door so that the dog doesn’t come in.’
(cf. Tetum: *Ha’u tenke taka odamatan atu asu la tama mai.*
Midiki: *Aku dadau taka kesimata ba yasu da’i nai haa.*)

(1289) *Antoni heteneha gau tufurae ere mini homii.*
Anthony stand so that woman DEM1-this again sit down
‘Anthony stood up so that the woman could sit down again.’
(cf. Tetum: *Antóniu hamriik atu feto ne’e tuur fali.* Midiki: *Antoni nhii ba anuota te to’e hali.*)

Makasae uses the conjunctions *bo*, *weraubo*, *eraubo* to mean ‘lest’, ‘so that...not’, or *do...tobe’u* ‘lest’, ‘so that...not’. Tetum has *keta*, *ketabé*, *ketahalo*, *ketahalobé* and *atu...labele* which express a similar meaning.\(^{244}\) When *bo*, *weraubo* or *eraubo* is employed, the final vowel of the last syllable, usually of a verb, in the second clause typically undergoes a paragogic process by adding a glottal stop followed by the identical final vowel. In 1290, 1291 and 1292, the verbs *ria* ‘run’, *sisiri* ‘to be sick’ and the compound verb *hodegi* ‘to get stuck down there’, all in the second clause, have taken a paragogic glottal stop followed by the vowel.

(1290) *I be-se-bese tagara bo mikorlet i hau gafa ria’a.*
2PL quickly walk so minibus 2PL PERF POSP runPARG.
‘You must walk quickly, so (that) you don’t miss the minibus.’
(cf. Tetum: *Imi la’o lalais keta mikrolete halai hela tiha imi.*)

\(^{244}\) Three of these forms are mentioned in Hull and Eccles 193.
(1291) Tobe’u nanawa gi ga’ara ma mata gini
don’t food POS cold MRK child give
‘Don’t give cold food to the child,

eraubo gi sisiri’i.
lest 3SG to be sickPARG.
lest he get sick/so that he doesn’t get sick.’
(cf. Tetum: Labele fó hahán malirin ba labarik ketahalobé nia moras.)

(1292) Watali ere ma rau-rau suri do were
anchor DEM-this MRK properly drop so DEM2-that
‘The anchor must be dropped properly, so that

tobe’u auraga mutu hodegi
not coral POSP get stuck in
it does not get stuck in the coral.
or
Watali ere ma rau-rau suri bo auraga mutu
anchor DEM1-this MRK properly drop so coral POSP
hodegi’i.
get stuck inPARG.
‘The anchor must be dropped properly, so that it does not get stuck in the
coral (down there).’

Subordinating Conjunction with Temporal Meaning ‘when’

waihira ‘when’
watu wa’a ‘when’, ‘at the time that’
natono ‘when’
waturu ‘as’; ‘when’, ‘just when’
duranti ‘while’
felei…na’u… ‘as soon as’
malaka ‘before’
Makasae uses native and non-native conjunctions to express temporal meaning.\textsuperscript{245} Waihira ‘when’ can be dropped without any change in meaning.

\begin{verbatim}
(1293) Dai Indonesia lane’e he’e tama, ani
        foreigner Indonesia PL.MRK ADV₁-here enter 1SG
na’uwari gi ka’u.
still POS little
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
or
Waihira dai Indonesia lane’e he’e tama,
when Indonesia PL.MRK ADV₁-here enter
ani na’uwari gi ka’u.
1SG still POS little
\end{verbatim}

‘When the Indonesian (military) invaded here, I was still little (a child).’

Watu wa’a, which is similar to Tetum iha loron ne’ebé, literally meaning ‘on the day on which’, can also express the meaning of ‘when’:

\begin{verbatim}
(1294) Watu wa’a ini ra’isa, oma were na’u rau-rau.
when 1PL.EXC leave house DEM₂-that just fine
\end{verbatim}

‘When we left the house, it was just fine.’

When natono or waturu is used to mean ‘when’, the speaker intends to make the past event or experience more specific to the listener:

\begin{verbatim}
(1295) Natono Interfet ma’asi ere, ini oma u
        when Interfet descend DEM₁-this 1PL.EXC house one
‘When the International Force for East Timor landed, the entire family

sa’i Dare isi de’i.
QUANT Dare LOC VERB₄-there is (ahead)
was in Dare.’
\end{verbatim}

\textsuperscript{245} Some of these conjunctions are of Tetun-Terik origin: waihira < Tet. waihira, waihirak; natono < Tet. natoon. Malaka is a direct borrowing from Kawaimina, many speakers of which, like Makasae, are bilingual in each other’s vernacular. See also Hull, Makasai 1. Duranti < Ptg. durante is commonly used among well-educated Makasae speakers or those who have some knowledge of Tetum or Portuguese.
(1296) Waturu Dafunese hekunu ere, anu lane’e
when Japanese rule here DEM1-this people PL.MRK
‘When the Japanese ruled here, the people

asara ni guta siribisu.
order REF kill work
were forced to work like slaves.’

The form malaka which expresses the meaning of ‘before’ is used to indicate the completion of an event or action prior to another one. In the spoken register speakers may also employ the adverbial warinehegu or nehegu (§12.7.2) which is often fronted.

(1297) Malaka unibersidadi isi iskola ani mega rau-rau mata estuda.
before university LOC study 1SG really well DIM study

or

Warinehegu unibersidadi isi iskola ani mega rau-rau mata estuda.
before university LOC study 1SG really well DIM study
‘Before I studied at the university, I really studied well.’

(1298) Ini kursu ingiles mini malaka esame do UN
1PL.EXC course English follow before exam and UN
gi kareta sifa.
POS car drive
‘We took an English course before (we did) the exam to be UN drivers.’

or

Nehedu esame do UN gi kareta sifa, ini
before exam in order to UN POS car drive 1PL.EXC
course English follow
‘Before we did the exam to be UN drivers, we took an English course.’

Felei...na’u ‘as soon as’ is used when one clause follows immediately another clause in the same construction. Felei can also be dropped in colloquial speech.
(1299) Felei taki na’u fara mutu railabaka, ana sa’i ria la’a boko.
CONJ tank just ship POSP crawl out people QUANT run go hide
or
Taki na’u fara mutu railabaka, ana sa’i ria la’a boko.
tank just ship POSP crawl out people all run go hide
‘As soon as the tanks rolled out of the warship, all the people ran to hide.’

Subordinating Conjunction with Compleitive Meaning ‘that’

he’e, e’e ‘that’
lolo he’e, lolo e’e ‘that’

In indirect speech and complement clauses, the use of he’e or lolo he’e (or their colloquial forms e’e and lolo e’e) after verbs of saying, thinking and perceiving is optional. The element he’e, which once functioned like the English ‘that’ complement, is now rare. However, it has not completely disappeared. It has undergone some syntactic transformations where he’e has been embedded with the verb lolo ‘say’ to become lolo he’e and function more like ‘that’ in English.

(1300) Paskua lolo he’e ga’awai gi gama isidaa ra’isa do
Easter say COMP place POS old POSP go out in order to
‘It’s said that Easter means leaving an old place and

mini la’a ga’awai gi sufa u isi la’a.
back go place POS new NUM LOC go
entering a new one again.’

(1301) Ini geere lolo he’e ini nai ene anu
1PL.EXC think say COMP 1PL.EXC only MRK person
‘We think that we are the only people

The form he’e or e’e is similar to the non-emphatic deictic verb (§12.3.6) and adverb (§12.7.1). The Makasae spoken in Ossu uses pare or pare’e. However, it may also be dropped. See also Huber 116.
gi seluk lane’e megahaulita gi loloro.

QUANT PL.MRK INL POS right

who are always right (in comparison with other people).

Even though the complementiser can be dropped (1302), the data revealed that in the spoken register a trace of he’e can also be found in the paragogic final syllable in the verbs of saying, thinking and perceiving. This phonological change involves the addition of a glottal stop followed by the vowel assimilated with the final one in the root verb (1303, 1304).

(1302) Ana oho lolo Ø fi Makasae tonai Ossu gige’e

people some say 1PL.INC Makasae MRK-not Ossu POS

‘Some people say that our Makasae is not as good as

gubatahani du’ulu.

COMP good

that spoken in Ossu.’

(1303) Era fiara’a fartidu gi berekama lane’e ta

3PL believePAR. party POS big PL.MRK REC

noto gau rau.

MRK-not POSP good

‘They believe that the leaders of the parties do not treat each other well.’

(1304) Ani Dukai gau lolo’o ta suu ta farii ere

1SG Dukai POSP sayPAR. REC insult REC scold DEM₁-this

‘I told Dukai that insulting and scolding each other is

na’i gi kote.

ting POS bad

a bad thing.’

The anaphoric marker ere may also function like a complementiser when following these types of verb:
(1305) *Ana lolo ere kareta otomatiki mina nehe nawa.*  
people say DEM₁-this car automatic petrol INT eat  
‘People say that automatic cars guzzle petrol.’

(1306) *La’idaa lane’e reko-kaaka lolo ere bapa*  
older PL.MRK cry out-shout say DEM₁-this Indonesians  
*hai ma’u.*  
INCEP come  
‘The elders shouted out that the Indonesians had come.’

**Subordinating Conjunction with Comparative Meaning ‘than’**

mini        ‘than’
gisi...gisi  ‘the more…the more’
gisi (lita)...gisi (lita)  ‘the more…the more’
gisi noto...gisi noto  ‘the less…the less’
gisi...gisi noto  ‘the more…the less’
dede  ‘as if’, ‘as well as’
na’unisi (...dedee)  ‘as’

Makasae uses *mini* to express the meaning of ‘than’ when comparing human or non-human entities (§12.5.4). It is usually followed by the form *lita* or *litaka* ‘surpass’.

(1307) *Taumanikai ere fau mini lita asana.*  
heron DEM₁-this dove than surpass tall  
‘A heron is taller than a dove.’

The form *gisi* is used to express excessiveness of an action. It can also be followed by *lita* to indicate that the action is more extreme, and by the marker *noto* ‘not’ in negative constructions.

(1308) *Anu wori nehe aili: gi gisi he’e, gi gisi karaka.*  
person DEM₃-that INT stingy 3SG the more have SG 3SG want  
‘That person (over there) is very stingy: the more he has, the more he wants.’
(1309) Ai kulu ere gisi lita gisa, were gisi lita boko’u.
   2SG breadfruit DEM1-this the more roast DEM2-that the more burnt
   ‘The more you bake the breadfruit, the more it will be burnt.’

(1310) Mata deri tafiruu diku: gi ina gisi leu,
   child DEM1-that really deaf POS mother the more call
   ‘The child is really deaf: the more his mother calls him,

   wori gisi noto wali.
   DEM3-that the more MRK-not listen
   the less he listens to her.’

The comparative conjunction dedee ‘as if’, which has the same form as a
postposition indicating temporal information, means ‘as if like’ (§12.5.1), and is
often placed at the end of the second clause in the construction.

(1311) Mai bisinu gi oma hau doe,
   3PL neighbour POS house PERF burn
   ‘They burnt down (their) neighbours’ house,

   hai mini to sofe dedee
   INCEP as if MRK-not recognise as if
   as if they did not know them’
   (cf. Tetum: Sira sunu tiha sira-nia viziňu sira-nia uma, hanesan fali la koñese sira-ne’e sé.)

(1312) Tufurae ere ni asukai nehe suu, megana’u tonai
   woman DEM1-this REF.POS man INT scold PREP MRK-not
   ‘The wife scolded her (own) husband very much, as if he

   anu u dedee.
   person one as if
   were not a human being.’
However, when *dedee* is placed at the end of the first clause to express the similarity of degree, it has the meaning of ‘as well as’ (cf. Tetum *hanesan mós*):

(1313) *Waukau gi makasae Gariwai gige’e dedee, waima’a oho*

Baucau POS Makasae Gariwai POS as well as Waima’a some

‘The Makasae of Baucau as well as that of Gariwai

*hai ma kaulu.*
INCEP MRK mix

is mixed a bit with Waima’a.’

(cf. Tetum: *Baukau nia makasae hanesan mós Gariuai nian, kahur ona ho waima’a balu.*)

*Na’unisi* may occur together with *dedee* (na’unisi...*dedee*) to mean ‘as’ (cf. Tetum *hanesan*).

(1314) *I Maromak wa’a gini ere migini, na’unisi Maromak gi*

2PL God REL do DEM₁-this comply as God POS

You follow what God has done, as

*mata hetu ere dedee.*
child own DEM₁-this like

His own son (did).’

(1315) *Wori ni ma Maromak gau nama dane, na’unisi gisani*

PRON REF MRK God POSP up extend as sacrifice

‘He raised himself up to God, as a

*gi felu u.*
POS great NUM.

great sacrifice.’

**12.8.3 Parataxis**

Apart from using coordinating and subordinating conjunctions to connect phrases and clauses in sentence constructions, Makasae speakers frequently resort to
paratactic constructions, where phrases or clauses are simply linked through juxtaposition and, in writing, through punctuation. Although paratactic sentence constructions are common, they are characteristically observed and used in culture-related formal contexts, for example in prayer invocations, reciting the Bible, negotiating a dowry (barlake), funeral proceedings, and resolving disputes.

**Paratactic Constructions with Phrases**

In paratactic constructions with phrases, Makasae may have two or more phrases in the same sentence. Some constructions have a simple juxtaposition of noun phrases (1316), but there are also complex constructions (1317).

(1316) *Ini afi saga la’a tuku afo, tuku siwa,*

1PL.EXC fish search for go strike eight strike nine

‘We went fishing until eight, nine,

*tuku ruru erehani.*

strike ten like that

ten o’clock, just like that.’

(1317) *Fi Da’e-Koru naga seti do gi anu lane’e,*

1PL.INC God continually ask so POS people PL.MRK

‘Let’s keep asking God to help His people,

*gi mata lane’e gi kiaka gi riku lane’e sa’i hau tulunu.*

POS child PL.MRK POS poor POS rich PL.MRK QUANT PERF help

His children, the poor and the rich.’

**Paratactic Constructions with Clauses**

The two clauses in the paratactic sentence construction may have nouns referring to the same subject or object. The two clauses can also stand independently of each other.

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247 Hull also states that in Makasae “parataxis is more common than hypotaxis” (Makasai 44).
(1318) *Da’e-Koru, Fi amubere gi rau ma ini gini,*

God HON body POS good MRK 1PL.EXC give

‘Lord, Thou givest us good health

*perdaunu ma isi deti isi sala gini.*

forgiveness MRK POS sin POS fault give

and Thou forgivest our sins.’

(1319) *Dai kainau ma umurafa suri, abiaun ma*

foreigner cannon MRK hill shoot plane MRK umurafa rega.

hill spray (bomb)

‘The Indonesians pounded the hill with cannons and bombed it with

*airstrikes.’*

(1320) *Watu lolitu ini wo’i boko, ini mini ma’asi*

day three 1PL.EXC ADV-yonder hide 1PL.EXC again descend

‘We hid there for three days before we came down the hill

*do Laga isi la’a.*

and Laga LOC go

and went to Laga.’

(1321) *Ini na’u loloro la’a alafandega isi wo’i, arabau-bibi*

1PL.EXC just straight go port LOC ADV-yonder buffalo-goat

‘We just walked straight to the port, but the buffaloes and goats

*ho wai waa mutu do’o.*

also wait village POSP VERB6-there is

were left in the village (up there).’

When a verbal marker, postposition or an adverb occurs with a verb in the
first clause whose subject referent is the same as the second clause, the verb in the
following clause must also be preceded by the marker, postposition or adverb.
(1322) *Baba hai ni waru, hai la’a.*
father INCEP REF bathe INCEP go
‘Daddy has bathed and (has) left.’

(1323) *Anu wori ini hai mu’iri gau tina gau siribisu.*
person DEM3-that 1PL.EXC INCEP long time POSP cook POSP work
‘We have cooked and worked for the person over there.’

(1324) *Sabadu gi gamu-tame ani naga duuru naga bura.*
Saturday POS night-middle 1SG still awake still sell
‘On Saturday at midnight I am still awake and (still) selling (things).’
13. The Sociolinguistic Setting

As a corollary to the foregoing study, I propose now to consider some of the issues regarding the relationship between Makasae and its speakers, although this is not the main objective of the current project and further detailed study of the sociolinguistic aspects of Makasae will have to be the subject of future research. This chapter will limit itself to presenting a brief description of the sociolinguistic setting, including the influence of other languages in everyday use, types of registers, speakers’ attitudes towards the language, and finally some recommendations for language development, protection and promotion, important considerations given that the language is part of the speakers’ cultural heritage.

13.1 Multilingualism

In 2003 the number of Makasae speakers was estimated at 110,960. However, the number of speakers who are bilingual or multilingual is unknown because no survey has ever been conducted to collect data on this matter. What can be simply stated is that the common bilingualism or multilingualism of the East Timorese today in general is equally typical of Makasae native speakers.

Even though Portuguese was taught at many schools throughout the Makasae speech zone during the colonial era, and Tetum was introduced in the 1960s, the majority of the population remained monolingual up to the mid-1970s when Portuguese was banned and replaced with Indonesian. The latter language was politically more powerful as the rule of the Indonesian military regime took hold in every village and newly-established civilian settlements. Indonesian was the only language of instruction allowed in both government and private schools. An exception outside the Makasae speech zone was the the Externato de São José in Balide, a secondary high school run by the Jesuits in Dili, which continued to teach in Portuguese.

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248 Ministério das Finanças RDTL (Estatística 40-51.

249 For example, according to one of the informants, José Pereira, a 70-year old farmer and fisherman, the people of Laga at that time spoke only Makasae. Tetum was introduced in the 1960s mainly by non-native speakers of Makasae who were employed as civil servants by the Portuguese administrator.

The reason for prohibiting the use of Portuguese was to make way for the expansion of the Indonesian language, whereas Tetum, despite having already acquired the status of a lingua franca, served only as an oral language and remained underdeveloped. The regime considered Tetum inadequate to replace Portuguese, which had been the official language of the Catholic Church in East Timor until 1980. By forcing the Catholic Church, which was the only institution most Timorese trusted during the resistance, to abandon Portuguese, the military regime believed that the Church would then have no option but to use Indonesian and that in this way the foreign culture and way of life would penetrate deeply into Timorese society. However, this did not eventuate, as the Indonesian regime was outwitted by the Timorese Catholic Church. In the early 1980s the Church Language Commission (Comissão Litúrgica da Diocese de Díli) prepared a missal in Tetum which was approved by the Vatican, resulting in Tetum being approved as the official language of the Catholic Church in East Timor. This new official status promoted the growth of Tetum and helped to foster national unity.

The spread of Tetum through Church agencies encouraged speakers of other vernaculars to embrace it as their second language besides Indonesian. As a result, most Makasae speakers became bilingual or multilingual. Today, the majority of Makasae speakers aged between 20 and 65 years are trilingual in Makasae, Tetum and Indonesian. Most speakers over the age of 65 are virtually monolingual. Older women are more likely to be monolingual in Makasae because social interactions that would give them access to other vernaculars are limited in comparison to those of men. Speakers who were educated during the period of Portuguese rule speak some Portuguese. Speakers who were born in the mid-1990s are more likely to be trilingual in Makasae, Tetum and Portuguese, knowledge of the last depending on school attendance.

The phasing out of Indonesian from public life in East Timor since independence, including as the medium of instruction as well as a subject of study, will reduce the number of speakers of that language. On the other hand, the reintroduction of Portuguese after independence as one of the official languages is

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251 From the language informants I interviewed for data collection, I had three informants who were over 70 years old (two male and a female), and none of them could speak Indonesian. They could grasp the meaning only at the word level, particularly when the topic was related to certain abstract things.
already creating a new generation trilingual in Makasae, Tetum and Portuguese. Some young speakers who have been working with the United Nations Organisation and its various agencies as well as international agencies since independence also speak some English.

It is worth noting that in other Makasae regions bordering on areas where Fataluku, Naueti, Waima’a, Midiki and Tetun-Terik are spoken, the speakers of Makasae and the other languages usually also have a good command of each other’s vernacular. In some places children grow up speaking more than one language as their mother tongue.

As the second most widely spoken vernacular in East Timor, Makasae looks strong in terms of the number of speakers and their confidence in using the vernacular to express and practise their cultural identity (§4.4.2). It is this writer’s impression, as a near-native speaker of Makasae who has observed the situation in the region under study, that most speakers show a strong language loyalty towards Makasae.

13.1.1 The Influence of Portuguese

As the language of the colonial power which ruled East Timor for more than 400 years, Portuguese has had a great influence on East Timorese culture, particularly on its languages. Today, words expressing certain abstract concepts and modern terminology for which Makasae has no native vocabulary have been adopted from Portuguese. These borrowings have been transmitted mainly through Tetum. This writer believes that with the elevation of Portuguese to official status in East Timor it will continue to contribute new words to the Makasae lexical inventory.252 In example 1309, the words konfesa, komunga and devosaun are Portuguese loanwords used in the prayer. In 1310, ofisial, ortografia and aprende are used in one part of the introductory text for a Makasae-Tetum Dictionary.253

252 Hull and Eccles state that the languages of East Timor including Makasae have been “partly assimilated to a European language and can in a real sense be described today as ‘Europeanoid’” (Tetum xiii). Many international lexical items which Tetum traditionally transfers to the other vernaculars have also been borrowed from Portuguese (Correia, et al., Disionáriu i). See also Brotherson, Spatial 11.

253 Hull, Disionáriu iii.
..., noto reza, noto konfesa, noto komunga,

MRK-not pray  MRK-not confess  MRK-not communion
‘..., do not pray, do not confess, do not receive communion,

nige’e debosaun noto migini.
REF.POS devotion  MRK-not comply
do not perform our own devotion.’

... do Tetunu Ofisial mahi ortografia gi loloro aprende, ...
in order to Tetum Official and orthography POS correct learn, ...
‘in order to learn Official Tetum and the standard orthography, ...’

13.1.2 The Influence of Other Timoric Languages

Apart from Portuguese loanwords, Makasae has also undergone strong influence from the neighbouring Austronesian languages, particularly Kawaimina (Kairui, Waima’a, Midiki and Naueti) and Tetum, speakers of which inhabit the border areas. In these districts, borrowing from each other’s languages has long been a natural process.

Examples of Kawaimina loanwords in Makasae:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kawaimina</th>
<th>Makasae</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bada ‘friend, colleague’; relatives’</td>
<td>bada ‘friend’, colleague’s; ‘relative’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beno ‘full’</td>
<td>benu ‘full’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaidile ‘pawpaw’</td>
<td>kaidila ‘pawpaw’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kine ‘show, demonstrate’</td>
<td>kina ‘show, demonstrate’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nei-nei ‘slowly’</td>
<td>nei-nei ‘slowly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wai ‘water’</td>
<td>wai ‘spring, river’, ‘brook’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Contextual examples:

(1311) Ani komesa ingles ma ni bada la goba lolini.
1SG begin English MRK REF.POS friend PL.MRK POSP speak
‘I began speaking English with my friends.’
(cf. Midiki: Aku komesa ehe ingles ruo au bada sala. Tetum: Ha’u hahú ko’alia inglês ho ha’u-nia belun sira.)

(1312) Jezus teni lolo: “La’a mara, ni ma amululiki gau kina.”
Jesus again say go IMP REF MRK priest POSP show
‘Jesus said again: “Go and present yourself to the priest.”’
(cf. Midiki: Jezus ehe taa: “Laka di, kine mou kamu naan la amululiki.”
Tetum: Jezús dehan tan: “Ba bá, hatudu ó-nia an ba amu-lulik.”)

Like Kawaimina, Tetum has contributed a number of words, both native and Portuguese words, to the Makasae lexicon. Most of such Tetum loanwords have undergone epenthesis, paragoge, apocope or apheresis (§2.3.4).

Examples of native Tetum loanwords in Makasae:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tetum</th>
<th>Makasae</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>haka’as</td>
<td>‘force, strain, flex’ &gt; akasa ‘force, strain, flex’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hamulak</td>
<td>‘pray, invoke’ &gt; amulaka ‘pray, invoke’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiak</td>
<td>‘poor’ &gt; kiaka ‘poor’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maka’as</td>
<td>‘strong, tough’ &gt; makasa ‘strong, hard’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maromak</td>
<td>‘God’ &gt; Maromaka ‘God’; ‘Master’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tulun</td>
<td>‘help’ &gt; tulunu ‘help’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Contextual examples:

(1313) Anu wa’a mateneke ni akasa pobu ere tulunu.
person REL wise REF strive people DEM1-this help
‘A wise person (must) strive to help this people.’
(cf. Tetum: Ema ne’ebé matenek tenke haka’as an tulun povu ida-ne’e.)
(Mak. mateneke < Tet. matenek ‘intelligent’; ‘wise’; ‘polite’)
(1314) *Misteriu geere-karaka Maromak ma fi anu-lafu gau.*

mystery think-want God MRK 1PL.INC person-life POSP.

‘The mystery of God’s love for human beings.’

(cf. Tetum: *Mistériu domin Maromak nian mai ita ema.*)

13.1.3 The Influence of Malay

Malay contacts with Timor occurred when merchants and traders brought with them their language and implanted it in Timor in the centuries before the Portuguese established their rule on the island in the 16th century. However, during the late 19th century Malay disappeared as a lingua franca as Portuguese was introduced and employed in the colonial administration alongside Tetum as the vehicular language of the Timorese. Although the use of Malay was discontinued, a good deal of Malay vocabulary remained as loanwords in the various vernaculars of East Timor, including Makasae.

Examples of Malay loanwords in Makasae:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Malay</th>
<th>Makasae</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>berniaga</td>
<td>bani’a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ikan terbang</td>
<td>afi-terebana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jala</td>
<td>dala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jembatan</td>
<td>dianabata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mengerti</td>
<td>magarati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pelampung</td>
<td>palampu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Contextual examples:

(1315) *Bani’a nehe baunu ma’u do kadera to gesi.*

guest INT QUANT come so chair MRK-not suffice

‘There are too many guests so there are not enough chairs.’

(1316) *Ae na’ugii uta weregau dianabata tefu.*

rain continually rain therefore bridge collapse

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‘The rain kept pouring down, therefore bridges collapsed.’

Speakers of the various vernaculars in multilingual East Timor often code-switch in certain situations when they require or feel it appropriate to do so. Many switches from other vernaculars to Makasae are inspired by the fact that both the speaker(s) and listener(s) belong to the same linguistic or ethnic group. They switch because they want to express solidarity and manifest their relationship within the group, e.g. when complimenting each other or bargaining. Switches to Makasae also take place when a certain topic is deemed appropriate to be shared or discussed only in Makasae, for example when discussing rituals in the totem house or indigenous protective powers and charms.

13.2 Language Variation

13.2.1 Honorific Register

As in many languages, there are certain registers in Makasae which need to be used in certain social situations. For instance, in formal contexts a speaker normally avoids the use of the personal pronouns *ai* ‘you’ and *gi* ‘s/he’, replacing them with honorific forms deemed more appropriate (see below). Not only are the honorific registers in Makasae used to indicate social status, but they serve especially to show respect. People of the same age and those on familiar terms may avoid using these registers with each other.²⁵⁵

Forms of honorific registers:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ordinary Register</th>
<th>Honorific Register</th>
<th>Concept</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ai</em> ‘you’</td>
<td><em>Fi</em> ‘you (plural)’</td>
<td>‘We’ (inclusive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ai</em> ‘you’</td>
<td><em>Fi-Berkama</em> ‘you great’</td>
<td>‘great you’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ai</em> ‘you’</td>
<td><em>Asi-Berekama</em> ‘my great’</td>
<td>‘great you’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ai</em> ‘you’</td>
<td><em>Fi Da’e-Koru</em> ‘our Lord’</td>
<td>‘Your Master’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ai</em> ‘you’</td>
<td><em>Asi-Da’ekoru</em> ‘our Lord’</td>
<td>‘Your Master’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>gi</em> ‘s/he’</td>
<td><em>Wori</em> ‘the one over there’</td>
<td>‘s/he’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

²⁵⁵ See §6.1.2 for further discussion on the honorific and humilific forms in Makasae.
(1317) *Fi tana sisiri?*
   
   HON hands hurt
   
   ‘Does your hand hurt?’

The context above involves a doctor talking to an old patient. The singular personal pronoun *ai* is here replaced with *Fi* to show respect.

(1318) *Watu-watu Wori ma’u fi wa’ara fi leu.*
   
   day-day HON come 1PL.INC invite 1PL.INC call
   
   ‘Everyday He comes to invite us?’

In this context, *Wori* replaces the personal pronoun singular *gi* ‘he/she’ because the referent is Jesus Christ.

### 13.2.2. Humilific Register

The humilific register is one which an individual uses instead of the normal word for ‘I’ to humble him- or herself. It occurs in a situation where someone is addressing a person of higher status in society.

Forms of humilific register:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Ordinary Register</strong></th>
<th><strong>Humilific Register</strong></th>
<th><strong>Concept</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ani</em> ‘I’</td>
<td><em>fianu</em> ‘your slave’</td>
<td>‘We slave’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ani</em> ‘I’</td>
<td><em>fianu-mata</em> ‘your little slave’</td>
<td>‘We little slave’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1319) *Fianu ni-hetu mara.*
   
   HUM. EMP go
   
   ‘I myself will go.’

In this context the person is addressing an older person or a person of high social status.
13.2.3 Other Polite Registers

Even outside the honorific register, politely addressing another adult by replacing the pronoun ‘you’ is considered important. Speakers commonly use a social title and/or name in place of the second person pronoun.\(^{256}\)

(1320) \textit{Mestir Antoni nahinehe do ma’u?}  
teacher Anthony INTER MRK come  
‘When did you (Teacher António) come?’

(1321) \textit{Ani dotoro leu bo ba’ino ani noto wali.}  
1SF doctor call but VOC 1SG MRK-not listen  
‘I called you (doctor) but you (little master) didn’t hear me.’

The Ossu dialect of Makasae uses the polite register \textit{anu-mata}, which literally means ‘person-child’, to mean either ‘you’ or ‘I’ depending on the context.

(1322) \textit{Anu-mata nahi la’a nana?}  
person-child INTER go IMMIN  
‘Where are you going?’

In this context, the person being asked can be another adult or a stranger.

The possible answer is  
\textit{Anu-mata basara isi la’a nana.}  
person-child market LOC go IMMIN  
‘I am going to the market.’

13.3. Linguistic Attitudes

Attitudes toward the regional vernaculars throughout the island are generally positive, largely due to the multilingual nature of the island and its people. The East

\(^{256}\) This formal mode of address system is also found in the other vernaculars of East Timor. According to Dr Geoffrey Hull in his Spring Semester sociolinguistics lecture, 6 August 2007, pronoun replacement dictated by politeness is not usual in English, and occurs only in very particular circumstances (e.g. “Is Madam being served?”).
Timorese Constitution clearly defines in section 13 the need for the development and preservation of local vernaculars. However, the lack of political will on the part of the authorities has hampered the implementation of section 13.

### 13.3.1 Language as a Marker of Identity

Although Tetum, as a national and co-official language, is spoken by most people, the majority of East Timorese use their local vernaculars to communicate within their own groups as this gives them a sense of belonging. Names of ethnic groups (ethnonyms) in East Timor are often associated with a certain language spoken in a specific region.\(^{257}\)

Some current East Timorese ethnonyms have acquired a negative connotation. For example, the term *Firaku* is used to refer negatively to Makasae speakers as well as speakers of the other eastern languages, namely Fataluku, Makalero and Kawaimina. This name has its roots in Makasae, where it has a positive meaning, namely ‘we friends’, which has been misinterpreted and politicised.\(^{258}\)

The use of Makasae is more widespread than previously thought. Sudiartha et al (*Struktur 7*) state in their 1998 study that many children do not learn Makasae any more because of the growing influence of Tetum. However, in my observations and conversations with various speakers of different ages, I found that children of native-speaker parents who either live in a Makasae-speaking area or have moved with both parents to a non-Makasae area, learn and speak Makasae from infancy.

On the other hand, some children from mixed marriages, with only one parent being a speaker of Makasae and who live outside the Makasae-speaking zone in a Tetum-speaking area, are usually more fluent in Tetum, perhaps because the parents communicate with each other in Tetum as a family lingua franca or because of the influence of the language environment outside the home, or a combination of these two factors. It was also observed that schoolchildren communicated with each other in Makasae in the playground, although the language of instruction is mainly

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\(^{257}\) See also Silva, *Language* 8.

\(^{258}\) The ethnonyms *Firaku* and *Kaladi* and their etymologies are discussed in my paper ‘Diversity versus Differences: False Etymology and Regional Division in Timor-Leste’ presented at the University of Western Sydney College of Arts Conference on 2 November 2009. See also Hull (*Lian* 11).
Tetum. However, the teacher may switch to Makasae to get his/her ideas across better.

13.3.2 The Language of Rituals

Language determines who the speakers are and how they are connected with their traditions and beliefs. According to Zepeda and Hill language is “fundamental to the personal, social and – a key term in the discourse of indigenous people – spiritual identity of its speakers” (Condition 135).

As a marker of ethnic identity, Makasae is important to its speakers not only as the medium of daily conversation, but also to express cultural beliefs or lore which cannot be adequately conveyed in other languages. It is felt that traditional ceremonies and rituals such as invocations of ancestral spirits or the wailing of women at funerals can be carried out only in Makasae. In the Catholic religious context there are translations of certain scripture readings used at Sunday Mass.

The language is strongly associated with the traditional totem house or oma-falu ‘sacred house’ (cf. Tetum uma-lulik) where all the ceremonies and rituals are performed in Makasae. After independence from Indonesia, Makasae speakers began building their totem houses again. They believe that by constructing an oma-falu the ancestors will take care of them; otherwise their generation will be cursed for failing to provide a special place to honour ancestors.

In a ceremony, ritual performance or prayer, the types of language used are the honorific and humilific registers. A certain constituent which carries significant meaning in the sentence construction is usually paired with either identical or near identical words. The pairs can occur with subject or object nouns and verbs. The possessor and possessed as units must always be repeated, as well as postpositions or adverbs preceding verbs.

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259 See also Frei’s observation of Makasae speakers in the Baucau region (Language 23).

260 One of the elders, who was also my language informant, expressed in an interview the sentiment that Makasae speakers will always use their language because that is who they are, their “heart and blood”, and because they can communicate with their ancestors only in this language.

261 Under Indonesian military rule, most of the totem houses were destroyed or burned. Traditional gatherings, ceremonies and rituals were always considered suspect by the military.
(1323) *Gawa-bere dani-bere Fi mata lane’e sa’i guta afa.*  
wind-big wind-big HON child PL.MRK all kill IMMIN  
‘The storm will kill all your children.’

(1324) *Isi dada isi nanu lane’e, ini sera ena*  
POS grandparent POS great-grandparent PL.MRK 1PL.INC also see  
ini sera tulunu.  
1PL.INC also help  
‘Our ancestors, please take good care of us as well.’

(1325) *Da’e-Koru gi sobu-asā fī leu fī wara, do*  
God POS word 1PL.INC call 1PL.INC invite in order to  
‘God’s words appealed to us  

*fī gana ni waboku ni gu’uboku muda.*  
1PL.INC IMMIN REF.POS heart REF.POS heart change  
to change our hearts.’

(1326) *Welafu gituu ge’e hau suri do welafu gi sufa u*  
life previous POS PERF let go in order to life POS new one  
‘Leave the old way of life in order  

*mini mi daa mi la’ā.*  
again POSP pass POSP go  
to follow the new one.’

### 13.4 Outsiders’ Attitudes toward Makasae

Since Portuguese rule many speakers of other vernaculars have moved to Makasae-speaking zones to work as civil servants, police, soldiers or merchants, as well as Chinese traders. Most of these people communicate in Tetum with those Makasae speakers with some command of Tetum or through interpreters with those who have not. However, it is also common for outsiders who have resided in a Makasae-speaking zone for several years to learn and speak the language.
Outsiders who are married to Makasae-speaking partners and live in the region become fluent speakers of the language in comparison with those who live outside of the zone. Apart from the strong loyalty of Makasae speakers to their mother tongue, the need to participate in local traditions and culture as well as in everyday communication, demands that non-Makasae spouses learn and speak the vernacular.

Children of linguistically mixed marriages who are raised in a Makasae-speaking area normally grow up speaking the language. However, those born and raised in ethnically mixed families, but who live outside the zone, may not speak Makasae. Such individuals normally speak Tetum or the language of the host community.

Makasae, despite being one of the most widely spoken vernaculars of East Timor, needs to contend with not only the negative attitude of the government but also of the speakers of other languages. Unfortunately the present administration has to date shown very little concern for developing not only Makasae but any of the vernaculars of East Timor, although it is clearly stated in the Timorese constitution that the government shall develop and preserve all the regional languages.\footnote{See Section 13 of East Timor Constitution.}

The half-island nation has been independent since 2002, but no set amount of funding has yet been allocated to prepare human resources and develop and preserve the languages as stipulated by the constitution. Most of the funds available have come from international agencies and donors through direct agreement with the Instituto Nacional de Linguística.

Apart from this lack of government commitment to linguistic ecology, there have been negative attitudes on the part of other speakers toward Makasae as a result of concepts of regional divisions supposedly deeply rooted in Timorese society.\footnote{Despite there being no official line of division between east and west, people hold the belief that the four districts (Lautém, Baucau, Viqueque and Manatuto) belong to the east or \textit{Lorosá’e} and are associated with the \textit{Firaku}. The other nine districts (Dili, Aileu, Ainaro, Same, Ermera, Bobanaro, Suai, Liquiça and Oecusse) belong to west or \textit{Loromonu} and are therefore associated with \textit{Kaladi}. Manatuto has been considered more recently to be a neutral region. This would-be ethnolinguistic division is problematic because both groups include speakers of both Austronesian and Papuan languages. Its real distinction is geographical rather than genuinely ethnic or linguistic.}

The east-west division drawn along ethno-linguistic lines has fuelled mutual negative sentiments among different sections of the population. Consequently, certain languages and their speakers are viewed negatively. The politicisation of this
somewhat artificial fault line has added further to tensions in Timorese society, and
the conflict became worse when the alleged incompatibility of \textit{Firaku} and \textit{Kaladi}
(‘Easterners’ and ‘Westerners’) was exploited in society to serve certain political
agendas.\textsuperscript{264}

Within the regional \textit{Firaku} grouping the speakers of Makasae, along with
those of Fataluku, Makalero and Kawaimina, are often considered inferior,
backward, rebellious and somewhat ‘foreign’ in Dili by speakers of the other
vernaculars. The political crisis in 2006 presented a very clear example of the
conflict triggered by ethnic division and rivalry, and led to a situation whereby
Makasae speakers in Dili avoided using their language in the presence of other
people for fear of negative repercussions from other ethnic groups. This has made
language maintenance difficult, and among many Makasae speakers living in Dili in
isolation from their home region, language shift is difficult to avoid.

\textbf{13.5 Access to the Media}

Like speakers of other Timorese languages, most Makasae people now have
access to schooling, and children are being educated mainly in Tetum and
Portuguese. The existing materials are mostly in these two official languages, and
sometimes also in Indonesian and English. Some of the materials available in
Makasae include Bible translations which are not available for public use, being used
only in church.

Most speakers who are educated choose to learn to read and write in Tetum
and Portuguese as well as English in order to obtain better jobs. Consequently, their
own language has been disadvantaged. The newspapers currently circulating are
printed mainly in Tetum, Portuguese and Indonesian, and they are concentrated in
Dili. Newspapers in Makasae are practically non-existent.

Baucau’s community radio is used to broadcast news mainly in Tetum, but
sometimes these programs are interspersed with those in other vernaculars of the
region, namely Makasae and the three Kawaimina dialects: Waima’a, Midiki and
Naueti. The national television service operates only in Tetum and Portuguese.
Moreover, not every Makasae-speaking family can afford a radio and/or television

\textsuperscript{264} See Soares, \textit{Branching} 242-45.
set. Even those who have television prefer to connect to a satellite dish so they can watch programs in languages other than Makasae (and Tetum).

13.6 Recommendations for Language Development and Maintenance

A language will not survive unless speakers of all ages, including children, keep using it in their daily lives; and it is continually developed and promoted. Most of the vernaculars of East Timor are still being spoken today. Some of these languages have large numbers of speakers, but certain others have only a few speakers and some of these are dying.

Although the preservation and development of Timorese languages has been enshrined in the constitution, much remains to be done in order to elevate each surviving vernacular from the status of a traditionally oral language to that of a written one. Makasae and the other vernaculars must be properly studied and nurtured so that the younger generation and especially schoolchildren from each ethno-linguistic group can be taught in its own language. This is in fact a recommendation of UNESCO’s 1953 Charter which stressed that pupils should be taught in their mother tongue. Such mother tongue instruction can exist side by side with, and indeed assist, instruction in the two official languages, Tetum and Portuguese. Studies of bilingualism in various parts of the world indicate that children who know their first language (mother tongue) well are best equipped to learn additional languages well. UNESCO’s Advocacy Brief of 2005 entitled ‘Mother Tongue-Based Teaching and Education for Girls’ succinctly outlines in its research findings the distinct advantages of such an approach.

The process of language protection and development in East Timor requires the commitment of all entities in society: the speakers themselves, government and non-government institutions, as well as UN agencies such as UNESCO.

13.6.1 The Role of Speakers

The speakers of a language are those who should have the strongest consciousness of the need to continuing speaking and passing on their language. In asserting their identity, they also maintain it through the expression and exercise of their beliefs and customs. Older generations have the responsibility to transmit to the younger ones not only the language, but all the ritual practices and social
conventions of the community which are intimately connected with their identity. Taylor-Leech states that “in an additive model of multilingualism, parents can play a useful role as models of the local languages” at home or outside, especially at school (30).

Even if communication with the outside world is unavoidable, and threats from other prestigious languages are imminent, speakers of a language need to maintain their pride in their ethnic identity through the use of their vernacular.

13.6.2 Responsibilities of the Government

In view of the East Timorese government’s failure to date to implement paragraph 13 of the 2002 constitution concerning regional languages, this neglect may well be considered a violation of human rights, given that language is the basic medium through which ethnic identity and cultural and religious beliefs are expressed, and through which educational, judicial and economic activities are pursued at a local level.

It is therefore essential that a real language policy be in place. Strategies should consider how to develop and promote vernaculars in conjunction with the official and national languages of East Timor. Tetum and Portuguese as the two mainstream languages must not be allowed to invade areas where local languages normally serve a community. The partnering of official and non-official languages in a symbiotic relationship will be mutually beneficial.

Government institutions in the area of language research, development and promotion ought to be established, strengthened and funded. An institution given this great responsibility without proper funding and human resources will be doomed to failure. The fact that most of the languages of East Timor are poorly documented means that efforts carried out in their interest will require real expertise and a considerable amount of funding. Although the government established the Instituto Nacional de Lingüística (INL) in 2001 as the guardian of East Timor’s languages and cultures, and entrusted to it the task of researching, developing and promoting the vernaculars, little has been done on the part of the government to support it with adequate funding and staffing. The INL was able to carry out some of its tasks in its first few years when it received grants from certain international donors.
The government must also create regulations which will help control and monitor these activities. Although there continue to be individuals and groups interested in conducting research on Timorese languages, such endeavours may be counterproductive if those involved are not properly trained and supervised. It is primarily the task of linguists to research and document languages. However, language researchers must also be scrutinised and regulated in the interests of the ethnic and cultural identity of the speakers, and in relation to the language policy of East Timor in general. Reporting and disseminating the results of the findings also needs to be regulated.

Promoting the vernaculars can take place at a local or institutional level. The government, through its local apparatus and media, may encourage speakers of a language to use it in their daily life and all situations where the local vernacular is naturally preferred. At an institutional level, the Ministry of Education has the responsibility to define and establish an educational system in which parents’ vernaculars are deemed necessary as media of instruction in schools alongside the national and official languages of the country. This writer believes that by institutionalising regional languages, speakers of various vernaculars will be more confident that their ethnic identity and pride are upheld and that they are an integral part of the nation-building process.

13.6.3 The Role of Donors

International organisations, such as the United Nations’ UNESCO, are expected to cooperate with and help local government in the implementation of its language policy. UNESCO’s experience in promotion of mother tongue education needs to be shared with the East Timor government. However, the implementation of a policy championed by UNESCO must be carefully planned due to the fact that East Timor is a polyglot country where Tetum as a national and official language, is still in the process of development and Portuguese is being reintroduced.

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265 See also Dixon, Rise 136.

266 Only 40% of children can speak Tetum when they begin their first year of schooling (Ministério da Educação, Ajudar 10).
Strategies concerning the use of mother tongues in the early stages of the teaching and learning process encompass certain variables, for example whether the materials for teaching conform to standard norms and adequately express cultural concepts; whether teachers of the parents’ languages have been properly trained to do their job; whether the government polices the uniformity of orthography; and the impact on the role of national and official languages. All this must be defined by the Ministry of Education so that in the process of implementation the study and promotion of the local vernaculars as well as national and official languages are not disrupted and the country’s national unity is not placed under threat.

13.6.4 The Role of the Church

The Catholic Church in East Timor has pioneered the development and promotion of Timorese languages since the 19th century when catechisms, the Gospels and prayer books were translated into some of the languages by missionaries for the purpose of evangelising the natives in their own vernaculars. In the early 1900s, apart from preparing religious books, Fr Manuel Calisto Duarte Neto pursued some language projects including the compilation of Makasae, Baikenu and Waima’a dictionaries.

In the 1980s Catholic priests and laymen in Laga began translating prayer books and parts of the Scriptures into Makasae for use during Sunday Mass, but in the late 1990s this was discontinued with a general return to Tetum. Makasae has been used ever since by the faithful in the parish setting or in announcements about church-related activities, but not in the liturgy. This discontinuity has greatly benefited the advance of Tetum. It is regrettable that the Catholic Church in East Timor (as evidenced by the happenings in Laga) has not taken a more democratic language approach by using Makasae in Sunday Masses, thus helping its speakers understand the prayers and the Gospel better in their own language, and at the same time helping to promote the vernacular in the long term.

Bilingual programs ought to be implemented in schools which are instituted and funded by the Church in Makasae-speaking regions. Teachers with a Makasae

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267 The Instituto Nacional de Linguística (INL) has developed a standardised orthography for the national languages of East Timor but this is not yet widely known, even by those in authority.

268 See Domingues 149 and Hull, Languages of Timor 8.
background could be encouraged and trained to teach in the language of their students. This would help students understand and participate better in their studies, as well as assist them to gain self-confidence and respect for their own language and culture.

13.6.5 The Role of Linguists

One of the tasks of linguists is to document various languages which have never been described before. To do this, certain field work has to be undertaken with the gathering of materials that can help linguists understand not only the structures of local languages but also their use to express the social and ethnic identity of the speakers.

The results of the linguistic work must be preserved and archived by the state institution responsible for cultural affairs or language planning and development and made available to accredited scholars as well as to Timorese educationalists and teachers. In this way, the overlapping of research can be avoided in the future, and unscrupulous researchers will be prevented from collecting linguistic data for personal use only.

It is important therefore for linguists to work with the government, native speakers and other experts on bilingualism in order to produce teaching and learning materials for children and adults in their own vernaculars. The results and documentation should not be inaccessible to the public, but must be returned to the people in the form of pedagogical and other practical materials.

13.6.6 Others

Media and non-government organisations play a significant role in the transmission of information to the public, and are important agencies of language promotion. Efforts have been made to produce certain programs in the local vernaculars, such as the Rádiu Komunidade (Community Radio) based in each district. The radio station plays music and songs and gives announcements mostly in Tetum. However, local language content remains insufficient.

The regular featuring of different language groups on television programs would greatly assist the promotion of Timorese languages and cultures. It would also provide for the viewers insights into other ethno-linguistic groups and thus help them
to understand and appreciate the rich diversity of their country. The present writer believes that unity and social harmony in East Timor can be maintained only when Timorese from different ethnolinguistic backgrounds become familiar with each others’ cultures.

National and international non-government organisations which are working with people at the grass-roots level should act on their responsibility to promote the languages of East Timor by sharing information, knowledge and experience in the languages of the people they visit. Such conduct would show appreciation for local cultures and help the communities to get involved in decision making with regard to the organisation’s programs.
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# Makasae – English Glossary

## A – a

<p>| A’a | n. mouth | be afraid |
| a’a-basaka | n. palate | aga-aga | adv. fearfully; almost, nearly |
| a’a-bere | adj. big-mouthed | agaha | adj. sour |
| aba’a | adj. thick | Agustu | (M) n. August |
| abansa | (M) vi. to advance | aha | n. mango |
| abiaunu | (B) n. plane | aha-isu | n. mango (fruit) |
| abunu | (M) n. family allowance | abire’e | adv. the day after tomorrow |
| abrigu | n. shelter, post | ai | pron. you, thou (the second person singular used in the subject and object case) |
| Abrili | (M) n. April | aiane’ = aene’ | adv. two days ago |
| adi’a | = hadi’a | aiane’ gi | adv. at that time |
| ae | n. rain | aidahone’ | adv. six days ago |
| ae-bere | n. rain, shower | aifane’ | adv. four days ago |
| ae-ira | n. rain water | aifitune’ | adv. seven days ago |
| ae-ira gi | n. rainy season | aige’ | pron. yours, thine (predicative possessive pronoun singular) |
| a’ehe | adj. light, easy | aifane’ | adv. five days ago |
| a’ene | adv. before; ago | ailimanc’ | adv. five days ago |
| afa | n. stone, rock | ailimane’ | adv. six days ago |
| afa | inceptive marker following verb or adjectives. | aii | adj. stingy |
| afala | = gi afala | aifane’ | adv. seven days ago |
| afi | n. fish | aisuda | (B) n. help; assistance; vt. to help, assist |
| afi-ririki | = afi-terbana | ailemi | n. tamarind |
| afi-seu | fish (meat) | aifane’ | adj. stingy |
| afi-terbana | n. flying fish | aifitune’ | adv. seven days ago |
| afo | num. eight | aiane’ | adv. two days ago |
| afu | adj. pregnant; vi. to cradle in the arms; to conceive; to be pregnant | aiane’ gi | adv. at that time |
| aga | adj. afraid, scared; to be scared, be afraid | aifane’ | adv. four days ago |
| aifane’ | adv. four days ago | aifitune’ | adv. seven days ago |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aitune’e</td>
<td>adv. three days ago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aka</td>
<td>n. sago tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akademiku</td>
<td>(M) adj. academic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aka-asa</td>
<td>n. palm leaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akana’uku</td>
<td>vti. to retail; to barter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akasa = hakasa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akadiru</td>
<td>n. lontar palm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ala</td>
<td>n. forest; wilderness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alafandega</td>
<td>(M) n. port</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alakataraunu</td>
<td>(M) n. asphalt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ala-mutu</td>
<td>n. forest, jungle; guerrilla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alatara</td>
<td>(B) = altara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>altara</td>
<td>(M) n. altar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alunusu</td>
<td>n. student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ama</td>
<td>n. garden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ama gini</td>
<td>vi. to cultivate (in the garden)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amara</td>
<td>vt. to attach; to maul, claw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ambere = amubere</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amirae</td>
<td>n. milk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amu</td>
<td>n. Lord, Master</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amu</td>
<td>n. flesh; body</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amu- clas.</td>
<td>flesh (used to classify ground vegetables</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>and roots).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amubere</td>
<td>n. body</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amudai</td>
<td>n. Sir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amu’u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amulaka = hamulaka</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amululiki</td>
<td>n. priest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amu-rau</td>
<td>adj. healthy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amu’u adj.</td>
<td>stinking; n. stench</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ana</td>
<td>n. people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ana damu-damu = anu damu-damu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ana hausa’i = anu hausa’i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ana lane’e = anu lane’e</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ana oho = anu oho</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ana seluku = anu seluku</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anu u = anu u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anu u to = anu u to</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ane’ adv.</td>
<td>in the past, long ago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ane’ gituu wori adv.</td>
<td>once upon a time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ani</td>
<td>pron. I; me (the first person singular used in the subject and object case).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ani</td>
<td>n. year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ani-ani adv.</td>
<td>every year, annually</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ani mara ani ma’u adv.</td>
<td>every year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ani gituu adv.</td>
<td>last year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anu</td>
<td>n. person; people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anu- class.</td>
<td>person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anu damu-damu</td>
<td>pron. everyone (emphatic form)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anu hausa’i</td>
<td>pron. everyone, all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anu-lafu</td>
<td>n. human beings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anu lane’e</td>
<td>pron. people (in general)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anu-mahi (sa’i) Quant.</td>
<td>both of them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anu-mata = fianu-mata</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anu oho</td>
<td>pron. someone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anu seluku</td>
<td>pron. someone else</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anu u pron.</td>
<td>anybody, anyone, somebody</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anu u (no)to</td>
<td>pron. no one, nobody</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aprende (A)</td>
<td>vti. to learn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ara¹</td>
<td>n. leg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ara² mrk.</td>
<td>(stronger imperative) ~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ara!</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
‘go now!’

arabau n. (water) buffalo

arai (NE) = harai

aramari (B) = armari

armari (M) n. cupboard

arara n. wet season, rainy season

ari n. root; liver

aria adj. poor, orphan

asa n. fowl, chicken

asa- clas. leaf; piece

asa-nami n. rooster, cock

asana adv. deep; long; tall

asara vt. to order, send; to force; to ask to

asasana adj. very tall, very long, very deep

asa-seu n. chicken (meat)

asa-sili n. cockfighting

asi pron. my (attributive possessive pronoun singular)

Asi-Berekama hon. Your Honour,
Your, Your Excellency;
Highness

Asi Da’e-Koru hon. Lord, Your Majesty, Your Honour

asiduru pron. mine (predicative possessive pronoun singular used colloquially)

asibirina (B) = asipirina (M)

asigê’e pron. mine (predicative possessive pronoun).

asipirina (M) n. aspirin

asudanti (B) n. assistant; altar boy

asukai n. man; husband

ataka n. attack; vt. to attack

ata n. fire, wood

ata-fara n. ship

ata-li’a n. kitchen-stone mantelpiece

ata-loe n. ashes

atarar adj. full-grown (tree); half-ripe

ata-teu n. smoke

ate n. wood

ate-asu n. leaf; vegetable

ate-bata n. tree (trunk)

ate-fuu n. flower

ate-isu n. fruit

ate-lafu n. plant

ate-muni n. sandalwood

atene n. victim (of misfortune);
atene! drop dead!

ate-tafu col. drop dead!

ate-tala n. branch (of tree)

atu-basu n. stomach

atunu (NE) = hatunu

auraga n. coral

Australi (M) n. Australia

awa n. penis

awa-gira n. sperm
baa  n. loincloth
baa-tuturu  vi. (col.) to have a conversation
ba  n. Sir, Mister
baba  n. father, daddy
babai  n. daddy; Sir, Mister
baba-mama  n. parents
bada  n. friend, colleague; relative
bada’e  vi. to know (how to)
badiu  adj./n. vagabond, unemployed
ba’e  vi. to know
baga  n. wound; sore
bagi-tufurae  n. mother-in-law
bai  n. pig; boar
bai  adj. really (emphatic particle)
bai-afa  n. boar, wild pig
baidaradiki  n. cicada
bairu (M)  n. neighbourhood, quarter
bai-seu  n. pork
Ba’ino  n. Master (to younger person)
baka  n. cliff
baku  (B)  n. bank; bench
bala  n. bullet
balasiu  (M)  n. palace
balastiku  (B) = falastiku
balekoki  n. thief (said to abduct small children to offer as a sacrifice during the construction of large buildings)
banarika  n. ginger
bandera  n. flag
bandu  vt. to ban, prohibit
bane  vt. to wash
baniaka = bani’a
bani’a  n. guest
banku  (A) = baku  (M)
bara = para
baratidu = fartidu
barere  n. dry season
barese = parese
barikasa  n. barge
barlamentu  (M) = parlamentu
baroki  (M)  n. parish
bartera  (B) = partera  (M)
baru  adj. roasted; vt. to roast
baru-dufu  n. widow
basala = pasa
basala  n.  vt. to slap (any part of the body)
basa = pasa
basara  n. market
basara-basara  adv. every week
basara-ga’awai  n. market-place
basara gituu  adv. last week
basara gi watu daho  n. Friday
basara gi watu faa  n. Wednesday
basara gi watu fitu  n. Saturday
basara gi watu lima  n. Thursday
basara gi watu lolae  n. Monday
basara gi watu lolitu  n. Tuesday
basara gi watu u  n. Sunday
base  n. vt. to smack; to hit, to strike
base-base  vti. to hit (repeatedly)
basensi (B) = pasensi
basina (M) n. vaccination; vti. To vaccinate
basta (M) = pasta
bata n. canal
bata clas. long solid object with vertical surface
bata-fuu n. pillar, post
batailaunu (M) n. battalion
bataraunu (B) = pataraun
bati vt. to share; to distribute
baubaunu quant. a great deal, very much
baunu adj. quant. many, much, a lot of; adv. a lot, much
baunubere adv. a great deal
ba’uku adj. rotten
beiki adj. stupid; uneducated
benu adj. full
berama vi. to manage
bera n. waist
bere (gi ~) adj. big
bere-bere adj. very big
berihi adj. hot
berekama adj. big; n. boss, leader, chief
berlindusu (M) = birlindusu
bese (B) n. (one’s) turn, time, occasion
bese-bese adv. quickly
besti (B) = festi (M)
betu n. bamboo
be’u vi. can; adv. possibly, probably
bia vt. to cast (a vote)
biara conj. although
bibana vi. to have the chance to, have the opportunity to, manage to
bibi n. goat, sheep
bibi-mata n. lamb
bibiri adj. strong, rough (sea), fierce
bibi-rusa n. deer
bida (M) = vida (A)
bidi-koru n. forehead
bidaru (B) = bidru
bidru (M) n. glass
bihiki adj. bitter, hot (chilli, pepper)
biiki (NE) = bihiki
bila (M) = vila (A)
bileti (M) n. ticket
binta (B) = finta
binu (B) = vinu (M)
biola (M) n. guitar
birimeru (B) = pirmeru (M)
birlindusu (B) n. marble
birmiti (B) = pirmiti (M)
bisebersidenti (M) n. vice president
bisinu (M) n. neighbour
biskileta (M) n. bicycle
bisku (M) = bispu
bispu n. bishop
bo conj. and; but, however, whereas; because, for
bo (werehani) conj. even though, even so
boba n. father
boba-fala n. foster father
bobakasa n. drum
bobokogini vt. to make lazy
**bobokoru adj.** lazy; **n.** lazybones

**boborate adj.** jealous

**bobu(-dada) n.** uncle

**bodo adj.** greedy

**bodoguli n.** stingy person

**boe n.** betelnut, areca

**boer = boere**

**boere adj.** sleepy; dusk, nightfall

**bogere adj.** weak; **vi.** to weaken

**boi n.** thing (abstract meaning, for use with demonstratives)

**boka n.** package; **vt.** to pack

**boko vt.** to hide

**bokobokogini vt.** to make wet, dampen entirely

**bokogini vt.** to make wet, dampen

**bokolo adj.** wet

**bokonu adj.** round

**boko’u adj.** burnt

**boku- clas.** body (used to classify animals and sometimes human beings)

**boli adj.** hungry; **vi.** to starve

**boloku (M) n.** block; bloc; brick

**bomba n/v.** bomb; pump

**bontu¹ (M) n.** point

**bontu² (M) adj.** mad, crazy, insane

**booro vt.** to tie up

**bo’oko adj.** rotten; **vi.** to rot

**bo’oko gini vt.** to cause to rot

**bo’oro vt.** to cook (by boiling with water)

**borofesora (B), borfesora (M) n.**

**n.** secondary or tertiary-level female teacher or professor

**borono n/vt.** subcontract, sell wholesale

**bosana adj.** used

**bota (M) vi.** to vote

**boto-boto = noro-noro**

**bo’u n.** male sibling (a form only used by female relatives when referring to a male sibling or male relatives).

**bo’uru adj.** fat

**bua (gi ~) adj.** unripe

**bubu n.** top

**bui n.** cat

**buna vi.** to look

**bura n.** price; dowry; **vt.** to sell

**bure vt.** to herd; to take along; to chase

**burugatori (M) = furugatori (B)**

**burusentu (M) = furusentu (B)**

**burutesta (M) = furutesta (B)**

**busu n.** cooking pan

**busu-isa n.** soot

**butiri adj.** white

**butibutiri adj.** very white

**bu’u n.** hill; **vt.** to pile (up)

**bu’u-leba n.** valley
daa n. wife

daameta n. black (African) man
da' a vi. to follow; to pass
da'a' vt. to cook by boiling
dabananese (B) adj. Javanese; n.
Javanese person
dabugini vt. to crush, pound
dabunu adj. crumbly, pulverized
daburu n. kitchen
dada n. grandparent

dada-asukai n. grandfather

dada-mata n. grandchild

dada-tufurae n. grandmother

dadau vi. to have to, must, ought to, need to
da'e n. head; vt. to wear (hat, glass)
da'e-asa n. hair
Da'e-Koru n. God; Lord (to god or human superior), Master
dafa vt. to spear, skewer
dafala vi. to land (bird, plane)
dafuru adj. cooked
dagara = tagara
dahala adj. broken; vi. to break
daho num. six
dahore'e adv. six days from now
Dai n. Mister or Mrs./Ms. (when used with titles of profession referring to women)
dai n. foreigner, stranger
dai-buti n. white man, European
dai-mata n. little master
isi wo’i  at the back
~ isi behind, at the back
defu gau = naruta gau
dehe n. cheek
dehe-ge’ele vi. to stutter
dei-dei adj. different; adv. separately
dei-malae n. pineapple
deitehu vi. to buy there ahead
de’i vi. to be there ahead; adv. there ahead
demaisi (M), demais adv. too much, too many
depoisi adv. then, next, later
dera n. thing, property
deri dem₄ that ... ahead (deictic demonstrative)
derifenti (B) = deripenti (M)
deripenti adv. suddenly
desana vt. to cut, trim (hair)
Desemburu n. December
Desenbolbe (M) vt. to develop, increase
desfesa (B) n. expense, cost
desimu adj. tenth
deta adj. ripe, mature; vi. to ripen, mature
dete mrk. (contrastive marker); adv. just; first; more, a little; a while; conj. if
deti n. sin; mistake, fault; vi. to err; sin
devosaun n. devotion
deti-lesa adj. n. blameless, innocent
di conj. or
dianabata n. bridge
di’a n. crowbar
di’ara vi. to sit; to live
difikulda (M) n. difficulty
difinisau (A) n. definition
difisili (M) adj. difficult, hard
digara adj. short; shallow
digadigara adj. very short, very shallow
dihili adj. noisy, rowdy; n. noise; vi. to bother by shouting, scream
diili (NE) = dihili
diki-diki adv. really, so, very
diku adj. deaf
dila n. frog
dila vt. to weed
di nana’a = di tonai
dinela (B) = sanela
disikulba (M) = disikulufa
disikulufa (B) n. apology; vi. to apologize
disikuntu (B) = diskuntu
diskuntu (M) n. discount
distinu (M) adv. destiny
di tonai adv. or not
do conj. and (so); in order to, in order that, so as to; contrastive marker
dodoo n. wave
doe vt. to burn
dofi adj. last, final; adv. last
do gana conj. in order to
doil = doili
doili  vt. to hang
doisi  num. two (Portuguese numeral used in games)
doku  vt. to cover
dolara  n. dollar (US currency has been used in East Timor since independence).
dolo  n. tick, clothes mite
donawa  vi. to eat up there
do’o  vi. to be up there; adv. up there
do’ome  adj. only; adv. only; adv. alone, by oneself
doro  dem6 that ... up there (deictic demonstrative)
doroko  adj. rotten
dotor = dotoro
dotoro (M)  n. doctor
dudu  n. breast
dudu-ira  n. (breast) milk
duduulu  n. push; vt. to push
duga  vti. to play (ball, card)
duguru  n. sound, noise, din
dula  vi. to arrive, gua ~ vt. to catch up with
dumigu (B) = dumingu
dumingu (M)  n. Sunday
dumingu-dumingu  adv. every Sunday
dumingu fanu isi  adv. next Sunday
dura  n. mouse
duranti (M) prep. during; conj. while
duru1  n. lemon
duru2  n. piece (of meat)
duru3  n. time, occasion
duru-fuu  n. lemon tree
duturina (M)  n. doctrine, catechism
du’ulu  adj. beautiful; excellent; adv. well, beautifully, elegantly
du’udu’ulu  adv. really well
du’ulu gini  vi. to beautify
duuru = du’uru  vi. to wake up

E – e

ebirika  n. fan
ehani  adv. now, at present
ehani tarata  adv. till now
ei  adv. confirmer used in asking questions
ena  vti. to see, look; to visit; to check (up); to be careful
ene  mrk. (subject contrastive marker)
era  pron. they; also used in the first person singular to show respect and politeness.
erage’e  pron. theirs
era-gi  pron. their (for human beings)
era-giduru  pron. theirs (colloquial)
era gi seluku  pron. others
era gi seluseluku  pron. other ones
erani = erhani  
era oho quant. some of them (human beings)  
erau = werau  
era u-u pron. each of them  
erere dem pron. this (deictic demonstrative pronoun)  
eraubo conj. otherwise  
eredete adv. after, afterwards; next, then, after that  
ereroba pron. these  
erhani = erehani

erehani adv. thus, so, like that, that way  
eresi he’e adv. hence, that way  
erutina adv. rice cooked with coconut cream in palm leaves  
esami n. exam, test  
esberansa (M) n. hope  
esekai n. ladle, wooden spoon  
esere’e adv. yesterday  
estrika (A) = istrika (M)

F – f

faa, faara num. four  
fa’a vt. to sew, stitch  
fa’ana vt. to feed  
faboro (M) n. favour, kindness; interj. please  
fae adj. bad  
faere n. clean (vegetables)  
faho n. pigeon, dove  
fa’ili n. / vt. to lick  
fala vt. to adopt, raise  
falastiku (B) = palasatiku (M)  
falini vt. to chew  
falta vt. to lack, be lacking, be absent  
falu vi. to abstain  
falunu adj. sacred, taboo, holy  
fana1 adj. female  
fana2 n. teaching; vt. to teach, instruct, orientate  
fana-fana vt. teach, instruct (thoroughly)  
fanu n. face; adv. front  
fanu-baunu adj. pron. various, many kinds of  
fanu-du’ulu adj. beautiful, handsome, good-looking  
fanufa n. daughter-in-law  
fanu gau adv. ahead, forward  
fanu isi adv. in front  
fanukai n. face  
fanu-laini = fanu-la’ini  
fanu-la’ini adj. dizzy, giddy; foolish, idiotic; drunk  
fanu u quant. some, a small number of, a number of  
fara n. ship, boat
faraku (M) adj. weak
fara-mata n. boat
fara-tana n. outrigger
farda n. uniform
fare’e adv. four days from now
fari¹ n. insult; vt. to insult; to swear at; to ridicule; to curse
fari² n. stingray
farini n. insult, swear
fari-seu n. stingray meat
fartidu (M) = partidu (A)
fasil adj. easy
fatana vti. to put in, fill up with (with something solid); col. eat
fatili n. weapon; gun
fatu n. lap; swelling; vi. to swell
fau = faho
Febereru (M) n. February
felei adv. just
felei-bere adj. youthful; n. young person, youth
felei...na’u conj. as soon as
felu (gi ~) adj. good
fenu n. turtle
fenulalai n. lamb
fera adv. by chance, tentatively
ferdaunu (B) = perdaunu (M)
feriadu n. holiday, break
festa n. feast, party
festi n. plague, epidemic; (fig.) pest, nuisance; annoying person
fī¹ pron. we (inclusive)
Fi² pron. Your (honorific)
fianu = fianu-mata
fianu-mata hum. humilific form refering to the first or third person singular denoting self-humbling.
fiara n. trust, belief; vti. to trust, believe
Fi-Berekama hon. Your Honour, Your, Your Excellency; Highness
Fi Da’e-Koru hon. Lord, Your Majesty, Your Honour
fiduru pron. yours (used colloquially)
fige’e¹ pron. ours (inclusive)
Fige’e² pron. Yours (honorific)
fila (M) = pila (A)
filimi (B) = filmi
filmi (M) vt. to film; n. film, movie
finadu (-finadu) n. All Souls’ Day
finta vt. to paint, draw
fi oho quant. some of us (including you)
firisita (B) = pirsisa (M)
fisaka vt. to tear
fistola (B) = pisitola (A)
fitau = ifitau
fitu num. seven
fiture’e adv. seven days from now
fogu (B) = pobu (M)
fo’ili adj. shy
foko adj. stubby, stocky, fat; n. fat person
foloi adv. just, only
foloi-bere  n. youth
fonti (M)  n. bridge
foriti (B) = forti (M)
forma (A) = foroma (M)
forolema (B) = porolema (B)
foroma (M)  n. form; vti. to line up, queue up
foromatura (M)  n. formation
foromasi (M)  n. clinic
foromete (B) = pormete (A)
foros  n. force, army
forti  adj. strong
forti-forti  adj. very strong; adv. loudly

Furtugala (B) = Portugala (M)
fortugese (M) = portugés (A)
fosasa = fososa
fososa  n. whistle; vi. to whistle
fubuti  adv. early in the morning, at daybreak, at dawn

fušini  n. pudding
fuiki  adj. wild
fuifuini  adj. very brave
fuini  adj. brave
fukagini  vt. to smooth, polish
fukala  adj. slippery
fuli = fuli-fuli  adv. together
fulisi (B) = pulisi (M)
funo = funudoro
funu  n. war, fight; vi. to war, fight
funudoro  n. warrior
funu-sala  n. war, conflict
furugaturi (B) = purgatori (M)
furusentu (B)  n. percentage; ADV percent
furutesta (B) = purtesta (M)
fusa  vi. to peep
futu  n. cockroach
fuu  n. bottom, base, tree
fuu-clas. tree

G – g

ga’a  vt. to untie, undo, release
ga’-ga’a  adv. far
ga’ara  adj. cold; cool
ga’awai damu-damu isi  adv. everywhere
ga’awai u isi  adv. somewhere
gabara  adj. yellow
gafi1  n. half
gafi2  posp. beside, next to
gafiti isi  adv. beside
gafu  posp. with, for
gafu-gafu quant. the whole, all of
adv. all (day) long
gahi  vt. to sharpen
gali  vi. To go back, reverse
gali-toku  vi. to overturn, capsize
gamu  n. night
gamu-gamu  n. morning; adv. in the morning
gamunu  vt. to hold; to grope
gamu-tame  n. midnight; adv. in the deep of the night, in the
middle of the night

gana mrk. (marking imminent future action); conj. in order to
garihi (gi ~) adj. severe, harsh
unforgiving, unkind
gasi n. salt
gasi-fani n. sugar
gasi-ra’unu n. salt harvesting
gasirini vi. prohibit, ban
gata posp. at; to, (right) next to,
beside, side by side with,
close to, near
gatadaa posp. about, concerning
gatanaha vt. to continue, keep on with
gatanee vt. to depend on; to have confidence in
gatene vi. to wedge, die
gau posp. for, because of, for the sake of; to, towards, at; conj. so that
gau do conj. so that
gauhaa n. owner, host
gawa-bere n. storm
gebace vt. to hammer
geboro vt. to tighten
gedi’ara vti. to establish (oneself)
geele = gehele
geere = gehere
gegehele adv. tightly, firmly
gegehere vi. to think; to miss, long for
gehele adj. hard, firm, tight, stiff
gehere adv. at first, first of all in the, first instance
gehesifa vti. to hold tightly, hold firmly
gegehele(ke) adv. tightly, securely, strictly
geko’olo vti. to embrace; to include
geribata adv. at first, to begin with
geri-geri adv. first of all, at first
gesi vti. to close
gesi adj. enough
gesifa vti. to arrest, capture, catch, hold
gesili vti. to fasten, secure
gasirini vti. to prohibit, ban
geta adj. apart
ge’u vti. to roll, fold (rope, string)

ge pron. (third person singular component of both personal
and possessive pronouns, used with all genders)
gia posp. under; in
gia ho’o adv. down there

gi afala adj. wild, uncivilized
gi afo num. eighth
gi asu adj. fearless; n. warrior-like
gi bala adj. mouldy, mildewy
(gi) berekama  n. head, leader

gi bubu (isi/gata/gua) adp. on top of

gi butiri  adj. silver(y)

gi daho  num. sixth

gi defu isi  adp. behind, at the back of

gi deti  adj. wrong

gi dofi  adj. last

giduru  pron. his/hers (predicative possessive pronoun used colloquially for human beings)

gi fanu isi  adp. in front of, before

gi fitu  num. seventh

gi gabara  adj. half-ripe

gi gafi (giafi)  n. half

gi gafi isi  adp. at the side of, beside

gi garihi  adj. harsh, unkind

gige’e  pron. his/hers (predicative possessive pronoun for all genders and thing)

gigini  =  ginigini

gi imiri  n. jewelry (lit. ‘its red’)

gi ka’u  adj. small

gi kolo  adj. chipped off; blunt

gi kote  adj. ugly; bad

gi leba isi  adp. in the middle of, among

gi ledana isi  adp. between, in the middle of

gi lima  num. fifth

gi logo  adj. false

gi lola’e  num. second

gi lolitu  num. third

gi lolohaa (gi faara)  num. fourth

gi loloro nahi  adv. where exactly?, just where?

gi luma  adj. tame

gi mini (mini)  adj. the next

gini  vt. to make, do; to give

ginigini  n. action, deed; manners, behaviour

gira  vt. to water

gira-gira  adj. insane, crazy; n. madman, madness

gi redeke  adj. ugly, bad

gi rihunu-gi rasa  quant. tons of

gi ruu (gi ruru)  num. tenth

gisa  vt. to roast

gi sa’i  adj. final; its (the) end

gisani  n. sacrifice

gi seluku  pron. the other

gi seluseluku  pron. others

gisi…gisi  conj. the more…the more

gisi (lita)...gisi (lita)  conj. the more…the more

gisi (lito)...gisi (lito)  conj. the less…the less

gisi...gisi noto  conj. the more…the less

gisi noto...gisi noto  conj. the less…the less

gi siwa  num. ninth

gi sufa  adj. new, novel

gi sula isi  adp. on the edge of

gi tame isi  adp. in the middle of, among

gi tuka isi  adp. behind, at the back of

gi tuu  num. first

gi waidofi  adv. finally, at last
gi wali (isi/mi/gua) adjp. on the side of

gi waiula n. the last (used for offspring)

goba = guba

goba-goba quant. all

gobatahani = gubatahani

goeposp. around

goel’a’a-gafi la’a adv. around

garasa (M) = grasa

grasa (A) n. blessing

guaposp. on top, over, above; n. top

gua daavi. to stand for

guadaa nei vt. to overflow

gua do’o adv. there on top

guadula vt. to get

guardan. guard

guarouconj. because of

gubaposp. with (in the company of)
gubatahani adv. as

gubernu n. government

gugu adj. silent, quiet; vi. be quiet, shut up

gugulai adj. dumb (unable to speak)
guhuru vi. to blow

gulan. mushroom, fungus

gume vt. to pick (fruit)
gurfu = gurufu

gurini vt. to persuade; to sing a lullaby; to deceive, trick

gurufu (B) n. group

gutavt. to kill; to slaughter, butcher

guta-lolo vt. to outtalk

guta-ria vt. to run over

gutadv. completely; vt. to put on, wear; to look after, keep an eye on

gu’uboko n. heart

H – h

hadi’a vt. to repair, fix

hai asp. (inceptive marker preceding verbs, adjectives or nouns)

hakasa vti. to force, strain, flex, endeavour

hamulakan. prayers; vi. to invoke prayers

hanimrk. (interrogative particle) right?

harai adj. small; young

hatunuvt. to put down, lower, let down, bring down

hau asp. (perfective marker indicating perfected action preceding a verb); int. very, so

hauala int. very

hau baunu quant. most (of)

hauzikote adv. terribly (postmodifier/intensifier for negative adjective)

haulitadv. really, terribly;
hau lita-\textit{lita(ka)} adv. especially, above all
haunehe \textit{int.} very, too
haunokorau adv. extremely (postmodifier/intensifier after positive or negative adjective)

hau resini \textit{quant.} too many, too much
hausa’i \textit{adj.} all; \textit{quant.} the whole, all of
hauteni adv. more

hebuna \textit{vi.} to look (here)
hebunabuna \textit{vi.} to observe (here curiously)

hego \textit{n.} joke, fun; \textit{vi.} to joke, make fun

he’e = e’e \textit{conj.} that
he’e \textit{vi.} there is; \textit{adv.} here

heini \textit{vti.} to wait; to care for, look after

heisiu \textit{vi.} to step there behind
he’i \textit{vi.} to be there behind; \textit{adv.} there behind

hemii \textit{vi.} to give birth, to sit here
hena \textit{n.} cloth, sheet

henaha \textit{vi.} to rise (for toddlers, the crippled)

hena-\textit{teru} \textit{n.} veil
herata \textit{vi.} arrive (here)

heri \textit{dem}_5 that … back there (deictic demonstrative pronoun)

hetafa \textit{vi.} to crash (of vehicles)

hetebuna \textit{vi.} to look (straight); \textit{vt.} to ignore, disregard
hetela’a \textit{vi.} to walk straight
heteli’ana \textit{vi.} to throw a stone straight
hetemii \textit{vi.} to sit (straight), get up
hetenaha \textit{vi.} to stand up, erect
hetesesara \textit{vi.} to fall straight

hetu \textit{pron.} (emphatic pronoun normally suffixed to ni-) \textit{Ani ni--nawa}. ‘I myself eat.’

hewali \textit{vi.} to listen (hither)

hi’a \textit{n.} street, road; manner, way
hi’a-mata \textit{n.} alley, shortcut
ho \textit{adv.} also, too

hobana = obana

hobia \textit{vi.} to fall (of objects)

hobuna \textit{vi.} to despise, scorn

hodane \textit{vi.} to be humble, \textit{vt.} denigrate

hodegi \textit{vi.} to press down on, force down

hodokulu \textit{vi.} to bend down

holi’ana \textit{vi.} to slam, knock to the ground; to throw down there

ho’o \textit{vi.} to be down there; \textit{adv.} down there

hodesara = hosesara

hodokulu \textit{adv.} face down, prostrate

homii \textit{vi.} to sit down

horai \textit{vt.} to lower; \textit{vi.} to be humble

horo \textit{dem}_7 that … down there (deictic demonstrative pronoun)

hose’ele \textit{vi.} to jump

hosesara \textit{vi.} to fall down

hose’ele \textit{vi.} to hop (repeatedly)

hosoru \textit{vt.} to scratch
i pron. you (plural), hon. you (singular)
i conj. and
iaia n. shadow
iana n. shade
iana gini vi. to shade
iara n. weeping; vi. to weep, cry
iba n. father; Sir. (short form of boba often occurring after the vowel in a preceding word.)
i in a preceding word.)
idebedensi (B), indebendensi (M) n. independence
idukasaun (M) n. education
iduru pron. yours (plural; used colloquially)
ifi n. star; insect; pron. a lot
ifitau n. animal, beast
ige’e pron. yours (plural)
igiresa (B) = igresa
igresa¹ (M) n. church (building)
Igresa² n. Church (institution)
ikara vt. to fold
ila’a = ilaha
ilaha adj. itchy; insolent; prurient; n. itch, itching; vt. to itch
iluku vt. to pinch
imigini vt. to redden
imika n. sand
imiki n. bedbug
imiri adj. red; golden; fanu-imiri blushing
imortanti (B), important (M) adj. important
ina adj. female; n. mother
ina-boba n. parents
ina’a = nana’a
ina’adawa = nana’adawa
inahatu n. aunt
inai n. mum; Madam
inanawa n. so-and-so
inbesitiga (B) = inbestiga
inbestiga (M) vt. to investigate
infermera (M) n. female nurse
infermeru (M) n. male nurse
ini pron. we (exclusive)
inimigu n. enemy
ini oho quant. some of us (excluding you)
insineru (B) n. engineer
integarsaunu (B) n. integration
intrese (B) = intrese
intrese (M) n. interest; vi. to care about
inuduru n. powder; (ground) meal
inu-koiri n. mashed corn
i oho quant. some of you (plural)
ira¹ n. water; spring; bladder
ira² n. cost, price
ira’a = iraha
ira-bere n. lake
ira-digara adj. cheap, inexpensive
ira gini vt. cultivate (in the field)
ira gi watu  n.  the water period
iraha  adj.  thirsty
ira-sebu  n.  watermelon
ira-wa’a  n.  river
isa  n.  mind
isame  n.  exam
isa-a’e  n.  happiness
isa-rau  adj.  kind, good-hearted
isi¹  pron.  our (exclusive)
isi²  posp.  at; in; to; from; since; through; by; about; along;
adv.  down
isibelu (B) = isifelu
Isi-Berekama  hon.  Your Honour,
Your Excellency; Your Highness
isibilikasaunu (B) = isplikasaunu
Isi Da’e-Koru  hon.  Lord, Your Majesty, Your Honour
isidaa  posp.  through; from; since
isiduru  pron.  ours (exclusive, and is used colloquially)
isifelu (B) = ispelu (M)
isige’e  pron.  ours (exclusive)
isikoba  = iskoba
isikola  = iskola
isi-misa  adv.  up and down
isimula (B) = ismola
isinehe  vt.  to remind, tell again
isitirika (B) = istirka (M)
isituda (B) = istuda (M)
isitudanti (B) = istudanti (M)
iskoba (M)  n.  brush
iskola (M)  n.  school; vi.  to study
iskola-mata  n.  pupil, student
ismola (M)  n.  charity, begging
ispelu (M)  n.  mirror
isplikasaunu (M)  n.  explanation
istirika (M)  n.  iron; vt.  to iron
istuda (M)  vti.  to study
istudanti (M)  n.  student
isu  n.  fruit; vi.  to bear fruit
isu-  clas.  fruit
Itali (M)  n.  Italy
iti  n.  foot
iti-asana  adj.  tall
iti-buli  n.  toe
iti-koru  n.  knee
iture’e  adv.  three days from now
i’u  n.  thorn

J – j

Janeiru (A) = Saneru
Juñu (A) = Juinu
Jullu (A) = Suilu
ka’aka vi. to acclaim, cheer; to shout
kaba n. crow
kabasa n. mirror
kabene = kawene
kaburu n. fight, quarrel; vi. to fight, quarrel, argue
kada n. locust; grasshopper
kadea (M) n. prison
kade’i adj. lame
kadera n. chair
kadernu n. note book
kafe n. coffee
kafu (B) = kampu (A)
kahaka vi. to cheer; n. cheering
kaiboba n. bag
kaidawa n. longan tree
kaidila n. pawpaw
kaidila-asa n. pawpaw leaf
kaili adj. twisted, winding, sinuous
kaikaili adj. very twisted; contorted
kainaun (M) n. cannon
kainaun-morteru n. cannon and mortar
kaisa (M) n. box
kaiteru n. umbrella (made of palm leaves)
kaka n. older sibling or child (used for both genders)
kakai n. diminutive form to address an older sibling or a child.
kakaraka n. want, wish, will

kaku = kanku
kalauru n. species of plant with edible leaves
kale n. time, occasion: ~ lima five times
kale u adv. once, one time
kale nahiroba adv. how often
kalene n. tin
kalsa n. trousers, pants
kalsa-digara n. shorts
kampala n. open-air Mass
kampu (A) = kanfu (M)
kanaba n. bucket, well pail (made from woven palm leaves)
kaneta n. pen
kanfu n. field
kanku n. water spinach
karaka vti. to want, wish
karamelu n. caramel
karatera (B) = kartera (M)
kareta n. car
kareta-se’uru n. driving
kartera n. wallet
karu adj. expensive
karu-karu adj. very expensive
kasa vti. hunt
kasadoro n. hunter
kasatigu (M) = kastigu
kasiana adv. unfortunately
kastigu n. punishment, penalty; vt. to punish, penalize
katekese (M) n. catechesis
katikista (M) n. catechist
katolik (B) = katoliku
katoliku (M) adj. n. Catholic
kaulu vi. to mix
ka’u vi. to excrete
ka’u-ka’u adj. very small; ka’u-ka’u u quant. a bit, a little, a few; adv. a little, somewhat
kawene vi. to marry, get married
kebiri vt. to rap with the fingernail, play (guitar); n. rapping guitar
keil = keili
keili vt. to pick up fruit (with a stick)
kelu n. bracelet
kereke vti. to write; n. writing
kesu = kezu
keta n. rice field
keta-gauhaa n. farmer, rice field owner
keta gini vi. to cultivate (in rice field)
keu vt. to grate
kezu (M) n. cheese
kiaka adj. poor
ki’i n. bite; vt. to bite; to sting
kilima (M) = kilma
kilma (B) n. climate
kilumeturu (B) = kilometru
kilometru (M) n. kilometre
kina vt. to show, demonstrate, exhibit display, to lead (the way)
kiniri n. (red) snapper
kinta = kinta-fera
kinta-fera n. Thursday
kinta-kinta adv. every Thursday
kintu (A) = kitu
kiri vi. to urinate
kiri-kiri1 vi. to urinate frequently
kiri-kiri2 n. wheat fritters
kitu (B) adj. fifth
kobi (B) = kovi (M)
kodo n. pig pen, pigsty
koerambu n. hair cake
kofu n. drinking glass
koibasa n. guava
ko’inuu adv. a little, a bit, somewhat
kola n. Timorese traditional sarong worn by men
kole1 adj. tired, exhausted; n. tiredness, fatigue, pains
kole2 n. salary, wages, effort,
kolu-la’a adj. naked
kombania (B) = kompainia
komesa vti. to begin, start, commence
kompainia (M) n. company
komunga (A) n. Holy Communion; vi. to receive communion
konbida vt. to invite, ask to come
kondotoro n. driver
konfesa (A) = kunfesa (M)
konformi prep. according to, just as
koniri adj. orange
konoselu (B) = konselu
konselu (M) n. council, municipality
konsertu n. concert
kontartu (M) = kontratu

kontratu n. contract; vt. to contract, engage

ko’olo vt. to hug

koreu n. post, mail

koro n. colour

korowai vi. to snore; n. snore

kota n. fort

kota (B) = konta (A)

konta n. account, bill; vti. to count, calculate

kote = gi kote

kote-kote adj. very bad; very ugly, hideous; adv. badly

kou vi. to bark; n. bark; barking

kou-kou adv. really, so, very

ko’ulu adj. warm, hot

kovi (M) n. stalk cabbage

Kreda n. Church

krisi n. crises

kuandu conj. when, if; adv. when

kuarta-fera n. Wednesday

kuartu¹ n. room

kuartu² adj. fourth

kuaturu num. four

kuda n. horse

kuda-mata n. foal

kufesa (B) = kunfesa (M)

kuikui vt. to tickle

kuidadu adj. careful; n. care; vi. to be careful, cautious

kuitadu n. pity; vi. to have pity on; adv. unfortunately

kulu n. breadfruit

kulubu (M) n. club

kulu-saka n. jackfruit

kumpri (M) vt. to comply with

kumuga (B), kumunga (M) = komunga

kunfesa (M) kuno месяца (B) n. (sacramental) confession; vi. to confess, to acknowledge

kunformi = konformi

kura vti. to cure, heal

kuri vt. to draw a line

kustumi (M) n. custom, habit

L – 1

la = la’ane’e

la’a vi. to walk, go; prep. as far as

la’aku gamu adv. tonight

la’a-la’a adv. simply, really

la’ane’e = lane’e

labaka vi. to crawl; n. crawl

labarake n. spider

labihi = labi’i

labigini vi. to wither; to cringe

labi’i adj. withered, cringing; vi. to wither; to cringe

labis = labisi
labisi n. pencil
lae-lae n. dragonfly
lafa n. scar
lafi¹ n. flap, sheet
lafi-² clas. flap, sheet
lafu adj. live; lively, active; vi. to live; to grow
laguru vt. to shake (branch of tree)
a’ibere n. adult
la’idaa adj. old; n. old man, elder
laihona n. onion
laini vi. to faint
lair = lairi
lairi vi. to slant, incline; adj. slanting, sloping
la’iri adj. old
laka = sai emphatic marker
laku vt. to throw; spill
lakusera adv. in a very short time, not long
laku’u adv. soon, in a while, later on, before long
lalika vi. need not, is not necessary
lamu adj. lukewarm
lamu-lamu adj. quite lukewarm
lane’e mrk (marking plurality)
lari n. slope, country person
lari gata adv. at the bottom, below
lari gua adv. on top, above
lasi vt. to cut, chop
lasu vt. to trap; n. trap
latu n. cactus
lawa n. money; metal
lawa-butiri n. silver, silver coin
lawahe n. crocodile
lawa-imiri n. gold, gold coin
lawa-lea adj. penniless, broke
lebe adj. separate
lebe-lebe adv. far and wide; at random
lebeke adj. flat
ledana adv. in between
ledeitehu vti. to buy right there behind
lede’i vi. to be right there ahead; adv. right there ahead
lederi dem₄ that … ahead (deictic demonstrative pronoun)
ledonawa vi. to eat right up there
ledo’o = lodo’o vi. to be right up there; adv. right up there
le’e = lehe’e
le’ere = lehere
lefene adj. flattened, flat
lefegini vti. to flatten (of tin, can)
lehebuna vi. to look right here
lehe’e vi. to be right here; adv. right here
lehe’i vi. to be right there behind
lehe’i vi. to be right there behind
lehere dem₁ this, these (deictic demonstrative pronoun)
leheri dem₅ that…back there, those…back there
lelana vt. to take, carry; to loot
lelehe = lelee
leho’o = loho’o
lelee adj. obvious; n. open air
lema n. eel
| lemana  | vi. Flow, run (water) |
| lereke  | vi. to slither, creep |
| leru    | vti. to roll |
| lesu    | n. handkerchief |
| leti    | n. lizard |
| leu     | vt. to call; to read |
| leu-leu | vi. to cry out, call out, shout; n. cry, call, shouting |
| le’u    | vt. to roll up; to plait |
| lewara  | vt. to joke with, tease |
| lewere  | dem₂ that; those (near the listener) (deictic demonstrative pronoun) |
| lewewau | vti. to put right there |
| lewe’e  | vi. to be right there; adv. right there |
| lewoidebara | vi. to reside right there |
| lewo’i = lewo’i | vi. to be right over there; adv. right over there |
| lewori = lowori |
| lia     | n. wing |
| lia     | vti. to steal, rob |
| liaguli | n. thief, robber |
| lialia  | n. thief, robber |
| li’ana  | vt. to throw, stone; n. throw |
| libur (B) = liburu |
| liburu (M) | n. book |
| lifa    | n. sarong |
| liguru  | vti. to chase away; to ward off, to plough |
| lilibaka | n. butterfly |
| lili   | n. lightning |
| lima    | num. five |
| limare’e | adv. five days from now |
| limu    | n. powder |
| lina    | (B) n. line |
| liri    | vt. to sow, scatter (seed) |
| lisaunu | (M) n. lesson |
| lita    | int. very, too; adv. more |
| litaka  | adv. more (than), past |
| liuliu  | adv. particularly |
| liurai  | n. king |
| liurai-mata | n. prince, princess |
| lode    | n. bag hand-woven from palm leaves |
| lodoro  | dem₆ that … up there (deictic demonstrative pronoun) |
| loe     | n. ash, lime, calcium, whitewash |
| loe-limu | n. dust, ash |
| loeloere | adj. grey |
| lo’e    | vt. to open |
| logara  | (B) = longara (M) |
| logo    | vi. to lie, tell a lie, deceive; n. fraud, deceit |
| logo-sege | n. liar |
| lohi    | = lo’i |
| loho’o  | = lo’o |
| lohorono | dem₇ that … down there (deictic demonstrative pronoun) |
| lo’i    | vt. to wipe, clean |
| lolae   | num. two |
| lola’-sa’i | quant. both (of them) |
| lolini  | vti. to speak, talk; n. talk |
| lolitu  | num. three |
| lolo    | vti. to say, tell |
| lolo he’e | conj. that |
| lolohaa (lohaa) | num. four |
loloro  adj. true, right, correct; ~ di?  
    ~ tai? interrogative: is that 
    right? adv.  yes, that’s right
lologini  vti. to straighten, correct
lolu bere  n. eagle
longara  adj. loose, slack
loo  n. sky
loo-fatila ku  n. lightning
loono = lo’ono
loono gini  vi. to cool off
looro  vi. to swim
loholi’ana  vi. to throw right down  
    there
lo’o  vi. to be right down there; adv.  
    right down there
lo’ono  adj. cloudy; n sky
lo sa = losana
losana  adj. empty
lou  vt. to trim
lowori  dem2 that, those (over there)  
    (deictic demonstrative  
    pronoun)
lu’a  n. monkey
lulu  vt. to fold
luma  adj. tame, meek
lume  adj. delicate
lume-lume  adj. very delicate
lumuru  adj. green
lutu-meta  n. mourning

M – m

ma  posp. with, by means of
maa  n. alcoholic drink, palm wine,  
    arrack, European wine
ma’asi  vi. to descend; to get off, get  
    down; to surrender
maba = mafa
mada = manda
ma’ene  vi. to know, understand;  
    to reognize
ma’ene-bada’e  n. witchdoctor,  
    wizard; fortune teller; faith  
    healer
mafa (B)  n. map
magarati  n. meaning
mah i  conj. and

mah i (mahe)  num. two (always used  
    with classifier anu reserved  
    for human beings)
mah i gi seluseluku  adv. and so on,  
    and so forth
mai  pron. they (used for all entities)
maibe  conj. but; however
maige’e  pron. theirs (used for all  
    entities)
maigiduru  pron. theirs (used  
    colloquially)
mai-gi  pron. their (for all entities)
mai gi seluku  pron. others
mai gi seluseluku  pron. other ones
mai oho  quant. some of them (all
entities)

Maiu n. May
mai u-u pron. each of them
mais = maisi
maiisi conj. but; however
makasa adj. strong, hard; adv.
strongly, hard, severely
malaka prep. before
malara adj. large, wide
mala gini vti. to widen, enlarge
(space)
male (malene) posp. close to, near;
adv. close by; nearly, almost,
more or less
malene adj. near; prep. almost,
early
mali n. brother-in-law
malu n. betel
malu-asa n. betel leaf
mama n. mother
mana n. hole; cave
manana vti. to win
manda vt. to command, order; to
instruct
mantega (M) n. butter
manuala adj. manual
mara mrk. (mild imperative) nawa
~! ‘eat!’; vi. to go; adv.
instantly, thither
mara-ma’u adv.to and fro;
backwards and forwards
Maromak = Maromaka
Maromaka n. God; Lord
Marsu n. March

masa n. (plastic) container
masemasene adv. everyday
masene adv. usually, normally
maski conj. although; prep.
despite, in spite of
masu n. voice
mata n. child
matako’i n. child
matarini n. children
mateneke adj. intelligent, smart; n.
intelligence, smartness,
brightness; knowledge
ma’u vi. to come; adv. hence, hither
mauku adj. drunk, intoxicated
meda (B) = mesa
mega adv. really, terribly,
immediately, truly, indeed,
simply
mega-mega adv. immediately
megahau adv. more, further,
moreover, very, so
megahau baunu quant. most (of)
megahauala adv. extremely
megahaulita adv. very
megahauneha adv. extremely
megalita int. very
megana’u prep. as if
meganehe int. very
mega noto adv. not at all
megatafi adv. completely, totally
mege vi. to reach; to fit; adv. too
much, too many; posp.
until; as far as
meli vt. to pick, collect
memburu (M) n. member
menusu adv. less
mera adj. sharp
mera-mera adj. very sharp
merekadu (M), merkadu (A) n. market
mesmu conj. even if
mesa (M) n. table
mestri = mistiri
meta-meta adv. early in the morning, at daybreak, at dawn
metana adj. black
meti n. sea, beach
meti-gafi n. overseas, abroad
meti gini vi. to go fishing (during low tide)
meudia n. midday, noon; lunch time
meudiadia adv. midday
mi posp. about; according to, concerning; along
mibota vi. to get the next turn to vote
miena vti. to keep an eye on, spy on
mifana vti. to communicate an order (to)
mifusa vti. to spy
migamu vti. to feel, grope
migini vti. to imitate; to obey, comply with
mihaga = misaga
mii vi. to sit
mikorlete n. minibus
mila’a vti. to follow, agree with, accord with
milafulafu pron.; adj. similar, alike
mili n. thousand
miliguru vt. to chase, go after
milisi n. militia; militia man
milo’i vti. to anoint, rub with
milolo vti. to tell, relate, recount
mima’ene vti. to recognize
minaha adv. only
mini n. second; vti. to follow; adv. by contrast, on the other hand; again; back;
conj. than
minigali adv. back; again
ministuru n. minister
minutu n. minute
Misa n. Mass
misag vi. go up, soar; vti. to climb, board, ascend; adv. up
misafu vti. to bless; to expel a bad spirit
misafusafu vti. to caress
misaga vti. to go after; chase, pursue
misaunu n. mission
mistiri (B) = mistiri
misteriu n. mistery
mistiri n. teacher
mistiri-mekaniki n. chief mechanic
misura vti. to count
misuri vti. to follow (in large numbers)
mitanu vti. to name after
mitu num. three (always used with classifier anu- reserved for human beings)
mobimentu (M) n. movement
moloko prep. before
molu vi. to disappear, loose, get lost
molunu adv. far; n. distance
mooro adj. narrow; tight
morodoro (mordoro) n. native soldier; bodyguard; garrison
moroteru (B) = morteru
morteru (M) n. mortar
mosa n. nasal mucus, (runny) snot, runny nose
mosa-ka’u n. snot
mosila = musila
mosoro adj. blue
mu’a n. land; soil, earth; ash; country
mu’a-afa n. desert
mu’a-duguru n. thunder
mu’a-gamu adv. night
mu’a-meta n. darkness
mu’a-metana adv. at dusk, at sunset
mu’a-saa gi watu n. dry season
mu’a-titi n. desert
mu’a-usa n. dawn
muda vti. to change
muhiri = muiri
mui adj. muddy, murky
muiri vti. to play; n. play
mu’iri adj. late, long (in time), long-standing, age-old, slow; adv. for a long time, for long
mula vt. to curse
musila n. backpack, rucksack
mutu n. interior, inside; posp. in, into; during
mutu-galu n. heart (in abstract sense); mind
muu n. quail
mu’u n. banana
mu’ulai n. ant

N – n

na’akalu n. centipede
naga adv. continually, constantly, always
naganisi adv. constantly, all the time
nagare’e adv. in a short time
naha vi. to stand
nahi pron./adv. where
nahidedee pron. what kind of
nahiga’u pron. which
nahiga’u isi adv. where
nahigini u pron. anyone at all, anything at all
nahine’e adv. when
nahire’e pron. who
nahire’e (gi)ge’e pron. whose
nahire’e giduru pron. whose (used colloquially)
nahire’e nai pron. everyone
nahiroba pron. how much, how
   many; quant. some, several
nahite’epron. which
nahite’esiadv. where
nai1 n. name
nai2 adv. just, only; int. simply,
   really
naigini adv. just; conj. provided that,
   as long as
nai gini u (nai gini...u) quant. any,
   whichever, whatever
nai-nai = nei-nei
na’i thing (abstract sense)
na’i damu-damu pron. everything
   (emphatic use)
na’igau adv. why
na’i gi seluku pron. something else
na’ihani adv. how, in what way
na’i haus’a’i pron. everything, all
na’i lane’e pron. everything (in
   general)
na’inehe adv. when, since when
na’i oho pron. something
na’i ribaku (u) pron. anything (at all)
na’i u pron. something
na’i u to pron. nothing
naili n. fishing line
nake vt. to take, bring, carry
nama adv. up
nama do’o adv. up there
nama-namaadv. loudly
namu n. feather
na’i orasa (isi)? adv. at what time?
na’i u pron. something, anything
nama dane vi. lift, raise
nama dokolu adv. face up, supine
nami adj. male; n. husband
   (colloquial)
namidu’u adj. unmarried, young; n.
   bachelor
nana asp. (imminentive marker)
   be going to
nana n. eye; lid, cover
nana’a adv. not (negation)
nana’adawa conj. or else, otherwise,
   if not; adv. otherwise, or
   else; if not
nana’u adv. still
nanawa = nawa-nawa
nanu n. great-grandparent
naruta gau adv. backwards
naruta isi adv. behind, at the back
nati adv. beforehand
natono (gi ~) quant. enough, the
   right amount of; vi. to be
   adequate; adv. when
nau pron. (emphatic) Ani tinani nau
   nawa. ‘I myself ate rice.’
nau-dei adj. separate
nau-deidei adj. completely different,
   distinct
nau-do’ome pron. (emphatic) Fi ~
   la’a. ‘We ourselves went.’
nautule = tule
na’u adv. just, only, simply; so
na’u ba’unu quant. quite a lot of
na’u-bese adv. quickly
na’u degerasa  adv. in vain, for nothing
na’ugii  asp. will; adv. always, often
na’ugikoté  adv. truly, indeed
na’ulele  adv. in vain
na’u loloro  adv. exactly, precisely
na’umini  adv. instead, on the contrary
na’unaga  adv. still, continually; vi. to keep
na’unisi = na’unusi
na’unokorau  adv. truly, indeed
na’unusi  conj. as, like; adv. as well (as)
na’u ribaku  adv. any way (at all), any old way
na’u saugati  adv. in vain, for nothing
na’u tafiruu  adv. exactly, precisely
na’uwari  adv. still
nawa  vt. to eat; to drink
nawa-nawa  n. food
nawa-ta’e  (col.) lazy
neakasa  vi. to try hard
neba  n. sardine
neda’iri  vti. to flatter, praise greatly
ne’egu = nehegu
nege ni  vt. to treat really bad
neguta  vt. to beat soundly, to thrash
nehe  int. very; too
nehegena  vt. to see (from afar)
nehegu  adv. not yet
nehela’a  vt. to find, meet, come across

nei  vi. to flow; to stagnate, form puddles
nei-nei  adv. slowly; quietly, softly
nei-nei mata  adv. very slowly, very quietly
nelolo  vti. to scold excessively
nelu  vi. to forget
nema’ene  vi. to know very well, understand very well
netani, netanihani  pron. how; adv. how, in what way
netanigu = netanihanigau  adv. why
netaniginigau = na’iginigau  adv. why
netanihanilafu = netanilafu
netanilafu  pron. what kind of
neto’i  vt. to dig and find
netrala  (M) adj. neutral
ni  pron. (possessive reflexive form placed after personal pronouns)
nibele  (B), nivel  (A) n. level
ni-dairi  adj. arrogant
niduru  pron. one’s own
nifi’i  adj. thin
nige’e  reflexive pronoun which can follow any pronoun or noun.
ni-guta  adv. extremely
ni-hetu  pron. (emphatic) Gi ~la’a. ‘He himself went.’
niki  n. mosquito
nila-nilu  adj. calm (of sea)
i-vi-ukunu  adj. independent, self-rule
Nobemburu n. November
nogo-nogo adj. mad, crazy
noi n. mistress, Miss
noko n. younger brother
nokolai n. little brother (a diminutive form of address)
noko-kaka n. brothers, siblings
nokorau adj. bad; adv. badly, seriously
noli n. ring
nonoro = noro-noro
norozoro vi. to grumble

O – o

obana vt. to soak
obirgasaunu (M) n. obligation
obirgatori (B), obrigatori (M) adj. mandatory
ofisiala (M) = ofisíá (A)
ofisíá adj. official
ofo n. snake (generic sense)
ofoloi adv. just, only
ofora n. python
ofarena = offerena
offerena n. vti. to dream
oho pron. some
oho nai quant. a few, not many
olo n. bird (generic sense)
oloho = olloo
oloo vi. howl
oma = uma
oma-falu n. totem house; temple

noto mrk. not (negation)
notonai = tonai
notosai = tosai
numuru n. number
nunka = nuka adv. never
nunrasa = nunurasas
nunu n. lip
nunu2 (M) adj. ninth
nunudeu n. cloud, fog
nunurasas n. garfish
nuru n. basket made of palm leaves
nutisíari (N) n. news (reel)

oma-gauhaa n. host
oma-kafi n. makeshift hut
omara n. shark
omene adj. shy, timid
onai n. old lady
ona-mata n. girl
orasa (M) = oras (A)
oras n. time
oreke n. foam
orientasuna (A) n. orientation
oro n. spear
ortografia n. orthography
osbitala (M) = osobitala
osobitala (B) n. hospital
otomatiki (B) otomatiki (M) adj. automatic
ou1 conj. or (derived from Portuguese)
ou²  *interj.* hey (form of interjection)

P – p

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**palampu**  *n.* buoy

**palasatiku** (B) *n.* plastic

**para**  *vti.* to stop, cease

**para**  *adv.* so

**parese**  *vi.* to seem

**parlamentu**  *n.* parliament

**partera** (M) *n.* midwife

**partidu**  *n.* party

**pás** (A) = **pasa** (M) *n.* peace

**pasa¹**  *n.* peace

**pasa²**  *vti.* to pass

**pasensi** (M) *n.* patience; *vi.* to be patient

**pasta**  *n.* bag

**peredaunu** (M) = **perdaun**

**perdaun** (A) *n.* forgiveness

**perdua**  *n.* forgiveness; *vt.* to forgive

**persiza** = **pirisisa**

**pila**  *n.* (small) battery

**pirisisa** = **pirisisa**

**pirmaria** (M) *adj.* primary

**pirmeru** (M) = **primeru**

**pirmiti** (M) *vt.* to allow, let

**pirsisa** (M) *n.* necessity; *vti.* to need, require

**pisitola** (M) = **pistola**

**pistola** (A) *n.* pistol

**pobu** (M) = **povu** (A)

**ponti** (M) *n.* bridge

**povu** *n.* people

**porbinsi** (M) = **probinsi** (M)

**pormete** (M) = **promete** (A)

**promete**  *vi.* to promise

**porobelema** (B) *n.* problem, matter

**porolema** (B) = **porobelema** (M)

**Portugala** (M), **Portugál** (A) *n.*

Portugal

**portugés** (A) *adj.* n. Portuguese,

Portuguese (language)

**primeru** (M) *adj.* first; *adv.* first of all, in the first place

**probinsi** (M) *n.* province

**pulisi** (M) *n.* police

**pulitiki** (M) *n.* politic, politician

**purgatori** (M) *n.* purgatory

**pursesu** (M) *n.* process

**pursisaun** (M) *n.* procession

**purtesta** (M)  *vti.* to protest
raana  vt. to decorate, beautify
rabi  n. Makasae traditional sarong worn by women
rabisadu (B) = rebesadu (M)
raga  n. branch
raga-  clas. branch
raha-raha  adv. slowly
raha-raha mata  adv. very slowly
rai  vi. to put, place; to keep
raididii  adv. early in the morning
raidukala  vi. expel
railabaka  vi. to crawl out
raimale = raimalemale  adv. afternoon
rairei  vt. to pull out
ra’i  adj. dirty; n. dirt
ra’i gini  vt. to make dirty, soil
ra’isa  adj. external, ouside; n. exterior, outside
ra’isa = ra’isa la’a  adv.out afternoon
rakalele  vi. to cheer
raku  n. friend; colleague, comrade
rame  adj. amusing
ramiaka  vt. to love; to caress
rasa  num. hundred; gi ~ quant. many, much, tons of
rasa u  num. one hundred
rasa faa  num. four hundred
rata  vti. to arrive; to find; to get, obtain
rau  adj. good; n. goodness, welfare, wellbeing; adv. well, yes, all right
raudawa  adv. perhaps, maybe; probably
rau-rau  adj. very good; adv. well, better
rau were  adj. well then
ra’u  n. plate
ra’unu  vt. to scoop
rebeka (M)  n. violin
rebesadu (M)  n. sweets, candies
redeke = gi redeke
redi (M)  n. fishing net
reeke  vi. scream, shout
reforma  vti. to reform; vi. to retire (from work)
reforsa (A) = rifurusa (B)
rega  vt. to water; to strafe
rei  vt. to pull; to raise (flag)
rekereu  vi. to have a break (between classes)
reko  vi. to shout out; to cry out (because of being afraid or scared)
reko-kahaka = reko-ka’aka
reko-ka’aka  n. shouting and cheering
renu  n. people
rerree  asp. gressive marker
resa1  vi. to pray
resa2  n. rice (unharvested)
resa-fasu  n. husk of rice
resa ti’ala  vi. to unhusk rice by stamping on it
rese  n. bamboo bed
resi (gi resi) quant. too many, too much
resini  adv. more than
ria  n. run; vi. to run
ria-ria  vi. to run continuously
rial = riala
riala  pron. many (human beings)
riana  n. shadow
ri’ana  vt. to pack up; to put in place; to put in order
ribagini  vii. to mess up, throw into disorder
ribaku  adv. in a disorderly fashion, chaotically
riba-riba  adj. any one (at all)
ribaku  u  quant. any one (at all)
riba-riba  u  quant. any at all, whichever
rifurusa (B) = rifursa
rifursa (M)  n. reinforcement; vt. to reinforce
rihunu  num. thousand; gi ~ quant. many, much, tons of
rihunu lola’e  num. two thousand
rihunu  u  num. one million
rika  adj. skinny, slim
riku  adj. n. rich, prosperous, wealthy
rikuese (M)  vii. to recognize
ririki  n. flight; vii. to fly
roba  n. clothes, clothing
roka  vt. to wrap (usually fruits to prevent their being eaten by animals)
roko-roko  n. rubbish from plants
rou1  n. grass, weeds
rou2  vt. to inhabit, reside in
ruku  vt. to trample
ruma  n. needle
ruruu  n. shivering; vi. shiver, tremble
rusu  n. singing; vii. to sing
ruu, ruruu  num. ten
ruuafo  num. eighty
ruudaho  num. sixty
ruufaa (ruulolohaa)  num. forty
rufia  n. rupee
ruufitu  num. seventy
ruulima  num. fifty
ruulola’e (ruulolola’e)  num. twenty
ruulolitu  num. thirty
ruusija  num. ninety

S – s

sa  n. tea
saa  adj. short form of sahara
saara (NE) = sahara
sa’a  n. post, pole; adv. along
sa’anere vti. to remember, keep in mind
sabadu (M) n. Saturday
sabalae n. witch, sorceress
sabatu n. shoe
sabaunu n. soap
sabaun-ira n. foam
sabeu (M) n. hat
sabi¹ n. crab
sabi (B)² = savi
saburaka n. orange
sae n. candlenut
safa vti. to bind
safi vti. to sweep
saga vti. to look for, go after; to pluck, pick
saga-buna vti. to search
sagini = sahagini
sahagini vti. to dry
sahara adj. dry; dried
sai¹ n. female cross-cousin
sai² mrk. (emphasizer)
s’ai adv. along; quant. all
  vi. to finish
sai’i-sa’i quant. all
sala¹ n. mistake; fault; sin; war
sala² n. room
sama n. banyan tree
samara vi. to marry (for woman)
sanela (B) n. window
Saneru (B) n. January
santu adj. holy; saintly
sarani n. Christian; the faithful; baptism; vti. to christen, baptize
sare’e = sarehe
saregini vti. to clean, cleanse
sarehe adj. clean; clear; adv. clearly
saresarehe adv. clearly
saru-safa n. rib(s)
sasaa, sasahara adj. very dry, parched
sasoro n. rice gruel
saudi (M) n. health
saugati adj. for free, gratis; useless;
  adv. for free
saun = saunu
saunu vti. to inject; to stab; to plant
sa’ukira = sa’urika
sa’urika n. scorpion
sawara’e n. rainbow
sawere vi. to swim
savi (M) n. key; vti. to lock
sebu n. pumpkin
sedu adv. early
sefi n. chief, leader
sefi-aldea n. chief of a hamlet
sefi-suku n. village chief, headman
sege¹ adj. spoilt
sege² vi. to get stuck; to skid
se’ele vi. to jump, leap
se’i vti. to cut; to play (violin)
se’i-se’i vi. to cut repeatedly
seka adv. astride
selador (M) = seladoro
seladoro (B) n. (church) beadle, sexton
selu (B) = zelu
seluku quant. another
seluku lane’e pron. others
seluku u (gi seluku u) quant. another
(one)

seluseluku (gi seluseluku) quant.
others, other ones

seluru n. payment; salary, wages; vti.
to pay; to compensate

semana¹ n. week

semana gituu adv. last week

semana-semana adv. every week

semana² vt. to carry (on the
shoulders)

sembre (M) = sempre

sempre (A) adv. always

sena vti. to steal; to blame; to accuse

senaguli n. thief

sentabusu (B) n. cent, centavo

sera adv. as well, also

seresa n. inedible variety of cherry

seresa-fuu n. cherry tree

seriki vti. to lash

seru¹ vti. to weave

seru² (B), sero (M) num. zero, nought

sesara, hosesara vti. to fall

sesi vi. to argue

sesta-fera n. Friday

sestu adj. sixth

Setemburu n. September

seti n. question; vti. to ask, beg

setimu adj. seventh

seur = seuru

seuru vti. to roll; to drive (vehicle)

sia n. variety of sweet yam

s’aka adj. ferocious, savage, cruel,
furious; n. ferocity,
fierceness; vti. to rebuke; to
prohibit, ban

s’asi’aka adj. very ferocious; very
rough

siané’u n. sea urchin

sibi quant. a little; adv. a little,
somewhat

sibi baunu quant. a few (fairly a large
number)

sibi-sibi quant. a little

sibiki’i quant. a little bit (of)

sibi nai quant. a few, not many

sidade n. city; town

sidi n. wall

sifa vti. to hold; catch; to drive
(vehicle); to arrest

sigudu (B), sigundu (M) adj. second;
adv. secondly; n. second (of
time)

sigunda-fera (M) n. Monday

sigundu-furele n. corporal

sigurasa (B), siguransa (M) n.
security

sii n. sword

si’ili vti. to bind, tie

siminari (M) n. seminary

simu vti. receive; to accept

sina adj. Chinese; n. China; Chinese
person

sinala (M) n. sign

Sina-mata n. Chinese person

sina-oma n. (Chinese) shop
sinti (M) = siti
siribisu (M) = siribisu
siri n. bat
siribisu (B) n. work, service; vi. to work
siribisu-lesa n. unemployment
sisi n. illness, sickness
sisi bai-nunu n. leprosy
sisi-berekama n. serious illness
sisigini vt. to make sick
sisiri adj. sick, ill; vi. to ail, hurt; Ai na’i ~? ‘What ails you?’
sistema n. system
sisu n. hill
sita n. machete
siti (B) vi. feel
situasaun (A) n. situation
siu vt. to wear; to step
siulu adj. clear; enlightened
siwa num. nine
so adv. only, just
soba(-mutu) n. plain
sobu n. matter, problem, issue; language
sobu-asa n. word
sobu-leba vi. to gossip
sobu-lebadoro n. gossip
sodo n. psoriasis
sofe vt. to recognize, be acquainted with, know
soke n. mud
soko adj./n. hare lip
soldadu n. soldier
sole vt. to pour, fill with
soli n. enemy
solidaridadi (M) n. solidarity
sona (B) n. zone
sono n. sound
soo-asan. screwpine, pandanus
sortiti (B) = sorti
sorti (M) n. luck
soru vt. to brush, rub, wipe
sorunu vt. meet, face, challenge;
POSP against
suan = suana
suana vt. to draw (with a glass, cup or bucket)
subentudi n. teenagers; young people
sufa1 = gi sufa adj. new
sufa-sufa adj. very new
sufa2 vi. to spit
suhu vt. to scold; to insult
Suilu (B) = Zuilu (M)
Suinu (B) = Zuinu (M)
sukate n. measurement; vt. to measure
sula adj. end
sulu n. spoon, scoop
suma1 n. soul, spirit, ghost
suma2 vt. to mention; to scold
sura1 vi. to count
sura2 = zura
surate, surati n. letter, paper
surate-ma’ene adj. literate, educated
suri1 vt. to shoot; n. shot
suri2 n. comb; vt. to comb
suri3 vt. to let go, release, set free; to cast (a net)
**susara** *adj.* difficult, complicated; *n.* difficulty; suffering, misery  
**susetra** *(M)* *n.* football boot

**T – t**

**ta** *pron.* *(reciprocal pronoun)*
**tahara** *vt.* to fight over
**tai** *question tag* *Ai la’a ~?* ‘You go, don’t you?’; emphatic marker

**taaa** *adv.* more
**taaa sesi** *vi.* to argue
**taba** *n.* hole; leak(age); *vi.* to leak
**tabaku** *n.* tobacco
**tabaku-asu** *n.* tobacco leaf
**tae** *vi.* to lie, tell lies
**taeguli** *n.* liar
**ta’e** *vi.* to sleep
**ta’eguli** *n.* lazybones
**tafa** *vt.* to pound; to pierce
**tafala** *vt.* to build a dyke
**tafani** *n.* uncooked food (rice or corn)
**tafi** *int.* intensifier

**tafiruu** *adv.* really, truly; yes indeed
**tafiruu di’? = tafiruu tai?**
**tafiruu tai?** *inter.* is that true?
**tafuli** *adv.* together
**tagara** *vi.* to step, walk; *n.* step, walk
**tahani** *pron.* *adj.* the same
**tahara** *vt.* to fight over

**ta** *pron.* *(reciprocal pronoun)*
**taaa** *adv.* more
**taaa sesi** *vi.* to argue
**taba** *n.* hole; leak(age); *vi.* to leak
**tabaku** *n.* tobacco
**tabaku-asu** *n.* tobacco leaf
**tae** *vi.* to lie, tell lies
**taeguli** *n.* liar
**ta’e** *vi.* to sleep
**ta’eguli** *n.* lazybones
**tafa** *vt.* to pound; to pierce
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**tai** *question tag* *Ai la’a ~?* ‘You go, don’t you?’; emphatic marker

**taidaa = taidii**
**taidii** *adv.* in deed, certainly

**suti** *n.* knife
**suhu** *(NE) = suu*

**taitaili** *n.* bucket, well pail (made from woven palm leaves)
**ta’i** *v.* to extinguish, put out
**taka** *vt.* to close, end
**tala** *n.* branch, stalk, twigs
**taladau, taldau** *n.* octopus
**tali** *n.* rope, string, cord
**tali-balada** *n.* agave rope
**tama** *vi.* to enter; *vt.* to enroll
**tambor** *(A) = tamboro*
**tamboro** *(M)* *n.* drum
**tame** *adj.* middle; medium, average; *n.* middle, centre
**tame isi** *adv.* in the middle, in the midst
**ta mimi(ni)** *adv.* in a row
**tamunu** *vt.* to mention
**tana** *vi.* to light (fire); to turn on (electricity)
**tana** *n.* hand; *vt.* to dress up, put on, wear
**tana-ga’awai** *n.* fingerprint
**tana-mera** *n.* soldier
**tanba** *conj.* because; *prep.* because of, owing to, due to
**tane** *adj.* right
tane\textsuperscript{2} vt. to wake s.o. up
tane gau la’\textit{a} adv. to the left
tane isi\textit{ }adv. on the right
tanehe\textit{ }adv. then, sometimes
tani = tanigau\textit{ }adv. why
tara vt. to cover
tarabaunu (B) = tarbaun (M)
taranau = tarnaunu

tarata\textsuperscript{1} posp. as far as

tarata\textsuperscript{2} vt. to treat; to scold, insult

taratoro (B) n. tractor

tarabaun n. brake

tardisaun = tradisaun

tarnau pron. each
tartor (M) = taratorio

taru n. stick, cane
tarunu vt. to bury
tau posp. across
taumanikai n. heron
tauru vi. to loose; to disconnect

ta’uloko n. eggplant
teba-teba adj. quiet;\textit{ }adv. quietly
teda = tenda
tefu vi. to break, collapse; to fall down (tree)
tehu vt. to buy

te’ini vi. to smoke (tobacco)
teli n. corn
tenda n. tent
teni conj. and, and also, as well as;\textit{ \textit{adv. again}}
tenki vi. to have to, has to, must
tenkiser (M) vi. to have to, must

teremu = termu

tereresu (B) = terseru

termu n. thermos
teri vi. to cut;\textit{ }adv. askew, on a slant

teridaku n. bladder
tersa-fera (M) n. Tuesday
terseru (M)\textit{ }adj. third

terusu n. suffering; vi. to suffer
teta vt. to pull apart; to destroy, demolish, dismantle (for repair)
tetugini vt. to flatten (of soil, land)
tetuku adj. flat

tia\textsuperscript{1} vi. to chew; to bite (causing injury)
tia\textsuperscript{2} posp. against

tia\textsuperscript{3} n. aunt, woman
tia buna vi. to wait (to welcome)
tia ma’a vt. to receive, accept

ti’ala vt. to kick; to flick

tianake vt. to receive

ti’ati’ala vi. to kick to resist

tiba n. well

tibala vt. to slap (on the cheek)
ti’igini vt. to load; to weigh down

ti’iri adj. heavy, difficult

ti’iti’iri adj. very heavy, very difficult

tila vt. to peel; to criticise negatively
tina vt. to cook
tinani n. cooked food
tiristi (B) = tristi (M)
titara (B) = tristare (B)
titara (B) = tristare (B)
to adv. not
toa (M) = tuaila (B)
to baunu quant. not many, not a great
deal
tobe’u vi. must not
tofani adj. tasteless
togugini vt. to deepen
togunu adj. deep
to’i vt. to dig
tokono num. million
tokono faara num. four million
toku vii. to cover; to turn up side
down
tomana vi. to get used to
tomu’iri adv. soon, before long
tomu’iri nai adv. very soon
tonai adv. not
tonai loloro? = tosai loloro?
tonai tafiruu? = tosai tafiruu?
tonai werehani? = tosai werehani?
toru adj. insufficient; adv. not so,
not too, not very, hardly
toru baunu quant. not many, not
much at all
tosai adv. not
tosai loloro? inter. isn’t that right?
tosai tafiruu? inter. isn’t that true?
tosai werehani? inter. isn’t that
right (indeed)?
tosarehe adj. unclean, soiled
toseluru adv. for free
tosera posp. without; prep. less
than
totahani pron. adj. different
tradisaun (A) n. tradition
tristi (M) adj. sad
tuaila (B) n. towel
tu’ara vt. to replace, substitute;
to exchange, barter, trade
tufu n. sister
tufu-berekama older sister
tufu-dufu = tufu-tufu
tufurae adj. female; n. woman
tufu-tufu n. effeminate male, sissy
tugala vt. to hit; vi. to crash, collide
tuku n. stroke (of clock)
tuku lima adv. at five o’clock
tula1 = tule
tula2 vt. to heave; to load; to carry,
transport
tule vi. to not to want; to refuse; to
reject
tulunu n. help, assistance; vt. to help
assist
tutu vt. to hit, punch, pound
tutuku vti. nibble at
tuturu vt. carry on the head
tutu-ti’ala vt. to thrash
tuu adv. first; gi ~ n. pioneer

U – u

u num. one; quant. any
uani (NE) = uhani
ubiriga (B) = ubirga
ubirga (M) = ubriga
ubriga (M) vt. to force; to oblige; to insist, pressure
uderi dem that ... ahead (deictic demonstrative)
udoro dem that other ... up there (deictic demonstrative)
uere dem this (deictic demonstrative)
ufa n. sugar cane
ufu1 n. tree
ufu-2 clas. body (used to classify human beings).
ufulai n. fly (insect)
uhani pron., adj. different, dissimilar
uheri dem that other ... back there (deictic demonstrative)
uhoro dem that other... down there (deictic demonstrative)
uitabu (M) adj. eighth
uka vt. to pull out
uka-uka vt. to extract; to yank, pull out one by one
ukunu n. rule, government, dominion; vt. to rule, govern
ula1 n. tail
ula-2 clas. bunch of
u-lola’e, u di lola’e quant. one or two, a couple of
ululuru adj. very hot, boiling hot
uluru adj. boiling; vi. boil
uma n. house
umu adj. dead; slow; quiet n. death; vi. to die
umu-suma n. soul of a dead person
umu-umu adj. very weak
umurafa n. hill; mountain
unibersidadi (M) n. university
ura n. vein
uru n. moon; month
uru-Afo n. August
uru-Daho n. June
uru-Faa = uru-Faara n. April
uru-Fitu n. July
uru-Lima n. May
uru-Lola’e n. February
uru-Lolitu n. March
uru-Ruruu n. October
uru Ruu-resi-U n. November
uru Ruu-resi-Lola’e n. December
uru-Siwa n. September
uru-U n. January
(uru-) Asaduru n. March
(uru) Bae-Bae n. December
(uru-) Butunuru n. June
(uru) Liru-Mata n. April
(uru) Liru-Bere n. May
(uru) Louru-Bere n. October
(uru) Louru-Mata n. September
(uru-) Matere n. August
(uru-) Munuduru, Munduru n. January
(uru-) Omara n. July
(uru) Riba-Riba n. November
(uru-) Susulu n. February
uru-uru adj. monthly; adv. every month
usamale adv. tomorrow
usamale-ahire’e adv. in the future
usanana adv. tomorrow
usanana-ahire’e adv. in the future
usara n. rice (uncooked)
usa = usa-usare
usa-usare adv. every day
u seluku pron. the other one
usu n. candle
uta1 vi. to pour (of rain)
uta2 n. bean
uta-mu’a n. peanut
utasa n. vegetable
Utuburu n. October

u-u quant. each (one), every; adv.
one by one, apiece, per head
uwa’a pron. the one (non-deictic
demonstrative)
uw’a-nahiga’u pron. which one(s)
uwa’a-nahite’e pron. which one(s)
uwere dem that (deictic
demonstrative)
uwori dem that other ... over there
(deictic demonstrative)

V – v

vida (A) n. life
vila (A) n. town

W – w

waa n. orchard, village
wa’a1 pron. who; whom; which, that
wa’a2 n. seed, grain; pip; berry; bead
wa’a3 clas. grain
wa’agamu adv. last night
wa’aka = wahaka
wa’ara vt. to call; to invite
wa’asi adv. today
wa’asi gi gamu adv. tonight
waboku n. heart
wada’e n. pillow
waha n. egg

wahaka vt. loosen; to untie
wahira adv. when
wahira adv. when
wai1 n. blood
wai2 n. creek, river
wai3 vi. remain
wai-bere n. river
waidofi adv. at the end
wai-mata n. spring
wailarle n. week day, work day
wainati n. oar
waini vt. to row; to pedal
waira (NE) = wahira
waisaa n. prawn
waiula adj. youngest
wakala vt. to spill
wala vi. to give birth
wali n. ear; vti. to hear, listen
wali-furu adj. naughty
walini isi adv. on the side, along the side
wane’e adv. in the future
wani n. bee
wani-ira n. honey
wanusa n. bait
ware’e adv. earlier today
wari n. nest
warinehegu (warinegu) warinegu adv. not yet; prep. before
waru¹ n. shirt
waru-manasa n. jumper; jacket
waru² vt. to bathe
wasi n. tooth
wasiri vt. twist (in order to break)
wata n. coconut
wata-ira n. coconut water
wata-isu n. coconut fruit
watakae n. cockatoo
watali n. anchor
watu n. sun; day; time; vt. to dry
watu-bana n. noon; midday; lunch time
watu-basara n. market day
watu-berekama n. holiday, festival
watu-beri’i n. blazing sun; stifling heat; middle of the day
(watu-) dumingu n. Sunday
watu gi waidofi in the future, in the end, some day
(watu-) kita (B) n. Thursday
(watu-) kuarta n. Wednesday
(watu-) sabadu n. Saturday
(watu-) sesta n. Friday
(watu-) sigunda (M) n. Monday
(watu-) tersa n. Tuesday
watu mara watu ma’u adv. every day
wature’e adv. earlier
waturu conj. when, just when
watu wailarlee adv. on a work day
watu wa’a conj. when, at the time that
watu-watu adv. every day
wau vt. to put, place; to mix
wauru vi. to dance; n. dansa
wawa’ara vti. to call repeatedly
wedebara vi. to live (there)
we’e vi. to be there; adv. there
wehani adv. perhaps, maybe
Wckeke n. Viqueque
welafu n. life
weli adj. n. left
weli gau la’a adv. to the left
weli isi adv. on the left
wema’a adv. down
werani = werehani
werau mrk. do not, don’t (negative imperative)
were dem₂ that, those (deictic demonstrative)
werede’e adv. that’s it
were tai adv. that’s it
werebo conj. but
weredete adv. then, afterwards
weredawa adv so, and so, in that case
weregau prep. because of,
owing to, as a result of; adv. therefore, for this reason,
hence; conj. since, as
werehani adv. thus, like that, that way
werehani di? = werehani tai?
werehani tai? inter. Isn’t that right (indeed)?
were isi we’e adv. hence; that way
wesere’e adv. yesterday
wesere’e gi gamu adv. last night
wewau vi. to put there
woibuna vi. look (yonder)
woidebara vi. to reside over there/yonder
woila’a-hela’a vi. hang around
woirata vi. to arrive there
wo’i vi. to be there; adv. over there, yonder
worim dem, that ... over there (deictic demonstrative)
Wori Hon. Pron. s/he

Z – z

Zelu (M) n. ice
Zuilu (M) n. Jully
Zuinu (M) n. June

zura (M) vi. to swear
Appendices

Appendix A: Religious Texts


A.1.1 Da’e-Koru Jezus Kristu gi doutrina wa’a S. Lucas milolo ere:

God Jesus Christ POS teaching REL Luke recount DEM1-this

‘This is the Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ according to Luke.’

A.1.2 Ane’e gituu wori, Jezus warina’u sidade u isi,

once Jesus still town one LOC

‘Once, when Jesus was still in a town,

anu sisi bai-nunu gene ere u, Wori gau ma’u.

people ill pig-lip touch DEM1-this one, HON POSP approach

‘one of the people who suffered from leprosy, approached Him (Jesus).’

A.1.3 Jezus fuka buna,

Jesus glimpse see

‘He caught sight of Jesus,

worisamesara do ni fanu ma mu’a gua hotoku,

PRON fall and REF.POS face MRK ground POSP cover

‘he fell to the ground, face down,’

do ereharni ma Jezus seti:

and like this MRK Jesus ask:

‘and asked Jesus like this:’

“Da’e-Koru, Fi karaka dawa,

Lord, HON want if

‘Lord, if You wish,

be’u ambere gi rau ma ani gini”.

1
can health POS good MRK 1SG give
grant me good health.’

A.1.4 Jezus ni tana ma wori gau dane mara,
Jesus REF.POS hand MRK PRON POSP extend go
‘Jesus extended his arms toward him,’

wor gene do lolo: “Ani karaka, ai ambere sarehe mara”.
PRON. touch and say 1SG want 2SG body clean IMP.
‘touched him and said: “I want your body to be cleansed”.

A.1.5 Mega were isi we’e, sisi were
immediately ADV2-there POSP VERB2-there is illness DEM2-there
‘Immediately at that moment,

mega wori gi ambere isi we’e molu.
immediately PRON POS body LOC ADV2-there disappear.’
the illness immediately disappeared (from his body).’

A.1.6 Jezus wori gutu lolo
Jesus PRON POSP say
‘Jesus forbade him

do wori gana werau na’i wa’a Jezus
CONJ PRON CONJ do not thing REL Jesus
to tell anyone what Jesus

ma wori gau gini ere ma anu u gau rai lolo
MRK PRON POSP do DEM1-this POSP person one POSP out tell
had done to him.’

A.1.7 Jezus teni lolo: “La’a mara, ni ma amululiki gau kina!”
Jesus again say go PART REF MRK priest POSP show
‘Furthermore Jesus said: “Go and present yourself to the priests!”
in order to PRON CONJ 2SG body REL INCEP again good
in order for them to present your healthy body

ere ma Da’e-Koru gau oferese.
DEM1-here MRK God POSP offer
to God.’

2. The Book of Isaiah 43:18-19, 21-25:

A.2.1 Sobu-asan Profeta Izaias ge’e:
matter-leaf Prophet Isaiah POS
‘The word of Prophet Issiah:’

A.2.2 Ere ene Da’e-Koru gi sobu-asaw a ma’asi do lolo:
DEM1-this MRK God POSP matter-leaf REL descend and say
‘This is the word of God which came down and said:

“I werau na’i-na’i wa’a gi tuu ge’e ere teni sa’anere.
2PL must not things REL first POS DEM1-this again think
“You must not think about things of the past.

A.2.3 I werau na’i-na’i wa’a gi tuu ge’e ere gau kuidadu.
2PL must not things REL first POS DEM1-this POSP care
You must not care about things of the past.

A.2.4 I ena mara! Ani na’i gi sufa he’e gini nana:
2PL look IMP 1SG thing POS new ADV1-here do IMMIN
Look! I want to do something new here:

i noto ena?
2PL MRK-not see
Do you not see?
A.2.5 Ani hi’a bere u ma mu’a-afa mu’a-titi isi lo’e nana.
1SG road big one MRK land-wild land-dry LOC open IMMIN
I am going to open up a big road in the desert.

A.2.6 Ani ira-bere wai-bere gini
1SG water-big spring-big do
I shall create lakes and rivers

do gana mu’a-afa mu’a-titi gua daa nei gua daa lemana nana.
so land-wild land-dry POSP pass flow POSP pass run IMMIN
so that they flow and cover the wilderness and deserts.

A.2.7 Renu wa’a fogu wa’a ani wa’a nau fala ere ene
people REL people REL 1SG REL EMP raise DEM1-this MRK
(It is) the people whom I raised (that)

daudau asi rau asi felu ma lebe lolo bati lolo.
must POS goodness POS greatness MRK separated tell distribute tell
must announce my greatness.

A.2.8 Bo ai, Jakob, notonai ai ene asi nai suma.
but 2SG Jacob MRK-not 2SG MRK POS name mention
But you Jacob, (it is) not you who mention my name.

A.2.9 Ai, Izrael, ai nautule ni kole gini do ani saga.
2SG Israel 2SG NOT REF.POS effort do in order to 1SG look for
You, Israel, you do not strive to look for me.

A.2.10 Ai ni deti ni sala ma ani gua bu’u ani
You REF.POS fault REF.POS sin MRK 1SG POSP pile 1SG
You heap upon me your sins

gua rai do ani gau terus gau sofre.
POSP stack in order to 1SG POSP suffer POSP suffer
so that I suffer for this.

A.2.11 Ai ni gini-gini gi kote gafu, ani ma kole gini.
2SG REF.POS attitude bad carry 1SG MRK tired make
You carry your bad attitudes with you, (they) make me weary.

Appendix B: Text from recorded materials

1. Narrative: ‘How to make kalauru’

This account about how to cook kalauru was recorded from Tia Maria Caldaz, a woman of about 55. She is a native Makasae speaker who resides in Laga.

B.1.1 Kalauru ere ate-asa wa’a ae uta gi watu mutu lafu.
kalauru DEM1-this tree-leaf REL rain pour POS time inside grow
Kalauru is a type of vegetable that grows in the rainy season.

B.1.2 Ana be’u to saunu, were nau welafu.
people MOD MRK-not plant DEM2-that EMP live (there).
People need not plant it, it grows by itself.

B.1.3 Laga mutu ere kalauru na’u baunu, meti gata
Laga inside DEM1-this kalauru just much sea POST
wo’i lafu
ADV3-yonder grow
There is a lot of kalauru in Laga just growing near the beach
di keta mahi ama lane’e mutu wo’i.
or rice field and garden PL.MRK inside there is
or in the rice fields and gardens.

B.1.4 Rate mutu wo’i ho nehe baunu,
cemetery inside ADV3-there also INT a lot
There is also a lot (of kalauru) in the cemetery,
Deri lane’e ana aga do to saga.
DEM₄-that PL.MRK people afraid in order to MRK-not pick
People are afraid to pick it (in the cemetery).

B.1.5 Baunu ene hai na’u hau labi’i.
much MRK INCEP just PERF wither
It has withered.

B.1.6 Kafu bila mutu wo’i ho nehe baunu.
field town POSP VERB₃-yonder also very much
Fields in the town also have a lot (of kalauru).

B.1.7 Geribata kalauru saga, ani tanehe hau saregini.
first of all kalauru seek 1SG sometimes PERF clean
First of all (I) pick kalauru, afterwards I clean it.

B.1.8 Gi asa rau-rau lane’e hau ma dei-dei wau,
POS leaf good PL.MRK PERF MRK separately put
The good leaves are kept separately,

   gi kote lane’e haus’a’i hau laku.
   POS bad PL.MRK all PERF throw away
all the bad ones must be thrown away.

B.1.9 Kalauru ere ira sarehe hau ma bane,
kalauru DEM₁-this water clean PERF MRK wash
The kalauru must be washed with clean water,

   ani ma busu u isi tina.
   1SG MRK pan one LOC cook
I cook it in a pan.

B.1.10 Hau dafuru, gi ira hau laku do ailemi
   PERF cooked POS water PERF spill in order to tamarind
After it is cooked, the water is tipped out in order to add more tamarind to it.

B.1.11 Ana oho kalauru ere afi ma gata wau, people some kalauru DEM1-this fish MRK POSP put Some people add fish to kalauru, oho laka wata-ira wa’a hai keu ere ma guba some EMP coconut-water REL INCEP grate DEM1-this MRK POSP some (people) cook kalauru with coconut cream, tina, taranau nige’e nige’e gini, seu na’u sa’i rau. cook each one REF.POS REF.POS make meat just all good each one does (cooks) his, any meat is all right.

2. Narrative: ‘Going Fishing’

The following account was provided by Babai José “Loromanas” Pereira, a 70-year old farmer and fisherman living in Laga.

B.2.1 Meti isi la’a. sea LOC go Going fishing (Literally: Going to the sea).

B.2.2 Meti isi la’a ere afi saga ma lawa tehu. sea LOC go DEM1-this fish look for MRK money buy Going fishing is to catch fish to be traded for money.

B.2.3 Lawa masene ma usara tehu, modo tehu do nawa. money usually MRK rice buy vegetable buy and eat Money is used to buy rice and vegetables.

B.2.4 Gamu, raimale, gamu-gamu orasa lolitu, lolohaa at night in the afternoon in the morning hour three four
weredete la’a.
then go
(I) leave at night, in the afternoon, three or four o’clock in the morning.

B.2.5 Meudia minigali ma’u, were meti hai bibiri.
at noon back return MRK sea INCEP rough
When returning home at noon, the sea is rough.

B.2.6 Raimale erehani teni la’a do gamu meianote
in the afternoon like that again go and at night midnight
ete mini ma’u,
then back come
So again in the afternoon (I) go out (fishing) and return home at midnight.

B.2.7 nana’adawa mu’a usa ete mini ma’u.
otherwise land shine then back come
otherwise (I) return home at dawn.

Appendix C: Texts from folk tales and personal experiences

1. The Formation of Waibuilawa Spring

This folk tale was written by Elísio Amaral, a 23-year old Makasae speaker studying at the National University of East Timor.

C.1.1 Watu u anu anu-mahi tafuli la’a kasa gau la’a.
day one person CLAS-two together go hunt POSP go
One day two people went hunting together.

C.1.2 Watu-mara watu-ma’u anu-mahi la’a siri base.
everyday everyday CLAS-two go bat beat (hunt)
Every day they both went hunting bats.
C.1.3 *Weredete u gau siri baubaunu, u gau sibiki’i nai.*
then one POSP bat many one POSP a few only.
Then one got many bats, the other one got only a few.

C.1.4 *Minigali watu u, u were ni bada hau gau lasu.*
back day one one DEM2-that REF.POS friend PERF POSP trap
One day the other one (with a few bats) trapped his friend.

C.1.5 *Gi bada tali gafu mana mutu homa’asi, gi tali hau taulasi.*
POS friend rope POSP cave POSP descend PRON rope PERF cut off
When his friend descended into the cave with a rope, he cut it off.

C.1.6 *Ira mana mutu woinei bo gi bada na’u de’i*
water cave POSP flow but POSP friend just ADV4-there
Water flowed into the cave, but his friend just remained there

\[\text{watu } \text{fitu } \text{gamu } \text{fitu}.\]
day seven night seven
seven days and seven nights.

C.1.7 *Gi mana mutu wo’i ira nai nawa.*
PRON cave POSP VERB3-yonder water only eat (drink)
He only drank water when he was in the cave.

C.1.8 *Minigali watu u ofo lola’e gi taa ra’isa.*
back day one snake two PRON accross appear
One day two snakes came across him.

C.1.9 *Ofo ere gi koro nau dei-dei, metana u butiri u.*
Snake DEM1-this POS colour just different black one white one
The snakes were of different colours, a black and a white one.

C.1.10 *Ofo metana anu ere gau lolo: “ai ma’u*
snake black person DEM1-this POSP say 2SG come
‘The black snake said to the man, “Come and sit on me (my back).”’

C.1.11 Ofo butiri teni anu ere gau lolo:
snake white again person DEM1-this POSP say
The white snake said again to the man

“Lita gi rau ai ma’u ani gua hemii.”
COMP POS good 2SG come 1SG POSP sit (here)
“It’s better for you to sit (here) on my back”.

C.1.12 “Ai dete ofo metana gua hemi, gi ai goba
2SG if snake black POSP sit 3SG 2SG POSP
ala la’a afa”.
jungle go IMMIN
If you sit on the back of the black snake, he will take you somewhere else.”

C.1.13 Anu ere ni mutu gehere do
person DEM1-this REF inside think and
The man thought deeply and

gi la’a ofo butiri ere gua hemii.
3SG go snake white DEM1-this POSP sit
he went to sit on the back of the white snake.

C.1.14 Wereverte ofo butiri ere gi goba lereke.
then snake white DEM1-this 3SG POSP slither
Then the white snake slithered with him.

C.1.15 Ofo ere lereke, lereke dete ofo ere
snake DEM1-this slither slither then snake DEM1-this.
The snake slithered and then it
kale u afa ere isi ti’ala, ira dete,  
time one stone DEM₁-this LOC kick water and  
anu dete ofo  
person and snake  
lashed once at the rock, the water, the young man and the other snake...’

dete kali u raidukala.  
and at once expel  
were expelled at once.

C.1.16 Weredete anu wa’a male di’ara wali’i laka duguru.  
afterwards person REL near live listen EMP noise  
Afterwards the people who lived closer heard the noise.

C.1.17 Ana mara ena laka anu wa’a waturehe molu laka  
people go see EMP person REL earlier disappear EMP  
When the people went to see, the person who had disappeared earlier

hai na’u ira gua hemii dete gi fanukai hai na’u butiri.  
INCEP just water POSP sit and POS face INCEP just white  
was just sitting in the water and his face was just white.

C.1.18 Ere do ana ira ere wa’ara-lolo ira  
DEM₁-this so people water (spring) DEM₁-this call-say water  
Waibuilawa.  
Waibuilawa  
So people called the spring Waibuilawa (‘Golden creature water’)  

2. The Indonesian Invasion

This personal account was given by Celestino Ximenes, a 44-year old  
fisherman living in Laga.

C.2.1 Ani afo dawa.  
1SG eight probably
I was probably eight.

C.2.2 Mai fara bere misa do ma’u.
3PL ship big board when come
They (the Indonesian forces) boarded big ships when they came.

C.2.3 Ani meti gata woimuiri.
1SG beach POSP play (there)
I was playing on the beach.

C.2.4 Tomu’iri u ani wali la’idaa lane’e reko-kaaka
soon one 1SG hear elder PL.MRK scream-shout
Soon I heard the elders scream and shout out

lolo ere bapa hai ma’u.
say DEM₁-this Indonesia INCEP come
that the ‘Indos’ had come.

C.2.5 Ani mama-baba saga do gau lolo titara afa.
1SG mother-father search and POSP tell flee IMMIN
I searched for my parents and told them to flee.

C.2.6 Ini roba mahi nanawa bese-bese ri’ana do sera nake.
1PL.EXC clothe and food quickly pack up and along bring
We packed up (our) clothes and food and took them with us.

C.2.7 Ana damu-damu titara.
people PRON flee
Everyone fled.

C.2.8 Dai gi fara na’u meti mutu wo’i,
foreigner POS ship just sea POSP VERB₃-there is
When the Indonesians’ ships were still out at sea
native and China and afraid all flee
the natives and Chinese were afraid and all fled.

Many people on the beach were carrying their belongings
and they escaped.

Our entire family fled to Ailemilari.

We also took our belongings and food with us.

Pigs were left in the enclosure, but
we also herded away goats and buffaloes.

We herded them along the road and fled.
These (animals) were also kept in the village.

C.2.16 *Ini* wo’i *boko maisi ini meganehe aga.*

We hid there but we were very frightened.

C.2.17 *Gamu ini wari nawa dete dai mutu suri.*

We were eating at night when the foreigners opened fire.

C.2.18 *Fara kainaun-morteru suri do ini aga.*

The ship shot cannons and mortar so we were frightened.

C.2.19 *Matarini ta’e reree, sa’i hau du’uru.*

All the children who were sleeping woke up.

C.2.20 *Gi gamu-gamu ini Umurafa isi woibuna*

When we looked at Umurafa in the morning, the smoke was really black.

C.2.21 *Watu lolitu woiboko, ini mini ma’asi*

After hiding there for three days, we came down again

and went to Laga because we had run out of food,
water also scarce
water was scarce.

C.2.22 Ini dete na’unaga waa mutu wo’i, susara
1PL.EXC if still village POSP VERB3-yonder problem
If we had stayed on in the village, we could have had problems,

gua dula afa, mata gi ka’u lane’e be’u sisiri di umu
POSP get IMMIN child POS little PL.MRK MOD sick or die
little children may have got sick or died

na’unisi mai lane’e wa’a Umurafa gau ria la’a ere.
as 3PL PL.MRK REL Umurafa POSP run go DEM1-this
like those who fled to Umurafa.

C.2.23 Dai abiaun mahi morteru ma rega
Indonesians plane and mortar MRK bomb
The Indonesians used planes and mortars to bomb

do anu baunu ene umu.
so people many MRK die
so many people died.

C.2.24 Maisi ana na’unaga titara
but people still flee
However, people kept fleeing

do la’a taba mana lane’e mutu boko.
and go hole cave PL.MRK POSP hide
and went to hide in holes and caves.
3. Selling at the Kiosk

This personal account was given by Pedro António Ximenes, a 45-year old vendor from Laga.

C.3.1 Kioso ere hai mega ani nahiroma he’e.
   kiosk DEM1-this INCEP indeed year QUANT VERB1-there is
   This kiosk has indeed been here for several years.

C.3.2 Ana baunu ene ma’u he’e tehu tai.
   people many MRK come ADV1-here buy EMP
   Many people came to buy (things) here.

C.3.3 Watu-watu ini to baunu gini mais natono nai,
   everyday 1PL.EXC MRK-not many do but enough only
   We did not do a lot, but just a little bit every day,

   tanehe watu rau u ini dolara 50 di 100 erhani.
   sometimes time good one 1PL.EXC dollar 50 or 100 like that
   Sometimes in good times we could make $50 or $100 like that.

C.3.4 Hau nokorau ene dolara 20 la’a 30 erhani.
   MRK bad MRK dollar 20 PREP 30 like that
   The least we could make was $20 to $30 like that.

C.3.5 Basara gi watu tanehe sibi rau
   market POS day sometimes a little good
   On market day (it) could be better,

   bo ana baunu ene he’edaa do dera lane’e tehu.
   but people many MRK pass (here) and thing PL.MRK buy
   but many people passed through (here) and bought those things.

C.3.6 Dai to ma’u, era lane’e to ma’u dera tehu.
Foreigner MRK-not come 3PL PL.MRK MRK-not come thing buy
Foreigners didn’t come, they didn’t come to buy things.

C.3.7 Dotoro Kuba ene a’ene lane’e ma’u
doctor Cuba MRK the other day PL.MRK come
(It’s) the Cuban doctors (who) came the other day

do dera ma he’e tehu.
and thing MRK ADV₁-here buy
and bought (things) here.

C.3.8 Wa’asi gamu-gamu hai teni ma’u sigaru mahi kafe tehu.
today in the morning INCEP again come cigarette and coffee buy
This morning (they) came again to buy cigarettes and coffee.

C.3.9 Wesere’e era aramari palastiku u tehu.
yesterday 3PL wardrobe plastic one buy
They bought a plastic wardrobe yesterday.

C.3.10 Ana Laga mutu he’e ene hau baunu
people Laga POSP VERB₁-there is MRK INT many
mau dera tehu.
come thing buy
(It’s) most people in Laga (who) come to buy things.

C.3.11 Ana oho dera ma he’e nake depois mai mini
people some thing MRK ADV₁-here take then 3PL again
bura tai.
sell EMP
Some people buy things here and then they resell them.

C.3.12 Mai lawa baunu dane, la’a Dili isi borono.
3PL monry a lot of if go Dili LOC buy (in bulk)
If they had a lot of money, they would go to Dili to buy in bulk.
Appendix D: Lexical and Morphological Questionnaires

1. Lexical Questionnaire (The 1500-word lexical questionnaire was presented in Tetum with Portuguese and Malay-Indonesian translations of each word)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tetum</th>
<th>Portuguese</th>
<th>Malay</th>
<th>Makassar</th>
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1 These are derived from the standard questionnaires for regional language research developed by the Instituto Nacional de Linguística (INL). Only a few words and sentences from the questionnaires are included in this appendix.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>meti</strong> (Mak.)</th>
<th>sea; beach</th>
<th><strong>rou</strong> (Mak.)</th>
<th>grass</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>ai-kameli</strong> (Tet.)</td>
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<td><strong>cana-de-açúcar</strong> (Ptg.)</td>
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<td><strong>cendana</strong> (Mal.)</td>
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<td><strong>tebu</strong> (Mal.)</td>
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<td><strong>ate-muni</strong> (Mak.)</td>
<td>sandalwood</td>
<td><strong>ufa</strong> (Mal.)</td>
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<td><strong>labu</strong> (Mal.)</td>
<td>pumpkin</td>
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<td><strong>sebu</strong> (Mak.)</td>
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<td><strong>amigo</strong> (Ptg.)</td>
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<td><strong>perempuan, wanita</strong> (Mal.)</td>
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<td><strong>sobat, teman</strong> (Mal.)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>tufurae</strong> (Mak.)</td>
<td>woman</td>
<td><strong>bada</strong> (Mak.)</td>
<td>friend</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

| **Maromak** (Tet.) | | **niki** (Tet.) | |
| **Deus** (Ptg.) | | **morcego** (Ptg.) | |
| **Tuhan, Allah** (Mal.) | | **kelelawar, keluang** (Mal.) | |
| **Da’e-Koru, Uru-Watu** (Mak.) | God | **siri** (Mak.) | bat |

| **sakumar** (Tet.) | | **nanaraki** (Tet.) | |
| **escorpião** (Ptg.) | | **palato** (Ptg.) | |
| **kalajengking** (Mal.) | | **langit-langit mulut** (Mal.) | |
| **sa’urika, sawarika** (Mak.) | scorpion | **a’basaka** (Mak.) | palate |

| **ain-tuur** (Tet.) | | **knotak** (Tet.) | |
| **joelho** (Ptg.) | | **cintura, cinta** (Ptg.) | |
| **lutut** (Mal.) | | **pinggang** (Mal.) | |
| **iti-koru** (Mak.) | knee | **bera** (Mak.) | waist |

| **klamar** (Tet.) | | **didin** (Tet.) | |
| **alma** (Ptg.) | | **parede** (Ptg.) | |
| **jiwa, roh** (Mal.) | | **dinding** (Mal.) | |
| **suma** (Mak.) | spirit, ghost | **sidi** (Mal.) | wall |

| **ponte, jambata** (Tet.) | | **ró** (Tet.) | |
| **ponte** (Ptg.) | | **barco** (Ptg.) | |
| **jembatan** (Mal.) | | **perahu, sampan** (Mal.) | |
| **lete, dianabata** (Mak.) | bridge | **fara** (Mal.) | boat |
katana (Tet.)
catana (Ptg.)
parang (Mal.)
sita (Mak.) machete

sasuit (Tet.)
pente (Ptg.)
sisir (Mal.)
suri (Mak.) comb

ksolok (Tet.)
felicidade (Ptg.)
kebahagiaan (Mal.)
isa-a’e (Mak.) happiness

ki’ik (Tet.)
pequeno (Ptg.)
kecil (Mal.)

sasuit (Tet.)
pente (Ptg.)
sisir (Mal.)
suri (Mak.) comb

2. Morphological Questionnaire (The 450-sentence morphological questionnaire was presented in official Tetum. The original Tetum sentences are given in brackets)

E.2.1 Ani kuda u saga.
   1SG horse one search
   I searched for a horse. (Tet. Ha’u buka kuda ida.)

E.2.2 Ai dadau surate u kereke.
   2SG MOD letter one write
   You must write a letter. (Tet. Ó tenke hakerek surat ida.)

E.2.3 Asi isa ae’e, bo era ani hai seluru.
   POS mind light because 3PL 1SG INCEP pay
   ‘I feel relieved because they have paid me.’
   (Tet. Ha’u kontente ona tanba sira selu tiha ha’u.)

E.2.4 Usamale fi ate-isu ma era gini.
   tomorrow 1PL.INC tree-fruit MRK 3PL give
   We will give them fruit tomorrow. (Tet. Aban ita sei fó ai-fuan ba sira.)

E.2.5 Ini nautule era guba la’a.
   1PL.EXC not to want 3PL POSP go
   We don’t want to go with them (Tet. Ami lakohi bá ho sira.)
E.2.6 Gi ani seti dawa, ani gi wari seluru.
   3SG 1SG ask if 1SG 3SG will pay
   ‘If he/she asks me, I will pay him/her.’
   (Tet. Se nia husu ha’u karik, ha’u sei selu nia.)

E.2.7 Taanigau era ini noto migini?
   why 3PL 1PL.EXC MRK-not comply with/obey
   Why didn’t they obey us? (Tet. Halonu’usá maka sira la halotuir ami?)

E.2.8 Era asi arabau lia, hau guta.
   3PL POS buffalo steal PERF kill
   They stole my buffalo and killed it. (Tet. Sira na’ok ha’u-nia karau, oho tiha.)

E.2.9 Kareta ere ene ani hai tehu, tosai kareta wori.
   car DEM1-this MRK 1SG INCEP buy MRK-not  car DEM3-that.
   This is the car I bought, not that one (over there). (Tet. Karreta ida-ne’e mak ha’u sosa ona, la’ós karreta ne’ebá.)

E.2.10 I kaneta ereroba tehu ma nahire’e gini?
   2PL pen PRON buy MRK who give
   Who did you buy these pens for? (Tet. Imi sosa kaneta hirak-ne’e ba sé?)

E.2.11. Nahire’e ene herata nana?
   PRON MRK arrive (here) IMMIN
   Who is going to arrive? (Tet. Sé maka atu to’o?)

E.2.12 Era gi hai baga gini, bo gi naga ria.
   3PL 3SG INCEP wound make but 3SG continually run
   ‘Although they wounded him, he kept running.’
   (Tet. Maski sira hakanek tiha nia, nia halai nafatin.)

E.2.13 Netanigau dete era na’i u to nake?
   why MRK 3PL PRON MRK-not bring
Why don’t they bring something? (Tet. Tansá maka sira la lori buat ida?)

E.2.14 Debe ere hai seluru di nehegu?
debt DEM₁-this INCEP pay or not yet
Have you paid the debt or not? (Tet. Konta ne’e selu tiha ona ka lae?)

E.2.15 Ani aihaa hau gisi gau defa werau mutu la’a.
1SG door PERF close so that dog must not POSP go
‘I must close the door so that the dog doesn’t come in.’
(Tet. Ha’u tenke taka odamatan atu asu la tama mai.)

E.2.16 Ini teli ere bati nana.
1PL.EXC corn DEM₁-this distribute IMMIN
We want to distribute the corn. (Tet. Ami hakarak fahe batar ne’e.)

E.2.17 Antoni heteneha gau tufurae ere mini homii.
Anthony stand so that woman DEM₁-this again sit down
‘Anthony stood up so that the woman could sit down again.’
(Tet. Antóniu hamriik atu feto ne’e tuur fali.)

E.2.18 Ani ni oma isi rata tuku lima.
1SG REF.POS house LOC arrive strike five
I arrived home at five o’clock. (Tet. Ha’u to’o ha ’u-nia uma (iha) tuku lima.)

E.2.19 Ai kuda hai la’a nahi?
2SG horse INCEP go where
Where is your horse? (Tet. Ó-nia kuda iha ne’ebé?)

E.2.20 Andre gi ina ere isi he’e
Andrew POS mother DEM₁-this LOC VERB₁-there is
Andrew’s mother is here. (Tet. Andrè nia inan iha ne’e.)
E.2.21 Gi ani seti dawa, ani gi wari seluru.
   3SG 1SG ask if 1SG 3SG MOD pay
   ‘If he asks me, I will pay him.’
   (Tet. Se nia husu ha’u, ha’u sei selu nia.)

E.2.22 Anu lane’e kuras butiri u ma bu’u gua donahara.
   person PL.MRK cross white one MRK hill POSP erect (up there)
   ‘People erected a white cross on the hill.’
   (Tet. Ema sira harii krús mutin ida iha fofo leten.)

E.2.23 Mateusu gi bobu-dada meganehe riku.
   Matthew POS uncle very rich
   ‘Matthew’s uncle is very rich.’ (Tet. Mateus nia tiun ema riku lahalimar.)

E.2.24 Fi karaka Amululiki Saime sorunu?
   HON want priest Jaime meet
   ‘Do you want to see Father Jaime?’
   (Tet. Ita hakarak haree amlulik Jaime?)

E.2.25 Era ini ma’ene, bo ini era noto ma’ene.
   3PL 1PL.EXC know but 1PL.EXC 3PL MRK-not know
   They knew us, but we didn’t know them.
   (Tet. Sira hatene ami, maibé ami la hatene sira.)

E.2.26 Wa’asi mu’a haunehe ko’ulu, bo wesere’e mu’a haunehe ga’ara.
   today soil very hot but yesterday soil very cold
   ‘It’s very hot today, but it was very cold yesterday.’
   (Tet. Ohin rai-manas loos, maibé horishik rai-malirin liu.)

E.2.27 Gi hai mu’iri wo’i, bo werehani anunu gi noto
   3SG INCEP long ADV3-there but even so people 3SG MRK-not
   sofe.
   recognise
   ‘Although he has been there for a long time, people don’t recognise (him).’

   23
(Tet. Nia hela kleur iha ne’ebá; maski-nune’e ema ida la koñese nia.)

E.2.28 Watu-watu ani la’a siribisu do ni lafu saga.

everyday 1SG go work in order to REF.POS life look for
‘Every day I go to work in order to make a living.’
(Tet. Loroloron ha ’u bà serbisu atu manán moris.)

E.2.29 Anu wori nehe aili: gi gisi he’e, gi gisi karaka.

person DEM3-that very stingy 3SG the more have SG the more want
‘That person (over there) is very greedy: the more he has, the more he wants.’
(Tet. Ema ne’ebá kaan-teen: liu nia iha, liu nia hakarak.)

E.2.30 Era to be’u aihaa lo’e.

3PL MRK-not MOD door open
They mustn’t open the door. (Tet. Sira la bele loke odamatan.)