

# On derivational processes in Fataluku, a non-Austronesian language in East-Timor

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## 1. Introduction<sup>1</sup>

With its 30,000 speakers, Fataluku is the fourth language of the republic of East-Timor. It genetically belongs to the non-Austronesian Timor-Alor-Pantar branch that is a member of the Trans-New-Guinea phylum (van Engelenhoven 2006, Donohue & Schapper 2007). Whereas Hull still analyses Oirata as a ‘Fataluku dialect characterized by certain archaisms’ (Hull 2005: 1), van Naerssen (2007), in an unpublished paper, convincingly argues that two separate languages should be distinguished. One is Oirata, spoken on the island of Kisar in Southwest Maluku (Indonesia) characterized by its conservative morphology, the other Fataluku exclusively spoken in the nearby Lautem District, which is in the eastern tip of the republic of East-Timor.

Neighbouring languages of Fataluku are Makalero, which is confined to the Iliomar Subdistrict that borders on the Vikeke District (Huber 2008), and two severely endangered Makasai dialects – Sa’ani and Naini –, spoken in the Luro Subdistrict that borders on Baukau District. They belong to the same Timor-Alor-Pantar subgroup as well.

At least two other languages used to be spoken in the region: Makuva and Rusenu, or Nisa. Makuva is an Austronesian language of the East Subgroup in Extra-Ramelaic, next to the offshore isolects of Luangic-Kisaric in Southwest Maluku and the Karui-Waimaha-Midiki-Naueti dialect chain in the Manatutu, Baukau and Vikeke Districts. It is confined to the Tutuala Subdistrict and was long considered to be nearly extinct. However, it turned out to be subjected to a process of ‘language concealment’ in order to prevent it from disappearing (van Engelenhoven

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and Valentim 2006, van Engelenhoven 2009). Ongoing research suggests that Rusenu or Nisa was formerly spoken in the Lautem Subdistrict where it became extinct in the first half of the twentieth century (Andrew McWilliam, p.c.). A final semispeaker of the language was found in January 2007.<sup>2</sup> The data thus far indicate that Rusenu/Nisa was closely related to Fataluku.

Fataluku today has five mutually intelligible dialects. The North and Northwest dialects are spoken in and around Lautem village and in the region at the northcoast that borders on Baukau District. The Central and South dialects are spoken in the Lospalos Subdistrict, of which the latter is confined to the Lorehe municipality.<sup>3</sup> The East dialect is exclusively spoken in the Tutuala Subdistrict. An exclusive characteristic of this dialect is that it sometimes has a mid-back vowel [o] in final position where the other dialects have a back high vowel [u] and an initial voiced palatal occlusive [j] that corresponds with a voiced apico-dental fricative [z] in the other dialects. The North and Northwest dialects distinguish themselves by the retention of the post-alveolar occlusive [d] where the Central, East and South dialects feature a voiceless palatal occlusive [c], and the glottal stop that is absent in East and obsolete in the other dialects. The South dialect in Lorehe is mainly distinguished by long vowels that are either absent or obsolete in the other dialects. It shares with the East dialect a palatal glide [j] that corresponds to a voiced apico-dental fricative [z] in the other dialects. A characteristic that spreads from the Central dialect to the others is the tendency of deleting final vowels, as for example *nope* ‘tomorrow’ that frequently becomes *nop*.

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<sup>2</sup> Since no linguistic analyses have been published on this language, I refer to the interviews in the Dutch media that can be retrieved through <http://www.fataluku.com/staff/interviews/>.

<sup>3</sup> This classification follows Hull (2005) in great outline. Valentim (2001) prefers to combine the North and Northwest dialects into one dialect, and distinguishes the lect of Kakavem near the border of the subdistricts of Lospalos and Iliomar as a separate dialect.

	Northwest	North	Central	South	East
‘deed’	faʔifaʔinu	faʔifaʔinu	faifainu	faifainu	faifaino
‘horse’	kuḍa	kuḍa	kuca	kuca	kuca
‘sleep’	taza	taza	taza	taja	taja
‘wife’	zeu	zeu	zeu	zeu	jeu
‘exist’	ane	ane	ane	ḅane	ane

Table 1: Sound correspondences in the Fataluku dialects

Local oral tradition has it that, except for two clans, *Kati ratu* and *Tutu-ala ratu*, all clans in the district originate from outside Timor and brought along their own ancestral language (Gomes 1972). Makuva was the original language of the two indigenous clans. Two immigrant clans, *Cailoro ratu* and *Latuloho ratu*, were more or less responsible for the dissemination of Makuva and the predecessor of Fataluku, respectively.

After centuries of warfare, both clans and their tributary clans united under “one correct speech” (*Fatalukunu*) into a uniform society. It was *Latuloho ratu*’s own language that was chosen as the “correct speech”. Nevertheless did Makuva manage to survive as a spoken language till the early sixties in the twentieth century. This is generally explained by the fact that the villages where it was spoken, Loikero, Porlamano and Pitileti, were, because of their remoteness, isolated from the rest of the district.

This language shift scenario explains why the Fataluku are generally reluctant to learn other languages, albeit that Makasai-Fataluku and Makalero-Fataluku bilingualism among ethnic Fataluku has been attested in the Serelau and Lorehe municipalities, respectively.<sup>4</sup> It also suggests intensive language contact between the linguistically diverse clans before they were unified.

Ongoing research confirms this hypothesis. The most salient evidence of language contact is the extensive lexical parallelism in Fataluku oral traditions, which appears nearly fully compatible with the lexical pairs found in the Austronesian offshore languages in Southwest Maluku. Fox (2005) attests the same phenomenon in the non-Austro-

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<sup>4</sup> Personal communication by Paulino dos Santos (Lospalos) and the late Prof. Henri Campagnolo (email message October 25<sup>th</sup>, 2004).

nesian Bunak language and its Austronesian neighbour Kemak and analyses it as an explicit influence of the latter on the first. As in most languages in the region, Fataluku oral traditions make use of clichés or proverbial sayings that epitomize a history. Sometimes, however, these clichés are in a language that is not Fataluku and consequently no longer understood by the audience.<sup>5</sup>

## 2. Typological sketch

Hull (2001, 2004) explains how Fataluku and its co-geners adapted to the typology of the Timor Sprachbund and as such have diverted from the Trans-New-Guinean language type that features elaborate morphological systems.

From a phonological point of view, Fataluku has a segment inventory that is even simpler than most other languages in East-Timor<sup>6</sup>. Its only voiced occlusive is either the post-alveolar [d] in the North and Northwest dialects, or the voiced palatal [j] in the East dialect. Of the three eastern languages, Makasai is completely isolating. Makalero is typologically somewhere in between Makasai and Fataluku (Huber 2008).

Fataluku, like its genetic neighbours, has a SOV word order. Locations and directions can be encoded as postpositions or as prefixes on the verb. The latter strategy is preferred. This is exemplified in (1) below, where the locational ‘on’ is prefixed to the verb *nate* ‘stand’ in the relative clause (indicated by square brackets) and the directional ‘up’ is prefixed to the main verb *moi* ‘ascend’.

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<sup>5</sup> Elsewhere (van Engelenhoven 2008), I elaborate that their bleaching semantic character makes these proverbial sayings rather unsuccessful instruments in the memorization of narratives. This is especially salient in Josselin de Jong’s (1937) transcription of an Oirata myth that contains small songs in a language that nobody understands. Valentim (2002: 114) accidentally mentions an example in his dictionary: ‘**Woro-konai**: a word that one pronounces when one tells stories from the past (we do not know its meaning).’ The fact that Valentim is a member of the *Cailoro ratu* clan that still uses Makuva for its rituals, and the form of the word suggest that it is actually Makuva.

<sup>6</sup> The elaborate consonant systems of the Karui-Waimaha-Midiki-Naueti dialect chain is a striking exception (Hajek & Bowden 2002, Hull 2002).

- (1)<sup>7</sup> ... malai   piti-ne   le   afa   Ø mica-nat-e   hi'a-moi...  
 foreigner white-VEB house[1plinc.SØ on-stand-VEB] up-ascend  
 '... a white stranger climbed the house we were standing on ...'

Equally in line with the SOV word order is its possessive phrase, in which the possessor precedes the possession noun. Fataluku has a special set of pronouns to encode either object arguments or possessors. For example, “our (inclusive) house” in Fataluku is *afi le* (1plinc house). In example (1) above ‘1plinc’ *afa* ends in a low vowel and as such is marked as the subject argument. Conform the pattern found elsewhere in the Timor Sprachbund, Fataluku also uses the third person singular marker *i* as a possessive marker between possessor and possession nouns. This is exemplified in (2) where (a) displays the Fataluku construction and (b) its counterpart in Tetum, the Austronesian language that is one of East-Timor’s official languages.

- (2) a. *nami i   ca'u-taka* (Fataluku)   b. *mane nia xapeu* (Tetum)  
 man 3sg head-cover                   man 3sg hat  
 ‘the hat of the man’                   ‘the hat of the man’

Like many other languages in the region, Fataluku displays extensive clause-combining and verb serialisation (van Engelenhoven, in press). Its verbal morphology itself, however, rather sets it apart from the other languages. Campagnolo (1973) observed that many verbs display initial consonant mutation of /f/ to/p/, and /t, h, s/ to/c/, when prefixed by either a verbal or locational/directional morpheme. This is exemplified in Table 2a below.

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f → p	<i>fa'i</i>	→ - <i>pa'i</i>	‘make, do’
	<i>fetil</i>	→ - <i>petil</i>	‘stumble’
	<i>fulutete</i>	→ - <i>pulutete</i>	‘spit’
t → c	<i>taia</i>	→ - <i>caia</i>	‘sleep’
	<i>teku</i>	→ - <i>ceku</i>	‘stir’
	<i>tomok</i>	→ - <i>comok</i>	‘be soft’

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<sup>7</sup> For the abbreviations, refer to the list at the end of the paper.

h → c	her	→ -cer	‘dry’
	hina	→ -cina	‘plait’
	hura	→ -cura	‘take (cooked food) from the fire’
s → c	sil	→ -cil	‘bind’

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Table 2a: Verbs displaying initial consonant mutation

Another exclusive feature that distinguishes Fataluku from all other languages in the region is the prothesis of a vowel to a transitive verb that anaphorically refers to the ‘object’<sup>8</sup> in a previous clause. If the first syllable of the root is a mid vowel, the prefixed vowel is nearly always a copy. In other cases, the prefixed vowel is unpredictable: /i/, /u/ or /a/. This is exemplified in Table 2b.

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#iC ← #C	icuar	← cuar	‘sit (on) (pl)’
	imir/amir	← mir	‘sit (on) (sg)’
	ipah	← pah	‘disseminate’
#uC ← #C	unam	← nam	‘catch in the hands’
	ulavere	← lavere	‘clothe’
	ulur	← lur	‘sweep’
#eC ← #C	eme	← me	‘take’
	eler	← ler	‘read’
	ekeh	← keh	‘count’
#oC ← #C	okolev	← kolev	‘embrace’
	onof	← nof	‘die’
#aC ← #C	ahar	← har	‘send’
	ape	← pe	‘move (on sth.)’
	aruka	← ruka	‘multiply’

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Table 2b: Verbs displaying vowel prothesis

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<sup>8</sup> I use here the term ‘object’ because of lack of a more appropriate one. Vowel prothesis also occurs on certain verbs that classify as prototypical monovalent verbs, as for example *imir* ~ *mir* ‘sit’ and *onof* ~ *nof* ‘die’ in Table 2b.

Campagnolo (1973) distinguishes two separate verb classes that display one of these morphological processes. To these classes he adds a third, where the verbs display the effect of both processes.<sup>9</sup> This is shown in Table 2c.

#VC ← #C	ofot	← fot	→ pot	‘cut up’
f → p	ufal	← fal	→ pal	‘grab’
	ufan	← fan	→ pan	‘feed’
#VC ← #C	utu’	← tu’	→ cu’	‘plant’
t → c	oto’	← to’	→ co’	‘be inside (sg)’
	itih	← tih	→ cih	‘cook anew’
#VC ← #C				
h → c	ihir	← hir	→ cir	‘wait’
	aha’	← ha’	→ ca’	‘warp’
	uhuleve	← huleve	→ culeve	‘spoon up’
#VC ← #C	isil	← sil	→ cil	‘bind’
s → c				

Table 2c: Verbs displaying initial consonant mutation and vowel prothesis

Ongoing research suggests another morphological feature in Fataluku reminiscent of Jonker’s (1906) observation of the ‘anorganic consonants’ or final consonant suffixes in Austronesian languages of the region. This is nicely exemplified by the following verbs that suggest a lexical root

<sup>9</sup> In fact, Campagnolo (1973: 110-139) did not acknowledge separate verb classes, but rather distinguished ten morpheme classes with different phonological alternations in the stem. The first three classes he mentions, however, are all verbs. A consequence of this approach is that another class, the verbs that do not add an initial vowel or mutate an initial consonant, is overlooked. Rather, the data suggest that Campagnolo’s three verb classes are subgroups of one major class where the verb changes its phonological make-up, the other major class being the one where the verb form remains unchanged.

*lau*: *lau-* ‘dissolve’, *lau-k* ‘putrify’, *lau-s* ‘be mixed with something cold’.<sup>10</sup>

The fact that the dictionaries of Nacher (2002/2003, 2004) and especially Valentim (2002) list these and other comparable words as separate lemmas is a strong indication that this prefixation is no longer a productive device in the language. It does, however, imply that Hull’s (2004) thesis of Fataluku having adapted to the isolating typology of the Timor Sprachbund requires to be revisited. Unlike its neighbours Makasai, which indeed is fully isolating, and Makalero, Fataluku still displays agglutinative morphology. This is elaborated in the next paragraphs that focus on nominalisation in Fataluku.

### 3. Nominalisation versus verbalisation: /-(n)u/

#### 3.1 Abstract, product, mass and ‘additive’ nouns

This paragraph focuses on the suffix /-(n)u/, which is the main nominalising device in the language. Campagnolo (1973: 132-134) describes how the /-nu/ allomorph attaches to morpheme-final vowels.<sup>11</sup> This is displayed in the following table.

‘see’	aci	aci-nu	‘vision’
‘lack’	eru	eru-nu	‘shortage’
‘be mute’	kolo	kolo-nu	‘muteness’
‘see’	toto	toto-nu	‘view’
‘be lean’	lika	lika-nu	‘leanness’

Table 3a: Nominalisation with /-nu/: abstract nouns

The /-u/ allomorph attaches to morpheme-final consonants. However, because Fataluku phonotactics disallow utterance-final consonants, nouns that are pronounced in isolation also receive an /-u/ vowel if their roots end in a consonant. This phenomenon seems reminiscent of Stre-

<sup>10</sup> As far as we know no such phenomenon has been attested in the Timorese co-geners of Fataluku.

<sup>11</sup> Hull (2005: 12) overlooked this fact and thought /-nu/ was confined to verbal roots ending in /i#/,



semann's (1927) and Mills & Grima's (1980) observation of 'echo vowels' in Central and Southwest Malukan languages, respectively, that are added to morphemes with final consonants. The fact that /-(n)u/ is mutually exclusive with its verbalising counterpart /-(n)e/ gives way to formations like *tupur-u* 'woman' versus *tupur-e* 'be a woman, feminine'. The following table displays examples of /-u/ that are opposed to their counterparts marked with the verbalising suffix.

'chop' (N)	lama'-u	lama'-e	'chop' (V)
'crumb'	lamak-u	lamak-e	'crumble'
'vomit' (N)	i'is-u	i'is-e	'vomit' (V)

Table 3b: Nominalisation with /-u/ versus verbalisation with /-e/

Hull (2005: 12) observes that /-u/ is mutually exclusive with /-e/. He fails, however, to recognise the latter as a verbalising morpheme. Instead, he considers /-e/ an intrinsic element of the verb. As such, he describes the function of /-u/ with verbs as creating nouns 'with a concrete or nearly concrete sense', which is also shown in Tables 3a and b. We suggest, however, to re-analyse the examples in Table 3b rather as product nominalisations in which the noun profiles the product and the verbal counterpart profiles the corresponding action. This is also shown by the examples in Table 3c. Observe, however, that whereas the first three sets project scenes in which a product evolves from the verbal act by an agent, the last set rather projects a performance by the referent of the nominal morpheme.

'sign (N)'	catan-u	catan-e	'sign (V)'
'orchard'	laman-u	laman-e	'make an orchard'
'chop (N)', <sup>12</sup>	lapar-u	lapar-e	'chop (V)'
'tuber'	apat-u	apat-e	'emerge from the soil'

Table 3c: Product nouns versus production verbs  
marked with /-e/

It is very difficult to determine on formal grounds whether the root morpheme is to be classified as a noun or a verb. It is the context, which determines whether such a root morpheme – if it occurs without /-u/ or /e/ – has to be interpreted nominally or verbally. As such, this type of 'final consonant roots' are reminiscent of what is often called 'precategorial' in Austronesian: they do not belong to any word class, but become a member of one within a certain morphological or syntactic context.<sup>13</sup> Purely from a cognitive point of view, the sets above suggest that the root is intrinsically a noun, because it refers to a 'time-stable concept' (Payne 2006: 33). This is also displayed in the following table where from a logical point of view the root is nominal and the verb refers to the action of adding or placing what is profiled by the root on to something. In the last three examples the nouns rather profile the instrument of the verbal act.

'lime'	aur-u	aur-e	'put lime on s.th.'
'salt'	asir-u	asir-e	'put salt on s.th.'
'saddle'	kosin-u	kosin-e	'saddle (a horse)'
'nautilus'	lilir-u	lilir-e	'decorate (a house) with nautilus shells'

<sup>12</sup> Valentim (2002: 36) describes it as follows:

**laparu-** alivanatu harak hai me eme a pelere i ta'a  
place SEQ cut PERF take it.take LOCremove DEM sy

'chop- means a place where a cut has been taken out'

<sup>13</sup> See, however, Himmelmann (2005) who convincingly invalidates precategorials for Philippine languages.

'file'	limar-u <sup>14</sup>	limar-e	'to file'
'hammer'	leler-u	leler-e	'to hammer' (South dialect)
'sword'	hit-u	hit-e	'hit with a sword'

Table 3d: 'Additive' nouns and their verbal counterparts

The example of *tupur-u* 'woman' ~ *tupur-e* 'be feminine' mentioned above seems copied after mass nouns with final consonants whose verbal counterparts are marked with /-e/. This is exemplified by the nouns in Table 3e.

'sand'	inik-u	inik-e	'be sandy' <sup>15</sup>
'stone'	matar-u	matar-e	'be stoney'
'gold'	karas-u	karas-e	'be goldlike'
'mud'	lumuk-u	lumuk-e	'be muddy'

Table 3e: Mass nouns and their verbal counterparts

With other roots, however, classification on semantic grounds is less evident. Some of them are displayed in Table 4a.

k.o. illness	ifi-nu	ifi	'maggot, to have maggots in one's wounds'
'gambling (N)'	taru-nu	taru <sup>16</sup>	'gamble (N), to gamble'
'plaster'	lapa-nu	lapa	k.o. medical plaster <sup>17</sup>
'wounded condition'	manu-nu	manu	'wound (N)'

Table 4a: Double class morphemes and their nominalised counterparts

Informants automatically classify the root morphemes as nouns, despite the fact that this root type also occurs unmarked in predicate position.

<sup>14</sup> < Portuguese *limar* 'to file'.

<sup>15</sup> Campagnolo (1973: 134) and Valentim (2002: 24) also mention a metonymical extension of the initial meaning of 'sandy': 'to winnow' and 'make "very lime-like" (*fa'i tu na'u aure*)'. Observe that *aur-e* (lime-VEB) exemplifies as a verb of 'adding' in Table 3d.

<sup>16</sup> < Tetum *taru* 'to gamble'.

<sup>17</sup> Made of ripped bamboo (Nacher 2002/3: 186).

The following examples (3a) and (b) respectively show a Fataluku sentence and its colloquial Indonesian counterpart where the same phenomenon occurs. In the co-official language Tetum, however, it is less normal (3c).<sup>18</sup>

- (3) a. Alfredo hai n=umu, presidente hala manu. (Fataluku)  
Alfredo PERF LNK=die president only wound.
- b. Alfredo sudah mati, presiden luka saja (coll. Indonesian)  
Alfredo PERF dead president wound only
- c. Alfredo mate tiha ona, presidente isin-kanek de'it. (Tetum)  
Alfredo die PERF president body-wound only  
a-c: 'Alfredo is already dead, the president is only wounded.'

### 3.2 Cardinal numerals

Fataluku has a decimal numeral system. Except for '1', '2', '3', '8' and '10', all basic cardinal numerals clearly are Austronesian loans. Except for the numbers '7', '8' and '9' all numerals are marked as verbs by the /-e/ suffix<sup>19</sup>, which Klamer (2002) mentions as a typical Austronesian, albeit marked, feature of languages in Central and Eastern Indonesia. Interestingly, the numbers marked as verbs receive a nominalising suffix /-u/ when they function as an ordinal numeral and are preceded by the '3sg' pronoun, which also functions as a possessive marker (see example (2a) above). Whereas Campagnolo (1973) simply refers to this marker as a 'determination marker' (p. 132), Hull (2005: 29) specifically labels it a possessive pronoun. This will be elaborated in the section on the suffixes /-'ina/ and /-(n)ana/. Table 4b below displays the cardinal numerals and

<sup>18</sup> As far as we know now the phenomenon is absent in the languages surrounding Fataluku. As such it may be an example of grammatical influence of Indonesian on Fataluku. Hull (2005), however, reports that Fataluku has many lexical loans from local Malay (= dialectal Indonesian) but does not mention grammatical influences.

<sup>19</sup> E.g. *fitu* '7' (< Proto-Austronesian \**pitu*) ~ *i fitu* 'seventh', *kafa* '8' (< \**kapaw*, according to Hull (2004: 86), who reconstructed this form on the basis of the related *kapa* '8' in Oirata; the Proto-Austronesian original, however, is \**walu*. Consequently, the Fataluku (and Makasai and Makalero) variant may be linked to a non-Austronesian original.

their ordinal counterparts. Observe that the possessive marker is the only formal indication for the ordinal counterparts of the cardinal numerals that are not marked by the verbalising /-e/. Morphemes with initial vowels receive a prothetic /h/ in combination with the possessive marker /i/. For comparative purposes, the protoforms of the Austronesian originals are added where applicable.

first	i h-ukani / i h-emer-ana <sup>20</sup>	← ukani	1
second	i h-ec-u	← ec-e	2
third	i hutu'-u	← hutu'-e	3
fourth	i fat-u	← fat-e (< *Sempat)	4
fifth	i lim-u	← lim-e (< *lima)	5
sixth	i nem-u	← nem-e (< *enem)	6
tenth	i ta'an-u	← ta'an-e	10
hundredth	i rah-u	← rah-e (< *Ratus)	100
thousandth	i rehun-u	← rehun-e (< *Ribu)	1000

Table 4b: The nominalising suffix to mark ordinal numbers and their verbal counterparts marking cardinal numbers

The attributive use of the nominalising suffix is generally confined to the numerals. However, Campagnolo (1973: 134) mentions one other case in the South dialect where a noun, *koco* 'bamboo wall', is used attributively with a nominal suffix and preceded by the possessive marker /i/: *i koco-nu* (3sg bamboo.wall-NOM) 'the one with walls'<sup>21</sup>. We are not aware of the existence of a verb *\*koco-ne* (bamboo.wall-VEB), which suggests that 'bamboo wall' is an exclusive case within the double class morphemes mentioned in table 4a.

### 3.3 Adverbs

A productive process in Fataluku is the use of nominalised state verbs functioning as adverbs to a following verb. Interestingly, neither Campagnolo (1973) nor Hull (2005), nor the lexicographers Nacher (2002/3, 2004) or Valentim (2002) have noticed this fact, maybe because in these

<sup>20</sup> *I h-emer-ana* is actually a deverbal attribute meaning '(being the) first'. See also the section on /-'ina/ and /-(n)ana/.

<sup>21</sup> The original French translation is "celle (la maison) dont les murs sont construits".

adverb-verb constructions, the vocalic ending of the nominalising suffix generally disappears in running speech, as is displayed in example (4a). In our discussions with school teachers on Fataluku spelling, the hypercorrect counterpart in (4b) came up, showing that the adverb modifier is identified as a noun.<sup>22</sup> Example (4c) shows that on verbal roots with a final vowel it is the /n/ a of the nominal /-nu/ allomorph that evidences this nominalisation strategy.

- (4) a. ... muha hi'a rane tava emer mohe. (running speech)  
 few up adorn 3sg first run  
 '(but then) a few dressed up ones ran up to him first.'
- b. ... muha hi'a rane tava emer-u mohov-e (hypercorrect sp.)  
 few up adorn 3sgfirst-NOM run-VEB  
 'idem'
- c. Afa valale-n ete kaur-e akam sala  
 1plinc.S quick-NOM off leave-VEB NEG<sup>23</sup> wrong  
 'If we leave quickly we are not wrong' (question 361, Fataluku Catechism).

The nominal affix /u/ is systematically present on adverbially used state verbs that contain an offglide.<sup>24</sup> In this phonotactic context it is the offglide in the root rather than the nominalizing /u/ that is deleted. This is exemplified by *masu* (< *mais-u* 'right-NOM) in (5a).

<sup>22</sup> Fataluku speakers in general are obsessed with the correctness of their speech. Fataluku itself means 'to speak correctly'. Although it does not have a written tradition, there is a general concensus on how Fataluku words should be written as became very apparent during the three workshops held in 2005, 2006 and 2007. Whether or not to write the final /u/ of these preverbal adverbs is still a matter of discussion, however, because they are not regularly pronounced. The purpose for the topic of this paper is that speakers identify the adverb and its 'deleted final vowel' as nominalisations.

<sup>23</sup> In most dialects predicate initial negation is a petrified combination of *aka* 'NEG' + the *m* allomorph of 'take'. Aka 'NEG' only survived in the East dialect (see van Engelenhoven, in press).

<sup>24</sup> Albeit not expressed specifically as such, we understand from Campagnolo's (1973) and Stoel's (2007) syllable analyses that the [j] and [w] are allophones of the high vowel phonemes /i/ and /u/, when they occur in the syllable's margin.

- (5) a. ... lau i tahin-u lavere ho tapi masu (< mais-u)  
 cloth 3sg beautiful-NOM clothe and very right-NOM  
 lauh-e...  
 live-VEB  
 ‘... (who) wear expensive cloths and live in luxury...’ (Gospel  
 of St. Luke 7: 25)

Elsewhere (van Engelenhoven, in press), we observed that this type of deverbal adverbialisation creates serial verb constructions in which the deverbal adverb fills the object slot of the bivalent verb. The noun referring to the instrument, product, or theme participant of the scene projected by the verb is encoded as the object of ‘take’ in the directly preceding clause. This is exemplified in (5b) where *tour-u tu relijaun i telira nere* (mass-NOM SEQ religion 3sg different follow) ‘people who adhere to a different religion’ is encoded as the object of *me* ‘take’ whereas it profiles the perceived participant in the scene of ‘seeing’.<sup>25</sup>

- (5) b. Afa ... tour-u tu relijaun i telira nere  
 1plinc.S mass-NOM SEQ religion 3sg different follow  
 me ranu (<rau-nu) coto ...  
 take good-NOM see  
 ‘We ... look friendly to people that adhere to a different religion  
 ...’ (question 118, Fataluku Chatechism).

*Lau i tahin-u* (cloth 3sg beautiful-NOM), literally meaning ‘beautiful cloth’ in example (5a) above taken from the Fataluku translation of St. Luke’s Gospel, shows that nominalised verbs by means of /-(n)u/ are also

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<sup>25</sup> Thilo Schadeberg in a personal communication during Ruben Stoel’s presentation about Fataluku prosody on December 7<sup>th</sup>, 2007 at Leiden University pointed out that Fataluku seems to have a ‘1 argument only rule’ that ‘pushes’ prototypical object candidates to a ‘take’ clause in case of nominal (deverbal) adverbs. Further research is required to assess what the position is of intransitive constructions as in (5a) where a nominal adverb *masu* (< *mais-u* ‘right-NOM’) modifies a monovalent verb *lauh-e* (live-VEB) and itself is also modified by the adverb *tapi* ‘very’.

used to translate adjective-like modifiers in foreign languages.<sup>26</sup> In fact, this construction is ambiguous in that it also can be translated as ‘the cloth’s beauty’. Valentim (2002: 95) explicitly indicates that nouns referring to ‘things’ (*nacunu*) receive *tahin-u* with a nominal ending, whereas humans, for example *tupur* ‘woman’ rather require *tahin-ana*: *tupur i tahin-ana* (woman 3sg beautiful-ANA) ‘beautiful woman’. As has been said above, this use of *i* ‘3sg’ creates possessive constructions in which the possessor noun is placed to the left of the pronoun and the possession noun to its right. From a syntactic point of view, then, the noun *lau* ‘cloth’ would be the modifier in a possessive construction (‘the cloth’s beauty’), but the head in a NP containing an adjectival modifier (‘beautiful cloth’). This will be elaborated further in the following paragraph. Table 5 provides a few examples from a ‘rest group’ where the nominalising suffix creates nouns that cannot be categorised with the ones discussed above.

‘citron sap’ <sup>27</sup>	aka-akah-u	akah-e	‘be sour’
k.o. bird of prey	hoil-u	hoil-e	‘cut in wedges’
‘nail’	keles-u	keles-e	‘pinch’
‘twig’	ketel-u	ketel-e	‘meagre’
k.o. bird	kokir-u	kokir-e	‘collect’
‘fenced place’	laca-nu	laca	‘fence (V)’
‘broom (N)’	lu-lur-u	lur-e	‘broom (V)’

Table 5: other nouns by /-(n)u/ and their verbal counterparts

#### 4. Nominalisation or adjectivisation: /-(‘)ina/ and /-(n)ana/

This section discusses the suffixes /-(‘)ina/ and /-(n)ana/. Like the nominalising suffix discussed in the previous section, the adjective-forming morphemes have two allomorphs of which those with initial /‘/ and /n/ occur after roots with a final vowel, while the other allomorph occurs

<sup>26</sup> The Indonesian original from which it was translated is *ber-pakai-an begitu* (VEB-[wear-NOM such]) ‘wear such clothing’ in which ‘such’ refers to ‘beautiful’ in the previous clause. The square brackets above intend to show that in Indonesian it concerns an NP being verbalised by the prefix *ber-*.

<sup>27</sup> Explained in Valentim (2002: 3) as “something that makes (food) sour”.



after roots with a final consonant. Whereas Campagnolo (1973), Hull (2005), Nacher (2002/3, 2004), and Valentim (2002) all mention the suffix /-(n)ana/, only Campagnolo (1973) explicitly mentions /-ina/. Valentim (2002) only mentions one instance of /-ina/: po'otina 'ill (person)'. The dictionary of Nacher (2002/3, 2004) and the Fataluku wordlists of Fataluku.org, on the other hand do mention several other instances of /-(')ina/ that are nevertheless outnumbered by instances of /-(n)ana/.

There are many instances in Fataluku of morphemes ending in /-(')ina/ that have no verbal counterpart. Some of these are displayed in Table 6a. Observe that the notion of 'extend' distinguishes between a singular and a plural form, which is typical for a subset of verbs in Fataluku, Makalero and Makasai. If it is true that the forms in Table 6a contain a petrified synchronically opaque suffix, then the *kusina~kusevere* opposition implies that these forms are verbal.

'firm'	akina		
'end(N)'	hufina		
'drug'	humina		
'extend.SG'	kusina	kusevere	'extend.PL'
'iron'	mumina		
'termite queen'	parakina		
'anvil'	pikorina		
'roof'	pui'ina		
'lowland'	puicina		
'inside of a corner'	valikina	valiku	'corner, elbow'

Table 6a: Opaque instances of /-(')ina/-derivations

An interesting case is represented by the last example of Table 6a, for which the counterpart of *valikina* 'inside of a corner' is the noun *valiku* 'corner'. Based on the discussion in section 3, one would surmise that the latter has a nominal suffix /-u/, which is mutually exclusive with /-(')ina/. The verbal counterpart 'to be in a corner' is *valiku-ne* (corner-VEB) instead of \**valik-e*.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>28</sup> The verb *acaku-ne* (match-VEB) is the only other example we are aware of where the final /u/ is deleted when /-ina/ is added, but remains when the nominal suffix /-nu/ is added. An ad-hoc solution might be that both verbs *acaku-ne* (match-VEB) and *valiku-ne* (corner-VEB) derive from the deverbal and de-

Table 6b provides two more examples that are clearly derived. Like *valikina* ‘inside of a corner’, *cai’ina* looks nominal. It refers to a permanent dry rice field. It corresponds to the verb *cai-ne* (flint-VEB) ‘light something’<sup>29</sup>, which itself has a nominal root. On the other hand, *Acu’ina* ‘fit’ seems rather ‘adjectival’ or ‘verbal’ in that it occurs as a predicate.<sup>30</sup> Its verbal counterpart is *acu-ne* (be.over-VEB) that itself is a verbalisation of the postposition *acu* ‘over’.

‘fit’	acu’ina	acu-ne	‘be over s.th.’	acu ‘over (PP)’
k.o ricefield	cai’ina	cai-ne	‘light s.th.’	cai ‘flint’

Table 6b: /-‘ina/ derivations with verbal and other counterparts

Since the roots in table 6b end in a vowel, the glottal stop /‘/ is part of the derivational suffix. The phonotactic constraints are the same as for the nominalising suffix mentioned in the previous section; the allomorph with the initial glottal stop occurs after roots with final vowels, the allomorph without the glottal stop occurs after roots ending in a consonant.

The following table displays the frequent most instances of /-(‘)ina/. It has only been attested with verbal roots.

nominal postpositionals *aca* ‘at’ and *vali* ‘beside’, respectively. This would suggest that /-ku/ be an example of a nominalising ‘anorganic suffix’ /k/ plus an epenthetic /u/ (see section 2). This seems to be borne out by the full derivational paradigm of *aca* ‘arrive at/reach’: *aca-ne* (arrive.at-VEB) ‘suffice’: *aca-nu* (arrive.at-NOM) ‘perfect(ion, as in *cele acanu* ‘maize that is ready for roasting’, Nacher 2002/3: 141)”: *aca-nana* (arrive.at-ANA) ‘sufficient’; *aca-k-e* (arrive.at-K-VEB) ‘concern (V)”: *aca-k-u* (arrive.at-K-NOM) ‘concern (N)” (Nacher 2002/3: 140): *aca-k-u-ne* (arrive.at-K-NOM-VEB) ‘match (V)”: *aca-k-ana* (arrive.at-K-ANA) ‘matching, match (N)”. The term ‘anorganic suffix’ was introduced into Timorese linguistics by J.C.G. Jonker (1906) in his authoritative paper on consonant suffixes in the Austronesian languages of Timor and surroundings that were not part of the lexical morpheme.

<sup>29</sup> The scenario of a permanent dry rice field is that in order to create one, a part of the forest is cut and burnt down first.

<sup>30</sup> For example: *A leura fa’a te acu-’ina?* (2sg meat part where over-INA) ‘How big is your share (of the meat)?’ (Fataluku Community Internet wordlist 2 at [www.fataluku.org](http://www.fataluku.org)).

‘burning’	ho’-ina	ho’-e	‘burn’
‘sweet’	lemes-ina	lemes-e	‘be sweet’
‘right’	mais-ina	mais-e	‘be right’
‘s.th. stolen’	o’os-ina	o’os-e	‘steal’
‘rotten’	opos-ina	opos-e	‘rot’
‘ill (person)’	po’ot-ina	po’ot-e	‘be ill’
‘ripe’	poros-ina	poros-e	‘be ripe’
‘dry’	sasak-ina	sasak-e	‘be dry’
‘boil’	so-sok-ina	sok-e	‘have boils’
‘lid’	sul-ina	sula-ne	‘stop, close’
‘s.th. severed’	tot-ina <sup>31</sup>	tot-e	‘sever’
‘froth’	ufut-ina	ufut-e	‘seethe’

Table 6c: Derivations with /-(‘)ina/ and their verbal counterparts

A quick glance at table 6c tells us that seven out of twelve roots contain the back mid vowel /o/. Eight roots end in one of the dental consonants /t/ or /s/. The glosses of five of them, ‘sweet’, ‘right’, ‘ill’, ‘ripe’ and ‘dry’ suggest to the reader an adjectival interpretation. However, Campagnolo (1973) classifies /-(‘)ina/ as a suffix nominalising verbs, but systematically translates his examples into French by way of relative clauses, for example: *i h-ufut-ina* (3sg LNK-seethe-ina) “celle (l’eau, etc. ...) qui bout”: “the one (water, etc. ...) that boils” (Campagnolo 1973: 135). In other words, the nominal glosses of ‘froth’ and ‘lid’ can be also paraphrased as ‘something that seethes/fizzes’ and ‘something that closes something’, respectively. Hence, *ho’-ina* (burn-ina) ‘burning’ can be paraphrased as ‘something that burns’. Formulated differently, these three /-ina/ derivations seem to refer to the agent participant in the scene profiled by the verb. Because Fataluku lacks a specific adjective word class, the same analysis applies to the ‘adjectives’ mentioned above. *Tot-ina* (sever-ina) ‘something (that is) severed’ and *o’os-ina* ‘something (that is) stolen’, however, rather refer to the patient participant in the scene profiled by the verb. This is further elaborated below where we discuss the suffix /-(n)ana/.

<sup>31</sup> This derivation is mainly known as the Fataluku name of the island of Jako off the eastern tip of East Timor. Oral tradition has it that Jako used to be part of the mainland as the head of the country, *mu’a ca’u* (land head) but was severed from it by a boat sailing through the part that connected Tutuala with Jako.

Compared with the /-(')ina/ derivations above, there are very few instances of opaque /-(n)ana/ derivations. The most salient example is *alivana* 'place', which suggests a root *aliv* that is not attested in the language. Both Campagnolo (1973) and Hull (2005) classify the suffix /-(n)ana/ as nominal. Whereas the use of /-(')ina/ is quite confined, a quick glance at Valentim's (2002) dictionary shows that /-(n)ana/ is even more productive than the nominalising /-(n)u/. Also, /-(n)ana/ derivations always have a verbal counterpart. Table 7a shows that the /-(n)ana/ derivation refers to an entity conceptually projecting those features that we recognise as elements of the state or condition profiled by the root.

's.th. being swollen'	akat-ana	akat-e	'be swollen'
's.th. being rough'	as-ana	as-e	'be rough'
's.th. being fat'	auh-ana	auh-e	'be fat'
's.o. being tired'	kaiar-ana	kaiar-e	'be tired'
's.o. being beautiful'	tahin-ana	tahin-e	'be beautiful'

Table 7a: /-(n)ana/ derivations of state verbs

Table 7b, on the other hand, displays monovalent action verbs whose /-(n)ana/ derivation refers to the acting participant in the profiled scene or state.

's.th. growing'	erek-ana	erek-e	'grow (of weeds)'
's.th. falling'	ican-ana	ican-e	'fall'
's.th. descending'	isi-nana	isi	'descend'
's.th. floating', <sup>32</sup>	palis-ana	palis-e	'float'

Table 7b: /-(n)ana/ derivation of monovalent action verbs

In case of monovalent verbs expressing sounds, the /-(n)ana/ derivation ambiguously refers to either the participant making the sound, or the sound itself. This is displayed in Table 7c.

<sup>32</sup> Nacher (2004: 142) translates this word as 'island'. Interestingly, Fataluku does not seem to have a single lexeme for the concept of 'island'. In both Valentim (2002) and the Internet wordlists of Fataluku Community it is paraphrased as *mu'a-ca'u-vele je cau(-nu)* (soil-head-skin [= world] self put (-NOM)) 'soil that is set apart'.

's.th. sounding/ sound(N)'	cu'ut-ana	cu'ut-e	'sound (V)'
's.th. wailing/wail (N)'	kikir-ana	kikir-e	'wail (of dogs)'
's.th. snoring/snore (N)'	kofor-ana	kofor-e	'snore (V)'
's.o. grumbling/grumble (N)'	kohot-ana	kohot-e	'grumble (V)'
's.o. singing/song'	kol-ana	kol-e	'sing'
's.o. shouting/shout (N)'	kul-ana	kul-e	'shout (V)'

Table 7c: /-(n)ana/ derivation of verbs referring to sound production

We know of three sound production verbs that do not follow this pattern. *Koso* 'shout' uses the nominal suffix /-(n)u/ to refer to the sound produced: *koso-nu* (shout-NOM) 'shout (N)', while the /-(n)ana/ derivation profiles the participant that shouts: *koso-nana* 's.o. shouting/ shouter'. *Katih-e* (yell-VEB), on the other hand, only derives a production noun by means of /-(n)ana/: *katih-ana* (yell-ANA) 'yell (N)'. The concept of crying has only been attested profiled by a verb, *arur-e* (cry-VEB).

Bivalent verbs with a /-(n)ana/ suffix refer to the non-active participant in the scene, which in most cases is the patient or the product of the action profiled. This is displayed in Table 7d.

's.th. sliced/slice (N)'	afil-ana	afil-e	'slice (V)'
's.th. spun/thread'	aik-ana	aik-e	'spin'
'cooked food'	culu-nana	culu	'cook'
'wish, want(N)'	eluh-ana	eluh-e	'want'
'payment'	hiar-ana	hiar-e	'pay'
's.th. hunted/prey'	hoil-ana	hoil-e	'hunt'
'nail (N)'	ruh-ana	ruha	'nail (V)'

Table 7d: /-(n)ana/ derivation of bivalent action verbs

The final example, *ruh-ana* (nail-ANA) 'nail (N)' ~ *ruha* 'nail (V)' is the only example we are aware of in which a final vowel of a verbal root is replaced by the /-ana/ suffix. *Ruha* 'nail (V)' itself, however, occurs in the Austronesian languages off shore in Southwest Maluku as a noun meaning 'nail', for example Meher: *ruha* and Leti: *rusa*. We therefore suppose it to be a loan rather than original Fataluku, albeit that it remains unexplained why the /-(n)ana/ derivation is *ruhana* rather than *\*ruhana-nana*.

As may have become clear from the foregoing discussion, we prefer not to analyse the /-(\*)ina/ and /-(n)ana/ derivations as nominal. Our

reluctance is also based on the fact that Valentim's dictionary (2002) lists many instances where the /-(n)ana/ derivations are themselves nominalised by means of /-(n)u/. This suggests that the derivation without the nominal suffix is not a noun, but something 'verbal'. Furthermore, the internet wordlists of Fataluku Community provide some accidental examples of /-(')ina/ derivations being nominalised by /-(n)u/. In both Valentim's dictionary and the Internet wordlists, the nominal suffix derives nouns that profile abstract notions. These are displayed in Table 7e.

's.th. flying'	ipil-ana	ipil-ana-nu	'flying behaviour'
's.th. superfluous'	lam-ana	lam-ana-nu	'condition of being superfluous'
's.th. sorted'	lamil-ana	lamil-ana-nu	'situation of being sorted'
's.th. dissolved'	lau'-ana	lau'-ana-nu	'state of being dissolved'
's.th. living'	lauh-ana	lauh-ana-nu	'life'
's.th. cut'	tot-ina	tot-ina-nu	'state of being cut up(?)' <sup>33</sup>

Table 7e: Nominalisation of /-(n)ana/ and /-(')ina/ derivations

We will consequently not follow Campagnolo (1973) and Hull (2005), who analyze the /-(n)ana/ and /-(')ina/ derivations as nominalising operations. We rather follow the suggestion contained in Campagnolo's translations according to which these derivations are modifiers, when following a noun. This interpretation is corroborated by the Fataluku description for the concept 'human being, man' versus the concept 'animal'. The following sentence in (6a) has been extracted from Valentim's (2002) dictionary.

- (6) a. ... lau-lauh-ana unu i tu ma'ar lauh-ana apiapar-e tu  
 RED-live-ana one DEM SEQ man live-ana care-VEB SEQ  
 navar-u cura tu le hi'a-lauh-e una.  
 know-NOM mouse SEQ house up-live-VEB eat  
 "an animal (= something that lives) that a human (= man that  
 lives) takes care of in order to eat mice that live in the house."  
 (= cat, Valentim 2002: 74)

<sup>33</sup> The example given in the Fataluku Community Internet wordlists is *mu'a tot-ina-nu* (earth sever-INA-NOM), which is used to refer to the English concept 'archipelago'.

In fact, *ma'ar lauh-ana* (man live-ANA) is a fixed construction in the Fataluku lexicon that designates the concept of 'human being'. Otherwise, constructions containing a /-(n)ana/ derivation require the 3sg possessive marker *i*, as was discussed in section 2. This is exemplified in (6b), where the construction *ma'ar lauh-ana* is extended with another /-(n)ana/ derivation meaning 'first'.

- (6) b. Ma'ar lauh-ana i h-emer-ana umani i?  
 man live-ANA 3sg LNK-first-ANA who DEM  
 'Who is the first human being?' (Fataluku Catechism, question 32)

Campagnolo's (1973) consistent translations of /-(n)ana/ derivations as relative clauses suggest that the /-(n)ana/ derivation, and therefore implicitly also the /-(')ina/ derivation, is comparable to a participle. Like a participle, *lauh-ana* (live-ANA) modifies a noun, *ma'ar* 'man'.

Another problem is the possessive marker *i*. In fact, it is because of this marker that Hull (2005) analyses the /-(n)ana/ derivation as a noun referring to possession while the preceding noun refers to the possessor. This is exemplified by (7a) and (b).

- (7) a. ocava i pala                      b. mu'a i co-nana  
 master 3sg field                      earth 3sg far-ana  
 'the master's field'                      'a far-off land'  
 (Hull 2005: 16)                              (Hull 2005: 34)

The possessive relation between the referents of both nouns in (7a) is obvious. Following the regional typology, Fataluku possessor nouns precede possession nouns. In other words, the possession noun, *pala* 'field', is the head of the construction. If (7b) were a possessive construction too, *co-nana* (far-ANA) 'far-off' would be the head also. This, however, seems counter-intuitive to us. We suggest that (7a) and (b) display the multifunctionality of *i* as a possessive marker and as a relative marker, respectively.<sup>34</sup> Whereas possessive *i* has an emphatic counterpart *hin*,

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<sup>34</sup> Two other functions of *i* are deictic modification (as in: *le i* [house 3sg] 'this house') and marking nominal predications (as in: ... *eri ta paca lafai* ... *hai=n=i=i*. [sg.EMPH SEQ commoner big ... PERF=LNK=3sg=3sg] 'you ...

relative *i* does not. Consequently, if *i* in both examples above is replaced by *hin*, the construal of (7b) changes into a possessive construction, as is exemplified by (7c) and (d).

- (7) c. ocava hin pala                      d. mu'a hin co-nana  
           master POS field                    earth POS far-ANA  
           ‘the master of the field’        ‘the distance to the land’

For the reasons discussed, we propose to label the /-(n)ana/ and /-(')ina/ derivations as adjectives. Adjectives can function as nominal heads like nouns, which explains why in the Fataluku Community’s Internet word-lists many English items for which there are no Fataluku words are translated with a /-(n)ana/ or /-(')ina/ derivations. This is exemplified by (8a) below where the /-(n)ana/ derivation functions as a noun modified by the demonstrative *ia*.

- (8) a. [I h=iti-jet-ana]                    ia umani=t taratori me.  
           3sg LNK=deep-fall-ANA DEM who=SEQ tractor take  
           ‘The issue (literally: “what falls down”) was who is to use the tractor.’ (Fataluku Community, nd)

Taking into account that Fataluku does not have a copula, adjectives – exemplified by *kapar-ana* (bad-ANA) in (8b) below – can function as predicates, like verbs.

- (8) b. Kaka                    i sorot ara en-en                    i kapar-ana.  
           older.brother 3sg book base RED-DEM 3sg bad-ANA  
           ‘This dictionary of yours is no good’ (Fataluku Community, nd)

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are the great commoner.’ (Campagnolo 1973: 208). The term ‘relative marker’ is somewhat problematic. Fataluku lacks true relative clauses in that it prefers clause combinations with the sequential marker *tu* SEQ as is shown in the initial part of example (6a) above: *cura [tu le hi'a-lauh-e] una* (mouse SEQ house up-live-VEB eat) ‘eat a mouse [that lives in the house]’. The *i* construction rather creates phrases and these lack the intrinsic features of a clause. The example in (6a) can not be transferred into \**cura i le hi'a-lauh-ana* (mouse 3sg house up-live-VEB-ANA).



Interestingly, there is a general dislike in Fataluku to construct NPs with attributive adjectives. Speakers prefer full verbs over adjectival constructions, as can be observed in the following sentence, where the object noun *vahin* ‘tooth’ is followed by a verb (marked by /-ne/) rather than by an adjective (marked by /-nana/). Further research is required in order to determine when attributive constructions are exactly required.

- (8) c. Dotor Asumoto i vahin naka-ne tu tali  
 doctor Asumoto 3sg tooth stained-VEB SEQ very  
 kapar-e hai n-apam-e  
 bad-VEB PERF LNK-pull-VEB  
 ‘The doctor pulled out Asumoto’s stained tooth that was very bad.’<sup>35</sup>

### 5. Remaining noun and adjective creating mechanisms

The nominalising and adjectivising suffixes described in sections 3 and 4, respectively, and the verbal suffix /-(n)e/ are in fact the only productive derivational morphemes in Fataluku. Campagnolo (1973: 135) mentions a verbal suffix *-eke*, of which he acknowledges two nominal counterparts, *-aka* and *-uka*. Nacher (2002/3, 2004) furthermore mentions five cases with a possible suffix *-aka*. Only *mimiraka* ‘red(ness)’, the example Campagnolo (1973) mentions, has a verbal counterpart *mimireke* ‘be red’. Gomes (1972: 26, footnote 1) mentions *ipi* as an alternative for *ipi-naka*.

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<sup>35</sup> Cf. Asumoto i vahin <sup>?</sup>i naka-nana  
 Asumoto 3sg tooth 3sg stained-ANA  
 ‘Asumoto’s stained tooth’

The Fataluku speech community, as can be surmised through its name *fata luku* (correct speak) ‘speak correctly’, is obsessed with the correctness of its speech. The rejection of the adjectival construction may very well be based purely on stylistic grounds. In elicitation sessions where a certain construction is assessed by a native speaker the usual comment is: *Ana nere navare po kapare* : ‘I understand it, but it is ugly’.

'palm (of hand)'	alaka		
'star'	ipinaka	ipi	'star' <sup>36</sup>
'red(ness)'	mimiraka	mimireke	'be red'
'brancard'	sapelaka		
'cave'	veraka		

Table 8a: Unproductive nominal *-aka* suffix

On the same page, Campagnolo (1973: 135) mentions one example of *-uka*, *susuka* 'fork'<sup>37</sup> that corresponds with a verb *ususeke* ~ *suseke* 'make into pins'. Nacher (2002/3, 2004) mentions two other cases, *aruka* 'arch' and *tupuka* 'hill'. A verbal counterpart of the latter is accidentally provided by Valentim (2002: 104): *tupeke* 'be mountainous'.

Whereas reduplication has been reported in many languages in the region as a means to nominalise verbs into instrument nouns (van Engelenhoven 2004), this phenomenon has not been attested in Fataluku. On the other hand, compounding appears to be quite productive. Table 8b provides examples of noun-verb combinations, /-(n)ana/ derivations with 'prefixed postpositions' and compounds with *alivana* 'place', which profile the place of what the preceding verb designates.

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<sup>36</sup> Gomes (1972: 26) footnote 1.

<sup>37</sup> This is actually the translation of the Fataluku Community's Internet word-lists. Campagnolo describes it as a "fine pointed bamboo stalk functioning as pin".

‘orphan’	nalu-pali	(mother-not.exist)
‘fisherman’	api-na-na-me	(fish-RED-LOC-take)
‘sinner’	fa’a-kail-u-fa’i	(very-sin-NOM-make)
‘prophet’	ina-hara-nu	(eye-light-NOM)
‘example’	na-na-ce’-ana	(RED-LOC-point-ANA)
‘servant’	aca-nat-ana	(arrive.at-stand-ANA)
‘bed’	taia-n alivana	(sleep-NOM place)
‘bin’	luratu h-alivana	(garbage LNK-place) <sup>38</sup>
‘freezer’	jelu alivana	(ice place)

Table 8b: Compounding

The nominalising and verbalising suffixes /-(n)u/ and /-(n)e/ are very productive and confirm the agglutinative character of Fataluku morphology. Huber (2005: 14), nevertheless mentions a bisyllabic unproductive suffix /-ini/ in Makasai, meaning “anything to do with X” in which “X” refers to the meaning of the verb, as for example: *pa* ‘sew’ → *pa’-ini* ‘everything to do with sewing’. She hypothesises that this suffix is related to the verb *gini* ‘do, make’. Unfortunately, there is no indication in Fataluku that /-(n)ana/ and /-(‘)ina/ are derived from a verb. Indirect indications for their verbal origin<sup>39</sup> are the fact that they are suffixes and because they may be input to nominalisation by the /-(n)u/ suffix (Table 7e above).

The nominalisation option implies that the morpheme – whether it is complex or simple – to which the nominalising suffix is added is basically not a noun. Their bisyllabic character surmises that they are originally lexical morphemes. This is also visible in the way postpositionals that are in majority bisyllabic are docked onto verbs as a kind of applica-

<sup>38</sup> The /h-/ attached to *alivana* ‘place’ suggests that this compound actually is a possessive phrase from which the possessive marker *i* has been deleted: *luratu i h-alivana* ‘garbage’s place’.

<sup>39</sup> An important remark here must be that there seems to be no formal indication to distinguish a special adjective class from the verbal class. Further research is required to elaborate on this phenomenon. In Indonesian where a similar situation exists, one can point out morphological – but not necessarily syntactic – features with which both word classes can be distinguished (Steinhauer 2008).

tive prefix (section 2). The fact that /-(')ina/ and /(-n)ana/ are suffixes relates to the final position of the predicate in a Fataluku clause, implying that they are originally verbs. Juliette Huber (p.c.) proposes a comparable scenario for the postverbal intention marker *na'a~ana* in Makalero.

Hull (2004) and van Naerssen (2007) acknowledge the genetic relationship between Fataluku and the languages of the Trans-New-Guinea phylum. Its typological divergence from most other languages in this phylum is explained by Hull (2004) as an adaptation to the isolating typology of the Austronesian languages in the Timor Sprachbund. The phenomenon of the 'anorganic' verbal suffixes indeed resembles what has been described for Rotinese and Dawanese by Jonker (1906). Since no such phenomenon has been reported for Makalero and Makasai, one is tempted to analyse these suffixes as an Austronesian influence on Fataluku. The SOV word order of the non-Austronesian languages in a scenario of 'a drift towards an agglutinative typology' can indeed enable predicatively used verbs<sup>40</sup> to turn into markers as in Makalero or even into a derivational suffix as in Makasai and Fataluku. However, together with the phenomenon in Fataluku and Makalero (Huber, personal communication) of initial consonant mutation in verbs, they convincingly show that these languages do not even tend towards an isolating typology as has been described for their Austronesian neighbours on Timor. The genetic and typological exclusivity of these languages, therefore, remains unexplained for the time being.

### Abbreviations

1plinc	first person plural inclusive	NOM	nominaliser suffix
3sg	third person singular	PERF	perfect marker
pl	plural	POS	possessive marker
sg	singular	PP	postposition
sth	something	RED	reduplication
DEM	demonstrative	SEQ	seq. conj. marker
LNK	linker	V	verb
LOC	locative marker	VEB	verbaliser suffix
N	noun		

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<sup>40</sup> Or auxiliaries, which are prototypically expected in clause final position in an SOV word order.

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