Aspect and Directionality in Kupang Malay Serial Verb Constructions
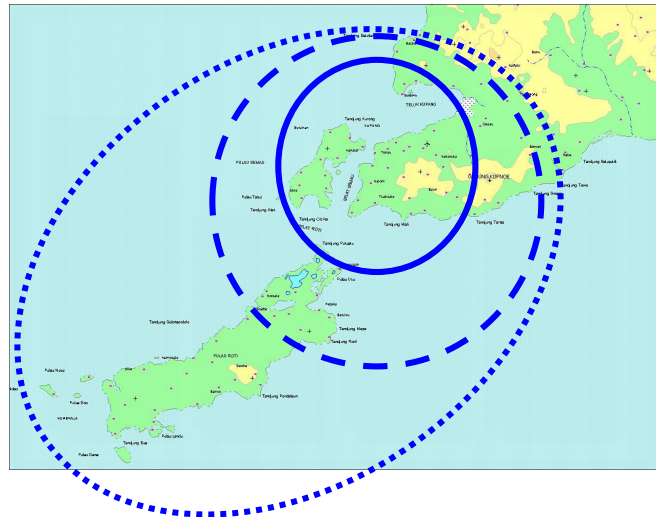
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A Research on Varieties of Malayic Languages
13-14 October 2018 - TUFS

Kupang Malay is a creole

- Malay-based

- around 200,000 speakers

- calqued on local vernaculars

- unique grammar and lexicon

From Jacob 2001a,b -- KM is:

- a well-organized linguistic system
- several types of simplification from standard Malay in phonology, morphology and grammar,
- has calqued on local languages in phonology, lexicon and grammar,
- has a complex community of native speakers,
- has important roles in home, interethnic communication, for communicating local solidarity, ethnic identity, vitality and stability,
- functions in a post-creole continuum, with Indonesian functioning as the 'high' or acrolect.

Jacob & Grimes, 2003

- much vocabulary shared with standard Malay

- different phonology

- significant semantic shift in a number of Malay items

- significant borrowing from local languages
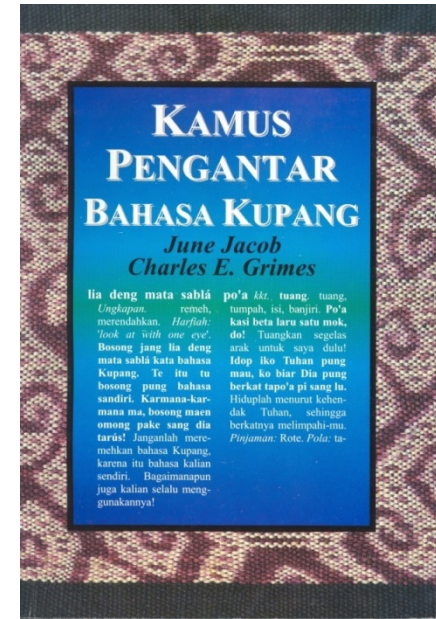
KM SVC's (general)

- ## Mirror local languages

Helong: *Oen*   *maa*   *nakbua* *se*   *onan*   *na*   *lam.*
          3p   come   gather   PREP   beach   that   also

'They also gathered on the beach.'

Kupang: *Dong*   *datang*   *kumpul* *di*   *itu*   *pante*   *ju.*
          3p   come   gather   LOC   that   beach   also

BI: *Mereka* *berkumpul*   *di*   *pantai* *itu*   *juga.*
          3p   gather   LOC   beach   that   also

Shared core arguments

Dia <u>*manyapu*</u> <u>*kasi*</u>   <u>*barisi*</u> *kintal* *balakang*.

3s   sweep   give=CAU clean   yard   back

'She swept the backyard clean.'

Bemo *len* *Tarus* <u>*maen*</u>   <u>*pulang*</u> <u>*bale*</u>   <u>*angka*</u> *panumpang*.

minibus route Tarus   playITER go.home come.back pick up passenger

'The minibus on the Tarus route regularly goes back and forth taking passengers home.'

KM SVC's can be complex

Pohon yang sonde kasi kaluar boa,

tree REL NEG give go out fruit

tantu tukang kabón dong datang potong

certain worker garden 3p come cut

ko lempar buang maso pi dalam api.

IRR throw throw out enter go inside fire

'(As for) trees which don't produce fruit, surely the gardeners will come and cut off (their branches) to throw them into the fire.'

non-active + non-active → result + manner

mati lapar   'die of hunger'
mati karíng   'die by drying up
                    (e.g. plants in drought)'
mati barana   'die in childbirth'
mati tanggalám   'die by drowning'
takonci mati   'locked up / locked tight'
tasegel mati   'sealed tight'

active intransitive + non-active →
action + purpose OR action + result

pi mati   'go to die / went and died'

iko mati   'go to die (with s.o.) /
went and died (with s.o.) /
die together'

active intransitive + active intransitive →
action + direction OR action + scope

pi nae	'go up'
lari turun	'run down'
turun pi	'descend (away from locus)'
turun datang	'descend (coming toward locus)'
nae kambali	'come back up'

vi motion + active intransitive →
tightly related sequence (inceptive + action)

pi duduk	'go to sit / went and sat'
pi tidor	'go sleep'
pi tenga	'go live'
pi pasiar	'go for a stroll'
kambali tidor	'return to sleep (at location)'
tidor kambali	'go back to sleep (after having awakened)'

vi motion + active transitive →
tightly related sequence (inceptive + action)

pi ame	'go to fetch / went and fetched'
pi semba	'go worship'
pi bawa	'go take'
pi badame	'go make peace / go restore right relationships'
pi taro	'go put'
pi urus	'go arrange'
dudu makan	'sit to eat / sit and eat'
badiri sambayang	'stand to pray / stand and pray'
badiri mangada	'stand to face / stand facing'

/ame/ & /buang/ in KM SVC's

- as main verbs in SVC's

- add directionality as a modifying verb in SVC's

- add aspect as a modifying verb in SVC's

/*ame*/ as simple transitive verb

Ais ju dia <u>ame</u> tana sadiki ko taro pi pot.

so then 3s   take   ground little   IRR put   go flower pot

'So then she <u>took</u> a little soil to put in the flower pot.'

Amper sadiki beta <u>ame</u> sang dia jadi beta pung bini!

almost little   1s   take   PREP 3s become 1s POSS wife

'I nearly <u>took</u> her as my wife!'

/*ame*/ as main verb in SVC

Dong <u>*ame*</u> <u>*bawa*</u> *samua parampuan deng ana-ana dari itu kampong.*

3p   take carry all   female   and   children from DIST village

'*They carried off (take away) all the women and children from that village.*'

Lu <u>*ame*</u> <u>*kambali*</u> *beta pung barang-barang yang dia ada pegang.*

2s take return   1s   POSS things   REL 3s DUR hold

'*You retrieve (fetch back) my belongings which she is keeping.*'

/*buang*/ as simple transitive verb

Kalo samua su   makan sampe kinyang,

if   all   PRF eat   until   full

baru   buang   dia pung sisa   kasi anjing.

only then throw out 3s POSS excess give dog

'When everyone has eaten until they are satisfied, then (they) throw the leftovers to the dogs.'

Parau dong datang dari mana-mana ko buang jangkar di itu pante.

boat   3p   come   from everywhere   IRR throwout anchor LOC DIST beach

'Boats come from many places to drop anchor at that beach.'

/buang/ as main verb in SVC

Dong papoko bekin luka   sang dia,
3p   hit   make   wound PREP 3s
ais   dong buang   kaluar sang dia.
then 3p   throw out go out   PREP 3s
'They beat and wounded him, and then they threw him out.'

Ana-ana dong ra'u ame abu, ko buang   pi atas.
children   3p   scoop take dust   IRR throw out go top
*'The children were scooping up dust
   to throw it up into the air.'*

Directionality: /*ame*/ 'toward Actor or discourse locus'

Dia sorong dia pung tangan,

3s   stretch   3s POSS   hand

ko   tarima ame itu   burung pi dalam ruma.

IRR receive take DIST bird   go inside   house

'He reached out his hand to receive the bird into the house.'

Dia su   kumpul ame dia pung kelu

3s   PRF   gather   take 3s   POSS family

deng dia pung tamán satu kaki dong di   situ.

with   3s   POSS close friend (Id.)   3p   LOC there

'She had gathered her family and her close friends there.'

Directionality: /*ame*/ 'toward Actor or discourse locus'

rampas ame	'snatch, steal (for oneself)'
tangkap ame	'catch, arrest'
kodo ame	'swallow, ingest'
ketu ame	'pick by breaking off (fruit, grain)'
koru ame	'pick by stripping off (grainhead)'
dengar ame	'hear s.t. or s.o.'
paló ame	'hug, embrace'
pegang ame	'touch, hold'

Directionality: /*buang*/ 'away from Actor or discourse locus'

Dia pung kelu mau tola   buang sang dia.

3s   POSS family want push away throw out PREP 3s

'His family was going to reject him'

Dia lempar buang   itu   doi   pi dalam kios.

3s   throw   throw out DIST money go inside   kiosk

'She (forcefully) threw away that money into the kiosk.'

Directionality: */buang/* 'away from Actor or discourse locus'

kabás buang	'brush off'
tapis buang	'winnow out'
kasi parsén buang	'give away'
jual buang	'1) sell off, 2) betray'

Contrast /*ame*/ & /*buang*/

Ais dia <u>angka</u> <u>ame</u> galás yang ada isi   laru.

then 3s   lift   take glass   REL DUR contents palmjuice

'Then he <u>picked up</u> a glass which was filled with palmjuice.'

Tukang dong su   <u>angka</u> <u>buang</u>   itu   batu.

craftsman 3p   PRF lift   throw out DIST rock

'The craftsmen had already <u>discarded</u> that rock.'

Contrast /*ame*/ & /*buang*/

Tempo hari beta <u>suru</u> <u>potong</u> <u>ame</u> dia pung kapala.

time   day 1s   order cut   take   3s POSS head

'At that (previous) time I had ordered that his head be <u>cut off</u>.'

(Use of /*ame*/ here implies that the head is to be brought back or kept for a purpose.)

Nanti raja suru orang <u>datang</u> <u>potong</u> <u>buang</u> bapa pung kapala.

later   king order person come   cut   throw out father POSS head

'The king is going to order people to come and <u>cut off</u> your head.'

(Use of /*buang*/ here implies that the head is to be discarded and serves no further purpose.)

Semantic constraints

- *lupa buang*   'completely forget'
  (but not **lupa ame)

- *tangkap ame*   'arrest'
  (but not **tangkap buang)

- *lempar buang* 'throw out, get rid of'
  (but not **lempar ame)

Aspect with */ame/* and */buang/*

	NON-ACTIVE (S=U)	ACTIVE (S=A)
PERFECTIVE	*State*	*Accomplishment*
IMPERFECTIVE	*Process*	*Activity*

Activity → Accomplishment

- State   BE   perfective
- Process   BECOME   imperfective
- Activity   DO   imperfective
- Accomplishment   perfective
    CAUSE to be
    CAUSE to be-at
    CAUSE to become
    CAUSE to do
- Dowty 1979, Foley & Van Valin 1984, Givón 1984

Activity → Accomplishment

Dia potong kayu. (unmarked-ambiguous)

    'He is cutting wood.' (*activity*-DO cutting) /
    'He cut wood.' (*accomplishment*-CAUSE [to become] *cut*)'

Dia su potong kayu.

    'He (already) cut wood.' (*accomplishment*)

Dia ada potong kayu.

    'He is cutting wood.' (*activity*)

/*ame*/ in SVC → accomplishment

Activity (imperfective)

Dia pung waktu barana su sampe. Ma dia barana susa.

3s POSS time birth PRF arrive but 3s birth difficult

'Her time for giving birth had come. But she gave birth with difficulty.'

Accomplishment (perfective result)

Ana-ana yang dong barana ame tu, beta pung cucu samua.

children REL 3p birth take DIST 1s POSS grandchild all

'The children that they have born, are all my grandchildren.'

/*ame*/ marking accomplishment

gigi ame	'bite'
beli ame	'buy up, buy off, pay off'
tipu ame	'deceive, trick (successfully)'
hela ame	'pull out, pull away'
pange ame	'call, summon'
ika ame	'tie up, bind'
bawa ame	'carry off, take away'
sonto ame	'touch (successfully)'
cuci ame	'wash (until clean)'

/*buang*/ in SVC → accomplishment

Activity (process, imperfective)

Dia pung mama hapus kasi karíng dia pung aer mata.

3s   POSS mother wipe   give=CAUS dry 3s   POSS tear

'*Her mother was wiping her tears dry.*'

Accomplishment (result, perfective)

Beta su hapus buang lu pung utang dong samua.

1s   PRF wipe   throw out 2s POSS debt   3p   all

'*I have wiped out/cancelled out all of your debts.*'

/*buang*/ marking accomplishment

ilang buang	'disappear (completely)'
ancor buang	'destroy (completely)'
cere buang	'divorce, separate (totally)'
malele buang	'leak out (completely)'
lapás buang	'freed, released'
ganti buang	'totally replace'
bongkar buang	'tear down'
layu buang	'wither away'

/su/ vs. /ame/ & /buang/

- ❑ perfective aspect (only function of /**su**/)
- ❑ directionality
- ❑ deliberation or force on the part of the Actor
- ❑ degree of effectedness of Undergoer (thoroughly, completely)
- ❑ assumption of on-going use or relevance of Undergoer with /**ame**/
- ❑ assumption of no more on-going use or relevance of the Undergoer with /**buang**/

Frequency of functions

- */ame/* as simple verb or main verb in SVC
  21% (136 of 649 occurrences)

- */ame/* modifying for directionality and aspect
  79% (513 of 649 occurrences)

- */buang/* as simple verb or main verb in SVC
  8% (36 of 431 occurrences)

- */buang/* modifying for directionality and aspect
  91% (395 of 431 occurrences)

In surrounding languages
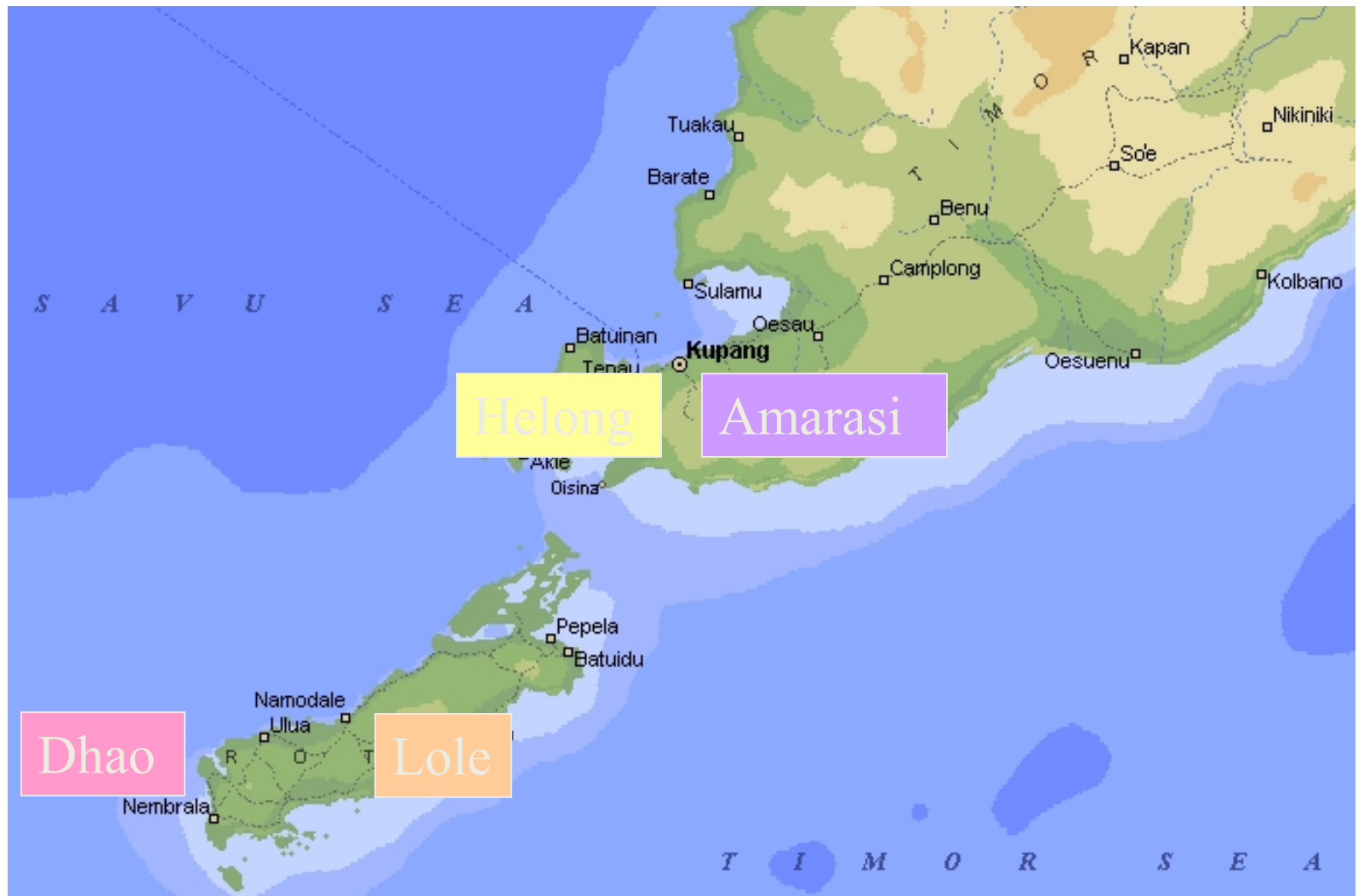
Directionality in Helong SVC's

Un pait maa lui la   lo.

3s   return come boat DIST NEG

  'He did not return to the boat.'

Kon oen loat le   kil   nolan maa.

also 3p   untie IRR hold take   come

'Then they untied (the cow) to lead it back here.'

Accomplishment in Helong SVC's

Mo eta ku huil nal dale   se halin kanan nia,...

but   if   2s   choose take ground LOC side right   PROX

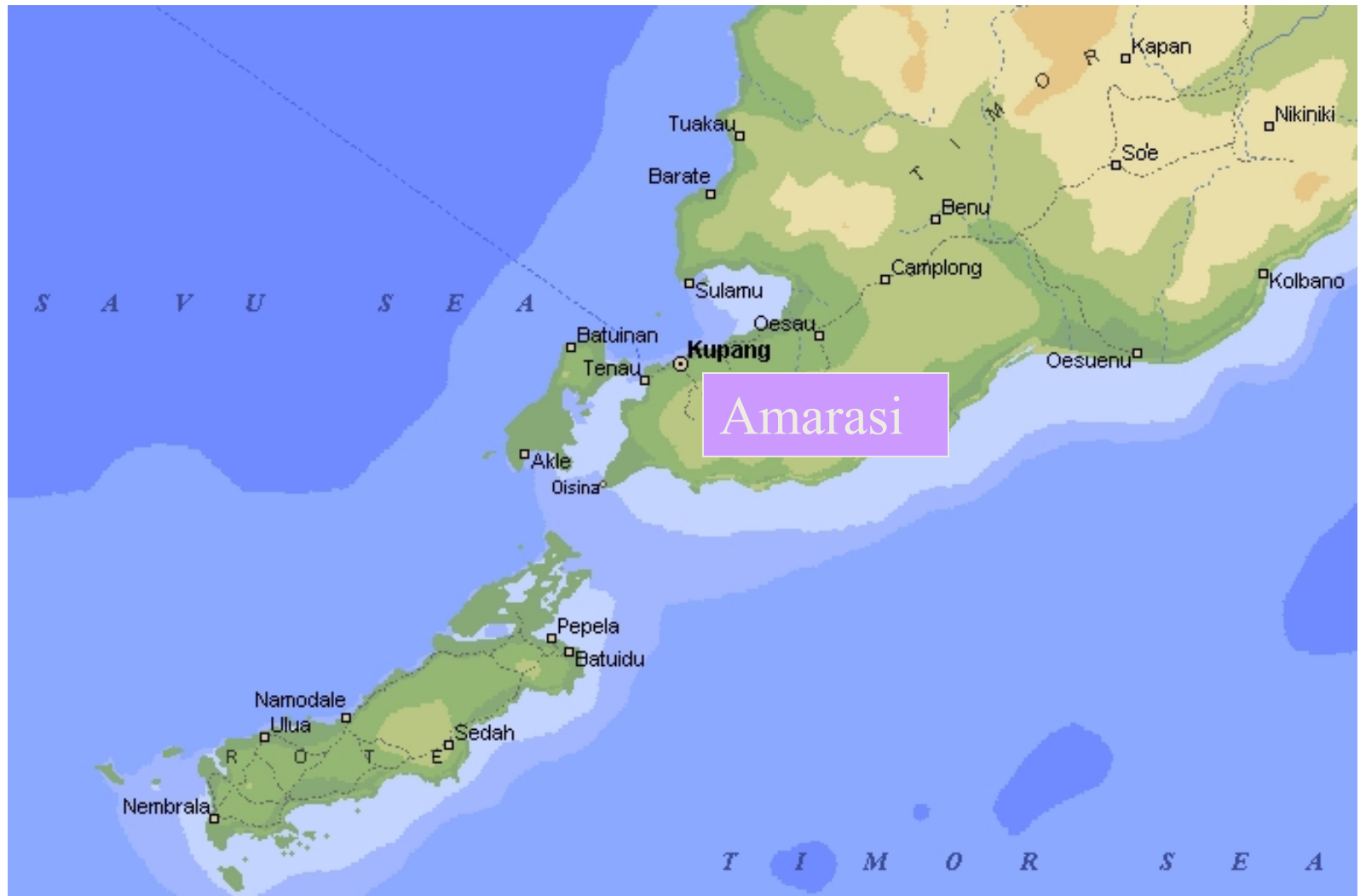   *'But if you choose the land on the right side,...'*
(like KM *pili ame*)

Oen hutun soleng   una.

3p   push   throw away 3s

1) 'They pushed him away (physically). 2) They rejected him.'
   (like KM *tola buang*)

Amarasi – in Uab Meto chain

Directionality in Amarasi SVCs

Manse nmaeb on nana te, kor-kefi nana <u>nfain</u> <u>neem</u>.

sun   fall   like that   bird-dove DIST 3-return 3s-come

'During the late afternoon the dove came back.'

Nai' Petrus nbukae nrari te, in <u>nfeen</u> <u>annao</u> kuun.

HON Peter 3s-eat   finish   3s 3-get up 3s-go immediate

'When Peter had finished eating, he got up and left immediately.'

Accomplishment in Amarasi SVC's

Onaim bi Omi <u>nabaak</u> <u>neik</u> in aamf ee in baer ein.

then HON Naomi steal take 3sP father DEF 3sP thing PL

'Then Naomi stole her fathers belongings.'
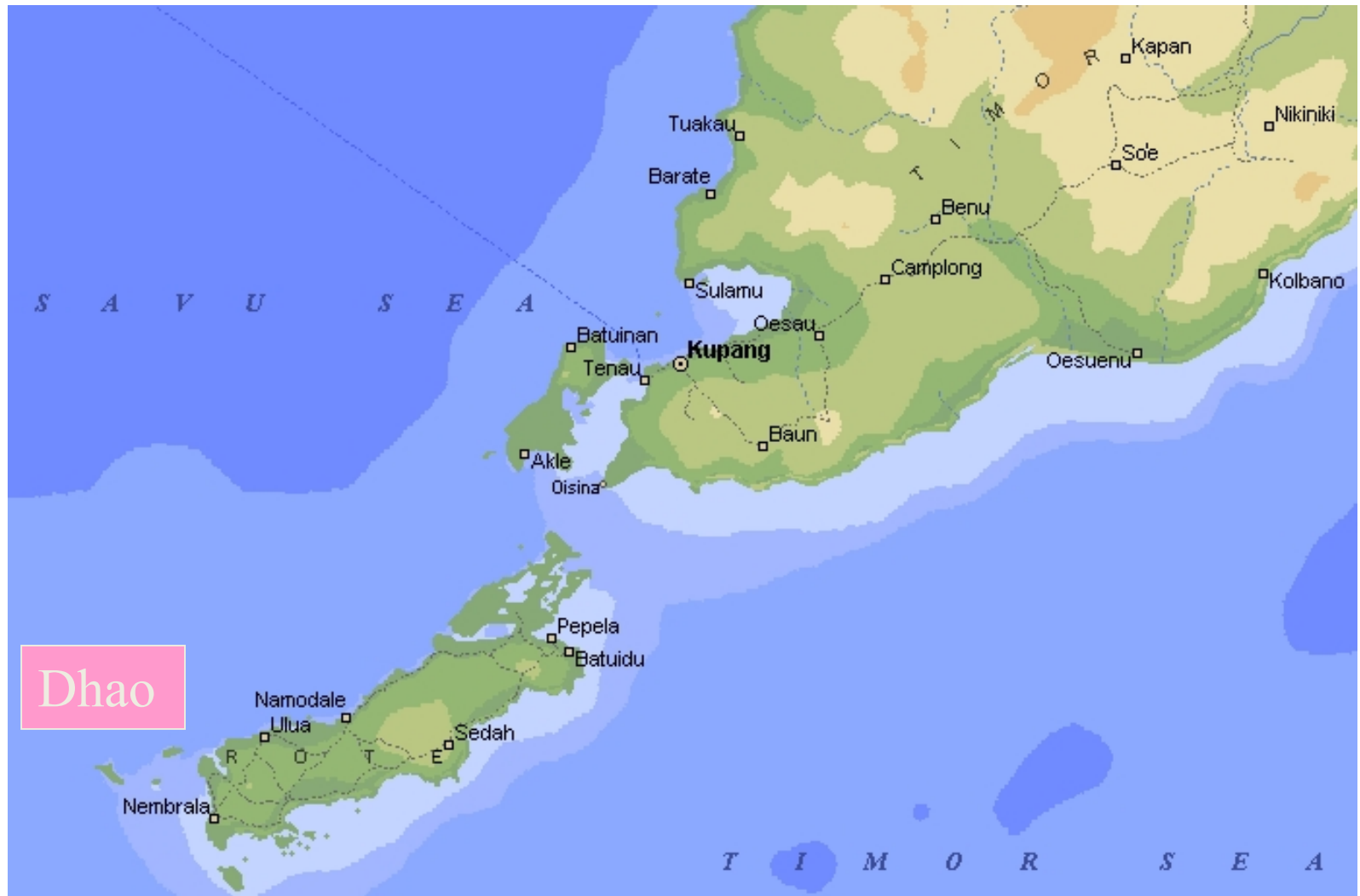   **(like KM *curi ame*)**

Usif of <u>naiti</u> <u>nporin</u> naan je na'ko in ini, ma nakrait ee.

king later lift   throw out DIST 3sO 3s-from 3sP possession and 3-destroy 3sO

'The king will exclude him from his people, and destroy him.'
   (like KM *angka buang*)

Dhao (off Rote)

Directionality in Dhao SVC's

Ja'a puru   madha ku mai, sèna ka ...

1s   descend eye   first come purpose

'I will come down so ...'

Hèia na paca'e ana-dhèu èmu na asa dedha jara lasi.

then 3s CAUS-ascend child-spouse 3s DAT top horse go-3p

'Then he set his wife and children up on top of the horses.'

Accomplishment in Dhao SVCs

Hèia <u>puu</u> <u>nare</u> ka hua aj'u èèna, ka   na'e.

then   pick 3-take PRF fruit tree DIST then2 3-eat

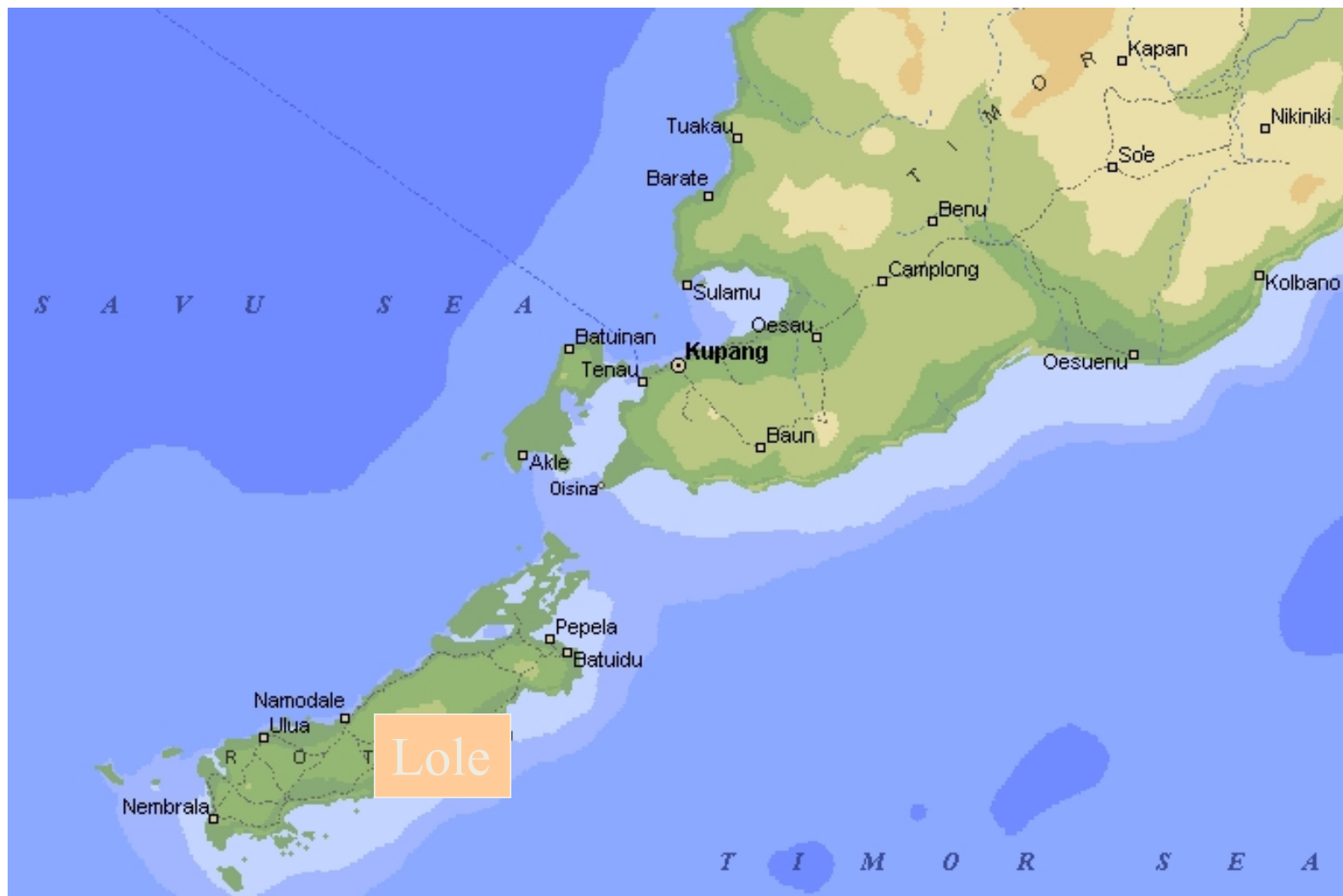*'Then he picked the fruit off that tree and ate it.'*
   (like KM *ketu ame*)

Nèngu <u>bège</u> <u>eele</u>   ja'a nèti   era ne'e.

3s   evict   throw out 1s   3s-from place PROX

'He kicked me out of this place.'
   (like KM *usir buang*)

Lole – in Rote chain

Directionality in Lole SVC's

Boe ma Yohanis <u>kalua</u> neme uma dale <u>mai</u>.

then   John   exit   from   house inside come

'Then John came out from inside the house.'

Hataholi ndia boe oo <u>neni</u> uma   dale   <u>neu</u>.

person   DIST also   3s-go1 house inside 3s-go2

'That person also went into the house.'

Accomplishment in Lole SVC's

Hataholi ndia <u>ha'i</u>   <u>nala</u>   i'a boak   kadua,…

person   DIST   pick up 3s-take fish CLASS two

'That man picked up the two fish,…'
(like KM *angka ame*)

Te   neuko sambak   ndia si'dan de <u>loo</u> <u>heni</u>   tua nasu.

elaborate later   leaf bucket DIST break so leak throw away pal mjuice

'Because later the lontar leaf bucket will break and the palm juice will all leak out.'
(like KM *malele buang*)

Summary

In this paper, we have described:

1.   Grammatical mechanisms in Kupang Malay SVCs for indicating aspect and directionality that have no close parallels in the grammar of standard Malay (Indonesian).

We have demonstrated that:

2. There are close semantic, functional and structural parallels in the SVCs of four local vernacular (substrate) languages with which Kupang Malay has been in contact since its early development as a creole.

More specifically, we have shown that:

a. Kupang can use */ame/* 'take, get, fetch' and */buang/* 'throw out, throw away, discard' as simple transitive verbs;

b. Kupang can use */ame/* and */buang/* as the main verb in SVCs*;*

c. Kupang can use */ame/* and */buang/* as secondary or modifying verbs in SVCs;

d. Kupang can use */ame/* in SVCs to indicate energy, motion, direction, or semantic orientation toward the Actor or action of a verb;

e. Kupang can use /buang/ in SVCs to indicate energy. motion, direction, or semantic orientation away from the Actor or action of a verb;

f. Kupang can use */ame/* and */buang/* in SVCs to indicate perfective aspect, changing an activity verb into an accomplishment verb in ways that are slightly different than the force of the normal preverbal TAM perfective marker /su/;

g. Kupang can use */ame/* and /*buang*/ in SVCs to indicate an implication of deliberation or force on the part of the Actor, or degree of effectedness on the part of the Undergoer;

h. Kupang can use / *ame*/ in SVCs to indicate ongoing usefulness or relevance in the continuing discourse;

i. Kupang can use / *buang*/ in SVCs to indicate there is no ongoing usefulness or relevance in the continuing discourse.

Makasi bambanya!

Arigato gosaimasu!