Aspect and Directionality
in Kupang Malay
Serial Verb Constructions

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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 manyapu kasi barisi kintal balakang.
3s sweep give=CAU clean yard back
‘She swept the backyard clean.’

Bemo len Tarus maen pulang bale angka 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  \(\rightarrow\) 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 \(\rightarrow\) action + purpose OR action + result

\textit{pi mati} \quad ‘go to die / went and died’

\textit{iko mati} \quad ‘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 \(\rightarrow\) 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 \( \rightarrow \) 
tightly related sequence (inceptive + action)

\begin{align*}
\textit{pi ame} & \quad \text{‘go to fetch / went and fetched’} \\
\textit{pi semba} & \quad \text{‘go worship’} \\
\textit{pi bawa} & \quad \text{‘go take’} \\
\textit{pi badame} & \quad \text{‘go make peace / go restore right relationships’} \\
\textit{pi taro} & \quad \text{‘go put’} \\
\textit{pi urus} & \quad \text{‘go arrange’} \\
\textit{dudu maken} & \quad \text{‘sit to eat / sit and eat’} \\
\textit{badiri sambayang} & \quad \text{‘stand to pray / stand and pray’} \\
\textit{badiri mangada} & \quad \text{‘stand to face / stand facing’}
\end{align*}
/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 ame tana sadiki ko taro pi pot.
so then 3s take ground little IRR put go flower pot
‘So then she took a little soil to put in the flower pot.’

Amper sadiki beta ame sang dia jadi beta pung bini!
almost little 1s take PREP 3s become 1s POSS wife
‘I nearly took her as my wife!’
/ame/ as main verb in SVC

*Dong ame bawa 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 ame kambali beta pung barang-barang yang dia ada 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
- tapis buang
- kasi parsén buang
- jual buang

‘brush off’
‘winnow out’
‘give away’
‘1) sell off, 2) betray’
Contrast /ame/ & /buang/ 

Ais dia angka ame galás yang ada isi laru.
then 3s lift take glass REL DUR contents palmjuice
‘Then he picked up a glass which was filled with palmjuice.’

Tukang dong su angka buang itu batu.
craftsman 3p PRF lift throw out DIST rock
‘The craftsmen had already discarded that rock.’
Contrast /ame/ & /buang/

Tempo hari beta suru potong ame dia pung kapala.
‘At that (previous) time I had ordered that his head be cut off.’
(Use of /ame/ here implies that the head is to be brought back or kept for a purpose.)

Nanti raja suru orang datang potong buang bapa pung kapala.
‘The king is going to order people to come and cut off 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/

<table>
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<th>NON-ACTIVE (S=U)</th>
<th>ACTIVE (S=A)</th>
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<td>PERFECTIVE</td>
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Activity $\rightarrow$ 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.**

‘He is cutting wood.’ (unmarked-ambiguous) / ‘He cut 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 $\rightarrow$ 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

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<tr>
<td>gigi ame</td>
<td>‘bite’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beli ame</td>
<td>‘buy up, buy off, pay off’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tipu ame</td>
<td>‘deceive, trick (successfully)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hela ame</td>
<td>‘pull out, pull away’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pange ame</td>
<td>‘call, summon’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ika ame</td>
<td>‘tie up, bind’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bawa ame</td>
<td>‘carry off, take away’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sonto ame</td>
<td>‘touch (successfully)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cuci ame</td>
<td>‘wash (until clean)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
/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 affectedness 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

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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 nfain neem.

‘During the late afternoon the dove came back.’

Nai’ Petrus nbukae nrari te, in nfeen annao kuun.

‘When Peter had finished eating, he got up and left immediately.’
Accomplishment in Amarasi SVC’s

Onaim bi Omi nabaak neik 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 naiti nporin 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 puu nare 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 bège eele 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 kalua neme uma dale mai.
then John exit from house inside come
‘Then John came out from inside the house.’

Hataholi ndia boe oo neni uma dale neu.
person DIST also 3s-go1 house inside 3s-go2
‘That person also went into the house.’
Accomplishment in Lole SVC’s

_Hataholi ndia ha’i nala 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 loo heni 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_)

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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!