decades, the language has been getting closer to scenario (b). As a consequence of this intermediate position, the contact situation is particularly complex. Living partially in diglossia, speakers are bilingual, often even dominant in their second (Romance) language. On the other hand, they now live in an era of functional expansion, where Basque has official status, and some may want to live like monolinguals, as if they did not know, or even need, Spanish. At the same time, the contact situation is extremely old, so that certain diffused features are shared by other Iberian languages, such as Catalan or Portuguese. And to make things worse, the superstrate languages vary depending on time and place: Latin, Gascon, Spanish, French, and, increasingly, English.

References

6

Language Contact and Convergence in East Timor
The Case of Tetun Dili

JOHN HAJEK

Tetun Dili (TD), an Austronesian language, is East Timor's main lingua franca and the first language of Dili, the nation's capital.1 It has been heavily influenced by Portuguese (and to a lesser degree in the past by Malay). There has been since 1999 a resurgence in contact with Portuguese. Yet much remains to be understood. To begin with, its origins, the extent to which it has been influenced by other local languages, and the extent to which it has in turn influenced them. Tetun Dili is sometimes referred to as a creole (e.g. Ethnologue 35), or a pidgin (e.g. Hagège 2002), and for many the assumption is that it first developed as a result of contact with Portuguese. Closer inspection does not support such a position. Contact with Portuguese, albeit substantial, seems to be relatively recent, some time after the rise of Tetum as a lingua franca. Instead, comparison of TD with more conservative varieties of Tetum, as well as with neighbouring languages, in particular Mambae, shows evidence of marked areal influence.

To address the issue of the competing sources of contact and the differences in their patterns of impact on TD, the focus of this chapter is on the following comparisons:

(1) Portuguese and TD
(2) TD and Tetun Fehan (conservative variety of Tetum) and Mambae.

1 Tetun Dili is also referred to in English as Dili Tetum. It is common practice in East Timor and elsewhere to refer to it (and all other varieties of Tetum) simply as Tetum, and the practice is sometimes followed here. All speakers are easily able to distinguish TD from other varieties of Tetum, with intercomprehension often difficult (see below). All Tetum Dili examples are given in currently recommended standard orthography.
Two very different patterns emerge from our results: the first involves a new process of grammatical reinforcement and complexification (rather than the often presumed pidginization), alongside an earlier longer-term pattern of local convergence and simplification involving Mambae and other languages of the area.

1 Languages of East Timor and East Timor as a linguistic area

Some twenty languages are indigenous to East Timor. Most are Austronesian (AN) and are closely related, falling within the same subgroup (see e.g. Ethnologue 35). Four others (Fatalku, Makalero, Makasae, and Bunak) are all related non-Austronesian (NAN, or Papuan) and are mostly concentrated in the far east. Both groups show marked convergence to shared patterns, with a strong tendency to isolating nature, many similar grammatical structures, lexical influence, etc. However, we note with respect to constituent order that NAN languages are strongly AOV with postpositions, while AN languages are AVO with prepositions.

There are two major varieties of Tetum, spoken in three physically separated areas: (1) TD spoken in a small enclave setting in an otherwise traditionally Mambae-speaking area on East Timor’s northern coast. It has approximately 50,000–60,000 L1 speakers, and many more L2 speakers (possibly 600,000–700,000); (2) the outlying rural varieties, often referred to as Tetun Terik (TT), spoken in two large areas far from Dili. The first lies on both sides of the border between East and Indonesian West Timor (e.g. Tetun Fehan (TF) described by van Klinken 1999), and the second lies further east on the southern coast as far as Viqueque. These varieties are grammatically more conservative and show much less Portuguese influence.

A major issue remains how to determine the circumstances in which TD came to be established in Dili. There is a lack of historical and linguistic documentation, but records suggest Tetum was a lingua franca in the (otherwise Mambae-speaking) Dili area and elsewhere before the arrival of the Portuguese. This and other evidence presented below indicates that the basic morphosyntactic characteristics of TD result not from relatively recent contact with Portuguese but from longer-term contact with Mambae (and other local languages) within a wider shared linguistic area (see also Hull 2001, 2004).

2 Language Contact Situation

2.1 Historical overview of language contact and ecology

The Portuguese made first contact with the island of Timor in the early 1500s, and began a long and slow process of establishing control and eventual colonization. However, before and after their arrival in the region, two powerful Tetum-speaking kingdoms controlled much of Timor, and dominated the ethnic groups around them, including the Mambae. Portuguese reports from the early 1600s note the use of Tetum throughout the eastern half of Timor (Thomaz 1982: 55). At the same time, both Malay and Portuguese were widely used as lingua francas throughout the wider region, with frequent creolization of Portuguese throughout Asia (Caudelmont 1994). In East Timor the use of Malay, previously an important coastal trade language, declined rapidly in the nineteenth century. In the twentieth century its use persisted only in the Oe-Cusse enclave in West Timor.

Dili was founded by the Portuguese only in 1769, relatively late in the peace. Until the late nineteenth century Portuguese control outside of Dili was limited and dependent mainly on the maintenance of local alliances. Final pacification occurred only in the early 1900s but led to an intensification of Portuguese colonization. By the 1960s a major focus of this process was the active dissemination of Portuguese language and culture among the East
Timorese. Reports from the nineteenth century until the 1970s confirm the coexistence of Portuguese and TD in the colonial capital. Political developments in the 1970s favoured the rapid promotion and use of TD for public expression in ways that were previously not possible. However, the Indonesian invasion in 1975 led to a process of intensive linguistic Indonesianization: Portuguese was systematically replaced by Indonesian (a variety of Malay) from the public sphere, administration, and schools. In 1981 under intense pressure from Indonesian authorities, Portuguese was also replaced by Tetum as the liturgical language used by the local Roman Catholic Church keen to avoid the adoption of Indonesian (Hajek 2000).

After the referendum in 1999 on self-determination and subsequent full independence, language policy took yet another dramatic turn: the official use of Portuguese is today fully reinstated in East Timor and shares with Tetum co-official language status. Indonesian and English (introduced by the post-1999 interim United Nations administration) are recognized as working languages until further notice, but a clear expectation remains in most quarters that the use of Indonesian will ultimately disappear from most sectors. In the meantime it still appears widely in the press, since it remains the language of literacy for the largest number of East Timorese.

Despite Indonesia’s best efforts between 1975 and 1999, Indonesian influence on TD and other languages of East Timor has been decidedly superficial (as noted by Hull 2004) and is avoided, especially in written and higher registers. Recent grammatical descriptions (Williams-van Klinken, Hajek, and Nordlinger 2002; Hull and Eccles 2001) make little or no mention of Indonesian influence in contrast to frequent reference to the impact of Portuguese.

Given East Timor’s complex linguistic history, it is not surprising that today multilingualism is common. Most adults speak at least three languages, if not more: their own local language, TD, Indonesian, and/or Portuguese. Current estimates suggest 65–80 per cent of East Timorese speak TD, 50 per cent Indonesian, 10–20 per cent Portuguese, and only 1 per cent English. Although there is no doubt that for most East Timorese TD is the preferred means of interethnic communication, there is some local bilingualism, especially at the boundaries of ethnic groups and in some mixed areas outside of Dili.

2.2 Relations, roles, and contact within the community

A clear hierarchy has long existed with colonial languages (Portuguese and Indonesian) dominating over indigenous languages (Hajek 2000). However, since 1999 TD has rapidly gained status, and the influence of Portuguese, especially on TD, is resurgent. This latter phenomenon is significantly facilitated by the need for TD to meet the challenge of co-official status since 2001. It now has to function in spheres that were once not open to it, nor previously anticipated: as a fully fledged written medium, a language of higher-level and technical registers and communication, and preferred medium of school instruction (alongside Portuguese).

In an effort to meet all these challenges, there has been a concerted effort to standardize Tetum as quickly as possible. 'Official Tetum' is the newly designated standard form under the auspices of the Instituto Nacional de Línguística in Dili. It is overwhelmingly TD in nature but includes some (mainly lexical) elements of more conservative rural Tetum varieties more resistant to Portuguese loans (especially evident in the church register, which in turn is difficult for normal TD speakers to understand, cf. Williams-van Klinken 2001). Other normativist tendencies in Official Tetum include the regular marking of glottal stops retained in rural Tetum but completely lost in TD, and the avoidance, other than in fixed phrases, of Portuguese gender and number marking in loans (but in TD, actual practice varies considerably, see §53.2.1 and 3.2.4).

In contrast to colonial linguistic dominance, there is evidence of a prior situation of contact of equality or balance between TD and the other East Timor languages. This is confirmed by a long-term pattern of stable bilingualism and multilingualism with no language shift to TD outside of Dili. Linguistic traits seem to have diffused in both directions—since TD and other (especially AN) languages are so similar. But there is a clearly emerging pattern of increasing TD dominance since the 1970s, and especially 1999, with an increasing use of TD loans everywhere.

Interethnic contact is high, and there are no restrictions on social relations, such as intermarriage. The use and spread of TD is also favoured by high levels of mobility, especially to Dili, and by the role of the local Roman Catholic Church in promoting Tetum.

TD is essentially an urban language, with no rural L1 base (unlike all other languages in East Timor, including other varieties of Tetum). It has as a result no traditional literature typical of all others in the region (e.g. Fox 1988; Corte-Real 1998). It is also the only local language to appear regularly in the media (especially in written and televised form), and whose use is officially promoted in schools and official fora.

3 During this time contact between Tetum and non-standard varieties of Portuguese was also possible in Dili. These included two creoles spoken by small communities (imported Macanese Creole and local Sidan Creole which shows significant influence from TD, see Baxter 1999). Any specific impact they may have had on TD is still to be determined. See also fn. 5.

4 Whilst direct evidence of specifically Indonesian influence on TD is difficult to find (even loans commonly used until 1999 are now usually replaced by Portuguese equivalents, e.g. Indonesian kalau by Tetum coluna, the possibility that a knowledge of written Indonesian has reinforced the use of Portuguese-like structures and patterns where they are similar, e.g. hypotactic syntactic style, cannot be excluded.
2.3 Language attitudes and awareness

There is very high awareness of ethnolinguistic membership across the nation. Individuals’ attitudes towards their own language(s) and especially to TD are generally very positive. As already noted, speakers of other languages are very receptive to the influence of TD (which has also acted as a mediator for Portuguese influence), and the only two areas (Oé-Cusse enclave, and Lospalos area) where TD was not a traditional lingua franca are moving rapidly to adopt it.

The general attitude to Portuguese is more mixed (and sometimes negative) with respect to official status and its reintegration in schools, although at the level of officialdom and the traditional Portuguese-speaking elite, attitudes are very positive. On the other hand, the return to Portuguese influence on TD is accepted by all sides.

Attitudes to Indonesian are mixed to extremely negative, and there is an evident avoidance of using or borrowing from Indonesian since 1999, especially in the press and media, government and education (where it is being phased out). There is, however, an older and very noticeable stratum of pre-twentieth-century Malay loans that are fully accepted as native to TD, e.g. Malay klat ‘lightning’ > ‘gun’. It remains difficult however, in the absence of historical documentation, to disentangle local areo-genetic grammatical phenomena from the possible effects of pre-twentieth century contact with Malay (but see Hull 2001).

3 Grammars in Contact

3.1 Brief typological profile of Tetun Dili

Tetun Dili is best characterized as tending towards isolating, with very little truly productive morphology. The language is neither head- nor dependent-marking, and grammatical relations are expressed by constituent order. Constituent order in TD is typically AVO and SV, and there is no passive.

Given the combination of all of these features, the preponderance of Portuguese loans, the long period of Portuguese contact in East Timor, and until recently a lack of information about other East Timorese languages, it has been easy to presume that TD is a creolized or pidginized language arising from contact between the Portuguese and the local East Timorese population (see above). But if anything, the opposite seems more correct.

3.2 The Impact of Portuguese on Tetun Dili

3.2.1 Phonology Of TD’s twenty-two consonant phonemes, eleven (/p g v z f s k l r j/ and partly /w/) are borrowed from Portuguese (with some reinforcement by Malay). The influence of Portuguese is also clearly seen in TD phonotactics and phonological processes, such as the optional process of s-palatalization in Portuguese loans and native terms, e.g. loaned /feʃtal/ [feʃtal] ~ [feʃfa] ‘party’ and native /faʃ/ [faʃ] ~ [haʃ] ‘mango’.

3.2.2 Lexicon There has been massive borrowing into TD, especially of technical terminology, from Portuguese. Given historical contact also with Malay, this has led to many doublets, triplets, and overlap: e.g. ponte (Portuguese), lalete (Tetum), and jambatan (< Malay jambatan) ‘bridge’. Also common is the borrowing of phrases with full Portuguese grammatical agreement, such as Nasaens Unidas ‘United Nations’, primeiro ministro ‘Prime Minister’, primeira klase ‘grade one’, dates (dia 30 de agosto ‘30 August’), large numbers especially in prices, years, clock-times (duaoras ‘two o’clock’), as well as greetings and most social conventions (sentidos pėxames ‘I’m sorry for your loss’).

Since Portuguese has long been the primary source for abstract terms and modern terminology in TD, speakers and especially writers borrow from it with renewed vigour today (cf. Williams-van Klinken 2004). As a result, the frequency of Portuguese loans (10–30 per cent of unique forms in normal spoken discourse) can rise to 60–80 per cent in complex, high-level documents such as East Timor’s official constitution.

A weaker, countervailing tendency balances the use of Portuguese loanwords with that of native equivalents as well as items drawn from conservative Tetun Terik (TT).8 TT has some status as the language of traditional oral literature and for historical reasons the influence of TT is especially evident in church register (see Williams-van Klinken 2001; Thomaz 1981). However, in practice, in non-religious contexts TT influence on TD is largely limited to the emblematic use of TT forms such as no (alongside TD ha, i) ‘and’ and wainhira (TD baínhira) ‘when’, and the variable orthographic marking of glottal stops no longer pronounced in TD, e.g. ne’e ‘here’.

3.2.3 Lexical borrowing and patterns of grammatical structure Not surprisingly, the extreme levels of lexical borrowing from Portuguese also have consequences for the grammatical structure of TD. Native words are often precategorical, e.g. moris ‘life’ (N), ‘to live’ (V), and ‘alive’ (Adj). The precise function and meaning of such items can only be determined by syntactic

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8 In spoken TD, Indonesian-educated speakers may also use Indonesian numbers and dates. But this use is avoided in written language.

The notion of balance is used here since the utility of and need to continue drawing lexical resources from Portuguese is widely recognized. At the same time native creativity is also accepted, e.g. use of loaned independência alongside ulkan rans-en (lit. rule self-RSF), for ‘independence’.
position. However, the complex morphological structure of Portuguese ensures for that language a much clearer delineation of basic word classes, such that nouns, for instance, are immediately distinguishable from verbs. Although the morphological complexities of Portuguese are often reduced after borrowing, the distinction between categories is typically maintained in TD, e.g. eduka 'to educate' (V) < Port. educa 'educates' (3SG.PRES) vs. edukuasun (N) < educação 'education'. This difference in type leads to a major subdivision between native and loaned lexicon, each with its own morphological system.

While the borrowing of N, V, and ADJ appears to be direct and unrestricted, the borrowing of grammatical items and structures can be mediated through 'lexical pairing' where native and borrowed grammatical forms appear optionally together, as in (1):

(1) purposive: atu, hodi, para atu, atu para, para hodi, para 'in order that, so that' (< Port. para 'for, in order to')
relativizer: n'ebé (lit. 'where'), n'ebé ke, ke (< Port. que COMP/REL)

This process is also a mechanism for the gradual mediation of grammatical change in TD, as in (2). The native construction to express 'during' involves a complex locative-possessed body part construction. In Portuguese the equivalent construction involves the use of the preposition durante (similarly to English during). Both structures are possible in TD, as is an intermediate construction that combines them, and allows for a smooth transition from the older native structure to the newer, less complex one:

(2) iha Agustu nia laran 'during August' (body part construction)
    loc August 3SG inside
durante Agustu nia laran ('Portuguese durante
     durante Agustu
     'during')

3.2.4 Morphology TD is resistant to morphological borrowing. It avoids the complexities of Portuguese verb morphology: all verbs are borrowed 'stripped' in the 3SG form of the present tense, e.g. eduka seen previously.6

There has been limited borrowing of gender and number marking in nouns and adjectives. These are system-altering changes but occur within well-defined limits.

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A small set of Portuguese nouns and adjectives are obligatorily marked for gender by all speakers, e.g.:

(3) N  tia 'uncle', tia 'aunt', primo 'male cousin', prima 'female cousin'
    mestre 'male teacher', mestra 'female teacher'

ADJ bonitu 'handsome' (m), bonita 'pretty' (f)

With these items, gender agreement also occurs outside of NPs, e.g. Nia bonitu (m) 'He is good-looking' vs. Nia bonita (f) 'She is pretty'. Otherwise, gender agreement between nouns and adjectives is only possible within NPs. Gender agreement always occurs on Portuguese adjectives that precede a Portuguese noun, e.g. primeira klase 'first class' (f.sg) vs. primeira ministr' 'prime minister' (m.sg). Feminine gender agreement is variable—and avoided by many speakers—in postposed adjectives after Portuguese feminine nouns, in collocations which have not been borrowed as fixed phrases, e.g. primeira fase (f.sg agreement) vs. fase primeira (no agreement) 'first phase', desizan kritiku ~ kritiku 'critical decision', Uniaun Europea ~ Europeu 'European Union'. In fixed phrases, post-nominal gender agreement always occurs, e.g. Nasoens Unidas (f.pl) 'United Nations'.

Portuguese loans may also be marked for number, although such marking on nouns and adjectives (involving -s) is regular only in borrowed phrases, e.g. Nasoens Unidas (f.pl) 'United Nations'. Otherwise it is optional, and not particularly common in spoken language. It does, however, appear to be becoming more frequent in written registers. This effect seems to be reinforced by an accidental semi-overlap of grammatical forms. Portuguese plural suffix -s coincides with the start of the post-nominal definite plural marker sira. In the following examples, all taken from the same text, we see first the expected native pluralization strategy in (4). But in (5) plurality is doubly marked, with Portuguese -s and s- of TD sira appearing together and forming a homophonic sequence, as underlined in the first example, and then also appearing apart:

(4) pasiente sira 'the patients' (lit. patient 3pl)
    pasiente lepra sira 'the leprosy patients' (lit. patient leprosy 3pl)

(5) pasientes sira 'the patients' (lit. patient:3pl 3pl)
    pasientes lepra sira 'the leprosy patients' (lit. patient:3pl leprosy 3pl)

Nouns are normally unmarked for number before postposed numerals as in (8a) with optional human classifier. However, explicit plural marking on Portuguese loans is possible, and follows the Portuguese pattern of number agreement in this context, without a classifier:

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6 Baxter (1996) notes an overwhelming (although not total) preference for the 3SG form of the present in Bisau Creole Portuguese formerly spoken in Dili. It is not clear, however, which is the borrowing language, TD or Bisau Creole. In other Portuguese creoles, there is a general preference for the (typically stress-final) infinitives to be used, with a tendency to shift stress to the penult (typical of the Portuguese present tense) in connected speech (A. Baxter, p.c.).
(8) (a) pasiente (na’in) rua vs. (b) pasientes rua
patient (noble) 2 patient: mpl 2

Two patients

The only affix that appears to have been truly nativized is the agentive -dór with
the restricted sense in TD of ‘someone who habitually does something (often
pejorative)’, e.g. hemu ‘drink’ > hemudór ‘someone who likes to drink (m/f)’. Patterned
on borrowed forms such as fumadór ‘smoker’, it is the only Portuguese affix that
can be applied to a native root, but it never shows number or gender agreement,
in contrast to -dór in Portuguese loans, e.g. administradór ‘male administrator’ vs.
administradora ‘female administrator’.

3.2.5 Syntax The syntactic patterns of TD are increasingly influenced by
contact with Portuguese (the effects of which may be further reinforced by
local knowledge of written Indonesian in turn long influenced by contact with
Indo-European languages, such as Sanskrit, Dutch, and English). TD is showing,
amongst other things, a general shift from unmarked clause juxtaposition
(parataxis), through a markedly Portuguese-style use of conjunctions and
coordinators (hypotaxis). This is especially evident in higher registers and it
marks TD out from other East Timorese languages (including conservative Tetum),
which generally prefer unmarked clause chaining.

Native mechanisms to express inter-clausal relations already exist but are
not obligatory and are traditionally often omitted. However, their use is
clearly reinforced by the use of Portuguese conjuncts and patterns, as
seen in Table 1. In all cases Portuguese loans appear in clause-initial position,
which is not always the case with their native equivalents.

As in (7), native and borrowed forms and structures can also optionally
coincide, appear as alternatives, or be absent, as in the following example:

(7) (se) ò haka r (karik), be le bá uma
     (if) 2sg want (perhaps), can go house
If you want, you can go home

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Native</th>
<th>Portuguese loan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Purpose</td>
<td>atu, hodi</td>
<td>para</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Condition</td>
<td>karik ‘perhaps’ (V__)</td>
<td>se</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concession</td>
<td>bele ‘can’ (S__, _S)</td>
<td>mezmu [ké], enbora</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mês ‘also’ (V__)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sequence</td>
<td>mak</td>
<td>depois</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consequence</td>
<td>ne’e duni</td>
<td>entaro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘and’</td>
<td>ho</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. Native and borrowed conjuncts in Tetun Dili

The frequent use of explicit complementation outside of reported speech in
TD, especially in writing, is generally uncharacteristic of East Timorese
languages, and appears also to be patterned after Portuguese. TD comple-
mentizers include both the fully grammaticalized native katak comp
(< archaic ‘to say’), and the Portuguese loan ke (< que comp/rbl) which
appears with this function only after Portuguese loans, as in (9).

(8) hau hanoin katak situasaun la di’ak
    1sg think comp situation nég good
I think that the situation is not good

(9) klasu ke situaun la di’ak
    clear comp situation nég good
It’s clear that the situation is not good

Another innovation in TD, as noted by Williams-van Klinken et al. (2002: 39),
is the ability of Portuguese abstract nouns to take complement clauses:

(10)  iha esperansa katak sistmu justisa sei di’ak iha 2004?
     loc hope comp system justice still good loc 2004
     Is there hope that the justice system will come good in 2004?

Portuguese influence also leads to verb-initial constituent order with a small
set of loaned verbs (aparense ‘appear’, akontese ‘happen’, falta ‘to be lacking’).
This ordering has spread from Portuguese loans to some native verbs, such as
mosu ‘appear’.

(11) falta ida tan karik
    lack one more perhaps
    Perhaps there is one more missing

(Williams-van Klinken et al 2002: 56)

A comparison of serial verb constructions (SVCs) in TD and Tetun Fehan shows
them to be less common in TD with contact with Portuguese identified as one of
the influencing factors at play (Hajek 2006). The effect of Portuguese is seen in the
appearance of single verb loans (informa for fô hatene [lit. give know] ‘to inform/ advise’), and the clear separation of adjectives as a class (they remain verbal
in Tetun Fehan), helping to reduce the overall range and frequency of SVCs.

3.2.6 Conclusions Overall, while TD is fully open to the influence of
Portuguese in phonology and lexicon, it is more resistant to borrowing
from Portuguese in other areas, especially morphology. Morphological
influence, although system changing, is very constrained and restricted
almost exclusively to borrowed Portuguese lexicon. Syntactic influence is
sometimes system altering, but mostly system reinforcing, increasing the
frequency of existing structures that were less used in the past. On the other hand, there is little direct evidence, with the partial exception of SVCs, that contact specifically with Portuguese has led to grammatical simplification.

### 3.3 Comparing Tetun Dili, Tetun Fehan, and Mamabe

The Mamabe are the largest ethnic group in East Timor, and are located in the heart of the East Timorese linguistic area. Many languages in this area share similarities in NP structure, word order, patterns of morphological reduction, and constructions involving possessives, comparatives, focus, and pluralization, as well as verbless clauses and TAM systems (Hull 2001 provides a useful overview). Indeed, Mamabe shows one of the greatest degrees of grammatical convergence and morphological simplification. Data presented here are from the northern dialect spoken in Ermera, relatively close to Dili, unless otherwise indicated.

Tetun Fehan (TF) is a rural variety of Tetun spoken in West Timor, and has had no contact with TD, and very little with Portuguese (van Klinken 1999). It is located towards the periphery of the linguistic area in question, and is accordingly more conservative, especially in its morphological structure. Even a cursory inspection of TF, TD, and Mamabe shows the last two to share many grammatical features and patterns that separate them from TF. One problem to resolve is the directionality of diffusion. The possible extent, for instance, of Mamabe lexical influence on TD remains unknown while the reverse, at least in recent times, is clear. Mamabe also shows significantly less evidence (mostly lexical) of Portuguese contact than TD, and remains closer to the traditional language type of the East Timorese linguistic area.

#### 3.3.1 Morphology

There is no doubt that TF retains a much more productive and expansive range of morphological affixes and processes than both TD and Mamabe. In TD only some of these affixes appear, but they show little or no productivity, with the limited exception of the causative ha- which for some speakers can be attached to borrowed roots, e.g. Port. fort ‘strong’ > ha-forte ‘to strengthen’. Otherwise a periphrastic causative is preferred, helo X ‘make/ do X’. In Mamabe affination is even more reduced. Fewer affixes can be identified and they occur relatively rarely. These are clearly frozen and are more typically dropped, such that the causative is now obligatorily periphrastic, as seen in the following comparison:

(12) TD: funan ‘bloom, blossom’
    hafunan ‘to make blossom’
    nakanfan ‘to blossom’

    Mamabe: hetu
    fun hetu (lit. make bloom)
    hetu

TF also retains a relatively wide use of reduplication, e.g. in N pluralization. By way of contrast, there is little use of reduplication as a morphological strategy in TD and Mamabe, with the primary exception of temporal adverbs (TD loron ‘day’ > loron-loron ‘daily’, Mamabe telo > telo-telo ‘daily’).

#### 3.3.2 Morphosyntax

Restricted subject (A/S) marking on verbs is characteristic of most of East Timor, with clear convergence towards complete loss around the Mamabe area. Baikenu, spoken in the East Timor enclave of Oe-Cusse and most peripheral to the linguistic area, retains a relatively complex morphological system, including extensive marking on all verbs (cf. Table 2). In TF, only partial marking survives: there is no marking on vowel-initial verbs, subject marking for any singular forms and 3-pl on verbs beginning with h-, and subject marking is further restricted to 1sg on other verbs with initial consonant. TD and Ermera Mamabe have no marking at all, while in Southern Mamabe subject marking survives only on the 3sg forms of vowel-initial verbs, e.g. n-er ‘he finds’ (3sg-find). Marking is also completely absent in neighbouring Isni, Kemak, and Tokodede, as well as Kairui-Midiki, Naueti, and Waima’a (Hull 2001). That convergence towards complete loss is still under way in the region is confirmed by the tendency to omit marking in TF (van Klinken 1999: 175), and variable patterns of marking in other varieties of Tetun Terik (cf. Hull 2001).

Many other differences separating TF from TD and Mamabe also demonstrate greater convergence and simplification between the latter two. TF has a set of full or tonic pronouns, alongside a reduced clitic-like set, e.g. ha’tu (tonic) ~ ha (reduced) ‘Ig’. Both TD and Mamabe have only a single unreduced set, e.g. TD

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Baikenu</th>
<th>TF, h-</th>
<th>TF, C-</th>
<th>Mamabe</th>
<th>TD, hán ‘eat’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>'futa</td>
<td>ká</td>
<td>ksai</td>
<td>et</td>
<td>hán</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg</td>
<td>mj futu</td>
<td>mà</td>
<td>sai</td>
<td>et</td>
<td>hán</td>
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<tr>
<td>3sg</td>
<td>n futu</td>
<td>ná</td>
<td>sai</td>
<td>et</td>
<td>hán</td>
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<tr>
<td>1pl inc</td>
<td>n futu</td>
<td>ná</td>
<td>sai</td>
<td>et</td>
<td>hán</td>
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<tr>
<td>1pl exc</td>
<td>mj futu</td>
<td>ná</td>
<td>sai</td>
<td>et</td>
<td>hán</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2pl</td>
<td>mj futu</td>
<td>ná</td>
<td>sai</td>
<td>et</td>
<td>hán</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3pl</td>
<td>mj futu</td>
<td>ná/ná</td>
<td>sai</td>
<td>et</td>
<td>hán</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


7 Given a marked tendency of [h] to be deleted in Mamabe, vowel-initial verbs have two historical sources: V- and h-, cf. historically related Mamabe et ‘find, see’ and TF bean ‘find’.
There is no doubt of TF’s greater conservatism, but there is also evidence of ongoing reduction given the tendency to omit argument marking on verbs. Baikenu, most peripheral to the East Timorese linguistic area, shares many features with all three languages, but is nevertheless the most conservative, retaining a much more complex morphological system, including full marking on verbs.

The historical origins of convergence in the East Timorese linguistic area are yet to be properly understood, but there are a number of hypotheses. Hull (2001) suggests, among other things, the influence of creolized Malay used as a local trade language. But such a hypothesis cannot explain the morphological complexity of Baikenu, spoken along the coast and the only part of East Timor where Malay has always been well established and maintained to this day, without competition from any variety of Tetum. More likely is long-term historical contact between AN and NandN languages, seen in their dispersed and partly intermingled distribution (cf. Map 1 and Hull 2004). As previously noted in §1, they have many features in common, such as a marked tendency towards largely isolating nature, and similar grammatical structures.

3.4 Overall typology of change in Tetun Dili

The process of TD becoming ‘Europeanized’ through contact with Portuguese has been under way for some time, but is clearly evident again now—as a result of the rise to co-official status of TD and language planning. Such an effect is hardly surprising given the sudden, immediate need for high-level writing and media activity in TD and the particular genres they involve. Few native structures show any simplifying effect that can be specifically associated with Portuguese contact; in the reduction of serial verb constructions for instance, Portuguese influence is one of a series of influencing factors. More common is a pattern of native structures coexisting with and reinforced by loaned forms and structures. Morphological loans in TD, however, though system altering, are in reality constrained to borrowed lexicon and are limited in scope. This resistance to morphological change reflects the largely isolating nature of the language.

Most evidence (chronological and comparative) suggests that the basic grammatical type of TD is not the result of contact with Portuguese, which is only relatively recent, but reflects longer-term linguistic convergence in the East Timor area showing a marked shift to an isolating grammatical type, especially evident in the Mambae and surrounding area. The historical direction of diffusion (Tetum > Mambae, Tetum < Mambae, Tetum < > Mambae) is difficult to establish, although the slightly more isolating nature of Mambae suggests that the process is older and more advanced in Mambae than in TD. Moreover, Hull (2004) suggests that the sound shift in TD from [w] to [b], e.g. TT [wei] to TD [be:] ‘water’ and the loss of historical glottal
stops may also be the result of contact with Mambae which shows the same phenomena. It is not unreasonable therefore to suggest, as Hull (2004) does, that TD is to a large extent the way it is compared to more conservative Tetun Fehan because of centuries-old contact with and diffusion from Mambae (and other languages in the linguistic area).

References


7

Language Contact and Convergence in Pennsylvania German

KATE BURRIDGE

1 Sociohistorical backdrop

Like any speech community, the Pennsylvania Germans do not represent a totally homogeneous group. What exists is a complex design of social, cultural, and religious diversity that must be taken into account in any appraisal of the linguistic situation. This is particularly true for patterns of contact-induced change.

The Pennsylvania (German)-speaking group examined here are the Mennonite Anabaptists of Swiss-German origin, who left Pennsylvania for Canada after the American War of Independence. The majority settled in Waterloo County, where they remain today (although the growth of the cities of Kitchener and Waterloo means some have moved into other areas). Since the 1870s, the Mennonites have been experiencing continued factionalism and the result is a complex pattern of different splinter groups. To simplify matters the community is normally divided into two major groups—the Plain Group and the Non-Plain Group. The Plain Mennonites are religiously the most conservative and are typically both rural and isolated. In Canada, this group largely comprises the Old Order Mennonites (OOMs). They have a very distinctive style of dress that has altered little over the centuries and their mode of transport is horse and buggy. This group is opposed to modern conveniences such as cars, television, telephones, and so on, although some accommodations have been made; for example, with respect to telephones and refrigeration (Burridge 2002b). Although a religious denomination in

1 As always I am extremely grateful to the Mennonite community for their wonderful hospitality and their extraordinary patience in teaching me about their language.
Author/s: HAJEK, J

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