Developing a role for Kupang Malay:
# the contemporary politics of an eastern Indonesian creole

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This paper describes a creole language called Kupang Malay (*Bahasa Kupang*) which is spoken in West Timor. Kupang Malay is a Malay-based creole spoken in and around the city of Kupang by around 220,000 native speakers, and tens of thousands of second-language speakers (B.F. Grimes, 2000:510). Although Kupang Malay plays important roles in the society where it is spoken, it has often been ignored and despised not only by some of its speakers, but also by government officials who have a tendency to think of it as a stigmatized language.

Figure 1: Timor and surrounding islands
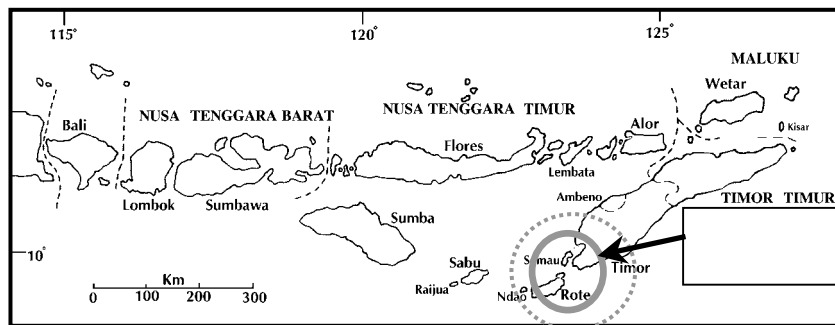
I. THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF KUPANG MALAY

Located on the western tip of the island of Timor, Kupang is now the capital city of the province of Nusa Tenggara Timur (abrreviated NTT, a province which includes West Timor and the islands of Flores, Sumba, Alor, Sabu, Rote, Solor, and other smaller islands). Kupang has well over 200,000 inhabitants and is one of the fastest growing areas in eastern Indonesia, acting as a magnet attracting migrants from all over the province who come to seek work or to study.

The history of Kupang city and the Kupang Malay language is inescapably linked to trade of white sandalwood from Timor. As early as 1,700 B.C. sandalwood was used in Egypt for body ointments and perfumes and, in recent times its extracts have been important in fixing perfume scents. Like the trade of other 'spices' in the Indonesian archipelago, the trade of sandalwood increased around the 7th century AD and by the 14th century, it was well established in the eastern parts of the archipelago (Timor, Ambon, Banda and Ternate). Indian, Arab, and Chinese merchants traded a variety of goods largely through the port Malacca on the Malay Peninsula. The Malay language at that time was used widely throughout the archipelago as a lingua franca, 'trade language.' Reid (1984, quoted in B.D. Grimes, 1991:87), notes that Pigafetta on board one of the earliest Portuguese boats in the 1500's, felt that the people he called the 'Moors' "had only one language, whether it was in the Philippines, Borneo, the Mollucas or Timor, and that of course was Malay".

Although Timor was not as important to the Europeans as the Spice Islands of the Mollucas (known today as Maluku) to the north of Timor, sandalwood did attracted the Portuguese to Timor as early as 1515. The Portuguese presence in the region grew after a fortress on Solor was built in 1566. Trade and commerce came to be concentrated in the hands of a locally powerful mestizo class — mixed Portuguese and Timorese — families, called Topasses.

In 1613 the Dutch East Indies Company (*Veerenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie*—VOC) arrived in Timor and established a fort (which they named Fort Concordia) on a narrow coastal strip around the Bay of Kupang after making an agreement with the local Helong 'Raja'. The fort, however, was attacked

repeatedly by the Topasses. In 1749, the Dutch finally were able to deal with the problem, with the help of native mercenaries from Ambon, Timor, Rote, Solor and especially warriors from Sabu. It was the policy of the VOC to reward their allies with a portion of land around a fort.. Thus, the Rote people were granted the beach around Fort Concordia, The Sabu people the beach to the east, and the Solor people the beach directly beside the Sabu.

After being defeated by the Dutch, the Topasses concentrated themselves in Ambeno (also known as Oecussi). In 1769, they forced the Portuguese governor to move to the eastern end of Timor, where a town was established at Dili.

In 1797 the British seized Fort Concordia, but were forced to relinquish it to a native force loyal to the Dutch. In 1811 the British were again able to gain control of Kupang, but returned their control to the Dutch after 1815, following treaties made in Europe after the Napoleonic Wars.

During these centuries, Kupang was a significant port for Europeans and attracted a number of seafarers. Early explorers such as William Dampier called in at Kupang in 1699, but Captain Cook, wary of its reputation for debauchery, sailed on by in 1770. Captain Bligh headed for Kupang in 1789 after a mutiny on the HMS *Bounty,* and had nothing but praise for the hospitality and comforts of the town after his mammoth six weeks' 5800km journey in an open boat.

After 1817, when the Dutch presence in the archipelago no longer was in the form of a trading company, but as a colonial power, the interior of Timor was 'pacified' to the point that the Portuguese were no longer felt to be a threat. The significance of Kupang in the colony decreased and in 1916 Kupang had only 3500 inhabitants. More than 1000 were said to be Chinese, Arab or 'other foreign Asiatics' and 230 were European.

In 1942 during World War II parts of Kupang city were bombed. After the ensuing independence of Indonesia the number of Europeans in Kupang declined. In 1958 Kupang became the capital of the new Indonesian province of NTT, and thus became not only a center for government administration and education, but also an important economic, religious and military center. In attracting people from all over the province, sixty different languages could easily be represented in Kupang (C. Grimes et.al., 1997).

So although the people around Kupang in Timor and NTT were not originally native speakers of Malay, for centuries Malay was used in the area in limited domains associated with trade. With independence, Indonesian – another form of Malay -- also became the national language. In speaking of *Malay*, Prentice (1978) and C. Grimes (1996) point out the need to distinguish three different types of Malay. *Vernacular Malays* were spoken in the Malay homeland around what is now peninsular Malaysia, Sumatra, and Singapore). *Official language Malays* were used in government and literature in various sultans courts in the extreme west of the archipelago. *Lingua franca Malays* (or trade Malay) was used throughout the archipelago for trade of cloth, market items, and spices such as cloves, nutmeg, mace, (from Maluku), and sandalwood (from Timor).

The social and historical context in Timor has resulted in contact between two varieties of Malay: Indonesian which developed from official language Malay and Kupang Malay which developed from the lingua franca Malay associated with trade. This is represented in the figure below. Because Kupang Malay and Indonesian are both derived from different varieties of Malay, these two varieties also form a post-creole continuum in which speakers can 'slide' back and forth between Indonesian and Kupang Malay. Indonesian functions as the acrolect and is the 'High' variety often considered to be superior and elegant. Kupang Malay is the basolect and functions as the 'Low' non-prestige variety. (See Figure 2)

Today Kupang is a polyglot city where not only Malay, but many languages are spoken. Vernacular languages are heard regularly, particularly in the neighborhood areas associated with specific ethnic groups. For inter-ethnic communication, however, Kupang Malay is used as a lingua franca. But it is more than just a lingua franca for inter-ethnic communication. Today Kupang Malay is a creole language with native speakers who are increasing in number as more children are born or move to Kupang where they speak Kupang Malay as their first and primary language. Ethnically these children self-identify with a traditional

ethnic group (e.g. Rote, Sabu, Timor, Alor, etc), but they do not necessarily speak that language, or may have only a passive knowledge of it.

Figure 2. Historical roots of varieties of Malay spoken in the Indonesian Archipelago (from C.Grimes 1996)
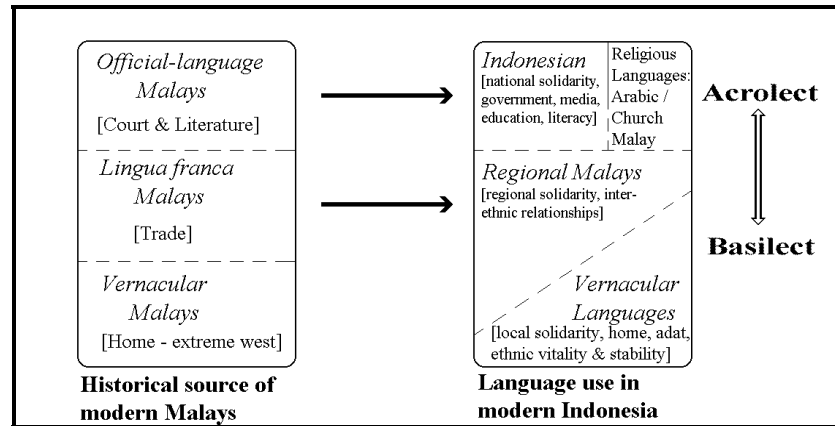
II. A LINGUISTIC OVERVIEW OF KUPANG MALAY
A. Comparison between Kupang Malay and Indonesian (Standard Malay)

Below is a brief comparison of Kupang Malay and Indonesian presenting some of the distinct linguistic features of Kupang Malay in contrast to those of Indonesian.

1. Phonology

Several aspects of the phonologies are different.

Different vowel systems

Indonesian has a six-vowel system with schwa (Moeliono and Grimes, 1995). Kupang Malay has a five-vowel system with no schwa (C. Grimes, 1999).[1]

Absence of schwa:

Indonesian	Kupang Malay	
səlamat	*salamat*	greetings, safe
kəliling	*kaliling, kuliling*	go around
səbentar	*sabantar*	a moment
pərut	*parú*	stomach

a) Different stress patterns

Indonesian is stressed on the penultimate syllable of the word, except when the penultimate vowel is schwa /ə/. Under these circumstances, stress shifts to the ultimate syllable.

Kupang Malay has contrastive stress. The general rule is for stress to fall on the penultimate syllable of the word. However, for Malay or Dutch words that were stressed on the last syllable, final stress in maintained.

Indonesian	Kupang Malay	
barat	*barat*	west
bərat	*barát*	heavy
parang	*parang*	machete
pərang	*paráng*	war
pərut	*parú*	stomach

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[1] Steinhauer's claim (1983:44) that Kupang Malay has a seven-vowel system is not supported by the data, nor by a broad cross-section of native speakers.

pəluk	*paló*	embrace, hug
bəlah	*balá*	split
	kalák	criticize (< Dutch)
	balús	blouse (< Dutch)

There are exceptions and variations:

Indonesian	Kupang Malay	
pənuh	*ponu ~ pono*	full
cəlup	*calóp ~ colo*	dip in liquid
kəntut	*konto*	flacculate, fart
səntuh	*sonto*	touch

b) Neutralization of /u/ with /o/ in many words:

Indonesian	Kupang Malay	
cəlup	*calóp ~ colo*	dip in liquid
kəntut	*konto*	flacculate, fart
kunci	*konci*	key
pənuh	*ponu ~ pono*	full
pəluk	*paló*	embrace, hug
səntuh	*sonto*	touch
tidur	*tidor*	sleep, lay down

c) Coalescence of diphthongs: /au / becomes /o/, and /ai/ becomes /e/

Indonesian	Kupang Malay	
pisau	*piso*	knife
kalau	*kalo*	if (conditional)
mau	*mau ~ mo*	want, will (irrealis)
pulau	*pulo*	island
saudara	*sodara*	sibling
pakai	*pake*	use
sampai	*sampe*	until
cərai	*cere*	divorce
tangkai	*tangke*	stem (plant)

d) Loss of many word-final stops

Loss of most word-final stops in Kupang Malay:

Indonesian	Kupang Malay	
dapat	*dapa*	can, be able
sakit	*saki*	sick, pain
dekat	*deka*	close, near
banyak	*banya*	a lot, many
baik	*bae*	good
tolak	*tola*	push
tutup	*tutu*	close, shut

e) Different distribution of /h/

Loss of word-final /h/ in Kupang Malay:

Indonesian	Kupang Malay	
bəlah	*balá*	split
bərsih	*barisi*	clean

darah	*dara*	blood
jatuh	*jato*	fall
merah	*mera*	red
putih	*puti*	white
səpuluh	*sapulu*	ten
tumpah	*tumpa*	overflow

Intervocalic /h/ is normally lost between high and low vowels:

Indonesian	Kupang Malay	
jahit	*jait*	sew, stich
kasihan	*kasian*	pity
lihat	*lia*	see
nasihat	*nasiat*	advice
pahit	*pait*	bitter

/h/ is normally retained intervocalically when both vowels are the same:

Indonesian	Kupang Malay	
dahan	*dahan*	branch
leher	*leher*	neck
pohon	*pohon*	tree
sihir	*sihir*	witchcraft

There is an exception for trisyllabic (or longer) words like Indonesian *cahaya* 'shine' > Kupang Malay *caya* and Indonesian *rahasia* 'secret' > Kupang Malay *rasia*.

Kupang Malay may lose word-initial /h/ on some words for some speakers in ideolectal variation. However, the words in their /h/ forms are also used in Kupang Malay. Here are some examples:

Indonesian	Kupang Malay	
hasut	*hasut ~ asut*	incite, stir up
hati-hati	*hati-hati ~ ati-ati*	be careful
hujan	*hujan ~ ujan*	rain
hambur	*hambur ~ ambur*	scatter about

f) Elision or truncation of words:

Indonesian	Kupang Malay	
jangan	*jang*	don't
sudah	*su ~ suda*	already (perf. aspect)
lagi	*lai*	again, more
pərgi	*pi ~ pigi*	go
saja	*sa*	just, merely, only

2. Grammatical functors

It has been observed that regardless of how similar or different the content words (e.g. nouns, verbs, adjectives) are between two related languages, when the grammatical functors (e.g. pronouns, negation, affixation, possession, adpositions, Tense-Aspect-Mood systems) are different, intelligibility can be significantly inhibited or blocked (Agard, 1984; J. Grimes, 1988). Several subsystems of grammatical functors are significantly different between Indonesian and Kupang Malay.

a) Pronouns

Most of the pronouns in Kupang Malay are different from those of Indonesian. The figure below shows their differences.

Figure 3: The pronouns of Indonesian and Kupang Malay

Pronouns	Indonesian	Kupang Malay
1s	*aku, saya*	*beta* (old court Malay)
1pi	*kita*	*katong* (< kita orang)
1px	*kami*	*batong* (< beta orang)
2s	*kamu, əngkau*	*lu* (Betawi Malay)
2p	*kalian*	*basong* (source unknown*)*
3s	*dia*	*dia*
3p	*məreka*	*dong* (dia orang)

b) Possession

The possessive pronominal enclitics which occur in Indonesian do not occur in Kupang Malay:

	Indonesian	Kupang Malay
First person singular	*–ku*	Ø
Second person singular	*–mu*	Ø
Third person singular	*–nya*	Ø

The possessive construction POSSESSED + POSSESSOR of Indonesian does not occur in Kupang Malay.

Indonesian	Kupang Malay	
rumah saya	Ø	'my house'
rumah-ku	Ø	'my house'

The Kupang Malay possessive construction is POSSESSOR + POSSESSIVE PARTICLE + POSSESSED. The possessive particle is *pung*. This type of construction is also found in other varieties of 'Low' (lingua franca type) Malay. According to Prentice (1978:19), the possessive particle *punya* is one of 'the salient features' in the genitive construction.

Low Malay:	*saya*	*punya*	*rumah*	my house
Kupang Malay:	*beta*	*pung*	*ruma*	my house
	1s	POSS	house	

c) Verb morphology

Morphological differences between Kupang Malay and Indonesia can be seen clearly in their verbal systems. Indonesian verbs are characterized by a fairly complex affix system. These change the syntactic and semantic function of the verbs. Kupang Malay, however, has a very few affixes. Most affixes seem to appear in fixed (fossilized) forms and these in uses which sometimes differ from Indonesian. The figure below (adapted from B.D. Grimes, 1991) shows the productive Indonesian and Kupang Malay verbal affixes.

Figure 4: Productive Indonesian and Kupang Malay verb morphology

Function		Indonesian	Kupang Malay
Stative/Habitual/ Intra-Directive		*bər–Rt*	*ba–Rt*
Subject =	Actor	*məN–Rt*	Ø
	Caus./Ben.	*mən–Rt–kan*	Ø (*kasi* 'give' + Rt)
	Loc./Goal	*məN–Rt–i*	Ø
	Causative	*məmpər–Rt–(kan)*	Ø (*bekin* 'make' + Rt)
	Loc./Goal	*məmpər–Rt–i*	Ø
Subject =	Undergoer	*di–*	Ø (*dapa* 'able' + Rt)
			Ø (*kaná* 'adverse' + Rt)
		di–Rt–kan	Ø
		di–Rt–i	Ø (*dapa* 'able' + Rt)

Accidental/Unintent.	*tər–*	*ta–*
Adversative	*kə–Rt–an*	Ø (*kaná* 'adverse' + Rt)
Abstract noun (proc.)	*pəN–Rt–an*	Ø
Abstract noun (state)	*pər–Rt–an*	Ø
Reciprocal	*Rt məN–Rt*	*ba–*Rt

d) Modals

Aspectual modals in Indonesian are different from Kupang Malay. The figure below shows some of the differences.

Figure 5: Aspectual modals

Modals	Indonesian	Kupang Malay
Prog./Imperf.	*sədang* VERB	*ada* VERB
Continuative	*masih* VERB	*ada* ... VERB ...*lai*
Iterative	VERB *tərus*	*maen* VERB *tarús*
Obligatory	*harus/pərlu/məsti*	*musti ~ musi*
Purp./desire/fut.	*ingin/həndak/mau*	*mau ~ mo*
Completive/perf.	*sudah/təlah*	*suda ~ su*

e) Negation

Kupang Malay has several forms which are classed as negators.

Figure 6: Forms of negation

Type of negation	Indonesian	Kupang Malay
Standard (negates verb, propos.)	*tidak, tak*	*sonde, son, tar*
Temporal 'not yet'	*bəlum*	*balóm*
Temporal 'no longer'	*tidak lagi*	*sonde lai*
Nominal 'not this one'	*bukan*	*bukan*
Prohibitive 'don't'	*jangan*	*jang*
Prohibitive 'may not'	*tidak boleh*	*sonde bole*

The sentences below illustrate how negatives are used in Kupang Malay.

Beta <u>sonde</u> pi   sakola tadi.
1s   NEG   go   school   recent
'I didn't go to school today.'   (Standard negation 'no, not')

<u>Tar</u>   tau   be   taro itu barang   di mana.
NEG know   1s   put   that thing   at where
'I don't know where I put that thing.'   (Alternate form 'no, not')

Dong dua <u>balom</u> kawin, ma su   pung   ana, é!
3p   two not.yet marry but PERF POSS   child TAG
'The two of them are not married yet, but they already have a child, ya!'   (Temporal 'not yet')

<u>Bukan</u> beta yang lempar   sang lu!
NEG   1s   REL throw   to   2s
'It's not I who threw (rocks) at you!'   (Nominal 'not that one')

<u>Jang</u>   kasi dia itu kue, te   su   basi.
PROHIB   give 3s   that cake cause PERF   rotten
'Don't give her that cake, cause it's already rotten.'   (Prohibitive 'don't')

3. The Lexicon (semantics)

There are many cases where the semantics of Kupang Malay and Indonesian forms have shifted in meaning, or where words with the same meaning have different origins.

Indonesian		Kupang Malay	
ular	snake	*ular*	worm, caterpillar, snake
tərlalu	excessive	*talalu*	excessive, superlative mkr
jahat	evil	*jahat*	mischievous, naughty, evil
kəpala angin	empty-headed	*kapala angin*	stubborn
		kapala kosong	empty-headed
garis	line	*garis*	1) line, 2) matches
səparuh	half	*saparo*	1) half, 2) some, a part of
damai	peace (political)	*dame*	peace (prim. social)
pərkara	dispute	*parkara*	1) matter, 2) dispute
sangat	very	*mo mati*	very
paling	most, superlat.	*talalu*	most, excessive
manisan	sweets	*gula-gula*	sweets

4. Interclausal relations and discourse

The way logical and chronological relationship are expressed is different in Indonesian and Kupang Malay.

a) Connectors

Figure 7: Kupang Malay connectors

Indonesian		Kupang Malay	
juga	also	*ju*	1. and, also; 2. then 3. so that
supaya/ agar/ hingga	so that, in order to	*ko*$_1$	1. to, in order to, so that; introduces irrealis purpose clause 2. then, and then, and so
atau	or (conj.)	*ko*$_2$	1. or (conjunction) 2. right? (tag question elided from 'or (what)?'
karəna	because	*tagal*	because; asserted foreground reason
karəna	because	*te*	1. cause; background reason 2. that; realis complemntzr
karəna	because	*ko...na*	because, that's the reason (emphatic)
tətapi/tapi	but	*ma*	but
dan	and	*deng*	and
itu səbab-nya	that's why	*andia ko*	that's why

b) Discourse markers

There are some differences in the use of discourse markers in Kupang Malay and Indonesian.

Indonesian	Kupang Malay	
sətəlah itu/kəmudian/lalu	*abis itu/ais ju/tarús/ju*	Then…
kapan?	*kapan tempo?*	When?
pantas!	*Memang sa! Itu su! Andia su!*	Of course!
waktu itu…	*tempo hari/itu waktu*	At that time…

B. THE INFLUENCE OF LOCAL VERNACULARS ON KUPANG MALAY

The differences between Kupang Malay and and the standard Malay of Indonesian is due in part to their origin as two different varieties of Malay, but also due to calquing from local vernaculars which are predominantly Central-Malayo Polynesian (CMP) Austronesian languages.

A. Phonology (intervocalic glottal stop)

The intervocalic glottal stop occurs frequently in Kupang Malay, and has become one of the destinctive features of Kupang Malay. Most words in Kupang Malay that have intervocalic glottal are loanwords from local vernaculars or Arabic, and are not of Malay origin. Indonesian, on the other hand, has a limited number of words with intervocalic glottals. Most of those are borrowed from Arabic, such as *so'al* 'matter' or *ma'af* 'forgive, sorry'. Below are some examples from local vernaculars that have become assimilated into Kupang Malay lexicon. (See appendices A and C for additional examples).

a'a	'elder sibling'	*lu'u*	'lazy'
ba'i	'grandfa, old man	*masa'a*	'carry on shoulder'
be'a	'big, elder'	*pe'e*	'open wide'
bo'i	'dear'	*ra'u*	'scoop'
fa'eng	'big, huge'	*ro'o*	'shake, sway'
fi'i	'carry'	*ru'i*	'plug out'
ga'e	'hook, pull'	*se'i*	'smoke meat'
kali'uk	'short, tiny'	*se'ok*	'steal, snitch'
karbe'ok	'unload, pull hard'	*te'o*	'aunt, father's sister'
ko'uk	'stupid'	*to'o*	'uncle, mo's brother'

B. Lexicon (Idioms)

The following examples show some of the idioms and metaphors in Kupang Malay that demonstrate they are structured more like the local languages than like Indonesian. (See appendix D for more example of idioms in Kupang Malay).

1. From Helong

Figure 8: Kupang Malay idioms calque on local languages such as Helong

Helong	Kupang Malay	Indonesian	English
tulun batu head-stone	*kapala batu* head-stone	*keras kepala* hard head	'stubborn'
ana blutu mea child-small-red	*ana mera* child-red	*bayi* baby	'baby'
hae buku stab knee	*tikam lutut* stab knee	*berlutut* kneel	'kneel down'
hidi tan lo' finish know NEG	*sonde tau abis* NEG know finish	*kekal, abadi* eternal	'eternal'
leo-saken sun-rises	*matahari nae* sun rises	*timur* east	'east'
leo-denen sun-sets	*matahari turun* sun-sets	*barat* west	'west'
maa-bulan come-moon	*datang bulan* come moon	*haid* menstruation	'menstruation'
sium apa baha receive RECIP mouth	*ba-sambong mulu* RECIP-connect mouth	*membahas* discuss	'discuss'

2. From Ndao

Ndao	Kupang Malay	Indonesian	
baku haleo don't be.angry	*jang mara* don't be.angry	*minta maaf* ask forgiveness	'I'm sorry.'

3. From Tetun Prasa (see also Helong above for east-west)

Tetun Prasa	Kupang Malay	Indonesian	
loro-sae	*matahari nae*	*timur*	'east'
sun rises	sun rises	east	
loro-monu	*matahari turun*	*barat*	'west'
sun sets	sun sets	west	

4. Tetun Belu

Tetun Belu	Kupang Malay	Indonesian
Ha'u atu tuun mai	*beta mau turun datang*	*saya mau datang*
1s want descend come	1s want descend come	1s want come
'I want to come'		

C. Grammar

1. Phrase structure

Note that there is almost a one-to-one correlation in phrases which show that the grammatical forms in Kupang Malay have calqued on the vernaculars. As an example, the Helong sentence below has almost a one-to-one correlation with Kupang Malay structure rather than equivalent forms in Indonesian.

HELONG

Un haman un ana-ama   nas   nol   kak-pali   las
3s   call   3s   child-father   3p   and   old-young.sibling   3p

le   laok   alas
IRR   go   jungle
 '*He calls his children and his siblings to go to the jungle*'

KUPANG MALAY

Dia pange dia pung   bapa-ana   dong deng kaka-adi
3s   call   3s   POSS   father-child 3p   and   old-young.sib.

dong   ko   pi   di   utan
3pl   IRR   go   PREP   jungle
 '*He calls his children and his siblings to go to the jungle*'

INDONESIAN

Dia   memanggil   anak-anak   dan   saudara-saudara-nya   untuk
3s   meN-call   RED-child   and   RED-siblings-3sPOS   for

pergi ke   hutan
go   PREP jungle
 '*He calls his children and his siblings to go to the jungle*'

Structural differences between Kupang Malay and its Indonesian equivalent above show that the grammar of the creole is not patterned on the grammar of Indonesian, but on the grammars of the local vernaculars. Below are some examples that show the strong relationship between Kupang Malay and the local vernaculars.

2. Order of numerals and head noun in a numeral NP

Figure 9: Constituent order in a numeral NP

Helong	Kupang Malay	Indonesian
hmukit mesa	*binatang satu*	*se-ekor binatang*
animal NUM	animal NUM	NUM-CLASS animal
	'an animal'	

lui foon mesa	*parau sampan satu*	*satu sampan*
boat canoe NUM	boat canoe NUM	NUM canoe
	'a dugout canoe'	

3. Reciprocal

The Kupang Malay reciprocal prefix *ba-* may have come from Indonesian *ber-,* also found in several other Western Malayo-Polynesian languages,[2] however, the patterns of use follow the local vernaculars (usually in the form of *pa-*), which are genetically CMP languages.

Kupang Malay examples are as follows:

Dong   ba-kosi.
3p   RECIP-kick.
'They kick each other'.

Katong ada   ba-bakalai.
1p   CONT   RECIP-fight
We are fighting with each other'.

Indonesian, however, has several reciprocal constructions, none of which are similar to Kupang Malay.

(verb-meN-verb)   *Mereka   pukul-memukul.*
                       3p   REDUP-meN-hit
                       'They hit each other.'

(saling meN-verb-i)   *Mereka   saling   mengunjungi.*
                       3p   mutually   meN-visit-i
                       'They visited each other'.

(saling ber-verb)   *Ke-dua-nya   saling   ber-kunjung.*
                       CARD-two-GEN   mutually ber-visit
                       'The two of them visited each other.'

The example below (of a morphological reciprocal) is taken from the Buru language (C.Grimes, 1991:115).[3] The combination of the reciprocal *ep-* plus the detransitiviser *–n* signals that there is a plurality of subjects who are reciprocally performing or experiencing the action toward each other. The resulting whole behaves syntactically as an intransitive.

Sira   ep-sulu-n.
3p   RECIP-gather-DETR
'They are gathering (themselves) together.'

Sira   ep-sama-n.
3p   RECIP-divide-DETR
'They parted ways (from each other)'

Other examples from Buru are:

ep-sodi-n   'have a fist fight with each other'
pe-bahi-n   'have an argument with each other'
ep-lata-n   'war with each other'

In the Kambera language of East Sumba, the prefix *pa-* also shows a reciprocal construction.

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[2] Standard Malay (Indonesian) is genetically a WMP language.
[3] Buru is classified as a CMP language, as are the vernaculars around Kupang such as Helong, Uab Meto, Rote, Sabu, and Kambera (B.F. Grimes, 2000).

pa-takilu
RECIP-fight
'fight with each other'

From Tetun Belu, the reciprocal is shown by the reciprocal prefix plus action verb *hak-Vb-k* construction.[4] Van Klinken (1999:68-69) states that the function of *hak-* is to derive intransitive verbs which are inherently reciprocal from transitive bases. For this the suffix *–k* is always used if the base ends in a vowel. She also gives some examples as follows:

Figure 10: Examples of morphological reciprocals from Tetun Belu

Vt		Vreciprocal	
dudu	push	*hak-dudu-k*	push, accuse, urge each other
fota	hit	*hak-fota-k*	hit each other
kohi	catch	*ha-kohi-k*	wrestle
sala	wrong	*hak-sala-k*	alternate (head to foot)
libur	assemble, collect	*hak-libur*	assemble
te'ur	chase, pursue	*hak-te'ur*	fight with each other

4. Serial verbs

Serial verbs are another feature of Kupang Malay which has calqued on local vernaculars. It shows a degree of interclausal integration that does not occur in Indonesian. Here, the serial verbs are underlined. I mention the local vernacular first, then Kupang Malay to illustrate the parallel formation with the vernacular, and then Indonesian to provide contrast with standard Malay. Jacob & Grimes (2005) describe several additional features calqued on local languages that have no parallel in Indonesian.

Helong: *Oen <u>maa</u> <u>nakbua</u> se onan na lam.*
         3p come gather PREP beach that also
         '*They gathered on the beach*'

Kupang: *Dong <u>datang</u> <u>kumpul</u> di itu pante ju.*
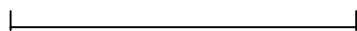   3p come gather PREP that beach also

Indonesian: *Mereka <u>berkumpul</u> di pantai itu juga.*
         3p gather PREP beach that also

Below, we illustrate several functions of serial verbs in Kupang Malay.

Direction-Locative
Ama Kale piko <u>bawa</u> karanjang <u>pi</u> di pasar.
Brother Kale carry bring basket go=LOC PREP market
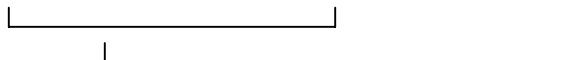'*Brother Kale carries the basket to the market*'.

carry <agent patient>   *go* <agent location>
         └────────────────────────┘

Benefactive-Dative
Usi Dina <u>bekin</u> <u>ame</u> kue sarabi <u>kasi</u> dia pung ana dong.
Aunt Dina make take pancakes give she POSS child 3p
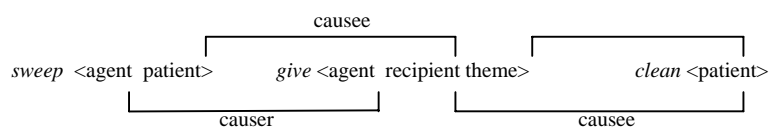'*Aunt Dina made some pancakes for her children*'.

make <agent patient>   *give* <agent recepient theme>
         └──────────────────┘
              └─────────────────────────────┘

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[4] Tetun /h/ is historically from Proto Malayo-Polynesian *p (C. Grimes, personal communication.).

Causative

Dia	*manyapu*	*kasi*	*barisi*	*kintal*	*balakang.*
S/he	sweep	give=CAU	clean	yard	back

'She swept the backyard clean.'

```
                            causee
                  ┌──────────────────────┐  ┌──────────────────────┐
sweep <agent  patient>    give <agent  recipient theme>    clean <patient>
          └──────────────────────┘  └──────────────────────────────────┘
                    causer                        causee
```

Or:

Cause-become-clean   <agent patient>

Purpose

Opa	*nae*	*ame*	pohon	*patik*	kalapa	*dua boa.*
Grandfather	climb	take	tree	pick	coconut	two fruit

'Grandfather climbed up coconut tree to pick up two coconuts'.

```
climb <agent  location>        pick <agent  patient>
          └──────────────────────────────┘
```

Motion

Laki-laki	*lari*	*turun*	*gunung.*
Man	run	decend	mountain

'The man is running down the mountain'.

```
run <agent locative>        descend <agent locative>
        └────────────────────────────────┘
```

Instrumental

Dong	*bekin*	*mati*	*tikus*	*pake*	*batu.*
3p	make=CAU	die	mouse	use	stone

'They killed the mouse with a stone'.

kill <agent patient instrument>

Iterative

Bemo	*len*	*Tarus*	*maen*	*pulang*	*bale*	*angka*	*panumpang.*
Minibus	route	Tarus	ITER	go.home	come.back	take	passenger

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

Go <agent location>   *take* <agent patient>

III. UTILIZING AND DEBATING KUPANG MALAY IN DAILY LIFE

Since Kupang Malay is often the first language of children, but the second or third language of their parents, the issue of Kupang Malay in education is significant. Jacob 2001 conducted a survey among elementary school teachers regarding language use in Kupang, revealing that:

1. While teachers claim to use Indonesian when they teach in the classrooms, they acknowledge that they explain material by using both Indonesian and Kupang Malay.

This overt acknowledgement of Kupang Malay as an explanatory language in education suggests a level of self-confidence among teachers that is quite interesting, given that fact that in 2001 Kupang Malay had no legitimate status as a language at all.

2. When students answer questions, they attempt to use Indonesian. However, when they talk to their schoolmates (in the classrooms and in the playground) they use Kupang Malay.

3. As soon as class is over, Indonesian is no longer used in the classroom. Both teachers and students communicate with one another in Kupang Malay in the classroom, indicating that the students are confident and do not feel guilty using Kupang Malay.

Jacob also asked, "What is the role of Indonesian in the life of children of Kupang?"

4. Indonesian is a learned language, acquired as a second language in school. It is not the language of the home.

5. Indonesian is a language used in formal functions (government, education, and often church).

These observations resonate with Errington (1998) and many others who have commented on how Indonesian is overtly related to the institutional infrastructure of the Indonesian state, and is the vehicle of state discourse and of typically top-down governmental policies. While Indonesian is the official mode of communication of the government in Kupang, even in government offices it is limited to formal speeches and written communication. When civil servants communicate with each other in the office, they frequently speak Kupang Malay, (unless interacting with 'outsiders').

Thus, even without formal recognition as a language, Kupang Malay is used vigorously and enthusiastically in the social life of Kupang. Local newspapers typically report news in Indonesian, but in 1992 a local journalist, Paul Bolla, began to use Kupang Malay in a daily column called *Tapaleuk* meaning 'wander around with no specific purpose or goal'. The daring move to write and publish Kupang Malay and to provide a rich taste of local culture captured many people's attention. However, some objected to the column, claiming it was inappropriate to use an informal language in a formal written context. But Tapaleuk continued despite the objections and has remained popular for many years, describing not only Kupang life in Kupang Malay, but providing social commentary on the very news that is being reported in Indonesian. The following sample of Tapaleuk headlines reflect this:

Pung nae harga lai….   (commenting on price rises)

Awas aksi pajak   (commenting on taxes)

Karisis moral   (commenting on moral crises)

BBM Na'ek   (commenting on price rises of fuel)
Ka-ka-eN   (commenting on corruption)

Tunggu paroyek   (commenting on project dependency)
Seok doi IDT   (commenting on government funding)

Sipil ato ABRI sama sa…   (commenting on military heavy-handedness)
Pajabat parakus   (commenting on corruption)
Reformasi cendana   (commenting on government sandalwood monopoly)

Jaringan Pencuri   (commenting on burglaries)

The use of Kupang Malay among contemporary school children is reflected in the following story written by one of the schoolteachers at a Dept. of Education and Culture seminar in March 2003:

<center>Kotong Bakawan</center>

Beta pung nama Legowo, ma dong pange sang beta, bilang Ook. Beta lahir di Kupang. Beta pung orang tua tu, orang Jawa. Be pung tamán, ampa orang; andia Udin, Richard, Bagus deng Edi. Udin pung papa-mama orang Ende; Richard orang Rote; Bagus orang Bali; deng Edi orang Sabu.

Beta sonde bisa basa Jawa; Udin sonde bisa basa Ende; Richard sonde bisa basa Rote; Bagus sonde bisa basa Bali; Edi ju sonde bisa basa Sabu. Kotong ba'omong pake basa Kupang sa.

Hari-hari kotong bamaen di SMU I. Kotong bamaen kalereng, kayu do'i, deng bola kaki. Kalo su cape bamaen, kotong dudu-dudu maen gila di bawa pohong kadondong utan. Richard ana yang lucu, bekin kotong katawa sampe parú saki. Kotong bakawan, sonde parná bakalai.

<center>*We're Friends*</center>

My name is Legowo, but they call me Ook. I was born in Kupang. My parents are Javanese. I have four friends, who are: Udin, Richard, Bagus and Edi. Udin's parents are from Ende; Richard is [ethnically] from Rote; Bagus is Balinese; and Edi is from Sabu.

I can't speak Javanese; Udin can't speak Ende; Richard can't speak Rote, Bagus can't speak Balinese; and Edi can't speak Sabu. We just talk to each other using Kupang Malay.

Each day we play at school. We play marbles, flip stick, and football. When we're tired playing, we sit and joke around. Richard tells funny stories and makes us laugh until our stomachs hurt. We're friends, we've never fought.

A. Debate: Is Kupang Malay a real language, or it is just bad Indonesian?

In a certain sense, it is to be expected that Kupang Malay would be held in low esteem as 'bad Indonesian'. Many creole languages are devalued and stigmatized, particularly creoles that are in contact with a related 'standard language'. For example, Hawaii Pidgin, in contrast to 'standard' American English, is seen as 'bad English'. Australian Kriol is 'rubbish language' in contrast to proper Australian English. Kupang Malay is no exception in being unfavorably compared with the standard Malay of Indonesian. Kupang Malay is called *bahasa pasar* ('market language'), *bahasa Indonesia yang rusak* ('broken Indonesian'), and is sometimes attributed to the laziness of Timorese in not wanting to speak Indonesian 'properly'.

Compulsory education has been the major medium through which Indonesian and the state's language ideology is taught all over Indonesia. As Errington (1998) points out, "educational institutions are at the crux of the state's sociosymbolic power" and "the professoriate is its secular priesthood." It is not surprising that educators then feel highly obligated to promote and advance the use of 'proper' Indonesian.

However, many of educators in Kupang speak Kupang Malay at home or with their friends, and it is often the first language of their children. At a recent seminar on Kupang Malay sponsored by the NTT Dept of Language and Culture, it did not take too much persuasion for most of the educators to agree to the legitamacy of Kupang Malay as a 'mother tongue'. Note the self-reported positive attitudes expressed in the Jacob survey (taken several years before the seminar). *Pos Kupang* newspaper reports of the seminar quoted the head of the Dept. of Education and Culture and his staff as eager to acknowledge the legitimacy of Kupang Malay and its role as the mother tongue of many children in the Kupang region.

Over the past few years, a legitimating of Kupang Malay has been slowly occurring at multiple levels in Kupang society. In addition to its recognition as the mother tongue of Kupang children at the Dept. of Education and Culture seminar, significant legitimating factors at a popular level have been the boldness of Paul Bolla in publishing Tapaleuk each day, and the use of Kupang Malay on radio chat shows. In academic circles, the proof of Kupang Malay's status as a real language was its inclusion in scholarly lists of the world's languages (B.F. Grimes, 2000). Jacob's (2001a, 2001b) Master's in Applied Linguistics from Australia on Kupang Malay and subsequent papers

presented in Kupang encouraged numerous students at universities in Kupang to write on Kupang Malay for their theses. More recently a *Kamus Pengantar Bahasa Kupang* (Introductory Dictionary of Bahasa Kupang) has been published, (Jacob & C. Grimes, 2003), which is seen as further validating Kupang Malay as a language in its own right. At the religious level, portions of the Bible have also been translated into Kupang Malay. It is also used increasingly on secular and religious radio stations.

Nevertheless, the debate over the legitimacy of Kupang Malay as a 'real' language continues. When government, military and police employees from other parts of Indonesia are posted to Kupang, they often express initial contempt for the '*local dialect*'. However, as in other creole situations outsiders must learn and use it in daily interaction or they will continue to be perceived by locals as outsiders. For locals, however, even if they wanted to disregard Kupang, Malay, the frequency and strength of its use, and the fact that it is now the mother tongue of many children like Udin, Richard, and Edi, compels them to acknowledge that Kupang Malay is something.

B. Debate: How can KupangMalay be a real language, if there is no space for it in the state's language ideology?

When the NTT Dept. of Education and Culture defined its seminar topic in 2003 as *Bahasa Ibu Peletak Dasar Perabadan Manusia dan Pendukungan Perkembangan Bahasa Indonesia* ("Mother Tongue as the Foundation of Human Civilization and Supporter of Indonesian Language Development") the term *bahasa ibu* ('mother tongue') was a carefully selected term, because of the difficulty of categorizing Kupang Malay. While it is obvious that Kupang Malay is the mother tongue of children in Kupang, there appeared to be an initial hesitation to give Kupang Malay any other label, because the state's educational policy recognizes only three kinds of languages:

> -*bahasa lokal* ('local language')
> -*bahasa nasional* ('national language')
> -*bahasa internasional* ('international language')

The national language and the international language in the Indonesian school system, are well defined as Indonesian and English. However, the meaning of 'local language' is not well defined. Since 1994 the National Curriculum has allowed up to 20% of the curriculum to be developed locally. Responsibility was delegated to each provincial department to provide locally developed *muatan lokal* or *mulok* ('local content') on topics such as natural resources, cultures and languages (DepDikBud, 1994). In areas like NTT, however, where there are over sixty local languages, the task of providing *mulok* in local languages is overwhelming, and minimal implementation has actually happened. Even the foundational step of how to write these local languages appropriately is unclear to the untrained.

As educators discussed the Kupang language situation at the seminar, they easily came to a rather irrefutable conclusion that most children in Kupang speak Kupang Malay as their mother tongue. It was acknowledged that a simple political solution to address the lack of recognition of Kupang Malay in education was to declare it to be a 'local language', so it could therefore be included in the local curriculum.[5]

Defining Kupang Malay as a 'local language', required an implicit rejection of the popular assumption in Indonesia that language is inherently linked to ethnicity. In NTT there was no question about the status of Rote languages, the Sabu language, or the Helong language as 'local languages', since histories and ethnic identities could be attached to those languages. Kupang Malay, however, is a language without a link to a single ethnic group. In Kupang it is everyone's language, but no one's cultural heritage. Regardless, the Dept of Education and Culture came to view it as a 'local language', and thus provided it a place in the local curriculum.

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[5] In 1990 Grimes presented a paper of the History and Development of Ambonese Malay to teachers at Universitas Pattimura. They also came to the conclusion, that if Bahasa Ambon is a real language and not just bad Indonesian, it is therefore a bahasa lokal and has the 'right' to be included in the educational curriculum in Ambon.

The local newspaper reported: "Even though previously it was doubtful, the NTT Department of Education and Culture through its Regional Technical Implementation Unit for Language, has recommended that Kupang Malay be one of the subjects for local material in primary schools in Kupang City and Kupang District."

In the opening ceremony, reflecting on the theme of the seminar, the head of the NTT Dept of Education and Culture said that Kupang Malay was a significant issue that needed to be understood, developed and applied by many people, particularly in the field of education. He acknowledged that until now this issue apparently has been forgotten and even neglected. But now, the NTT Dept of Education and Culture hoped to change the thinking, and increase the awareness of the importance of the mother tongue, in this case Kupang Malay.

The problems of 'neglecting' Kupang Malay as the mother tongue of thousands of school children and having it invisible in the educational system are numerous. As a mother tongue speaker of Kupang Malay herself, when Jacob was in Year 4 or 5 she began to realize that what she, her family, her friends and acquaintances spoke, was somewhat different from the Standard Indonesian that she was being taught in school. She remembers feeling extremely confused standing in front of a cinema in Kupang. As the teacher had said, "Today's feature" had a sign HARI INI above it. But she stood there mystified, knowing very well that she, her family and her acquaintances all said ini hari, not hari ini. She recalls, at that point, "If someone could have just pointed out to me as a young child, that hari ini is how we talk Indonesian and ini hari is how we speak when we speak Kupang, I could have understood the difference institutively and known when to use each form." But there was no awareness of Kupang Malay as a real language by her teachers. Instead, what was communicated to her was, 'how you speak is not only bad, it is not even a language."

Typical confusion when students are not taught to differentiate between their native creole and the standard language

It is not uncommon in Indonesia (and elsewhere) for people to have similar reactions when their mother tongue is belittled and made to seem of no value in school. However, in most contexts both students and teachers know that there are two languages – the vernacular home language and the national language of school. In creoles situations, the problem is even more distressing and confusing to children, when there is

no recognition that the student's mother tongue is actually a language. Like Jacob, they are left to feel worthless for speaking incorrectly, but they cannot understand why the way they and their families speak is incorrect.

Jeff Siegel's (1993, 1999) research on the use of pidgins and creoles in education reveals that Jacob's feelings of confusion and low self-esteem are typical. When teachers communicate that a child's language is bad, they are communicating that child is also bad. Educators familiar with creoles (Jeff Siegel 1993, 1999, Barry and Hudson 1997) realize that in contexts where creoles are spoken alongside a standard language, an important first step for both teachers and students is awareness that the two languages are different. As Jacob says, "If only someone had told me (in Year 4) that there is *bahasa* Kupang and *bahasa* Indonesia. That there is a way to speak good Kupang and good Indonesian. But instead, the message was how what we spoke was 'bad' and no one could explain why."

There is a growing awareness that creoles need special consideration by educators, and increasing evidence that when students are taught how to differentiate between a creole and its standard language, they actually perform better in the standard language, as well as feel valued and secure in their own identity and language. (Craig, 1977, 1980; De Rieux, 1980; B.F. Grimes, 1989; Kale, 1990; Reynolds, 2000; Jeff Siegel, 1992, 1993, 1999). A case study that has strong parallels to the Kupang situation is described in Reynolds (1995, 2000) where elementary school students who speak Hawaii Creole English [HCE] have limited exposure to American Standard English [ASE] and consistently underperform in comprehension tests and standardized achievement tests when compared with their classmates from ASE speaking areas on the mainland. After establishing a baseline with an experimental group and a control group, Reynolds worked for one-year with the experimental group of Year 5 students, deliberately helping them become aware of similarities and differences between HCE and ASE, and teaching them how to successfully manipulate the two. At the end of a year on the ASE tests, her experimental group scored significantly higher than the state average, whereas the control group showed no statistically significant improvement.

University lecturers in Kupang often bemoan the poor use of Indonesian by university students. This is to be expected when students have never be taught to differentiate Kupang Malay and standard Malay (Indonesian) vocabulary and grammatical patterns. There are similar anecdotal reports from lecturers where other regional varieties of Malay are spoken (e.g. Ambon, Makasar, Manado, Sabah,).

C. Debate: Can Kupang Malay be a language if it has no culture?

Another debate in Kupang (but not so much in the realm of education) is whether Kupang Malay can be a real language if it has no *adat* ('traditions' or 'custom'). In Kupang, when 'adat' is called for in occasions such as marriages, births, and deaths, 'traditional' Rote, Sabu, Sumba, etc. adat is evoked, not Kupang adat. Debate then arises over whether or not Kupang Malay can be a legitimate language if it lacks the cultural authority of adat.

In other creole contexts where there is an uprooting of speakers from their local cultures, a creole 'culture' may develop as soon as the creole language. But in Kupang there has not been that degree of social dislocation and many people not only self identify with a traditional ethnic group, they are in some degree of contact with the traditional language. Thus Kupang Malay can be everyone's language, but is linked to no single ethnic culture. In this regard, it is like Indonesian, which is also a lingua franca with a defined role in society, even though it has little historical depth and no unified 'adat'. As James Siegel (1997) described lingua franca Melayu during the nation-building period, "it was a language without a culture attached". While acknowledging that a variety of traditional adats are used in ritual occasions in Kupang, more articulate native speakers like Jacob are willing to challenge the notion that Kupang Malay is a language with no cultural authority. The authority and power of Kupang Malay come precisely from its

Sasando--**Rote adat in Kupang**

roots as a *lingua franca* creole – it is a language that symbolizes the collective identity of local 'low' NTT voices from the periphery in contrast to the distant, 'high' voice of the state from the centre.

IV. CONCLUSION:

Masanori (2002) describes a similar but contrasting situation in Sumatra where the Lampung language has also been identified as the local language for use in education. Like Kupang, Lampung is a multi-ethnic society, but there Lampung is being imagined as a homogenous cultural identity, of which the Lampung language is indexed as its symbol, making other minority languages invisible. In NTT, however, no single vernacular language has come to represent the whole. And as the educators recognized at the seminar, Kupang Malay is not the mother tongue of all students in NTT, because outside of Kupang city and Kupang district, vernacular languages are the mother tongue of children, and other vernacular languages also need to be used in 'local curriculum'.

But Kupang Malay does reflect the multi-ethnic nature of NTT and it is used by people in Kupang to self-identify with NTT. In that sense it is ambiguous – it can stand for any or all NTT ethnic groups as an *in-group*. But Kupang Malay can simultaneously be used to define and exclude an *out-group* of non-locals from places associated with the more prestigious centres of power in Indonesia. At times it does seem that people in Kupang use Kupang Malay to proudly express their social marginality within the state and their language's marginality to the state's official language.

When contrasted with Indonesian used to report the 'news' in Kupang newspapers, the *Tapaleuk* column is a local reaction and interpretation of the news. In further contrast to Indonesian as the foundation for the nation's Imagined Community (cf. Anderson 1991), Kupang Malay is the language of a real community, spoken on the streets, in the markets, in the homes, in the schools, and in the offices of Kupang. But in privileging Indonesian in the recent past as the only sanctioned form of Malay, an ideological 'erasure' occurred as people came to imagine that Kupang Malay didn't exist. But today it is no longer a completely invisible language.

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