

Peace Corps East Timor

Tetun

Language Course

Written by

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Preface

As the first Country Director of Peace Corps in East Timor, I take great personal pride and pleasure in presenting the First Edition of the Tetun Language Course for Peace Corps East Timor. The manuals constituting the Language Course were developed by Peace Corps specifically to enable American Volunteers to work effectively in rural areas of East Timor, and get to know the people of the country in the fullest sense.

Peace Corps is the agency of the United States government that promotes development at the grass-roots level by recruiting Volunteers to work with local communities. Peace Corps Volunteers are U.S. citizens who have agreed to serve for two years to lend a hand in countries around the world to help people improve their quality of life. In 2003, Peace Corps has about 7,000 Volunteers working in over 77 countries. Since President John F. Kennedy inaugurated the Peace Corps in 1962, over 200,000 Volunteers have served in over 110 countries in all regions of the world.


Peace Corps was invited to work in East Timor in early 2002, by His Excellency, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. José Ramos-Horta, on behalf of the Government of East Timor. Soon after the new country's independence, the first Volunteers arrived to work in local communities (at District and Sub-District level) to promote local governance, and to promote community health education. During the next years, more Volunteers will arrive to continue working in those areas and in other projects that are priorities of the East Timorese government. In the future, most Volunteers will be working in *sucos* and *aldeias*, where the needs for assistance are the greatest.

Aside from the agency's primary goal to assist with local development efforts, Peace Corps has two other important goals which most define the character of the organization and the way that it works. First, Volunteers working around the world provide Americans with an opportunity to know other peoples and cultures, and to promote peace through understanding. Second, Peace Corps Volunteers allow other peoples around the world to know Americans on a personal basis, and appreciate how American people might differ from the stereotypes presented in the popular media. These two goals are known as the "cross-cultural" goals of the Peace Corps.

Because Peace Corps Volunteers work at the most local levels, in the smallest towns and villages, it is essential that Volunteers learn to speak fluently the language that the people themselves speak. In fact, the ability to communicate fluently in the local language is the greatest determinant of Volunteer success in achieving development and cross-cultural goals. Peace Corps is widely recognized as providing some of the best foreign language training for native speakers of English in the world—indeed, Peace Corps language programs set the standard for teaching materials and methods for dozens of national or "minority" languages in many countries around the world. Most important to Peace Corps' own goals, the agency strives to create language programs that teach language as it is "popularly" spoken, with sensitivity to local customs, habits, and forms of address. Therefore, Peace Corps language programs often teach language that would be described as "slang" or "dialect" by language purists, but which, in fact, enables Volunteers to become fully integrated with the communities where they live and work.

The Peace Corps Tetun language training materials, prepared by and under the supervision of Dr. Catharina Williams-van Klinken, are the newest contribution by Peace Corps in promoting the use of national languages. Although these materials were developed specifically to help train American Volunteers to speak the most widely spoken indigenous language in East Timor, we sincerely hope that these materials will become part of a larger national patrimony, to promote the culture of the people of the world's newest nation. We hope that Tetun will be recognized around the world as a

national language of the people of East Timor, and that knowledge of the Tetun language will become synonymous with a deep appreciation of Timorese history, the Timorese people, and Timorese culture.



James Diego Hay - Director

Acknowledgments

The author gratefully acknowledges the encouragement of Dr Diego Hay as Country Director of Peace Corps East Timor. It is through his vision that time and resources were made available to produce these lessons. We acknowledge too the support of Minister José Ramos-Horta for Peace Corps East Timor as a whole.

Many people have contributed to developing these lessons. For the first part of the book, Mr Nuno Gomes patiently answered many questions about Tetun and about Timorese customs. Peace Corps teachers, Mr Ponciano da Cruz Leite, Mrs Terezinha Araujo Cardoso Gusmão, and Mr Simeão Brites Seixas continued this process, as well as writing many dialogues and texts. Along with the other pioneer Peace Corps teachers (Mrs Rosel de Fatima do Rego Magno, Mr Jorge de Orleans Alberto Magalhães, Mr Tobias Pinto Fernandes, Mr Fransisco Cruz Simões de Gonzaga Soares, and Mr Domingos Belo da Cruz) they tested the first draft of the materials with the first intake of Peace Corps trainees. Mr Antonio Rosario advised on the finance chapter.

Peace Corps Volunteers Jeff Sinanian and Mike Michel, and staff member Mr Jose Avelar, did wonders for the physical appearance of the book, Mike concentrating on general formatting, and Jeff and Jose selecting the graphics.

The first batch of Peace Corps volunteers in Timor contributed their ideas on what should be included, introduced me to their life in various townships around East Timor, and in some instances helped check wordlists in their communities. Miss Maxine McKinney commented in detail on some lessons and on the health terms wordlist. Various Timorese tutors trialled the lessons in one-to-one teaching of foreigners. This resulted in some useful feedback, especially from Dr Patti Delaney.

This course book is only one part of a set of materials being developed by Peace Corps East Timor for teaching Tetun to volunteers. Many people have contributed in major ways to developing the rest of the program.

Mr Antonio Sequeira has been the primary translator of the first part of this textbook into Tetun, to allow non-English-speaking teachers to use it.

Peace Corps Volunteer Luann Grondhovd has written a guide called “*Matadalan ba Hanorin Língua*”, which presents useful activities for language teaching.

The first group of Peace Corps teachers (named above), as well as Mr Nuno Gomes and Mr Antonio Sequeira, have developed a wide range of exercises, texts, lesson plans and teaching materials to facilitate presentation of these lessons.

Finally, the teachers benefited from excellent training by Miss 'Elenoa Kouvaka, the Language Coordinator in Peace Corps Tonga.

Obrigada barak

Introduction

1. Let's get started

The goal of this textbook is to help you get started in learning Tetun, one of the two official languages of East Timor. The goal for Peace Corps trainees is that after ten weeks of training you will be able to speak Tetun on everyday topics, at a level which all Tetun Dili speakers can understand and accept.

Timorese will love it when you try to learn their language. Tetun has fairly simple grammar, and is mostly easy to pronounce.

2. Languages in East Timor

East Timor has a large number of languages, each with their own function in society, and their own influence on Tetun.

The majority of Timorese, especially in rural areas, speak their own ethnic language at home. Most, such as Mambae (the one with the largest number of speakers) and Tokodede, are related to Tetun, belonging to the Austronesian language family. Some, such as Bunak and Makassae, are totally unrelated to Tetun.

For nation-wide inter-ethnic communication there are currently four languages in use in Timor. Of these, Tetun and Portuguese are designated in the constitution as official languages. Indonesian and English are recognised as 'working' languages.

1. Tetun has been a lingua franca in East Timor for centuries. It is spoken by the majority of Timorese in the majority of districts. The main exceptions are Los Palos and Oecussi, where Tetun is not traditionally spoken as a lingua franca, although it appears to be gaining ground.
2. Portuguese was the language of Portuguese colonisation for over four centuries, and hence the language of education, government and church prior to the Indonesian invasion in 1975. It has since been re-introduced as an official language, and as the language of education, initially starting from the lower grades of primary school. Portuguese has had an enormous impact on Tetun. This is particularly so in the area of vocabulary. In Dili even a casual conversation is likely to consist of 25% Portuguese words, while the percentage of Portuguese used in Tetun in the media is much higher (up to 80-90% for nouns and verbs!) Portuguese has also contributed many new sounds to Tetun (e.g. 'j' and 'ly'), new constructions, and even a new suffix (*-dór*, used to derive agent nouns).
3. Indonesian was the language of Indonesian rule from 1975 to 1999. It is hence the language in which younger people were educated, and was the language of government and commerce during this period. As a result, many people use Indonesian words when speaking Tetun, particularly when talking about work-related matters. Many people try to avoid Indonesian loans when writing Tetun, however, with the result that they may try to use lesser-known Portuguese loans when writing, but better-known Indonesian ones when speaking. Most Indonesian-educated Timorese still prefer to write in Indonesian rather than Tetun.
4. English had a very limited role prior to 1999, except as a foreign language taught at school. Since then it was the language of the UN body overseeing the referendum in August 1999, and of the UN mission overseeing East Timor's transition to full independence in May 2002. It is still the main working language used in many international agencies in Timor.

There are two main varieties of ‘Tetun’ spoken in Timor. One is ‘Tetun Terik’, an ethnic language spoken along both sides of the border with West Timor, and also along parts of the south coast. Relatively few people speak Tetun Terik unless they belong to that ethnic group.

The other is variously called ‘Tetun Dili’, ‘Tetun Prasa’ or just ‘Tetun’. This is the lingua franca variety of Tetun taught in this book. Tetun Dili has evolved from Tetun Terik, but the changes have been so great that speakers of the two languages have difficulty understanding each other. One huge difference is that Tetun Dili has been strongly influenced by Portuguese, whereas Tetun Terik (especially as spoken in West Timor) has been much less influenced. In other respects, Tetun Dili is significantly simpler than Tetun Terik; for instance it has lost most of the word-building possibilities.¹

Tetun Dili is not a standardised language. You will find large differences in how different people speak it, and also in how the same person speaks it in different contexts. One major difference is in the influence of other languages on Tetun Dili. For instance, some people (especially in formal contexts such as writing) borrow many more words from Portuguese than other people do, others borrow more from Indonesian, while yet others (particularly in formal contexts such as church sermons) borrow more from Tetun Terik. In addition, there are alternative pronunciations for some words (e.g. *hosi* or *husi* ‘from’).

3. This textbook

What type of Tetun does this book teach? Our aim is to teach you to understand Tetun as it is spoken in Dili and in all other areas where it is a lingua franca, and to speak it in a way which is widely acceptable. In addition to everyday casual Tetun, you will learn many Portuguese loans and some constructions which are appropriate to formal situations such as meetings, even though they are not used much in conversation. You will also learn many common Indonesian loans, which are marked with ‘(I)’ in the wordlists. It is widely considered inappropriate to mix Indonesian with Tetun in formal contexts and in writing, and some people disapprove of it in more casual contexts as well; nevertheless you will inevitably hear many Indonesian loans, and so need to at least understand them. This textbook does not teach liturgical Tetun, which is much more influenced by Tetun Terik than everyday spoken Tetun is, and which many Timorese hold up as a model for refined public speech.

This book is written for use by Peace Corps trainees, studying in small monolingual-Tetun classes. English explanations are included to supplement the oral explanations by teachers in Tetun. It is assumed that trainees will learn many commonly used words (such as animal names and the names of household goods) from their host communities. As a result, many such terms are not at this stage included in the lessons, particularly if they are nouns with a direct English equivalent that can be confirmed from a dictionary.

There is not yet a widely-accepted spelling system for Tetun. The spelling system provisionally used in this book is outlined in the Appendix, along with alternative systems.

This book is being used in its entirety for the first time. Feedback is welcome so that it can be improved.

Here are a few points about layout:

- Footnotes are used for those readers who have a more technical interest in language, or in the origins of words. If you are not in this category, or find the footnotes boring, please skip them!
- “(I)” in wordlists indicates that the word is from Indonesian. English loans are marked as “(Eng)”, and some Portuguese loans are marked as “(P)”. Portuguese loans that are well known and fully

¹ For a fuller picture of the differences between Tetun Terik and Tetun Dili, and of the development of Tetun Dili, see Thomaz (1981) or Williams-van Klinken (2002b).

integrated into Tetun are not marked as such, nor are lesser-known words which occur in technical wordlists.

- An asterisk indicates that the following example is incorrect. e.g. **Hau la mestri* (which should be *Hau laós mestri*).
- In examples, “P:” stands for *pergunta* ‘question’, while “H:” stands for *hataan* ‘answer’.

4. Overview of Tetun structure (for the grammatical types)²

Phonology

Tetun has a simple five vowel system: /a, e, i, o, u/. A large number of consonants and almost all types of consonant clusters have been borrowed from Portuguese. Some pairs of words contrast by having different stress (e.g. *HAre* ‘rice’ versus *haREE* ‘see’); however stress is usually penultimate (i.e. on the second-last syllable).

Portuguese loans

Tetun Dili has borrowed numerous words from Portuguese. This is especially obvious in technical and abstract vocabulary. However almost all greetings and common terms of address, as well as many prepositions, conjunctions and other common words, also come from Portuguese. In addition, Portuguese numbers are used in Tetun along with native Tetun and Indonesian numbers. Portuguese verbs are normally borrowed in the third person singular form (e.g. *kanta* from Portuguese *canta* ‘(he/she) sings’). Portuguese nouns and adjectives are normally borrowed in the masculine form (e.g. *falsu* from Portuguese masculine *falso* ‘false’), unless the feminine form specifically refers to women (e.g. *noiva* ‘bride, fiancée’).

Morphology

Tetun Dili has very few productive prefixes and suffixes. The most common prefix is *ha-*, which derives transitive verbs from intransitive verbs and adjectives (e.g. *habokon* ‘make wet’ from *bokon* ‘wet’). The most productive suffix is a Portuguese loan *-dór*, which derives agent nouns (e.g. *husudór* ‘person who keeps asking’ from *husu* ‘ask’). Tetun Dili has numerous compounds.

Syntax

In clauses, the order is usually subject-verb-object; e.g. *Hau buka nia* ‘I seek him’. There are no passives, but the object can be highlighted by placing it before the subject slot.

Tetun Dili has no agreement marking whatsoever – e.g. verbs do not agree with subjects (as they do in Tetun Terik), and there is no agreement between nouns and adjectives (as in Portuguese), or nouns and their possessors (as in some varieties of Tetun Terik). There is also no case marking (equivalent to English ‘he/him’).

Tense-aspect is marked by separate words, not (as in English or Portuguese) by changing the form of the verb (e.g. ‘sit’ versus ‘sat’).

Within a noun phrase, the modifiers follow the noun; e.g. ‘a big house’ is *uma boot ida*, lit. ‘house big one/a’. The exception is that possessors can either precede or follow the noun; e.g. ‘my house’ can be either *hau nia uma*, lit. ‘I-POSSESSIVE house’, or *uma hau nian*, lit. ‘house I-POSSESSIVE’.

² This overview is based on that found in Williams-van Klinken, Hajek and Nordlinger (2002: 5–6). Many of the grammar notes in this textbook also draw on that book.

Pronouns and determiners are listed in the appendix, along with some other closed sets of words, such as numbers, prepositions and conjunctions, and intensifiers.

Pronúnsia (*Pronunciation*)

1. Stress and long vowels

In Tetun, most words are stressed on the second-last (penultimate) syllable. This syllable tends to be longer and slightly louder than the others.

hakarak	haKArak	want
lao	LAo	walk, go

Some words are stressed on the last vowel.³ The difference between stressing the last vowel and the second-last one can be very important! We are spelling final long vowels as double vowels, except in long words of Portuguese origin, where we mark them with an accent (e.g. *nasionál* nasioNAL). Note that some writers don't distinguish between long and short vowels, so writing both *haree* 'see' and *hare* 'rice' as 'hare'.

haree	haREE	see
hare	HAre	rice (unhulled)
kabeen	kaBEEN	saliva, spittle
kaben	KAben	marry; spouse

Some words of Portuguese origin are stressed on the third-last syllable. We mark these with an accent.

siénsia	science
régua	ruler (for measuring)

2. Consonants

Stops: All stops are unaspirated. That means that there is no puff of air escaping when you release your tongue. By contrast, English 'p', 't' and 'k' sounds are usually aspirated.

tata	bite	(Contrast English 'potato')
hatete	say	
papa	Pope	(Contrast English 'paper')
okupa	occupy	
koko	try	(Contrast English 'cocoa')
hateke	look at	

Final consonants are unreleased. That is, when a word ends in a consonant, your tongue goes to the position for that consonant, but you don't let out the air afterwards. You may need practice to be able to hear consonants at the ends of words. Usually the consonant is clearer when the next word starts with a vowel. (Note that the only words ending in 'p' are those which are borrowed from Indonesian.)

³ For the phonologists: it is not clear whether such final long vowels in Tetun Dili should be analysed as one syllable, or as two (e.g. *ha.ree* or *ha.re.e* 'see'). In Tetun Terik, which hasn't been significantly influenced by Portuguese, there is evidence for analysing them as two syllables; therefore, in Tetun Terik, stress is consistently on the penultimate syllable.

mikrolét	minibus	mikrolét ida	a minibus
boot	big	ema boot ida	a ‘big person’ (VIP)
hamutuk	together	hamutuk iha nee	together here
seidauk	not yet	nia seidauk iha	he isn’t here yet
map (I)	folder	map ida	a folder
sirup (I)	syrup	sosa sirup aban	buy syrup (medicine) tomorrow

Variation: Some sounds are pronounced differently by different speakers, especially consonants which are borrowed from Portuguese. These tend to be pronounced as per (European) Portuguese by those who are Portuguese-educated, but to be assimilated to the nearest native Tetun sound by some other speakers (especially more rural ones), or in words which were borrowed into Tetun a long time ago.

Sound (in our spelling)	Educated Portuguese pronunciation	Alternative pronunciations	Example
v	‘v’	‘b’	servisu / serbisu ‘work’ avoo / aboo ‘grandparent’
p	‘p’	‘b’, ‘f’ ⁴	paun / baun / faun ‘bread’
s	‘x’ (English ‘sh’) at end of Portuguese words	‘s’ everywhere	Portugés ‘Portuguese’ piris ‘saucer’
	‘x’ before ‘t’, ‘k’ or ‘p’	‘s’	festa ‘party’ eskola ‘school’ esperiénsia ‘experience’
	‘s’ elsewhere	‘s’	asina ‘sign (do a signature)’ moras ‘sick’ ⁵
‘z’	‘j’ at ends of words	‘z’ everywhere	páz ‘peace’ tréz ‘three’
	‘j’ before ‘m’	‘z’	ezmola ‘alms’ azma ‘asthma’
	‘z’ elsewhere	‘z’	zero ‘zero’ onzi ‘eleven’
x	‘x’	‘s’	xaa / saa ‘tea’ taxu / tasu ‘wok’
j	‘j’	‘z’ ⁶	janela / zanela ‘window’ ajuda / azuda ‘help’
ny	‘ny’	‘n’	Junyu / Junu ‘June’ senyora / senora ‘madam’
ly	‘ly’	‘l’ or ‘il’	barulyu / barulu / baruilu ‘noise’
rr	‘rr’	‘r’ ⁷	karreta / kareta ‘car’

⁴ This pronunciation depends largely on the person’s native language.

⁵ Some people pronounce the final ‘s’ in native Tetun words as ‘x’ (English ‘sh’) as well; for instance in *moras* ‘sick’ or *haas* ‘mango’. This is mainly in situations such as news broadcasts, where people are striving for Portuguese-style pronunciations.

⁶ It is quite common for ‘j’ and ‘z’ to be confused in writing. For instance, many young people spell *uza* ‘use’ as ‘*uja*’.

⁷ In the Portuguese pronunciation used in Timor, Portuguese words distinguish between a trilled ‘r’ (spelled ‘rr’) and a shorter tapped ‘r’ (spelled ‘r’). Very few speakers make this distinction in Tetun, however, and we are not marking it in our spelling.

Initial ‘k’ plus a consonant: In Tetun Terik, many words start with ‘k’ followed by another consonant. Most of these consonant sequences have disappeared from Tetun Dili, either because the ‘k’ has been dropped (e.g. Tetun Dili *todan* ‘heavy’ versus Tetun Terik *ktodan*) or because a vowel has been inserted after it (e.g. Tetun Dili *kamaan* ‘light (weight)’ versus Tetun Terik *kmaan*). However a few remain, particularly in the register of Tetun used in church. In these, the ‘k’ may be weakly pronounced, or pronounced followed by a short vowel off-glide.

kbiit ‘power’	kmanek ‘wonderful’	knuu ‘hamlet’
knaar ‘duties’	knuuk ‘nest’	ksolok ‘happiness’

Note however that initial ‘kr’ and ‘kl’ are common, and pronounced with a full ‘k’.

klaran ‘middle’	klamar ‘soul’	klosan ‘single person’
krekas ‘skinny’	krimi ‘crime’	krúz ‘cross’

Final ‘n’ may be pronounced as ‘n’ or ‘ng’. Some speakers instead nasalise the preceding vowel.

Tetun ‘Tetun’	naran ‘name’	kalan ‘night’
folin ‘price’	manaan ‘win’	jardín ‘flower garden’

‘l’ tends to sound slightly different depending on whether it is at the beginning of a word, between two vowels, or at the end of a word. Basically, the tongue tends to be further forward in the mouth (lamino-alveolar) when ‘l’ is at the beginning of a word, somewhat raised at the back of the mouth (velarised) at the end of a word, and intermediate when it occurs between vowels or before a consonant. Listed carefully to your tutor pronounce the following words.

laran ‘inside’	janela ‘window’	Portugál ‘Portugal’
lae ‘no’	fali ‘again’	Abríl ‘April’
loron ‘day’	hola ‘take’	azúl ‘blue’

‘r’ is unlike English ‘r’. It tends to be a trill at the beginning of words, and a tap (almost like a fast ‘d’) at the end of a word or syllable.

raan ‘blood’	maran ‘dry’	fiar ‘believe’
redi ‘net’	barani ‘bold’	batar ‘corn’
roda ‘wheel’	parte ‘part’	dadeer ‘morning’
rua ‘two’	sorti ‘fortunate’	diretór ‘director’
hamriik ‘stand’	harii ‘erect’	doutór ‘doctor’
patraun ‘boss’	karoon ‘sack’	fitar ‘scar’

Glottal stops: Tetun Terik has a consonant called a ‘glottal stop’, which is rather like a catch in the throat, as per the middle consonant of the Cockney pronunciation of ‘butter’. This consonant has been largely lost in Tetun Dili, but you will nevertheless hear it from time to time. Some speakers use it much more than others, and in some words it is more common than in others. When people represent it in writing, they use the apostrophe: e.g. *la’o* ‘walk’.⁸

makaas / maka’as ‘strong’	hiit / hi’it ‘lift’
sae / sa’e ‘rise’	siak / si’ak ‘reprimand’
nai / na’i ‘lord’	toos / to’os ‘garden’
lao / la’o ‘walk’	kous / ko’us ‘cradle’
nee / ne’e ‘this’	mear / me’ar ‘cough’

⁸ The main reason we do not represent glottal stops in our orthography is that many Timorese either don’t use glottal stops when speaking Tetun, or pronounce them in only a few words. As a result, most do not know which words ‘should’ have glottal stops (according to Tetun Terik), and therefore often place apostrophes in the wrong places.

3. Vowels

Tetun has five vowels: a, e, i, o, u. Listen carefully to how they sound. ‘a’, ‘i’ and ‘u’ tend to have relatively fixed sounds, while ‘e’ and ‘o’ vary according to speaker and context.⁹ Both ‘e’ and ‘o’ tend to be slightly higher if the vowel in the following syllable is ‘u’ or ‘i’ than in any other context.

a:	matan ‘eye’	para ‘stop’	ajenda ‘diary’
i:	litik ‘pester’	bibi ‘goat’	idadi ‘age’
u:	hamutuk ‘together’	tunu ‘bake’	utu ‘lice’
e:	hatete ‘say’	tebe ‘kick’	eduka ‘train’
	hetan ‘get’	feto ‘woman’	hemu ‘drink’
o:	horon ‘smell’	koko ‘try’	oferese ‘offer’
	tohar ‘break’	koi ‘scratch’	tohu ‘sugarcane’

Vowels stay pure: In English, unstressed vowels often have a schwa-like (unclear) quality. In Tetun, they tend to keep their pure quality.

ida ‘one’
karu ‘expensive’
kopu ‘glass, tumbler’
mana ‘older sister’
hatene ‘know’
sanulu ‘ten’
universidade ‘university’

The difference is clear when you compare Timorese and English pronunciation of English words. In the following, listen particularly for the final vowel:

mister	Mister
misez / misiz	Mrs
Washington	
dolar	dollar
kuarter	quarter (25 cents)

Vowel sequences: In native Tetun words, sequences of two vowels are heard as distinct vowels when people are speaking carefully. However they may become diphthongs when people speak fast. (Sequences which are missing from the following table, such as ‘ie’, don’t occur in native Tetun words.)

	-a	-i	-u	-e	-o
a-	-	fai ‘hit end on’	karau ‘buffalo’	sae ‘ascend’	lao ‘walk’
i-	nia ‘he, she’	-	liur ‘outside’		
u-	suar ‘smoke’	ruin ‘bone’	-		
e-	mean ‘red’	tein ‘cook’	haleu ‘surround’	-	neon ‘mind’
o-	koa ‘cut’	oin ‘face’	mout ‘sink’	soe ‘throw’	-

Portuguese loans, however, do have diphthongs. Some of these (particularly ‘ei’ and ‘ou’) tend to be pronounced as pure vowels when people are speaking normally.

kadeira / kadera ‘chair’	keiju / keju ‘cheese’
senoura / senora ‘carrot’	doutór / dotór ‘doctor’

⁹ For more details, see Williams-van Klinken, Hajek and Nordlinger (2002:11).

Initial 'es': Portuguese loans beginning in 'est', 'esp' and 'esk' tend to have the initial 'e' pronounced as 'i', or weakened or dropped altogether:

eskola / iskola / skola 'school'
estrada / istrada / strada 'street'
espada / ispada / spada 'sword'

4. Compounds and reduplications

When two words are joined together to make a single compound, or a word is repeated to make a single reduplicated word, the first word is often shortened. Usually the final consonant is deleted; the remaining final vowel is often weakened or deleted. Sometimes people write the full words, and sometimes the shortened version.

manu + tolun 'bird + egg'
masin + midar 'salt + sweet'
diak 'good'
loron 'day'
fulan 'month'

mantolun 'bird egg'
masi-midar, mas-midar 'sugar'
di-diak 'well'
loro-loron, lor-loron 'daily'
fula-fulan, ful-fulan 'monthly'

However when a word of more than two syllables is reduplicated, there is usually no shortening involved.

dadeer 'morning'
Janeiru 'January'

dadeer-dadeer 'every morning'
Janeiru-Janeiru 'every January'

