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Timorese Plant Names and their Origins

Geoffrey Hull

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Contents

Past Contributions to Timorese Phytography

English readers were first made familiar with the fauna and flora of Timor by Alfred Russel Wallace, whose work *The Malay Archipelago* was published in 1869. In that book the British naturalist described the botanical scene of the island as one at variance with the rest of the region, having more in common with the coastal regions of neighbouring northern Australia:

> "Placed immediately upon the Equator and surrounded by extensive oceans, it is not surprising that the various islands of the Archipelago should be almost always clothed with a forest vegetation from the level of the sea to the summits of the loftiest mountains. This is the general rule. Sumatra, New Guinea, Borneo, the Philippines and the Moluccas, and the uncultivated parts of Java and Celebes, are all forest countries [...]. To this, however, there is one important exception in the island of Timor and the smaller islands around it, in which there is absolutely no forest such as exists in the other islands, and this character extends in a lesser degree to Flores, Sumbawa, Lombock, and Bali.
>
> In Timor the most common trees are Eucalypti of several species, so characteristic of Australia, with sandal-wood, acacia, and other sorts in less abundance. These are scattered over the country more or less thickly, but never so as to deserve the name of a forest. Coarse and scanty grasses grow beneath them on the more barren hills, and a luxuriant herbage in the moister localities. [...] This peculiar character, which extends in a less degree to the southern peninsula of Celebes and the east end of Java, is most probably owing to the proximity of Australia. The south-east monsoon, which lasts for about two-thirds of the year (from March to November), blowing over the northern parts of that country, produces a degree of heat and dryness which assimilates the vegetation and physical aspect of the adjacent islands to its own."[1]

Recalling a visit to Kupang in 1859, Wallace noticed the profusion there of plants of the families Apocynaceae and Euphorbiaceae, but remarked that the "most conspicuous feature of the vegetation was the abundance of fine fan-leaved palms *(Borassus flabelliformis)*..."[2]

Although Timor's characteristic flora had been known to Europeans for three centuries before Wallace wrote up his travels and observations in the Malay Archipelago, the island's plant species had only comparatively recently begun to attract the attention of European botanists. The study of Central Moluccan botany had been launched in the 17th century by Georg Eberhard Rumphius (1628-1702), a Dutch-German scholar employed by the Dutch East India Company. His six-volume *Herbarium Amboinense (Het Amboinisch Kruydboek),* published in Amsterdam some 50 years after his death, is considered a classic of Indonesian botany. Given the many plant species

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[1] Wallace 1869: 6-7.
[2] Ibid., p. 142.

common to Ambon and Timor, this work is an important source for Timorese botany as well. However, the first scholar to devote himself to the specific study of Timor's flora was the Portuguese Dominican missionary friar Alberto de São Thomas OP, who served as *comissário* of the Catholic missions of Timor and the Solor Archipelago in the late 18th century. Fr São Thomas produced an illustrated treatise on Timorese plant species for the Arquivo Histórico Colonial in Lisbon.[3] Around the same time another Portuguese botanist produced a treatise on Timorese medicinal flora, which was not printed until 1934.[4]

Robert Brown, the Scottish botanist who had studied Sir Joseph Banks's collections of Australian plants, travelled with Matthew Flinders on his circumnavigation of New Holland; in 1803, after visiting the Gulf of Carpentaria, the *Investigator* made a detour for repairs and provisions to Timor, where, from 31 March to 8 April Brown had an opportunity to inspect the local flora of Kupang.[5] During his return journey to Britain via Mauritius that same year, Brown had a second stay from 10 to 14 November in the capital of Dutch Timor. His Timor collection was divided between the British Museum and the Vienna Herbarium.

Two contemporary contributors to this field of study were French-speaking. Charles Gaudichaud-Beaupré (1789-1854), a French naval botanist, visited Kupang in October 1818 and, after being received by Governor Pinto Alcoforado in Portuguese Timor, toured the Dili district the following November. His botanical investigations relating to Timor were published in Paris between 1824 and 1844. The Belgian botanist Joseph Decaisne (1807-1891), director of the Jardin des Plantes in Paris, described in 1834 the contents of a herbarium he had investigated in [Dutch] Timor, and later had a variety of black bamboo named in his honour. Several botanists of different nationalities studied the flora of Dutch Timor between 1818 and 1843.[6]

In the tenth edition of *The Malay Archipelago,* which came out in 1890, Wallace mentioned the botanical endeavours of the Scot Henry Ogg Forbes (1851-1932), who stayed in Portuguese Timor from December 1882 to May 1883. His base was the village of Fatunaba, above Dili, whence he travelled into the interior as far south as Bibissuço and Samoro, and along the north coast east to Metinaro and the Lacló River. He classified some 255 plant species out of under one thousand native to Timor, "a very small number for a tropical island", according to Wallace.[7] James Britten, of the Botanical Department of the British Museum, compiled from this data a list of Timorese plant species, *Prodromus Florae Timorensis,* which was published in an appendix to Forbes' travelogue of 1885.

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[3] Described in Cinatti 1950: 15-17. The manuscript was entitled "Virtudes de algumas plantas, folhas, frutas, cascas e raizes de differentes árvores e arbustos da ilha de Timor, escripotas por Fr. Alberto de S. Thomaz, da Ordem dos Pregadores, Missionário e depois Comissário da Missão das ilhas de Timor, Sollor e circunvizinhas."

[4] Pina 1934.

[5] See Brown 1810.

[6] See Cinatti 1950: 8.

[7] Wallace 1890: 152, n. 2.

In 1887 José Gomes da Silva, a physician as well as a botanist, made a general study of the typical flora of Timor and Macao (then a single administrative unit), thereby initiating a tradition of modern Portuguese botanical research on Timor. This was followed by the research of Paulo Cavique dos Santos, published in 1934 and 1944. A short study by J. Gardé Alfaro Cardoso of 1937 focussed on Portuguese Timor's forest species, related some of them tyo vernacular names.

Ruy Cinatti added to this literature three important studies: *Explorações botânicas em Timor* and *Reconhecimento preliminar das formações florestais no Timor Português.* Only the first of these two works gave vernacular names of trees and other plants, though not in any systematic fashion. However, Cinatti followed up in 1954 with the very first direct contribution to Timorese phytonymy, an article entitled "Vocabulário indígena de algumas plantas timorenses". The same writer demonstrated the various uses of Timorese plants in an English-language article published ten years later, and in 1970 described the flora featured in a series of postage stamps from Portuguese Timor, giving the Tetum names of the ten species (Cinatti 1964, 1970).

Timor's impressive range of medicinal plants had been the subject of a study by João Cardoso in 1902; Governor Alberto Osório de Castro furthered work in this area in his well-known *A ilha verde e vermelha de Timor* (1943) and in an unpublished manuscript of c. 1944 entitled *Plantas úteis da ilha de Timor: regiões da herborização no território português.* Maria Clara Graça de Freitas, a Portuguese botanist, made a study of Timorese timbers between 1955 and 1958. In 1956 Hélder Lains e Silva published a study of coffee cultivation in the colony which included frequent references to native and imported tree species. An examination of the fodder value of the numerous grasses of Portuguese Timor by F. António Soares followed in 1963, but gave only the Latin botanical names of each species.

In the meantime Dutch botanists had been active describing the vegetation of their half of the island, the principal studies published by 1980 being those of J.E. Teysmann (1874), W.C. van Heurn (1931), C. de Voogd (1938), S. Bloembergen (1940), E. Meijer Drees (1940, 1946, 1947, 1949), K. Heyne (1950), F.H. Hildebrand (1953), C. Kalkman (1955). The activities of French botanists in both West and East Timor are also worthy of note, especially the work of Claudine Friedberg, professor of anthropology at the Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle in Paris, who researched in the 1970s the botanical lore of the Bunak people of West Timor (Friedberg 1971, 1972, 1974, 1990), and of B. Martin and C. Cossalter, who published in 1975 and 1976 reports on their fieldwork on eucalyptus species in Portuguese Timor.

Little pure botanical research was conducted in East Timor during the turbulent period of the Indonesian occupation (1976-1999) when the government's emphasis was, in any case, on agronomy. For this period the main references to the plant life of the territory were made in the Indonesian-British multi-volume study *The Ecology of Indonesia.* The volume devoted to Nusa Tenggara, East Timor and Maluku (No. 5) was published in Sydney, Australia, in 1997. After Independence in 2002 the East Timorese Ministry of

Agriculture continued to prioritize agronomical and forestry research to address the pressing problem of poverty relief, commissioning new studies,[8] but no major botanical work on the nation's flora has appeared to date.

Towards a Phytonymy of East Timor

Since the appearance of Ruy Cinatti's short article of 1954, no significant work has so far been devoted to *phytonymy*,[9] the study of the vernacular names given to plant species. In some of the botanical work to date Tetum, Dawan and other names of trees and plants have been recorded but rarely with any attempt to explore the origins of these terms or their mutual relations within the linguistic network of the island. In many cases where a non-Latin phytonym is given, its regional Malay name is recorded, and these have often been taken as the 'Timorese' names of plants, most of which have numerous local designations belonging to the ancient vocabularies of the island's thirteen Austronesian languages and four Papuan ones. Such lacunae are understandable, given the general ignorance of Timorese languages on the part of the foreign scientific community and the paucity or non-existence of vernacular dictionaries and grammars.

It is the objective of the foregoing study to make known some of these indigenous phytonyms, relating them to the corresponding scientific and Malay terms and giving wherever possible their derivations.[10] The study centres around common Tetum phytonyms; their counterparts in the other regional languages are given where known. One of the aims of the Levantamento Linguístico de Timor-Leste (Linguistic Survey of East Timor) project launched by the Instituto Nacional de Linguística is to produce a comprehensive list of phytonyms in the 15 national languages other than Tetum and their dialects. In the meantime all the lexical data that has so far come to hand will be included in the present analysis.

The plant names below are sorted according to division, class and family. As the author is not a professional botanist, he has generally relied in disputed cases on the categories proposed in the *Concise Oxford Dictionary of Botany* rather than presuming to exercise a taxononomical judgement beyond his expertise. In each entry the Tetum name is given first, printed in bold type,

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[8] See especially Costa, Piggin et al. 2003; one of the component articles, "Drawing from the past to prepare for the future: responding to the challenges of food security in East Timor" by J.J. Fox (pp. 105-114) makes some references to local plant species, especially food crops. In 2005 one American specialist involved in the Agricultural Rehabilitation, Economic Growth and Sustainable Natural Resources Management Project, Dr J.B. Friday of the University of Hawaii, drew up and posted on the internet a list of 93 tree species, entitled "Forestry and Agroforestry Trees of East Timor", giving botanical classifications and names, where known, in Tetum, Fataluku and Indonesian.

[9] Not to be confused with *phytonomy*, the study of the origin and growth of plants.

[10] The author records a debt of gratitude to Mr Kevin Sherlock, who supplied background materials for this study, to Dr Lance Eccles, who advised on East Asian etymologies and proofread the manuscript and to Dr George Saunders, who checked the final text.

followed by the corresponding English name and the Latin scientific name in brackets and italics. Completion of identification by the addition of authorities is left to experts in botany. The Malay terminological counterparts are added, usually in the context of etymological explanations.

Plant names in Timorese languages are characteristically preceded by a classifying marker. In Tetum this is *ai-* (literally 'wood', from Proto-Austronesian ***qaSiw**); it can be omitted in derived forms of the noun, e.g. *ai-kadeli* 'sandalwood', *kadeli-hun* 'sandalwood tree', *mina-kadeli* 'sandalwood oil'. The counterparts of this classifier in Malay and regional languages of East Timor are:

language	*classifier*
Malay (Indonesia)	***pohon***
Malay (Malaysia)	***pokok***
Eastern Malay	***kayu***
Habun	***kauk-***
Tokodede, Kairui, Waima'a, Naueti	***kai-***
Rotinese, Helong, Tetum, Nana'ek, Bekais, Kemak, Idaté, Isní, Lolein, Lakalei, Galoli, Wetarese, Atauran, Dadu'a, Makuva	***ai-***
Dawan, Baikenu	***hau-***
Makasai, Makalero	***ate-***
Fataluku	***ete-***
Bunak	***hotel-***

Some plant names have been excluded from this study because, while their Tetum or other vernacular name is known, they have not been botanically identified. These include:

ai-kaixote, ai-maree, ai-meta, ai-ra'e, ai-roma, ai-tona, ai-beko, ai-bo'o, boru-ae, buikiak, ai-doma, ai fahi-lalun, fanak, ai-fidabauk, ihit, ikiri, ikuleu, ai-kaen, ai-kafitun, ai-kahoris, kakamat, kaleik, ai-mantiti, ai babotu-reen, ai-babasa(k), ai-telik, ai-kakuit, ai meko-kalaur, ai-kaleri, ai kalohan-teen, ai-kamea, ai-kanu, ai-karate, ai-karlele, ai-kere, ai-klalorek, ai-kneta, ai-knidin, kokonaba, ai-komu, ai-ksala, ai kuda-anin, ai kukuu-daren, ai-laboruk, ai-laleik, ai-lasai (lasai-roon), ai-lehe, ai-leno, ai lia-boruk, ai-lirak, ai loro-teen, ai-lonus, ai-lua, ai manu-daren, ai-makdadas, ai-merelau, ai-mitaen, modo-metan, modo-mutin, moko, ai moko-roon, ai-olas, onu, ai-saramate, sasosar, ai siba-lebok, ai-sidani, soko, ai-suhur, ai-sutali, ai-uhus.

Also excluded are doubtful and problematic cases, such as the Timor 'strawberry', *ai-lalek,* which may or may not belong to the Fragaria family, and

the ‘soap tree’ (*ai-sabaun),* which has been identified as *Pygeum* but appears to be different from the African prune tree.

In order to make sense of the numerous references to languages other than Tetum spoken both in Timor and the region, non-linguist readers will require a brief account of the linguistic configuration and history of the island. Modern Timor has at least 17 distinct indigenous languages (linguistic unities or homogeneous dialect chains); all except one of these (Helong) has speakers in East Timor, and 12 of them are unique to the east, where Tetum has been the lingua franca for half a millennium. Four vernaculars (Bunak, Makasai, Makalero and Fataluku) belong to the Trans-New Guinea phylum of Papuan languages and are related to languages of Alor, Pantar and Pura, islands lying off Timor’s north-west coast. Except for Bunak, spoken on both sides of the border, these languages are restricted to the extreme east of Timor-Leste’s national territory. They are the oldest vernaculars of the country, descended from one or more languages introduced from the Bomberai Peninsula of north-western Papua, probably some 4,000 years ago. The long-extinct languages that these colonial languages replaced left traces in the vocabularies of the Neo-Bomberaic and later introduced vernaculars.

Probably not later than one thousand ago all four Bomberaic languages were marginalized in turn by, and partly assimilated to the Austronesian speech of invaders from the south-eastern end of Celebes and the nearby islands of Kabaena, Muna, Buton and the four Tukang Besi islands of Wanci, Kaledupa, Tomea and Binongko (this whole region being termed *Butonia*). The evidence of comparative linguistics suggests that a single ‘Old Timorese’ language was brought to Timor by the Celebean settlers. The ‘Timoric’ languages descended from it are Rotinese, Helong, Dawan (including the Baikenu dialect spoken in Timor-Leste’s Oecussi enclave), Tetum (spoken in two discontinuous areas apart from the Dili district, and including the Nana’ek dialect of Metinaro, a district situated east of Dili), Bekais (Welaun), Kemak, Tokodede, Mambai, ‘Idalaka’ (comprising the Lakalei, Isní, Lolein and Idaté dialects), Wetarese (with its three dialects spoken on the East Timorese island of Wetar and Dadu’a on the adjacent Timorese mainland), Galoli, Habun, ‘Kawaimina’ (consisting of the Kairui, Waima’a, Midiki and Naueti dialects) and the now extinct Makuva of the Mehara district near the eastern tip of the island. In the surrounding region, other languages descended from the same Butonic colonial speech are found in ‘Florinia’, the zone made up of eastern Sumbawa (Bima), Komodo, Flores, Sumba, Savu and the Solor Archipelago and in ‘Nautonia’, the island chain stretching from Timor to near the New Guinea coast, and including Leti, Kisar, the Babar Islands, Yamdena (Timorlaut), Fordata, Kei and the Watubela Islands. In many of the languages of the ‘Sandalwood Islands’ (Santalia), i.e. of Florinia, ‘Timoria’ (= Roti, Timor and Ataúro) and Nautonia, the substratal (aboriginal) element is strong and some languages (like Helong in West Timor) can be described as hybrids.

Linguistic evidence also points to the fact (unrecorded in written history) that in the period preceding the fifteenth century AD, much of Timoria was recolonized by new invaders from the region of Ambon in the Central

Moluccas, and this people appears to have become hegemonic. Hence there is an Ambonic (Neo-Austronesian) superstratum in most Timoric languages.[11] From the 15th century Malay (by now established in Ambon and its region) became current as a trade and cultural language in Timor, and it remained the principal external influence on the languages of Timor until the middle of the 19th century, after which Portuguese became the prevailing force on the languages of Portuguese Timor (but not of Dutch Timor, where Malay, and later Standard Indonesian, continued to be the second language). The Malay that spread through the region from Ambon (Eastern Malay) differed somewhat from the original vernacular of Malaya, Sumatra and Borneo, espcially in areas of morphology and syntax because of creolization trends.[12] From the 16th century the Macassarese and Buginese languages of south-western Celebes had a slight influence on Timorese vernaculars through trade contacts.

[11] Ibidem.
[12] See Waryanti and Kumudawati 2001, and Hull 2005.

Abbreviations

The following abbreviations, mostly of language names, are employed in the present study:

At.	Atauran
Bal.	Balinese
Bk.	Baikenu
Bks.	Bekais
Bn.	Bunak
Bug.	Buginese (SW Celebes)
Cia.	Cia-Cia (SE Celebes)
Daw.	Dawan
Fat.	Fataluku
Fd.	Fordatan (Nautonia)
G.	Galoli
Har.	Haruku (Central Moluccas)
Hb.	Habun
Hel.	Helong
Id.	Idaté
Isn.	Isní
Jav.	Javanese
Kal.	Kaledupa dialect of Wakatobi (SW Celebes)
Kei	Keiese (Nautonia)
Km.	Kemak
Kr.	Kairui
Let.	Letinese (Nautonia)
lit.	literally
Lk.	Lakalei
Lol.	Lolein
Mac.	Macassarese (SW Celebes)
Mak.	Makasai
Mal.	Malay
Mb.	Mambai
Md.	Midiki
Mkl.	Makalero
Mkv.	Makuva
Mri.	Morinian (SE Celebes)
Mun.	Munanese (SE Celebes)
NAt.	North Atauran (Rahesuk)
NL	Nusa Laut (Central Moluccas)
NM	Northern Mambai
OT	Old Timorese
Pad.	Padoese (SE Celebes)
PAN	Proto-Austronesian
PMP	Proto-Malayo-Polynesian
PHN	Proto-Hesperonesian
Pnc.	Pancana (SE Celebes)
Rkl.	Raklungu (SW Atauran)
Rt.	Rotinese
Sap.	Saparua (Central Moluccas)
Sas.	Sasak (Lombok)
SAt.	South Atauran (Resuk and Raklungu)
Sav.	Savunese
SM	Southern Mambai
T.	Tetum
Tag.	Tagalog (Philippines)
Tk.	Tokodede
Tkt.	Tokotu'a (SE Celebes)
Tol.	Tolakian (SE Celebes)
Tom.	Tomea dialect of Wakatobi (SW Celebes)
Tor.	Torajan (Central Celebes)
TT	Tetun-Terik
Wak.	Wakatobi (SE Celebes)
Waw.	Wawonii (SE Celebes)
Wm.	Waima'a
Wnc.	Wanci dialect of Wakatobi (SW Celebes)
Wol.	Wolio (SE Celebes)
WT	Western Tetum (Belunese)
Wtn.	Wetanese (Nautonia)
Ymd.	Yamdenese (Nautonia)

Division ***PTERIDOPHYTA (Ferns)***

Class **Pteridopsida**

PTERIDACEAE

kabura ‘common fern’ *(Nephrolepis sp.),* cf. Hb.Km.G.Kr.Md. *kabura*, NM *kaburon*, Id. *kaburak*, Wm. *kaburo*, Km. *burolau.* From OT ****kambelaw*** (cf. Mun. *kambolu,* id.) and probably influenced by the adjective *buras* ‘luxuriant’. The first part of Makasai *kodokasa*, if Austronesian, may be connected with the Wakatobi (Wanci) *ngentu* ‘fern’. Mutually unrelated are the Naueti *l’uku,* Fataluku *kemu* and Bunak *puli* (cognate with Kafe *puli* in Alor and Manggarai *puni* in Flores). Southern Makasai (Ossu) *boku* comes from the same source as the Tokodede *kobolau* and may be connected with Munanese *ombiko*. The Malay terms *pakis, paku* are not used in languages of East Timor.

abenga ‘maidenhair fern’ *(Adiantum sp.).* From the Portuguese *avenca* (Latin *vinca*).

CYATHEACEAE

kaikoli ‘tree fern’ *(Cyathea sp.).* From Malay *kokol* ‘fern’ with the *kayu-* substituted for the first syllable.

Division ***PINOPHYTA (Conifers)***

Class **Pinopsida**

PODOCARPACEAE

ai-amar ‘Timor pine’ *(Podocarpus imbricata, Dacrycarpus imbricata).* Called *jamuju* in Malay; the Portuguese name is *pau santo,* lit. ‘holy wood’. The white wood is a popular building material in Timor, favoured for furniture making. The origin of the Tetum name is so far unknown.

ai-oro ‘black pine’ *(Podocarpus amara).* Malay: *sempilau, ki merah.* The name is secondary and literally means ‘trough tree’, the reference being to troughs *(oro)* made from the wood for the preparation of sago or for watering cattle.

Division ***MAGNOLIOPHYTA (Flowering Plants)***

A. Class **Liliopsida** (Monocotyledons)

Alismatales

ARACEAE

fia, kfia ‘giant arum’ *(Amorphophallus gigas);* cf. NM *bia,* Wm. *bia, bie* ‘Chinese yam’ (see pp. 15-16). From Old Timorese ****biʀa*** representing Proto-Austronesian ****biRaq***, cf. Mun. *wia, Mal. birah* ‘giant taro’. The same etymon produced the Polynesian term *pia*, which, however, denotes the Indian arrowroot (*telo, kaburia* in Tetum) of the Taccaceae family. The Malay name for giant arum is *bangkai.*

maek ‘elephant ear’ ‘ape flower’ ‘giant taro’ ‘cunjevoi’ *(Alocasia macrorrhiza*); G. *mea.* The OT root appears to be ****mapew***, with the Munanese cognate *mafu* ‘kind of yam with red tubers’ (van den Berg 1996: 332). Called *pa’unu* in Fataluku, its Malay names are *birah* and *keladi sebarang.* Its juice causes great irritation to human skin unless the tubers are roasted; hence the figurative use of Tetum *maek* to denote an insubordinate person or maverick.

talas ‘taro’ *(Colocasia esculenta),* cf. Hb.G.At. *talas,* Rt. *tale*. A borrowing from Mal. *tales* (= *ubi keladi, bentul*). OT ****buti***, the traditional Celebic word (cf. Wol. *buti*), survives as Bks. *futi,* G.Wet. *huti,* SM *hut,* Wm. *uti (-ana),* Md. *wuti (-ana),* Kr. *witan*. The Bomberaic word (Iha, Baham, Mor) *panggala*, current in some Nautonic languages (Keswuian *banggala,* Fordatan *bangkala*) is also present in Timor in a shortened and metathesized form (> **gambala*), cf. Bn. *balo,* Tk,NM (Ermera) *bala*. Also pre-Austronesian are Helong *lole* (= Bk. *loli* ‘sweet potato’); Daw. *nali*; Tk. *gei,* Lk.Id. *kei*; Nau.Mkl.Fat. *mutau*. The Makasai compound *sia-afa(l),* (Ossu) *sia-apa* means ‘wild yam’ and *ate-sia* signifies ‘yam plant’. The Malay word *keladi* (which gave Dawan, Baikenu *alali*) is not used as a plant name in Tetum, but was taken up by East Timorese languages as a nickname (*kaladi*) for the reputedly backward people of the zone west of Manatuto to the border (the Mambais and their western neighbours). The reference is to the use of taro as a staple food in this region

instead of the more modern crops of maize and rice. The contradistinctive term applied to Easterners is *firaku,* from Makasai *fi raku* 'we kin'.

Arecales

ARECACEAE

ai-akadiru 'lontar palm' 'palmyra palm' 'toddy palm' *(Borassus flabellifer),* also *akadirun,* cf. Wel. *akadirun,* NM *akdirun,* Lk. *akadirun,* Id. *akadirak,* Wm. *akadiu, kadiu;* Mk. *akaderu*. Portuguese adapted this word as *acadiro*; *lontar* is its Malay designation. The indigenous name is tautological, a combination of two synonyms, (pre-Austronesian) ****kakal***, the etymon of Tetum *akar* 'sago' (cf. Fataluku *kakalu,* Baikenu *no'e* < **loke* < **kole* 'lontar',[13] and an Old Timorese ***ndilu**, cognate with Munanese *lindo* 'areca'. The second root continues singly as Tokodede *diru,* Kemak *diur,* Bunak *diru, dilu* 'lontar'. Dawan *uea* matches the Northern Wakatobi (Wanci) *kuwa,* and Galoli *hahiri* (if from an earlier **sasiri*) could be connected with Wolio *girisa* and Southern Wakatobi (Tomea) *geresa*. The Rotinese call the tree *sasagu* or *sagu,* from Malay *sagu (-sagu*).

A Tetum synonym is *tua-hun* 'toddy tree', a reference to one of its many domestic uses. The lontar palm is coastal Timor's most characteristic tree, and Wallace remarked of it in 1869 that its leaves "are much superior to those formed from any other species of palm" and how from them "are constructed the strong and durable water-buckets in general use [Tetum *knaban*]. [...] From the same tree, palm-wine and sugar are made, and the common thatch for houses formed of the leaves lasts six or seven years without removal" (p. 142).

bua 'areca palm' 'betelnut palm' 'yellow palm' *(Areca catechu).* Called *bua* in most Timorese languages, with the phonetic variants *puaha* (Baikenu), *buo, boo* (Tokodede), *boo* (Kemak), *pua* (Atauran, Helong, Rotinese, Fataluku), *pu* (Bunak), *boa* (Ermera Mambai), *boe* (Makasai), *bue* (Makalero). Tetum distinguishes *bua-hun* 'areca palm' and *bua-fuan* 'areca nut', actually a tautology, since the base term itself is the first element of the Malay expression *buah pinang* 'areca fruit' (the normal Malay appellations of the tree are *pokok pinang* or *pucuk*). The idea that areca is the fruit *par excellence* is typical of the region; in South-Eastern Celebes areca is called 'the fruit' also in Wawonii *(wua),* Tolaki *(owua)* and Bungku *(fua),* as well as in the Central Moluccas, cf. Lárike *hua,* Nusa Laut *hual.* As a result of this case of semantic narrowing another general term for 'fruit' was substituted in several languages of this region, for instance *bake* in Butonia. The only diverse names for areca so far recorded for Timor are the Fataluku *laiku* and the unexplained Makuva *kikile (< *titile).*

[13] Also possibly the Rotinese *lalu* 'palm wine'.

ai-rumbia, ai-kamria, ai tua-naa ‘sago palm’ *(Metroxylon sagu),* cf. G. *kamriu.* The first two designations mean ‘sago tree’, and mirror the Malay *pohon rumbia,* better known in standard Indonesian and Malaysian as *pohon sagu.* The variant *kamria* (also *kandia)* represents *rumbia* with the Malay *kayu* ‘wood’ or (more probably) the Tokodede *kai-* preposed. Unconnected is the Makasai name, *lubu,* and the Fataluku *komol-ara* (present also as the place-name *Comolara*); the latter is literally ‘sago tree’ (*komolu, henu* ‘sago’). The Tetum term for ‘sago’, *akar (-kamria)* (cf. G. *a’ar*), from a Bomberaic term ****kakal*** ‘lontar’ (Ft. *kakalu),* is not used to name the tree producing it; conversely the malayism *rumbia* does not refer to the substance either. The Makasai term for sago is *sefa*. Another crossing of species names produced the synonyms *ai tua-naa* and *ai naa-luru* (denoting two distinct varieties). The second element (unconnected with *ai-naa* ‘rosewood’) is cognate with Malay *enau* ‘black sugar palm’ ‘aren palm’ (see below); directly related are Lakalei, Idaté, Southern Mambai *nau,* Northern Mambai *naua* ‘toddy’. Reflexes of the Proto-Hesperonesian etymon ****qanahaw*** are widespread in the Celebes-Molucca region, cf. Macassarese and Buginese *inau,* Torajan *onau,* Ambonese (Asilulu) *nawa* ‘aren palm’, Wolio *konao* ‘palm wine’.

nuu ‘coconut’ *(Cocos nucifera),* cf. Rt. *no*, Tk.G.At. *noo*, Daw. *noaha*, Bk. *noa*, Km. *nua*, Mb. *no, noa,* Lk.Id. *noor,* Kr. *nyaa,* Wm.Nau. *nee,* Md. *neo,* Mkv. *nur-*. The Malay cognate *nyiur* is now much less used than *kelapa.* The Old Timorese root ****neuʀ*** (cf. Mek.Bgk.Waw.Tol. *nii*) corresponds to PMP ****niuR***. The tree can be specified as (Tetum) *nuu-hun,* and the fruit as *nuu-fuan.* The three easternmost Papuan languages of Timor have the terms *wata* (Makasai, Makalero) and *vata* (Fataluku); the Bunak *oza* is possibly related. Other, unidentified species of coconut are *nuu-kau* (a variety with a milky kernel) and *nuu-wa’ik* ‘big coconut’, which produces very hard nuts.

ai-tali ‘(buri) palm tree’ *(Corypha utan).* Known as *peiku* in Fataluku; its Malay name is *gebang ibus.*

ai tua-naa metan, ai tua-nasu, ai tua-nasun, ai tali-metan ‘black sugar palm’ ‘aren palm’ ‘feather palm’ *(Arenga pinnata, Arenga saccharifera).* This is the tree whose versatile trunk is useful for the production of sugar (*jagra, jarga* ‘jaggery’), palm wine (*tua*), sago (*akar*) and waterproof gomuti fibre (*tali-metan* ‘black cord’) used to make rope and thatch houses. *Tua-nasu* means ‘wine produced by boiling’ and *tua-nasun* ‘wine syrup’ (from *nasu* ‘to boil’). Other names of this palm are Makasai *araleu*, Fataluku *para*, Dawan *bone* and Rotinese *bole*.

ai-salak ‘snakefruit tree’ ‘snake palm’, ‘salak palm’ *(Salacca edulis). Salak* is the Malay name; in Portuguese the tree is called *fruta-cobra.*

ai-binoko ‘Binongko palm’, apparently a genus of *Borassus* similar to lontar. *Binongko* is the southernmost island in the Tukang Besi group, part of the region from which permanent Austronesian speech was brought to Timor.

Asparagales

AGAVACEAE

tali-balanda ‘agave’ ‘century plant’, ‘maguey’ *(Agave americana).* Literally ‘Dutch rope’, a reference both to a use of its fibres and to its introduction from the Dutch East Indies. The Malay name is *kelumpang telur.*

ALLIACEAE

liis ‘onion’ *(Allium cepa), cf.* Lk.SAt. id., SM *lias,* WT,Bks. *lisa,* NAt. *lii,* Km. *lae.* In languages of the Malay archipelago the three related concepts of ‘onion’, ‘garlic’ and ‘ginger’ are frequently confused. The Tetum word and its cogeners actually continue the Old Timorese term for ‘ginger’, ****laqiya*** (from PMP ****laquya***, cf. Mun. *loghia*, ‘ginger’). The original Timoric term for ‘onion’ was ****lasenaq***, with a variant ****laisenaq*** which had been crossed with ****laqiya***. The Proto-Hesperonesian etymon, ****lasunaq***, was actually a loanword from Sanskrit *lasuna (*or *rasuna)* ‘garlic’. That this same Indian word passed into Chinese in ancient times, becoming the Mandarin *da suan* ‘garlic’, is indicative of the fact that garlic (like the onion) originated in Central Asia and spread thence to eastern, southern and south-east Asia.

In the Malay Archipelago the word completes with reflexes of PHN ****bawang*** ‘garlic’, and the advent of an extra referent inclined both the native and the foreign words to shift to the new semantic slot of ‘onion’: Tagalog *bawang* still means ‘garlic’ but the same word denotes the onion in Malay. Conversely ****lasunaq*** continues to denote garlic in some languages (e.g. Sasak *lengsune* in Lombok, Balaesang, Tajio *latuna* in north-western Celebes, Keswui *laisina* in the south-eastern Moluccas); in Macassarese *lasuna* means both ‘garlic’ and ‘onion’, while in the languages of Torajaland, Central Celebes, South-Eastern Celebes and of Savu, the meaning of ‘onion’ is normal (where the word has not been ousted by the Malayism *bawang*), e.g. Torajan, Mandar, Tomadio *lasuna,* Tol.Bgk.Pad. *lasuna,* Mori *lasona,* Sav. *wolahuna*. In Timor the Sanksrit-derived lexeme, with the same altered meaning of ‘onion’, is perpetuated by Rt.Id. *laisona,* Hb. *laisone,* Md. *laesone,* Tk. *lasona,* NM *lasona, lesona,* Lol. *lisena,* Kai. *lisene,* G. *lisone, lesone,* Wm. *lais’one, Nau. laehona.* In most of these languages ‘ginger’ is still expressed by reflexes of ****laqiya***.

****La(i)senaq*** was also borrowed by the eastern Neo-Bomberaic languages, cf. Makasai *laihona,* Makalero *lahona,* Fataluku *lahuna* ‘onion’. The

aspiration of *-s-* in these forms betrays transmission from Naueti. The Bunak term is *in (-masel*), probably pre-Austronesian. Alone of the languages of Timor, Helong presents an Ambonese loanword here: *paso* 'onion', connecting with Asilulu *pusu* 'ginger'. *Pyaz,* the Hindi borrowing from Persian *piyaz* 'onion', also found its way to Timor via Celebes, cf. Dampelas, Tanampedagi Taje, Lauje, Tialo *pia* 'garlic', Bare'e *pia* 'onion', unless the word is Austronesian. Its reflexes in Timor are Dawan *pio, piob, kalapeo* and Baikenu *kolpio* 'onion'. (For the origin of the Baikenu prefix *kol-*) see the next entry.

liis-asu 'garlic' *(Allium sativum).* In the languages of South-East Celebes the concept of 'garlic' is expressed (as in the Malay *bawang putih*) as 'white onion', cf. Tol. *lasuna-mowila,* Mori *lasona-mopute* and (with the malayism *bawang*) Wol. *bawa-maputi,* Mun. *bhawa-ngkapute,* Cia. *bawampute,* Wnc.Kal. *bawa-mohute,* Tom. *bafa-mohute,* cf. Malay *bawang putih.* In Timor this semantic tradition (also typical of the island chains to the east and the west) continued in NMb *losena-buti,* SMb (Same) *lias-buti,* Lk. *liis-hutin,* G. *lisone-buti,* NAt. *lii-paputi,* Hel. *paso-muti,* Daw. *pio-muti,* as well as in Makalero *lahona-putiri* and Fataluku *lahuna-pitinu.*

In other languages, by contrast, 'garlic' is expressed by a serial noun that appears to signify 'dog onion', viz. T. *liis-asu,* Bks. *lisa-asu,* Km. *lae-asu,* Lol. *liis-ausa,* SM (Ainaro) *lis-asu,* Wm. *lais'one-dasu,* Md. *laesone-iasu* and (with reversed word order) Nau. *dasu-laehona,* which inspired northern Makasai *defa-laihona* (the Ossu dialect preferring the more conventional order with *laihona-depa*) and the Fataluku synonym *ipar-lahuna.* This strange syntactic reversal highlights the already problematic semantics of the Tetum *liis-asu* and similar formations: there is nothing in local culture to connect the dog with garlic. The concept of 'dog onion', apparently unique to the island of Timor, is in fact a case of folk etymology. The reversed word order of the Naueti *dasu-laehona* reveals the true origin of *dasu:* the Malay *dasun* 'garlic', a borrowing from Chinese *da suan* (and itself in turn from Sanskrit *lasuna, rasuna*).[14] In etymological terms the construction is thus tautological, juxtaposing two doublets. The confusion of Malay *dasun* 'garlic' and local words for dog evidently began in the Kawaimina-speaking region where local forms of OT ****asu*** contain the prothetic consonant *d-* (cf. Wm.Nau. *dasu* = Tetum *asu* 'dog'). The apparent literal meaning of original Kawaimina expression, continued today by Naueti *dasu-laehona,* was 'the "dog" that is an onion', i.e. *garlic* (= Malay *dasun*)' as opposed to the animal (= native *dasu*). This expression was then rationalized as 'dog onion' in the other languages that adopted the neologism and reversed the word order.

Another term for 'garlic' in Timoric languages is represented by Tokodede *lasona-keli,* Idaté *laisona-keli,* Kairui *lisene-kele* and Galoli (Laleia dialect) *lisone-kelin.* The second element is identical with the Bunak noun *keli* 'peanut', hence the meaning 'peanut onion' (and in the case of Baikenu *kolpio*, 'onion peanut'), suggested no doubt by the shape of the clustered garlic cloves.

[14] Another Chinese loanword that reached the region, but not Timor itself, was the Cantonese *ts'ung* 'onion', which became in central Flores the Endinese, Lio and Bajawa *sunga* 'garlic'.

In Bunak itself, as well as *keli,* there is the synonym *aso* 'peanut' (see p. 30), which occurs epithetically in the compound *in-asa* 'peanut onion/garlic' typical of the Tapo dialect. The Bunak formative, indicating imported species of vegetables, crops up also in the Tetum term for urd bean, *fore-keli,* and in the prefix *kol-* in Baikenu *kolpio* 'onion' (see previous entry).

In the northern Manua dialect of Mambai garlic is known as *lisen-manen* 'male onion', while Bunak uses *in-hotel*, literally 'wood onion'. One of several Fataluku terms is *lahuna ca'u-panaku* 'headache onion', a reference to garlic's curative properties.

ASPHODELACEAE

lafaek-ikun, lafaek-nanál 'aloe vera' 'wild agave' *(Aloe chinensis, Aloe barbadensis).* The first Tetum term means 'crocodile's tail' and the second 'crocodile's tongue', like the Malay *lidah buaya.*

ASTERACEAE

ai laka-fuik 'Indian fleabane', 'Indian camphorweed' *(Pluchea indica).* The literal meaning is 'wild henna' (see p. 44). The plant is called *beluntas* in Malay.

ORCHIDACEAE

ai-bare 'starch-producing orchid' (genus uncertain). The Tetum noun *bare* 'starch' (< OT ***tembare***) is cognate with the Wakatobi *tobaro* and Munanese *tobharo* 'sago'.

louwaik 'orchid' *(Orchis sp.).* The etymology is obscure, but *temulawak (Curcuma xanthorhiza),* the Malay name of a plant producing an orchid-like flower, may have some connection; the orchid's normal Malay name is *anggerek.* The Timorese orchid has a bright yellow bark producing a dye used in cloth making. A transparent Tetum synonym is *ai-funamarak* (< *funan marak* 'marking flower', cf. Galoli *ai-hunamarak*). The Belunese call the plant *ai manu-liras* 'bird wing plant' or *ai manu-took.*

Dioscoreales

DIOSCOREACEAE

uhi, huhi ‘winged yam’ ‘water yam’ ‘purple yam’ *(Dioscorea alata, Dioscorea umbellata),*[15] cf. At.Bks. *uhi,* Rt. *ufi,* Kr. *yiu,* Md. *yiu, iu,* from OT ****qubi***. Cognate with Malay *ubi, umbi, uwi,* from the PMP root ****qubi, *qumbi***. Another Timoric term for ‘yam’ ****bepaw*** (= Wanci Wakatobi *opa*) retains its original meaning in Western Tetum (Belunese) *fehuk,* Galoli *hehu,* Lakalei *ehuk,* Idaté *hehuh-talik,* lit. ‘string yam’; Eastern and standard Tetum *fehuk* now denotes the sweet potato. The Northern Mambai *bia,* Waima’a *bia, bie* are from OT ****mpia*** and PMP ****pia*** ‘Polynesian arrowroot’ (see **kaburia, telo** below), cf. Tetum *fia* ‘giant arum’. Many Timorese terms for ‘yam’ are pre-Austronesian and their abundance no doubt reflects the number of submerged aboriginal languages on the island as much as the wealth of botanical varieties, cf. Hel.Daw.Bk. *laku* (< **daku*); At. *aklun*; Km. *teba,* Tok. *tulugu,* SM (Same) *tuluk;* Bn. *sekar* or *digo, dik;* Mk. *sia* (cognate with *siau* in the Baham language in the ‘donor region’ of North-Western Papua, cf. Puragi *siai*), Fat. *hianu (< *sianu), hapu* or *colo.* Makalero *same-same* is the same word as Tetum *ai-same,* Tokodede *kai-same* ‘yam’, from OT ****seqamay*** (cf. Wanci Wakatobi *soami).*

kumbili ‘Chinese yam’ ‘lesser yam’ *(Dioscorea esculenta).* This borrowing from Malay *kembili (kemili = ubi torak)* is identical in Tetum and other languages of the country.

kaburia, telo ‘Polynesian arrowroot’, ‘East Indian arrowroot’, ‘pia’ *(Tacca pinnatifida, Tacca palmata*);[16] this herbaceous aroid tuber is poisonous raw but edible after cooking. The origin of *telo* is unknown; *kaburia,* the metathesis of an unrecorded **karubia,* is probably of Tokodede origin and derives from an earlier native or local Malay construction ****kayu rumbia*** ‘sago plant’, a reference to the similar starchy substance it produces.

Liliales

LILIACEAE

liis-karau ‘crown lily’ ‘superb lily’ ‘glory lily’ ‘flame lily’ *(Gloriosa superba L.*), cf. G. *lisone-karau,* literally ‘buffalo onion’. It is called *kota-kota* in

[15] *Inhame*, the Portuguese term for ‘yam’ and etymon of the English term, is not used in Timorese languages. It is of Western African origin and probably from the Wolof (Senegalese) *nyam* ‘to eat’.

[16] Also classified as Taccaceae.

Makasai and *sulailai* in Fataluku. The Malay name is *bunga bakung.* There are two main species, producing white and red flowers respectively*: liis-karau mutin* and *liis-karau mean.* The plant attracted favourable comment from Wallace (1890: 152): "In the lower grounds [of Portuguese Timor's north coast]... is found the beautiful crown lily, *Gloriosa superba,* winding among the bushes, and displaying its magnificent blossoms in great profusion."

Pandanales

PANDANACEAE

ai-hedan 'screwpine' 'pandanus' 'umbrella tree' *(Pandanus spiralis, Pandanus odoratissimus* L.F., *Pandanus inermis),* cf. Bks.Hb.Id. *hedan,* Rt. *henak,* Hel.G. *edan,* Bk. *ekam, ekma*, Lk. *hedek,* Waima'a *hee,* Bunak *heran.* The etymon is OT ****pandan*** (cf. Tomea *hora*, Wanci *panda*, Munanese *ponda* and Malay *pandan*), from Proto-Austronesian ****paŋudaN.*** The tree is called *hopu* in Fataluku, *larini* in Makalero and *deini* in Makasae.

ai-bora, ai-boro 'thatch screwpine' 'Tahitian screwpine' 'textile screwpine' *(Pandanus tectorius, Pandanus veitchii),* cf. Tk. *boro*, G. *bora,* Hel. *bona*. The root is OT ****mberaw,*** cognate with Mun. *bhoru* 'palmyra palm' 'rainshield' and Wakatobi (Tomea) *kambero* 'fan'. This is the variety of pandanus with adventitious roots that grows by the sea (Hawaiian *hala*); its leaves are used to make rainshields *(salurik).* The Malay names are *pandan laut* and *pandan pasir.*

Poales

BROMELIACEAE

ai-nanás, ananás, ai hedan-malae 'pineapple' *(Ananas comosus).* The main term is of Portuguese derivation (*ananás*),[17] the first via Malay *nenas, nanas,* the second a direct borrowing. The original Tupi-Guarani designation of this Brazilian species was *naná* 'ever fragrant'. The Tetum synonym *ai hedan-malae* means 'foreign screwpine', a reference to the similarity of the bush and its fruit to those of the pandanus. Tokodede *boro-malae,* Dawan *ek-kase* are semantically parallel formations.

[17] In modern Brazil this term is applied only to wild, small or inferior varieties of the fruit; the large table variety (known as *ananás* elsewhere in the Portuguese-speaking world) is called *abacaxi*, this name being from the Tupi *ibakati*, lit. 'reeking fruit'.

POACEAE

du'ut 'grass'. The Tetum word, like Bekais *su'ut,* Kemak *sucu, cutu* and Wetarese *su'uk* appears to be a borrowing from Malay *jukut.* The malayism is interesting, as it appears to be of Sundanese rather than Moluccan transmission, *rumput* being the usual word for 'grass' in Ambonese as well as standard Malay.[18] The ordinary Sundanese word for 'grass' is *jukut* (cf. Javanese *suket)* the same word denotes a kind of weed in Sasak and Balinese (in the latter also meaning 'vegetables'), and it became the ordinary term in Savunese *(ju'u)* as well as in Tetum and neighbouring languages. The standard Malay *rumput* has similarly ousted older terms for 'grass' in languages of Sumba and central and south-eastern Celebes, cf. Sb. *rumba,* Wakatobi (Wanci) *rompu,* Palu *rumpu.* In Timor the loanword displaced the traditional reflexes of Old Timorese ***ruku** (from PMP ****dukut*****)**, which etymologically matches Munanese *karuku* and Macassarese *ruku* (cf. also Ngada, Endinese *kuru).* This continues as Tokodede *ruku,* Idaté and Lakalei *ru'ut,* Northern Atauran *ru'u,* as well as the Tetum *ruku,* which denotes a variety of wild basil (cf. Malay *ruku-ruku),* hence the Tetum doublets *du'ut ~ ruku.* There are phonetic difficulties in connecting the Habun *wuku* with this root; it may be the same word as Tetum *fuuk* 'head hair'. An OT ****guʀa*** (cognate with Tolaki *kura,* Mekongga *okura)* produced Northern Mambai *kura, gura,* Southern Mambai *gur,* Tokodede *guu,* Lolein *kura.* Galoli *eon,* South Atauran *ua* (and possibly Bunak *u),* from OT ****hewau***, are related to modern Wakatobi *hofo,* Mori *ewo,* Bungku *efo* and Bare'e *ewo.* Rotinese *na'u* and Dawan-Baikenu *ma'u* continue a pre-Austronesian term, while the Helong *bluan* is of Central Moluccan origin, cf. Lárike *húdunu* (< **bulunu*). The Makasai, Makalero and Fataluku words for grass are entirely different: Southern Makasai *rou* is isolated, but Fataluku *ferehu, foehu,* Makalero *ferehe* continue an earlier ****feres-***, while Northern Makasai *sari* concords strangely with the Torajan *sarri,* perhaps coincidentally.

hae 'alang-alang grass' 'speargrass' 'cogon grass' 'kunai grass' *(Imperata cylindrica),* called *capim* by the Portuguese in Timor. Some cognates of this Tetum word, i.e. Wm.Nau. *hae,* Kr.Md. *haa,* now denote common grass. The root is an OT ****paqe,*** connectable with Wakatobi (Tomea) *he'e,* id. Also designated *du'ut-manu* 'bird grass' and *du'ut manu-lain* 'plume grass' in Tetum; the Fataluku term is *verasa. Du'ut-liurai* 'king grass' is the Tetum name of *Pennisetum purpuroides.*

hare 'rice plant' *(Oryza sativa),* cf. Nau.,Bks. *hare*, Rt. *hade*, Bk. *ane*, Lk. *are*, Id. *arek*, Hl.,Ft.Mkl. *ale*, Mkv. *yane-,* from OT,PAN ****pajey***. Many of the Timorese terms are loanwords. Atauran *padi* is a borrowing from the Malay cognate *padi.* Rotinese *pela*, Habun *mela*, Galoli *umlá* and Northern Mambai *mla* appear to be of Central Moluccan origin (****palay***), cf. Manusela, Elpaputih

[18] The Indonesian *Kamus Besar* (p. 420) defines *jukut* as "1. rumput (untuk ramuan obat atau obat sakit panas); 2. ulam." (1. grass (as ingredient of fever remedies). 2. vegetable)

fala, Lima, Sepa, Alune *hala,* Lárike *ala, aláutu*. Waima'a, Kairui and Midiki *se'e* is from an Old Timorese ****seke***, cognate with Munanese *hoko* 'kind of whitish rice with round seeds' (van den Berg, 194), a borrowing from Javanese *sega*. Kemak *sanu* is apparently from Sundanese *sangu*, while Makasai *resa* was borrowed from the Buginese *rese*. 'Yam' was the original referent of Southern Mambai *sam,* now 'rice'.

hare-sulai, ekero, ekuero 'dry rice' (cultivated in the mountains). The epithet of the first term may be a Konkani loanword, *surai,* raising the possibility that this mode of rice cultivation was introduced from Goa by the Portuguese; the origin of *ekuero, ekero* is unclear. In Malay dry rice is called *padi ladang,* contrasting with *padi sawah* 'wet rice'.

au 'bamboo' *(Bambusa sp.)*, cf. St. *o'ar,* Bks. *au,* Kr. *aa,* Daw.Bk. *o, oba,* Rt. *o,* G.NAt. *oo,* Md. *ae,* SM *or,* LK. *oor,* Km. *ua,* Hl. *un.* The Old Timorese ****qauʀ*** (cf. Tol. *au*) continues PAN ****qauR.*** Makuva *taneva (< *sane-)* is unrelated. The Bunak term is *ma,* which is connected with the Fataluku *maharunu,* Makalero *mara* and Southern Makasai *maheri* (cf. Yahadian *mara* in NW Papua); *kiniru, tupa* and *afatula* are other Fataluku terms for bamboo; *tupa* may connect with Iha *timbuni*, Baham *timboni* in the Bomberai Peninsula. The original Malay term, *aur,* was displaced by *bambu,* a borrowing, via Portuguese, from Gujarati *bāmbū* 'cane'. In Indonesian *aur* denotes various thin varieties of bamboo (= Tetum *fafulu*), while *buluh* is used for larger varieties, the semantic opposite of Tetum. No language of Timor adopted the Portuguese loanword. Thornless domestic bamboo is termed **au-di'an** (lit. 'tame bamboo') in Tetum whereas the wild thorny variety is **au-fuik** 'wild bamboo' *(Bambusa arundinacea,* Malay *bambu duri). Audi'an* is also the name of a central suburb of Dili. **Au-laku** 'Timor black bamboo' is a black variety of bamboo *(Bambusa lako),* called *bambu hitam* in Malay and *wulung awi* in Javanese.[19]

fafulu 'fine bamboo', reduplicative form of an earlier **fulu*, cf. Hel. *bulu, buru,* Bks. *fulu,* Lk. *hulu,* Id. *lahulu,* Kr. *wuru,* Md. *(kai-) wulu, ulu-mata,* Mk. *betu-fulu,* Tk. *ulo,* Km. *hulo.* From OT ****bulu*** (cf. Wak.Tol. *wulu,* Mun. *wulu* 'fine bamboo'), continuing PHF ****buluq*** and cognate with Malay *buluh,* which denotes, however, ordinary-sized bamboo. The Habun *oro* is of Ambonese origin, cf. Lárike *óudu* (< **oulu*). Unrelated are Dawan, Baikenu *pni'o,* Galoli *(oo-) soti,* Fataluku *tutufa.* Bunak *lep* may be related to the Fataluku (Lautém) *ileu,* and Naueti *oha* is a borrowing from a neighbouring Papuan language, cf. Fat. *upa,* Mak.Mkl. *ufa* 'sugar cane'.

(au-) betun 'large bamboo' *(Dendrocalamus asper), c*f. Hb.NM *betun,* Tk. *betul,* Id. *betuk,* Lk.Wm.Md.Nau. *betu* > Mk *betu,* Fat. *petunu.* These are apparently all borrowings from the Malay *betung* 'large bamboo', from PMP ****bituŋ*** and PHN ***betuŋ***.

[19] See Muller, Hull and Sherlock 1998.

tohu ‘sugar cane’ *(Saccharum officinarum),* cf. Hel. *tihu,* Rt.Bk. *tefu,* Daw. *tefu, tefa,* Tk. *tevu, tehu,* Km.Lk.Id.G.SAt.Wm. *tehu,* NM *teuha,* SM *teh,* NAt. *tebu,* Kr.Md.Nau. *teu.* From OT ***tebu** (cf. Wnc.Kal.Mun.Wol. Tol.Waw.Mri. *towu,* Tom.Bgk. *tofu,* Pad. *tawu*), ultimate root: PAN ***tebuS**. The Neo-Bomberaic terms are all related, cf. Bn. *up,* Mk.Mkl. *ufa,* Fat. *upa.* Wild sugar cane *(Saccharum spontaneum)* is called **tohu-fuik** in Tetum.

ai-dele ‘Job’s tears’ *(Coix lacryma-Jobi).* This cereal was cultivated in Timor before the introduction of maize. The Tetum name derives from PMP ***qaZelay** and is cognate with Malay and Visayan *adlai.*

batar ‘maize’ *(Zea mays),* cf. Hb.Id.Lk. *bátar*, Kr. *boot,* Rt. *betek;* SM *batár;* Md. *batarai,* G. *takarae, etekrae,* SAt. *takrae,* Nau. *ekarae,* Mkv. *hekraia,* Wm. *wekerai,* Wet. *krai,* cf. Let. *wetrae.* All these terms are borrowed from the Macassarese *batara’* ‘maize’ via three differently stressed local variants *(*bátara’, *batára’, *batará’).* This word is widepread also in languages of the Solor archipelago, Flores, Sumba and Savu. PMP ***qaZelay** ‘Job’s tears’ is the source of Tokodede, Kemak *sele* and Bekais *sole* ‘maize’; the same semantic shift can be observed in Celebes (cf. Tol. *osole*, Mri. *sole,* Palu *dale,* Sausu *jole* ‘maize’). The Malay *jelai* retains the original meaning, as does the Tetum *(ai-) dele* (see previous entry).

fotan, tora ‘foxtail millet’ *(Panicum italicum, Setaria italica).* The Tetum *fotan,* from OT **betan* (PAN ***beCeng**), is cognate with many Celebic forms (Mekongga *owato,* Bungku *foto,* Mandar *bata’,* Camba *bata,* Majene, Mandar *bata pusu)* as well as with Masarete (Buru) *feten*. Tetum *tora* derives from a regional Malay *ketela*, which originally denoted maize. An earlier false division **kai-tola,* produced by folk etymology (contamination by the classifier *(k)ai-),* is probably responsible for the loss of the initial syllable. The word spread from the Central Moluccas as a borrowing from Portuguese *milho de Castela* ‘Castillian millet’ (i.e. the Central American species *Zea mays* introduced first to the plains of Castille and thence to the rest of Europe). This name was given to maize in the sixteenth century in contradistinction to *milho-miúdo* ‘(European) millet’ (in modern Portuguese *milho* ordinarily denotes maize). In languages of Ceram and Celebes the reflexes of *Castela* still denote maize, literally ‘Castilian rice’ (cf. Rumakai *hala-kastera,* Amahai *hala-kastela,* Elpaputih *fala-kastera*, Munanese *kahitela,* Wolio *kaitela,* Balaesang *katela*, Dampelas *tetela*), but in Ambon (and thence in standard Malay) the meaning changed, via *ubi kastela* ‘Castilian [i.e. foreign] yam’ to ‘sweet potato’, another imported species (cf. modern Lárike *kastela* ‘sweet potato’—in Ambon Malay itself this word was superseded by *patatas*, from the Portuguese *batatas*). *Castela* was thus an epithetic noun denoting a foreign species of food plant, applied first to maize (‘Castilian rice’), then to sweet potato (‘Castilian yam’), and in Timor to foxtail millet and even the pawpaw (see p. 20). Standard Indonesian has *ubi ketela, ketela ubi* ‘sweet potato’, *ketela kayu, ketela pohon* ‘cassava’.

Zingiberales

MUSACEAE

hudi 'banana' *(Musa sp.),* cf. Wm.Nau.Nau. *hudi,* Rt. *huni,* Kr. *hidi,* Daw.Bk. *uki* (< **utik*), Mkv. *utkeva,* from OT ****punti*** (continuing PMP ****punti***, cf. Mek. *opundi,* Waw. *puntih,* Bgk.Mri.Pad. *punti,* Tol. *pandi*). This same word exists in Malay as *punti,* but it denotes a wild variety, the ordinary term for banana being *pisang*. The Bomberaic root ****megaw*** produced another series of terms for 'banana', not only Makasai, Makalero and Fataluku *mu'u* and Bunak *mok, mog,* but also, in Austronesian languages, cf. Hb.Tk. *muku,* NM *muka, mua,* Km.Lk.Id.G.Wet. *mu'u,* SM *mu.* This word links up with Baham *munggue*, Mor *moga* in the Bomberai Peninsula (North-West Papua). The existence of over 25 distinct varieties of banana in Timor reflects the fact that the fruit was first domesticated in the highlands of New Guinea, spreading westward via the Malay archipelago to Asia and Africa. Bananas were brought to the Middle East by the Arabs (Ar. *mauzah* 'banana'), but were introduced to Europe by the Portuguese, who found the fruit on the west coast of Africa and borrowed the term *banana* from the Wolof language of Senegal. After rice, wheat and corn (maize), bananas are the most consumed crop in the world, and the fruit has been a staple in the diet of the Timorese since ancient times: in many languages of the island the local term for 'banana' doubles as a generic term for 'food' (e.g. *lamak* 'banana', 'food' in south-eastern Tetum). This would also explain the semantic shift in Helong, where *bua* changed its generic meaning of 'fruit' to the specific one of 'banana'.

hudi-pisamás 'lady's finger' 'fig banana' *(Musa acuminata).* From Malay *pisang (e)mas* 'golden banana'.

ZINGIBERACEAE

kinur, kunir 'turmeric' *(Curcuma zedodoaria).* From Malay *kunir, kunyit,* continuing PMP ****kunij,*** unless a native form. *Kinur* doubles as the Tetum adjective for 'yellow'. The Baikenu and Dawan designation is *huki*.

ai-raruut, karlota, labuta 'Indian arrowroot' *(Curcuma mangga* Val. et van Zijp*).* The first name is from Portuguese *araruta,* perhaps via Malay *ararut;* the origin is Arawak *aru-aru* 'meal of meals' but the normal referent is neither an imported West Indian species nor a variety of true arrowroot *(Maranta).* The origin of Tetum *karlota* is unknown; Tetum *labuta* derives from the (Sundanese) Malay *lalab utan* 'forest arrowroot'. The plant is called *kotas* in Tokodede and Mambai and *sia-kotas* in Makasai (*sia* being the term for 'yam'); the second element of the compound appears to be the Portuguese

plural *contas* ‘beads’, a reference to the flowers: the Portuguese called the plant *conteira* ‘bead bush’ in colonial times.

ai-lamakuas, ai-lamkuas ‘(greater) galingale’ ‘galangal’ *(Alpinia galanga).* The term is of Malay origin, from *lengkuas,* and this in turn from Cantonese *lam kieu* or *lam keong.* The English term *galingale* and Portuguese *galanga* are derived, through Arabic *khalanjān* and Persian *khūlanjān*, from Chinese (Mandarin) *gāoliáng jiāng* ‘Gaoliang ginger’ (Gāoliáng being a district of Canton province).

ai-laus ‘lesser galingale’ ‘Siamese ginger’ ‘Laos root’ *(Alpinia officinarum).* from Malay *laos*, which is also the name of the Indo-Chinese country (cf. Portuguese *gengibre do Laos, gengibre tailandês).*

ai-lia, ai-manas rai ‘ginger’ *(Zingiber officinale).* The second Tetum term means ‘earth chilli’; the first is a borrowing from the Malay *halia* ‘ginger’ (also *lohia*) fitted with the typical native classifier *ai-*.[20] The malayism *ai-lia* occurs also in Mambai, Lakalei, Galoli, Atauran and Wetarese; Helong retains the original form *halia.* The Malay etymon, like Tetum *liis, lisa* ‘onion’, is descended from OT ***laqiya** (continuing PMP ***laquya**). Its cognates in Timoric languages (i.e. those which did not change their meaning to ‘onion’) are Hb. *lea,* Tk. *lae,* NM (Manua) *lea,* Idaté *lee,* Baikenu *naijél* (< **laijé).* In Butonia there are two main terms for ginger, as evidenced by the Munanese *loghia* (cf. Wak.Pnc.Tkt. *loia*) and *ladha* (cf. Wol.Maw. *malala*). The four varieties of ginger listed (but not botanically identified) in R. van den Berg’s Munanese dictionary are *loghia ngkapute* ‘white ginger’, *loghia ngkadea* ‘red ginger’, *ladha* ‘kind of ginger plant, the roots of which are used for flavouring’ and *ladha ngkalei* (lit. ‘banana ginger’) ‘a kind of ginger plant’.[21]

Ladha (distinct from the Malay loanword *lada* ‘pepper’), if not an earlier form of the same malayism, may be a borrowing from Hindustani *adarak* ‘ginger’, metathesized (> **arada-k).* Whatever its provenance, this word travelled to Timor in the intermediate form **kalada* (with the nominal prefix *ka-*) and generated the Waima’a, Midiki and Naueti *l’ada* and the Kairui *klaa* (cf. the variant **malada* produced Wolio and Mawasangka *malala*). The Dawan *kaen-kaa* may also be associated with this lexeme. In Bekais ginger is termed *ai-morin* ‘fragrant wood’. The Bunak *in-ma* literally means ‘bamboo onion’; its synonym, *in-si’,* appears to encapsulate a Central Moluccan term for ‘ginger’, ***sehi** (cf. Har.Hil. *sehi,* Sap.NL *sehil*, Lar. *síue*). The Makuva word *urtova* is a semantic reapplication of ***kuʀus**, the Timoric term for ‘capsicum’ (see. p. 58).

‘Ginger’ is *banarika* in Makasai and Makalero, *panarika* in Fataluku. This word appears to have been taken from Eastern Malay *banar akar* for standard Malay *akar banar* ‘Indian sarsparilla root’ *(Smilax helferi),* derived from Hindustani *banada* ‘Bengal ginger’ *(Zingiber montanum)* and probably contaminated by the Makasai adjective *rika* ‘thin’, because of the shape of the

[20] In Indonesian Malay the variant *jahé* (from Hokkien Chinese) is preferred.

[21] Van den Berg 1996: 318, 289.

rhizomes. The sarsparilla root or rhizome is used, like ginger, as a spicy flavouring for food and drinks (in the United States sarsparilla-based 'root beer' became a common substitute for ginger beer). In the eastern end of Timor sarsparilla rhizomes were evidently confused with ginger.

B. Class **Magnoliopsida** (Dicotyledons)

Brassicales

BRASSICACEAE

kouve 'kale' *(Brassica oleracea L. var. acephala).* A borrowing from Portuguese *couve* (Latin *caulis*).

repollu 'cabbage' *(Brassica oleracea).* Derived from the Portuguese *repolho.*

mostarda, ai-sasabe, ai-sasahik 'Chinese cabbage' 'celery mustard' *(Brassica rapa).* The first term is from Portuguese *mostarda*; the others are derived from the Malay *sawi-sawi, sesawi.*

MORINGACEAE

ai-marungi 'horseradish tree' 'drumstick tree' *(Moringa pterygosperma).* The Malay etymon is *marunggi,* and this in turn from Tamil *murungai.* It is also called *pohon kelor* in Malay.

Caryophyllales

BASELLACEAE

kandolar 'Malabar spinach' 'climbing spinach' *(Basella rubra/alba),* cf. G. *gandolar.* Known as *bacela* or *bredo de Angola* in Portuguese; Silva, Dores and Mendes all incorrectly glossed it as 'hortelã' (common mint), no doubt because the Portuguese in Timor gave it this name on account of the shape of the leaves. Fr Mathijsen was more correct in his definition of the Belunese variant *kandola* 'vruchtje met rood sap' (little fruit with red sap) (p. 61), the

purplish sap of the plant being used to make a dye. The Belunese form is closer to the Malay etymon *gendola*, id. (a synonym of *remayung*).

DILLENIACEAE

ai-bukuu 'karmal' *(Dillenia pentagyna).* This flowering shrub is called *simpoh* in Malay; the Tetum name may come from that of a related species, *Dillenia excelsa,* called *simpoh ungu* in Malay.

NYCTAGENACEAE

ai-bungabili 'bougainvillea' *(Bougainvillea sp.).* The Tetum name is a corruption of Portuguese *buganvília.*

Cucurbitales

CUCURBITACEAE

babuar, ai-boka 'gourd' 'marrow' *(Citrullus vulgaris),* cf. Hb.G. *babuar,* SM *babual,* Lk. *babuan,* Wm.Md. *babuo,* NAt. *kapua,* from OT ****mbual-mbual***, cognate with Wakatobi (Tomea) *fualo* 'cucumber'. Tetum *ai-boka* is akin to Rotinese *bonggo* and Dawan *boko,* the OT root ****mbeka*** being cognate with Sasak *boka* 'gourd' and Munanese *bhengke* 'coconut shell (used as a gourd), Wolio *boka* 'half coconut shell'. Northern Mambai *luha, hleu* continue OT ****luba***, from PHN ****labuh*** (metathesis of ****baluh***), cf. Wak.Mun.Wol. *labu* 'pumpkin', and Malay *labu* 'gourd' (synonym of *kundur*). Tokodede *tavo*, Kemak *tuu* and Ermera Mambai *taho* derive (like Fataluku *tau* 'pumpkin') from an OT ****tawu*** (from PAN ****tavu***), related to Tolakian *tahu* and Solorese *katawoh.* Helong *inkoro* is connected with Munanese *kodu* 'an inedible species of gourd', and Baikenu *tuke* formally matches Morinese *taku* and Padoese *taku-taku.* The Bunak term is *ape-dudasa,* Makasai *babase, kaibua,* and Fataluku *lahuna-mimiraka,* literally 'red onion'. Idaté uses *patela*, from Malay *patola* 'rag gourd'. Current in many languages is the loanword *kabasa* from Portuguese *cabaça*. The numerous terms for 'gourd' are indicative of the wealth of local varieties.

babonuk, babonu 'bottle gourd' *(Lagenaria siceraria).* The Tetum name is founded on the verb *bonu* 'to stack up', a reference to the shape. The Malay term is *labu air* 'water gourd' or *bulat.*

lakeru 'pumpkin' *(Cucurbita pepo),* cf. SM *lakér*. This word is from OT ****laŋgaraw***, related to Munanese *langgara* 'gourd'. Helong *utan* and Idaté *uta*

are semantic developments of OT ***qutan*** 'vegetable' (cf. Endinese *uta-ea,* Lionese *uta-hea* 'gourd') continuing PMP ***qutan*** 'forest, woods'; for Lakalei *babuan*, see 'gourd' above. Dawan and Baikenu *henas* (< **helas*) may be related to Pancana, Tolakian *kela.* Habun *duduk*, Tokodede *dudu* and Northern Mambai *duda, kduda* are from an OT ***ndunda*** cognate with Mun. *dhendha* 'gourd'. Atauran, Waima'a and Midiki *lei* may be pre-Austronesian; Makuva *lorveva*, also probably pre-Austronesian, is akin to Yamdenese *lore* and Fordatan *larlora* 'watermelon'. Bunak *ope*, Makalero *sebunu* and Makasai and Naueti *sebu* are of Bomberaic origin. For Fataluku *tau*, see 'gourd' (above). The Malay terms for 'pumpkin' are *labu kuning* and *labu manis.* Two so-far unclassified subspecies of pumpkin in Timor are *lakeru-mutin* 'white pumpkin' and *lakeru-lafaek* 'crocodile pumpkin'. The modern referents of most of these terms are imported species, i.e. those introduced by the Portuguese from Europe and Guinea (Cinatti 1964: 182).

pateka 'watermelon' *(Citrullus lanatus).* This word was taken from the provincial Portuguese noun *pateca,* derived from Arabic *baṭṭīxa* (and source also of the French *pastèque*). It was commonly used in Portuguese India and Macao instead of the standard Portuguese term *melancia.* The Malay names are *tembikai, mendikai, semangka*; in Javanese *watesan.*

babuar-lotuk 'rockmelon' 'canteloupe' 'musk melon' *(Cucumis melo cantalupensis).* Literally 'delicate gourd'; the Malay terms are *semangka (londo), belewah* and *bluwak.*

kaha, pepinu 'cucumber' *(Cucumis sativus).* The second designation, the common Tetum term today, is from Portuguese *pepino*; most Timorese languages now use this loanword, especially in the form *pipinu*. The traditional term, *kaha,* also typical Lakalei, is akin to Hb. *sakabak,* WT,Tk. *kaho* and derives from ****sakapa,*** metathetic variant of the Old Timorese ****kasapa***, the root of Hel. *ksaha,* NM *saha, saho.* Descriptive compound variants of this word also occur: Belunese *kaho ulun-moruk* 'bitter-headed cucumber', Galoli *kahu-ruik* 'rough-skinned cucumber', and South Atauran *timu-kesa, timun-kasa,* with a development of the Malay *ketimun* prefixed. The original literal meaning of ****kasapa*** was 'the light one', its cognates in modern Butonia being Cia-Cia *kasape* 'light', Munanese *kasape* 'lightness', Pancana, Munanese *sape* 'light'. Rotinese *komukomus,* Dawan *okma, okam,* Baikenu *okam* may be connected with Mun. *kamingku* 'young gourd or pumpkin'. Malay *ketimun* is also the root of Makalero *timunu* and Fataluku *timuna.* The Waima'a and Midiki *sebu* are of Papuan origin, akin to Makasai *sebu* 'pumpkin' (which connect in turn with the Iha *sibu* in the Bomberai Peninsula). Naueti also borrowed this word: *sebu* denoting the pumpkin and the compound *sebu-ho'o* (*ho'o* = T. *hun* 'base') the cucumber. Possibly related are Bunak terms are *ope-il* (*-il* meaning 'water'), *ope-malas, ofi-malas*.

patola 'loofah' 'rag gourd' *(Luffa cylindrinca Roem, Luffa aegyptiaca).* The Tetum term is derived from the Malay *petola,* which has the variant *ketola (manis)*, and the synonym *belustru.*

ai-baria ‘bitter melon’ or ‘bitter gourd’ *(Momordica charantia),* with edible melons and commonly grown on pergolas, cf. Daw. *pania, pnia, bania,* Rt. *paliak.* All these names are from Malay *peria*.

ai-kamalenga ‘Chinese winter melon’ ‘wax gourd’ *(Benincasa cerifera Savi),* producing small pumpkin-like fruit. The Tetum name comes from Macao Portuguese *camalenga,* which derives in turn from a Malay *kayu beligo,* synonym of the now more common term *kundur panjang*. The Portuguese called this vegetable *abóbora de água* ‘water pumpkin’.

Ericales

LECYTHIDACEAE

ai-nau ‘lamog tree’ *(Planchonia valida).* The origin of the Tetum name is obscure; in Malay the tree is variously named *putat kebo, putat paya, kasui* and *telisai* (the last name being shared with the Indian almond or *Terminalia catappa,* see p. 44).

ai nau-tasi ‘sea poison tree’ ‘fish poison tree’ *(Barringtonia asiatica).* The Tetum, meaning ‘sea lamog’, is a calque on the Malay *putat laut;* other Malay terms are *bitung, butun, butong, pertun* and *langasat.*

ai-kamanasa, ai-baganasa, ai-bakanasa ‘brackwater mangrove’ ‘freshwater mangrove’ ‘hippo apple tree’ ‘wild guava tree’ ‘powder puff tree’ *(Barringtonia racemosa),* cf. G. *ai-kamnasa.* The variants of the name all derive from an earlier *ai bakat-knase* ‘mullet mangrove tree’, cf. *ai-knase* ‘grey mangrove’ (of the Acanthaceae family). These trees were named after the striped or flathead mullet *(Mugil cephalus)* which inhabits estuaries where mangroves grow and is commonly seen floating in schools on the surface of the water. The root of *knase* ‘striped mullet’ is PAN ****kaNasay*** (> OT ****kanasay,*** cf. Mun. *kanasa*)[22], and the word is of widepread use in the Pacific Islands, cf. Fijian *anace*, Tongan *kanahe*, Maori *anahe*, Samoan, Tahitian, Hawaiian *anae*. *Kamanasa* (Ptg. *Camenassa*) is the name of a town and district in the Belunese-speaking area of south-western East Timor. In Malay the brackwater mangrove is called variously *putat ayam, putat ayer, putat aying, putat kampong, penggung;* its Tagalog name is *apalang.* The associated fish is designated *belanak* or *kedera* in Malay.

[22] According to van den Berg (1996: 232), this word denotes a tiny fish preserved in wet salt. The perfect phonetic correspondence suggests, therefore, a local semantic change.

MYRSINACEAE

ai-tasi tuuk ‘river mangrove’ *(Aegiceras orniculatum).* Literally ‘dumpy sea tree’; called *kacang-kacang* in Malay.

THEACEAE

xá-hun ‘tea bush’ *(Camellia sinensis).* The Tetum word *xá* is a borrowing from Portuguese *chá,* and this from Mandarin Chinese *cha,* whereas Malay *teh* (like English *tea,* Spanish *té* and French *thé*) was taken from the Hokkien *te.* It is pronounced *sá* in most Timorese languages.

SAPOTACEAE

ai-fatanu, ai-betanu, ai-tanu, ai-gabuta ‘Spanish cherry tree’, ‘kabiki tree’ *(Mimusops elengi)*, G. *ai-tanu.* An Indian maritime tree (called *sinha-kesara* ‘lion’s mane’ in Sanskrit and *alaku* in Tamil) with poisonous bark and orange cherry-like fruit of medicinal value. The main Tetum name is from Malay *pohon tanjung* ‘cape tree, headland tree’; the phonetic variant *betanu* is also a place-name (*Betanu*, situated on the south coast of Timor). The synonym gabuta is of uncertain origin; it matches formally the Malay *kayu (mati) buta,* a name of the milkwood tree (*Excoecaria agallocha,* see p. 41). If this connection is valid, the poisonous quality of the bark wouuld explain the semantic transfer.

ai lia-na’in ‘white sapodilla tree’ *(Planchonella nitida).* The meaning of the Tetum name is ‘orator’s tree’; in Malay it is called *pudiang tima.*

ai-rita, ai-xumingál ‘red silkwood tree’ ‘pencil cedar *(Palaquium).* Called *perca* in Malay; also *njatuh* in Java, *jangkar* in Borneo and Sarawak, *nato* in the Philippines and *bauvudi* in Fiji. Both vernacular names refer to the laticiferous bark: *ai-rita* is literally ‘glue tree’ and *ai-xumingál* means ‘chewing gum tree’ (*xumingál* being one of the few pre-1975 English loanwords in Tetum). Some species of red silkwood are used to produce gutta-percha, the tough greyish-black substance produced from the latex of the tree (Malay *getah perca* ‘percha sap’).

Fabales

CAESALPINIACEAE

ai-karui, ai karui-tasi ‘limestone cassia’ *(Cassia timorensis, Senna timorensis).* There are several varieties of this plant in Timor: **karui-berebauk, karui-**

foho, karui matan-dukur, karui taka-liman. Malay *enceng-enceng.* The Tetum name derives from the Malay *keruing,* which denotes, however, the yang tree *(Dipterocarpus sp.).*

ai karui-malae 'Siamese senna tree' *(Cassia siamea).* Literally 'foreign karui tree'. Several Malay names are in use: *guah hitam, johor (johar), juah, petai belalang, sebusok.*

ai-besi 'Moluccan ironwood' 'mirabow tree' *(Intsia amboinensis).* The Tetum name means 'iron tree'. Known as *merbau* or *kayu langgua* in Malay and *merbau* in Portuguese.

FABACEAE (Leguminosae)

ai-ano 'Tahitian chestnut tree' *(Inocarpus edulis, Inocarpus fagifer).* The Malay name is *gayam* (cognate with Tagalog *kayam*); in Balinese it is called *gatep.* The Tetum name matches phonetically the Munanese *anga* 'kind of tree whose resin causes skin wounds' (van den Berg 1996: 15) but botanists will need to assess the validity of this connection made on solely linguistic grounds.

ai-bakamoro 'copperpod tree' 'yellow flame tree' 'yellow ponciana' *(Peltophorum pterocarpum).* The first element of the Tetum name has not yet been identified; the second element is a variant of the Tetum *modok* 'yellowy green' (hence properly **ai-bakamodok*), but the current name is apt to be confused with *ai-bakamoruk,* the name of another species, the snakewood tree (see p. 34). The Malay name is *soga.*

ai-bakuroo 'sweet acacia' *(Acacia farnesiana);* also the name of 'Chinese lantern tree, sickle bush' *(Dichrostachys cinerea).* The etymology of the Tetum term is unclear; the first element may be the same as that of *bakamoro* (preceding entry); the second element is certainly *-roo* 'leaf' (< OT ****dau***). The tree's Malay names are *bunga Siam* 'Siam flower', and *pokok lasana.*

ai-besak, ai-kasi, ai-adlai 'brewer's acacia' 'white-barked acacia' *(Acacia leucophloea).* The origin of the name is Malay *besok* (a synonym of the more common *pilang* or *opilan*), cf. Bk. *kabesak*. The tree has male and female varieties *(ai-besak mane, ai-besak feto*). *Ai-kasi* encapsulates the Portuguese word *acácia*, while *adlai* appears to be the Malay *kedelai* 'soya bean', a reference no doubt to the bean-like fruit of the tree. Called *ai-itahook* in Galoli.

ai-diik 'fire tree, Indian coral tree' *(Erythrina variegata),* cf. G. *ai-diri.* Known in Portuguese as *acácia vermelha* 'red acacia'. Alfred Russel Wallace wrote in 1869 of the Aru Islands, east of Timor: "Just as we were going away, a handsome tree, allied to Erythrina, was in blossom, showing its masses of large crimson flowers scattered here and there about the forest. Could it have been seen from an elevation, it would have had a fine effect; from below I could only catch sight of masses of gorgeous colour in clusters and festoons

overhead, about which flocks of blue and orange lories were fluttering and screaming." This Indian tree (possibly indigenous to the Seychelles) is called in Malay *dedap* (this gaving the stem of the Makasai term *derakai*) or *deris*, the source of Tetum *diik*. The Baikenu and Dawan terms are *nenas, nenes* (< **leles*).

ai-faikaban 'Indian walnut tree' 'chamaree tree' *(Albizzia lebbeckoides).* Its Tetum name means 'pig's saliva tree'. In Baikenu it is known as *pusine* (< *pu sine* 'Chinese siris). The corresponding Malay term is *tarisi.*

ai-fetu, ai-lalima, ai-lima, ai-suku, ai-tanefestru, ai-kadus 'golden shower tree' 'Indian laburnum' *(Cassia fistula).* The names *ai-suku* 'forked tree' alludes to the wide-spreading slender branches of this tree; and *ai-(la)lima* 'tree of arms' to the long arm-like pods it produces. The origin of *ai-fetu* remains obscure, and *tanefestru,* cited only by Cinatti (1954: 365) is phonetically problematical (*-festru* could be a corruption of Latin *fistula* or, more probably, something connected with *fetu*). *Ai-kadus* matches the Bunak name, *arus,* but further connections have not been found. The Malay names are *lembur, dulang, rajah kayu* and *kayu raja.*

fore 'string bean' *(Phaseolus communis),* cf. Rt. *fufue,* Bk. *fue,* Tk. *vur,* SM *hur,* NM *huira,* from OT ****buʀay*** (related to Wol.Waw. *lawue,* Tol. *lawua,* Pad. *lawu'e* 'bean'; Mun. *lawue*, Bgk. *lafue* 'pea', and cognate with End. *mbue,* Sav. *kebui,* and Buginese *buwe).* The Tetum word, with its irregular intervocalic *r,* was borrowed from Mambai (the natural Tetum development of the Old Timorese root would be **fue*). There are several species of mostly foreign beans cultivated in East Timor: **fore-tali** 'runner bean', lit. 'cord bean' *(Phaseolus coccineus*); **fore-mungu** 'mung bean' *(Vigna radiata,* the second element taken from Portuguese *mungo*, and this from Hindi *mūng*); **fore-keli** 'urd bean' lit. 'peanut bean' *(Phaseolus mungo)*; **fore-manteiga** 'kidney bean' lit. 'butter bean' *(Phaseolus vulgaris* = Ptg. *feijão-manteiga)*; **fore-mutin** 'Lima bean' 'butter bean', lit. 'white bean' *(Phaseolus lunatus)*; **fore-xikote** 'snakebean' 'asparagus bean' lit. 'whip bean' *(Vigna sinensis),* this last called *kacang panjang* or *otok* in Malay. In several languages reflexes of OT ****(ka-)qutan*** (= PMP 'forest') have acquired the meaning 'bean': T.Hb. *koto,* Md.Nau. *uta,* Wm. *uto,* Kr. *utu,* Mkv. *ukneva,* and in Papuan languages Mk. *uta,* Mkl. *uta* and Fat. *oto, ote.* Tokodede *kaso* and Kemak *aso* are borrowings from Malay *kacang* 'pea' (also applied to some species of bean). One Bomberaic term for 'bean' was ****bula***, which continues as Makasai (Ossu) *bula*, Helong *bula* 'bean' 'pea', Dawan *fuela* 'pea' and Fataluku *pula* 'pea'. Other Timorese terms for 'bean' with so far unexplained etymologies are Bekais *takul,* Idaté *adida,* Atauran *ha'a,* Makasai *fofa* and Bunak *honule.* Among compound terms for 'string bean' are Tk. *hure-laba,* Km. *aso-kuasa,* Id. *adida-buti* 'white bean', Wm. *uto-dili* 'Dili bean', *uto-dai* 'foreign bean', Md.Mk. *uta-tali* 'rope bean', G. *utan-isin* 'fleshy bean', Mkl. *uta-olu.* No East Timorese language has borrowed the Indonesian word *buncis* 'bean' derived from the Dutch *boontjes.*

koto, ahan ‘broad bean’ *(Vicia faba).* Tetum *ahan,* from an OT ***papan**,* is related to Kemak *papa,* Bekais *hahan,* Southern Atauran *nga’an* and Northern Atauran *ha’a*; Tetum, Baikenu and Midiki *koto* are from OT ***ka-qutan*** (see previous entry). Several languages have borrowed the Malay *kacang* ‘pea’ to denote the broad bean, cf. Tk. *kaso,* Km.Id. *aso,* NM *asa,* SM *as.* Galoli *leas* (if from OT ***leqas***) might be cognate with the Munanese *lagho,* otherwise derivation from Malay *ritik lias* ‘pigeon pea’ is possible; the Bunak *pao, fau* are yet to be explained. Compound names for ‘broad bean’ combining the above terms include, SM *hur-as,* Lk. *hura-kasa,* Mambai (Ermera) *huir-kason,* and Fataluku *ote-koto* (with the Tetum doublet as the second element). Northern Mambai (Remexio) *aas-felun* means ‘bitter bean’; the Bunak term is *fau-molo.* The broad bean is designated *uta-dili* ‘Dili bean’ in Makasai. A poisonous variety of native broad bean is called **koto-moruk** lit. ‘bitter broad bean’or **ahan-fuik** lit. ‘wild broad bean’. The corresponding compounds in regional languages are Bk. *kot-fui,* Tk. *kaso-vui, kaso-hui,* G. *utan-hahui* lit. *‘wild bean’,* Kr. *uta-ba’i,* Wm. *uto-ba’i*, lit. ‘bitter bean’. The Malay name for the broad bean is *kacang babi* ‘pig pea’.

fore-rai ‘peanut’ ‘groundnut’ *(Arachis hypogaea).* As the referent is an imported South American species there are no native terms for it, except Kemak *akare,* which must have previously denoted some other species. The construction ‘ground bean’ (reflecting the Malay *kacang tanah*) is the term for ‘peanut’ in some other Timorese languages as well as in Tetum, cf. Hb. *fore-rai,* Rt. *fufue-dai,* SM *hur-rae,* Bks. *taku-lai,* NAt. *ha’a-rare,* Rkl. *nga’an-rare,* Id. *adida-larek,* Mk. *uta-mu’a.* A slight variation on the common theme is the Galoli *utan rea-le’en* ‘inside the ground bean’. In Baikenu, Midiki and Same Mambai the peanut is called ‘foreign bean’ *(fue-kase, uta-dai, hur-malae),* Fataluku ‘oil bean’ *(ote-mina), in Lakalei ‘civet bean’ (hura-laku)*, in Waima’a ‘little bean’ *(uto-ana)* and in Remexio Mambai ‘fragrant bean’ *(hur-mekin).* ‘Fleshy bean’ is the literal meaning of Naueti *uta-isi,* Northern Mambai *hurisa* (Ermera), *huirisa, hruisa* (Aileu), Tokodede *vurisi, hurisi*. The Bunak *aso* is from Malay *kacang,* as is the second element of Isní *hur-kás.* Makalero uses a reduplicative form, *uta-uta.*

ervilla ‘pea’ *(Pisum sativum).* The European pea is generally known by its Portuguese name, *ervilha*. The popular pronunciation is usually *erbila*.

ai-tunis, ai-turis ‘pigeon pea’ *(Cajanus cajan, Cajanus indicus),* cf. Lk.Id.G. *turis,* Hel. *tulis,* At.Tk. *turi,* Daw.Bk. *tunis,* NM *tuira,* SM *tur,* Bn. *tir,* from Malay *(kacang) turis* (today more commonly known as *kacang gude).* Compounds based on OT ***qutan*** (see ‘bean’) include Wet. *utu-ridi,* Kr. *uto-lumu,* Wm. *uta-ura* and Md. *uto-uro.* The Makasai term is *ata-kasa (ata-* ‘wood’ + Malay *kacang);* Kemak *irisa, irís* is based on the Sundanese Malay synonym *kacang hiris.* Makuva *liteva (< *lise-)* is akin to the Galoli *leas* ‘broad bean’; both may derive from the name for the pigeon pea used in Sumatra, *ritik lias,* cf. Wetarese *utu-ridi,* id.

ai-turi, ai-kala ‘corkwood tree, agati’ *(Sesbania grandiflora)* Both Tetum terms come from the Malay names of this tree, which produces white edible flowers: *turi* is derived from Malay *turi* (= Javanese *toroy,* Tagalog *katuray*), while *kala* is from *gala-gala*, cf. Baikenu *kane. Turi* has a common origin with *turis* ‘pigeon pea’ (see preceding entry).

ai kene-faik ‘mountain ebony’ *(Bauhinia malabarica).* The Tetum name means ‘wild rosewood’ (see p. 52); the Malay term is *kendyakan.*

ai-kesi, ai-akasi ‘royal poinciana tree’ ‘flamboyant’ ‘peacock flower tree’ *(Delonix regia).* A tree introduced to Indonesia from Malaya, where it is known as *semarak api* ‘firey splendour’. The Tetum name is a variant of *ai-akasi* ‘acacia’, in turn from Portuguese *acácia vermelha* ‘red acacia, flame tree’.

ai-lamatoro, ai-miraek, ai-mireok ‘lead tree’ ‘white popinac tree’ ‘jumbie bean tree’ ‘horse tamarind tree’ *(Leucaena glauca).* The first term is from Javanese *lamtara*. The tree is of West Indian origin. The Portuguese introduced it to shade crops in Angola, São Tomé and Portugal as well as Timor. (Santos 1934: 57). The provenance of *miraen, mireok* is so far unclear. In Malay the lead tree is named *petecina, kemalandingan* or *kalandinga; ipil-ipil* in Tagalog.

ai-makroo ‘shade tree’ *(Pithecolobium umbellatum, Cathormion umbellatum, Inga umbellata, Mimosa umbellata).* The Tetum name means ‘grey heron tree’.

ai-mane ‘pink shower tree’ ‘apple blossom cassia’ rainbow shower tree’ *(Cassia javanica).* The literal meaning of the Tetum name is ‘male tree’, possibly suggested by the similarity to the male genitals of the long fruit pods that appear after flowering. The Malay name is *trengguli, bobondelan, boking-boking* and in Malaysia *busok-bisok, bebusok;* in Tagalog it is called *antosan.*

ai manu-ikun modok ‘dwarf poinciana’ ‘Barbados pride’ ‘peacock flower’ *(Caesalpinia pulcherrima).* Literally ‘yellow bird’s tail tree’ in Tetum.

ai-naa ‘rosewood’ ‘Amboyna wood’ ‘Andaman redwood’ ‘Philippine mahogany’ *(Pterocarpus indicus),* cf. Rt. *naa, naar,* Sol. *kenaha.* From OT ****naʀa***, PMP ****naRa*** (cf. Macassarese *nare,* Tagalog *nara, naga*). Its Malay name is *angsana* or (in Malaysia) *gerjun.*

ai-roat, ai-ruat, ai-kroat ‘(Persian) silk tree’ ‘pink siris’ ‘bastard tamarind’ ‘mimosa’ ‘powderpuff tree’ (US) *(Albizia julibrissin).*[23] From OT ****(ka-) ruqat*** and apparently the same as Munanese *raghu* ‘tree with small, sour edible fruits’ (van den Berg 1996: 454).

[23] The second part of the Latin name represents Persian *gul-i abrisham* ‘silk flower’.

ai-samara ‘sappanwood tree’ *(Caesalpinia sappan).* The Tetum name is based on the noun *samara*, denoting a plume of dyed horse or animal hair used to adorn headdresses and machete hafts, this name having been bestowed because this tree is the source of the dye used in the *samara*-making process. *Samara* is a borrowing from Malay *cemara* ‘tuft of hair’ (also ‘casuarina’); the usual Malay term for the tree is *kayu secang*.

ai-samatuku, ai-kafé, ai-kidalu ‘white siris’ *(Albizzia procera),* cf. G. *samanutu* (metathetic). The synonym *ai-kafé* ‘coffee tree’ bears witness to the traditional planting of this tall, wide-canopied acacia variety to shade coffee bushes. The Portuguese introduced this tree from Java when the local coffee industry was launched in the 1830s; the source of the main Tetum name is the Javanese Malay *sengon tukup* ‘covering acacia’, properly referring to *Albizzia falcataria* (Mal. *sengon laut).* Its normal name in Malay is *weru;* the term *siris*, established in English, is from Hindustani. The origin of *kidalu* is not yet clear; the Fataluku name for the tree is *pui.*

ai-sinkomás, ai-liulai ‘Mexican potato’ ‘yam bean’ ‘jicama’ *(Pachyrrhizus erosus).* Called in Malay *bengkuang, (kacang) sengkuang* or *mengkuwang,* and in Javanese *besusu*. The Tagalog *singkamas, sinkamas is* the source of the Tetum word, transmitted through Portuguese *cincomás.* The origin and meaning of *liulai* are obscure; a connection with Tetum *liurai* ‘king’ is formally plausible but semantically problematic.

ai-sukaer ‘tamarind tree’ (*Tamarindus indica).* The Tetum name originally meant ‘scorpion tree’, a reference not to the sour fruit, but to the custom of treating scorpion bites with a paste made from tamarind seeds; in India a mixture of tamarind and camphor is used for this same purpose. (To this one can compare the Tetum name for ‘cajeput’, *ai ulun-moras,* literally ‘headache tree’, tea tree oil being traditionally used by the Timorese — as by the Australian aborigines — to treat headaches). *Sukaer* (< **sawakair* < **sawakiad,* metathetic developments of Old Timorese ***sawa-dika**, lit. ‘striking snake’) still means ‘scorpion’ in Kemak and the northern Mambai dialects, but in Tetum the term for ‘scorpion’ is now *sakunar* (from an earlier ***sawa-kuna** ‘vindictive snake’). Bunak employs the same term for ‘tamarind’, *ai-sawal* (‘scorpion wood’). Most other languages of Timor employ an old Javanese term for the tamarind, ***kayu amli*** (from *imli,* the Sanskrit word for the tree; *kemal* in modern Javanese), cf. Habun *kau-mele,* Waima’a *kai-male,* Northern Mambai *kamalen,* Tokodede *kamale,* Idaté *ai-malek,* Galoli *imale, umale,* Atauran *amali* and (with metathesis) Makasai *ailemi* and Fataluku *kailemu*. The standard Malay term for ‘tamarind’, *asam Jawa,* has no reflex in Timorese languages; nor have the synonyms *asam kuning* or *tambering.* Papuan or aboriginal (pre-Papuan) names appear to continue in Rotinese *ninilu,* Bekais *anilu,* South Atauran *inaor*; Helong *kmake* and Dawan-Baikenu *kiu*.

ai-suli ‘ironwood acacia’ ‘ai soeli wattle’ *(Acacia oraria).* From Malay *suli* (the other Malay term is *kayu besi* ‘iron wood’).

ai-taun ‘indigo’ *(Indigofera)*, cf. Daw.Bk. *taum.* From OT ****taʀum*** and ultimately PAN ****taRum.*** Malay *tarum* is a cognate.[24]

ai-tuha ‘derris plant’ *(Derris elliptica)*, cf. G. *tuha,* Daw.Bk. *tufe,* Rt. *tufa.* From OT ****tuba*** (= PMP ****tuba***), cognate with Mal. *tuba (jenom),* the other Malay term being *gapis akar.*

Fagales

CASUARINACEAE

ai-kakeu ‘casuarina’ ‘Australian pine’ ‘she-oak’ *(Casuarina equisetifolia; Casuarina junghuhniana),* cf. Hb. *kakeu* (like the Tetum form reduplicative or with the classifier **kayu-* prefixed), Lk.Id. *weru,* Kr. *kwau,* Bks. *hou,* Tk.Km.SM *gou,* NM *koua,* Wm. *k’au,* Md. *kau,* from OT ****qageʀu*** (cognate with Wnc. *oguu* and somewhat altered from PMP ****qaRuhu’***). The Galoli and Atauran *ai-luu* and Helong *luu* are probably pre-Austronesian, as certainly are the Bunak *hur* and Makasae *osohu, oso,* Makalero *osoho*. Fataluku *kemari* and Makuva *kemar* are borrowings from Malay *cemara.*

Gentianales

APOCYNACEAE

ai-doti, ai-dotik, ai-kadoti, ai-hanek ‘devil tree’ ‘dita bark tree’ *(Alstonia scholaris).* The main vernacular name of this tree, from OT ****kanteti***, matches Wakatobi *mantoti*, id. The standard Malay name is *pulai*, and in Sanskrit it is *saptaparna*. In the botanical name the epithet *scholaris* (and the English synonym ‘blackboard tree’) is a reference to the Indians’ use of the wood in making writing slates. The Tetum synonym *ai-hanek* ‘plate tree’ similarly recalls the custom of carving plates from the wood of the devil tree.

ai-bunga ‘oleander’ *(Nerium oleander).* The name is a shortening of the Malay *bunga anis* ‘oleander flower’.

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[24] The English term is a borrowing from Portuguese *índigo* (< Lat. *indicum*), but the usual term for processed indigo dye in modern Portuguese is *anil* (< Arabic *an-nīl*, from Persian), and Tetum has adopted this term *(aníl)* as a synonym for the product traditionally known as *taun-been.*

ai-kalitin, ai-laliti, ai-lalar ‘laniti tree’ ‘lanete tree’ *(Wrightia pubescens, Wrightia javanica).* The first two Tetum names come from an Eastern from OT *(***kayu la)liti**, are akin to the Malay *jeliti* and the Tagalog *laniti*, source of the English name. The third designation, *ai-lalar* ‘fly tree’ was given because flies and other insects breed in the long fruits of the tree (Cinatti 1950: 33).

ai-santantoni ‘frangipani’ *(Plumeria rubra).* The vernacular name, from Portuguese *flor de Santo António* ‘Saint Anthony’s flower’, the referent being Saint Anthony of Lisbon (Padua), who is particularly venerated in the Manatuto region and who holds in his traditional images a white lily similar to large frangipani blooms. The Malay term is *kembang kamboja* ‘Cambodian flower’: this Central American tree was introduced to Asia by the Spanish, who took it to the Philippines, and it spread thence to Indo-China and into the Malay Archipelago. Its Tetum name suggests, however, that the Portuguese were chiefly responsible for its proliferation in eastern Timor. The name *frangipani* (from the 16th century Italian marquess Muzio Frangipani who manufactured a perfume from its flowers for scenting gloves) is also the standard term in Portuguese.

ai-balasi ‘Timor dogbane’ *(Alyxia forbesii; Alyxia lucida).* From Malay *palasari, pulasari.* This plant is similar to Timorese wild basil *(ruku).*

ASCLEPIDIACEAE

ai-fuka ‘swallow wort’ ‘milkweed’ ‘caltrope’ ‘goat bush’ *(Caltropis gigantea).* The origin of the Tetum name is unknown. As the milky juice of the plant is poisonous, it is unlikely that there is a connection with the verb *fukar* ‘to season’. Its Malay names are *kolengsusu* and *widuri.*

LOGANIACEAE

ai-bakamoruk ‘snakewood tree’ *(Strychnos ligustrina).* That the usual Tetum name is a contraction of *baar-(k)moruk* ‘bitter and astringent’ is clear from the variant *ai-barmoruk.* Called *bidara laut* ‘sea jujube’ in Malay. Its Galoli name is *ai-ileti.*

RUBIACEAE

ai-fukira. Santos (1934, 1944) classified this species as *Sarcocephalus cordatus* ‘canary cheesewood tree’ ‘Leichhardt tree’. Its Malay names are *kayu mas* ‘golden wood’ (a reference to the bright yellow bark), *klepu pasir* and *gempol*. The origin of the Tetum name is an Old Timorese ***benkila,** matching Munanese *bhangkali,* and Tagalog *bangkal.* The tree is also called *ai-teka fuik* ‘wild teak’ in Tetum; the Galoli name *ai-mamara* means ‘yellow tree’.

According to Dr. J. B. Friday (2006), the tree in question is *Anthocephalus cadama (Anthocephalus chinensis, Neolamarkia cadamba),* a different member of the Rubiaceae family, known as 'common burr-flower tree' or 'kadam tree' in English and *kalempajang* in Malay. The confusion appears due to the fact that both species are known as *jabon* in Javanese. However, the etymological links of the plant name definitely indicate *Sarcocephalus cordatus.*

kafé-hun 'Arabica coffee plant' *(Coffea arabica).* The Luso-Tetum name of this imported Arabian species is transparent: 'coffee tree', cf. Malay *pokok kopi.* The tree is not to be confused with *ai-kafé,* a name of the white siris *(Albizia procera).*

ai-bakuru, ai-bakulu 'canarywood tree' 'Indian mulberry tree' *(Morinda citrifolia),* cf. Daw.Bk. *bau'kulu*, Rt. *manukudu.* Malay *bengkudu, mengkudu* is the source of the Tetum name.

ai-katimun 'timon tree' *(Timoneus sericeus, Timoneus Rumphii).* From Malay *ketimon* (also *timbu, timon).*

ai-nenu, ai-nenuk 'Indian mulberry tree' 'dyer's mulberry tree' *(Morinda tinctoria/tomentosa),* cf. G. *nenu.* This tree, called *mengkudu padang* in Malay, is widespread in the Pacific region where it also serves as a source of red dye. The Malayo-Polynesian root ****nenu*** also produced Cook Island Maori, Niuean, Tongan *nenu,* Samoan *nenu, nonu,* Hawaiian *noni,* Tagaloh *nino,* and Marshallese *nin.*

Lamiales

ACANTHACEAE

ai-knase 'grey mangrove' *(Avicennia marina).* The Tetum term means 'mullet tree', *(ikan-) knase* (= Bk. *knasa,* Rt. *nase*) being *Mugil cephalus,* the striped or flathead mullet that inhabits estuaries where mangroves grow; a variety of hen with similar markings, *manu-knase,* was named after the fish. The tree is called *api-api jambu* 'eugenia matches' in Malay. The name of the brackwater mangrove *(ai-kamanasa, ai-bakanasa)* is semantically identical, though the species are distinct; see p. 26.

BIGNONIACEAE

ai-tui, ai-sapateiru, ai-sapatu 'tui mangrove tree' *(Dolichandrone spathacea).* The name *tui* is from Malayo-Polynesian ****tui',*** the root of the Tagalog name *tui (tiwi)* that passed into English. The semi-Portuguese synonyms mean 'cobbler's tree' and 'shoe tree' respectively: the wood is used to make clogs

(kampara) and also produces a black dye used to paint the wooden shoes. Its Malay designations are *kiarak, kayu kuda, kuda-kuda, kudo-kudo uwi.*

ai-kaikasa, ai-sumeer, ai-mii 'tree jasmine' 'Indian cork tree' *(Millingtonia hortensis).* The Tamils call this tree *maramalli,* but it appears to have no standard Malay name. *Kaikasa* suggests an etymon **kayu Makasar* 'Macassar wood', though this name occurs in Malay only for a variety of ebony. *Ai-sumeer* is of Galoli origin, and like its Tetum synonym *ai-mii,* literally means 'urine tree', a reference to the strong smell of the blooms. In folk culture the bark of the *kaikasa* is commonly used to concoct an antidote to the *fekit* spell.

BORAGINACEAE

ai-nunan, ai-nunak, ai-meta 'Timor geiger tree' *(Cordia subpubescens).* The third name means 'black tree' and the first two continue the Proto-Austronesian root ****qaNuNaŋ***, which also gave the Malay synonym *nunan*, a species of tree with good reddish timber. Called *hau-kukbai, nanukukbai* in Dawan; another Malay term is *teo-teo*. The Javanese call it *kendal.*

ai-takan 'carmona tree' *(Ehretia laevis).* This small fruiting tree has large leaves similar in quality and taste to those of the areca. The Tetum name appears to derive from Malay *tebengau.*

LAMIACEAE

ai-dakatu'u, ai-lakatu'u, ai-takatu'un, ai-ruku 'wild basil' *(Ocimum basilicum sp.)*, identified by the Portuguese with European basil *(manjericão)* The last name (*cf.* Mal. *ruku-ruku*) was originally a generic term for 'grass' (see **du'ut,** p. 18); the origin of the preceding forms (all variants of one name) is unknown, though folk etymology suggests a phonetically problematic connection with *lakateu* 'turtledove'. The herb is also called *(daun) kemangi* and *selasih (hijau)* in Malay.

ai-makasar 'chaste tree plant' 'sage tree' monk's pepper' *(Vitex).* The meaning is 'Macassarese plant'. In Malay its name is *lagundi.*

karuda, karudu, ortelaun 'mint' *(Mentha),* cf. Wm. *kairudo. Ortelaun,* or more correctly, *ortelán,* is from Portuguese *hortelã.* The first Tetum term matches NM.Isn. *karuda*, G. *aruda* and Hb. *ronak,* and appears to represent a regional Malay **(kayu) rujak* 'fruit salad plant', mint being a common seasoning of drinks and salads in Timor. The Tetum variant *karudu* points to transmission through Waima'a *kairudo.* For 'mint' the usual Malay words are *bijanggut, janggot, daun poko* (< Chinese *pokho)* in Malaysia and *keresmen* in Indonesia.

LAURACEAE

ai-abakate ‘avocado tree’, ‘alligator pear tree’ *(Persea americana).* Called *buah apokat* ‘avocado fruit’ in Malay. The descriptive Tetum and Malay names of this imported American species are founded on the Portuguese *abacate*, borrowed via Spanish *aguacate* from the Aztec *auácatl.*

PEDALIACEAE

lena ‘sesame’ *(Sesamum orientale, Sesamum indicum),* cf. G. *lena,* Daw. *nene, nenel,* Rt. *lena.* This word, from OT ****leŋa*** is cognate with Munanese *longo,* Malay *lenga* and Tagalog *linga,* and derives ultimately from Proto-Hesperonesian ****leŋah***. Other Malay names are *bijan* and *wijen.*

VERBENACEAE

ai-kaikoti, ai tahan-mean, ai-teka ‘teak’ *(Tectona grandis).* Transmitted through another Timoric language, probably Tokodede (**kai-koti*) and adapted as Tetum *ai-kaikoti.* The source of the element *-koti* is Malay *kayu jati.* The descriptive synonym *ai tahan-mean* means ‘red-leaf tree’. *Teka,* borrowed from Portuguese *teca,* is ultimately derived from Malayalam *tēkku.*

ai sakunar-ikun ‘nettleleaf vervain’ ‘Jamaica vervain’ ‘light blue snakeweed’ *(Stachytarpheta indica).* The Tetum name means ‘scorpion tail plant’. It is named *selasih dandi* or *jolok cacing* in Malay.

Laurales

HERNANDIACEAE

ai-nihat, ai-muti ‘propeller tree’ ‘helicopter tree’ ‘stinkwood’ *(Gyrocarpus americanus, Gyrocarpus asiaticus, Gyrocarpus jacquinii).* The second name means ‘white tree’, a reference to the white outer bark; the name, literally ‘snake tree’, descends from an OT ****nipa*** ‘snake’ (from PMP ****nipay***). Whereas the strange elongated wings of the fruit has struck Europeans as helicopter propellers, indigenous people likened them to snakes. The tree is called *ganggangan* or *bonak busuk* in Malay. Munanese *mande-mandea* seems to be the same species: “a high tree with soft wood and long, inedible fruit shaped like machetes” (van den Berg 1996: 337).

Magnoliales

ANNONACEAE

ai-kananga ‘ylang-ylang’ ‘fragrant cananga’, ‘Macassar oil plant’ *(Cananga odorata, Canangium odoratum)*; a native tree with fragrant flowers from which an essential oil is produced. The Tetum name is from Malay *kenanga*; English *ylang-ylang* is from the Tagalog designation, *ilang-ilang.* The Portuguese name is *cananga,* but *ilanga* replaces this in Brazil.

ai-ata, ai ata-malae, ai-malae, ai ata-ki’ik ‘annona’ ‘sweet sop’, ‘sugar apple’ ‘atis’ *(Annona squamosa).* This fruit tree, like the two following species, originated in south-eastern Mexico, its Portuguese name *ata, atá* (in Brazil) coming from the Nauatl *ahate*. The Spanish introduced all three varieties into the Philippines in the early 17th century and they spread from there to the East Indies. The Tetum *ai (ata)-malae* ‘foreign (atis) tree’ proclaims its origin; *ai ata-ki’ik* ‘small sweet sop’ was formed in contradistinction to the larger *ai ata-boot* ‘sour sop’. The Malay designation is *sarikaya, serikaya,* and it is sometimes called *pinha* or *condessa* in Brazil. The Fataluku term is *curusu*.

ai ata-boot ‘sour sop’ ‘guanábana’ *(Annona muricata).* The most common Portuguese term is *graviola,* but in Brazil *fruta-do-conde, cabeça-de-negro, jaca-de-pobre* and *guanábano* are also in use. The Malay terms are *buah sirsak, nangka belanda, nangka sabrang, durian belanda, durian salat* and *sirkaya belanda.* This American fruit tree is native to the West Indies and the northern part of South America.

ai-nona, ai-nonas, ai ata-fuik ‘wild custard apple’ ‘bullock’s heart’ ‘bull’s heart’ *(Annona reticulata).* The tree was discovered by the 16th-century Spanish in the West Indies but originated in what is today Guatemala and Belize. The etymon of the first two Tetum terms is the Portuguese *anona,* from the Spanish word *anón* borrowed from the Taino *annon.* The third name means ‘wild sour sop’. Also called *coração-de-boi* in Brazilian Portuguese; the Malay names (also partly Portuguese-derived) are *buah nona, nona kapri, lonang.*

CARICACEAE

ai-dila 'pawpaw, papaya' *(Carica papaya),* cf. Id.Hb.G.Mk. *ai-dila,* G. *idila,* Tk.Km.Bn. *dila,* At. *kahitela, kedila (-hua),* Kr. *hadili,* Wm.Md. *kai-dile,* Nau. *kai-dila,* NM *kaidila,* Fat. *(mu'u-) tilan* and possibly Makalero *kailaa.* The tree is of Central American origin and the name *papaya* is from Carib. Pawpaw trees were introduced to Asia by the Spaniards via the Philippines in or after the 16th century, and spread through Indonesia by way of Malacca; the Malay *papaya* and *kepaya* come from Portuguese *papaia.* Other Malay terms are *gedang, kates* and *betik (betek),* this latter from Arabic *baṭṭīxa* 'melon' (also the source of Indo-Portuguese *pateca* 'watermelon'). The history of the Tetum designation is problematical, as two distinct etyma appear to be involved. The name *ai-dila* is derived in part from Eastern Malay *kayu kestéla* (modern Malay *ketelah)* lit. 'Castilian fruit' (see also p. 27): the Atauran form *kahitela* and Fataluku *(mu'u-) tilan* best reflect this derivation. However, the Tetum and other names were contaminated by *dila,* the name of another species, the bael or Bengal quince tree, or rather, the traditional term for the bael came to be applied to the imported fruit tree (see p. 62). The Dawan *hau-kase* and Baikenu *hau-kasek, hau-kase* mean 'foreign tree', while the Fataluku term *mu'u-malai* means 'foreign banana' (its synonym, *mu'u-tilan* encapsulates Malay *kestela*). The Helong term, unrelated to the foregoing ones, is *kaut.*

Malpighiales

BISCHOFIACEAE

ai-dugar, ai-buhun, ai-siik, ai-guko 'Javanese bishopwood tree' 'Java cedar' 'toog tree' *(Bischofia javanica),* with sour fruit. The first name comes from Javanese *gintungan,* and the second may be a contraction of *pohon bintung* 'star tree', its Malay name. *Ai-siik* means 'sour wood'. The last term is a metathesis of the second Javanese name of the tree, *gadog*.

CHRYSOBALANACEAE

ai-besi 'ironwood tree' 'rockwood tree' (*Parinarium corymbosum, Maranthes corymbosa).*[25] 'Iron tree' in Tetum but 'rock wood' (*kayu batu)* in Malay.

[25] According to Cinatti (1950: 36) ai-besi is also the name of *Trema virgata* Bl., var. *scabra* B.

CLUSIACEAE

ai-sampoló, ai-sambaló, ai-too ‘beauty leaf tree’ *(Calophyllum inophyllum).* From Javanese *camplong*; the Malay term is *nyamplung* or *bintangor.*

EUPHORBIACEAE

ai-donu, ai-kdonu ‘parasol leaf tree’ *(Macaranga tanarius).* The origin of the Tetum name is yet to be found; the tree’s Malay name is *tutup ancur.*

ai-farina, ai-luka, ai-badiku, ai-uhi, ai-uhik, sikun ‘cassava’ ‘tapioca’ ‘manioc’[26] *(Manihot esculenta, Manihot utilissima).* Cassava is a native of South America. Its cultivation spread to the West Indies, where it was discovered by Europeans, along with the sweet potato. Although it is thus a foreign species in Timor, most of the terms for the new plant are indigenous because names for different varieties of native yams were applied to cassava (as also to the sweet potato) on account of the general similarity between them. Hence only the first and the last of the listed Tetum terms are borrowings: *farina* from Portuguese *farinha* ‘flour’ (T.G. *ai-farina,* NAt. *ai-parina* = ‘flour plant’, a reference to cultivation for cassava flour) and *sikun* from the Malay *singkong.* Of the two other Malay terms in use, *kaspe* has no reflexes in Timor, but *ubi kayu* is paralleled by the Rotinese *ufi-ai,* Belunese and Lakalei *ai-uhi,* Idaté *ai-uhik,* and Southern Mambai *ai-ihi* ‘yam bush’. Also calqued on the Malay construction (or on a similar Celebic one, cf. Wolio *owi kau,* Mori *uwi kau*) are Kairui *ildakai,* Waima’a *kai-iludai,* Midiki *kai-ildai,* Habun *kauk-iluk,* Bunak *sikar-hotel, sekar-hotel.* The basic elements here, *ilu-dai, ildai, iluk, sikar/sekal* all denote the ‘sweet potato’ (see p. 63).

Turning now to the purely indigneous names, Tetum *ai-luka* (< **ai-kula*) is probably related (in SE Celebes) to the Tolakian *gola-kau.* Tetum *badiku* and Northern Mambai *badikun* come from an earlier **ubadiku* > **ubi daku* ‘cassava yam’, of which the second element is connected with the first element in Dawan *laok-hauba* and Baikenu *lak-hau* (earlier **daku-hau),* the compounds meaning ‘yam plant’. Rotinese uses forms based on OT ****qubi*** ‘yam’: *ufi-edak* and *ufi-sina* ‘Chinese yam’. The foreignness of cassava is also expressed in the Naueti designation *kai-malae* ‘foreign bush’. The Tokodede term is *kai-same* (identical with south-eastern Tetum *ai-same* and the placename *Same),* the second element of which is from OT ****seqamay***, to which Wakatobi (Wanci) *soami* corresponds. This word reappears in Ermera Mambai *ai-saema,* and in the Kemak compound *sama-lesu, samlesu* whose second element is a Neo-Bomberaic term (****lesu***) occurring elsewhere as Makuva *ai-luto* (> **ai-luso*), Fataluku *ete-lusu, ete-lisu* (Lautém) ‘cassava’ and Makalero *same-same* ‘yam’. Makalero *ate-matu* (with the typical plant

[26] No Timorese language makes use of any of these three European terms (English *cassava*, Dutch *cassave* from Taino *kasávi*; *tapioca* from Tupi-Guarani *tipioka*; and Eng.French *manioc,* Portuguese *mandioca* from Tupi *manioka*).

classifier *ate-*) is unrelated. The first element of Helong *utkako* is OT ***qutan*** 'vegetable', the second element must be pre-Austronesian.

ai-kamii, ai-badut, ai barut-mii (Belunese) 'candlenut', 'Indian walnut' *(Aleurites moluccana).* The first term is borrowed from Malay *kemiri* (synonym of *buah keras* 'hard fruit'), cf. At. *kamiri, amiri*, Tk. *kimii*, Km.G. *mii*, NM *mira, mirka,* SM *mir*, Lk. *mirik*, Id. *umirik*. Regional Portuguese adopted this malayism as *camim*. The nuts of the tree have traditionally been burnt to provide light, a custom that extends eastward through Melanesia and Polynesia as far as Hawaii. Hence the spread of the Malay compound *panjut kemiri* 'candlenut torch' which produced the Galoli *badu-mii,* Kairui *badok-kmii* and (with the suppression of the initial element) T.Bks. *badut,* Wm.Md.Nau. *badu* and Mkv. *porke* (< **borte*). *Badut* can also be used in Tetum as a synonym for *ahi-oan* 'light, lamp'. The malayisms displaced the original Timoric term for the species, ****beluj***, ****bejul***, perpetuated by Hel. *kfinu*, Daw.Bk. *fenu, feun* (< **felu*, **feul*), cognate with Munanese *bheau* and parallel to Endinese, Lionese *(esa-) feo,* Bajawa *(li'e-) feo* and Manggarai *(wua-) welu.* Pre-Austronesian names are Bunak *zilu,* Habun *hii,* and Neo-Bomberaic ****sayi***: Makasai (Ossu) *sae (-isu),* Makalero *hai-isu,* Fataluku *ha'i.*

ai-kenabu 'sweetberry tree' *(Bridelia ovata).* The origin of the Tetum word is not known; its Malay counterpart is *ragah.*

ai-laku 'croton' 'Joseph's coat' *(Codiaeum variegatum).* Literally 'civet bush'; the Malay name is *puding (emas).*

ai manu-modok 'Indian gooseberry' *(Phyllanthus indicus).* The Tetum designation means 'yellow bird bush'; its Malay equivalents are *balangka, cermai, kayu melaka, kemlaka.*

ai-mealun, ai mii-alu 'castor bean plant' *(Ricinus communis).* This Tetum phytonym comes from (Hokkien) Chinese *ma hong liang*. The Malay names are *jarak* and *kadung.* The Portuguese identified this plant with their own *purgueira* 'physic nut' 'purging nut' *(Jatropha curcas),* an American species of the same family.[27]

ai moruk-mataheli 'milky mangrove' 'blind-your-eye' *(Excoecaria agallocha).* The Tetum name means 'invisible-making medicine' because of its use in folk culture for preparing spells to make a person invisible to his enemies. The Malay plant name is *buta-buta.*

ai-reti, ai-klatun, ai-kalatun 'Timor cactus'. The second term is cognate with Galoli *ilatun.* Fr Mendes (1935: 44) described two varieties: *kalatun-manen* 'male cactus' with fleshy, serrated stems and almost no leaves, and *kalatun-feton,* 'female cactus', with wide, fleshy leaves that pile up to form a stem. According to Raphael das Dores (1907: 80) *ai-klatu* signified either 'wild cactus' or 'a species of thorn bush'. Etymologies have not been found for

[27] Known variously in Malay as *jarak pagar, jarak putih, jarak keling, jarak belanda.*

either term; the Fataluku name is *palacai-ina.* The Portuguese described this plant as *cacto,* though it is doubtful that this plant belongs to the Cactaceae family; it is most probably a member of the Euphorbiaceae family.[28]

PHYLLANTHACEAE

ai-meko, ai-kalaan 'potato bush' *(Phyllanthus reticulatus)*, a shrub with reticulated leaf-flowers producing black dye berries.[29] The Tetum etymologies are obscure, though the first might be related to Munanese *neke* 'tree with broad leaves'. Called *wawulutan* in Malay.

RHIZOPHORACEAE

ai-bakat 'red mangrove' (*Rhizophora mangle).* The etymon is Malay *bakau akit*, id., from PMP ***bakhaw**.

ai-bidauk, ai-dauroko, ai-budan, ai-fudan, ai-fukebada 'corkwood tree' *(Carallia brachiata),* a land mangrove. The first three Tetum forms appear to be derived from Malay *bakau darat* 'land mangrove' through single or double metathesis: *bakaudarat* > **badaukarat* (> *bidauk*) > **badaurakat* > *dauroko. Bidauk* gave the name of the Dili suburb *Bidau*. *Budan* and *fudan* are from an OT ***bunta**, cf. Munanese *bunta* 'mangrove producing poisonous latex'. The origin of *fukebada* is so far unclear. The tree's Malay name is *meransi*, which appears to be the etymon of the West Timorese placename *Amarasi*; a Malay synonym is *nzai*.

ai-tatehur 'Burma mangrove' 'large-leaved orange mangrove' (*Bruguiera gymnorrhiza).* The origin of the Tetum name is unknown; its Malay counterpart is *tanjang.*

SALICACEAE

ai-jangoma 'Indian plum tree' 'paniala' *(Flacourtia cataphracta).* From local Portuguese *árvore de Jangoma* 'Jangoma tree'. Jangoma was one of the component kingdoms of Laos in Indo-China. In Malay the species is known as *pankerkup (besar).*

ai-tarawa'ik 'forked spine tree' *(Xylosma amara).* The Tetum designation means 'big thorn tree'; the Malay name is *linau pahit.*

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[28] Personal communication from Mr Sean Collins.

[29] Cinatti (1954: 361) listed *ai-kalaan* as *Breynia cernua* (Poir.) M. Arg. (the foliage flower tree; Malay *matang ulang*) but it is difficult to harmonize this with the fact that *ai-kalaan* and *ai-meko* are synonyms in Tetum unless *ai-kalaan* has two distinct meanings.

Malvales

MALVACEAE

ai-lele ‘kapok’ ‘cottonwood tree’ ‘silk cotton tree’ *(Ceiba pentandra).* The Tetum name, from OT ****lelay***, is related to Munanese *lele*, id.; *kapuk* is the Malay term. The Galoli name is *ai-tata.*

ai lele-fuik, ai-kian, ai-kiak, ai-klalorek ‘Malabar cotton pea’ *(Gossampinus heptaphylla, Bombax malabaricum).* The first name means ‘wild kapok’; the second two appear to be of Bomberaic origin, cf. Makasai *iana,* with the classifier *kayu-* prefixed. The origin of *klalorek* is unclear. The tree is called *kapuk utan* ‘forest kapok’ in Malay.

kabas ‘cotton’ *(Gossypium sp.).* From Malay *kapas,* which was borrowed from Hindi *kapas* (Sanskrit *karpasa).*

ai-kalenok ‘starflower bush’ *(Grewia koordersiana).* The etymology of the Tetum name is unknown; the Malay term is *talok.*

ai-fau, ai-kfau ‘(tree) hibiscus’ ‘cottonwood’ *(Hibiscus tiliaceus),* cf. Bk.Daw. *fau,* Hel.Rt. *bau,* G. *hau.* From OT ****baʀu*** (= PMP ****baRu***), cognate with Malay *waru* (synonym of *bunga raya* ‘great flower’, *bunga sepatu* ‘shoe flower’).

STERCULIACEAE

ai-abas, ai sukaer-mutin ‘amberoi tree’ *(Pterocymbium javanicum, Pterocymbium tinctorium).* The etymon is probably Malay *kapas* ‘cotton’, a reference to the white stellate hairs that cover the branches. The second term means ‘white tamarind tree.’ The Malay name is *melembu.*

ai-fauloor ‘guest tree’ *(Kleinhovia hospita).* The Tetum noun is a compound, and its first element may be identical with *fau* ‘hibiscus’ (see p. 50). In Malay the tree is named *laban* or *temahau.*

ai-hudeno ‘gunpowder tree’ *(Melochia umbellata),* known in the United States by its Spanish name, *hierba del soldado.* The Tetum word comes from OT ****bentenu*** (< PMP ****tenu***), cf. Wolio *bintonu,* Mun. *wintonu.* The Malay term is *busi.*

ai-kamaik, ai-taidulis ‘nut-leaved screwtree’ *(Helicteres isora).* The origin of the first Tetum word is not known; the second may be connected with the Malay *kayu ules,* though the phonetics are problematic.

ai-nitas, ai-knitas, ai-wani (ai-bani) ‘Java olive tree’ (*Sterculia foetida).* The first two names are from Malay *(kayu) nitas,* cf. Daw. *nitas, nites, nisa, nise* (<

**nisat*). The third term is transparent, meaning 'bee tree'. The standard Malay name of the tree is *kepoh*; its Tagalog name is *kalumpang*.

ai-solda 'maple-leaved bayur tree' 'dinner plate tree' *(Pterospermum acerifolium).* The derivation of the Tetum name is unclear (the Tetum and Portuguese noun *solda* 'solder' might be involved but the semantics are difficult); in Malay it is called *bayur* or *mayeng*.

Myrtales

COMBRETACEAE

ai-kalesi 'Indian almond tree' 'tropical almond tree' *(Terminalia catappa).* From OT ****kalisay*** continuing PMP ****talisay***, cf. Tagalog *talisay,* Brunei Malay *telisai.* The usual Malay term is *ketapang*.

LYTHRACEAE

ai-laka 'henna' 'Egyptian privet' *(Lawsonia inermis).* In Eastern Malay the plant is named *bunga laka,* whereas its usual Malay names are *(pacar) inai* or *pacar kuku.* The word *laka* (used also in Sasak) actually denotes another plant, *Impatiens balsamina* ('garden balsam' 'snapweed' of the Balsaminaceae family), which produces a dye commonly used as a substitute for henna.

MYRTACEAE

ai asor-metan, ai-wee metan 'black eugenia' 'black native cherry' *(Eugenia aquea/Syzygium aqueum).* The meanings are 'black eugenia' and 'black water tree' respectively. There are several Syzygium species native to Australia, where they are called 'lilly pilly'. The word *asor* is from OT ****aseʀ,*** akin to Padoese *usa* 'black eugenia'. The tree is called *jambu air, jambu cili,* or *jambu penawar* in Malay.

ai asor-mutin, ai-wee mutin, ai-uhak 'white eugenia' 'rose apple tree' *(Eugenia jambos/Syzygium jambos).* The first two designations mean 'white eugenia tree' and 'white water tree' respectively. As the Makasai term *oha* matches Tetum *uhak,* the name could be of Bomberaic origin (unless the Makasai term is borrowed from an Austronesian source). The Malay equivalents are *jambu mawar, jambu kelampak* and *jambu kraton.*

jambulaun ‘black plum’ ‘Malabar plum’ ‘damson plum’ ‘jambolan’ *(Eugenia cumini, Syzygium cumini).* The Tetum name comes from Portuguese *jambulão* rather than directly from Malay *jamblang* (which has as synonyms *jamun jambul* and *duwet).*

ai-bubur ‘white eucalyptus’ ‘white gum tree’ *(Eucalpytus alba/urophylla).* The Tetum term comes from Eastern Malay *ampupu, popo.*

ai-bubur malae ‘ghost gum’ *(Eucalyptus papuana, Corymbia papuana).* Literally ‘foreign eucalyptus.’

ai-bubur metan, ai-ruu ‘black eucalptyus’ ‘black gum tree’ *(Eucalyptus obliqua). Ai-ruu* is current in the Tetum dialect of the Viqueque region; its origin is yet to be discovered.

ai-goiabas ‘guava tree’ *(Psidium guajava).* The tree is a native of Central America and the Portuguese etymon, *goiabas* (a plural noun) is of Arawak origin via Spanish *guayaba*. The fruit and the name spread through the Malay archipelago from the Spanish Philippines from the late 16th century onwards. It has numerous Malay names: *jambu batu, jambu biji, jambu bereksa, jambu padang, jambu pelawas, jambu klotok, biawas.*

ai-karabu, ai-kraveiru ‘clove tree’ *(Syzygium aromaticum)* Both designations are of Portuguese extraction, *karabu* being an early borrowing from *cravo* (the name of the clove) and the second term (more recent) being the Portuguese name of the tree, *craveiro*. The Malay term is *pohon cengkeh.*

ai karabu-tahan, ai ulun-moras ‘white tea tree’ ‘cajeput’ *(Melaleuca leucadendron, Melaleuca cajuputi).* The second term means ‘headache tree’, a reference to the curative powers of the oil extracted from the leaves and twigs of the tree. The first term means ‘clove leaf tree’, the clove tree being a closely related species and its fragrant leaves being likened to those of the clove tree. *Karabu* is derived from Portuguese *cravo* ‘clove’; this word was borrowed also in Ceylon, cf. Sinhalese *karabu* ‘clove tree’ *(Syzygium aromaticum).* In Dawan the tree is named *hue* or *kenom*. The Malay terms are *kayu putih* (source of English *cajeput*) and *kayu gelam.* The latter (originally Javanese) term is the etymon of Rotinese *ngelak.*

SONNERATIACEAE

ai-kelara ‘mangrove apple tree’ *(Sonneratia sp.).* The current Malay names are *perepat, berembang, gedabu,* but the Tetum term is identical with the Malay *kelara* ‘canine catfish’ ‘Indian catfish’ ‘grey eel catfish’ *(Plotosus caninus,* also called *ikan sembilang* in Malay) and thus can be interpreted as ‘canine catfish tree’. Naming a mangrove after a fish inhabiting the surrounding swamp has a precedent in *ai-knase* (p. 42) and *ai-bakanasa* (p. 33). It is significant that the Malay ichthyonym corresponds formally to South Indian and Ceylonese terms for the mangrove apple tree itself: Kannada *kandale,*

Malayalam *tirala* and Sinhalese *geddekillala, kirilla* 'Sonneratia alba'. It is also noteworthy that the standard Malay term for the tree, *perepat,* is a borrowing from Malayalam.

Oxalidales

ELAEOCARPACEAE

ai guko-fuik 'Timor olive tree' *(Elaeocarpus timorensis).* The Tetum name means 'wild bishopwood tree' (see p. 46 for etymology); the Malay terms are *janitri, jenetri* and *klitri.*

OXALIDACEAE

ai-balidi(n), ai-bilimbi 'carambola tree, starfruit tree' *(Averrhoa carambola).* The Tetum term comes from the first element of the Malay terms *belimbing asam, belimbing besu, belimbing buloh, belimbing wuluh.* The more assimilated form *balidi-n* can be explained by a dissimilation of *b...b (> b ... d),* perhaps through contamination with the Tetum noun *badidin* 'square'. *Balidi* is the name of a southern suburb of Dili.

Piperales

PIPERACEAE

pimenta 'pepper' *(Piper nigrum).* There are no native terms for 'pepper', all East Timorese languages using the Portuguese loanword *pimenta*. This absence seems due to the cultural prominence of betel pepper (Tetum *malus*). Kawaimina did borrow the Malay *lada,* but in the sense of 'ginger' (see p. 29). The (Javanese) Malay *merica* (from Hindustani *mirch*) has no reflexes in East Timor.

malus, furuk 'betel (pepper) plant' *(Piper betle).* The first term occurs in most other languages of Timor, cf. Hel.Lk.Id.G.SAt. *malus,* Saw.Bk. *manus,* Hb.Tk.SNAt.Wm. *malu,* NM *maula,* SM *mal*, and was borrowed by all four local Papuan languages, cf. Bunak *molo,* Makasai *malu,* Makalero *muluhu,* Fataluku *maluhu.* This word is clearly Celebic; its immediate ancestor, ****malusu***, also generated the Solorese *malu.* This Old Timorese root is the metathesis of a Celebic ****mbasulu***, which produced (via **bahulu*) *baulu* in Torajan, Palu, Sausu and Mandar, *bolu* in Salumpang, and *beulu* in Tomadio and (without aspiration, if in fact related) *soilo* in the Wakatobi of Kaledupa and Tomea. The other Tetum term, *furuk,* descends, via OT ****buju*** from PHN

****buyu'***. Two other Timoric names of the betel plant, Rotinese *da'e* and Kemak *da'a*, are pre-Austronesian and link up with Yamdenese *ndekar* 'areca'. **Siribua,** from Eastern Malay *sirih bua,* is another species of betel.

Rosales

CANNABACEAE[30]

ai tulis-modok, ai tulis-modak 'charcoal tree' 'pigeonwood tree' 'gunpowder tree' *(Trema orientalis).* The vernacular name means 'yellowy-green writing tree'. The adjective refers to the light-coloured foliage of this tree, from whose bark a high-quality string is made; the noun (from Malay *tulis* 'to write') recalls the custom of preparing writing materials from the charcoal of the bark. In South-East Asia pigeonwood charcoal is also commonly mixed with resil oil to produce a liquid which darkens and preserves writing on palm-leaves.[31] Its Malay names are *anggrung, menarong, mengkira, mangkirai, randagong,* and (Ambonese) *mumusut.*

ai kiri-fatuk 'hackberry tree' *(Celtis wrightia).* This vernacular name is of Eastern Malay origin: **garis batu* for *batu garis* 'scratching stone', the reference being to the abrasive leaves of this tree which are used as sandpaper. The usual Malay phytonym, *empelas batu,* means 'stone fig' and *empelas* came to be the ordinary word for 'sandpaper'; its other Malay names are *empelas penjalinan* and *engulas.*

MORACEAE

ai-baulenu 'rough-leaved fig' *(Ficus hispida).* The literal meaning and origin of the Tetum name are obscure. The Malay name is *serbuk perempuan.*

ai-farotuk 'paper mulberry tree' 'tapa cloth tree' *(Broussonetia papyrifera).* The Tetum name, which is unrelated to any names of this tree from surrounding areas (Malay *pohon saeh,* Javanese *galugu*, Madurese *dhalubang,* Banggai *linggowas, malak* in languages of Ceram) must be a local formation and can be plausibly derived from an earlier **fau-lotuk* 'delicate hibiscus'. In the Timor region bark cloth is traditionally made from the hibiscus bush, but the kind produced from the paper mulberry is finer and of higher quality.

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[30] The two trees listed here are classified by some botanists as Ulmaceae or Turnaceae.

[31] See Champa Nilmini Kumari Alahakoon, "Development of policies for access, management and preservation of the Palm-leaf manuscript collection of the University of Peradeniya Library", *Sri Lanka Journal of Librarianship and Information Management,* Volume 1, No. 1, pp.42-58.

ai-fikefeku ‘septic fig’ *(Ficus septica).* This Tetum tree name is odd, and may simply be a corruption of **fico-fico,* the reduplicative plural of the Portuguese noun *fico* ‘fig’. The Dawan designation is *plelo* or *pnero*. Malay speakers call the tree *awar-awar* or *kiciyat.*

ai-hali ‘Malay banyan’[32] *(Ficus microcarpa).* The Tetum term is relatively recent, a descriptive name from the verb *hali* ‘to entwine’, a reference to the arrangement of the tree’s aerial roots; another isolated name is the so far unexplained Lakalei *ai-tabut.* The historic Timoric term ****nunuh*** (continuing PMP ****nunuk*** (‘Ficus benjamina’) is perpetuated in most of the other languages of the island, cf. Id. *nunuk,* Bk. *nunuh,* NM *nunun,* SM *nun*, Bks.Tk.Km.G.NAt.Kr.Wm.Nau. *nunu,* Hl.SAt. *inunu,* Daw. *nunha,* Hb. *nhunhu,* Md. *nunu-rae.* This lexeme is well established both in Celebes (Kal.Tom. *nunu*) and in Ambon (Lar. *nunúa*). Two Bomberaic roots have reflexes in Timor, one producing the Bunak *pur, pu,* the other (****sama***) yielding Makasai *sama* and Makalero and Fataluku *hama*. The banyan is called *keka* in Rotrinese and its Malay name is *ala*, from Malayalam *ala* (Tamil *aalam*), and it is a curious fact that the local Portuguese name for the tree, *gondão,* cannot be shown to derive from any living language of Timor but is a Dravidian loanword from Telugu *konda*; the Wakatobi (Wanci) word *gendi* may be related. *Gondão* is also used in Macanese Portuguese to denote the *Ficus indica (Ficus benghalensis),* the original referent.

ai hali-timirahun ‘weeping fig’ *(Ficus benjamina).* ‘Bearded banyan’ is the literal meaning of the Tetum name. In Malay it is called *beringin* or *mendera* (from Sanskrit *mandara),* in Javanese *waringin*.

kulu ‘breadfruit (with seeds)’ *(Artocarpus communis),* cf. Daw.Bk.Bks.Kr.Wm. Md. Nau. *kulu,* Lk.,NM *kulur,* Tk. *kulor,* Id.SM *ulur,* At.Wet. *ulu,* Mkv. *olona,* Hb *kilik.* In Malay *keluwih* or *(pohon) sukun biji.* The tree is native to the islands of the eastern Indian Ocean and the western Pacific, and the Timorese names are ancient, the Austronesian ones descending, via OT ****kuluʀ***, from Proto Malayo-Polynesian ****kuluR*** (cf. Mun. *okula,* Kal.Maw.Cia.Pnc. *kula*). Two of the Papuan languages have borrowed the Austronesian term (Bunak *kulo,* Makasai *kulu*); the original Neo-Bomberaic name ****matu*** survives in Fataluku *macu* and Makalero *matu-amaha*.

(ai) kulu-tunu, (ai) kulu-uhi, (ai) kulu-naka ‘seedless breadfruit’ *(Artocarpus altilis, Artocarpus incisa).* The Malay term is *sukun* (becoming Rotinese *su’un).* The three Tetum names, all secondary formations, mean respectively

[32] The English term *banyan* has a curious etymology, having been extracted from the Portuguese expression *figueira dos banianos* ‘fig tree of the merchants’. The 17th century merchants in question were members of a Gujarati-speaking Brahman sect (*vāṇiyo*). They were active along the coast of East Africa where the Portuguese themselves were present as traders. The association with the tree has to do with they fact that the Gujaratis set up their trading posts in the shade of *Ficus benghalensis* trees. The simple Portuguese noun *baniano* (also *baniane*) still denotes only a member of the sect in question, or one of the traders.

'baking breadfruit', 'yam breadfruit' and 'jackfruit breadfruit'. The Fataluku term for this fruit is *romonu,* from *rome* 'soft'.

ai-lobas, (ai) kulu-lobas, (ai) kulu-timur, (ai) kulu-modo, (ai) kulu-tarak 'breadnut' *(Artocarpus camansi).* The last three names mean respectively 'Timorese breadfruit', 'vegetable breadfruit' and 'spiny breadfruit'. It is possible, however, that the *-timur* epithet might represent here a Malay loan *timbul,* the Malay terms being *kelur, kulur, kulor, timbul.* The main name is of obscure origin, possibly connected with the Munanese *lebha* 'roll of dried cassava'.

ai-naka, kulu-malae, kulu-knako, kulu-jaka 'jackfruit' *(Artocarpus heterophylla).* The main element of the first Tetum name is probably a borrowing from Malay *nangka* (cf. Siccanese *nakat*), as the traditional Celebic term (today displaced by the malayism) is different: Pnc. *tiwadha,* Maw. *jewada,* Wol. *tiwada.* The Malay word, from a Proto-Hesperonesian root ****naŋka'***, cannot be extremely ancient as this tree (which bears the largest fruit in the world) is not native but an import from South India or Ceylon. All three other designations liken the jackfruit to the native breadfruit *(kulu); jaka* comes from the Portuguese name *jaca,* which was in turn borrowed from Malayalam *chakka*. The other Malay term, *keledang,* has no reflexes in Timor.

ai-moruk 'upas tree' *(Antiaris toxicaria).* 'Bitter tree' is the literal meaning of the Tetum name; the Malay is *ipoh* or *upas.*

RHAMNACEAE

ai-lo'ok, ai bubur-fuik 'Indian jujube tree' (*Zizyphus mauritiana).*The origin of the first name is unknown; phonetically it matches the Wolio and Munanese *rogo,* the name of an unidentified tree which has fragrant leaves used to treat stomach disorders and has male and female varieties, according to van den Berg (1996: 470). However, the jujube tree is hermaphroditic. The second Tetum name means 'wild eucalyptus'. The tree is called *kabuka* in Baikenu and *kapulai* in Fataluku; the Malay term is *bidara*, from Sanskrit *badara*.

ai-sisi, ai fahi-ulun 'Timor jujube tree' *(Zizyphus timorensis).* The second name means 'pig's head tree'; the origin of the first is not yet known. This species is perhaps the same as Mal. *bidara letek* 'jackal jujube' (wild jujube with small fruits).

URTICACEAE

silatak ‘nettle’ (*Urtica sp.).* This is a borrowing from Malay *jelatang.* Of native origin are the Baikenu and Dawan *naus,* the Helonmg *klaus* and Rotinese *la’us.*

ai-rame, ai-krame ‘Chinese grass’ ‘white ramie’ *(Boehmeria nivea).* The ultimate origin is PMP ****rami,*** but the Malay *kayu rami* ‘hemp’ is probably the direct source of the Tetum word. Ramie, a native of the Malay Peninsula, is one of the oldest textile fibres in the world. Dores (1907: 181) mistranslated *rame* as *malva* ‘mallow’.

Santalales

SANTALACEAE

ai-dulan, ai-dulau, ai-tulan, ai-halas ‘broad-leafed cherry tree’ *(Exocarpus latifolia). Ai-halas* may be a reduction of the Malay *kemuning alas. Kemuning* means ‘yellow’: this tree produces a beautiful yellow wood. The other terms formally match the Malay tree name *dulang,* which, however, does not denote here *Exocarpus latofolia,* but either *Cassia fistula* (Indian laburnum, see p. 29), or *Ricinus communis* (p. 41), two distinct species.

ai-kameli, ai-morin ‘sandalwood’ *(Santalum album).* Cognates of the first name of this most celebrated of Timorese trees are Km.NMLk.SAt. *ai-kameli,* ET.Id. *ai-kamelin,* Bk. *hau-kameli, hau-meni,* Wm. *kai-kmeni,* Md. *kai-meli* (from OT ****kayu-mawengi*** or ****kayu-kawengi***); equivalent to the second are Bks. *ai-mokil,* Tk. *kai-megi,* G. *ai-humenir,* Nau. *kai-humuni* (whence Makasai and Makalero *ate-muni),* Fataluku *ete-i-mukia.* Both Tetum names mean ‘fragrant wood’ (the second being of more recent and transparent formation). Unrelated to both are Helong *kai-salun,* Southern Mambai (Same) *ai-meik* and Bunak *thurul, curul, tudur.* No language of Timor appears to have any cognate of the native Butonic terms, Wak.Tkt. *asana,* Maw. *walla.* The Malay name is *cendana*, derived like the Latin and English terms from Sanskrit *candana* (Hindi *candan*); this loanword is the designation used in Flores and most of the Nautonic (Arafura Sea) islands, with the exception of Yamdenese *weman*. Macassarese uses *dupa* or *candana;* Munanese and Wolio have *sandana.*

Sapindales

ANARCARDIACEAE

haas 'mango' *(Mangifera sp.),* cf. Rt. *pao,* Tk. *paa,* Km. *pasa, paas,* Bks.Kr. *hoo,* SM *po,* NM *foa,* Lk.Id.G.SAt. *aas,* NAt. *aa,* Wm.Nau. *hau,* Md. *haua,* Mkv. *atuveva,* Hb. *haak,* all from OT ****paus*** (cf. Wnc.Wol.Cia.Tkt *poo, Mun. foo*), from PMP ****pahuq***. Makasai and Makalero *aha* were borrowed from a Timoric language. As a possible cognate the Dawan and Baikenu *upun* (< **ubul)* is phonologically problematic, it being more likely that it represents a pre-Austronesian word, perhaps the same as the Bunak *ubul* 'head' because of the shape of the fruit. The kindred Malay term, *pahu,* denotes the horse mango (see next entry); the ordinary mango is called *mangga*. The unrelated Bunak name is *zo,* Marae *so;* and Fataluku *paiahu,* like Wetarese *gape* (< **page*) link up with *pager* in the Iha language of Bomberai (North-West Papua).

ai manga-papai 'horse mango' *(Mangifera foetida, Mangifera horsefieldii).* The origin of the Tetum name, meaning 'pawpaw mango', a reference to the fruit's oblong to round shape, could be either a local Portuguese *manga-papaia,* or a local Malay *mangga papaya* 'pawpaw mango'. The second possibility seems less likely, given that the current terms are Malay *bacang, macang* and *pahu,* this latter akin to Tetum *haas.* The Portuguese *manga* was borrowed from Malay, which in turn came from the Tamil *mānkāy* 'mango fruit': the mango is a native of eastern India, Burma and the Andaman islands.

kajú, kaidu 'cashew' *(Anarcadium occidentale). Kaidu* is the older form of the Tetum word borrowed from Portuguese *caju*, and is common in other Timorese languages. The cashew is of Brazilian origin: the Portuguese phytonym comes from the Tupi *aka'yu* 'yellow fruit'. The Malay names are *jambu monyet* 'monkey rose-apple', *jambu medek, jambu mente, kacang mende, gajus, jambu golok*; *gajus* and *janggus* perpetuate the Portuguese plural form *acajus*.

BURSERACEAE

ai-bio, ai-feu 'goatwood tree' *(Garuga floribunda, Garuga pinnata),* cf. G. *ai-heu.* Known as *ki langit* or *kayu kambing* 'goatwood' in Malay. The Tetum name (from Proto-Timoric ****bewu***) is cognate with Munanese *wou*.

ai-kiar 'white beech tree' *(Canarium commune, Canarium moluccanum, Canarium amboinense),* cf. G. *ai-kiar,* Fat. *kiaru.* The Malay name of this nut-producing tree is *kenari*, *kendodong* in Sabah, and in Ambonese Malay *lyale*. *Canária* is its Portuguese name. The provenance of the Tetum name (like the tree itself) is also Ambonese, but cognate with the Lárike *i'adu* (< **ikar*) 'white beech tree' of which it constitutes a metathetic development. The resin

of the tree has an incense-like fragrance, and the Tetum liturgical term for 'incense' is *kiar-been morin* 'fragrant white beech sap'.

ai-nuhen 'grey beech tree' 'grey canarium tree' *(Canarium oleosum).* Its Malay names are *kanari minyak* 'oily canarium' and *kayu rasumala.* The Tetum name probably comes from an Old Timorese adjective meaning 'oily': ***(ma-) nupiw***, cf. Tom. *monufu* 'fat'.

MELIACEAE

ai-kene 'rosewood tree' *(Dysoxylum arborescens).* This tree's Malay name is *rambutan hutan* or (in Sabah) *lantupak.* In Makasai it is called *matere.* The etymon has not been identified, but as the mountain ebony *(Bauhinia malabarica)* is called *ai kene-faik* in Tetum, and has the Malay synonym *kendyakan,* there is a possible (though phonologically difficult) connection with that term.

ai-malae 'cannonball mangrove' *(Xylocarpus granatum).* The literal meaning is 'foreign tree'; in Malay it is termed *nyirih.*

ai meda-lasan 'red dysox tree' 'mamalapa tree'. *(Dysoxylum gaudichaudianum).* Literally 'phalanger's penis tree'; in Malay *menangtang* or *kedoya.*

ai-saria, (Tetun-Terik) **ai-sawaria** 'Australian red cedar tree' 'Indian mahogany' *(Cedrela toona).* The Tetum name matches the Malay *surian* and Javanese *suren,* but the word appears to be traditional rather than borrowed, given its longer (trisyllabic) form *sawaria* which matches the Fataluku *sevaria, severia* and points to an OT ****sawaria***. This is apparently the same as the Munanese *sosoria* 'tree with wood that is easily chopped, used for making xylophones' (van den Berg 1996: 517).

ai-semer 'chinaberry tree' 'white cedar tree' 'bead tree' *(Melia dubia, Melia azedarach, Melia japonica).* The origin of the Tetun term remains to be discovered; its Malay name is *mindi;* the Javanese term is *gringging.*

RUTACEAE

derok, derok-fatuk 'lemon' *(Citrus limon),* cf. Bks.Hb.Id.SAt. *derok,* Rt. *delo,* Daw. *lelo, reno,* Bk. *lelo',* Tk.Mb. (Ermera) *daro,* SMWm,Md.Nau. *dero,* SAt. *iderok, idorek,* Kr. *dere,* Lk. *daru,* SM (Same) *dar*; also Bunak *derok, delo',* Southern Makasai *duruku,* Fataluku *duruku* (Northern Makasai *asaduru* corresponds to the Tetum term for 'Indian atalantia', see p. 55). The Tetum *derok* and its cognates were borrowed from Malay *jeruk* 'citrus fruit' not only

to denote the small wild citron of Timor,[33] but also as a basic term for citrus fruit and a formative for compound specialized names, e.g. *derok-boot* 'citron', that is, 'big citrus' = Malay *jeruk besar.* In some rural Tetum dialects *derok* acquired the meaning of 'orange' after that foreign fruit appeared in the island, but in Dili Tetum the name was applied to the lemon, which was called *jeruk limun* in the Dutch East Indies and *limau* in Malay. (*Limun* is an Arabic loanword while *limau* represents PMP ****limaw,*** the source of the Arabic word itself and its European reflexes.) When precision was required in Tetum, the lemon could be distinguished as *derok-fatuk* 'stone citrus', a reference to its rough skin. In modern Indonesian *jeruk* usually denotes the orange (properly *jeruk manis*), thus forming a false cognate with standard Tetum *derok.*

Kemak *simu* and Helong *ksinu* are developments of an Ambonic (Central Moluccan) word ****(ka)musi,*** represented by Amahai, Lima *musi,* Elpaputih *umusi* (in Ceram), Haruku *usi.* In Lakalei 'lemon' is expressed as *daru-unar;* see the next entry for the second element. The Galoli *tugar* 'lemon' is a curious development, coming from Javanese *gintungan* 'bishopwood tree' (Tetum *ai-dugar;* see p. 39). The name substitution seems due to the similarity of the leaves of the bishopwood and the lemon tree; the respective fruit bear no mutual similarity, bishopwood fruit being blackish-blue, pea-shaped and growing in clusters.

derok-masin, derok-siin 'lime' *(Citrus aurantifolia).* The first Tetum term means 'salty citrus' (cf. NM *dar-sima,* G. *tugar-masin*) and the second 'sour citrus' (cf. Md. *dero-ga'a*). Synomyms are 'good citrus' (Nau. *dero-hia*), 'foreign citrus' (Kr. *dere-dai*), 'bird citrus' (Wm. *dero-manu*). The lime is called *limau nipis* 'thin citrus' or *(limau) asam* 'sour (citrus) in Malaya, and *jeruk nipis* or *jeruk pecel* 'salad citron' in Indonesia. The Raklungu (Ataúro) *rumau* is borrowed from Malay *limau.* The Idaté and Isní term for 'lime' is *hunar* (while Lakalei *daru-hunar* means 'lemon'). This word reappears in the Tetum *derok-funar,* the appellation of an unidentified species of orange. The antecedents of this word are uncertain; it is certainly identical with the place name *Funar,* the capital of a native kingdom situated in the Idaté-speaking area, but what is unclear is whether the fruit was named after the place, or vice versa.

saburaka, saburak, sabraka, derok-malae 'orange' *(Citrus sinensis).* The first term is cognate with Bks.Wm. *saburaka,* Hb.G.Md. *sabraka,* Km. *sabrako,* NAt. *sapuraka,* Kr. *sabrook,* Nau. *sabiraka;* and it became Bunak *sabur (-giwen),* Makasai *saburika, saburaka, duru-sabraka,* Makalero *saburaka* and Fataluku *sapuraka, sapuraki.* The latter Fataluku form most closely reflects the earliest form of the word, **saparaki,* and the etymology, a Malay *asam peranggi* 'Portuguese (lit. 'Frankish') lime', cf. Sasak *sempage* 'citrus', and, in similar constructions, Munanese *lemo mperangi* 'mandarine', Torajan

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[33] Raphael das Dores (1907:100) commented that "Os indigenas dão esta denominação *(derok)* aos limões que se encontram pelo mato em estado selvagem, e que são meudos; para designar outros limões, e mais frutas da mesma familia, pospõem a este termo outros que os especializam."

(Ninuwang) *lemo paragi,* Salayar *munte barangang* ‘lemon’. Formed in imitation of Malay *jeruk manis, limau manis* ‘sweet citrus’ are Baikenu *lelo’-mina’,* Habun *derok-midar,* Lakalei *daru-bear,* Wm. *dero-masi,* Bunak *sabur-giwen.* Rotinese *delo-sinu* is calqued on a Malay *jeruk Cina* ‘mandarine’, i.e. Chinese citrus’ (the orange having originated in China or Indo-China, cf. Wakatobi *lemon Sina, lemo Cina* ‘orange’). The second element in the Tokodede *daru-kolo’o,* Northern Mambai *daur-lokon,* Isní *daru-loken, dar-loken,* Idaté *derok-lo’en* and Galoli *sabraka lo’e* is of Butonic origin, linking up with the Wolio *makolona* ‘lemon’ (> **lokon-*); in Tetum, on the other hand, *derok-lukun* denotes the bitter orange. The second element in Ermera Mambai *dar-kumpa* ‘orange’ appears to derive from an Ambonic root ****kahumba*** < **kasumba* (cf. Saparua *usi-kasumba* ‘orange’). Southern Mambai (Same) *dar-boka* means ‘gourd citrus’ (see p. 24). The second element in the Bunak *sabur-memo’, sabur-memo’* is so far unexplained.

derok fahi-inur, derok-lukun ‘bitter orange’ ‘Seville orange’ *(Citrus aurantium).* The first term means ‘pig’s snout citrus’, the second contains the Butonic fruit name *lukun* (see preceding entry).

derok-kupan ‘green orange’. The name means ‘Kupang orange’ and denotes the sweet orange with green skin (even when fully ripe) that is common in the Malay Archipelago. In West Timor it is known as *(jeruk) manis kupang* ‘Kupang sweet (orange)’.

sabraka-lotuk, (tetun-Terik) **derok-lotuk, derok-lisin,** ‘mandarine’ ‘tangerine’ *(Citrus reticulata).* The first two names of this originally Chinese fruit mean ‘delicate orange’; the third means ‘(easy) pealing orange’ (Tetum *lisi* ‘to peel’). In Indonesia the fruit is named *jeruk kepruk or jeruk garut* and *limau Cina* ‘Chinese citrus’ in Malaysia.

jambua, (Tetun-Terik) **dambua** ‘pomelo’ ‘shaddock’ *(Citrus maxima, Citrus grandis).* In most East Timorese languages the form of the word is *dambua*, the noteworthy variants being Baikenu *damboa,* Midiki *damfuo,* Rahesuk (Ataúro) *sampua,* Fataluku *sapua, sapu,* and Makalero *popo-sapu.* The pomelo is called *jeruk besar* or *jeruk bali* in Indonesia, and *limau besar, limau betawi* or *limau serdadu* in Malaysia. This fruit is native to the Malay Archipelago, whence the eponymous Captain Shaddock took it to Barbados in the West Indies in 1696. Folk etymology attributes the origin of the Tetum fruit name to Malay *jambu*, the name of the white eugenia fruit (rose apple, see p. 44) which, however, has little in common, in appearance or taste, with the grapefruit.[34] The etymology of the citrus name is in fact Chinese, coming from Cantonese *si ji pao* (*Citrus grandis*), literally ‘four-seasons ball’. This word was borrowed as *cimboa* by the Spanish in the Philippines during the late 16th century or soon after, and passed into Portuguese as *jamboa*, whence the Tetum form. An alternative possibility is that the Portuguese form was borrowed directly from the Japanese *zabon* ‘pomelo’ (derived from the same

[34] The Malay word *jambu* entered Portuguese as *jambo*; the tree being *jambeiro*.

Chinese source), though the Japanese word is usually considered to have been taken from Portuguese. It is so far unclear whether the Fataluku *hairapo* (< **sairapo*) is connected with *cimboa, jamboa.* The pomelo is called *dar-boka* 'gourd citrus' in the Mambai of Ainaro and *dar-tu* 'big citrus' in the nearby dialect of Same. The Rotinese name of the fruit, *mune,* from OT ***muntay** is of Butonic descent, cf. Cia-Cia, Tomea *munte* 'lemon', Wanci *munte* 'orange', Sikkanese *mude* 'citrus'.

Although the correct Tetum term for 'grapefruit *(Citrus paradisi)* is **jambua-malae** 'foreign pomelo', the simple term *jambua* is commonly used to name this 18th century hybrid, which was created in Barbados by a crossing of the pomelo and the sweet orange. This confusion is due to the fact that a single Portuguese term, *toranja* (or *toronja*) serves to denote both the pomelo and the modern grapefruit. Malaysian Malay distinguishes the grapefruit as *(limau) bali,* and Indonesian calls it *jeruk keriput.*

ai-asalerok 'Indian atalantia tree' *(Atalantia trimera).* The Malay etymon is *asam jeruk* 'citrus lime', probably in contradistinction to *asam jawa* 'tamarind'; in modern Malay *asam jeruk* usually denotes a kind of mixed citrus pickle. The same borrowing occurs in Makasai *(asaduru)* as the name of the orange. The Indonesian designation of the Indian atalantia fruit is *jeruk kates* 'pawpaw citrus'.

ai dila-fatun, ai dila-tuku 'bael tree' 'Bengal quince' 'wood apple' *(Aegle marmelos),* cf. Rt. *dilak, lilak,* Daw.Bk. *lilah.* Literally 'stone pawpaw' and 'hard pawpaw' respectively, because of the appearance of the fruit. The epithets were added when the referent changed from the bael tree to the pawpaw (see p. 39). The etymon is an OT ***ndila**, of obscure origin. It is possible that this may be identical with the Bomberaic term for 'frog', perpetuated in the Tokodede and Makasai *dila,* that is, if the popular imagination associated this round fruit with the amphibian, i.e. 'frog fruit'. The Malay names are *bila* (from Sanskrit *bilva), kawista* and *maja (pahit)*; *Majapahit* was also the name that Wijaya gave to the capital of his East Javanese empire in 1293 on account of the abundance of bael trees growing in the area.

SAPINDACEAE

ai-daak, ai-daar 'Macassar oil tree' 'Ceylon oak' 'honey tree' 'lac tree' *(Schleichera oleosa).* This tree, producing lychee-like fruit, is called *ai-ileti* in Galoli, *daidawa* in Makasai and *kaicava* in Fataluku. The Tetum name derives from a Malay *kayu Jawa* 'Java wood': the tree was introduced from Java where it is known as *kosambi* (from Hindi *kusum, kusumb*). The Malay names vary as *usapi, kesambi, kosambi.*

ai-longana ‘longan tree’ *(Dimocarpus longan).* It is called *lengkeng* in Malay, but the Tetum word is derived from Portuguese *longana,* from Cantonese *long-ngan* ‘dragon’s eye’.

ai-esehuta ‘warty tamarind’ *(Elattostachys verrucosa).* The origin of the Tetum word is unknown; the Malay term is *babi kurus.*

ai manu-lain ‘whitewood tree’ *(Atalaya salicifolia).* The Tetum name means ‘bird plume tree’; it is called *wusel* in Celebean Malay (a Gorontalo word).

ai-maras, ai-masar, ai-kanedok, ai-kneru, ai-atakai ‘Pacific lychee tree’ *(Pometia pinnata).* Etymologies for the first two forms and the last have not yet been found. The third and fourth names mean ‘ladle tree’ and ‘spoon tree’ respectively (cf. Tetum *kanedok* ‘ladle’, Mambai *neru* ‘spoon’) because its wood is used in some regions to carve implements. The Malay term is *kasai.*

ai-knia, ai-siria ‘scaly ash tree’ *(Ganophyllum falcatum).* The etyma of the first Tetum term is Eastern Malay *ki angir,* metathesized to **kingira*; the origin of the second is unknown. The standard Malay name is *(kayu) mangir.*

Solanales

CONVOLVULACEAE

fehuk-midar, fehuk-timur, uhi ‘sweet potato’ *(Ipomoea batatas).* The Tetum word *fehuk* (cognate with Galoli *hehu-mina,* lit. ‘sweet yam’), from OT ****bepaw***, originally denoted the Chinese or lesser yam *(Dioscorea esculenta,* see p. 23) but after the Portuguese introduced from the Spanish Philippines the Central American sweet potato, the word came to be applied to the new species (called *ubi keladi, ketela rambat* or *ubi jalar* in Malay). The same semantic shift characterizes American English, which improperly gives the name ‘yam’ to the sweet potato. *Fehuk-midar* is a loan translation of the Portuguese *batata doce* ‘sweet potato’ (cf. Makalero *same-lemaha*) and Galoli (Laleia) *same-mamina* is ‘sweet yam’. The Tetum term *fehuk-timur,* lit. ‘Timorese yam’ was coined in contradistinction to another American import, the Peruvian potato, called *fehuk-malae* or *fehuk-ropa* lit. ‘foreign sweet potato’. The Portuguese loanword *batatas,* while absent from Timorese languages, proliferated in the Ambon and Ceram regions, e.g. Ambon Malay *patatas* ‘sweet potato’, Nusa Laut, Haruku *patatas* ‘cassava’. Apart from Tetum *fehuk,* Atauran *ubi, huhi*, Idaté *uhi* and Baikenu *loli* (< **dodi*) (apparently pre-Austronesian), old terms for ‘yam’ have been reapplied to the sweet potato only with qualifiers (epithets or adjectives). The most common of these compounds is ‘foreign yam’ (****qubi***), e.g. Bks. *u-malae,* NM *uhlaen,* SM *(u)malae* (the epithet *-malae* here deriving from Mal. *melayu* ‘Malay’, applied to all persons and things foreign); Bn. *sekar-dai,* Wm.Md. *ilu-dai* (*-dai* ‘foreign’ coming from Malay *jawi* ‘foreigner’)’ Daw. *laok-fuakase* (*-kase*

'foreign' from Mal. *Makasar* 'Macassarese'). Helong *kauk-kumis* is from Malay *kayu kumis* and signifies 'whiskered wood'.

kankun 'water spinach' 'glorybind', 'swamp cabbage' *(Ipomoea reptans).* The etymon is Malay *(sayur) kangkung,* lit. 'frog vegetable'.

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ai-babotek 'thorn apple' 'devil's trumpet plant' *(Datura fastuosa).* The ultimate provenance of the Tetum name (from a reduplicative **bote-bote*) is obscure; the corresponding Malay term is *kecebung.*

karuuk, berinjela, faimatak 'eggplant' 'aubergine' *(Solanum melongena).* Apart from the recent Portuguese loan *beringela* (derived, via Arabic *bādinjāna* and Persian *badnjān*, from Sanskrit *vatimgana*), the Timorese names for this plant of South Indian and Ceylonese origin are varied and difficult to etymologize. Neither of the two Butonic terms, represented by modern Wak. *pandola,* Wol.Mun.Cia. *palola* or Tkt. *tanggosa,* seems to have found its way to Timor; nor did the Malay *terung.* Dawan *kau-loto,* Baikenu *kaloto'* and Bekais *kaut* are related but of unknown origin; whether the Fataluku *kauloko* seems to be connected. The Makasai *ta'ukoo* and Makalero *taulo'o* are isolated, as is the equally obscure Tokodede *kamaka*. The Habun *wainhatan* appears to be connected with the Tetum *faimatak,* which translates literally 'pound raw', a reference to the process of treating the eggplant's flesh to remove the bitterness.

The eggplant resembles a huge areca nut. By folk etymology Waima'a and Midiki *buomara* and Naueti *buamara* would mean 'sharp areca', but this explanation is untenable because the Kawaimina *mara* 'sharp' refers to instruments, not flavours, and moreover the same term occurs in Galoli as *humaran,* and Galoli knows no such adjective. As the Galoli term is phonetically more developed, it would seem to be the oldest, and in the light of Manatuto's importance in pre-colonial times as a port and trading centre for regions to the north, a Central Moluccan etymology recommends itself, viz. **bua maela* 'bitter areca' (cf. Lar. *hua,* NL *hual* 'areca'; Hil. *maela,* Asil. *mela,* Lar. *mida* 'bitter'). Unfortunately data is lacking to confirm this hypothesis with a similar vegetable name from modern Ambonic languages.

The Tetum *karuuk* links up with similar forms: Lakalei *karbuuk, kruuk,* Idaté *karbuuk* and South Mambai *karbua,* this lexeme is restricted to the south-central part of East Timor. The Hawaiian word for eggplant, *laho-pipi,* literally 'bull's scrotum' suggests a possible origin, as the first part of all these forms, which seem connected to, if not identical with local reflexes of the Malay *kerbau* 'buffalo', could be plausibly derived from an Eastern Malay expression *kerbau buah (pelir)* 'buffalo's testicle'. This hypothesis would appear to be confirmed by the facts that the tomato is known as *faimatak-malae* 'foreign eggplant' in the Samoro region and that the Tetum noun *tomate* is used as a slang term for 'scrotum'.

The Tetum *karuuk-fuik* ‘wild eggplant’ denotes Indian nightshade *(Solanum ferox),* known in Malay as *terung pipit putih.*

tomate, tamati, faimatak-malae ‘tomato’ *(Solanum lycopersicum).* The Portuguese name of the American species (from Nauatl *tomatl*) is the one now in general use; *tamati* is an earlier assimilation of the same word, and *faimatak-malae* means ‘foreign eggplant’.

fehuk-ropa, fehuk-makau, fehuk-malae, uhi-dai, uhi-malae ‘potato’ *(Solanum tuberosum).* This Portuguese import from the Spanish Empire (hailing from southern Peru and arriving via the Philippines), named *(ubi) kentang* in Malay, was variously dubbed ‘European sweet potato’, ‘Macanese sweet potato’, ‘foreign sweet potato’. The names in regional languages of Timor follow closely those of Tetum, cf. SM *malae-makau,* G. Bk. *loli-aropa, loli-kase,* G. *same-makau, same-dai,* Mk. *sia,* Fat. *ilahu-makau.*

ai-manas, kunus ‘chilli’ *(Capsicum frutescens, Capsicum fustigiatum, Capsicum minimum).* The first term means literally ‘hot wood’; the second is cognate with Rt.Hel. *kulus,* Tk. *kurus,* NM *kurus, kursa,* Bk. *unus,* SMLk.Id.Hb. *urus,* Bks.G. *uus,* Wm. *kuu,* Nau. *khuu,* NAt. *uu,* Rakl. *ngurusuan*, all from a malayism *(cabai) kurus* ‘sparse-leaved chilli’, adapted (with contemporary velar or uvular pronunciation of *r*) as **kuʀus*. (The Tetum form, if traditional would be **kuus*; modern *kunus* is borrowed either from Baikenu or is an adaptation of Tokodede *kurus*). The word was adopted by Makasai *(urukai),* with a native suffix, and by Fataluku *(kurisa).* Outside Timor this unusual malayism is found in Alorese *(kurus),* Endinese and Bajawa *(koro)* and Manggarai (*nggurus*). Bunak *patal* must be a semantically reapplied pre-Austronesian word. The standard Malay names are *cabai, cabe* and *lombok cabai.*

ai-manas lotuk, kunus-lotuk ‘red chilli’ ‘cayenne pepper chilli’ *(Capsicum frutescens).* The Tetum terms signify ‘delicate chilli’; in Malay the plant is called *cabai merah, cabai rawit, lada padi* or *cabai halus.*

ai-manas boot, kunus-boot, ai-manas malae ‘capsicum’ ‘bell pepper’ *(Capsicum annuum).* ‘Large chilli’ is the literal meaning of the first two terms; the third means ‘foreign chilli.’ The Malay equivalents are *lombok besar, cabai besar merah.*

Vitales

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ai-lafaek ‘Hawaiian holly’ ‘West Indian holly bush’ *(Leea coccinea).* The Tetum name means ‘crocodile tree’; in Malay the species is known as *dungun paya.*

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Index of Tetum Phytonyms

(The classifiers ai- *and* -hun *are included only when inseparable from the name)*