Cover Page

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Ternate Malay: Grammar and Texts

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Acknowledgements

Table of contents

List of Abbreviations

1	1st person		Port	Portuguese
2	2nd person		POSS	possessive (marker)
3	3rd person		PROC	procedural
A	adjective		PROG	progressive
ACT	activity		QT	question tag
AGT	agent		REC	reciprocal
Ar	Arabic		RED	reduplication
C	consonant		REFL	reflexive
CAUS	causative		REL	relativizer
Chin	Chinese		REP	repetitive
CL	classifier		S	subject
COLL	collective		s.o.	someone
COMP	completive		s.t.	something
CONJ	conjunctive		SG	singular
CONT	continuous		Skt	Sanskrit
DO	do		STIM	stimulus
Du	Dutch		TRU	truncated
DUR	durative		USE	use
Eng	English		V	vowel; verb
ENT	entity		xx(x)	unanalyzed word(s)
EPIT	epithet			
EXCL	exclamation			
EXP	experiencer			
FILL	filler			
FUT	future			
HAB	habitual			
HORT	hortative			
IMIT	imitative			
INSTR	instrument			
INT	intensive			
INV	involuntarily			
k.o.	kind of			
LOC	location			
N	nasal; noun			
NCOMP	non-completive			
NEG	negator			
P	predicate			
PART	particle			
PAT	patient			
PL	plural			

THE PHILIPPINES

MALAYSIA

SINGAPORE

SUMATRA

KALIMANTAN

Jakarta

Surabaya

JAVA

BALI

SUMBAWA

FLORES

Makassar

SULAWESI

Manado

TERNATE

HALMAHERA

AMBON

PAPUA

TIMOR LESTE

TIMOR

Kupang

Map 1 Indonesia

Map 2 Varieties of Malay

MOROTAI

DODOLA
KOKOYA

Tobelo
Loloda
Gam Hoku

Kao

Jailolo
Wasile

Sidangoli

TERNATE

TIDORE
HALMAHERA

MOTI

MAKIAN

GEBE

BACAN

Labuha
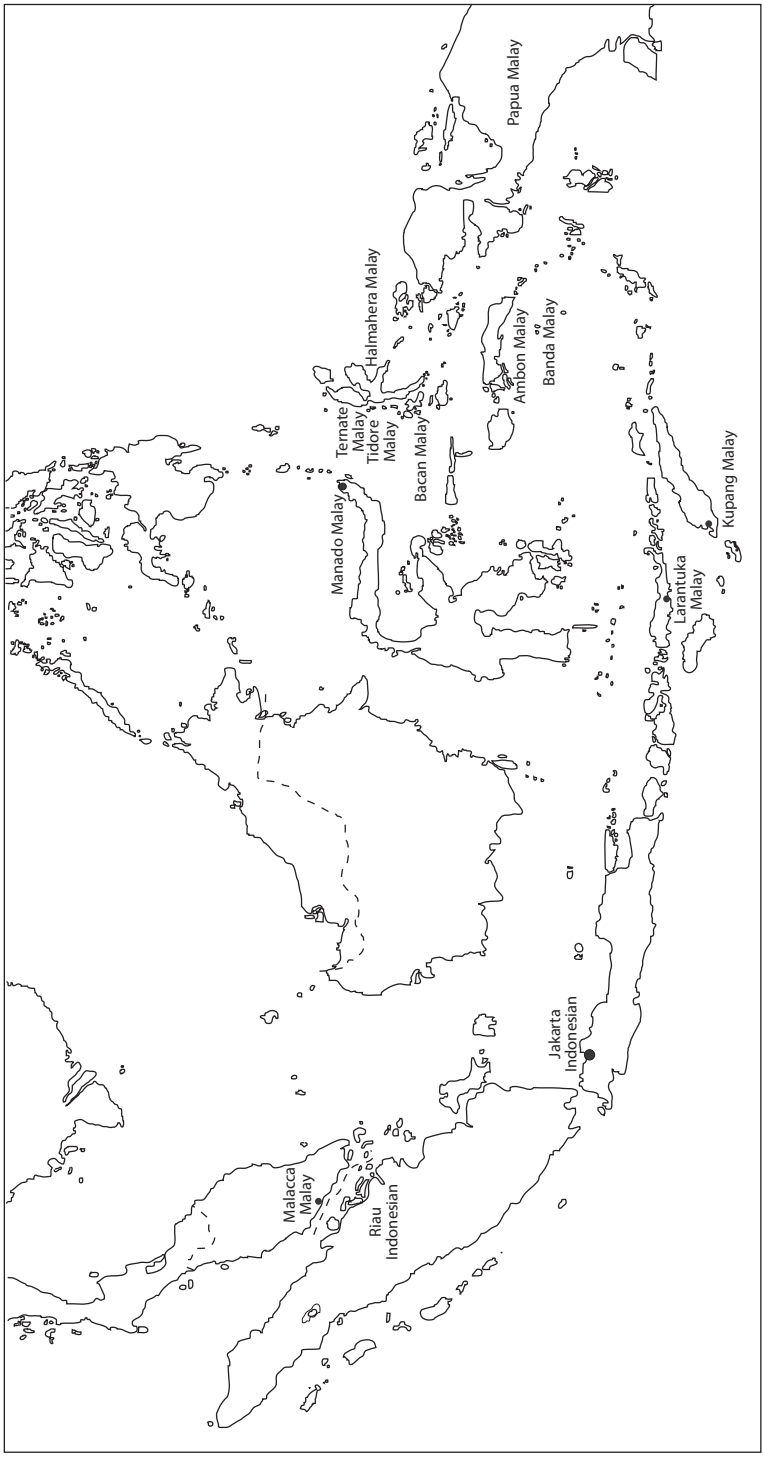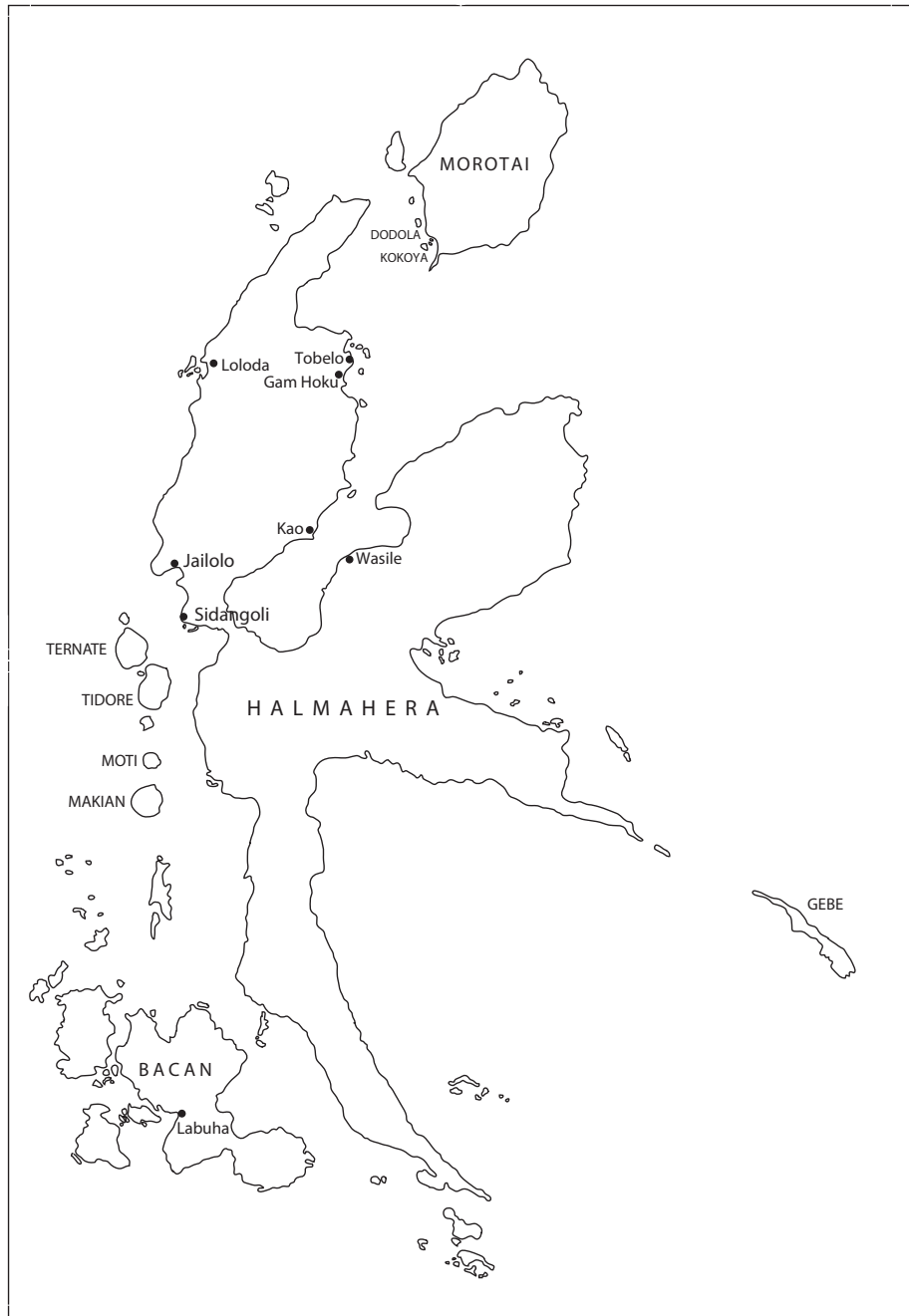
Map 3 North Moluccas

Map 4 Ternate

Urban area

Lake Tolire Kecil

Lake Tolire Besar

Babullah airport

*Kecamatan
Ternate Utara*

*Kecamatan
Pulau Ternate*

Benteng
Tolokko

Mount
Gamalama

*Kecamatan
Ternate Tengah*

Salero

Sultan's palace

Kampung Makasar

Benteng Oranye

Terminal

*Kecamatan
Ternate Selatan*

Lake Laguna

1 Introduction

Ternate Malay is a variety of Malay spoken on the island of Ternate, a small island in the eastern part of the Indonesian archipelago. It is one of the main languages on the island. The majority of speakers live in Ternate town, where it is used as a mother tongue as well as the language of communication between people of various ethnic and linguistic backgrounds.

Malay varieties in eastern Indonesia received some scholarly attention in the 1980s and 1990s. In 1980, James T. Collins published a booklet on Ambon Malay, discussing it in terms of creolization theories of that time (Collins 1980). Almost a decade earlier, Paramita R. Abdurachman wrote on Portuguese loanwords in Ambon Malay (Abdurachman 1972). In the decades to follow, some more varieties were studied and various articles and descriptions of Malay in eastern Indonesia were published. A number of PhD dissertations were written, including: a description of word and phrase structures in Larantuka Malay (Kumanireng 1993); a phonology, morphology, and syntax of Ambon Malay (Van Minde 1997); a grammar of Manado Malay (Stoel 2005); and a typological comparison of seven Malay varieties of eastern Indonesia, including Banda Malay, Kupang Malay and Papua Malay (Paauw 2009). A description of Ternate Malay may complete this series.

One of the challenges encountered in the study of the Ternate Malay variety (which might also occur in other varieties and languages) is the flexibility of lexical items and the limited overt marking of grammatical features on these items. Lexical items may fulfil distinct syntactic roles without showing any change in their formal shape. The point that in some Malay varieties there is no clear-cut distinction between some word classes, for instance between verbs and adjectives, is not new. Many scholars have studied this topic and have attempted to find satisfying solutions for this problem (inter alia Gonda (1949), Teeuw (1962), Steinhauer (1986)). For Riau Indonesian, a variety of colloquial Indonesian spoken in western Indonesia, David Gil suggests that a word has to be considered the smallest syntactic unit, and he argues that there is no strong evidence to support the distinguishing between nouns and verbs (Gil 1994, forthcoming). I have taken up and elaborated this suggestion here for Ternate Malay. The basic idea in this study is that a word receives its meaning from its relationship with other words. The meaning of a construction is determined by the meaning of the combination of the composing elements. Some lexical items merely serve to indicate the structure within sequences of words, and additionally contribute to the meaning of the construction. These items play an important role in determining the most appropriate interpretation of the construction. The linguistic context as well as the non-linguistic situation are crucial factors in determining which of the plausible interpretations works best. From this point of view, I describe the structure and the meaning of various constructions.

This first chapter provides some general information about Ternate and Ternate Malay. In § 1.2 I discuss some previous studies and publications on Malay in Ternate, while § 1.3 describes the Ternate Malay material collected and used in this study.

1.1 General Information

The island of Ternate is situated west of Halmahera, the largest island in the province of Maluku Utara, and is about 105 km^2 (about 65 square miles) large. One of the characteristics of this island is the volcanic mountain, named Gamalama. It is still active and plays an important role in the Ternate community. There are about fifty villages on the island, which are almost all situated along the coast with a few of them up against the mountain. An asphalted road running around the island connects all the villages. Ternate has one airfield strip used for daily flights to Manado (North Sulawesi), Makassar (South Sulawesi), Ambon Town (Ambon Island), Jakarta (Java), and with flights to other places in Maluku Utara (Morotai, Bacan, Tobelo). Ternate is relatively easy to reach and has an open market for products from all over Indonesia. The high costs of transportation and the weak economic position of the population, however, do not attract a lot of enterprise. Those who have enough financial means go to Manado, Ambon, Makassar, or Jakarta to buy more luxurious goods. Only recently, a large shopping mall was built, with outlets of national and international chain stores.

There is only one town on the island, also named Ternate, situated on the eastern part of the island. This forms an urban strip along the coast. Administratively, four districts (or *kecamatan*) are found on the island of Ternate: *kecamatan* Ternate Utara Ternate Tengah, Ternate Selatan, and Pulau Ternate. The first three are part of the administrative city of Ternate. Each district consists of a number of villages: Ternate Utara has 14 villages, Ternate Tengah has 15 villages, and Ternate Selatan consists of 17 villages. The rest of the island belongs to the *kecamatan* Pulau Ternate, the fourth district on the island, which consists of 13 villages (Badan Pusat Statistik Kota Ternate [2010]:31).

1.1.1 Population

The total population of the island of Ternate in 2010 was about 175.000. This number is based on statistics published by the Bureau of Statistics of Ternate Town[1]. The majority, about 91.6%, live in the urban part of the island, in Ternate Town. A decade earlier, about 86.8 % of the total population of the island lived in Ternate Town. The number of people living in the rural part of Ternate, roughly those who live in the district of Pulau Ternate, has more or less remained the same over the last decade.

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[1] The information is published on the website of the *Badan Pusat Statistik*, BPS-Statistics

Kecamatan/Year	1980	1990	1995	2000	2005	2010
Kota Ternate Utara	28,959	39,574	40,908	42,639	67,203	45,487
Kota Ternate Tengah	–	–	–	–	–	52,083
Kota Ternate Selatan	30,872	43,830	46,262	53,282	72,901	63,707
Pulau Ternate	10,825	12,372	13,019	14,554	18,388	14,788
Total Population	70,656	95,779	100,189	110,475	158,492	176,065

Population of Ternate 1980-2010

1.1.2 Languages in Ternate

The most important languages on the island are the indigenous language (*bahasa* Ternate), the local variety of Malay (Ternate Malay), the national language (Indonesian), as well as the colloquial form of Jakarta Indonesian. Ternate town has a multi-ethnic community with people from all over the province as well as from outside the province, and a lot of speakers of other languages can be found and heard in the town as well. The Ternate language is the first language for most of the people who live "*di blakang gunung*" (behind the mountain), referring to the people who live in the rural part of the region, while many people in Ternate Town have Ternate Malay as their first language. The standard Indonesian language has no speakers who use it as their first language. It is the national language and reaches people mainly in written form through newspapers, schoolbooks, and administrative documents and writing. Some radio and television broadcasting programs use standard Indonesian, but many soap series and other popular programs use a form of Jakarta Indonesian. Ternate Malay speakers may also have some knowledge of one or more of Indonesia's regional languages.

The term "Ternate Malay" is an artificial term. Some people in Ternate refer to it as *bahasa Ternate* 'Ternate language', but this term may lead to misunderstanding because for others *bahasa Ternate* refers to the local language of Ternate. In order to distinguish between the local form of Malay and the local language, the latter is also called *bahasa Ternate asli* 'original Ternate language'. In the literature on Malay in the Moluccas, the term "North Moluccan Malay" has been used to refer to the Malay spoken in the North Moluccan region, including Ternate and Tidore (see Voorhoeve (1983), Taylor (1983), and Van Staden (1998, 2000)). Incidentally, the term *Melayu Halmahera* (Halmahera Malay) has been used to refer to a lingua franca spoken throughout and outside Halmahera which has also become a home language (Masinambow 1976).

Malay in the various places in Maluku Utara and elsewhere has been locally coloured. The fact that in some places, including Ternate, two languages of different language families are in contact makes this phenomenon even more interesting. Since local situations differ from one place to another, the impression is that there are differences between Ternate Malay and Tidore Malay (Van Staden 2000:29) and that there are differences, for instance, in prosody and the use of particles between Bacan Malay[2] and Ternate Malay. Therefore the term Ternate Malay is used here to refer explicitly to the Malay variety that is spoken in Ternate.

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[2] Bacan Malay is a colloquial variety of Malay spoken in Bacan, an island south of Ternate,

The terms "Ternate" and "Ternate language" refer to the indigenous language of Ternate. It is a non-Austronesian language and together with Northeast Halmaheran, Sahu, and West Makian, forms the North Moluccan sub-group of the West Papuan Phylum (Voorhoeve 1994:649). This group of languages is closely related to languages in the western tip of the Bird's Head peninsula of Papua (Voorhoeve 1988:181). The region where the Ternate language is spoken is not limited to Ternate. It is also spoken in Hiri, a small island north of Ternate, and in several villages on the west coast of Halmahera (See Voorhoeve 1988). Ternate language is also used for administrative matters within the sultanate and the sultan's court, particularly during traditional ceremonies and events. The Tobelo in Halmahera use the Ternate language in traditional chants, magical formulae and marriage rituals. Tobelo words may be formed with Ternate morphemes (Taylor 1990:14).

Although the majority of mother tongue speakers of the Ternate language live in the rural part of the island, there are places in Ternate Town where the language is used. At the market there, it is not uncommon to bargain in this language, because many of the sellers of fruit, vegetables, and other products are Ternate women. Bargaining in the Ternate language may result in a better price. The Ternate language is also the official language at events and ceremonies related to Ternate culture, during weddings, funerals and at events related to the sultan and his court. In a radio program on *lagu-lagu daerah* 'regional songs', the host addresses the listeners in the Ternate language. After the turmoil at the end of the twentieth century, some people have become more conscious about their ethnic background and use the Ternate language (or other regional languages) to distinguish themselves from other ethnic and linguistic groups.

Indonesian, as the national language, serves as the language of administration, mass media, religion, and formal events. Indonesian is the official language of education in which teaching material is written. However, in schools, churches, mosques, at official meetings and in other formal and semi-formal situations, as well as in conversations on abstract and philosophical topics, one may notice a locally flavoured kind of Indonesian. This variety of Indonesian could be considered a formal kind of Ternate Malay in which aspects of Indonesian (or "High Malay"), such as the affixes *-kan* and *-i* and prefixes as *me-* and *ber-* are used instead of Ternate Malay structures or equivalents. When using this variety, the choice of "Indonesian" words prevails over Ternate Malay words. A situation in which this "official" language was considered to be more appropriate was when someone explained the production of *bagea* 'k.o. sago cookie'. The woman probably imagined a general public and replaced typical Ternate Malay words such as *tore* 'crispy' with Indonesian *garing* 'crispy'. This was a very clear case in which the speaker preferred an Indonesian word. Often it is hard to decide whether a word is borrowed from Indonesian, is a member of Ternate Malay vocabulary, or belongs to a local variety of Indonesian. In this book, standard Indonesian words are not systematically marked, but are occasionally explicitly mentioned in the text.

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and differs from *bahasa* Bacan, the local language of Bacan, which seems to be related to languages in Borneo (Collins 1983b).

Young people may flavour their Ternate Malay with Jakarta Indonesian words and expressions, although others may consider this to be a form of showing off, particularly if the user has only spent a short time in the capital city. In the last decade, a large number of Javanese people has found a home in Ternate Town. They are sellers at an increasing number of stalls selling textiles, shoes, and household goods. At an open field in front of the governor's office, the Swering, dozens of stalls offer a large variety of food during the evening. Most of these stalls are run by Javanese who live in a small area close to fortress Oranye. At the textile market, the food court, and in the Javanese section, Javanese is the main language of communication. Non-Javanese speakers may insert some fixed Javanese words and expressions such as *piro, Mas?* 'how much is it, Sir?' in their interactions with the Javanese. What the influence of Javanese will be on Ternate Malay has yet to be seen. It is quite possible that these Javanese newcomers, similar to most of the other ethnic groups living in Ternate, will adopt the local Malay variety, and maintain certain Javanese expressions or characteristics to display their ethnic background.

1.2 Publications on Malay in Ternate

The number of available records of Ternate Malay either in its written or spoken form is limited. Scarce information on Ternate Malay may be found in journals written by participants in expeditions to the Moluccas and Ternate, journals by civil servants stationed in Ternate, or archives of trade companies or the governments of Portugal, England, and the Netherland. In earlier times, visitors compiled wordlists in an attempt to picture Malay as it was spoken in Ternate or in the Moluccas in general. However, it was not only outsiders who wrote about Ternate and Ternate Malay. Although at the sultan's court the main language is the Ternate language, correspondence in earlier times between the sultan and non-Ternate speaking allies and enemies was delivered in Malay. Other Malay records consist of letters and genealogies of which only a few have been published and others remain unread in the archives. Of the main publications, only a few are discussed here. They consist of examples of Malay in Ternate in its written and its spoken form as well as opinions about these texts and the way they can be of value for Malay studies.

1.2.1 Two letters from Ternate (1521 and 1522)

The oldest Malay manuscripts extant from the Moluccas are two letters written by the sultan of Ternate and addressed to the king of Portugal. They are written in Jawi script and dated 1521 and 1522. The style used in these letters shows resemblance to so-called classical Malay, a kind of Malay used in the literary tradition of the Malay courts of Malacca and Riau/Johor. The use of prefixes such as *me-*, *ber-* and *di-* as well as the suffixes *-kan* and *-lah* reflect this standardized form of Malay. However, there are also affixes found in these letters which are not familiar to classical Malay, like the prefix *a-* used in a verb *aserahkan*. The presence of particles like *pun*, and a word like *maka*, which is used as a marker to divide two sentences or paragraphs by

lack of punctuation in Jawi script, also indicates a classical Malay style of written language.

According to C.O. Blagden (1930), who has edited and translated these letters, it is clear that these letters cannot be considered as "typical of the Malay epistolary style of the period". He states that the style and grammar betray the fact that the scribe (and it seems more likely that there was more than one) does not master the Malay language very well. Blagden has the impression that the word order, for instance, is influenced by the syntax of the local language of Ternate (Blagden 1930:87). It is obvious that Blagden had a particular variety of Malay in mind when he assessed the form of Malay found in these letters. An example of the influence of local languages is seen in the word order of the possessive construction. In Malay varieties in the western part of the Indonesian archipelago and Malaysia, the possessum is followed by the possessor, like in *rumah bapak* (lit. house father; 'father's house'). In the first letter one finds the construction *Raja Sultan Abu Hayat surat*, which is translated by Blagden in 'Letter of Sultan Abu Hayat'. The translation shows that *surat* is interpreted as a noun and possessum and functions as the head of the noun phrase. This head is preceded by its modifier, the possessor, Raja Sultan Abu Hayat. However, it is the only example of such a possessive construction; in all other cases the word order is like in *rumah bapak*: the possessor follows the possessum.

Following Blagden, the presence of two ways of expressing possessive meanings can be seen as the result of local influences. They do not imply, however, a bad style and an obscure meaning. The style of these letters shows the language situation at that time in Ternate: there was more or less a standard notion of written Malay, although it was not elaborated to all domains in the language, so there was still space for individual variation and preference. This individual style can give indications about the number of scribes who wrote a manuscript. In the case of the Ternate letters, the spelling of some words indicates that more than one scribe must have been involved (Blagden 1930:98).

As remarked earlier, these records form a valuable source because they provide information about the language situation at a certain point in time in a particular place, and at the same time give linguistic data of the language used. These letters of the sultan of Ternate show that Malay, as a written form, was in use in the 16th century in the Moluccas for administrative matters in correspondence with the Portuguese and possibly also with other non-Ternate authorities.

1.2.2 Pigafetta's wordlist (1521)

That Malay was used not only as a written language is obvious from the wordlist compiled by Antonio Pigafetta, one of the few crew members who survived a Spanish voyage to the Moluccan islands with captain Ferdinan Magellan, who died in a battle in the Philippines. When Pigafetta returned to Europe, he wrote a report about this voyage and included two wordlists: a Philippino wordlist and another called "Words of those Moro people" (Robertson 1906 II:117). Most of the words he lists (totalling 426 items) are clearly Malay, but there are a few items that raise some doubts about their origin, and have resulted in discussions about how and where this

vocabulary was collected. The first person to draw attention to the wordlist was C.C.F.M. Le Roux (1929) in an article on the "Victoria", the name of one of Magellan's ships that survived the voyage around the world. In his article, Le Roux remarks that there is very little interest in Pigafetta's journal amongst Dutch scholars despite the wealth of information on historical, geographical and ethnological fields. He is surprised that the Malay wordlist attached at the end of the journal has not received any scholarly attention (Le Roux 1929:2). Le Roux, an ethnographer, copies the list from Robertson's edition of the Ambrosiana manuscript, provides a contemporary Malay spelling of the entries, and adds a literal Dutch translation of the Italian meanings. Later, C.O. Blagden (1931) gave his opinion on this list, added extra information and explanations about the obscure words, and pointed out that he did not agree with Le Roux's idea that these words originated from Maluku. According to Blagden, the idea of Maluku origin is based only on the fact that the vocabulary follows a description about Tidore, but no linguistic evidence can be found to support this. Blagden proposed the idea that Pigafetta picked up words in various places from different informants, and that this is why the vocabulary is mixed with words from Brunei and the Philippines. All the Malay words have a "common form", implying that although Malay is not the same everywhere, some words were widely used (Blagden 1931).

A reaction from Dutch scholars to Le Roux's article was published some years later. In 1938, J. Gonda discussed Pigafetta's list of words as a "vocabulary of 'Moluccan Malay'", following Le Roux in assuming that the words were collected in the Moluccas. Knowing that there are other Malay records from approximately the same period, namely the two letters of the Sultan of Ternate, he compares the wordlist with these letters and concludes, "because of the different character of these documents, the wordlist and the letters do not enlighten each other very much" (Gonda 1938:105). Looking at loanwords, he notes that he cannot find any local (Moluccan) influence in the list, whereas the presence of Tagalog expressions "seems peculiar" (Gonda 1938:111). Gonda seems to have had some doubts about the suggestion that the wordlist was collected in the Moluccas, but he did not try to give an alternative. He focused on the spelling, comparing it with other sources.

In the same year as Gonda's publication, W. Kern gave his view on Le Roux's article and asked the question: where did Pigafetta collect his Malay words? He submits that it is impossible to find an answer to this question, because Pigafetta gives no information about the place, nor about the person who gave him a particular word (Kern 1938). Kern points out that Le Roux compared the list with "Riau" (Malay), yet he doubts that Pigafetta could have heard Riau Malay during his voyage through the eastern part of Indonesia. However, in his edition of the vocabulary, Le Roux does not mention Riau or Riau Malay at all, although it is obvious that this variety has been the base for his contemporary Malay transcription, a fact he admits in his reaction to Kern (Le Roux 1939). Lastly, Kern also suggests that it is quite possible that Pigafetta heard some Riau Malay before he arrived in Tidore, from Magellan or his Sumatran slave Henrique. Kern follows Blagden in the suggestion that the presence of Tagalog and Brunei words can be explained by the fact that Pigafetta stayed in these places.

Almost twenty years later, in 1960, Alessandro Bausani gave his view on this subject. He wanted to show the contribution of an Italian to the study of Malay, and blamed former authors for not taking the trouble to use the original text of Pigafetta's Malay vocabulary in their study. For his article on Pigafetta's vocabulary, Bausani (1960) used the Italian manuscript preserved in the Ambrosian Library of Milan which Robertson, who had already published a transcription together with an English translation in 1906, dated 1525. In his edition, Bausani corrected some words, making use of corrections suggested by Gonda. Bausani had the impression that Pigafetta had learned Malay "through a real teacher" and that he collected the words from Malay friends and the Malay-speaking slave Henrique. He implies that the words were collected not only in Tidore and that it is impossible to determine either where exactly Pigafetta collected his wordlist or which variety of Malay it reflects, a statement Kern had already made in 1938. Based on Robertson's dating, one can draw the conclusion that Pigafetta's report was not written on the spot, but was composed on the basis of notes taken in the various places he visited. Assuming that the vocabulary was compiled in Europe and that in the course of time Pigafetta mixed up the languages he knew, Bausani explains the presence of Philippino words as misplacings in the Malay words. A few "misplaced" Malay words in the Philippino list have to support his view.

Evaluating the views on Pigafetta's wordlist in the above-mentioned publications, one can conclude that it is hard to consider this wordlist to be an example of "Moluccan" Malay. The idea that Pigafetta's vocabulary was compiled in the Moluccas is based solely on its position in the manuscript, namely, immediately following a description of his stay in Tidore.

1.2.3 Dutch wordlist (1599)

Pigafetta's wordlist indicates a widespread use of Malay throughout the Indonesian archipelago and the Philippines. This use of Malay is also supported by a wordlist compiled by Dutch sailors during their voyage to the Moluccas in 1599. The Dutch arrived in Ternate under the command of Jacob Cornelisz. van Neck and Wybrandt Warwijck. They present a wordlist in their journal to "help those who wished to sail thitherwards, for the Malay language is used throughout whole the East Indies, mainly in the Moluccan islands." The wordlist is trilingual: Dutch-Malay-Javanese and consists of 708 items ordered alphabetically from A to S. A second vocabulary is presented, containing 249 words in Dutch and Malay followed by two short lists labelled "Some Javanese words" and "Moluccan numbers" with respectively 20 and 24 items. There are no details about the exact place where the wordlist was collected or who acted as informant(s); the only information given is that the list was written in Ternate (Commelin 1646 I:43; Keuning 1942:158).

The wordlist gives an impression of sixteenth century spoken Malay as it was perceived (and probably used) by the Dutch. Collins and Schmidt (1992) discuss the phonological, morphological, and syntactic aspects extracted from the wordlist. These aspects show similarities with other Malay varieties in the region, including those of Ambon, Manado, Bacan, and Ternate. This brings the authors to the idea that all these Malay varieties inherited their characteristics from a kind of Malay

similar to that of the wordlist. As they did not find any genitive constructions with (a variant of) *punya* as a linker between the possessor and the possessum, causative constructions with *kasi*, or any Chinese loanwords except for a single one, the authors conclude that this Malay is not related to that of Malacca (Collins and Schmidt 1992:318). Other scholars consider the Malacca Malay variety to be the base for Malay varieties that evolved in trading centres along the coast (Adelaar and Prentice 1996)[3]. It should be noted, however, that the wordlist does contain causative constructions with *beri* 'give' and *buat* 'make', also discussed by the authors. These causative constructions show similarities with other Malay varieties in that verbs meaning "give" and "make" serve to express a causative meaning.

1.2.4 The history of Ternate (1878)

In 1878, P. van der Crab published the *Geschiedenis van Ternate*, a history of Ternate which was originally written by Naidah in both the Ternate language as well as Malay, and probably in Jawi script. Van der Crab, who owned this manuscript, transliterated it into Latin script, and based on the Malay version he made a Dutch translation. The original manuscript is now lost (Van Fraassen 1987 I:10-11). Van der Crab himself was not very pleased with this publication. In his annotations, he complains that it is very hard to make a comprehensive translation, because of the many spelling errors, inaccuracies, and an inconsistent order of events. He considers the text to have no historical value, because events and persons have been mixed up. The Ternate text could be of linguistic interest, he suggests, but he has the impression that if the language were closely studied, the text would show its uselessness due to its inconsistencies in grammar (Van der Crab 1878:489-490). It is remarkable that Van der Crab himself did not edit the text before publication. It shows quite a number of spelling errors not only in the Ternate text (Van Fraassen 1987 I: 10), but also the Malay text, and even Van der Crab's own annotations contain inaccuracies.

The style in which this Malay text is written differs largely from that of the letters discussed by Blagden (1930) although one may assume that court officials have written both texts. The style in the letters resembles so-called "High Malay" or "classical Malay", while Naidah's style reminds one of colloquial Malay as it is spoken in contemporary Ternate. Besides differences in the language competence of the two writers, the different styles may be explained from the purpose of the texts: the letters were directed to a person of high esteem who may have forced the scribe to choose a more "sophisticated" style, while the history of Ternate was written for a Dutch civil servant who was only interested in the story. However, the content of the history is so closely connected to the sultan and his family that a more formal style could be appropriate.[4] Whatever the reasons were to use these different styles in

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[3] This Malay variety has characteristics that also occur in Chinese varieties and are ascribed to the influence of Chinese-speaking traders who used Malay in their dealings with the local people. These characteristics consist of paraphrastic possessive constructions of the shape: possessor + *punya + possession, the use of *orang* 'person' in plural pronouns, and causative constructions with *kasi* 'give' and *biking* 'make'.

[4] A similar style is found in the Hikayat Ternate, a manuscript kept in the library of Leiden University and mentioned in Van Fraassen (1987 I:11). This manuscript is a small booklet

written Malay, it becomes clear that a "spoken" as well as a more "classic" form has been used in Malay writings.

The publications discussed above give an impression of the styles in which spoken and written Malay have been used throughout the centuries. A formal style or register resembling "classical" Malay has been used for administrative and political matters in correspondence with foreign sovereigns. The Dutch wordlist illustrates a "spoken" form of Malay showing phonological and morphological similarities with contemporary spoken Ternate Malay and other Malay varieties. One would expect that the choice for one of these styles would be determined by whether the language is written or spoken. However, the style in which the history of Ternate is written shows that this is not always the case. It is also likely that the status of the receiver of the message determines the choice for a certain style.

Another point that becomes evident from these publications is the way the language of the texts has been evaluated. The lack of linguistic interest in Pigafetta's wordlist, as noted by Le Roux, may reflect either the indifference towards Malay varieties in general, or the preference for first hand information only, or maybe both. Le Roux's critique provoked reactions, mainly concerning the origin of the non-Malay entries in an attempt to answer the question about where Pigafetta collected his wordlist. No attempts were made to extract structural features from this list as Collins and Schmidt did later. Gonda does note differences and similarities in spelling between the various sources, but he attributes these to misinterpretations of the sounds and to the poor methods used in collecting the data. Although he acknowledges the accuracy of some of the sources, he does not use this data to find regularities and to describe the features of these particular varieties of Malay.

1.2.5 Studies on North Moluccan Malay varieties

There are a few publications concerning Malay varieties of the region of Maluku Utara. In 1983, two articles on varieties of Malay spoken in the North Moluccas appeared in a volume on studies on Malay dialects (Collins 1983a). In his article, Voorhoeve describes some aspects of a variety of Malay named North Moluccan Malay (Voorhoeve 1983) in comparison with Standard Indonesian. He shows amongst other things that Standard Indonesian word-final stops are lost in North Moluccan Malay, and that some words in Standard Indonesian with a word-final [m] or [n] appear in North Moluccan Malay with a velar nasal [ŋ]. He notices that North Moluccan Malay does not have productive affixes that correspond to Indonesian productive affixes, since the only productive verbal prefix *baku-* to mark a verb as reciprocal is not found in Standard Indonesian. He also shows that certain North Moluccan Malay verbal phrases with *kase* 'give' and *bikin* 'make' correspond to Standard Indonesian verbs suffixed with *-i* or *-kan* (Voorhoeve 1983:5). The illustrative texts are taken from the written text Hikayat Ternate and from recordings with speakers from the Sahu and Ibu district in Halmahera and with a speaker from West Makian.

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with a Ternate as well as a Malay text, both written in Jawi script.

In his article, Taylor (1983) concentrates on the speakers of the Kao-district. He shows the complex multilingual situation of the village of Wasile and where the use of local languages seems to be disappearing, while the use of North Moluccan Malay is growing. He describes influences of some local languages on North Moluccan Malay such as in deixis and compares morphological structures, amongst others the use of the productive verbal prefix *ba-* with the use of the equivalent verbal prefix *ber-* in Standard Indonesian.

Bowden published an article on the directionals in North Moluccan Malay (Bowden 2005). He describes the directional system as is used in Malay in Ternate and argues that the organization of the directional systems of Austronesian as well as non-Austronesian languages of Maluku Utara have contributed to the system used in this Malay variety.

The current study on Ternate Malay is an addition to these publications on Malay varieties in the Maluku Utara region, and complements descriptions of Malay varieties in general, and particularly in eastern Indonesia. It hopes to provide insight into the structure of the language, as well as material for comparison between Malay varieties. A study on Ternate Malay may be of value for a broader study of (the development of) Malay varieties in the Indonesian archipelago, and more specifically in eastern Indonesia.

1.3 Ternate Malay corpus

During two fieldwork periods conducted between 1994–1995, I collected a number of audio recordings with naturally spoken Ternate Malay conversations and story telling. The recordings were made with an analogue audiocassette recorder and an external microphone. The speakers who were recorded have different backgrounds: they are Christian as well as Muslim, male as well as female, and both old and young. For most of the speakers, Ternate Malay is their first language, although some of the older speakers may have another language as their mother tongue. During most of the recordings I was present, and attempted to intervene as little as possible in conversations. After being in the field for some months I learned the language myself and was able to converse in some variety of Ternate Malay. My familiarity with Ambon Malay and Indonesian may have been useful with respect to acquiring vocabulary, but from the publications on Ternate Malay that I studied during the preparations for fieldwork, as well as in my first contacts with Ternate Malay speakers, it was clear that all these varieties are quite different from each other, and that Ternate Malay has to be regarded as a variety in its own right. During my fieldwork in Ternate, the region of Maluku Utara was part of the province of Maluku, with Ambon as its capital. The two regions have very different historical and cultural backgrounds. Some Ternate people showed a generally reserved attitude towards officials from Ambon and being somehow associated or identified with Ambon proved to be an obstacle than an advantage in my contacts with the community. Only with people of Ambonese descent, and particularly when they would add some Ambonese words, for instance, Ambon Malay pronouns to their variety of Ternate

Malay, would I allow Ambonese Malay features to enter my variety of Ternate Malay. In other circumstances, and particularly in order to be exposed to spontaneous spoken Ternate Malay, I tried to find myself a place within the community, and that meant adopting the local variety of Malay. Since the Ternate Malay speaking community is diverse, it is common to notice particularities in individual speech. During my fieldwork, I managed to master this local variety of Malay to such a degree that I became associated with the North Moluccan region. Sometimes, people thought that I must have spent some period of time outside the region. When I had to go to Ambon for administrative matters, people there associated me with Manado, probably because Manado Malay is more familiar through Manado Malay pop songs, and resembles Ternate Malay, while Ambonese relatives were concerned to notice that my Malay had changed dramatically.

I collected various recordings, including a recording of about 45 minutes with two young men. One of them, from Bacan, tries to elicit short stories from a younger man who was born in Ternate Town, and whose father originates from Bacan while his mother is of Ternate descent. He talks about his family and his experiences when he was in Jakarta.

Another recording was made in Kalumpang, a section in Ternate Town where a number of Christian families lived. These Christian families are of mixed descent with Dutch or other European ancestry, and people from other regions of Maluku Utara, Ambon, and other places in the archipelago. At the time of the fieldwork, there was a slight majority of Christians living in this area.

At most of the recordings I was present myself and sometimes I participated in the conversations. On other occasions when more people were present, I would remain in the background. At other times I would converse while I taking the role of listener and keeping an eye on the recorder.

From the collected recordings, I chose one recording of about three hours as the main source for the examples provided in the descriptions presented here. The speaker was one of my main informants. I found in him the 'ideal' speaker of and informant for Ternate Malay. He had experienced limited exposure to other varieties of Malay and his intuition about the language was spontaneous and unrestricted. The recording consists of a series of short stories and anecdotes. The storyteller is a young man in his early twenties who lives in Salero, an area in the northern part of Ternate Town. His home language is Ternate Malay, but his family is closely related to the sultan's family and considers itself a member of the ethnic Ternate community. Some of the family members have some knowledge of the Ternate language. At the time of fieldwork, the speaker had some passive knowledge of and knew some expressions in the Ternate language. He had completed lower junior high school. He works in construction and assists in the building and the restoration of houses. The recording was made in the house where I stayed in Salero, where the speaker would visit me and talk about all kinds of topics. That evening, he started to tell some stories and my husband who was in Ternate for a short holiday decided to record the session. We tried to restrict ourselves in our reactions, and the recording forms one long monologue.

I transcribed some recordings during fieldwork and after returning from the first fieldtrip in 1994. During a second fieldtrip, I discussed unclear parts of the transcriptions with the speaker and had several elicitation sessions and discussions about various aspects of the language and the language use.

After returning from the field, some of the audio recordings were digitized to wav-formatted files. Some of these files were cut into segments of a 1-8 minutes to keep the size within (for that time) manageable limits.

Some years after joining the Jakarta Field Station of the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology in Leipzig in 2001, I decided to enter the transcriptions into the database that was developed and maintained for the Field Station by Bradley Taylor. The recording submitted there which forms the base for the examples presented here numbers about 5,300 records. Each record consists of one utterance or sentence, written in an orthography used for Indonesian, a broad phonemic transcription as well as an interlinear gloss and a free English translation. The recording has been divided into smaller segments and numbers 57 files with a total length of about 3 hours. These sound files as well as 15 digitized files of recordings made during the fieldtrips with a total length of ± 8.5 hours and about 12 Ternate Malay speakers were also submitted to the database.

Dalan Perangin-angin and Erni Farida Ginting, both working as research assistants in the Jakarta Field Station, and interested in Malay varieties of eastern Indonesia, particularly those of Papua, assisted in entering some of the recordings into the database with an orthographic transcription, an English translation and interlinear glosses. This data together with the sound files has been submitted to the database of the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology with the aim of making them accessible to a larger public. As an example of the data, a few short stories have been extracted from the main recording. The sound files can be found on the CD together with an orthographic transcription in the Indonesian spelling, interlinear glosses, and an English translation. Chapter 8 contains four of these stories.

2 Phonology

This chapter concerns the sound system of Ternate Malay. In § 2.1 the vowels are described and in § 2.2 the consonants, followed by a list of minimal and near-minimal pairs of the vowels and consonants in § 2.3 and § 2.4. The next paragraph, § 2.5, concerns the word stress while in § 2.6 the word structure, and in § 2.7 the syllable structure are discussed.

2.1 Vowels

The vowel system of Ternate Malay consists of five vowel phonemes and five diphthongs The five vowels are:

	Front	Back
High	i	u
Mid	e	o
Low		a

The five diphthongs are /ai/, /ae/, /ao/, /oi/, and /ei/.

/a/ is realized as an open low back unrounded vowel [a] in open and closed syllables.

/abis/	['abis]	'finished'
/ada/	['ada]	'be present'
/gantoŋ/	['gantɔŋ]	'hang'
/ilaŋ/	['ilaŋ]	'lost; disappear'

/e/ can be realized as [e], [ɛ] or [ɪ].
In word-final position /e/ is realized as a close high unrounded front vowel [ɪ].

/bale/	['balɪ]	'turn around; reverse'
/bole/	['bolɪ]	'may; be permitted'
/gate/	['gatɪ]	'hook; cling to s.o./s.t.'
/gode/	['godɪ]	'big (of a person); obese'
/kage/	['kagɪ]	'startled'
/kore/	['korɪ]	'scrape'
/pake/	['pakɪ]	'use'
/paŋge/	['paŋgɪ]	'call'
/pante/	['pantɪ]	'beach'
/polote/	[po'lotɪ]	'explode'

When [ɪ] occurs in final position vowel harmony takes place so that the preceding /e/ whether in closed or open syllables is also realized as [ɪ]. Some examples are the following.

/bebe/	['bɪbɪ]	'duck'
/nene/	['nɪnɪ]	'grandmother'
/pece/	['pɪcɪ]	'mud; sludge'
/pende/	['pɪndɪ]	'short'
/sebe/	['sɪbɪ]	'father'

In closed syllables /e/ is realized as an open mid unrounded front vowel [ɛ], except when an [ɪ] occurs in the following syllable and vowel harmony takes places, for instance in /pende/ which is realized as ['pɪndɪ].

/benteŋ/	['bɛntɛŋ]	'fortress'
/dokter/	['dɔk⁻tɛr]	'doctor; physician'
/kabel/	['kabɛl]	'cable'
/mo'del/	[mo'dɛl]	'same; similar to'
/obeŋ/	['ɔbɛŋ]	'screwdriver'

Before the low variants [ɛ, ɔ] of the midvowels, the preceding /e/ in open syllables is also realized as [ɛ]. Examples are:

/nener/	['nɛnɛr]	'small fish used as fish bait'
/beres/	['bɛrɛs]	'in order'
/mesel/	['mɛsɛl]	'(concrete) floor'
/rekeŋ/	['rɛkɛŋ]	'count'
/leper/	['lɛpɛr]	'spoon'
/ekor/	['ɛkɔr]	'tail'
/peot/	['pɛɔt⁻; 'pɛjɔt⁻]	'dented'

In other non-final open syllables /e/ is realized as a close mid unrounded front vowel [e]:

/hela/	['hela]	'pull; haul'
/kadera/	[ka'dera]	'chair'
/lebar/	['lebar]	'broad; wide; extensive'
/lego/	['lego]	'throw down'
/mera/	['mera]	'red'

A non-phonemic transitional glide [j] may appear when /e/ is followed by a back vowel.

/bagea/	[ba'gea; ba'geja]	'k.o. biscuit; cookie'
/bageaŋ/	[ba'geaŋ; ba'gejaŋ]	'division'
/pakeaŋ/	[pa'keaŋ; pa'kejaŋ]	'clothes'
/peot/	[pɛɔt⁻; pɛ'jɔt⁻]	'dented'

/i/ is realized as a close high unrounded front vowel [i] in open and closed syllables:

/gigi/	['gigi]	'tooth; bite'
/gila/	['gila]	'crazy'
/tiŋgi/	['tiŋgi]	'high'
/siŋga/	['siŋga]	'stop by; visit'
/sopir/	['sopir]	'chauffeur; driver'
/spit/	[spit⁻]	'high speed motorboat'

A non-phonemic transitional glide [j] may appear when /i/ is followed by a back vowel:

/biar/	['biar; 'bijar]	'although'
/dia/	['dia; 'dija]	'he; she; it'
/duriaŋ/	[du'riaŋ; du'rijaŋ]	'durian'
/cioŋ/	['ciɔŋ; 'cijɔŋ]	'kiss; sniff'
/kios/	['kiɔs; 'kijɔs]	'kiosk; stand'
/serius/	[seri'us; 'seri'jus]	'serious'
/tiup/	['tiup⁻; 'tijup⁻]	'blow'

/u/ is realized as a closed high rounded back vowel [u] in open and closed syllables:

/untuŋ/	['untuŋ]	'profit'
/urus/	['urus]	'take care for'
/utu/	['utu]	'complete'
/buku/	['buku]	'book'
/bulu/	['bulu]	'bamboo; feathers'
/gunuŋ/	['gunuŋ]	'mountain'
/hidup/	['hidup⁻]	'live; life'
/busu/	['busu]	'putrid; rotten; bad'
/sambuŋ/	['sambuŋ]	'connect'
/kuɲci/	['kuɲci]	'key; lock'

A non-phonemic transitional glide [w] may appear when /u/ is followed by the low back vowel /a/.

/kua/	['kua; 'kuwa]	'sauce'
/sabua/	[sa'bua; sa'buwa]	'hut, temporary shelter'
/suar/	['suar; 'suwar]	'sweat'
/jual/	['jual; 'juwal]	'sell'
/kuat/	['kuat⁻; 'kuwat⁻]	'strong'
/luar/	['luar; 'luwar]	'outside'

/o/ is realized as an open mid unrounded back vowel [o] in open syllables, except when it is followed by an [ɔ] in the following syllable.

/poloso/	[po'loso]	'squeeze'
/obat/	['obat⁻]	'medicine'
/obeŋ/	['ɔbɛŋ]	'screwdriver'
/oraŋ/	['oraŋ]	'person'

/oto/	['oto]	'car'
/lobaŋ/	['lobaŋ]	'hole'
/model/	[mo'dɛl]	'shape; similar'
/ŋoni/	['ŋoni]	'you (plural)'

When [ɔ] occurs in the final syllable vowel harmony takes place so that the preceding /o/ in open syllables is also realized as [ɔ].

/bokor/	['bɔkɔr]	'bowl'
/bo'loŋ/	['bɔlɔŋ]	'not yet'
/doloŋ/	['dɔlɔŋ]	'deep'
/potoŋ/	['pɔtɔŋ]	'cut (off); slice'
/tofor/	['tɔfɔr]	'shallow'
/jobot/	['jɔbɔt˺]	'swollen'

In closed syllables /o/ is realized as an open mid rounded back [ɔ][5]:

/dokter/	[dɔktɛr]	'doctor'
/ron/	[rɔn]	'around'
/stop/	[stɔp˺]	'stop; halt'
/toŋ/	[tɔŋ]	'barrel'
/aɲcor/	['aɲcɔr]	'shattered, destroyed'
/baŋoŋ/	['baŋɔŋ]	'wake up; get up'
/doŋ/	[dɔŋ]	'they'

A non-phonemic transitional glide [w] may appear when /o/ is followed by the back vowel /a/:

/goa/	['goa; 'gowa]	'cave'
/loas/	['loas; 'lowas]	'spacious; wide'
/roas/	['roas; 'rowas]	'segment'
/loa-loa/	['loaloa; 'lowalowa]	'without accompaniments'

2.1.1 Diphthongs
/ai/ is in open as well as closed syllables realized as [aⁱ].

/tai/	[taⁱ]	'feces'
/mai/	[maⁱ]	'mother'
/rai/	[raⁱ]	'guess'
/pait/	[paⁱt˺]	'bitter'
/mulai/	[mulaⁱ]	'begin'

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[5]In Dutch loanwords, however, /o/ in closed syllable may be realized as [o], for instance /om/ [om] 'uncle' (< Du. *oom* [oːm] 'uncle'); /strom/ [strom] 'electricity' (< Du. *stroom* [stroːm] 'electricity', and /strop/ [strop˺] 'syrup' (< Du. *stroop* [stroːp] 'syrup'). The realization of [o] in these cases may be considered an allophone of /o/, occurring in monosyllabic (loan)words.

/ae/ in open as well as closed syllables is realized as [aᵉ]:

/bae/	[baᵉ]	'good'
/nae/	[naᵉ]	'go up; ascend'
/maŋael/	[maŋaᵉl]	'to fish'
/aer/	[aᵉr]	'water; liquid'
/kaeŋ/	[kaᵉŋ]	'cloth; sarong'
/laeŋ/	[laᵉŋ]	'different'
/maeŋ/	[maᵉŋ]	'play'

The /ao/ in open as well as closed syllables can be realized as [aᵒ, aᵘ, aʷ].

/ɟao/	[ɟaᵒ; ɟaᵘ; ɟaʷ]	'far'
/lao/	[laᵒ; laᵘ; laʷ]	'sea'
/mao/	[maᵒ; maᵘ; maʷ]	'want'
/parao/	[pa'raᵒ; pa'raᵘ; pa'raʷ]	'proa'
/pulao/	['pulaᵒ; 'pulaᵘ; 'pulaʷ]	'island'
/aos/	[aᵒs; aᵘs; aʷs]	'thirsty'
/taoŋ/	[taᵒŋ; taᵘŋ; taʷŋ]	'year'
/daoŋ/	[daᵒŋ; daᵘŋ; daʷŋ]	'leaf'

/oi/ is realized as [oⁱ].

/koi/	[koⁱ]	'bed'
/coi/	[coⁱ]	'steamed'
/doi/	[doⁱ]	'money'

/ei/ is realized as [eⁱ] or [ey] and occurs mainly in words of non-Malay origin.

/sei/	[seⁱ]	'side'	(< Du. *zij(de)*)
/frei/	[freⁱ]	'off'	(< Du. *vrij*)
/surfei/	[surfeⁱ]	'survey'	(< Eng. survey)

2.2 Consonants

Ternate Malay has eighteen consonants and two semivowels.

Place of articulation	Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Voiceless Stop	p	t	c	k	ʔ
Voiced Stop	b	d	ɟ	g	
Nasal	m	n	ɲ	ŋ	
Fricative	f	s			h
Lateral approximant		l			
Trill		r			
Semivowel	w		j		

In this chapter the palatals and the velar nasal are written with IPA symbols. In other chapters the palatal stop [ɟ] is written as "j", the palatal nasal [ɲ] as "ny", the palatal semivowel [j] as "y", while the velar nasal [ŋ] is written as "ng".

2.2.1 Stops

2.2.1.1 *Voiceless stops*
The voiceless stops /p, t, k/ appear in word-initial and medial position. Examples of some voiceless stops in syllable-final position are discussed in § 2.2.1.2.

/p/ is realized as [p] in word-initial and medial position.

/palaka/	[pa'laka]	'upside down'
/pigi/	['pigi]	'go'
/parao/	[pa'rao]	'boat'
/lapar/	['lapar]	'hunger; hungry'
/apaŋ/	['apaŋ]	'k.o. cake'

/t/ is realized as a voiceless alveolar [t] in word-initial and medial position:

/tabako/	[ta'bako]	'tobacco'
/tabal/	[ta'bal]	'thick'
/tako/	['tako]	'afraid; frightened'
/mati/	['mati]	'die; dead'
/putar/	['putar]	'revolve, turn around'
/puti/	['puti]	'white'
/putus/	['putus]	'broken; loose'
/roti/	['roti]	'bread'

/c/ is realized as a voiceless palatal stop [c] and occurs only in initial and medial position. It does not occur word-finally.

/colo/	['colo]	'dip'
/carita/	[ca'rita]	'story; tell a story'
/pece/	['pɪcɪ]	'mud; sludge'
/paɲciŋ/	['paɲciŋ]	'fish; provoke'

/k/ is realized as a voiceless velar stop [k] in word-initial and medial position:

/kabel/	['kabɛl]	'cable'
/kacili/	[ka'cili]	'small; little'
/kadera/	[ka'dera]	'chair'
/ika/	['ika]	'tie, bind'
/makaŋ/	['makaŋ]	'eat'

2.2.1.2 *Neutralization of voice*
There is no voice opposition in stops in word-final position. All stops in this position are realized as voiceless unreleased stops and no examples have been found to show a /b/–/p/ distinction. Some words from Arabic origin may have a voiced stop origi-

nally, but in Malay these sounds are all realized as voiceless unreleased stops. Other words may have been created on the base of words with a voiced stop, but when the position changes, the realization also changes. In the compound *brigade mobil* 'mobile brigade', the /b/ in *mobil* is realized as a voiced bilabial stop [b]. When used in the acronym *brimob* 'mobile brigade', the word-final position of /b/ changes its realization into a voiceless unreleased bilabial stop [p⁻].

/p/ and /b/ are realized as a unreleased voiceless bilabial stop [p⁻]:

/garap/	[ga'rap⁻]	'funny'
/sadap/	[sa'dap⁻]	'tasty, delicious'
/tetap/	[te'tap⁻]	'permanent; fixed'
/lap/	[lap⁻]	'wipe; slap'
/brimob/	[brimɔp⁻]	'mobile brigade'
/waɟib/	[waɟip⁻]	'obligatory'

/t/ and /d/ in final position are realized as a unreleased voiceless alveolar stop [t⁻]. In the word *abadi* 'eternal' the /d/ is realized as a voiced dental stop [d]. In the word *abad* 'century', which comes from the same root, /d/ occurs in word-final position and is realized as a voiceless unreleased stop [t⁻].

/camat/	['camat⁻]	'subdistrict head'
/gawat/	['gawat⁻]	'urgent; critical'
/hebat/	['hebat⁻]	'tremendous, fantastic'
/ketat/	[ke'tat⁻]	'tight; strict; precise'
/abad/	['abat⁻]	'century'

/k/ in syllable-final position is realized as a unreleased voiceless velar stop [k⁻]. There are only a few words with word-final /g/, i.e. *caleg* 'legislative candidate, an acronym for *calon legislative* 'legislative candidate'. The final /g/ is realized as an unreleased voiceless velar stop [k⁻].

/cek/	[cɛk⁻]	'check'
/cok/	[cɔk⁻]	'electrical plug'
/kontak/	['kɔntak⁻]	'socket'
/waktu/	['wak⁻tu]	'time'
/caleg/	['calɛk⁻]	'legislative candidate'

2.2.1.3 *Glottal stop*

The glottal stop [ʔ] has only a marginal function. When a base with an initial vowel is preceded by the prefixes, amongst others, /ba+/, /baku+/, and /ta+/, a glottal stop /ʔ/ appears between the two vowels. The glottal stop also occurs in words consisting of a base ending in a final vowel and followed by a suffix that has an initial vowel. The two examples given here are words adopted from Indonesian: *perbedaan* 'difference' and *keadaan* 'situation'. The word *perbedaan* consists of the base *beda* and the circumfix *per-* + *-an* and *keadaan* consists of the base *ada* and the circumfix *ke-* + *-an*. Note that between the prefix *ke-* and the base *ada* a glottal stop is realized.

/ba+uni/	[ba'ʔuni]	'watch'
/ba+injaŋ/	[ba'ʔiɲjaŋ]	'step on'
/baku+aŋka/	[baku'ʔaŋka]	'lift up together'
/ta+ure/	[ta'ʔurɪ]	'tousled (of hair)'
/per+beda+an/	[perbe'daʔan]⁶	'difference'
/ke+ada+an/	[keʔa'daʔan]	'situation'

A phonemic glottal stop appears occasionally between two identical vowels and between /o/ followed by /a/ and /a/ followed by /e/. It should be noted that these words have a non-Malay origin.

/saʔat/	['saʔat̚]	'moment'
/maʔaf/	[ma'ʔaf]	'pardon; forgive'
/doʔa/	[do'ʔa]	'prayer'
/soʔal/	['soʔal]	'problem; matter'
/daʔera/	[da'ʔera]	'region; district'
/laʔef/	[la'ʔɛf]	'demented; forgetful'

2.2.1.4 *Voiced stops*
The voiced stops /b, d, ɟ, g/ occur only in initial and medial position. Voiced stops in word-final position are discussed in § 2.2.1.2.

/b/ is realized as a voiced bilabial stop [b]:

/baŋka/	['baŋka]	'swollen'
/bodito/	[bo'dito]	'accident; have an accident'
/mabo/	['mabo]	'drunken'
/raba/	['raba]	'grope; touch'

/d/ is realized as a voiced alveolar stop [d]:

/doloŋ/	['dɔlɔŋ]	'deep'
/dusu/	['dusu]	'chase'
/bodo/	['bodo]	'stupid'
/tadi/	['tadi]	'a while ago'

/ɟ/ is realized as a voiced palatal stop [ɟ]:

/ɟaŋ/	[ɟaŋ]	'don't'
/ɟuga/	['ɟuga]	'also'
/ɟual/	['ɟual; 'ɟuwal]	'sell'
/biɟi/	['biɟi]	'seed; kernel'
/laɟu/	['laɟu]	'fast'

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⁶ It seems that in this example the stress falls on the penultimate syllable, while generally affixation does not influence the stress pattern. This may be an indication that this word is not considered to be a multi-morphemic word. Affixation with *per– + –an* is not a productive process in Ternate Malay. Something similar is found in *keadaan* which consists of *ada* and the circumfix *ke– + –an*.

/g/ is realized as voiced velar stop [g], which occurs in initial and medial position:

/gode/	['godɪ]	'big (of a person); obese'
/guraka/	[gu'raka]	'ginger'
/lego/	['lego]	'throw down'
/bagus/	['bagus]	'nice; beautiful'

2.2.2 Fricatives

/f/ is realized as a labio-dental fricative [f], which occurs in initial, medial, and final position:

/fuma/	['fuma]	'stupid'
/foja/	['foja]	'lie'
/fufu/	['fufu]	'to smoke'
/ofu/	['ofu]	'(honey) bee'
/tofor/	['tɔfɔr]	'shallow'
/maʔaf/	[ma'ʔaf]	'pardon; forgive'
/laʔef/	[la'ʔɛf]	'demented; forgetful'

/s/ is realized as a alveolar fricative [s], which occurs in initial, medial and final position:

/soma/	['soma]	'k.o. fishing net'
/sugili/	[su'gili]	'k.o. eel'
/sisa/	['sisa]	'remain'
/pasar/	['pasar]	'market'
/kar'as/	[ka'ras]	'hard; tough'
/lap'as/	[la'pas]	'loose'

/h/ is realized as a glottal fricative [h], which occurs in initial and medial position:

/hariŋaŋ/	[ha'riŋaŋ]	'light, not heavy'
/hoba/	['hoba]	'glimpse'
/haga/	['haga]	'stare at'
/pohoŋ/	['pohoŋ]	'tree'
/gohu/	['gohu]	'k.o. dish'

2.2.3 Nasals

/m/ is realized as a voiced bilabial nasal [m] and occurs in all positions.

/molo/	['molo]	'dive; swim under water'
/milu/	['milu]	'corn'
/simore/	[si'morɪ]	'happy; pleased; glad'
/sama/	['sama]	'same; similar'
/tanam/	['tanam]	'plant'
/siram/	['siram]	'pour'

/n/ is realized as a voiced alveolar nasal [n] and occurs in all positions.

/nener/	['nɛnɛr]	'small fish used as fish bait'
/napas/	['napas]	'breath'
/nana/	['nana]	'pus'

/panada/	[pa'nada]	'rice croquette with fish'
/lawaŋ/	['lawaŋ]	'opponent; oppose'
/taŋaŋ/	['taŋaŋ]	'hand'

In many cases final /m/ or /n/ may be replaced by the velar nasal /ŋ/, resulting in doublets. Some examples in which /m/ and /n/ alternate with /ŋ/ are:

/anam/	['anam]	~	['anaŋ]	'six'
/itam/	['itam]	~	['itaŋ]	'black'
/kirim/	['kirim]	~	['kiriŋ]	'send s.o.'
/kolam/	['kolam]	~	['kolaŋ]	'(swimming) pool'
/macam/	['macam]	~	['macaŋ]	'variety; similar'
/malam/	['malam]	~	['malaŋ]	'night'
/minom/	['minɔm]	~	['minɔŋ]	'drink'
/hariŋan/	[ha'riŋan]	~	[ha'riŋaŋ]	'light, not heavy'
/ɉaŋan/	['ɉaŋan]	~	['ɉaŋaŋ]	'don't'
/nilon/	['nilɔn]	~	['nilɔŋ]	'nylon string for fishing'
/tahan/	['tahan]	~	['tahaŋ]	'resist; hold'
/turun/	['turun]	~	['turuŋ]	'go down'

However, non-Malay words such as words from Dutch and English origin do not have doublets.

/do'rom/	[dɔ'rɔm]	'(oil) drum'
/om/	[om]	'uncle'
/ka'ram/	[ka'ram]	'cramped'
/strom/	[strom]	'electricity'
/ron/	[rɔn]	'around'
/ɉeri'gen/	[ɉɛri'gɛn]	'jerry can'

In a few cases replacing final /m/ or /n/ with /ŋ/ results in a change in meaning. These words do not have doublets.

/ɉam/	[ɉam]	'hour',	but	/ɉaŋ/	[ɉaŋ]	'don't'
/macan/	['macan]	'tiger',	but	/macaŋ/	['macaŋ]	'variety; similar'
/sen/	[sen]	'cent',	but	/sɛŋ/	[sɛŋ]	'zinc'

/ɲ/ is realized as a voiced palatal nasal [ɲ] and occurs in initial and medial position.

/ɲata/	['ɲata]	'clear; obvious; evident'
/ɲawa/	['ɲawa]	'life; soul'
/ɲoɲoke/	[ɲo'ɲokɪ]	'grumble'
/boɲa/	['boɲa]	'lump, swelling'

/ŋ/ is realized voiced velar nasal [ŋ], which occurs in all positions.

/ŋana/	['ŋana]	'you (singular)
/ŋoni/	['ŋoni]	'you
/guraŋo/	[gu'raŋo]	'shark'
/toraŋ/	['toraŋ]	'we'

2.2.4 Lateral approximant

/l/ is realized as a lateral approximant [l] and occurs in initial, medial, and final position.

/lego/	['lego]	'throw down'
/lalar/	['lalar]	'fly'
/gi'li/	[gi'li]	'tickle'
/bantal/	['bantal]	'pillow'
/ta'bal/	[ta'bal]	'thick'

2.2.5 Trill

/r/ is realized as alveolar trill [r] and occurs in initial, medial, and final position.

/rambu/	['rambu]	'hair'
/reno/	['reno]	'gnaw; nibble'
/tarada/	[ta'rada]	'not'
/biru/	['biru]	'blue'
/leper/	['lɛpɛr]	'spoon'
/basar/	[ba'sar]	'large; big'

2.2.6 Semivowels

The semivowel /w/ is realized as [w] and occurs in initial and medial position.

/woka/	['woka]	'k.o. palm tree'
/sawaŋ/	['sawaŋ]	'hurry'

The semivowel /j/ is realized as [j] and occurs in initial and medial position.

/jakis/	['jakis]	'monkey'
/jobot/	['jɔbɔt̚]	'swollen'
/foja/	['foja]	'lie'
/kaju/	['kaju]	'wood'
/mojaŋ/	['mojaŋ]	'great-grandparent'

2.3 Minimal and near minimal pairs of vowels

/i/ – /a/:	/ibu/ 'mother'	/abu/ 'dust; ash'
	/kita/ '1SG'	/kata/ 'word'
	/milu/ 'corn'	/malu/ 'shy; ashamed'
	/kaki/ 'foot, leg'	/kaka/ 'older sibling'
/i/ – /e/:	/ba+kira/ 'to leave'	/ba+kera/ 'treatment after childbirth'
	/pili/ 'sort'	/pele/ 'separate'
	/bibi/ 'form of address'	/bebe/ 'duck'
	/panti/ 'home; asylum'	/pante/ 'beach'

/i/ – /u/: /itu/ 'that' /utu/ 'complete'
/bisa/ 'may; can; poison' /busa/ 'foam; spume'
/lipa/ 'fold; crease' /lupa/ 'forget'
/sisa/ 'remain' /susa/ 'trouble; bother'
/tinju/ 'to box; fight' /tuɲju/ 'show'

/i/ – /o/: /kita/ '1SG' /kota/ 'town; city'
/besi/ 'iron' /beso/ 'tomorrow'
/kali/ 'time' /kalo/ 'if; when'
/tari/ '(traditional) dance' /taro/ 'put'

/e/ – /a/: /mera/ 'red' /mara/ 'angry'
/seka/ 'rub; wipe' /saka/ 'put in'
/cobe/ 'mortar' /coba/ 'try'
/pele/ 'separate; divide off' /pala/ 'nutmeg'
/leper/ 'spoon' /lapar/ 'hunger; hungry'

/e/ – /o/: /deŋ/ 'and; with' /doŋ/ 'they'
/feto/ 'grumble' /foto/ 'photo'
/seno/ 'nervous' /sono/ 'sleep'
/tela/ 'brick' /tola/ 'push'
/cek/ 'check' /cok/ 'electrical plug'
/renda/ 'lace' /ronda/ 'make a tour/trip'

/e/ – /u/: /seka/ 'rub; wipe' /suka/ 'be fond of; enjoy'
/tete/ 'grandfather' /tetu/ 'peck'
/sebe/ 'father' /subu/ 'dawn; daybreak'
/tetu/ 'peck' /tutu/ 'shut; cover up/over'

/a/ – /u/: /arus/ 'stream' /urus/ 'take care for'
/karuŋ/ 'sack' /kuruŋ/ 'cage; imprison'
/malu/ 'shy; ashamed' /mulu/ 'mouth'
/mara/ 'angry' /mura/ 'cheap'
/tasa/ 'bald' /tusa/ 'cat'
/kaka/ 'older sibling' /kuku/ 'nail'
/rampa–rampa/ 'seasoning' /rumpu–rumpu/ 'litter'

/a/ – /o/: /araŋ/ 'coal' /oraŋ/ 'person'
/bakar/ 'burn; bake' /bokor/ 'bowl; wash basin'
/pas/ 'exact; punctual' /pos/ 'post'
/taŋka/ 'catch' /toŋka/ 'pole; support'
/tano/ 'glance; glimpse' /tono/ 'soak'
/tana/ 'land' /tono/ 'soak'

/u/ – /o/	/utu/ 'complete'	/oto/ 'car'
	/budo/ 'albino'	/bodo/ 'stupid'
	/tutu/ 'shut; cover up/over'	/totu/ 'great-grandparent'
	/mulu/ 'mouth'	/molo/ 'dive'
	/susu/ 'milk; breast'	/soso/ 'penetrate'

2.4 Minimal and near-minimal pairs of consonants

/p/ – /t/:	/pa'laŋ/ 'slow'	/ta'laŋ/ 'swallow'
	/pas/ 'exact; punctual'	/tas/ 'bag'
	/papa/ 'father'	/pata/ 'broken'
	/sapu/ 'broom; sweep'	/satu/ 'one'
	/ga'rap/ 'funny'	/ba'rat/ 'heavy'
	/te'tap/ 'permanent'	/ke'tat/ 'tight; strict'

/p/ – /k/:	/pa/ 'to, for'	/ka/ 'to'
	/pala/ 'nutmeg'	/kala/ 'defeated'
	/papa/ 'father'	/paka/ 'slap'
	/la'pas/ 'free; loose'	/la'kas/ 'fast'
	/lupa/ 'forget'	/luka/ 'wound'

/p/ – /b/:	/peda/ 'machete'	/beda/ 'difference'
	/pisa/ 'separate'	/bisa/ 'may; can; poison'
	/pulu/ 'ten'	/bulu/ 'bamboo; feathers'
	/apa/ 'what'	/aba/ 'father'
	/rupa/ 'form; shape'	/ruba/ 'change'
	/sompoŋ/ 'carry on shoulder'	/somboŋ/ 'arrogant'
	/tampa/ 'place'	/tamba/ 'add'

/t/ – /k/:	/tali/ 'rope'	/kali/ 'river; time'
	/toŋ/ 'barrel'	/koŋ/ 'then'
	/tore/ 'crispy'	/kore/ 'scrape'
	/tua/ 'old'	/kua/ 'sauce'
	/buta/ 'blind'	/buka/ 'open'
	/kata/ 'word'	/kaka/ 'older sibling'
	/pata/ 'broken'	/paka/ 'slap'
	/puti/ 'white'	/puki/ 'vulva'
	/sate/ 'satay'	/sake/ 'ill'
	/cet/ 'paint'	/cek/ 'check'
	/spit/ 'high-speed motorboat'	/spik/ 'speak (foreign language)'

/t/ – /d/:	/(ana) tiri/ 'step(child)'	/diri/ 'self'
	/tola/ 'push'	/dola/ 'chase'
	/tusu/ 'stab; sting'	/dusu/ 'chase'

/t/ – /c/:   /tamat/ 'graduate'   /camat/ 'subdistrict head'
                  /tamu/ 'guest'   /camu/ 'chew'
                  /kata/ 'word'   /kaca/ 'glass; mirror'
                  /mataŋ/ 'cooked'   /macaŋ/ 'like; similar'
                  /pete/ 'pick'   /pece/ 'mud; sludge'

/k/ – /g/:   /kawat/ 'wire'   /gawat/ 'urgent; critical'
                  /kaja/ 'rich, similar'   /gaja/ 'style'
                  /kaka/ 'older sibling'   /gaga/ 'strong; beautiful'
                  /baŋka/ 'swollen'   /baŋga/ 'proud'
                  /taŋka/ 'catch'   /taŋga/ 'ladder; staircase'

/b/ – /d/:   /bapa/ 'father; mister'   /dapa/ 'get'
                  /bara/ 'coal; ember'   /dara/ 'blood; land'
                  /beso/ 'tomorrow'   /deso/ 'snare; trap'
                  /buka/ 'open'   /duka/ 'sorrow'
                  /buku/ 'book'   /duku/ 'k.o. fruit'
                  /bulu/ 'bamboo; body hair'   /dulu/ 'before; past'
                  /busu/ 'putrid; rotten; bad'   /dusu/ 'chase'
                  /sa'bab/ 'because'   /sa'dap/ 'tasty, delicious'
                  /suba/ 'greet respectfully'   /suda/ 'already'

/b/ – /g/:   /baraŋ/ 'thing, material'   /garaŋ/ 'salt'
                  /baru/ 'new'   /garu/ 'scratch'
                  /bibi/ 'form of address'   /gigi/ 'tooth; bite'
                  /gaba/ 'midrib of sago leaf'   /gaga/ 'stylish; strong'

/m/ – /n/:   /mana/ 'where'   /nana/ 'pus'
                  /masi/ 'still; yet'   /nasi/ 'cooked rice'
                  /sama/ 'same; similar'   /sana/ 'there'

/m/ – /ŋ/:   /mana/ 'where'   /ŋana/ 'you (singular)'
                  /ɟam/ 'hour'   /ɟaŋ/ 'don't'

/m/ – /ɲ/:   /mata/ 'eye'   /ɲata/ 'clear; obvious

/n/ – /ŋ/:   /nana/ 'pus'   /ŋana/ 'you (singular)'
                  /macan/ 'tiger'   /macaŋ/ 'variety; similar'
                  /sen/ 'cent'   /seŋ/ 'zinc'

/n/ – /ɲ/:   /tana/ 'land'   /taɲa/ 'ask'

/ŋ/ – /ɲ/:   /teŋa/ 'middle'   /taɲa/ 'ask'

2.5 Word stress

Stress in Ternate Malay generally falls on the penultimate syllable, but there are a number of polysyllabic words where the stress falls on the final syllable.

/bisa/	['bisa]	'may; can; poison'
/gonofu/	[go'nofu]	'coir, dried coconut fibres'
/gunuŋ/	['gunuŋ]	'mountain'
/kita/	['kita]	'1SG'
/tarada/	[ta'rada]	'not'
/totofore/	[toto'forɪ]	'shiver'

In a number of cases stress is placed on the final syllable.[7] Some examples are given here.

/ba'naŋ/	[ba'naŋ]	'thread'
/bo'loŋ/	[bɔ'lɔŋ]	'not yet'
/ca'pat/	[ca'pat⁻]	'fast'
/gi'li/	[gi'li]	'tickle'
/ka'ras/	[ka'ras]	'hard; tough'
/ke'tat/	[ke'tat⁻]	'tight; strict; precise'
/la'kas/	[la'kas]	'fast'
/la'la/	[la'la]	'tired'
/pa'laŋ/	[pa'laŋ]	'slow'
/sa'dap/	[sa'dap⁻]	'tasty; delicious'
/ta'bal/	[ta'bal]	'thick'
/tam'bus/	[tam'bus]	'get through'

In some cases the position of stress is meaning distinguishing:

/'aŋka/	['ʔaŋka] 'lift up'	/aŋ'ka/	[ʔaŋ'ka]	'k.o. cake'
/ba'gara/	[ba'gara] 'tease s.o.'	/baga'ra/	[baga'ra]	'move'
/'barat/	['barat⁻] 'west'	/ba'rat/	[ba'rat⁻]	'heavy'
/'kiriŋ/	['kiriŋ] 'send'	/ki'riŋ/	[ki'riŋ]	'dry'
/'pasaŋ/	['pasaŋ] 'turn on'	/pa'saŋ/	[pa'saŋ]	'order'
/'boloŋ/	['bɔlɔŋ] 'hole'	/bo'loŋ/	[bɔ'lɔŋ]	'not yet'

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[7] This could historically be explained by the fact that these words are related to words in other Malay varieties which have a schwa in the penultimate syllable. In these words, stress falls on the following (final) syllable, and Ternate Malay, which does not have a schwa, seems to have adopted this stress pattern. However, there are exceptions, all but one with a closed penultimate syllable ending nasal, where in Ternate Malay the words have penultimate stress for instance /'manta/ 'raw, unripe'; /'tampa/ 'place'; /'lombo/ 'soft, weak'; /'konto/ 'fart'; /'baŋka/ ['baŋka] 'swollen'; /'anam/ ['anam] 'six'; /'ampa/ ['ampa] 'four'. In words from Arabic (which also occur in other Malay varieties) and Dutch origin, stress may also fall on the final syllable, for instance /du'ɲa/ [du'ɲa] 'world' (Ml. *dunia*); i'blis [i'blis] 'devil' (Ml. *iblis*); /do'ʔa/ [do'ʔa] 'prayer' (Ml. *doa*); /ma'ʔaf/ [ma'ʔaf] 'pardon; forgive' (Ml. *maaf*); /la'ʔef/ [la'ʔɛf] 'demented; forgetful' (Ml. *laif* 'weak'); /ga'rap/ [ga'rap⁻] 'funny' (< Du. *grap* 'joke'); /ka'ram/ [ka'ram] 'cramped' (< Du. *kramp* 'cramp'), /mo'del/ [mo'dɛl] 'same; similar' (< Du. *model* 'type').

In multi-morphemic words containing a prefix word stress remains on the stressed syllable of the base. When the base *cet* 'paint' is prefixed with *ba-*, the stress remains on the last syllable. A similar phenomenon happens when *gara* 'move' which has final stress is prefixed with *ba-*. Prefixation with *pang-* and *ba-* are productive morphological processes in Ternate Malay.

/ba-cet/	[baˈcɛt⁻]	'paint'
/ba-ron/	[baˈrɔn]	'go around'
/paŋ-gaˈrap/	[paŋgaˈrap⁻]	'clown; funny person'
/ba-gaˈra/	[bagaˈra]	'move'

Stress will only be indicated when it does not fall on the penultimate syllable.

2.6 Syllable structure

The syllable structure of Ternate Malay is (C)(C)(C)V(C)(C)(C).

Syllables with an empty onset may occur in all positions of the word. Mono-syllabic words without an onset are *es* 'ice' and *om* 'uncle'. The first syllable of *ini* 'this', *uru* 'massage', and *ofu* '(honey) bee' are syllables with an empty onset. Syllables with an empty onset are also found in the last syllable of *goa* 'cave', *kuat* 'strong', and *hiu* 'shark'.

/es/	'ice'
/om/	'uncle'
/a-sam/	'sour'
/i-ni/	'this'
/u-ru/	'massage'
/o-fu/	'(honey) bee'
/go-a/	'cave'
/ku-at/	'strong'
/hi-u/	'shark'

All consonants occur in the onset of a syllable. Examples are the onset of the first syllable of each word.

p	/pa-ku/	'nail'
t	/ta-ŋan	'hand'
c	/ca-lon/	'candidate'
k	/ku-da/	'horse'
b	/bu-ta/	'blind'
d	/da-ging/	'meat'
ɟ	/ɟi-wa/	'soul'
g	/ga-ris/	'line'
m	/mu-ka/	'face, front'
n	/ne-ne/	'grandmother'
ŋ	/ŋa-na/	'2 SG'
ɲ	/ɲa-mu/	'mosquito'

f	/fu-ma/		'stupid'
s	/sapu/		'broom'
h	/har-ga/		'price'
r	/ra-ɟin/		'diligent'
l	/la-gu/		'song'
w	/wa-ruŋ/		'stall'
j	/ja-kis/		'monkey'

A consonant sequence at the onset is limited to not more than three consonants. The third consonant can only be either a lateral approximant /l/ or a trill /r/. Consonant sequences at the beginning of words may be the result of a process in which the number of syllables in words containing two or more syllables is reduced (see below). Only consonant clusters consisting of voiced obstruents followed by a lateral approximant /l/ or a trill /r/ may occur in the onset. No examples of consonant sequences consisting of nasals together with another consonant in the onset of a syllable have been found. Consonant clusters in the onset of a syllable in Ternate Malay consist of an obstruent [– sonorant] followed by a sound which is [+ sonorant]. Plosives cannot be followed by a nasal.

pl	/pla-fon/		'ceiling'
	/plaŋ-plaŋ/		'slowly'
pr	/pren-ta/		'command'
pj	/pja-ra/		'bring up'
tr	/traŋ/		'bright'
tl	/tla-lu/		'very'
cl	/cla-na/		'trousers'
cr	/cri-ta/		'story'
kr	/kri-bo/		'curly hair'
bl	/bla-ŋaŋ/		'wok'
br	/bra-pa/		'how much'
bj	/bja-sa/		'common'
bw	/bwa-ja/		'crocodile'
gl	/glap/		'dark'
gr	/gropa/		'grouper'
fl	/fluŋ-ku/		'fist'
sr	/sri-ka-ja/		'k.o. fruit'
sl	/slalu/		'always'
sm	/smu-a/		'all'
sw	/swa-ra/		'voice'

The fricative /s/ does not only occur in sequences with sonorants, but may also occur in sequences with voiceless plosives.

st	/ste-ŋa/	[steŋa]	'half'
sp	/spaŋ-gal/	[spaŋgal]	'part'
sk	/ska-kar/	[skakar]	'stingy'

In words of Dutch origin, the a consonant sequence of the three consonants /str/ may occur in the onset, like in *strom* 'electricity' (< Du. *stroom*). Three other examples are:

str	/strep/	[strep˺]	'stripe'	(< Du. *streep*)
	/stri-ka/	[strika]	'(flat) iron'	(< Du. *strijken*)
	/strop/	[strop˺]	'syrup'	(< Du. *stroop*)

All the voiceless consonants (sonorants and voiceless obstruents) may occur in the coda of a syllable. The /c/, /ɟ/, and /h/ do not occur in the coda of a syllable. The [h] only incidentally occurs in the coda of a syllable in words such as *ahtret* [ahtrɛt˺] 'move backwards' and *ahli* [ah'li] 'expert', which are both non-Malay words originated from Dutch and Arabic respectively. The following consonants may occur in the coda.

/p/	/sa-dap/	'delicious'
/t/	/de-kat/	'close'
/k/	/tem-bak/	'shoot
/m/	/a-yam/	'chicken'
/n/	/a-man/	'secure'
/ŋ/	/o-raŋ/	'person'
/ɲ/	/kiɲ-ciŋ/	'urinate'
/f/	/ma-af/	'pardon; forgive'
/s/	/ba-gus/	'beautiful'
/r/	/ba-sar/	'big'
/l/	/ma-hal/	'expensive'

Consonant sequences in the coda do not occur, except for a few examples with two consonants in the coda, and a single example of a word with three consonants in the coda. The examples contain /ks/ and /rps/ in the coda and have a non-Malay origin.

/ks/	/teks/	'text'	(< Du. *tekst*)
	/kom-pleks/	'(housing) complex'	(< Du. *complex*)
/rps/	/korps/	'corps'	(< Du. *corps*)

Consonant sequences in medial position consist generally of a plosive preceded by a homorganic nasal: /mp/, /mb/, /nt/, /nd/, /ɲc/, /ɲɟ/, /ŋk/, /ŋg/. No examples have been found of consonant sequences with nasals /NC/ in the onset; the syllable boundary in these words falls between the two consonants. Some examples are:

/mp/	/tam-pa/	'place'
/mb/	/gam-bar/	'picture'
/nt/	/kin-tal/	'lot'
/nd/	/din-ding/	'wall'
/ɲc/	/kuɲ-ci/	'lock'
/ɲɟ/	/jaɲ-ɟi/	'promise'
/ŋk/	/liŋ-kar/	'circle'
/ŋg/	/piŋ-gir/	'side'

Other consonant sequences in medial position are less common and restricted to words of non-Malay origin, for example from Arabic (Ar.), Chinese (Chin.), Sanskrit (Skt.), Portuguese (Port.) or Dutch (Du.). Some examples are:

/ps/	/nap-su/	[nap⁻su]	'desire' (Ar.)
/ts/	/fet-sin/	[fɛtsin]	'MSG, monosodium glutamate' (Chin.)
/tr/	/pu-tri/	[putɾi]	'princess' (Skt.)
/kt/	/wak-tu/	[wak⁻tu]	'time' (Ar.)
/ks/	/sik-sa/	[sik⁻sa]	'torture' (Skt.)
/bt/	/sab-tu/	[sap⁻tu]	'Saturday' (Ar.)
/gr/	/ma-grib/	[ma'grip⁻]	'sunset' (Ar.)
/lt/	/sul-tan/	[sultan]	'sultan' (Ar.)
/ld/	/sol-da-do/	[sɔldado]	'soldier' (Port.)
/rp/	/kar-pus/	[kar'pus]	'hood' (Port./Du.)
/rt/	/kar-tas/	[kar'tas]	'paper' (Ar.)
/rs/	/per-sen/	[pɛr'sɛn]	'percentage' (Du.)
/rl/	/per-lu/	[pɛr'lu]	'necessary' (Ar.)
/sɟ/	/mis-ɟid/	[mis'ɟit⁻]	'mosque' (Ar.)

The prefix *kas-* adds a causative meaning aspect to the verb it is attached to. When the base begins with a vowel, a glottal stop [ʔ] precedes the base and result in a /sʔ/ sequence.

/u/	kas– uru 'massage'	[kasʔuru]
/i/	kas– iŋa 'remember	[kasʔiŋa]
/o/	kas– ofor 'pass to'	[kasʔɔfɔr]
/a/	kas– aŋka 'lift'	[kasʔaŋka]
/e/	kas– erat 'tight'	[kasʔerat⁻]

When the base begins with a consonant, the prefixation with *kas*– results in the following consonant sequences.

/sp/	kas– pulaŋ 'go home'	[kaspulaŋ]
/sb/	kas– bafoya 'lie'	[kasbafoya]
/st/	kas– tunɟuŋ 'point at'	[kastuɲjuŋ]
/sd/	kas– deŋar 'hear'	[kasdeŋar]
/sk/	kas– kaluar 'go out'	[kaskaluwar]
/sg/	kas– gara 'tease'	[kasgara]
/sc/	kas– cebo 'clean oneself'	[kascebo]
/sɟ/	kas– ɟatoŋ 'fall'	[kasɟatoŋ]
/sf/	kas– fufu 'to smoke'	[kasfufu]
/ss/	kas– suru 'order'	[kasuru]
/sl/	kas– lari 'run'	[kaslari]
/sr/	kas– rubu 'collapse'	[kasrubu]
/sm/	kas– masoŋ 'enter'	[kasmasɔŋ]
/sn/	kas– nae 'go up'	[kasnae]

Some other lexical items that contain a consonant sequence are those with a fossil-ized prefix *bar-*. This process of prefixation is not productive in Ternate Malay. Two examples are given here:

/rm/	bar– + maeŋ 'play'	[ba**rm**aeŋ]
/rd/	bar– + dosa 'sin'	[ba**rd**osa]

Only a few examples are found with consonant sequences with three consonants in word-medial position. These words have a non-Malay origin. The word *kontrak* 'contract' is originally from Dutch, while *mantri* 'medical assistant' and *istri* 'wife' have their origins in Sanskrit.

/ntr/	/kontrak/	'contract' (Du.)
	/mantri/	'medical assistant' (Skt.)
/str/	/istri/	'wife' (Skt.)

2.7 Word structure

The smallest structure of a content word found in Ternate Malay is a monosyllabic word with a VC structure. These are *es* 'ice' and *om* 'uncle', two words originally from Dutch and adopted into the language (and other Malay varieties in the region). These words could thus be ignored and one could state that the smallest structure of a native content word of Ternate Malay is: CVCV. The words have most commonly a trochaic metrical foot.

/ma-ta/	'eye'
/ki-ta/	'1SG'
/to-re/	'crispy'
/bu-lu/	'bamboo'

There are a number of words that only consists of one syllable, CV(C). These words are mainly function words and consist of, amongst others, prepositions (/di/, /pa/, /ka/), conjunctions (/la/, /deŋ/, /koŋ/), shortened pronouns (/de/, /doŋ/, /toŋ/) and epi-thets (/ci/, /ya/). These and some other examples are the following:

/ci/	epithet for female person
/de/	'3SG' (short form of *dia* '3SG')
/deŋ/	'with, and'
/di/	'in, at'
/doŋ/	'3PL' (short form of third person *dorang* 'they')
/ka/	'to'
/koŋ/	'and then'
/la/	'and then'
/mu/	'want' (short form of *mau* 'want')
/ni/	'this' (short form of *ini* 'this')
/pa/	'to'
/pi/	'go' (short form of *pigi* 'go')
/su/	'COMP' (short form of *sudah* 'COMP')

/toŋ/	'1PL' (short form of first person *torang* 'we')
/tu/	'that' (short form of *itu* 'that')
/ja/	epithet for older woman (short for *yaya* 'mother')

Other monosyllabic words may have the following shapes:

VVC	/aos/	[ʔaᵒs]	'thirsty'
	/aer/	[ʔaᵉr]	'water'

CVV	/bae/	[baᵉ]	'good'
	/tao/	[taᵒ]	'know'
	/lao/	[laᵒ]	'sea'

CVC	/kos/	[kos]	'T-shirt'
	/cap/	[cap⁻]	'seal'
	/cet/	[cet⁻]	'paint'

CVCC	/teks/	[tɛks]	'text'

CCCVC	/strep/	[strep⁻]	'stripe'
	/strom/	[strom]	'electricity'
	/strop/	[strop⁻]	'syrup'

Words of two syllables occur in various shapes:

V-CV	/ana/	[ʔana]	'child'
	/itu/	[ʔitu]	'that'
	/oto/	[ʔoto]	'car'

V-CVC	/ular/	[ʔular]	'snake'
	/umur/	[ʔumur]	'age'
	/ikaŋ/	[ʔikaŋ]	'fish'

VC-CV	/aŋka/	[ʔaŋka]	'lift up'
	/ampa/	[ʔampa]	'four'

VC-CVC	/untuŋ/	[ʔuntuŋ]	'profit'
	/aɲcor/	[ʔaɲcɔr]	'destroyed'
	/ember/	[ʔɛmbɛr]	'bucket'

CV-V	/tua/	[tuwa]	'old'
	/goa/	[gowa]	'cave'
	/hiu/	[hiju]	'shark'

CV-VC	/kuat/	[kuwat⁻]	'strong'
	/niat/	[nijat⁻]	'intention'
	/loas/	[lowas]	'wide'

CV-CV	/kata/	[kata]	'word'
	/tiga/	[tiga]	'three'
	/muka/	[muka]	'face; front'

CV-CVC	/bokor/	[bɔkɔr]	'bowl'
	/taŋaŋ/	[taŋaŋ]	'hand, arm'
	/putus/	[putus]	'break'

CV-CCV	/putri/	[putri]	'princess'

CCCV-CV	/strika/	[strika]	'(flat) iron'

CVC-CV	/baŋka/	[baŋka]	'swollen'
	/pintu/	[pintu]	'door'
	/lombo/	[lɔmbɔ]	'soft'

CVC-CVC	/boŋkar/	[boŋkar]	'take apart'
	/buŋkus/	[buŋkus]	'pack'
	/dindiŋ/	[dindiŋ]	'wall'
	/guntiŋ/	[guntiŋ]	'scissors'

CVC-CCV	/mantri/	[mantri]	'medical assistant'

Words of three syllables also occur in various shapes:

V-CCV-CV	/istana/	[ʔistana]	'palace'
	/istila/	[ʔistila]	'term'
	/astaga/	[ʔastaga]	'gosh'

V-CV-CVC	/alamat/	[ʔalamat⁻]	'address'

VC-CV-CV	/antara/	[ʔantara]	'between'
	/antero/	[ʔantero]	'entire'
	/umpama/	[ʔumpama]	'example'

CV-CV-CV	/sadiki/	[sadiki]	'a little'
	/guraka/	[guraka]	'ginger'
	/bagini/	[bagini]	'like this'
	/bicara/	[bicara]	'talk'

CV-CV-VC	/duriaŋ/	[durijaŋ]	'k.o. fruit'
	/tabuaŋ/	[tabuwaŋ]	'thrown away'
	/pakeaŋ/	[pakejaŋ]	'clothes'

CV-CV-CVC	/balakaŋ/	[balakaŋ]	'back, behind'
	/hawatir/	[hawatir]	'worry'

	/ɟerigen/	[ɟerigɛn]	'jerry can'
	/kerikil/	[kerikil]	'gravel'
CV-V-CV	/kiapa/	[kijapa]	'why'
	/buaya/	[buwaja]	'crocodile'
	/piara/	[pijara]	'bring up'
	/puasa/	[puwasa]	'fasting'
CV-V-CVC	/kiamat/	[kijamat⁻]	'disaster'
CV-VC-CV	/suaŋgi/	[suwaŋgi]	'nocturnal spirit'
	/taʔaŋka/	[taʔaŋka]	'lifted up'
CV-CVC-CV	/parenta/	[parɛnta]	'command'
	/petiɲɟu/	[petiɲɟu]	'boxer'
	/taluɲɟu/	[taluɲɟu]	'index finger'
CVC-CV-CV	/cemburu/	[cemburu]	'jealous'
	/gargaɟi/	[gargaɟi]	'saw'
	/ɟandela/	[ɟandela]	'window'
	/sambiki/	[sambiki]	'pumpkin'

A few examples of quadrisyllabic words are:

V-CV-CV-CV	/apalagi/	[ʔapalagi]	'moreover'
	/ekonomi/	[ʔekonomi]	'economy'
CV-CV-CV-CV	/halifuru/	[halifuru]	'unsophisticated'
	/bagimana/	[bagimana]	'how'
	/parabola/	[parabola]	'dish antenna'
CV- CV-VC-CV	/keluarga/	[keluwarga]	'family'

2.7.1 Vowel deletion

It is not uncommon for words of more than two syllables to be reduced and become two syllabic words. Only when the onset of the second syllable has a liquid, may the vowel of the first syllable be omitted, resulting in a consonant sequence in the onset of the first syllable of the word. This only occurs with an unstressed syllable, otherwise the vowel cannot be deleted. The word *bólong* 'perforate' cannot become *blong* or *gáris* 'line' cannot become *gris*. The resulting consonant sequences can only consist of a stop or a fricative followed by a lateral /l/ or /r/. No examples have been found of consonant sequences of a voiced alveolar stop /d/ and a voiced palatal stop /ɟ/ followed by a liquid. Some examples are:

bl	balákaŋ	>	blakaŋ	'back, behind'
	bolóŋ	>	bloŋ	'not yet'
tl	talapás	>	tlapas	'loose'

tr	turús	>	trus	'continue'
kl	kalúar	>	kluar	'go out'
gr	gorópa	>	gropa	'grouper'

As is described above, when /u/ is followed by /a/, a transitional glide [w] may occur between the two vowels (see § 2.1). When in three-syllabic words /u/ is followed by a stressed vowel the glide may occur while the /u/ is omitted (the only examples found are with a stressed /a/):

/suaŋgi/	[su'waŋgi]	>	['swaŋgi]	'nocturnal spirit'
/suara/	[su'wara]	>	['swara]	'voice'
/buaya/	[bu'waja]	>	['bwaja]	'crocodile'

A similar process is noted when /i/ is followed by an /a/. When in three-syllabic words /u/ is followed by a stressed vowel the glide occurs while the /i/ is omitted (the only examples found are with a stressed /a/).

/biasa/	[bi'jasa]	>	['bjasa]	'common; accustomed'
/kiamat/	[ki'jamat⁻]	>	['kjamat⁻]	'disaster; misfortune'
/kiapa/	[ki'japa]	>	['kjapa]	'why; what's the matter'
/piara/	[pi'jara]	>	['pjara]	'bring up; raise; look after'

2.7.2 Assimilation

Consonant sequences in medial position may consist of a nasal followed by a plosive consonant. The nasal in these sequences are homorganic to the following plosive. A few examples of words containing such consonant sequences are:

/mp/	/lempeŋ/	[lɛ**mp**ɛŋ]	'slab'
/mb/	/pombo/	[pɔ**mb**o]	'pigeon'
/nt/	/panta/	[pa**nt**a]	'buttocks'
/nd/	/tanda/	[ta**nd**a]	'sign'
/nc/	/ancor/	[ʔa**ɲc**ɔr]	'destroyed'
/nɟ/	/panɟang/	[pa**ɲɟ**aŋ]	'long'
/ŋk/	/baŋka/	[ba**ŋk**a]	'swollen'
/ŋg/	/maŋga/	[ma**ŋg**a]	'mango'

A process of assimilation occurs when new words are formed by the prefixation of /paŋ/ to a base. When the base begins with an initial plosive /b/, /p/, /d/, /t/, /ɟ/, /c/, /g/ or /k/ the nasal of the prefix /paŋ/ assimilates to the following stop and becomes a nasal homorganic to the following consonant.

With bases beginning with /b/ or /p/ the prefix is realized as [pam]. With bases beginning with /d/ or /t/, the prefix is realized as [pan], while the prefix is realized as [paɲ] when the base begins with /c/ or /ɟ/. Finally, when a base starts with /g/ or /k/ the prefix is realized as [paŋ].

/b/, /p/	/paŋ-/ → [pam-]
/d/, /t/	/paŋ-/ → [pan-]
/ɟ/, /c/	/paŋ-/ → [paɲ-]
/g/, /k/	/paŋ-/ → [paŋ-]

A few examples of this process are the following. The result of prefixation of the word *pele* 'screen off' with *paŋ-* is *pampele* [pampele] 'screen'. When *bodo* 'foolish' is prefixed with *paŋ-*, it becomes *pambodo* [pambodo] 'fool', while a word beginning with /d/ such as *diam* 'quiet' results in *pandiam* [pandiam] 'silent person' when it is prefixed with *paŋ-*. Note that this word could also be realized as [pandiaŋ], because in some words the final /m/ or /n/ may become a velar nasal /ŋ/.

When the base starts with /c/ or /ɟ/ the prefix *paN-* is realized as [paɲ]. Examples are *pancuri* [paɲcuri] 'thief' of which the base is *curi* 'steal' and *panjaga* [paɲɟaga] 'guard' of which the base is *jaga* 'guard'. The velar nasal /ŋ/ of the prefix *paŋ-* does not undergo any changes when it is prefixed to a base beginning with /k/ or /g/, because it is already homorganic to these two consonants. When *kotor* 'dirty' is prefixed with *paŋ-* the result is *pangkotor* [paŋkɔtɔr] 'dirty person' and when *garap* 'funny' is prefixed with *paŋ-*, the result is *panggarap* [paŋgaˈrap⁻] 'comic'.

/pele/	'screen off'	/paŋpele/	[pampele]	'screen'
/bodo/	'stupid'	/paŋbodo/	[pambodo]	'fool'
/terek/	'tease'	/paŋterek/	[pantɛrɛk⁻]	'teaser'
/diam/	'quiet'	/paŋdiam/	[pandijam]	'silent person'
/kotor/	'dirty'	/paŋkotor/	[paŋkɔtɔr]	'dirty person'
/garap/	'funny'	/paŋgaˈrap/	[paŋgarap⁻]	'comic'
/curi/	'steal'	/paɲcuri/	[paɲcuri]	'thief'
/ɟaga/	'guard'	/paɲɟaga/	[paɲɟaga]	'guard'

When prefix *paŋ-* is attached to a base that begins with a nasal, the nasal of the prefix is dropped, while only the nasal of the base remains. No suitable example with /ŋ/ could be found, but the assumption is that it behaves similarly to the other bases that start with a nasal.

/m/	paŋ- madai	/pamadai/	[pamadaⁱ]	'flirter'
/n/	paŋ- napsu	/panapsu/	[panapsu]	'person with strong desire'
/ɲ/	paŋ- paɲoɲoke	/paɲoɲoke/	[paɲoɲokɪ]	'grumbler'

When the base starts with a fricative /f/, /s/, or /h/, a liquid /l/ or /r/ and when the base starts with a semivowel /w/ or /j/, the prefix *paŋ-* is attached to the base without any phonological change.

/f/	paŋ- foya	/paŋfoja/	[paŋfoja]
/s/	paŋ- sabar	/paŋsabar/	[paŋsabar]
/h/	paŋ- hoba	/paŋhoba/	[paŋhoba]
/l/	paŋ- lupa	/paŋlupa/	[paŋlupa]
/r/	paŋ- rasa	/paŋrasa/	[paŋrasa]
/w/	paŋ- waras	/paŋwaras/	[paŋwaras]
/j/	paŋ- jakin	/paŋjakin/	[paŋjakin]

A word beginning with a vowel can be prefixed with *paŋ-* without resulting in any phonological change. A few examples are given here.

/a/	paŋ- alas	[paŋalas]
/u/	paŋ- urus	[paŋurus]

/i/	paŋ- isap	[paɲisapˉ]
/o/	paŋ- oɟo	[paɲoɟo]
/e/	paŋ- eɟa	[paɲeɟa]

Note that some words such as *pamalas* 'lazy', *panako* 'afraid', and *panyake* 'illness' are not the result of prefixation with *pang-* because this process would result in **pangmalas*, **pantako*, and **pangsake* respectively. These words *pamalas*, *panako*, and *panyake* are considered to be monomorphemic words in Ternate Malay.

   Assimilation may occur with larger segments such as compounds. Two examples are given here: *sarung bantal* '(lit.) cover pillow' and *sarung tangan* '(lit.) cover hand'. In the first example, the velar nasal [ŋ] is realized as a labial nasal [m] following a labial consonant [b]. In the second example, the velar nasal [ŋ] of *sarung* is realized as [n] under the influence of the coronal [t] of the following segment. In *ikang paus* 'whale', the velar nasal [ŋ] is realized as [m] following the labial nasal [p].

/saruŋ bantal/	[sarum'bantal]	'pillowcase'
/saruŋ tangan/	[sarun'taŋan], [sarun'taŋaŋ]	'glove'
/ikaŋ paus/	[ikam'paʷs]	'whale'

The same assimilation may occur between words. In the following two sentences the velar nasal [ŋ] of the first word assimilates with the initial consonant of the following word. In the first sentence the /ŋ/ is realized as a labial nasal [m] under the influence of the following labial consonant/b/, while in the second sentence the velar nasal [ŋ] is realized as a coronal nasal /n/ under the influence of the /d/.

| /doŋ pukul/ | [dɔm pukul] | 'they hit (him)' |
| /koŋ dia talucur/ | [kɔn diya talucur] | 'and it's slipping down' |

3 Categorization of lexical items

Words in Ternate Malay generally do not show any formal features to indicate gender, number, time or grammatical role. Each word may serve any grammatical function. In such a situation, the linguistic context and the non-linguistic situation determine which function a word fulfils and how it is best interpreted. Frequent appearance in certain combinations and constructions determines which functional interpretation of a particular lexical item comes to mind first. Particular lexical items with only grammatical functions and certain constraints may serve as useful devices to delimit the interpretation of the function of lexical items in their immediate environment. Speakers use these strategies to come to an appropriate interpretation and achieve a successful communication.

The flexibility of words in function and meaning found in this language makes it difficult to apply the linguistic tools traditionally used to distinguish between word categories. Words fulfil certain functions: some are frequently used to express a lexical meaning, while others are used to serve a grammatical function. Yet another group of words may play both roles: in some contexts, the lexical aspect is more prominent, while in other contexts the grammatical function is more salient.

Depending on the context and the situation in which it occurs, an utterance consisting of two words, for example *Udin tinggi* may be interpreted in different ways. In one reading, *Udin* (personal name) and *tinggi* 'high' are interpreted as two distinct elements, serving different syntactic functions, expressing the meaning 'Udin is tall'. In another reading *Udin tinggi* is considered to be one constituent, reflecting the meaning 'the tall Udin'. There are no formal characteristics that indicate whether the utterance consists of one or two syntactic elements. Prosodic features may be helpful to determine whether the structure and the border between constituents may be indicated, for instance by a slight pause or a particular intonation pattern. A prosodic analysis of Ternate Malay would be an important next research project comparable to Stoel's (2005) study on focus in Manado Malay. I have not been able to include a prosodic analysis here.

Certain items may help to determine the structure and to achieve the most appropriate interpretation. The possessive marker *pe* appears in constructions in which it is preceded and followed by a word. The first element in the construction refers to the possessor, while the second element refers to the possessum. In such a linguistic context, any word or construction preceding or following *pe* expresses *de facto* a nominal meaning. The head in this type of constructions always follows *pe*. Thus the Y *pe* X sequence is automatically parsed as a constituent.

My theoretical approach here is inspired by David Gil's analysis of Riau Malay (Gil 1994, 2000). Ternate Malay is similar to Riau Malay in that the word classes are extremely flexible. Gil (1994) shows that a classic analysis making use of word classes would entail pervasive use of zero-conversion, and the same would apply to

Ternate Malay. His proposal is not to distinguish underlying syntactic categories but to distinguish for each word, interpretations as event, state, time, place, thing and possible others, and the interpretation of combinations of words is determined by the combination of interpretations of the individual words. This book can be seen as an attempt to show how such an analysis works for a more or less complete treatment of the grammar of Ternate Malay.

Words are considered here to belong not to a pre-determined word class, but to have an inherent prototypical meaning. In the combination with other words and when serving a particular syntactic function, the type and the meaning becomes clearer. A constituent is a word or a group of words that serves a syntactic function. When it serves as predicate, it has a verbal function, when it refers to a thing, it serves a nominal function, and when it expresses a property, the word has an adjectival function. Certain words may facilitate the interpretation of the parsing of constituents and help the determination of semantic roles of constituents. Semantic roles express the relationship between constituents and the predicate. The structure of predicates and relations with other constituents is discussed in chapter 7.

In § 3.1 various aspects of flexibility of words are described. In § 3.2 I discuss how combinations of words result in an interpretation depending on the interpretation of the function of the constituting elements and specifically when one of them has a purely grammatical function.

3.1 Flexibility

Words in Ternate Malay may serve different syntactic functions and express various meanings without showing any change in their formal shape. When words do change their shape, for instance through a morphological process, the resultant word may have a slightly different meaning, but similar to their bases, these complex words are also able to serve various syntactic functions. Three aspects of the flexibility of words in Ternate Malay are discussed here: semantic flexibility, syntactic flexibility, as well as morphological flexibility, and it is shown that neither syntactic nor morphological features of words can be used as tools to determine word categories. In the glosses it is indicated whether a word is interpreted in its nominal function [N] or in its verbal function [V].

3.1.1 Semantic flexibility

In this paragraph, I show how words may express different meanings depending on the context in which they occur. In some cases, the linguistic context leads to an appropriate interpretation, while in other cases the combination of words remains open for various interpretations, and non-linguistic circumstances may be needed in order to determine which of the interpretations is most appropriate.

Examples (1) and (2) show that a word can refer to a thing as well as to an action or activity without showing any formal distinctions. The difference arises because of the different syntactic function.

The word *gigi* may have two referents: it may refer to an object or thing (tooth, teeth) or it denotes an action or activity (bite), depending on its syntactic function. In combination with the third person singular pronoun *de*, it forms the construction *de gigi*. This construction may have different meanings, depending on the interpretation of the structure. When the construction is interpreted as a possessive construction of which *de* is the possessor and *gigi* is the possessum, expressing the meaning 'his/her/its tooth/teeth', *gigi* is interpreted as a thing with the meaning 'tooth, teeth' (See § 4.3.4 for more examples of this type of possessive constructions).

When the construction is interpreted as consisting of two constituents with two different syntactic functions and *de gigi* represents the meaning 'he/she/it bites/bit', *gigi* can be interpreted as an activity with the meaning 'bite'. Note that there is no overt marking for person, gender, time, etc. on the activity word to help the interpretation.

Example (1) is taken from a story about a crocodile that has killed a dog and describes this event. In this situation, an interpretation of *gigi* as an activity and *de gigi* expressing the meaning 'it bit' seems to be appropriate. The construction *ilang spanggal* '(lit.) disappear part' is interpreted as consisting of two constituents: *ilang* serves as the predicate, expressing a verbal meaning 'disappears', *spanggal* is interpreted as subject and the entity that has disappeared. The construction *ilang spanggal* then expresses the meaning 'a part was gone'.

In another situation, for instance when describing a person's appearance or condition, the expression *de gigi* could represent a possessive meaning. In such a case, *gigi* is interpreted as a thing and *ilang spanggal* would describe the condition of *de gigi* 'his tooth', i.e. that a part of it is missing. The utterance *de gigi ilang spanggal* then means 'part of his tooth is missing'.

In the first part of example (2) the word *karung* 'sack' functions as a predicate. It expresses a verbal meaning and refers to an activity; *dia karung* then expresses the meaning 'he puts (it) in a sack'. The same word *karung* with the same shape appears in the construction *karung strep* 'striped sack'. The structure of this construction is interpreted as consisting of a head *karung*, which is modified by *strep*. It refers to the thing used to perform the activity expressed in the predicate, and receives a nominal meaning. The word *karung* may represent two (or more) different meanings without changing its shape.

(1)   de   **gigi**   ilang   spanggal.
              3SG   1. bite   disappear   part
                      2. tooth

1. he bit and a part was gone.

2. a part of his tooth was missing.

(2)   baru   dia   **karung**   pake   **karung**   strep,...
              CONJ   3SG   sack.[V]   use   sack.[N]   stripe

...and he put him in a striped sack,...

The following small fragment shows how a newly introduced word is used in daily speech. The speaker utters a sentence and realizes that he uses a new word and explains where the word comes from and how the word is used. The examples show how this newly introduced word immediately represents various lexical meanings without any overt marking on the word.

A few months before the conversation, a murder had taken place. The suspect was a man from the island of Flores who was accused of killing a woman with a sword. After this event, both the words *sabel* 'sword' as well as the word *flores* came into use. Example (3) follows a conversation about what could happen if a man is married to a boxer. It is said that if the boxer loves her husband she will not hit him. However, there may be a moment when he makes a mistake. Then it is better for him to run away to avoid being hit. In example (3) the word *flores* is firstly introduced and occurs in combination with *biking*. The combination of *biking flores* can be interpreted in two ways: *flores* can be interpreted as an activity referring to an action or it can be interpreted as a thing, namely the act or the performance of the action or activity. When *flores* in *biking flores* is interpreted as a thing, the construction *biking flores* means something like 'make, commit a murder'. If *flores* is interpreted as an activity, *biking flores* can be interpreted as a causative expression meaning 'make someone murder someone'. The second interpretation with *flores* interpreted as an activity seems to be appropriate in this context. In example (3b) *flores* is part of *istila "flores"* and serves an adjectival function.

In example (3c) *flores* serves as a predicate and refers to an activity. The performer of the action is *kita* 'first person singular' while *ngana* expresses the patient who undergoes the action. It is preceded by *pa* 'to', a grammatical element to indicate the undergoer of an action or serving some other function. In examples (3d) and (3f) the speaker explains the origin of the term. In example (3f) *Flores* serves as the modifier of *orang* 'person', resulting in the construction *orang Flores* 'a Flores person' or 'a person from Flores', in which the adjectival function is more prominent. Example (3g) is similar to (3c), in which *flores* serves as a predicate and has to be interpreted as an activity.

(3)   A: jang   dong   **biking**   **flores**.
             don't   3PL   make   Flores.[V]

         don't let them kill you.

(3b)   A: skarang   ana-ana   su   pake   istila   **"flores"**.
             now   PL-child   COMP   use   term   Flores.[A]

         now the guys use the term "flores".

(3c)   A: "kita   **flores**   pa   ngana   satu   kali   kong..."
             1SG   Flores.[V]   to   2SG   one   time   CONJ

         "one time I'll "flores" you."

(3d)   A: kan   peristiwa   bunu   di   atas   tu   tara...

QT   incident   kill   in   above   that   NEG

the murder case up there, right...

(3e)   B: oh.

EXCL

right.

(3f)   A: orang   **Flores**   yang   bunu   to?

person   Flores.[A]   REL   kill   QT

the murderer was a person from Flores, right?

(3g)   A: kita   **flores**   pa   ngana   kong   ngana...

1SG   Flores.[V]   to   2SG   CONJ   2SG

I'm going to "flores" you and you're going to...

3.1.2 Syntactic flexibility

The meaning of a word is determined by the context in which it occurs. Changing the context of a word may cause a change in the syntactic function of the word and a change in the meaning, without any change in formal shape. This flexibility has been exemplified in example (2) where *karung* in combination with *dia* serves as a predicate and results in the construction *dia karung* 'he puts (it) in a sack', expressing a verbal meaning, and *karung* refers to an activity. When *karung* is combined with *strep* it results in the construction *karung strep* 'striped sack' of which *karung* is the head and has a nominal meaning, referring to a thing. In this construction, *strep* is used as a modifier with an adjectival meaning. When this construction follows *pake* 'use' it may refer to the undergoer or the theme of the action *pake*. The syntactic flexibility of words and word constructions precludes the use of syntactic properties to define word categories for each individual word.

Words such as *nama* 'name', *kunci* 'key', and *kuli* 'skin' may refer to a thing as well as to an activity, depending on the linguistic context in which they occur. In example (4) *nama* participates in a Y *pe* X construction *dia pe nama* 'her name'. In this construction, *nama* appears in the X position and refers to the possessum which expresses *de facto* a thing. Note that in this equational sentence, the name Sri acts as a predicate and has to be interpreted in its verbal meaning, expressing the meaning 'be Sri'. In example (5) *kunci* 'key' is the theme of the activity *ambe* 'take' and is interpreted to refer to a thing. In example (6) *kuli* 'skin' is the head of the construction which is modified by *ular* 'snake', resulting in the construction *kuli ular* 'snake skin', referring to a thing and serving as the stimulus of the activity expressed in *lia* 'see'. Note that the interpretation of the construction *kuli ular* is a possessive interpretation 'the skin of a snake' or 'snake skin'.

(4)　　　　dia　　pe　　**nama**　　Sri　　to?
　　　　　　3SG　POSS　name.[N]　Sri　　QT
　　　　　　her name is Sri, right?

(5)　　　　ambe　　**kunci**　　lagi　　to?
　　　　　　take　　key.[N]　　again　QT
　　　　　　he took the key again, right?

(6)　　　　kita　　lia　　**kuli**　　　**ular**...
　　　　　　1SG　　see　　skin.[N]　snake...
　　　　　　I saw a snake skin...

In the following examples, the same words of examples (4) through (6) appear, but here they act as predicate expressing a verbal meaning. Despite the change in syntactic function, the items maintain their formal shape, and are identical to those in the examples above. In example (7) *nama* serves as the predicate and the verbal meaning 'have/bear the name' is more prominent, while *kapala skola* 'headmaster' serves as the subject. In example (8) *kunci* serves as a predicate expressing the verbal meaning 'lock'. There are no formal characteristics that differentiate between this interpretation of *kunci* 'lock' and that of *kunci* 'key' in example (5). It is the context and situation of example (8) in which *kunci* occurs which determines that interpreting *kunci* as an activity is the most appropriate interpretation. The structure of example (9) can be analyzed in various ways. When *tabal* is interpreted as the predicate 'be thick', and *buaya kuli* as being one constituent with a possessive construction where *kuli* acts as the possessum[8] and *buaya* as the possessor, then example (9) reflects the meaning 'the crocodile's skin is thick'. In another reading, *kuli tabal* could be interpreted as one constituent consisting of the head *kuli* modified by *tabal*, resulting in *kuli tabal* 'thick skinned', and acting as the modifier of the head *buaya*. In such a reading, *buaya kuli tabal* reflects the meaning 'thick-skinned crocodile' in which *kuli tabal* expresses an adjectival interpretation. Note that the construction *kuli tabal* could be interpreted as a (relative) clause in which *kuli* is the subject and *tabal* is the predicate, resulting in a meaning of *buaya kuli tabal* as '(it was) a crocodile of which the skin is thick'. These are only a few interpretations. It is clear that depending on how the structure is determined, both a verbal interpretation and an adjectival interpretation of *kuli tabal* are possible.

(7)　　　　kapala　　skola　　**nama**　　Pak　　Salim　[...]
　　　　　　head　　　school　　name.[V]　EPIT　Salim　[...]
　　　　　　the headmaster is called Mr. Salim.

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[8] It is not clear whether this interpretation is possible or whether there are restrictions with regard to the possessor in this type of possessive constructions. In § 4.3.4 only examples of possessor + possessum constructions with a human possessor are given.

(8)   untung   dong   **kunci**   pintu,   **kunci**   jendela.
        luck   3PL   key.[V]   door   key.[V]   window
        luckily they locked the door and locked the windows.

(9)   buaya   **kuli**   **tabal.**
        crocodile skin.[V]   thick
        the crocodile had a thick skin.

In the discussion of example (9) there are two possible interpretations of *kuli tabal*. In one interpretation, *tabal* is interpreted as the modifier of the head *kuli* reflecting the meaning 'thick skin', while when *tabal* is interpreted as a predicate *kuli tabal* reflects 'the skin is thick'. There are no overt markers that determine a clear-cut distinction between the two structures. The larger linguistic context and the situation may indicate which structure is more appropriate, while in some cases it may remain vague.

In example (10) *basar* 'big' occurs as a constituent in its own respect and acts as the predicate while *ikang ini* 'this fish' acts as the subject. Note that *ini* serves as the boundary of the constituent. In example (11) the subject about which information is provided is *ngana pe rambu* 'your hair', while *mera* 'red' as well as *panjang* 'long' serve as predicates and describe the subject. Note that *mera* in the construction *ngana pe rambu mera* could be analyzed differently as being the modifier of *rambu*, so that *rambu mera* is the X element in the construction. In example (12) *muda* 'young' acts as a predicate and describes a person called *Aba*. The predicate is preceded by *masi*, an item that indicates continuity and precedes predicates. Note that words such as *ini* in example (10) and *masi* in example (12) facilitate an interpretation of *basar* and *muda* respectively as constituents in their own right, acting as predicates. *Ini* is posited at the end of a constituent and indicates the border with the following constituent, while *masi* always serves as a predicate operator and precedes the predicate.

(10)   "o,   ikang   ini   **basar**."
        EXCL   fish   this   big.[V]
        "oh, this fish is big".

(11)   "[...]   ngana   pe   rambu   **mera**,   **panjang**."
                 2SG   POSS   hair   red.[V]   long.[V]
        "[…] you had long, red hair."((Lit.) "your hair was red, long.")

(12)   Aba   masi   **muda**.
        Aba   still   young.[V]
        Aba was still young.

In the following examples, property words are used in such a way that they refer to a thing or object. In example (13) *kuning* 'yellow' acts as an independent entity and immediately follows the predicate *lia* 'see' referring to the stimulus of the activity expressed in *lia* 'see'. *Kita* is the experiencer. In example (14) the speaker describes the pain he felt after being hit by the teacher. In this example, *pedis* 'spicy, stinging' occurs as the second element in a Y *pe* X possessive construction, in which position it has *de facto* a nominal meaning, expressing the meaning 'spiciness' or in the situation of this example it expresses 'stinging pain'. These examples show that the principle of syntactic functions does not work in determining the word category of a word.

(13)   de   pe   lapas,   kita   lia   **kuning**.
         3SG   POSS   let.loose 1SG   see   yellow.[N]
         the moment he withdraws his hand, everything is yellow.

(14)   de   pe   **pedis**   sampe   sini,   sampe   sini.
         3SG   POSS   spicy.[N]   arrive   here   arrive   here
         you feel the pain here and here.

3.1.3 Morphological flexibility

Morphological processes in Ternate Malay are not a useful device to distinguish between word categories, because these processes can be applied to various types of words and the resultant words of these morphological processes show the same syntactic as well as semantic flexibility as any other word. The prefixation with *ba-* is an example of this morphological flexibility.

The following examples show how the process of prefixation with *ba-* can be applied to various type of words: words that may prototypically refer to things, activities and actions as well as to properties and characteristics. In these examples, all the resulting *ba*-words serve as predicates and express a verbal meaning. In the second series of examples, it is shown that *ba*-words may also serve other syntactic functions and express other meanings. More on productive morphological processes is found in § 5.3.

In example (15) the prefix *ba-* is attached to *sapu* 'broom', a word that may, amongst others, refer to a thing. In this example *basapu* is used predicatively and denotes an activity in which a *sapu* is used as an instrument. The *ba*-word *bajatong* of example (16) consists of the prefix *ba-* and *jatong* 'fall'. In this example it serves as the predicate and contains a reflexive meaning aspect 'to fall by oneself'. In example (17) the *ba*-prefix is attached to *itang* 'black', resulting in *baitang*. This word serves as the predicate and expresses the verbal meaning 'be blackish', describing that the colour of the chest has a somewhat black colour but it is not completely black, namely it is turning black.

(15) kita **ba-sapu**, cuci piring.
   1SG USE-broom.[V] wash plate
   I was sweeping, washing the dishes.

(16) de **ba-jatong** dari atas seng.
   3SG REFL-fall.[V] from top zinc
   he let himself fall from the zinc roof.

(17) satu hari de minum sampe dada **ba-itang**, angos.
   one day 3SG drink arrive chest POSS-black.[V] burnt
   one day he drank until his chest became black, burnt.

In the above mentioned examples, all the *ba*-words serve as predicates and express an activity or a process. Similar to other words, *ba*-words may serve any other syntactic function, for example they may occur as the subject or topic about which a statement is made, and refer to the act of the performance, such as a Y *pe* X possessive construction in which the elements *de facto* denote a thing, as well as express the manner in which an action or activity is performed. In a different context and serving different functions, *ba*-words express other meanings. Morphological processes, such as prefixation with *ba-*, are not useful tools for the categorization of words.

In example (18) *baisap* 'to smoke' acts as the subject about which the statement *jalan trus* '(lit.) walk continue' is made. In this context *baisap* denotes the act or performance of smoking, a thing, rather than an activity. Note that in this example *jalan* is used predicatively and expresses an activity 'to walk'. In this context and situation it expresses the meaning 'continue'. In example (19) *bajalang* 'walk' is part of a Y *pe* X possessive construction. In such a construction, *bajalang* receives a nominal reading and the word refers to a thing, so that *kita pe bajalang* expresses the meaning 'my walking'. Serving as the subject *kita pe jalang bagini* reflects the meaning 'my walking is like this'. Note that the second word *bajalang* in this example serves as a predicate with the verbal meaning 'walk'. In example (20) *basuntik* 'inject' follows the head noun *orang* 'person' and serves as its modifier, resulting in the construction *orang basuntik* 'vaccinated people' or 'people who are coming to be vaccinated'. It serves as the subject and is followed by the predicate *tar sadiki* 'not a little'. In example (21) *badiang* 'be quiet' follows *dudu* 'sit'. In this example, *badiang* serves to modify *dudu* and denotes the manner *dudu* 'sit' is performed. This wide range of functions and meanings of *ba*-words shows that prefixation with *ba-* cannot be used as a device to determine word categories.

(18) tapi **ba-isap** jalan trus.
   but HAB-suck.[N] walk continue
   but smoking continues.

(19) kita   pe   **ba-jalang**   bagini,   sebe   ba-jalang   ka   dara.
1SG   POSS   DUR-walk.[N]   like.this   dad   DUR-walk   to   land
I was just walking like this when dad was walking landwards.

(20) orang   **ba-suntik**   tar   sadiki.
person   USE-inject.[N]   NEG   a.little
There are quite a few people getting vaccinated.

(21) dudu   **ba-diang**.
sit   DUR-quiet.[V]
I was sitting quietly.

3.2 Interpretation of constructions

Some words in Ternate Malay may consist of bound elements such as *ba-*, *ta-*, or
baku-, which are attached in front of the word base. These elements merely add a
semantic aspect to the word to which they are attached and do not serve any gram-
matical function. More on these bound elements is found in § 5.3.

The word *banapas* in example (22) consists of the prefix *ba–* and the word *napas*
'breath' resulting in *banapas* 'to breathe'. In this example, *banapas* participates in
the predicate and the verbal meaning is prominent. In the same example *bakupikul*
'carry together' occurs. This word consists of the prefix *baku-* that is attached to
pikul 'carry' and expresses an aspect of collectivity. *Bakupikul* serves as the predi-
cate and is preceded by the subject *dong* 'third person plural', the performers of the
action expressed *bakupikul* 'carry collectively'. In example (23) the *ta-* prefix is
attached to *angka* 'lift' expressing an involuntary action or state. The word partici-
pates in the construction *bahu taangka* in which it serves as the modifier of the head
bahu 'shoulder' and refers to a state or property. In example (24) the prefix *baku-* is
attached to *pukul* 'hit' to express a reciprocal meaning, resulting in *bakupukul* 'hit
each other'. This word is followed by *deng Anwar* 'with Anwar' with which it forms
a constituent that serves as the subject of the clause, in which case it has to be inter-
preted in the nominal reading 'the hitting each other with Anwar'.

(22) de   su   tara   bisa   **ba-napas**,
3SG   COMP   NEG   can   POSS-breath.[V]
he couldn't breathe anymore

kong   dong   **baku-pikul**   […]
CONJ   3PL   COLL-carry.[V]
and they carried him […]

(23)   bahu   **ta-angka**   su   tara   lama   suda.
         shoulder INV-lift.[A]   COMP   NEG   long   COMP
         hunched shoulders mean that it won't take much longer.

(24)   **baku-pukul**   deng   Anwar   su   tarada   suda.
         REC-hit.[N]   with   Anwar   COMP   NEG   COMP
         there is no fighting with Anwar anymore.

In a situation where words may serve various functions and express different meanings, devices may be needed to achieve the most appropriate interpretation. A number of lexical items merely serve a grammatical function. They are useful elements that facilitate the interpretation of a structure by indicating (optionally) for example which part of the construction serves as the head and which part serves as the modifier of the construction. Two of these elements are discussed here: *yang*, which indicates that the part following *yang* forms the modifier of the construction, and *pe*, which indicates that the element following *pe* is the head of the construction.

3.2.1 X *yang* Y constructions

In general, *yang* introduces a word or construction that modifies another word or construction, for instance, *pintu yang basar* 'a big door', in which *yang* introduces *basar* 'big', resulting in *yang basar*, a construction that modifies the head *pintu* 'door'. Constructions with *yang* may easily be parsed as a constituent of which the element that follows *yang* always serves as a modifier. In some cases, a headless *yang*-construction may serve as an independent constituent in its own right.

Example (48) is taken from a conversation about moustaches. The speaker is about to say what he considers to be the most beautiful moustache, when he is interrupted. In this construction *yang* introduces *paling bagus* 'very beautiful' which is the modifier of the head that precedes *yang*, i.e. *kumis* 'moustache'. In example (49) the head of the construction *sagu lombo* 'sago soft' is followed by a *yang*-construction consisting of *tabal* 'thick'. In this construction, *yang* indicates that the head *sagu* is modified by *lombo* 'soft' as well as by *tabal* 'thick' and that these are two parallel modifiers. In example (50) *orang* 'person' is followed by a construction headed by the relativizer *yang* and followed by *bardosa* expressing the meaning 'commit a sin', resulting in the construction *orang yang bardosa* 'person who commit sins'. In this position, the presence of *yang* is optional. When a head is followed by an action word, the most general interpretation is that the first word is the head of the construction. The *yang*-construction in example (51) is a headless construction. In this example, *yang* introduces the construction *masi nona-nona* 'still unmarried woman' and serves as a constituent in its own right. The function of this construction in the larger context, serving as a topic, indicates that a nominal reading of the construction is the most appropriate.

(25) kumis   **yang   paling   bagus...**
      moustache REL   very   beautiful
      the most beautiful moustache...

(26) sagu   lombo   **yang   tabal   dua   pulu...   lempeng.**
      sago   soft   REL   thick   two   tens   slab
      some thick, soft sago, twenty... slabs.

(27) orang   **yang   bardosa**   dong   umur   panjang.
      person REL   commit.sins   3PL   age   long
      they who commit sins will have a long life.

(28) **yang   masi   nona-nona**   sekitar   spulu.
      REL   still   RED-unmarried.woman   around   ten
      those who are unmarried number around ten.

3.2.2 Y *pe* X constructions

The element *pe* is a helpful device for the interpretation of the structure of a Y *pe* X construction which often expresses a possessive meaning. When *pe* occurs in an Y *pe* X construction, this can be automatically parsed as a constituent. The X element always serves as the head of the construction and refers to the possessor, while the Y element serves as the modifier and denotes the possessum. The *pe* element thus helps to determine which part of the construction is the head. In this function, it also indicates that the elements with which *pe* occur refer *de facto* to things. The following examples show Y *pe* X possessive constructions with various X elements. More on Y *pe* X constructions is found in § 4.3.1.

   In example (52) *pe* is preceded by *Haji Buka* 'Haji Buka' and is followed by *ana-ana* 'children', forming a possessive construction *Haji Buka pe ana-ana*, in which the first element *Haji Buka* refers to the possessor and *ana-ana* refers to the possessum. In example (53) *dokter* 'doctor' precedes *pe* and refers to the possessor, while *pigi* 'go' follows *pe* and expresses the possessum. In this position, *pigi* has to be interpreted as a thing, the performance of the activity, expressing the meaning 'the going'. The whole construction *dokter pe pigi* expresses the meaning '(lit) the doctor's going' or 'the doctor's departure'. In example (54) *pe* is preceded by *paitua* 'old man' which refers to the possessor. The possessum is expressed by *cuci balangang* '(lit.) wash wok' and follows *pe*, in which position it has to be read in its nominal meaning 'the washing of the wok'. The result is a Y *pe* X possessive construction *paitua pe cuci balangang*, expressing the meaning 'the old man's washing of the wok'. In the context of this example, the construction serves as a constituent that refers to the stimulus that caused the feeling expressed in *herang* 'surprised'. In example (55) the expression *di atas* 'at the top' is the X element, while the Y element of the construction is *de* 'third person singular'. In this function as X element,

the construction *di atas* has to be interpreted as a thing, denoting 'upper part' and the expression *de pe di atas* '(lit.) its on top' expresses the meaning 'its upper part'. In all these examples *pe* serves a grammatical function to indicate that the element following *pe* serves as the head of the construction. It also indicates that the elements with which *pe* occur are *de facto* nominal.

(29)   **Haji**   **Buka**   **pe**   **ana-ana**,...
           Haji   Buka   POSS   RED-child
           Haji Buka's children,...

(30)   **dokter**   **pe**   **pigi**   loyo   ulang.
           doctor   POSS   go   weak   repeat
           the moment the doctor goes you're weak again.

(31)   **paitua**   **pe**   **cuci**   **balangang**   kita   herang.
           old.man   POSS   wash   wok   1SG   surprised
           the way he washed the wok surprised me.

(32)   **de**   **pe**   **di**   **atas**   ta-pisa   laeng-laeng.
           3SG   POSS   in   above   INV-separate   PL-different
           the upper part separated differently.

Several other items may be helpful in determining the structure of complex constructions to achieve the most appropriate interpretation. Some of these items have a fixed position in a construction, for instance they always occur at the end of constituents, such as *ni* 'this' and *tu* 'that'. This position determines where one constituent ends and the next begins. In § 4.1.2 *ni* and *tu* are further discussed. Other items may serve to join elements together, such as *kong* 'and then' and *la* 'and then', which connect clauses to each other and function as indicators of where one clause ends and another clause begins. More on *kong* can be found in § 6.2.3, while *la* is discussed in § 6.2.4. Words such as *ka* 'to', *pa* 'to', *dari* 'from', and *di* 'in, at' are related to movement and location: *ka* 'to' and *pa* 'to', indicate a movement towards a certain place or goal, *dari* 'from' indicates a movement away from a certain place or origin, while *di* 'in, at', indicates that there is no movement and refers to a location. These words are always followed by a word or construction expressing a location. Since these words are posited at the beginning of a constituent, they may serve as a border between two constituents. These elements and their use are discussed in § 6.3. Some items serve to indicate the type of an utterance. In addition to an interrogative intonation pattern, question tags such as *to* 'right?' and *kan* 'isn't it?' occur at the end of an utterance and indicate that it involves a question. These and other items that may function as question tags are discussed in § 7.1.2.

3.2.3 X Y Z constructions

Some constructions, for instance those expressing a nominal meaning, seldom consist of more than three consecutive words. The construction itself as well as its composing elements may consist only of head-initial structures. This constraint is useful for the interpretation of such complex constructions and results in two options. In the first option the first element X is interpreted as the head, which is followed by a modifier consisting of two elements Y + Z, resulting in the structure [X + [Y + Z]]. This modifier itself has to be interpreted as a head-initial structure. The underlined elements are the heads of the constructions. No examples have been found of constructions with a head-final modifier [X + [Y + Z]] [9]. In the second option the head consists of the first two elements X + Y and is modified by the third element, resulting in the structure [[X + Y] + [Z]]. In this option the head X + Y itself has a head-initial structure of which X is the head. The X element is double underlined. No examples have been found of which the head X + Y is head-final followed by the modifier Z, [[X + Y] + Z]. There are no examples of constructions in which Z or Y + Z serve as head and are modified by X + Y or X respectively [10].

In the following paragraphs, examples are provided of X + Y + Z constructions. The individual elements may refer to things and activities, but the construction as a whole expresses a nominal meaning.

3.2.3.1 Head initial *[X + [Y + Z]]* constructions

The head is followed by a modifier consisting of two elements of which the first element is the head. The words that serve as heads of a construction are underlined.

The head of the construction in example (33) *biji bua yakis* '(lit.) seed fruit monkey' is *biji* 'seed', which is modified by *bua yakis* '(lit) fruit monkey'. The semantic relationship between the two elements of the construction is that of part – whole, in which the head *biji* 'seed' is a part of the modifier *bua yakis* '(lit.) fruit monkey'. The modifier *bua yakis* consists of two elements *bua* 'fruit', the head, which refers to a class and *yakis* '(lit.) monkey' specifies the type. This is a head-initial construction, but the meaning of the two elements cannot be taken literally to obtain the meaning of the whole expression. *Bua yakis* is an expression to refer to the cashew apple and this prevents an interpretation of this construction as [[N_1 + N_2] + N_3]. In example (34) the speaker is suggesting some roles he could fulfil in a soccer match. The head of the construction *pemain balakang gawang* is *pemain* 'player', which is followed by the modifier *balakang gawang* '(lit.) back goal'. The expression refers to a 'player behind the goal'. In the same sentence the speaker suggests he could

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[9] Exceptions could be those with the structure [X + [Y + Z]], a head-initial construction with a head-final modifier, for example those of which the modifier consists of a numeral + numeral classifier or a numeral + mensural classifier, such as *nene dua orang* 'two grandmothers' and *paser anam ember* 'six buckets of sand'. The whole construction is head-initial, but the modifiers *dua orang* and *anam ember* are head-final (See § 4.1.1.2 and § 4.1.1.3).

[10] An exception found in the data is for instance *tong mama papa* 'our mother's father'. In this head-final construction *papa* is the head, preceded by a head-final modifier *tong mama* 'our mother' of which the structure is [[X + Y] + Z] (see § 4.3.4 on head-final possessive constructions).

also be a *pemain luar garis* '(lit.) player outside lines'. In this construction *pemain* 'player' is the head, followed by the modifier *luar garis* '(lit.) outside lines'. The expression *pemain luar garis* then refers to an "outside-the-lines" player, a player who is located outside the lines. In example (35) *jalan nama Muhama* '(lit.) street name Muhama' *jalan* 'street' is the head of the construction, followed by the modifier *nama Muhama* '(lit). name Muhama'. The result expresses the meaning 'street with the name Muhama'. *Nama Muhama* itself consists of the head *nama* 'name' and the modifier *Muhama* 'Muhama'. The same expression *nama* 'name' could have a verbal meaning without any overt marking distinguishing it from its nominal reading, but in the expression *jalan nama Muhama* 'street named Muhama' it functions as a nominal.

(33)   tau   kacang   ka...   [**biji**   [**bua**   **yakis**]],   ka?
           know   peanut   or   seed   fruit   monkey   or
           I don't know if they are peanuts or… cashew nuts?

(34)   [**pemain**   [**balakang**   **gawang**]]   kalo   tara,
           player   back   gate   when   NEG
           a player behind the goal or else

           [**pemain**   [**luar**   **garis**]].
           player   outside   match
           a player outside the lines.

(35)   tara   [**jalang**   [**nama**   **Muhama**]].
           NEG   street   name   Muhama
           there's no street with the name Muhama.

The resultant constructions act as nominals but the constituting parts need not all function as nominals. The following examples concern constructions with a nominal meaning consisting of a head followed by two words, expressing an activity and a thing respectively. Note that the same elements may form a clause (see § 7.3.2.1). The context and the situation determine how this is best interpreted, for example whether the construction serves as a constituent or not.

In example (36) the head *polisi* 'police' is modified by *jaga jalan* 'guard the streets', resulting in *polisi jaga jalan* denoting 'guarding streets police', an expression to refer to the traffic police. The construction *polisi jaga jalan* could be interpreted as a clause consisting of *police*, referring to the agent, jaga referring to the activity, and *jalan*, to the theme or location that is involved in the activity. The construction is closed off by *tu*, indicating the border of the constituent and a nominal interpretation.

The speaker of example (37) talks about a type of coffee. In this example *campur bras* 'mix rice' is the modifier of the head *kofi* 'coffee'. The semantic relation be-

tween the head and the modifier is that the head *kofi* 'coffee' denotes an entity that has undergone the action or process expressed in the modifier *campur beras* 'mix rice'. The resulting construction *kofi campur bras* refers to a kind of coffee, namely 'coffee which has been mixed with rice'. This same construction could be analyzed as a clause, in which *kofi* acts as the patient that undergoes the activity expressed in *campur*, while *bras* refers to the thing with which the coffee is mixed. The presence of *tu* marks the border of the constituent and indicates the preference for a nominal meaning. In example (38) the head *pertandingan* 'competition' is modified by *makang pupeda* 'eat sago porridge' to form *pertandingan makang pupeda*, referring to a competition in which the winner is the person who eats the largest number of sago porridge portions, 'sago porridge eating competition'. In this construction *makang pupeda* modifies the head *pertandingan*. An interpretation of this construction as clause is prevented by fact there is no appropriate semantic role for *pertandingan*, for example as the agent or patient, in relation to *makang*. The construction *pertandingan makang pupeda* in example (38) serves as a predicate, while *tong* serves as the subject.

(36)   [**polisi** [**jaga** **jalan**]] tu polantas.
        police   guard   street   that traffic.police
        police guarding streets are the traffic police.

(37)   [**kofi**   [**campur** **bras**]]   tu
        coffee   mix   uncooked.rice   that

        kofi   cap   apa   lagi   tu?
        coffee   brand   what   again   that
        what is the brand of coffee when the coffee is mixed with rice?

(38)   tong   [**pertandingan** [**makang** **pupeda**]],   mari.
        1PL   competition   eat   sago.porridge   HORT
        let's have a sago porridge eating competition.

The construction of *sarung bantal polo* in the example (39) consists of the head *sarung* 'cover', followed by the modifier *bantal polo* '(lit.) pillow hug', denoting a bolster. The modifier *bantal polo* consists of the head *bantal* 'pillow' followed by *polo* 'hug', serving as modifier. Note that *bantal polo* could be interpreted as a clause consisting of *bantal* as a theme that undergoes the activity expressed in *polo*.

(39)   [**sarung** [**bantal** **polo**] kan panjang to?
        cover   pillow   hug   QT   long   QT
        a pillowcase for a bolster is long, right?

3.2.3.2 Head initial *[[X + Y] + Z]* constructions

In the following examples, X+Y are underlined and form the head of the construction, while X is double underlined because it serves the head of the XY head-initial construction. The Z element serves as modifier.

The second element of the Y *pe* X construction in example (40) is the construction *tamang parampuang SD* 'primary school girlfriend' of which the structure is [[*tamang parampuang*] *SD*]. The head of the construction is *tamang parampuang* 'girlfriend', consisting of the head *tamang* 'friend' and the modifier *parampuang* 'female'. *SD*, the abbreviation of *sekolah dasar* 'primary school' modifies *tamang parampuang*, resulting in *tamang parampuang SD* 'primary school girl friend'. In example (41) the construction *hari Minggu muka* 'next Sunday' occurs. The head of this construction is *hari Minggu* 'Sunday', which consists of *hari* 'day' modified by *Minggu* 'Sunday', resulting in *hari Minggu*. This construction is modified by *muka* 'front'.

(40) kita pe [**tamang parampuang**] [**SD**]]
      1SG POSS friend female elementary.school
      my girlfriend in elementary school

      nama Fani.
      name Fani
      called Fani.

(41) tapi tong bage sampe xx... [**hari Minggu** [**muka**]].
      but 1PL hit arrive xx day Sunday front
      but we went on until xx... the next Sunday.

In example (42) the construction *lapangan terbang Morotai* is found. When these three elements would be interpreted [X + [Y + Z]] with Y denoting an activity, *lapangan* would serve as head of the construction, but *terbang Morotai* 'fly Morotai' does not have any function. The structure of this construction has to be interpreted as [[X + Y] + Z], in which *lapangan terbang*, an expression for 'airport', serves as the head and *Morotai* serves as the modifier, resulting in the meaning 'airport of/in Morotai'. The head of *lapangan terbang* is *lapangan*.

(42) [[**lapangan terbang**] **Morotai**] paling... terbesar.
      field fly Morotai very biggest
      Morotai airport is the very... biggest one.

In some cases it is not immediately clear what the structure of the construction is. An example of such a construction is *pintu balakang ruma*. One way to interpret the structure is as a [X + [Y + Z]] in which *pintu* 'door' is the head of the construction which is modified by *balakang ruma* 'the back of the house', with the meaning 'the door (which is) at the back of the house'. Another interpretation of the structure is as

[[X̲ + Y] + Z], in which *pintu balakang* 'back door' forms the head of the construction, which is modified by *ruma* 'house', with the meaning 'the back door of the house'. The speaker can use prosody, for instance a slight pause between *pintu* and *balakang ruma*, to explicitly mark the border between the two segments and to express that the referent is 'the door which is at the back of the house'. The speaker could opt for a Y *pe* X possessive construction *ruma pe pintu balakang* in order to express the meaning 'the back door of the house'. All these complex constructions are head-initial. The structure of the head or the modifier that consists of two elements has a head-initial structure as well. The fact that complex structures have a head-initial structure facilitates the interpretation of such constructions.

3.3 Summary

A Ternate Malay listener has to recognize clauses and constituents in order to interpret an utterance. This is the tacit assumption in the discussion in § 3.1 and § 3.2. I assume that prosody plays an important role in order to recognize a clause and possibly also in order to recognize a constituent. The notion of constituent in the absence of pre-determined word categories is not self evident; still I feel it is necessary. In investigating possible structures of interpretation of a clause I choose one of the words as a candidate to form the predicative function in the clause. Further interpretation depends on whether a possible and likely reading can be constructed by grouping the remaining words into units that serve semantic roles linked to the predicative element, such as agent, theme, location or time, and are nominal in function. Grouping words into units is facilitated by the considerations in § 3.2. Each of the constituents has a head, and the head is mostly initial. Within these constituents further structure can exist. I distinguish the following syntactic functions that words distinguish in the interpretation of a string of elements: thing-like or nominal function, predicating or verbal function and property or adjectival function. In the remainder of the thesis, I will use the terms Noun, Verb and Adjective but not in the usual meaning of lexically specified word category but rather as function taken up in the interpretation of a string of words.

4 Noun constructions

This chapter concerns combinations of two or more words which result in constructions of which one element serves as head of the construction and another element as its modifier. These constructions may refer to things as well as express other meanings, depending on the context and situation within which they occur. In many examples provided here, the head of the construction is made up of thing words, although in certain structures for instance in Y *pe* X constructions, other words may serve as head as well. In this function, they receive a nominal interpretation, while the larger context and situation determine the most appropriate meaning for the constituent.

In most instances, the modifier follows the head, resulting in constructions with a head-initial structure. Particular modifiers may follow as well as precede the head word. These different word orders may result in different meanings. Constructions where the head is followed by certain quantity words may express a distributive meaning, while when the order is reversed, and the head is preceded by the quantity word, a collective meaning occurs. In examples where the proximal *ini* or the distal *itu* follow the head, they express a demonstrative meaning, while a definite meaning seems to be more applicable when they precede the head word. Sometimes it is hard to detect the difference in meaning between the different word orders and it seems to be impossible to provide a description in general terms.

Constructions with a head-final structure are Y *pe* X constructions and YX constructions, expressing a possessive meaning. The Y element in Y *pe* X constructions is the modifier and refers to possessor, while the X element is the head and refers to the possessum. The two elements are connected by *pe* and result in an expression with the meaning 'Y's X' or 'the X of Y'. The Y element of YX constructions expressing a possessive meaning serves as modifier and refers to the possessor. This element generally consists of a personal pronoun or a kinship term. The X element serves as head of the construction and refers to the possessum.

This chapter is divided into three sections. In § 4.1 constructions are discussed with modifiers that may follow as well as precede the head and result in head-initial XY and head-final YX constructions. The semantic relationship between heads and modifiers in various head-initial XY constructions is discussed in § 4.2. Head-final Y *pe* X constructions as well as YX possessive constructions with a kinship term or a personal pronoun serving as modifiers are discussed in § 4.3. The chapter closes with a short summary.

4.1 Head-initial and head-final constructions

Some modifiers may follow as well as precede the head they modify. The modifiers discussed here show that differences in word order result in different meanings.

Example (1) and (2) show constructions where the modifier, namely *talanjang* 'naked' and *bekas* 'scar' respectively, may follow as well as precede the head. In example (1) *talanjang* precedes *badang* 'body' resulting in a head-final construction *talanjang badang* '(lit.) naked body'. This expression is generally used to describe a person who does not wear a shirt. However, when *talanjang* follows the head *badang*, and results in a construction *badang talanjang* '(lit.) body naked', the meaning is slightly different, and refers to a state in which the person is completely naked and does not wear any clothes. The different word order results in a different meaning. In example (2) *kantor* 'office' is preceded by *bekas*, resulting in the construction *bekas kantor* '(lit.) trace office'. It refers to a building or a room that has previously functioned as an office, but no longer does, and expresses the meaning 'former office'. When *bekas* follows the head, such as in *baju bekas* 'second-hand clothes', a slight difference in meaning occurs. In the latter case there is no change in the function, only in ownership, and the clothes are still used as they have been previously.

(1)   jang   sampe   ofu   dusu,   baru   **talanjang**   **badang**.
          don't   arrive   bee   chase   then   naked   body
          he was careful that the bees didn't follow him while he was not wearing a shirt.

(2)   itu   kan   **bekas**   **kantor**,   to?
          that   QT   trace   office   QT
          that was formerly an office, right?

4.1.1 Modifier expressing quantity

Some words expressing quantity, such as the cardinal numerals *satu* 'one', *dua* 'two', *ampa* 'four', etc. as well as indefinite numerals *banya* 'many' and *samua* 'all' may follow as well as precede the head they modify. The two types of construction differ from each other in meaning. When cardinal numerals follow the head, and form head-initial constructions, they express a distributive meaning in which the individuality of the composing elements is still recognized. When the numerals precede the head and form head-final constructions, the result is an expression with a collective meaning, in which the amount as a whole is important.

4.1.1.1 *Modifier is Cardinal Numeral*

In the following examples, constructions occur in which the head is followed by a numeral, expressing a distributive meaning. Example (3) is the answer to a question about how many rooms a house has. After counting aloud, the speaker gives the answer *kamar anam samua* 'six rooms in total'. The modifier *anam* 'six' follows the head *kamar* 'room' and expresses a distributive meaning. Example (4) is taken from a story about a very tall, evil spirit. One of the interlocutors present wonders if the shoe size of such a tall spirit would be available and if he could buy any shoes. The answer is reflected in example (4). The speaker replies that they would have to be

ordered from the factory and only when seven factories were put together would it be possible to produce the shoes. In this example, the head *pabrik* 'factory' is followed by *tuju* 'seven' and the construction expresses a distributive meaning. The conversation in example (5) takes place in an airplane. It implies that there is more than one stewardess on board. In the example, *satu* 'one' serves as a modifier and follows the head *pramugari* 'stewardess', resulting in *pramugari satu* 'a stewardess'. This expression *pramugari satu* refers to a single, but not specifically identified person, and results in the meaning 'a stewardess'.

(3) **kamar anam** samua.
room six all
six rooms in total.

(4) **pabrik tuju** baru dong bole biking de pe spato.
factory seven then 3PL may make 3SG POSS shoe
seven factories, and only then could they make its shoes.

(5) kong pilot bilang pa **pramugari satu** bilang: "[…]"
CONJ pilot say to stewardess one say
and the pilot said to a stewardess: "[…]."

In constructions where the modifying numeral precedes the head and forms head-final constructions, the collective meaning occurs. In example (6) *ampa* 'four' precedes *hari* 'day', resulting in *ampa hari* 'four days', referring to the period of four days as one unit. The speaker of example (7) explains that when he said he could eat five portions of sago porridge, he meant *lima bale* 'five portions' and not *lima bokor* 'five bowls' of the porridge. Both constructions express collectivity and refer to the amount as a whole. Example (8) is taken from a story about a group of people stealing mangoes from a mango tree. Each person carries a stick and throws it at the fruit so they fall to be collected. From the context, it is clear that more than one person is present and each of them holds one stick. The expression *satu orang* 'one person' in this example refers to one specific person. This differs from example (5) where *orang satu* referred to an indefinite, random person. The different position of *satu* relative to the head results in a difference in meaning.

(6) **ampa hari** karja su **ampa hari**.
four day work COMP four day
four days, I've been working for four days now.

(7)   **lima bale**[11],   bukang **lima bokor**.
       five turn.around NEG   five bowl
       five portions, not five bowls.

(8)   "siap... pegang **satu orang** satu."
       ready   hold   one   person one
       "get ready, each person holds one stick."

4.1.1.2 *[Noun + [Numeral + Numeral Classifier]]*

When a head is modified by a construction consisting of a cardinal numeral and a numeral classifier or mensural classifier, the modifier always follows the head, resulting in head-initial constructions [Noun + [Numeral + Numeral Classifier]]. However, the modifier itself consists of a head-final YX construction in which the X element, namely the numeral classifier, is the head and is preceded by the numeral expressing the quantity. Constructions consisting of a numeral/mensural classifier always have a head-final structure. Numeral classifiers indicate the type of referent. When the referent is human, *orang* '(lit.) person' is used as classifier, for animals *ekor* '(lit.) tail' is used, and for plants and trees the classifier is *pohong* '(lit.) tree'. The general classifier *biji* '(lit.) seed' is used for all kinds of inanimate entities and other objects or things.

In example (9) the head *pilot* 'pilot' is modified by *dua orang*, consisting of *dua* 'two' and the classifier for humans *orang*, resulting in *pilot dua orang* 'two pilots'. In example (10) the head *ikang paus* 'whale' is modified by *satu ekor* '(lit.) one tail', the numeral *satu* 'one' and the classifier for animals *ekor*, resulting in *ikang paus satu ekor* 'one whale'. The head *ikang paus* '(lit) fish whale' itself consists of two elements of which *ikang* 'fish' is the head, modified by *paus* 'whale'. In example (11) *lemong* 'citrus' is followed by the numeral *satu* 'one' and the numeral classifier for plants and trees *pohong* '(lit.) tree', resulting in *lemong dua pohong* 'two citrus trees'. All these constructions are head-initial and express a distributive meaning.

(9)   pilot yang turung cari, **pilot dua orang**.
       pilot REL go.down search pilot two CL
       the two pilots stepped out looking for him.

(10)   baru ada   **ikang paus satu ekor** paling
       then be.present fish   whale one CL   very
       moreover there was a very big whale

---

[11] *Bale* may also express the meaning 'turn around, return' and refers to the way of serving sago porridge. In order to take a portion of sago porridge, the porridge is turned around a pair of wooden or bamboo forks with two prongs.

basar	situ,	ngana
big	there	2SG

over there.

(11)	kong	de	lari	de	bage	**lemong**	**satu**	**pohong**.
	CONJ	3SG	run	3SG	hit	citrus	one	CL

so he ran and he hit a citrus tree.

Examples (12) – (14) show that the general classifier *biji* '(lit.) seed' can be used with a wide range of items. It can be used for things such as *lampu* 'lamp' as in example (12), where *lampu* 'lamp' is the head and is modified by *dua* 'two' and the numeral classifier for objects *biji* '(lit.) seed', resulting in *lampu dua biji* 'two lamps'. It can be used with *bonya* 'wound' as in example (13), taken from a description of someone whose body is covered with wounds. In this example, the head is *bonya*, which is modified by *satu biji* 'one piece'. In example (14) the numeral classifier *biji* is used with *lobang* 'hole', referring to the hole where a snake lives.

(12)	**lampu**	**dua**	**biji.**
	lamp	two	CL

two lamps.

(13)	eh,	**de**	**pe**	**bonya**	**satu**	**biji**	tara	kacili,	ngana.
	EXCL	3SG	POSS	wound	one	CL	NEG	small	2SG

hey, one wound is not small, you know.

(14)	**de**	**pe**	**lobang**	**satu**	**biji**	saja
	3SG	POSS	hole	one	CL	only

one single hole is

hmm,	basar	ini	e.
EXCL	big	this	EXCL

as big as this here, hey.

The following examples show that the use of numeral classifiers is not obligatory and the referent is not always overtly expressed. Examples (15) and (16) are taken from the same story. Example (15) consists of a Y *pe* X construction *Harun pe pisang* 'Hasan's bananas', followed by *lima* 'five' and the general numeral classifier, including fruit, *biji*. In the next example, (16), which actually follows example (15) in the story, *tiga* 'three' occurs as a constituent in its own right and is not accompanied by any referent nor classifier. From the situation, it is clear that the speaker is still talking about the *pisang* 'bananas' mentioned in the previous utterance, and this referent is not overtly expressed. In example (17) only the numeral together with the

appropriate numeral classifier, *satu biji* 'one piece', occurs to refer to the mosquito repellent. This example is taken from a story about a place with lots of mosquitoes. The speaker says that in this place one has to burn mosquito repellent in all four corners of the room. According to him, it does not help to burn only one piece, using the expression *satu biji* 'one piece' to refer to the repellent. In example (18) the numeral classifier *biji* is used to refer to a building and is preceded by *satu* 'one'.

(15)   "**Harun**   **pe**   **pisang**   **lima**   **biji**."
            Harun   POSS   banana   five   CL
            "Harun, you have five bananas."

(16)   "Harun   makang   **tiga**,   sisa   barapa?"
            Harun   eat   three   remain how.much
            "if you eat three, how many are left?"

(17)   kalo   bakar   **satu**   **biji**   sama   saja.
            when   burn   one   CL   same   only
            if you burn one piece, it will make no difference.

(18)   **ruma**   cuma   **satu**   **biji**...   beton   lagi.
            house   only   one   CL   concrete   more
            only one single house… of concrete.

Some less frequently used classifiers are *batang* '(lit.) stem' and *poci*[12] 'pot'. These classifiers refer to the shape of the object or to its appearance. *Batang* '(lit.) stem' is used for elongated objects, such as cigarettes, stems, and other objects. In example (19) *roko* 'cigarette' occurs with *satu* 'one' and the numeral classifier for elongated objects *batang* 'stem', resulting in the expression *roko satu batang* 'one cigarette'.

    Poci 'pot' refers to the way an item is presented. A *lampu palita* is a home-made oil lamp made of a tin filled with petroleum and a wick. In example (20) *lampu palita* 'oil lamp' is followed by *satu* 'one' and the numeral classifier *poci* 'pot', resulting in *lampu palita satu poci* 'one oil lamp'. Note that *lampu palita* consists of the head *lampu* and expresses a generic meaning, which is modified by *palita*, referring the type or kind.

(19)   doi   xx   **roko**   **satu**   **batang**   cari   pe   susa.
            money   xx   cigarette one   CL   search   POSS   difficult
            even to xx some money to buy one cigarette is difficult.

---

[12] This word originates from the Dutch *potje* 'small pot'.

(20)   **lampu**   **palita**   **satu**   **poci**   taru.
                 lamp   oil.lamp   one   CL   put
                 I put one oil lamp.

4.1.1.3 *[Noun + [[Numeral + Mensural Classifiers]]*

Mensural classifiers are used to express the quantity of a substance. The structure of this type of construction consists of a cardinal numeral and a classifier, and follows a noun, resulting in the structure [Noun + [Numeral + Mensural classifier]]. Generally these mensural classifiers refer to the way the material is transported, packaged, or presented. In example (21) the classifier *ret* 'ride' refers to a loaded truck transporting building material to its destination. *Ret* may be used for the transportation of large amounts of sand, gravel, and other (building) material. *Semen* 'cement' can be quantified by *bantal* 'pillow', referring to the shape: packed in large paper bags so that they resemble pillows. The same example contains *semen lapan pulu bantal* which consists of the head *semen* 'cement', modified by *lapan pulu bantal*, consisting of *lapan pulu* 'eighty', referring to the quantity and *bantal* 'pillow', the mensural classifier. Smaller amounts of sand are packed in sacks and these can be quantified by the mensural classifier *karong* 'sack', as is exemplified in (22). In this example, *paser dua karong* consists of the head *paser* 'sand', followed by *dua* 'two', expressing the quantity and *karong*, which refers to the mensural classifier. When sand is mixed with cement to make concrete, the quantity is expressed by the mensural classifier *ember* 'bucket', referring to the object used to measure the amount as in example (23). In this example *paser anam ember* consists of the head *paser* 'sand', followed by *anam* 'six' to express the quantity and *ember* 'bucket' the mensural classifier. The use of the mensural classifier is not obligatory as is exemplified in example (24). In this example *semen lima pulu* occurs, consisting of the head *semen* 'cement' and *lima pulu* 'fifty' referring to the quantity. In a previous utterance, the speaker has spoken about the building material at the scene, including the cement, and the interlocutors may use this as the context to determine an appropriate interpretation. In example (25) *aer* 'water' is transported in jerry cans and *jerigen* 'jerry can' is used as a mensural classifier for water and for other liquids, including frying oil, petroleum, gasoline, as well as vinegar and palm wine. In example (31) *glas* 'glass' refers to the container in which the coffee is presented. It is often used as mensural classifier for drinks.

(21)   **paser**   **lima**   **ret,**   eh...   **paser**   **anam**   **ret**,
                 sand   five   ride   EXCL   sand   six   ride
                 there were five rides of sand, umm... six rides of sand,

                 kerikil   **lima**   **ret**…   baru   **semen**   **lapan**   **pulu**   **bantal**.
                 gravel   five   ride   then   cement   eight   tens   pillow
                 five rides of gravel and eighty sacks of cement.

(22)   eh,   ka   bawa   baru   xx   **paser   dua   karong**...
          EXCL   to   bottom   then   xx   sand   two   sack
          oops, we went down xx two sacks of sand...

(23)   kita   ka   sana,   ambe   **paser   anam   ember**   ka   mari...
          1SG   to   there   take   sand   six   bucket   to   here
          I went over there, took six buckets of sand...

(24)   pertama   dong   bawa   **semen   lima   pulu**.
          first   3PL   bring   cement   five   tens
          at first they brought fifty sacks of cement.

(25)   baru   **aer   satu,   tiga   jerigen**   di   muka   parau.
          then   water   one   three   jerry can   in   front   boat
          there were one, three jerry cans of water in the front of the boat.

(26)   ini   satu,   **kofi   satu   glas**,   jadi   suda.
          this   one   coffee   one   glass   become   COMP
          one of this, one glass of coffee and it will be fine.

4.1.1.4 Modifier is Indefinite Numeral

Two words expressing indefinite number, *banya* 'many' and *samua* 'all', may follow as well as precede the head to form a larger construction. When they follow the head to form head-initial constructions, they express a distributive meaning. Preceding the head, constructions with *banya* and *samua* express a collective meaning of which the amount is considered to be a whole. In example (27) *banya* follows the head *orang* 'person', resulting in *orang banya* 'many people', and expresses a distributive meaning. The speaker tells how embarrassed he was when he received money for helping a woman bring her shopping to the bus. He felt that every single passenger in the bus was staring at him when she gave him the money. In example (27b) *banya* 'many' precedes the head *tenaga* 'power', resulting in *banya tenaga* 'a lot of power'. This example is taken from a discussion about how difficult it is to find a job nowadays, compared to earlier times. In this example, *banya* precedes the head *tenaga* to expresses collectivity; it refers to the number of labourers as a whole. In example (28) *samua* 'all' follows the head *ular-ular* 'snakes', resulting in the head-initial construction *ular-ular samua* 'all the snakes', expressing a distributive meaning and referring to every single snake the man possesses. The head *ular-ular*, occurs is reduplicated to explicitly express variety and plurality. In example (28b) the speaker jokingly describes how other fingers reacted to the index finger, when it was swollen. In this example *samua* 'all' precedes *jari* 'finger', resulting in the head-final construction *samua jari* expressing a collective meaning.

(27) baru **orang** **banya** haga-haga, ngana.
      then   person many   PL-stare   2SG
      and many people were looking at me.

(27b) dulu   kan dong masi butu **banya** **tenaga**.
      before QT   3PL   still   need many   power
      in the past they needed a lot of labour.

(28) **ular-ular** **samua** paitua   lapas.
      RED-snake   all   old.man let.loose
      he freed all the snakes.

(28b) **samua** **jari** tako pa dia.
      all   finger afraid to 3SG
      all the fingers were afraid of it.

Ordinal numbers can only follow the head they modify, resulting in head-initial constructions, such as in example (29) within which *kedua* 'second' follows *babak* 'phase', forming *babak kedua* 'second phase' and referring to the second half of a soccer game. Example (30) is taken from an explanation of a game where two teams try to conquer each other's territories. The borders are indicated by lines and are guarded by members of each team. In this example, *kedua* 'second' and *ketiga* 'third' follow the head *len* 'line', resulting in head-initial constructions *len kedua* 'second line' and *len ketiga* 'third line' respectively, and referring to the specific borders.

(29) tara dapa balas su   **babak** **kedua**.
      NEG   get   reply   COMP phase   second
      they could not catch up and it was already the second half.

(30) yang jaga **len** **kedua** **len** **ketiga**
      REL   guard line   second   line   third
      the one who guards the second and third line

      dia tara berkuasa yang...
      3SG NEG   powerful   REL
      doesn't have the authority over...

Tiap 'each' is a quantity word expressing a distributive meaning and always precedes heads to form head-final constructions. In example (31) *tiap* precedes *malam* 'night', resulting in *tiap malam* 'every night'.

(31) dia   ba-jalang, **tiap**   **malam** dia   ba-jalang.
      3SG   DUR-walk   every   night   3SG   DUR-walk
      she walks around, every night she walks around.

4.1.2 Modifier is *ini*/*itu*

In constructions in which *ini* or *itu* serves as a modifier, they may follow as well as precede the head. *Ini* 'this' is a proximal and expresses that the referent is close to the speaker and *itu* 'that', a distal, expresses that the referent is at some distance from the speaker. The distance in relation to the speaker and the speech situation may concern spatial as well as temporal distance. When participating in a sequence of words following the head, *ini* and *itu* generally occupy the right-most and final position in this group, marking the boundary of the constituent. Constituents with *ini* and *itu* seldom serve as a predicate. In other syntactic functions, a nominal meaning often applies. When *ini* or *itu* follow the head, they may express a demonstrative meaning, while when preceding it, a definite meaning seems to be more appropriate. In this paragraph examples are given to illustrate the use of these words and the meanings they express depending the position in the construction. The shortened forms of *ini* and *itu*, *ni* and *tu* respectively, generally only occur following the head.

4.1.2.1 *Head* ini *constructions*

The proximal *ini* refers to a specific referent who is close to the speaker and within the speech situation, when it follows the head in a construction. In the following examples the referents of *ini* are present in the room where the conversation takes places, for example in example (32) and (33), or the referent is at a short distance from the speaker in the story, for example in example (34). The position of *ini* marks the boundary between constituents.

The speaker of example (32) produced this utterance after he had just taken a sip of his coffee. The cup of coffee stands in front of him on the table. In this example *ini* follows *kofi*, resulting in *kofi ini*, expressing that the coffee is close to the speaker and that the speaker is talking about the coffee he just tasted and not about other types of coffee. Example (33) is taken from a story in which the speaker talks about how one of the lava stones he carried hit his finger. While talking, the speaker points at the finger that was hit, expressing that he is talking about that particular finger and not about the others. *Ini* in these examples expresses a demonstrative meaning. Example (34) is taken from a story about a whale. The storyteller explains that the whale suddenly emerged in front of his boat when he was paddling from the mainland back to an adjacent island. The utterance reflects his thoughts when the whale came to the surface and spouted water. It is clear that *ikang ini* 'this fish' refers to the whale. The use of *ini* expresses that the speaker refers to the fish in front of him at the moment of his utterance or his thoughts.

(32) ck,   **kofi**   **ini**   sadap.
      tut   coffee   this   delicious
      tut, this coffee is delicious.

(33)   dia   tindis   **jari**   **ini**.
            3SG   press   finger   this
            it squashed this finger.

(34)   kita: "o,   **ikang**   **ini**   basar."
            1SG   EXCL   fish   this   big
            I thought: "o, this fish is big."

4.1.2.2 Ini *Head constructions*

In the following examples, *ini* 'this' precedes the head it modifies. It expresses that something is close to the speaker and within the speech situation or the situation that is described. Interlocutors in the conversation share the same knowledge and know the referent to which *ini* refers. In such situations, *ini* expresses merely a definite and identifying meaning rather than a demonstrative meaning.

In example (35) *ini* 'this' precedes the head *hari* 'day', resulting in *ini hari* 'this day'. The example is taken from a story in which the speaker says that he dropped two jerry cans. One was filled with petroleum. Luckily, the jerry cans fell in the sand and did not break, otherwise he and his friends could not light the lamps. The example reflects the friends' reaction to the accident. The speaker uses *ini hari* 'to-day', which refers to the specific day in the past when the accident happened. In example (36) *ini* 'this' modifies *doi roko* '(lit.) money cigarette', resulting in *ini doi roko* 'the money to buy cigarettes'. The speaker is imagining how his life would be if he lived in Surabaya, a city on the island of Java, and not in Ternate. He assumes that it is difficult to find money for living there, it is hard to find money for the ticket to go there, let alone to find money to buy cigarettes. The use of *ini* preceding the head *doi roko* results in *ini doi roko* 'the money for cigarettes' and expresses a definite meaning, referring to money to buy cigarettes in a general sense.

In the following two examples *ini* precedes the head in a construction, which is followed by other modifiers, and result in head-internal constructions. In this posi-tion, *ini* expresses a definite meaning. In example (37) *ini* 'this' modifies and pre-cedes *orang deng dinas* 'person in uniform', which consists of the head *orang* 'person', modified by *deng dinas* 'with uniform'. The example is taken from a story in which the speaker tells of his friend's reaction when the speaker told him that a security guard hit him. During their conversation, the speaker tries to convince his friend that it is not wise to take revenge on uniformed people. The expression *ini orang deng dinas* is interpreted to refer to a general group of people and *ini* ex-presses a definite meaning. In example (38) *ini* 'this' precedes the construction *cewe bercinta tenga hari tua* 'girl in love at midday', which is closed off with *ni* 'this'. *Ini* preceding the head indicates definiteness and the whole utterance is interpreted as a general statement. Note that in this example the construction is closed off with *ni* which marks the boundary between constituents.

(35) "kalo pica **ini hari**, abis, tong galap buta."
      when broken this day finished 1PL dark blind
      "if they had broken, that would've been it, we'd be in the dark."

(36) **ini doi roko** me cari susa.
      this money cigarette PART search difficult
      even money to buy cigarettes is hard to find.

(37) **ini orang deng dinas** ngana pukul ngana...
      this person with agency 2SG hit 2SG
      people in uniform, if you hit them you'll...

(38) "**ini cewe bercinta tenga hari tua ni** gawat."
      this girl love middle day old this urgent
      "a girl in love at midday means trouble."

In cases where *ini* 'this' is followed by another word it may be difficult to determine to which unit *ini* belongs. The context, and probably also some prosodic features, determine whether *ini* 'this' belongs to the same unit as the following word or not.

In these examples, *ini* 'this' is analyzed as a constituent in its own right with its own syntactic function, rather than participating as modifier in a group of words. Example (39) is taken from a story about a man who is so heavy that a car would tilt if he sat in it. The speaker wonders whether the man is a human being or a robot made of iron, and therefore so heavy. The sentence consists of two clauses connected by the conjunction *ka* 'or', indicating a contradiction. Each clause consists of *ini* 'this', which is a constituent in its own right that acts as subject, while *manusia* and *robot* serve as predicates, resulting in [*ini*] [*manusia*] 'this is a human' (or 'is this a human?') and [*ini*] [*robot*] 'this is a robot' (or 'is this a robot?') respectively. An alternative interpretation would be that *ini* 'the' is a modifier that precedes the head, expressing a definite meaning, resulting in [*ini manusia*] *ka* [*ini robot*] 'the person or the robot'. In this context, such a reading seems to be less appropriate.

Example (40) is taken from a story about someone who had hot oil spilled on him. His friends found him on the beach. They suggested that he use toothpaste, but he just covered his legs with sand to prevent the burns from turning into blisters. In this example, *ini* is interpreted as a constituent in its own right, serving as the theme that is effected by the action expressed in the predicate *pake* 'use'. In an alternative reading, *ini* could serve as a modifier which precedes the head *paser* 'sand', resulting *ini paser* and expressing a definite meaning 'the sand'. This reading seems to be less appropriate. Prosodic features, for instance a slight pause or a particular accent, may indicate the boundary between constituents.

(39)   **ini   manusia** ka   **ini   robot**?
               this   human   or   this   robot

               is he a human or is he a robot?

(40)   **pake ini, paser**.
               use   this   sand

               I'm using this, sand.

Ini can be shortened to *ni* when it follows the head it modifies, resulting in head-initial constructions. It always occupies the right-most position in the construction and marks the boundary with the adjacent constituent, particularly when the head is followed by a series of modifiers, as well as with the adjacent sentence or utterance. In this function, *ni* helps to determine the borders as well as the structure of sequences of words.

In the following examples, *ni* indicates the border with the adjacent word or unit. The situation of example (41) is that the speaker is telling a story about how he is confronted with a woman who is so insistent about being physically close to him that he thinks that she must be an evil spirit. In this example, *ni* follows the head *parampuang*, resulting in a head-initial construction *parampuang ni* 'this female'. It marks the boundary between this and the adjacent constituent. The construction serves as subject and is distinguished from the following predicate. In example (42) the speaker uses the expression *Fadin pe kaka ni* 'this brother of Fadin' to refer to a person he has mentioned before. The expression provides additional information about the referent. It is closed off with *ni* to distinguish it from the next utterance. A similar situation is found in example (43) within which *ni* separates the quotation from the rest of the sentence.

(41)   "ih,   **parampuang ni**   mangkali   suanggi
               EXCL   female   this   maybe   nocturnal.spirit

               'oh, this girl is maybe a ghost or something',

          ka   apa", dalang hati   bilang...
               or   what   inside   liver   say

               I said to myself...

(42)   Wan   dara   de   suka   ba-terek,
               TRU-Ridwan   land   3SG   like   DUR-tease

               Wan who lives landwards likes to tease;

          Fadin pe   kaka   ni.
               Fadin   POSS older.sibling this

               Fadin's brother.

(43)   "mati   ka   hidup   **ni**?",   su   ba-fikir.
             dead   or   live   this   COMP   REFL-think
             "will I live or die?", *I wondered*.

The shortened form *ni* in the previous examples is interchangeable with the long form *ini* and expresses a demonstrative meaning. The following short conversation illustrates that it is not always easy to determine whether a demonstrative or a definite meaning is most appropriate in the context.

  Sentence (44) can be interpreted in two ways: either the speaker asks what kind of coffee he is drinking and whether it is Nescafe, a brand of instant coffee, or he is about to say something about coffee and specifically about the Nescafe brand. The reaction of speaker B is based on the first interpretation and the exclamation (44b) shows that she disagrees with speaker B's suggestion that he is drinking instant coffee. The exclamation tells speaker A that speaker B has misinterpreted his words and he explains in sentence (44c) what he was about to say.

(44)   A: **kofi   apa   ni...   Neskafe   ni**...
                   coffee   what   this   Nescafe   this
                   1. *coffee whatsitcalled... Nescafe...*
                   2. *what kind of coffee is this... Nescafe?*

(44b)   B: cih.
                   EXCL
                   what do you think?

(44c)   A: bukang,   kita   bilang   Neskafe,   tara,   tarada   ampas.
                   NEG   1SG   say   Nescafe   NEG   NEG   dregs
                   no, I'm talking about Nescafe, right, the one that doesn't have any dregs.

In some cases, the long form *ini* as well as the shortened form *ni* co-occur in a single construction. The combination of *ini ni* always follows the head word, resulting in head-initial constructions within which *ni* always follows *ini* 'this', occupying the right-most position in the construction; the reversed order of the two elements is not possible. The modification with *ini* and *ni* seems to express proximity in time and place as well as provide a definite meaning aspect.

  Example (45) is taken from a story in which the speaker tells how he was attacked by bees. He was surprised the bees were everywhere, even in the cap he was wearing. He refers to the bees that attacked him at that place and at that moment in the past with *ofu ini ni* to express that he is talking about the bees that were spatially as well as temporally close to him. The head of the construction *ofu* is followed by *ini* and *ni*, resulting in *ofu ini ni* 'these bees here'. The combination of *ini* and *ni* in example (46) follows the head *panyake* 'illness', resulting in the expression *panyake ini ni*, expressing that the illness is close in place and time to the referent in the story reflecting the meaning 'the illness here now'. In example (47) the speaker talks

about his neighbour's grandchildren who are very fond of him. They always want to sit on his lap or want to be hugged. In this example the head *ana-ana* 'children' is preceded by *ini* and followed by *ini* and *ni*, resulting in a head-internal construction *ini ana-ana ini ni* 'the children here now'. The *ini* preceding the head may express definiteness, while the combination of *ini* and *ni* following the head may express that the referent is close in place and time.

(45)   **"ofu   ini   ni**...   su   insinyur   ka   apa."
         bee   this   this   COMP   engineer   or   what
         "those bees must have been engineers".

(46)   kita: "ngana   **panyake   ini   ni**...   ngana   batawana   tu…
         1SG   2SG   illness   this   this   2SG   stay.up.late   that
         I'm thinking, "this illness of yours… you stay up late…

         tara   lama   ngana   mot   ni".
         NEG   long   2SG   die   this
         it won't be long until you die."

(47)   kita,   "**ini   ana-ana   ini   ni**!   ini   la   sampa,
         1SG   this   RED-child   this   this   this   CONJ   trash
         I thought, "those kids! If they were trash,

         kita   angka   buang   lao   di   aer.
         1SG   lift.up   throw.away   sea   in   water
         'I'd pick them up and throw them in the sea."

4.1.2.3 *Head* itu *constructions*

Constructions consisting of a head followed by the distal *itu* 'that' refer to entities that are located at some distance from the speaker. This concerns spatial as well as temporal distance in relation to the speaker, listener, as well as the speech situation. *Itu* frequently indicates a demonstrative meaning. In a series of modifying words that follow a head, *itu* always occupies the right-most and final position and may serve as boundary between two constituents.

Example (48) is taken from a story about someone who helps a woman bring her shopping to the bus. While they are walking to the place where the busses wait for passengers, the woman points from some distance at the bus she wants to take, and refers to the bus with the expression *oto itu* 'that car'. The expression consists of the head *oto* 'car', followed by *itu*, which expresses a demonstrative meaning, and results in *oto itu* 'that car'. In example (49) the speaker quotes someone's advice with regard to the use of magic spells and supernatural powers, to which he refers with the expression *barang itu* 'those things'. The head *barang* 'thing' is followed by the distal *itu*, which refers to something they talked about previously. In example (50)

the speaker describes a situation he experienced some years earlier. At that time he was listening to the music of a singer who is still known, but no longer as popular as before. The speaker refers to the period of time in the past with *waktu itu* 'at that time', consisting of the head *waktu* 'time', followed by the distal *itu*, to refer to something which is at some temporal distance from the speaker and the speech situation. The position of *itu* indicates the boundary between two constituents.

(48)   "ah,   kase   nae   **oto**   **itu**."
          EXCL   give   go.up   car   that
          "there, put it in that car."

(49)   "Sad,   jang   ngana   balajar   **barang**   **itu**!"
          TRU-Arsad   don't   2SG   learn   thing   that
          "Sad, don't learn those things!"

(50)   ...**waktu**   **itu**   dia   weh,   top.
          time   that   3SG   EXCL   top
          ...at that time he was, wow, the best.

4.1.2.4 Itu *Head constructions*

When *itu* precedes a head and serves as modifier, it expresses definiteness of the referent. The speaker in example (51) tells that earlier that day he was complaining about his uncle, who had borrowed a ladder, and did not return it to the right place. He uses *itu barang* 'the thing' to refer to something he mentioned before. It refers to something that is also at some distance from the speaker and the speech situation. In this example, *barang* 'thing' is preceded by the distal *itu*, and expresses a definite meaning. In the example (52) the speaker starts to tell about his experience building houses, and uses the expression *itu hari*, consisting of the head *hari* 'day', which is preceded by *itu* 'that' to refer to a period of time that is at some temporal distance from the speaker and the speech situation and expresses a definiteness.

Example (53) is taken from a fragment within which the speaker describes a few characteristics of a certain kind of cassava, called *kasbi peot* '(Lit.) dented cassava'. The speaker ends his description with the words *itu kasbi peot*. Theoretically, the example could be read in two ways, depending on how itu is parsed. In the first interpretation *itu* 'that' is considered to act as an independent constituent with a syntactic function as subject. The structure is then [[*itu*] [*kasbi peot*]] and expresses the meaning 'that is a "kasbi peot"'. In an alternative interpretation, *itu* 'that' is considered to be a modifier preceding the head *kasbi peot* '(lit.) cassava dented', resulting in *itu kasbi peot* 'the "kasbi peot"', within which *itu* indicates a definite meaning. In the context of this example, the first reading is more appropriate.

(51)   […]   de   pake   **itu   barang**   abis   tara   taru

                      3SG   use   that   thing   finished   NEG   put

               […] he finished using that thing, didn't put it back

               de   pe   tampa...

               3SG   POSS   place

               in its place…

(52)   kita   perna   karja   di   Perumnas   **itu**   **hari**...

        1SG   ever   work   in   National.Housing.Authority   that   day

        once I worked at the National Housing Authority project…

(53)   **itu**   **kasbi**   **peot**.

        that   cassava   dented

        1. *that is "kasbi peot"* or

        2. *that "kasbi peot"*

In between a series of words, *itu* may modify the word on either side. The most appropriate interpretation of the structure is determined by the context and the situation. Example (54) is taken from a story about fishing. One of the fishermen tries to pull out a fish of the water and he feels that the fish is fighting back. Then he realizes that this cannot be an ordinary fish; it must be the famous whale of the region. The structure of the sentence in this example is best interpreted as: [[*itu*] [*ikang itu*] [*su makang*]]. The first *itu* is a constituent in its own right, used anaphorically to refer back to the situation described previously. The second *itu* 'that' modifies the head *ikang* 'fish', resulting in the construction *ikang itu* 'that fish', in which the demonstrative meaning is more prominent and refers to the famous whale of the region. The result is that [*itu*] [*ikang itu*] is interpreted as 'that (= the fact that the fish fights back when fisherman tries to pull him out of the water) means that that fish (has bitten)'. In another context and situation, [[*itu*] [*ikang itu*] [*su makang*]] could mean 'that (for instance the bait) is eaten by that fish'. In this interpretation, the first *itu* refers to the patient or undergoer of the activity expressed in *makan* 'eat' and serves as the central theme of attention, while *ikang itu su makang* is the comment, consisting of the subject *ikang itu* 'that fish' and the predicate *su makang* 'has eaten'. In again another context this same sentence *itu ikang itu su makang* could be parsed as follows: [[*itu ikang*] [*itu*] [*su makang*]]. In this interpretation there is a topic-comment construction of which *itu ikang* 'the fish' is the topic and the central theme of attention. The comment consists of *itu su makang* 'that has eaten (it)' in which *itu* 'that' is the subject and actor of the action expressed in the predicate *su makang*, reflecting the meaning 'that fish, that has eaten (it)' or 'that fish is eaten by that'. It does not seem to be possible to interpret *itu ikang itu* as one single constituent, consisting of a head modified by an *itu* preceding as well as following it. Pro-

sodic features, for instance a slight pause between constituents or a certain accent, as well as the context and the situation may help to determine the appropriate interpretation.

(54)   abis   itu   de   tarek,   na   itu   bukang   dia   tu.
             finished   that   3SG   pull   EXCL   that   NEG   3SG   that
             after that he pulls, hey, that's not him.

             itu   **ikang**   **itu**   su   makang.
             that   fish   that   COMP   eat
             it means that that fish has bitten.

The following example is taken from a story about nocturnal spirits, who look like human beings. The speaker explains that if people realize that the person they see is actually a nocturnal spirit, they will definitely be frightened. The construction *itu barang itu* in example (55) has two possible interpretations. In the first reading the structure is [[*itu barang*] [*itu*]]. In this interpretation the first *itu* 'that' serves as a modifier preceding the head *barang* 'thing', resulting in the construction *itu barang* 'the thing' and expressing a definite meaning. The second *itu* 'that' is then considered to be a distinct constituent, serving as predicate, and referring to the nocturnal spirit. The construction reflects the meaning 'the thing is that', namely the thing we see is a nocturnal spirit.

In a second reading, the structure is [[*itu*] [*barang itu*]] 'that is that thing'. The first *itu* 'that' is interpreted as a constituent in its own right, serving as subject. It is followed by *barang itu* 'that thing', serving as predicate. In this construction *barang* is followed by a modifying *itu*, which expresses a demonstrative meaning. The whole expression *itu barang itu* reflects the meaning 'that is that thing', in which the first *itu* refers to the person who is seen, while *barang itu* 'that thing' refers to the nocturnal spirit. The context, the situation, as well as certain prosodic features may help to determine the appropriate interpretation.

(55)   ah,   tong   tau   **itu**   **barang**   **itu**,
             EXCL   1PL   know   that   thing   that
             1. *eh, if we know (that) the thing is that*,
             2. *eh, if we know (that) that is that thing*,

             pasti   tong   tako   suda.
             definitely   1PL   afraid   COMP
             then we would surely be afraid.

Itu can be shortened to *tu* and occurs only following the head it modifies, resulting in head-initial constructions. When the head is followed by a series of modifiers including *tu*, it always occupies the right-most position in the construction and serves to mark the boundary with the following constituent. The shortened form *tu*

expresses more or less the same meaning as the long form *itu* 'that', when it follows the head it modifies. The short form *tu* may indicate a generic meaning, which is not expressed by *itu*.

Example (56) occurs in a story about persons suffering from asthma. The speaker tells of his friend Anwar who suffers from asthma, makes some general statements about this illness, and continues to describe Anwar's condition. In this example, *tu* 'that' follows the head Anwar, resulting in *Anwar tu* and expresses a definite meaning and indicates that the referent is known from the context. Example (57) is taken from a story in which a person named Caken has been hit by a security guard. The example is his friend's reaction to this incident. The construction *de pe orang tu* 'the person' consists of the head *de pe orang* 'the person' and refers to the security guard who is mentioned previously in the story. It is followed by the distal *tu* to express a definite meaning. In example (58) the speaker talks about a woman who has a stylish way of walking. The construction *parampuang sana tu* consists of the head *parampuang* 'woman', modified by *sana* 'there', indicating spatial distance, as well as the distal *tu*, expressing definiteness of the referent. In a construction with more than one modifier, *tu* occupies the right-most position in the construction and marks the boundary of the constituent.

(56)   **Anwar tu**   kita   lia,   kita   sayang   skali,   ngana.
            Anwar   that   1SG   see   1SG   compassion   very   2SG
            when I see Anwar, I really feel sorry for him.

(57)   Fadin   bilang,   "Caken,   cari   **de**   **pe**   **orang**   **tu**!"
            Fadin   say   Caken   search   3SG   POSS   person   that
            Fadin said: "Caken, find the man!"

(58)   kita   bilang,   **"parampuang**   **sana**   **tu**,   jang   barani   kore."
            1SG   say   woman   there   that   don't   brave   scrape
            I said: "you'd better not mess with that woman over there!."

In some cases when *tu* 'that' expresses a generic meaning: the referent expressed in the head refers to a class, group, or category and the statement expressed applies to the whole group. In example (59) the speaker wonders how crazy people think. In this example the head *orang gila*, which consists of the head *orang* and a modifier *gila*, is followed by *tu* 'that'. The resultant construction *orang gila tu* expresses a generic meaning 'crazy people (in general)'. In example (60) the head *ular* 'snake' is followed by *tu* 'that', resulting in the construction *ular tu* 'snakes (in general)' and indicates a generic interpretation of the word *ular*. The construction is followed by a statement that applies to all snakes, namely *ada kuku* 'have toenails. In example (61) *pisang capatu* consists of the head *pisang* and the modifier *capatu*, referring to a certain type of banana, namely "shoe" bananas'. This construction is followed by *tu*

'that' to indicate a generic meaning. *Tu* occupies the right-most position in the construction and marks the boundary with the following the constituent.

(59)   **orang** **gila** **tu** bagemana dong pe   pikirang?
         person crazy that how   3PL POSS thought
        what are the thoughts of crazy people?

(60)   **ular** **tu** ada   kuku dong bilang.
         snake that be.present nail 3PL say
        they say that snakes have toenails.

(61)   **pisang** **capatu** **tu** kan de pe   batang
         banana shoe   that PART 3SG POSS trunk
        the stem of the "shoe banana" is very small

        dari ujung kacili.
        from tip   small

Only a few examples were found in which a head is followed by *itu* as well as *tu*, resulting in a head-initial construction in which *tu* appears in the right-most position. The combination of *itu* and *tu* expresses that the referent is at some distance in time and place from the speaker, and the speech event as well as it indicates the referent is known to the interlocutors. Example (62) is taken from a story within which the speaker tells that he once received a magic spell in a dream. Unfortunately, he forgot one word and the spell did not work. The construction *kata itu tu* consists of the head *kata* 'word', followed by the modifier *itu*, indicating that the referent is at some temporal distance and *tu* to express a definite meaning. In example (63) the speaker talks about a person who was about to buy a house. The seller turned down his offer, but then he heard about another, larger and cheaper house, and he immediately bought it. In the example, the buyer is referred to with the expression *paitua itu tu*, consisting of the head *paitua* '(lit.) old person' and modified by the distal *itu*. The construction is followed by *tu* to express definiteness and to mark the border of the constituent.

(62)   lupa satu **kata** **itu** **tu**.
        forget one word that that
        I forgot that one word.

(63)   **paitua** **itu** **tu** untung bli ruma.
        old.man that that luck   buy house
        he was lucky buying that house.

4.2 Head-initial Constructions

The most common structure of XY constructions is that the modifier Y follows the head X and forms head-initial constructions. In many cases, the meaning of the construction can be interpreted through the meaning of the consisting elements, although there are some where the relationship between the two elements is not very transparent and clear. Frequent usage of certain combinations of words makes some interpretations more salient than others, while the context as well as the situation within which constructions appear determine the most appropriate interpretation. In the following paragraphs, a number of XY constructions are discussed. Most of these fulfil functions other than predicate, and express a nominal meaning.

4.2.1 Cover – content

An XY construction may refer to a kind of cover or container expressed by the head X, which covers or contains the thing expressed in the modifier Y. In examples (64) and (65) *sarung* 'cover' refers to a kind of cloth cover. In example (64) *sarung* is combined with *tangan* 'hand', resulting in *sarung tangan* '(lit.) cover hand' and refers to a glove. In example (65) *sarung* is modified by *bantal* 'pillow', resulting in *sarung bantal* '(lit.) cover pillow' and forms an expression to refer to a pillowcase. *Kos kaki* in example (64) consists of *kos* 'k.o. cover'[13], the head of the construction, which is modified by *kaki* 'foot/leg', resulting in *kos kaki* and referring to a 'sock', a kind of fabrics used to cover a foot. In example (65) the expression *sak tarigu* '(lit.) sack flour' consists of the head *sak* 'sack', modified by *tarigu* 'flour' to refer to a type of sack or back, made of thick and strong fabrics, usually to fill with flour.

(64) orang   di   sana, kalo   tidor **kos**   **kaki** nae,
      person in   there when   sleep k.o.cover foot   go.up

      wow, when the people there sleep, they wear socks

      sarung **tangan** nae,   aduh.
      cover   hand   go.up EXCL

      and gloves.

(65) cari   **sak** **tarigu**, tara dapa, bawa   **sarung** **bantal**.
      search sack   flour   NEG   get   bring cover   pillow

      we looked for a flour sack, but could not find one, so we brought a pillowcase.

4.2.2 Generic – specific

In the following examples the head of the construction refers to an entity which is specified by the modifier. The examples mentioned here, are all related to flora and

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[13] *Kos* refers to a fabric of elastic material that can cover something. *Kos* may refer to T-shirt or a mantle of an oil lamp, and the combination with *kaki* 'foot', *kos kaki*, it refers to a sock.

fauna. In example (66) *pohon mangga* 'mango tree' consists of the head *pohon* 'tree' which refers to a certain group or class of vegetation, while *mangga* 'mango' specifies the particular type. The word *mangga* itself may be used with a generic meaning, referring to a certain group of fruit. The type is specified by expressions such as *koper* 'koper' and *madu* 'honey' that serve as the modifiers of *mangga*, resulting in *mangga koper* '"koper" mango' and *mangga madu* 'honey mango' respectively, as is exemplified in example (67). Similar constructions are found in example (68) where the head *pisang* 'banana' is modified by *capato* 'shoe' to refer to a specific type of banana. In example (69) *ikang goropa* consists of the head *ikang* 'fish', modified by *goropa* 'grouper', and refers to a certain kind of fish.

In some cases, the combination of a word with a generic meaning followed by another word, results in a fixed expression where the meaning cannot be derived from the meaning of or the relationship between the composing elements. In example (70) the expression *ikang garam* '(lit.) fish salt' does not refer to a kind of fish, but to the way the fish is prepared. In this case the modifier *garam* 'salt' refers to the ingredient used in processing the fish or to the process the fish has undergone. The result is that *ikang garam* expresses 'fish processed with salt' or 'salted fish'.

(66)　　　di　jalan　dara,　Salero　jalan　dara　skali
　　　　　in　street　land　Salero　street　land　very
　　　　　in the street there in Salero, the street furthest inland

　　　　　ada　　　　　**pohon　mangga**　basar　satu.
　　　　　be.present　tree　　　mango　　big　　one
　　　　　was this big mango tree.

(67)　　　ah,　**mangga　koper**　tu,　"**mangga　madu**"　dong　bilang.
　　　　　EXCL　mango　　koper　that　mango　　honey　　3PL　say
　　　　　yes, the "koper" mango, "honey mango" they call it.

(68)　　　model　**pisang　capato**,　suda.
　　　　　shape　banana　shoe　　COMP
　　　　　she's like a "shoe banana".

(69)　　　ah,　　yang　tangka　**ikang　goropa**　tu.
　　　　　EXCL　REL　catch　fish　　grouper　that
　　　　　you know, it was when I caught some groupers.

(70)　　　kita　ba-jual　**ikang　garam**.
　　　　　1SG　DUR-sell　fish　　salt
　　　　　I was selling salted fish.

Constructions where the second element specifies the first element, may consist of words followed by interrogatives, such as *apa* 'what', which question the identity of an object; *sapa* 'who', which questions the identity of a human; and *mana* 'where', which questions a location. In their function as modifiers, these interrogatives always follow the head, creating head-initial constructions. The context and the situation determine whether the interrogatives serve as modifiers or as a constituents in their own right to express a question (see § 7.1.2 on the structures of questions).

Example (71) is taken from a story about coffee and different coffee brands. In this example, the interrogative *apa* 'what' follows the head *cap* 'brand', resulting in the construction *cap apa* 'what brand' and questions the identity of the brand, namely the name of the brand. The relationship between the two elements is that the modifier specifies the head. When *mana* modifies a head it questions a choice. In example (72) *bagean* 'division' is modified by the interrogative *mana* 'where' to questions a specific type, namely in the situation of this example, it questions which of the available fields of study the person took when he was in high school. Note that *bagean mana* itself serves as the modifier of the head *STM*, an abbreviation of *Sekolah Teknik Menengah* 'technical high school', with which it forms a head-initial construction.

The question in example (73) is taken from a joke. In this joke, someone asks another person if he knows Tam. The second person interprets Tam as someone's name and asks *Tam sapa?* to get more information about the person and to be able to further identify him. The first person then replies with a word which starts with the syllable "tam", for instance *tampurung* 'coconut shell'. In this example *Tam* is interpreted as a personal name, serves as head, and is modified by *sapa* 'who', resulting in the construction *Tam sapa* 'Tam who?', questioning the identity of Tam. The same construction *Tam sapa* could be analyzed as a head-initial possessive construction, of which the head *Tam* serves as the possessum and the modifier *sapa* serves as the possessor, expressing the meaning 'whose Tam?'. Such a construction questions the identity of a person to whom Tam is related, for example his wife, brother or parents to identify him. A possible answer could be *Tam Om Wan*, in which case Tam is most probably Om Wan's son, 'Uncle Wan's Tam'. In example (74), the interrogative *mana* 'where' is used as the modifier of the head *Udin*, a person's name, and results in the construction *Udin mana?* 'which Udin?'. The construction questions a specific member from a group of people whose name is Udin. *Mana* 'which' questions a property or characteristic owned by the head Udin to specify him. A possible answer to this question is *Udin tinggi* 'the tall Udin'. In a different context and situation example (73) can be interpreted as 'who is Tam?' and (74) as 'where is Udin?'. In such readings the interrogatives are constituents in their own respect and serve as predicates.

(71) kofi   campur bras   tu   kofi   **cap**   **apa**   lagi?
      coffee mix   rice   that coffee brand   what   again
      what is the brand of coffee when the coffee is mixed with rice?

(72)   de   tanya,   "bagean...   STM...
         3SG   ask   division   technical.high.school
         she asked , 'the field… the technical high school

         STM   **bagean   mana**?"
         technical.high.school   division   where
         which field did you take at the technical high school?

(73)   **Tam   sapa**?
         Tam   who
         Tam who?

(74)   **Udin   mana**?
         Udin   where
         which Udin?

4.2.3 Object – source

In the following examples, the modifier of the construction refers to the source or the place of origin of the head. In example (75) *kali* 'river' serves as modifier and refers to the source of the head of the construction, *aer* 'water', resulting in *aer kali* 'water from the river' or 'river water'. The expression in example (76) *aer mata* 'tear' consists of the head *aer* 'water' modified by *mata* 'eye', referring to the source. The meaning of the construction can be derived from the meaning of its composing elements and described as 'water that comes from the eyes'. In example (77) *minya tana* 'petroleum' can be interpreted as the *minya* 'oil' that comes from the *tana* 'soil'. It consists of the head *minya* 'oil' and is modified by *tana* 'soil, land'. In example (78) the expression *toris utang* '(lit.) tourist jungle' does not refer to tourists who are visiting the jungle, although there might be contexts in which such an interpretation is appropriate. The speaker of this example jokingly uses the expression *toris utang*, to refer to 'monkeys'. The construction consists of the head *toris* and the modifier *utang*, and refers to the place of origin of the head.

(75)   de   ambe   **aer   kali**,   de   campur,
         3SG   take   water   river   3SG   mix
         he took river water, he mixed it,

         de   putar   kong   de   bage.
         3SG   revolve CONJ   3SG   hit
         he stirred it, and he took it.

(76)   panas   sampe   **aer**   **mata**   me   kaluar.
                hot   arrive   water eye   PART go.out

it was so hot that my eyes were watering.

(77)   deng   jerigen   dua: **minya** **tana**, minya   kalapa.
                with   jerry can two   oil   soil   oil   coconut

with two jerry cans: one with petroleum and one with coconut oil.

(78)   toris... toris... **toris** **utang** banya.
                tourist tourist tourist jungle   many

there are a lot of tourists from the jungle.

4.2.4 Product – material

In the following examples, the head X is modified by Y, which refers to a type of material, resulting in XY constructions with the meaning 'X made of Y'. In example (79) the head *kadera* 'chair' is followed by the modifier *bulu* 'bamboo' resulting in the expression *kadera bulu* 'chairs made from bamboo' or 'bamboo chairs'. In example (80) two types of porridge are mentioned: *pupeda sagu* 'porridge made of sago' and *pupeda kasbi* 'porridge made of cassava'. The different modifiers *sagu* 'sago' and *kasbi* 'cassava' refer to the different ingredient of which the head *pupeda* '(sago) porridge' is made. In example (81) *soma* 'fishing net' is modified by *nilong* and *banang*. *Banang* 'thread' refers to cotton, the material used to make fishing nets, while nowadays fishing nets are made of *nilong* 'nylon'.

(79)   paitua   biking-biking **kadera** **bulu**.
                old.man   RED-make   chair   bamboo

the man made bamboo chairs.

(80)   biar   ngoni   **pupeda**[14]   **sagu**, kita **pupeda**... **kasbi**.
                although 2   sago.porridge sago 1SG sago.porridge cassava

that's fine, you eat sago porridge and I eat porridge of... cassava.

(81)   dong   bage **soma**   **nilong**, bukang **soma**   **banang**.
                3PL   hit   fishing.net nylon   NEG   fishing.net thread

they had used a nylon fishing net, not a cotton fishing net.

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[14] *Pupeda* is glossed as 'sago porridge', because the term refers to the kind of porridge or pudding made of sago. *Pupeda* is the staple food in the Moluccas and some other places in eastern Indonesia.

4.2.5 Part – whole

In the following examples, the semantic relationship between the elements of the XY constructions can be described as 'X is part of Y'.

In example (82) is *jalan* 'path' the head which is modified by *carita* 'story', resulting in the expression *jalan carita* '(lit.) path story' which refers to the 'path of the story' or 'story line'. In this example, *jalan carita* is part of a Y *pe* X construction and expresses *de facto* a nominal meaning. In example (83) *kunci* 'key' is the head and is modified by *ruma* 'house', resulting in the expression *kunci ruma*. It refers to the key of the house or 'house key'. In example (84) the expression *kapala skola* '(lit.) head school' is interpreted as a part – whole construction. In this example *skola* 'school' is portrayed as a body of which *kapala* 'head' is a part. The expression *kapala skola* refers to the headmaster of the school. In example (85) the speaker describes the position of the bees attacking him. In the example *dalang* 'inside' is followed by *kos* 'T-shirt', resulting in *dalang kos* '(lit.) inside of the T-shirt' and referring to a part of the head, namely the inner part of the T-shirt.

(82) tar-tau   de   pe   **jalan**   **carita**   apa.
      NEG-know   3SG   POSS path   story   what
      you don't know what the story line is.

(83) baru de   pe   kunci pake **kunci** **ruma** lagi.
      then 3SG   POSS key   use   key   house   again
      and a house key was used as a key.

(84) **kapala** **skola** tampeleng kita satu kali, […]
      head   school   slap   1SG   one   time
      once the headmaster slapped me…

(85) pake kos,   tapi de   ada   **dalang** **kos**.
      use   T-shirt but   3SG   be.present inside   T-shirt
      I was wearing a T-shirt, but it was inside the T-shirt.

4.2.6 Object – purpose

In the following examples, the semantic relationship between the head and the modifier is that the head is a tool or implement used to do something related to the modifier. In example (86) the head *spatu* 'shoe' is modified by *bola* '(foot)ball', resulting in *spatu bola*, an expression to refer to shoes used to play soccer, 'soccer shoes'. *Bola* may refer to a thing, 'ball', as well as to the activity of playing soccer or to the soccer game, depending on the context and the situation. In example (87) the expression *pakeang skola* refers to the clothes (*pakeang*) used when one goes to school (*skola*), or 'school uniform'. The example is taken from a context within which the speaker talks about the difference between hitting a person in uniform and

hitting when he is casually dressed, and the respect generally felt for people in uniform. Within the context of this example, *pakeang skola* refers to the wearing of a school uniform. The head of the expression is *pakeang* 'clothes' which is modified by *skola* 'school, go to school'. In example (88) the head *aer* 'water' is modified by *minum* 'drink' and refers to water that is intended for consumption, resulting in *aer minum* 'drinking water' which contrasts with, for instance, *aer mandi* 'water to bathe'. In example (89) the head *kayu* 'wood' is modified by *bakar* 'burn', and refers to the material that is used for the activity expressed in the modifier *bakar* 'burn', resulting in *kayu bakar* and refers to 'fire wood'.

(86)　　　　　deng **spatu bola** saja, itu saja.
　　　　　　　and shoe ball only that only

　　　　　　　and soccer shoes, that's all.

(87)　　　　　sama deng torang kalo **pakeang skola** sini,
　　　　　　　same and 1PL when clothes school here

　　　　　　　it's just the same when we wear school uniforms,

　　　　　　　polisi tara barani pukul.
　　　　　　　police NEG brave hit

　　　　　　　the police don't dare to hit us.

(88)　　　　　itu dong prenta kita pi ambe **aer minum**.
　　　　　　　that 3PL command 1SG go take water drink

　　　　　　　they ordered me to get drinking water.

(89)　　　　　tapi tong pancuri orang pe **kayu bakar**
　　　　　　　but 1PL steal person POSS wood burn

　　　　　　　...but we stole someone's fire wood,

　　　　　　　yang satu ika saratus...
　　　　　　　REL one bind one.hundred

　　　　　　　which costs one hundred rupiah a bundle...

4.2.7 Possessum – possessor

The relationship between the head X and the modifier Y in the following XY constructions is that of possession: the 'Y's X' or 'X of Y', where X refers to the possessum and Y refers to the possessor. In example (90) *oto* is the head of the construction, while *DPR*, an abbreviation of *Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat* 'House of Representatives', serves as the modifier and refers to the owner or possessor. The resulting *oto DPR* means 'the DPR car' or 'the car of the DPR'. In example (91) the head *ana* 'child' is the possessum and the modifier *kanwil*, an acronym for *kantor*

wilayah 'regional office (of the national government)', acts as the possessor. Note that in this context and situation *kanwil* refers to an employee at the regional office and not to the office building or the institution, and *ana kanwil* means 'child of an employee at the regional office' or 'regional officer's child'. In example (92), the head *tuang* 'master' is the possessum of the modifier *ruma* 'house', resulting in *tuang ruma*, a fixed expression to refer to a 'host' or 'master of the house', who is not necessarily the owner of the house. Note that in these examples the owner or possessor is a non-human and inanimate entity. In example (90) the possessor is an institution that owns the car. The possessor in example (91) is referred to by *kantor wilayah* 'regional office', the name of the office where the possessor works, and in example (92) *ruma* 'house' refers to the possessor.

(90) "tu   **oto**   **DPR**."
      that car   House.of.Representatives
      "that's a car of the House of Representatives."

(91) **ana** **kanwil**,   kanwil   satu   tinggal sini.
      child   regional.office regional.office one   stay   here
      the son of a regional officer, a regional officer was living here.

(92) tara **tuang** **ruma**.
      NEG   master   house
      nobody was there. (Lit. 'there was no master of the house.')

4.2.8 Location – purpose

The head in the following examples is the location where the action or activity expressed by the modifier is performed. In example (93) the head *papan* 'board' refers to an object and is modified by *tulis* 'write', resulting in *papan tulis* 'blackboard', referring to the object on which the act of writing is done. The expression *kamar mandi* 'bathroom' in example (94) consists of the head *kamar* 'room' and the modifier *mandi* 'bathe', and refers to the place where the bathing takes place. In example (95) the construction *lapangan terbang* 'airport' consists of the head *lapangan* 'field' and the modifier *terbang* 'to fly'. It refers to an airport, the field or location from and to where aircrafts fly. Note that in this example, *lapangan terbang* participates in a larger construction *lapangan terbang Morotai* in which it acts as head and is modified by *Morotai*, the name of an island north of Halmahera.

(93) kita bilang, "telefisi   ka   **papan** **tulis** ni?"
      1SG   say   television   or   board   write   this
      I said, "is this a television or a blackboard?"

(94)   wc   ampa,   **kamar   mandi**   satu.
         toilet four   room   bathe   one
         four toilets and one bathroom.

(95)   **lapangan   terbang**   Morotai   paling...   terbesar.
         field   fly   Morotai   very   biggest
         Morotai airport is the very... biggest one.

4.2.9 Object – process

The XY constructions in the following examples consist of a head that undergoes a process, expressed by the modifier. In example (96) the expression *milu bakar* 'roasted corn' refers to a snack of roasted ears of fresh corn. The head of the construction is *milu* 'corn', the object, which undergoes the process expressed in the modifier *bakar* 'burn, roast'. The construction is followed by the proximal *ni*, which serves to indicate nominal reading as well as serves as the boundary with the following constituent. In example (97) *aer rubus* consists of the head *aer* 'water' followed by the modifier *rubus* 'boil', which refers to the process the head has undergone and resulting in the meaning 'boiled water' or 'water that has been boiled'.

(96)   de   pe   rasa   tu   model
         3SG   POSS   taste   that   shape
         it tastes as if

         tong   makang   **milu   bakar**   ni.
         1PL   eat   corn   burn   this
         we are eating roasted corn.

(97)   kofi   ini   **aer   rubus**   ka   te   ni.
         coffee this   water   boil   or   tea   this
         is this coffee boiled water or tea?

4.2.10 Object – quality

The head X of the XY constructions in the following examples is followed by a modifier Y that refers to a quality, resulting in the meaning 'X with quality Y'.

In example (98), the head *pisang* 'banana' occurs twice: in the first occurrence it is followed by the modifier *manta* 'raw' and in the second by the modifier *masa* 'ripe'. In both instances, the modifier describes the state of bananas: *pisang manta* 'unripe bananas' and *pisang masa* 'ripe bananas'. In example (99) the head *pulo* 'island' is modified by the quality word *panjang* 'long' and describes its shape. In the same example, another head *pulo* is modified by *basar* 'big', describing the seizure of the island. In the last example (100) the head *ana-ana* 'children' is followed by the modifier *kacili* 'small' referring to a characteristic of the head, resulting in *ana-ana kacili* 'small children'.

(98) "ck, yah Ibu, **pisang manta** ka
      tut EXCL mother banana raw or
      'tut, well Madam, are they unripe or

      pisang masa, Ibu?"
      banana ripe mother
      ripe bananas?'

(99) pulo itu **pulo panjang pulo basar** lagi.
      island that island long island big again
      the island is a long island and also a big island.

(100) ajar **ana-ana kacili** mangaji...
       each RED-child small recite.Koran
       he taught small children to recite Koran verses...

A head can be followed by a reduplicated quality word, expressing plurality and variety or intensity. This modifier always follows the head and results in head-initial XY constructions.

In example (101) *kirikil* 'gravel' is modified by *alus-alus* 'fine', referring to a characteristic of the head, and resulting in *kirikil alus-alus* 'fine gravel'. In example (102) the head *orang* 'person' is modified by *tua-tua* 'old', which describes a feature as well as indicates plurality of the referent. In example (103) *minya* 'oil' is modified by *panas-panas* 'very hot', referring to the state of the referent. The reduplication emphasizes the high temperature of the oil.

(101) de pe ana angka **kirikil alus-alus**, […]
       3SG POSS child lift.up gravel PL-fine
       his son was picking up some fine gravel [...]

(102) paling tara suka kong **orang tua-tua**
       very NEG like CONJ person PL-old
       I really don't like it when older people

       kong skakar mo.
       CONJ stingy PART
       are stingy.

(103) "kita ta-sirang deng **minya panas-panas**."
       1SG INV-pour with oil INT-hot
       "I've had very hot oil spilled all over me."

4.2.11 Head + *sini/situ/sana*

A head can be modified by *sini* 'here', *situ* 'there', and *sana* 'over there', deictic elements that refer to a location relatively to the speaker and the speech situation. *Sini* 'here' refers to a location that is close to the speaker, *situ* 'there' that the location is at some distance from the speaker, and *sana* 'over there' expresses that the location is at a larger distance from the speaker. They may serve as constituents in their own right as well as act as modifiers. In this function, they always follow the head and form head-initial constructions.

Example (104) is taken from a conversation about magic, supernatural powers, and traditional healing methods. The speaker is about to express his dissatisfaction with the attitude of the people who do not want to share their knowledge with others. The construction *orang sini* 'people here' consists of the head *orang* followed by the modifier *sini*, and refers to the people of the place where the speaker is located, namely Ternate. In example (105) the head *terminal* '(bus) terminal' is followed by the modifier *situ* 'there', resulting in *terminal situ* 'terminal there', to refer the bus terminal that is situated at some distance from the place where the speaker is and the speech event takes place. In example (106) the speaker talks about a confrontation he had with bees in Tobelo, a place on the island of Halmahera. In this example, the construction *ofu sana* 'the bees there', consists of the head *ofu* 'bee', modified by *sana* 'over there', and refers to the bees that are located at a great distance from the speaker and the speech event.

(104) **orang sini** memang dong...
person here indeed 3PL

the people here are really...

(105) kita ba-jual di pasar sayor, **terminal situ**.
1SG DUR-sell in market vegetable terminal there

I was selling at the vegetable market, there at the bus terminal.

(106) […] baru **ofu sana** ofu sadis, ngana, ofu itang.
then bee there bee sadistic 2SG bee black

[…] and the bees there are sadistic, black bees.

4.2.12 Head + *yang*-construction

A *yang*-construction may serve as modifier in which use it always follows the head it modifies, forming head-initial constructions. In this position, *yang* indicates the border between the head of the construction and the modifier and serves as a useful tool to determine the structure of the construction, namely the element that comes after *yang* has to be interpreted as a modifying element.

In example (107) the head *karong* 'sack' is followed by *yang saratus kilo* 'one hundred kilo' in which *yang* indicates that *saratus kilo* serves as a modifier. Within the context and situation of this example, the expression *karong yang saratus kilo*

refers to a sack that may contain one hundred kilograms of, for instance, cloves, nutmeg, or other products. The construction *saratus kilo* 'one hundred kilograms' itself is a head-final construction of which *kilo* 'kilogram' is the head and *saratus* 'one hundred' that is posited preceding the head, is the modifier. In example (108), a *yang*-construction follows *cewe satu* 'a girl', which serves as the head of a head-initial construction. This head *cewe satu* itself is a head-initial construction, which consists of the head *cewe* 'girl' and the modifier *satu* 'one'. The position of *satu* after the head *cewe* 'girl' expresses an indefinite meaning so that *cewe satu* is equivalent to the meaning 'a girl'. The modifier *yang di Koloncucu* follows the head construction. Here *yang* separates the two modifiers that follow the head and indicates that *satu* and *di Koloncucu* serve as two parallel modifiers of the head word. In example (109) *orang* 'person' is followed by *yang kurang bardosa* 'who rarely sins'. *Yang* serves as the border between the head and the modifier, a sequence of words of which *bardosa* 'sin' is the head which is modified by *kurang* 'less'. The head in example (110) is the Y *pe* X construction *de pe motor* 'the/his motorcycle', which is modified by *yang paling busu* 'which is very rotten', consisting of *busu* 'rotten', modified by the preceding *paling* 'very'. In this example, *yang paling busu* can either be interpreted as modifier of the X element *motor* or it modifies the whole construction *de pe motor*. The first reading implies that the person owns more than one rotten motorcycle and he brought the most rotten one. The second reading says that the person owns the worst motorcycle. The non-linguistic situation determines which interpretation fits best. In example (111) the construction *yang satu ika saratus* '(lit.) which one bundle one hundred rupiah' occurs as the modifier and follows *orang pe kayu bakar*. The head may consist of the whole Y *pe* X construction *orang pe kayu bakar* 'someone's fire wood', implying that someone owns fire wood of which each bundle costs one hundred rupiah. In a reading within which the modifier applies only to the element *kayu bakar*, it is implied that someone owns bundles of fire wood with different prices, and that only those of one hundred rupiah per bundle were stolen.

(107)　　　ambe　　karong,　　**karong**　**yang**　**saratus**　　**kilo**.
　　　　　　take　　sack　　　sack　　　REL　　one.hundred　kilogram
　　　　　　I took a sack, a one hundred kilo sack.

(108)　　　baru　　**cewe**　　**satu**　　**yang**　　**di**　　**Koloncucu**,
　　　　　　then　　girl　　　one　　　REL　　in　　Koloncucu
　　　　　　and then a girl in Koloncucu;

　　　　　　kita　　lia　　kita　　mo　　ta-banting　　　　tu.
　　　　　　1SG　　see　　1SG　　want　　INV-slam.down　　that
　　　　　　when I see her I almost faint.

(109) **orang yang kurang bardosa** dong umur pende.
person REL less commit.sin 3PL age short

they who seldom sin will have a short life.

(110) apalagi kalo de bawa
moreover when 3SG bring

particularly if he is on

de pe motor yang paling busu suda.
3SG POSS motorcycle REL very rotten COMP

the worst motorcycle.

(111) tapi tong pancuri **orang pe**
but 1PL steal person POSS

but we stole someone's

kayu bakar yang satu ika saratus...
fire wood REL one bind one.hundred

fire wood which costs one hundred rupiah a bundle...

4.2.13 Head + Clause

A head may be immediately followed by a clause that expresses an event and serves as modifier. Example (112) is taken from a story where the speaker tells how snakes are caught. One of the methods is to use tobacco, and the example describes the kind of tobacco used. The head *tabako* 'tobacco' in the construction is modified by the clause *nene-nene makang abis deng dong goso gigi* 'grandmothers chew and rub their teeth'. The whole unit is closed off by the distal *tu* to mark the border of the constituent and indicate a nominal reading, resulting in the meaning of the whole construction as 'the tobacco that old women chew and with which they rub their teeth'. In example (113) the Y *pe* X construction *de pe gumu* 'the fat' is followed by the modifying clause *dong mu biking minya* 'they want to make oil', resulting in *de pe gumu dong mu biking minya* 'the fat of which they want to make oil'. The whole unit serves as the subject which is predicated by *sisa* 'remain'. In example (114) the place where it is prohibited to park a car is described as the *tampa jual duriang itu hari tong beli* 'the place where they sell durians, where we bought some the other day'. The construction consists of the clause *itu hari tong beli* 'that day we bought some', which modifies the head *tampa jual duriang*. The head itself consists of a sequence of words, consisting of a head *tampa* 'place', which is modified by *jual duriang* 'sell durian', resulting in *tampa jual duriang* 'the place where durians are sold'. Another possible reading is to interpret *itu hari tong beli* to be the modifier of *duriang* only. In this reading, *tampa jual duriang itu hari tong beli* would express the meaning 'the place where the durians we bought that day are sold' and it implies

that only durians that we bought that day are sold in that place. This is not an appropriate interpretation, because it does not reflect the situation in the real world.

(112)   **tabako   nene-nene   makang   abis**
         tobacco   RED-grandmother   eat   finished
         the tobacco that old women chew

         deng   dong   goso   gigi   tu.
         and   3PL   rub   tooth   that
         and with which they rub their teeth.

(113)   sisa   **de   pe   gumu   dong   mu   biking   minya**.
         remain   3SG   POSS   fat   3PL   want   make   oil
         only the fat that they wanted for making oil remained.

(114)   oto   tara   bisa   stop   pas   di   pero   begini,
         car   NEG   can   stop   exact   in   bend   like.this
         you can't stop the car at the corner of a road like this,

         tampa   jual   duriang   itu   hari   tong   beli.
         place   sell   durian   that   day   1PL   buy
         the place where they sell durians, where we bought some that day.

4.3 Head-final constructions

In this paragraph, two types of head-final constructions are described, namely Y *pe* X and YX constructions. Both types express a possessive meaning. In §3.2.2 it has been explained that *pe* is a helpful tool to determine the structure of Y *pe* X constructions. The X element in these constructions always serves as head and refers to the possessum, while the Y element serves as modifier and refers to the possessor. The X and Y elements in these constructions express *de facto* a nominal meaning.

Depending on the context and the situation, Y *pe* X constructions may express meanings other than a possessive meaning. When the X element denotes a quality and an exclamative intonation pattern, and/or additional exclamative markers are added, it expresses an evaluative meaning. In contexts where Y *pe* X constructions refer to the act or performance of an action or activity, for instance when the X element is an activity word, they may provide additional background information of an event. The following paragraphs describe the various items that may serve as possessor and possessum in head-final Y *pe* X constructions, the relationship between the two elements, and the meaning the construction expresses.

4.3.1 Y *pe* X constructions

In this paragraph, Y *pe* X constructions are described where both elements are thing-like words. Although almost all thing words may be used, there are some restrictions. Personal pronouns refer to a thing or human, but may only occur as Y elements of the construction, serving as modifier, and referring to the possessor. They cannot occur as the X element and serve as head of these Y *pe* X constructions.

The Y element in the following examples refers to a human item who serves as possessor, while the X element may have a human or inanimate referent. The first element of the construction in example (115) is *Fadin*, a male person's name, while the X element is *kaka* 'older sibling', resulting in *Fadin pe kaka* 'Fadin's older sibling'. There is a kinship relationship between the two elements. The Y element in example (116) is expressed by *tong* 'first person plural', while the X element is *kaki* 'leg, foot', resulting in *tong pe kaki* 'our legs/feet'. The relationship between the two elements can be described as 'X is part of Y'. The possessor in example (117) is *orang* 'person' and the possessum is expressed by *tenaga* 'power', resulting in *orang pe tenaga* 'a person's strength'. Similar to the previous example, the relation between the two elements is 'X is part of Y'. The Y element of the possessive construction in example (118) is *dong* 'third person plural' and the X element is *foto* 'photo', resulting in *dong pe foto* 'their photos'. The situation of this example is that the speaker tells that he has placed photos of some children in his room. He always looks at these photos before he goes to sleep. In this example, the possessor *dong* refers to the persons who are pictured and not to the persons who, for instance, own the photo or who took the photo. The relationship between the two elements is 'X is part of Y'.

(115) Wan   dara   de   suka   ba-terek;
       TRU-Ridwan land   3SG   like   DUR-tease
       Wan there likes to tease;

       Fadin   pe   kaka   ni.
       Fadin   POSS   older.sibling   this
       he's Fadin's older brother.

(116) ka   sana,   de   poloso   **tong   pe   kaki**.
       to   there   3SG   squeeze 1PL   POSS   leg
       when we go there, she massages our legs.

(117) iyo,   dapa   bayar,   me   ba-fikir
       yes   get   pay   PART   DUR-think
       right, I get paid,

orang pe tanaga sadiki.
person POSS power a.little
but one can keep one's strength in mind.

(118) kita cuma haga **dong pe foto**.
1SG only stare 3PL POSS photo
I only stare at their photos.

The Y element and possessor in the following examples has a non-human, animate referent. The X element refers to inanimate entities. In (119) the Y element that refers to the possessor is *ular* 'snake' and the X element, the possessum, is *bisa* 'venom', resulting in *ular pe bisa* 'snake's venom'. The semantic relationship between the two elements is that X is a product of Y. In example (120) the head X is *duri* 'thorn' and the modifier Y is *ikan* 'fish', resulting in *ikan pe duri* 'the fish' scales'. The relationship between the two elements is that X is part of Y. The possessor and Y element in example (121) is *de* 'third person singular', while the X element is *batang* 'stem', resulting in *de pe batang* 'its stem', referring to the stem of a tree. The relationship between the two elements in this example is that X is part of Y.

(119) ah, abis dia su biking bagitu
EXCL finished 3SG COMP make like.that
ah, after he's done that,

baru de buka **ular pe bisa**...
then 3SG open snake POSS poison
then he takes out the snake's venom.

(120) de bilang garap, "ngana tu
3SG say funny 2SG that
he'll say, it's a joke, "you,

cukur **ikang pe duri** tu sadiki".
shave fish POSS thorn that a.little
go and scrape the fish scales."

[Referring to the trunk of a tree]
(121) **de pe batang** basar.
3SG POSS stem big
the trunk was very thick.

The Y element in the following examples has an inanimate referent. The X element in these examples is human or inanimate. The Y element, the possessor, in example (122) is *motor* 'motorcycle', while *warna* 'colour' refers to the possessum, resulting in *motor pe warna* 'colour of the motorcycle'. The relationship between X, *warna* 'colour' and Y, *motor* 'motorcycle', is that X is a characteristic or feature of Y. The Y element in example (123) is *de* 'third person singular' and refers back to the movie. The X element is *teks* 'text' and the combination of the two elements results in *de pe teks* '(lit.) its text'. It refers to the subtitles of a movie. The relationship between the two elements is that X is part of Y. Example (124) explains how porters at the market address potential customers to get some work. The X element *bini* 'wife' in *bank pe bini* 'wives of bank employees' is the head and refers to the possessum. The context makes clear that the Y element *bank* refers to the male employees of the bank and not to the bank as an institution or a building. The relationship between *bank* 'bank employees' and *bini* 'wife' is a social relationship.

(122)   **motor**   **pe**   **warna**   deng   dia   sama.
             motorcycle   POSS   colour   and   3SG   same
             the colour of the motorcycle and (the colour of) him are the same.

(123)   barani   filem   barat,   tarada   **de**   **pe**   **teks.**
             if   movie   west   NEG   3SG   POSS   text
             if there's a western movie, there won't be any subtitles.

(124)   kalo   dong   lia   ibu-ibu   bank   ka...
             when   3PL   see   RED-mother   bank   or
             when they see bank employees or

             bank   **pe**   **bini**,   orang-orang   di   bank,
             bank   POSS   wife   RED-person   in   bank
             the wives of bank employees, employees at the bank,

             Perumtel[15]   ka...   [...]
             National.Telecommunication.Corporation   or
             the telephone company or…

In the following examples, Y is expressed by *de* 'third person singular'. This element may refer to human, animate (but non-human), as well as to inanimate entities. In example (125) the Y element *de* refers back to the word *"tapi"*, a part of the subtitles of a movie which are not properly displayed on the television screen. The X

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[15] *Perumtel* is an acronym for *Perusahaan* (*Negara*) *Umum Telekomunikasi* 'National Telecommunication Cooperation', which is now replaced by the *PT Telkom Indonesia*, a state owned enterprise.

element is expressed by the construction *"p" deng "i"*, resulting in *de pe "p" deng "i"* '(lit.) "p" and "i" of it'. The relationship between the X and Y element of the construction is described as 'X is part Y'. Note that the structure of the Y *pe* X construction in this example looks similar to that of example (122): Y *pe* X *deng* Z. The interpretation of *deng* is important. In example (125) *deng* is best interpreted as a conjunction that connects X and Z together to form one unit, resulting in the structure Y *pe* [X *deng* Z]. This interpretation is less appropriately applicable to example (122) where *deng* is best interpreted to express a comitative meaning 'with' and indicates the beginning of a new constituent, *deng* Z, resulting in the structure [Y *pe* X] [*deng* Z]. *Sama* serves as predicate and expresses a comparison, implying the involvement of at least two entities in the process.

In example (126) *doi balangang* '(lit) money wok' is the head of the Y *pe* X construction and refers to the possessum, namely the money that is received from selling woks. The possessor is expressed in the Y element *de* 'third person singular', resulting in *de pe doi balangang* 'her wok money'. Note that in this example, a possessive construction is used, although the money is not yet in the person's possession. In example (127) *de* refers back to *bicara manis* '(lit.) talk sweet', while the construction *di balakang* 'in the back' forms the X element of the Y *pe* X construction. In this example, *de pe di balakang* '(lit.) the back (side) of it' refers to what happened after the sweet words were uttered, namely the end of the story.

(125) "tapi", **de** **pe** **"p"** **deng** **"i"**
but 3SG POSS letter.p and letter.i

su ilang, suda.
COMP disappear COMP
the word "tapi" has lost its letter "p" and letter "i".

(126) de mo ambe **de** **pe** **doi** **balangang**.
3SG want take 3SG POSS money wok
she wanted to collect her money for the woks.

(127) ...bicara manis, **de** **pe** **di** **balakang** pait.
talk sweet 3SG POSS in back bitter
...his words were sweet but the story had a bitter end.

De pe X constructions, in which *de* serves as the Y element and X has a temporal referent, may refer to a certain point in time in relation with or relative to the referent of the Y element. The expression may refer to a moment in the future as well as in the past time.

Example (128) is taken from a story where speaker had spilled hot oil over his body. The construction *de pe beso* '(lit.) it's tomorrow' refers to the day after the accident. It consists of the Y element *de* 'third person singular', which is the refer-

ence point and refers to the day/time of the event, while the X element, *beso* 'tomorrow', refers to the day after, resulting in *de pe beso* 'its next day', referring to the day following the day of the accident. In example (130) the speaker tells that one day he was very hungry. He drank some coffee to fill his stomach, but it did not keep his hunger away for long. In this example, the X element *barapa menit* is the head, referring to a certain moment in time, occurring with the Y element *de*, third person singular, which refers to event that the person drinks coffee, resulting in the construction *de pe barapa menit*. The expression *de pe barapa menit* refers to a moment in time which was only a few minutes after the speaker had drunk some coffee and expresses the meaning 'a few minutes later'. The construction in example (130) refers to a moment in the past time. In this example the speaker says that he and his two friends were on a sinister island. One day his friends told him they wanted to go fishing and he had to stay behind. The speaker was very scared, particularly because he had heard a strange voice. He refers to that moment with the expression *de pe kalamareng malang*, consisting of *de* as the Y element, referring to the moment his friends told him he had to stay behind, and the X element *kalamareng malang* 'last night'. The expression *de pe kalamareng malang* refers to night of the day before the moment his friends told the speaker to stay behind.

(128) eh, **de** **pe** **beso** kita kage nae.
       EXCL 3SG POSS tomorrow 1SG startled go.up
       gee, the next morning I woke up in a shock.

(129) eh, **de** **pe** **barapa** **menit** lapar lagi.
       EXCL 3SG POSS how.much minute hungry again
       hey, a few minutes later I was hungry again.

(130) baru **de** **pe** **kalamareng** **malang** tu
       moreover 3SG POSS yesterday night that
       moreover, last night

       kita ada dengar orang pe suara.
       1SG exist hear person POSS voice
       I heard someone's voice.

4.3.2 X expressing quality

Y *pe* X constructions of which the X element is a quality word may express a possessive meaning. The Y element refers to the possessor or bearer of the quality, while the X element refers to the quality or characteristic of the referent. Under certain circumstances, Y *pe* quality constructions may express a different meaning. They may express an evaluative meaning when uttered with an exclamative intonation pattern and/or when exclamative markers are added. In the examples, these features are indicated by an exclamation mark.

The X element of the Y *pe* X construction in example (131) is *bae* 'good', and the Y element is *de* 'third person singular', resulting in *de pe bae* and expressing a person's characteristic of doing good deeds, 'his kindness'. In example (132) *lebar* 'wide' is the X element of the construction and expresses a feature. The Y element is *de*, referring to the bearer of this feature, a snake. The resultant construction *de pe lebar* refers to the size of the snake, meaning 'its width'. The X element in example (133) is *barat* 'heavy' and denotes a feature of the Y element, which is *semen* 'cement', resulting in *semen pe barat* 'cement's weight'. It refers to a property of the referent, namely the weight of a sack of cement.

(131) kita   inga   **de**   **pe**   **bae**   skali.
       1SG   remember   3SG   POSS   good   very
       I always remember his kindness.

[Talking about the size of a snake]
(132) kita   sangka   ngana   bilang   **de**   **pe**   **lebar**   bagini.
       1SG   suspect 2SG   say   3SG   POSS   wide   like.this
       I thought that you said that its width is like this.

(133) baru   **semen**   **pe**   **barat**   ampa-ampa   pulu   kilo,   to?
       then   cement   POSS   heavy   PL-four   tens   kilogram   QT
       and the weight of each sack of cement is about forty kilos, right?

The quality word serving as the X element can be a reduplicated quality word, implying plurality and variety. The X element *panjang-panjang* 'long' in example (134) refers to a property in various degrees, while the Y element *de* 'third person singular' refers to a certain kind of cassava roots. The resultant construction *de pe panjang-panjang* refers to the various lengths of the cassava roots.

[Describing a type of cassava.]
(134) jadi   **de**   **pe**   **panjang-panjang**,   hmm,   depa-depa.
       thus   3SG   POSS   RED-long   EXCL   RED-yard
       the length, yes, it is yards long.

The construction in example (135) consists of the Y element *ngana* 'second person singular' and the X element *capat* 'fast', resulting in *ngana pe capat* 'your speed'. The exclamative intonation pattern determines an evaluative meaning of the construction, so that *ngana pe capat!* reflects the meaning 'how fast you are!' or 'you're fast!'. In example (136) the Y element itself is a Y *pe* X construction *plafon pe model* 'ceiling's shape', consisting of *plafon* 'ceiling', the possessor, and *model* 'shape', the possessum. The X element of the construction is *bagus* 'beautiful' and the exclamative intonation pattern indicates the evaluative meaning 'how beautiful the shape of the ceiling is!' or 'what a beautiful shape of the ceiling!'. In example

(137) the X element of the Y *pe* X construction is *sadap* 'delicious'. The utterance contains the exclamative marker *sampe* and is uttered in a specific, exclamation pattern, to indicate that the utterance has to be interpreted with an evaluative meaning 'it was so delicious!'. The last example shows that the Y element, the possessor, in this type of Y *pe* X constructions is optionally present and is not overtly expressed when the referent is clear from the context or the situation.

(135)   ih,   Anwar, **ngana** **pe**   **capat**!
         EXCL   Anwar   2SG   POSS   fast

         gee, Anwar, you're fast!

(136)   oi,   **plafon** **pe**   **model** **pe**   **bagus**!
         EXCL   ceiling   POSS   shape   POSS   beautiful

         wow, how beautiful the shape of the ceiling is!

[Referring to coffee mixed with corn]
(137)   **pe**   **sadap**   **sampe**!
         POSS   delicious   arrive

         how tasty it is!

Only a few examples are found where the Y element is a quality word. These only concern examples in which the same quality word occurs as the X as well as the Y element. In example (138) the quality word *pintar* 'smart' serves as the Y as well as the X element, resulting in *pintar pe pintar*, meaning 'extremely smart'. The speaker uses the specific structure to emphasize the evaluative meaning expressed in Y *pe* quality word expressions. It is unknown if this structure is generally used.

(138)   **pintar** **pe**   **pintar**, dapa   rengking   trus.
         smart   POSS   smart   get   ranking   continue

         he is so smart, he always gets on the list of the best pupils in his class.

4.3.3 X expressing activity

The X element of the Y *pe* X constructions in the following examples consists of an activity word and expresses the act or the performance of the action. The resultant Y *pe* X constructions express a possessive meaning. Depending on the context and the situation, these constructions may describe the temporal background of an event as well as the circumstances or the conditions for actions, activities or events to take place. The semantic relationship between Y and X is that Y acts as the performer of the action or activity expressed in X. It is unknown if activity words may occur as Y elements in this type of construction.

  Example (139) is taken from a story of how the speaker spilled hot oil over his body. In this example, *de* is the Y element, and refers to the hot oil, while *tampias* 'splatter, splash' is the X element, resulting in *de pe tampias* 'its splatters' and refer-

ring to the splatters of hot oil that hit the speaker. The construction *cuci balangang* 'to wash a wok' in example (140) serves as X element, while the Y element of the construction consists of *paitua* 'old man'. The resultant possessive expression *paitua pe cuci balangang* refers to the man's way of washing the wok. This serves as the stimulus that brings about the feeling expressed in the predicate *herang* 'surprised'.

Example (141) is taken from a story about the speaker's experiences when he worked at a female doctor's house. He was so impressed by the doctor's beauty that he would not show his tiredness in front of her. In this example, *pigi* 'go' serves as X element and *dokter* 'doctor' as Y element in the construction, resulting in *dokter pe pigi* '(lit.) doctor's going'. This example can be read in two ways depending on the interpretation of the Y *pe* X construction. In the first reading, *dokter pe pigi* 'the doctor's going/departure' serves as subject of the clause of which *loyo ulang* '(lit.) weak again' serves as predicate. In this reading *loyo* expresses a causative meaning 'make weak' or 'weaken' and the subject serves as the causer. The causee, namely the person who becomes weak, can be determined from the context or the utterance is interpreted as a general statement. The meaning of example (141) in this reading is 'the doctor's departure makes (me) weak again'. In the second reading the Y *pe* X construction *dokter pe pigi* is interpreted to describe the background of the event, reflecting the meaning 'the moment the doctor went' or 'when the doctor left'. The experiencer of the state expressed in the predicate is not overtly expressed, because it can be determined from the context or, as in this case, the utterance is interpreted as a general statement 'the moment the doctor goes you're weak again'.

In example (142), the construction *bilang "buaya"* 'say "crocodile"' serves as X element and *dong* is the Y element, resulting in *dong pe bilang "buaya"*. It expresses the meaning '(lit.) their saying "crocodile"'. *Kita pe tako ni!* has an exclamative intonation pattern and results in an evaluative meaning 'how afraid I was!' or 'I was scared to death!'. The construction *dong pe bilang "buaya"* describes the temporal background of the event *kita pe tako ni!,* resulting in the meaning 'the moment they said "crocodile"', I was scared to death'.

The Y element of the Y *pe* X construction in example (143) is not overtly expressed, but from the context it becomes clear that *kita* 'first person singular', mentioned previously in the utterance, serves as the possessor. The X element consists of *angka balangang* 'lift wok' and expresses the act of lifting of a wok, and expresses the temporal background of an event. It reflects the meaning 'the moment the wok was lifted'.

[Referring to hot oil]

(139) | **de** | **pe** | **tampias** | kana | puru. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3SG | POSS | splatter | hit | stomach |

the splatters hit my stomach.

(140) | **paitua** | **pe** | **cuci** | **balangang** | kita | herang. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| old.man | POSS | wash | wok | 1SG | surprised |

the way he washed the wok surprised me.

(141) **dokter pe   pigi** loyo   ulang.
       doctor POSS go   weak   repeat
       the moment the doctor leaves you're weak again.

(142) **dong pe   bilang "buaya"** kita pe   tako   ni!
       3PL   POSS say   crocodile 1SG   POSS afraid this
       when they said "crocodile", I became very scared.

(143) kita angka   suntung bagini,   **pe   angka balangang**,
       1SG   lift.up squid   like.this POSS   lift   wok
       I was taking out the squids like this… the moment I lifted the wok…

       kong   gata-gata   ta-putar.
       CONJ   k.o.pincers INV-revolve
       the pincers twisted.

The Y *pe* X construction in the following example (144) provides spatial background information of a location. The speaker of this example explains the seizure of a small island by comparing it to a volleyball field. In the example, he gives a description of the location of the volleyball field. He uses *kadatong* 'sultan's palace' as the Y element and *turung ka bawa* 'go down in a clockwise direction' as X element of a Y *pe* X construction, resulting in *kadatong pe turung ka bawa* 'from the sultan's palace downwards in a clockwise direction'. In this expression, the Y element refers to a reference point or starting point, while the X element indicates the direction where the object is located. The whole Y pe X construction is closed off by *sana* 'there' to indicate the location in relation to the speaker.

(144) **kadatong pe   turung   ka   bawa   sana**
       palace   POSS go.down to   bottom there
       from the palace downwards in a clockwise direction,

       ada   lapangan foli   sana,   ah,   basar itu.
       be.present field   volleyball there   EXCL   big   that
       is a volleyball field, well, it is as large as that.

The reduplication of the X element in the following examples results in a repetitive, intensive, or a plural meaning.

   In example (145) the X element *lempar* 'throw' is reduplicated and refers to the repetitive throwing of stones at the thieves who are stealing mangoes and the Y element is *ngoni* 'second person', resulting in the construction *ngoni pe lempar-lempar* 'your throws'. It is closed off by the distal *ini* to indicate the border with the following constituent. In example (146) *suka* 'like' is reduplicated, resulting in *suka-suka* to express the intensity of the emotion. The example is taken from a story of a

crocodile, and according to the speaker, the crocodile prefers a muddy environment. Since the speaker was at a place where the water looked brown and muddy, he thought the crocodile would like the place. The Y *pe* X construction *de pe suka-suka* '(lit.) its very liking' refers to the crocodile's strong preference. The shortened form *ni* indicates the border with the following constituent. Example (147) is taken from a story in which a snake is caught and kept in a bag. In this example the X element of the Y *pe* X construction *ika* 'bind' is reduplicated to express plurality: the multiple bindings with which the sack is tied together. The construction *karung pe ika-ika* expresses the meaning '(lit.) the sack's ties' or 'the bindings of the sack'. Note that the Y element in examples (145) and (146) refers to the performer and the experiencer of the action expressed in the X element respectively, while in example (147) the Y element refers to the undergoer or theme of the action expressed in the X element.

(145)   kita   bilang: **"ngoni   pe   lempar-lempar   ini**
           1SG   say   2   POSS   REP-throw   this
           I said: "your throws

           bahaya   ni."
           dangerous   this
           are dangerous."

[Referring to the preference of a crocodile for a muddy environment]
(146)   "oh   ini   bahaya   ini,   **de   pe   suka-suka   ni**."
           EXCL   this   dangerous   this   3SG   POSS   INT-like   this
           "oh, this is dangerous, this is its favourite".

(147)   **karung   pe   ika-ika**   putus,   kong   ular   kaluar.
           sack   POSS   PL-bind   broken.off   CONJ   snake   go.out
           the bindings of the sack broke and the snake got out.

4.3.4 YX possessive constructions

The head-final YX constructions discussed in this paragraph consist of a kinship term or a personal pronoun, serving as Y element and modifier of the construction, followed by an X element, which serves as head of the construction. The resulting constructions express a possessive meaning where Y refers to the possessor and X to the possessum. This is the reverse order from the XY head-initial constructions discussed in § 4.2.7, which concern special types of constructions. One example is the fixed expression *tuang ruma* 'host; master of the house', while the possessor in the other two other constructions is expressed by an initialism, *DPR* 'House of Representatives' and an acronym, *kanwil* 'regional office'. The two words refer to governmental institutions and may follow the word order of possessive constructions in the standard language, i.e. possessum followed by the possessor. *Tuang ruma* is a more

widely used term for 'host' and may have been adopted into Ternate Malay, possibly phonologically adapted to the Ternate Malay sound system.

Example (148) is taken from a story in which the speaker says that a woman at the market thought he was a porter and asked him to bring her shopping to the bus. The head of the YX construction in this example is *barang* 'thing', which is preceded by the modifier *Ibu* 'mother', resulting in *Ibu barang* '(lit.) Ibu thing' and expresses a possessive meaning. Note that the example reflects the woman's request. She refers to herself as *Ibu* 'mother', a term of address for older women. The context of example (149) helps to interpret the construction *tong mama papa* as 'our mother's father'. The speaker first uses the expression *tong pe tete* 'our grandfather' to refer to the person he talks about, which has a clear referent. The same person is also referred to by the expression *tong mama papa*. This construction has to be interpreted as [*tong mama*] [*papa*] of which *papa* 'father' is the head and *tong mama* 'our mother' is the modifier, and refers to the 'father of our mother'. (Note that *tong mama* is also interpreted as a head-final YX construction [*tong*] [*mama*] in which *mama* 'mother' serves as X element and is the head of the construction, and *tong* 'first person plural' serves as Y element and modifier and precedes the head.

The expression *tete papa* '(lit.) grandfather father' in example (150) can be interpreted in two ways, because each of the two words could serve as head of the construction. The context and the situation is needed to be able to determine the best interpretation. The example is taken from a story in which the speaker talks about the ethnic background of his family. In the utterance previous to example (150) he says that his grandfather's mother is a person from Makian (*eh, tete pe mama orang Makeang* 'eh, grandfather's mother is a person from Makian'). This helps to interpret *tete papa* '(lit.) grandfather father' to mean 'grandfather's father', a YX construction in which *papa* 'father' is the head of the construction and refers to the possessum, and *tete* 'grandfather' is the modifier that precedes the head and refers to the possessor.

(148)   "angka **Ibu   barang**   ni."
         lift.up   mother   thing   this
         "carry my goods."

(149)   tong   pe   tete   ini   ni,   tong   **mama**   **papa**   ni,
         1PL   POSS   grandfather this this 1PL   mother   father   this
         my grandfather, my mother's father, oh, my God,

         ya,   alah,   tara   suka   percaya   barang-barang   itu.
         EXCL   EXCL   NEG   like   believe   RED-thing   that
         doesn't believe those things.

(150)   **tete**   **papa**   orang   Ternate.
        grandfather   father   person   Ternate
        my grandfather's father is a person from Ternate.

In the following examples, YX head-final constructions with a possessive meaning are described. The Y element in these constructions is expressed by a personal pronoun and refers to the possessor. The X element is expressed by thing word, referring to the possessum. The Y element *dong* 'third person plural' in example (151) is the modifier, referring to the possessor. It precedes the head *parau* 'boat', resulting in *dong parau* expressing the meaning 'their boat'. In example (152) the second person singular *ngana* serves as modifier and precedes the head *bini* 'wife', resulting in *ngana bini* 'your wife'. The Y element *ngana* refers to the possessor, while the X element *bini* refers to the possessum. In example (153) the Y element *kita* 'first person singular' precedes the X element *tangang* 'hand, resulting in the head-final construction *kita tangang* 'my hand'. It expresses a possessive meaning of which *kita* is the possessor and modifier of the construction, and *tangang* is the possessum and head of the construction.

(151)   ikang   bawa   **dong**   **parau.**
        fish   bring   3PL   boat
        a fish is pulling their boat.

(152)   "mana,   **ngana**   **bini**,   mana?"
        where   2SG   wife   where
        who is your wife, who?

(153)   "ngoni   lia   **kita**   **tangang**   de   bangka
        2   see   1SG   hand   3SG   swollen
        "look, my hand is swollen,

        dapa   lempar."
        get   throw
        it was hit.

4.4 Summary

This chapter concerns noun constructions, which are combinations of two elements of which one serves as the head of the construction and refers to a thing, and another element that serves as modifier. The head in these constructions generally refers to a thing, while the meaning of the whole construction is determined by the context and the situation within which it occurs.

Various head-initial and head-final constructions and their meanings have been described. Some modifiers may follow as well as precede the head they modify. The difference in word order results in different meanings. Certain quantity words follow the head, expressing a distributive meaning, while a collective meaning seems to be more appropriate when they precede the head. The proximal *ini* and distal *itu* seem to express demonstrative meanings when they follow the head and form head-initial constructions, while when preceding the head, they express a definite meaning. Two types of constructions mostly have a head-final structure, namely Y *pe* X constructions and YX constructions of which the Y element is expressed by a personal pronoun or a kinship term, and which construction expresses a possessive meaning. Other constructions are generally head-initial.

5 Verb constructions

This chapter concerns sequences of words within which activity words serve as the semantic centre of the construction and are combined with other lexical material. The resultant expressions have various meanings. In some cases they form idiomatic expressions with a meaning, less salient and hard to detect from the meaning of the individual words. In other cases, the meaning can be derived from the meaning of the individual words and the relationship between them. The linguistic context and the non-linguistic situation within which the construction occurs determine the most appropriate interpretation and meaning. A sequence of an activity word followed by a thing word may express a meaning within which the thing is somehow involved in the activity. The activity word serves as the semantic centre when it is followed by a thing word. They lose the function of semantic centre when preceded by thing words. In such combinations, activity words may either modify or predicate the thing word. The relationship between the two elements is determined by the context and the situation within which the construction occurs.

The combination of two activity words may result in a construction denoting a series of activities performed by the same actor. The first word often serves as semantic centre, and denotes an activity which has to be performed in order to perform the activity of the second element, which may describe the activity as the purpose or goal of the first activity. These combinations of activity words often describe a single event, and the activities are performed by the same actor.

The combination of two activity words may denote a single event. The two activity words may have shared arguments, for example, the theme of the first activity word may serve as the actor of the second activity word.

Certain activity words serving a grammatical function generally precede the semantic centre. The combination results in a passive reading when the activity word is preceded by *dapa* 'get', while *biking* 'make', and *kase* 'give', combined with activity words result in constructions with a causative meaning.

Bound elements, such as *ba-*, *baku-* and *ta-* are attached preceding activity words and add a particular meaning aspect to the base, for example, they indicate that the action expressed in the base is performed reflexively, collectively, or involuntarily. The resultant words may serve as predicates in which function they express a verbal meaning as well as serving other functions and expressing a different meaning. The meaning then depends on the context and situation in which a construction occurs.

This chapter is divided into five sections within which various combinations of activity words with other lexical items are described. In § 5.1 constructions of activity words with thing words are discussed. This is followed a discussion in § 5.2 about constructions of two activity words. The prefixation of words with *ba-*, *baku-* and *ta-* is described in § 5.3, while in § 5.4 the reduplication of activity words, and § 5.5 describes the reduplication of prefixes in combination with activity words.

5.1 Activity + Thing constructions

The combination of activity words followed by thing words results in constructions where the meaning can be derived from the composing elements, or in idiomatic expressions with a fixed meaning. The activity word serves as semantic centre in these constructions. In the following examples, a random activity word is taken, *nae* 'go up', as an example of an activity word that can be combined with several thing words, and result in constructions with various meanings. The meaning of some of these can be derived from the core meaning of *nae* 'go up' and the referent of the thing word, while others form fixed expressions with a specific meaning. The resultant constructions in all the following examples serve as predicates and express a verbal meaning.

The meaning of *nae* may be described as 'go in an upward direction'. This meaning is illustrated in example (1) within which *nae* is followed by *gunung* 'mountain' and refers to an upward movement. *Gunung* refers to the location where the action is performed. In example (2) *nae* occurs with *motor* 'motorcycle', resulting in *nae motor* 'go by motorcycle'. In this case, the motorcycle does not refer to a location, but refers to a vehicle. *Nae motor* then means 'use a motorcycle as a means of transportation'. Other words denoting a vehicle may be used to refer to the type of transportation, for example, *oto* 'car', *spit* 'speedboat' or *kapal* 'ship', and each of these words can be combined with *nae* to express that it is used as a means of transportation. In example (3) *sosapu* 'broom' is combined with *nae*, resulting in *nae sosapu* 'go on a broom'. This example is taken from a story about a witch who uses a broom as a means of transportation. In this context and situation, an interpretation of *nae sosapu* as 'use a broom as a means of transportation' is applicable.

The combination of *nae* with a thing word in example (4) reflects another meaning of *nae*. In this construction, *nae haji* 'haji' the meaning 'go on pilgrimage to Mecca' applies and can be described as 'to be "promoted" to haji'. A person receives the title of "haji" after having been on a pilgrimage to Mecca from the 8th and 12th day of the last month of the Islamic year. Although *nae haji* is considered to be a fixed expression with a specific meaning, the elaborated meaning of *nae* to express 'promote' is applicable to other combinations. The meaning 'promote' or 'move up to a higher rank or level' is found in example (5) in which *nae* co-occurs with *kalas ampa* 'class' and *kalas tiga* 'third grade', resulting in *nae kalas ampa* 'go to fourth grade' and *nae kalas tiga* 'go to third grade' respectively.

(1)   lima   blas   kilo   ba-jalang   **nae**   **gunung**,
            five   tens   kilometre   DUR-walk   go.up   mountain
            walking fifteen kilometres, climbing,

            turung   gunung,   nae   gunung,   turung   gunung.
            go.down   mountain   go.up   mountain   go.down   mountain
            going down, climbing, going down the mountains.

(2)   baru   de   kalo   **nae**   **motor**,   ngana,
                 then   3SG   when   go.up   motorcycle   2SG
                 and when he goes by motorcycle

                 de   pe   lalar   iko-iko.
                 3SG   POSS   fly   RED-follow
                 flies follow him.

(3)   ngana   su   lia   nene   sihir   **nae**   **sosapu**,   to?
                 2SG   COMP   see   grandmother   witch   go.up   broom   QT
                 you have seen a witch on a broom, right?

(4)   paitua   **nae**   **haji**,   ada   orang   pata.
                 old.man   go.up   haji   exist   person   break
                 when he went on the hajj, someone broke something.

(5)   kita   **nae**   **kalas**   **ampa**,   Aten   **nae**   **kalas**   **tiga**.
                 1SG   go.up   class   four   Aten   go.up   class   three
                 I moved up to the fourth grade, Aten moved up to the third grade.

In the following examples activity words are combined with words referring to body parts, resulting in expressions with various meanings. In some cases a literal meaning of the combination is expressed, while in other cases the meaning is more specific and cannot easily be derived from the meaning of the elements.

    Example (6) is taken from a story in which the speaker says that his host provided him with some magic spells to protect himself. After he wrote down the spells, he was ready to go to sleep, and took leave of his host. The example describes the speaker's actions. In the construction *pegang tangang* '(lit.) hold hands' the activity word *pegang* 'hold' is combined with a thing word *tangang* 'hand'. The meaning of this expression can be extracted from these two elements, and provides the meaning 'to hold (a) hand/hands'. In certain contexts and situations this literal meaning is an appropriate description of an act. Within the context and situation of this example *pegang tangang* describes the holding of hands, performed as an act of gratitude or greeting. This meaning is reflected in 'shake hands'. The activity word *ciong* 'kiss, sniff' is combined with *tangang* 'hand', resulting in *ciong tangang* 'kiss hand' and describes a gesture of respectfully addressing a person as a greeting or farewell. The speaker of example (7) talks about a certain kind of cassava which looks big, but is rather tasteless. In this example, *kanal* 'hit' is combined with *hati* 'liver' resulting in *kanal hati* '(lit.) hit liver'. The liver is considered to be the organ of emotions in many places of the world, including Indonesia. In the context and situation of this example, the construction *kanal hati* 'hit the liver' describes the way people feel when they see the cassava; their hearts are touched and their attention is attracted in

a pleasant way. The meaning of *kanal hati* is then 'be attracted' or 'be touched'. Note that *kanal hati* is a fixed expression and does not denote an action, but merely describes a state. In example (8) *banting* 'slam down' is combined with *muka* 'face', resulting in *banting muka* '(lit.) slam down face'. This fixed expression is generally used to describe that someone turns away his head and looks in another direction. Under certain circumstances, this act can be interpreted as a sign of the actor's anger or indifference, but in this example it seems that the speaker coincidently looked in another direction. Note that *banting muka* serves here as the X element of a Y *pe* X possessive construction and receives a nominal meaning. In example (9) *biking* 'make' is combined with *diri* 'self', resulting in *biking diri* '(lit.) make self' or 'pretend', expressing that someone pretends to be different from what he actually is. In this example, the expression *bikin diri* is followed by *gila* 'crazy', resulting in the expression *biking diri gila* 'pretend to be crazy'. *Biking diri* could be followed by other words to describe the person's state, for example, *rajin* 'diligent', *kuat* 'strong', *lupa* 'forget(ful)', and *acu* 'ignore, ignorant'.

(6)   kita   tulis   abis,   **pegang   tangang** abis
        1SG   write   finished hold   hand   finished
        after writing I shook his hand

        ciong   tangang.
        kiss   hand
        and I kissed his hand.

(7)   kalo   orang   lia   de   pe   rupa,
        when   person see   3SG   POSS   shape
        if a person sees its shape,

        orang   **kanal   hati**.
        person hit   liver
        he'll be attracted.

(8)   kita   pe   **banting   muka**... de   pe   mama   masong...
        1SG   POSS   slam.down   face   3SG   POSS   mother enter
        the moment I looked aside… her mother came in.

(9)   padahal dia   tara   gila, de   **biking   diri** gila.
        whereas 3SG   NEG   crazy 3SG   make   self   crazy
        actually he was not crazy, but he was pretending to be crazy.

In other examples of constructions of an activity word followed by a thing word, they form idiomatic expressions with a fixed meaning. Example (10) is taken from a

story of two women who went to look for fire wood when they suddenly heard shots. It reminded them of the war and they were very scared. The example expresses the women's fear and the hope that it will not happen again. In this example, *minta* 'ask for' is combined with *ampong* 'mercy', resulting in *minta ampong* 'ask for mercy'. The meaning can be derived from the meaning of the composing elements *minta* 'ask for' and *ampong* 'mercy'. This expression is often used as an exclamation to express one's fear or despair. In example (11) *makang* 'eat' is combined with *untung* 'luck, profit', resulting in *makang untung* '(lit.) eat luck'. In this case the meaning may be less salient from the meaning of the elements. The example is taken from a description of a very stingy person, who does not pay his workers well. The speaker uses the expression *makang untung* to refer to the act of making profit in a dishonest or fraudulent way. In example (12) *buang* 'throw away' is combined with *aer* 'water', resulting in *buang aer* '(lit.) throw away water', an expression generally used for 'to relieve oneself'.

(10)   yah,   tong   ini   su   parna bagitu,
         EXCL   1PL   this   COMP   ever   like.that
         well, we had that before,

         jadi   **minta   ampong**   juga,   jangang   lagi.
         thus   ask.for   mercy   only   don't   again
         so, mercy, don't let that happen again.

(11)   ya   Allah,   **makang   untung**   kiamat.
         EXCL   Allah   eat   luck   doomsday
         oh my goodness, he profited like hell.

(12)   de   kaluar   pi   **buang   aer**,   kong
         3SG   go.out   go   throw.away water   CONJ
         if she goes out to relieve herself and

         orang   dusu,   "ngana   abis,   ngana".
         person chase   2SG   finished   2SG
         someone's following her, "you'll be finished".

The situation of example (13) is that two persons are trying to get out of the jungle. One of them suggests using a river as a guide and following its course, and he immediately shows which way to go. In the example, *bawa* 'bring' is combined with *jalang* 'street', resulting in *bawa jalang* '(lit.) bring street', an expression for 'to guide, show the way'. In another context and situation, for example when someone is taking another person out for a walk, or when a person is supporting a child learning to walk, *bawa jalang* may express the merely literal meaning 'take for a walk'.

(13)   kong   de   **bawa   jalang**   ni.
         CONJ   3SG   bring   street   this
         and he showed the way.

In the following example, *tidor* 'sleep' is combined with *pistol* 'pistol', resulting in *tidor pistol* '(lit). sleep pistol', an expression describing the way a person sleeps, namely in a huddled up position. In this construction, *tidor* 'sleep' serves as the semantic centre, while *pistol* 'pistol' refers to the manner the activity is performed.

(14)   **tidor   pistol**,   laen...   laen   tidor...
         sleep   pistol   other   other   sleep
         we slept huddled up, others... others slept...

         dia   tidor   dudu-dudu,   […]
         3SG   sleep   RED-sit
         he slept while sitting, […]

5.2 Activity + Activity

In the following, combinations of two activity words are described denoting a series of actions performed by one and the same actor. The activities may refer to a single event where the activities are inseparately related to each other, for example the second act is the purpose or aim of the performance of the first activity. The XY combination, consisting of two activity words then means 'X in order to Y'.

The situation of example (15) is that mango thieves have left their loot in the tree after being caught. Another person asks permission from the owners to climb the tree to get the loot with the excuse that he wants to pick up his T-shirt he had left behind. In this example, *nae* 'go up' co-occurs with *ambe* 'take' resulting in *nae ambe* '(lit.) go up and take', expressing actions performed by the same actor, which may be interpreted as one event in which the second activity word refers to the purpose 'go up to take'. In this context, the actor is not overtly expressed, but refers to the person to whom Hamja is talking. Example (16) is taken from a story in which a crocodile chases after a man called Om Pit. This example describes what the crocodile did. *Lari* 'run' is combined with *dusu* 'chase' resulting in *lari dusu* '(lit.) run chase' expressing actions done by the crocodile which acts as the performer of both actions *lari* and *dusu*. When the combination of activity words is interpreted as a single event, *dusu* may refer to the purpose 'run to chase' or the manner 'run chasing after' of the activity expressed in *lari*. In example (17) *turung* 'go down' is combined with *mandi* 'bathe' resulting in *turung mandi* 'go down to bathe', describing actions performed by the actor *putri* 'princes(ses)'. In this example, *mandi* may be interpreted as the purpose for the princesses to come down from heaven, resulting in *turung mandi* 'go down to bathe'.

(15)   Hamja bilang, "iyo suda, kalo gitu **nae**   **ambe**."
                Hamja   say   yes   COMP when like.that go.up take

Hamja said: "fine, if that's true, climb up and get it."

(16)   badiri bagini   buaya   **lari** **dusu** pa   dia,
                stand   like.this crocodile run   chase to   3SG

(the crocodile) was standing upright like this to run and chase him.

(17)   apalagi   de   tatawa, mama, model deng
                moreover 3SG   laugh   mother shape   with

particularly if she laughs, my goodness,

        putri   **turung** **mandi** ni.
        princes go.down bathe   this

like (one of) the princesses who came down (from heaven) and took a bath.

The actions in the following examples refer to a single event, but contrary to the combination of activity verbs in the previous examples, the performers of the activities have different referents. In example (18) the speaker talks about a certain type of bee. They are so big, he says jokingly, that one could send them out to do some shopping. In the example, *minta* 'ask for' is combined with *tolong* 'help', resulting in *minta tolong* 'ask to help'. The performer of *minta* does not have a specific referent, but does not refer to the bees. The performer of *tolong* clearly refers to the bees. It is expressed by *ngana* 'second person singular'. The background of example (19) is that the owner of a ladder complains about his uncle, who borrowed a ladder and did not return it to the correct place. The actor of *bawa* 'bring' is expressed by the construction *sapa yang pake* 'he who used it', and refers to the uncle who has borrowed the ladder. The performer of *pulang* 'go home' refers to the ladder, which should be returned to its proper place. In example (20) *lempar* 'throw overarm' is combined with *nae* 'go up', resulting in *lempar nae* referring to an action of throwing something so that it moves in an upward direction. From the context of this example, it becomes clear that the performer of *lempar* 'throw' is expressed by the construction *de pe ana* 'his son', while the entity *kirikil alus-alus* 'fine gravel' performs the movement expressed in *nae* 'go up'. The combination of *lempar nae* describes the way the action is performed 'throw overarm in an upgoing direction'. Note that in all these examples the performer of the second activity word is involved in the activity of the first. In example (18) the performer of *tolong* serves as the source from where one asks for help. In example (19) the theme of *bawa* 'bring', which is understood from the situation, also serves as the actor of *pulang*. In example (20) it is understood from the context that *kirikil alus-alus* is the theme that undergoes the action expressed in *lempar* 'throw' and serves as the actor of *nae* 'go up'.

(18)   kalo   **minta**   **tolong**   "ngana   ka   dara
            when   ask.for   help   2SG   to   land
            if you ask them, "go

            bli   roko   dulu."...
            buy   cigarette before
            and buy some cigarettes."...

(19)   dia... sapa   yang   pake   **bawa**   **pulang**   ka   mari.
            3SG   who   REL   use   bring   go.home   to   here
            he… who uses it has to bring it back here.

(20)   de   pe   ana   angka   kirikil   alus-alus,
            3SG   POSS   child lift.up gravel   PL-fine
            his son was picking up some fine gravel

            de   **lempar**   **nae**.
            3SG   throw   go.up
            and was throwing it up.

Certain function words add a specific meaning to the word with which they are combined. In combination with an activity word, *dapa* 'get, receive' adds a passive meaning to the word, while *biking* 'make' and *kase* 'give' determine a causative interpretation of the activity word with which they co-occur.

5.2.1 *Dapa* + Verb constructions

The word *dapa* may express various meanings, depending on the context and the situation within which it occurs and is used. When *dapa* occurs in a construction X *dapa* Y, and both X as well as Y are interpreted as things, for example, *kita dapa doi* 'I get money', *dapa* serves as predicate and expresses the meaning 'get'. *Dapa* may occur in contexts where it is followed by an activity word, for example, *pukul* 'hit' as in *kita dapa pukul*. In this context, *dapa* can be interpreted in two possible ways: *dapa* expresses the meaning 'can, be able to do something' or *dapa* indicates that *pukul* receives a "passive" reading 'be hit'. The linguistic context determines the two options, particularly by the interpretation of the X element *kita* 'first person singular', that precedes *dapa*. When *kita* is interpreted as agent or performer of the action, the first option applies, and *kita dapa pukul* means 'I can hit (for instance, 'the ball)'. When *kita* is interpreted as patient or undergoer, *kita dapa pukul* means 'I am hit'. In the latter case the lexical meaning of *dapa* 'get' is less prominent and *dapa* serves merely a grammatical function to indicate a "passive" reading.

The word *gigi* can be interpreted in various ways, depending on the context and situation in which it occurs. *Gigi* may refer to a thing and express the meaning 'tooth, teeth' as well as an activity 'to bite', and related to the latter meaning, *gigi*

may refer to the act of biting and express the meaning 'a bite'. Considering these possibilities, example (21) may be interpreted in various ways, depending on the linguistic context and the non-linguistic situation within which the example appears. When it occurs in a conversation about false teeth in which, for instance, it is discussed whether any person can have false teeth, the utterance may reflect someone's statement that his friend did not get any teeth. In such a context *gigi* is interpreted as a thing '(false) teeth' and provides *dapa* with the meaning 'get, receive'. In another situation, where a number of people are eating *bagea*, a Ternate cookie made of sago flour and *kenari* nuts, and famous for being dry and hard to chew, *kita pe tamang tara dapa gigi* receives a different meaning. It may reflect that someone cannot bite a piece of the *bagea*, because it is too hard and the meaning 'my friend could not bite it' applies. In this case, *gigi* is interpreted as an activity word expressing 'to bite' and *dapa* expresses the meaning 'can; be able to'.

In yet another situation where the speaker describes how he and his friends were chased by a dog and some of them were bitten, while others not, the interpretation of example (21) would be different again. In such a situation, *kita pe tamang tara dapa gigi* is best interpreted as 'my friend(s) did not get bitten', in which case *gigi* denotes an action, *dapa* indicates a passive reading, and *dapa gigi* expresses the meaning 'get bitten'. In the latter context, *dapa* serves merely a grammatical function, rather than expressing a lexical meaning. Although it could be argued that in this function *dapa* still inherits its semantic element 'get, receive', and that what is received is an action rather than a concrete thing.

(21)   kita   pe   tamang   de   tara   **dapa**   **gigi**.
         1SG   POSS   friend   3SG   NEG   get   bite
         1. my friend didn't get any teeth.
         2. my friend couldn't chew it.
         3. my friend didn't get bitten.

In the following examples, *dapa* is combined with an activity word, and the subject, either overtly expressed or known from the context, serves as the undergoer of the activity expressed in the predicate, resulting in constructions with a passive reading.

Example (22) is taken from a story about what happened to the speaker's fingers. The speaker worked as a carrier and had to carry lava stones from one place to another. He hurt one of his fingers when it was squashed under the stones. The subject *yang ini* 'this one' in example (22), referring to one of the fingers, acts as the undergoer of the action expressed in the predicate *dapa tindis* 'be squashed'. This determines that *dapa* is interpreted as an element that indicates a passive reading and *dapa tindis* expresses the meaning 'get squashed' or 'be squashed'. The performer of the action is expressed by *batu angos* 'lava stones' that immediately follows *tindis*. The speaker of example (23) tells how bees attacked him and even managed to get under his cap. The subject *kita* 'first person singular' serves as the undergoer of the action and *dapa* indicates a passive reading, resulting in *dapa holo* expressing the meaning 'be stung'. The construction *deng ofu* 'with bees' expresses the actor of

holo and supports a "passive" interpretation of *dapa holo* 'get stung'. Example (24) is taken from a story in which the speaker says that he has run away from home several times, but every time his parents called him back. From the context and the situation of this example it becomes clear that *kita* 'first person singular' has the attention, and that it serves as the undergoer of *dapa pangge*. In this interpretation, *dapa* serves to indicate a passive meaning and *dapa pangge* has to be interpreted as 'get called' or 'be called'. Note that both the actor as well as the undergoer of *pangge* 'call' are understood from the context and are not overtly expressed.

(22) yang   ini   su   **dapa**   **tindis**   batu   angos.
      REL   this COMP   get   press   stone burned
      this one got squashed by lava stones.

(23) padahal   selama   hidup   kita   tara   parna
      whereas   as.long.as live   1SG   NEG   ever
      whereas as long as I've lived I've never been

      dapa   **holo**   deng   ofu   bagitu   macang.
      get   sting   with   bee   like.that kind
      stung by bees in such a way.

(24) kita   pulang   ulang.
      1SG   go.home   again
      I went home again.

      dapa   **pangge**   ulang,   pulang.
      get   call   repeat   go.home
      they called me again, I went home.

When *dapa* occurs in combination with perception words, it expresses the meaning 'can, be able to'. The speaker of example (25) talks about an evil spirit and the ability to see more than humans would expect. In this example, *dapa* 'get' is combined with the perception word *lia* 'see'. The combination results in *dapa lia* 'can see' or 'be able to see', within which *dapa* receives the meaning 'can, be able to'. In example (26) the speaker talks about a small, mysterious island, where at night one can hear screaming voices. The perception word *dengar* 'hear' is combined with *dapa*, resulting in the construction *dapa dengar* with the meaning 'can hear' or 'be able to hear'. Example (27) is taken from a story in which the speaker explains that some sea animals, particularly sharks, have a well-developed nasal organ. This enables them to detect the rancid smell of snakes. In the example *dapa* is followed by the perception word *ciong* 'smell', and receives the meaning 'can, be able'. The resultant construction *dapa ciong* expresses the meaning 'can smell' or 'able to smell'. Note that *ciong* has another meaning, 'kiss', and depending on its interpretation,

example (27) *dia dapa ciong* may mean 's/he is kissed' when *ciong* is read as verb, while when it serves as noun, *dia dapa ciong* means 's/he gets a kiss'.

(25)   dia   haga   bagini   tapi   de   **dapa lia**   ngana   di   bawa.
              3SG   stare   like.this   but   3SG   get   see   2SG   in   bottom
              it looks like this, but it can see you down there.

(26)   ha,   baru   malang-malang
              EXCL   then   RED-night
              o yes, and at night

              dapa dengar   orang   bataria.
              get   hear   person   scream
              you hear someone screaming.

(27)   dia   **dapa ciong**.
              3SG   get   smell
              they can smell it.

Not only the combination with perception words provides *dapa* with the meaning 'can, be able'. When *dapa* occurs with other words, this meaning may occur as well. The context and situation then determine which interpretation of *dapa* works best. Example (28) is taken from a story about a soccer match. One team is winning and there is too little time for Rais and his team to try to catch up. In this example, *dapa* 'get' is followed by *balas* 'reply', resulting in *dapa balas* '(lit.) get reply'. In this situation, *balas* is interpreted as activity and *tara dapa balas* expresses the meaning 'cannot respond' or 'not able to come back'. An interpretation of *dapa balas* with a passive reading, for instance, '(Rais and his team) are replied to' does not seem to work. In a different context and situation, *balas* could be interpreted as a thing. This interpretation is easily applicable to situations where someone's letter or some other type of message has not been answered. The construction *tara dapa balas* may then mean 'do not get an answer/reply'.

The *dapa makang* construction in example (29) may have several interpretations, but only one seems to work well. The example is taken from a story about a crocodile that starts to attack the people in the village when he is very hungry. When *makang* is interpreted as an activity 'to eat', *dapa makang* may either express the ability to eat 'can/be able to eat' or it may express the passive reading 'be eaten'. The first interpretation 'can/be able to eat' occurs when the subject *dia* 'third person singular' is interpreted as agent or performer. The example then expresses that when the crocodile (for some reason) is not able to eat, he becomes very angry (and attacks people in the village). This interpretation is less appropriate. The second interpretation of *dapa makang* with the passive meaning 'be eaten' occurs when the

subject is interpreted as the undergoer or patient. This does not work either, because it is not the crocodile that is eaten. Within this context, *makang* is best interpreted as a thing and *tara dapa makang* as 'do not get food'. The interpretation of *makang* with a nominal meaning occurs more often, for instance in the expression *taru makang* '(lit.) put food' or 'set the table', within which *makang* refers to the dishes that are eaten. The speaker of example (30) explains what could happen if he and his girlfriend shared the same room and someone saw them together. In this example *dapa* 'get' is combined with *tangka* 'catch', resulting in *dapa tangka* '(lit.) get catch'. The interpretation of *dapa tangka* is determined by the interpretation of *orang*, which precedes *dapa tangka*. When *orang* is interpreted as patient or under-goer, *dapa tangka* receive the passive reading 'be caught'. When this interpretation is applied to example (30), it becomes a general statement expressing the meaning 'if someone gets caught, s/he has to marry immediately'. When *orang* is interpreted as an agent or performer, *dapa tangka* expresses the meaning 'can/be able to catch' and example (30) reflects the meaning that if someone is able to catch the two persons together, the two have to marry immediately. In the latter interpretation, the patient is not expressed but understood from the context.

[Rais tells they are two points behind]

(28) tara **dapa balas** su babak kedua.
      NEG   get   reply   COMP   phase   second
      they could not fight back and it was already the second half.

(29) tapi kalo dia tara **dapa makang**,
      but   when 3SG NEG   get   eat
      but when it doesn't get something to eat,

      dia lebe tamba mara, dong bilang.
      3SG more add   angry 3PL   say
      it gets angrier, they say.

(30) kalo orang **dapa tangka** langsung kaweng.
      when person get   catch   immediately marry
      1. if someone gets caught, he has to get married.
      2. if someone can catch us, we have to get married.

In this section it is described that *dapa* in combination with an activity word may express ability 'can, be able to' or it indicates that the activity word has to be interpreted with a passive meaning.

In the following sections two other activity words are discussed; *biking* and *kase*. In combination with thing words, the lexical meaning of the words applies: *biking* means 'make' and *kase* 'give'. In combination with activity words, they serve a

grammatical function and indicate a causative meaning. The use of *biking* and *kase* in this function is widely spread amongst Malay varieties and is considered to be a feature characteristic for Pidgin Derived Malay varieties, including Ternate Malay (Adelaar and Prentice 1996:675).

5.2.2 *Biking* + Verb constructions

The word *biking* can be followed by a thing word and expresses the meaning 'make, create', illustrated in example (31). In this example, *ngana* 'second person singular' serves as agent and performs the activity *biking* 'make'. It is followed by *dabu-dabu manta* 'raw spicy sauce', referring to the theme, the dish prepared by the performer.

(31)   baru   ngana   **biking**   dabu-dabu   manta...
          then   2SG   make   spicy.condiment   raw

   and then you make a raw spicy sauce…

When *biking* 'make' is followed by an activity or quality word, the result is an expression with the causative meaning 'cause, let, make something (becomes) X', in which X refers to the activity or the quality expressed in the word with which *biking* 'make' is combined. In these contexts, *biking* serves a grammatical function, indicating causativity.

   The following examples occurred during elicitation sessions. In example (32) *biking* is combined with *tasono* 'fall asleep', which expresses an activity that is involuntarily performed. The resultant construction *biking tasono* has to be interpreted with a causative meaning, expressing 'make someone fall asleep'. The expression *de pe lagu* 'the song' serves as the agent or causer of the activity, while *kita* 'first person singular' serves as the undergoer or causee. In example (33) *biking* 'make' is combined with *putus* 'broken off', describing a state, and results in the construction *biking putus* '(lit.) make broken off'. *Ana-ana* 'children' refers to the causer who causes the *tong pe tali pakeang* 'our clothesline', referring to the causee, comes in a state of being *putus* 'broken off'.

(32)   de   pe   lagu   sadap   **biking**   **ta-sono**   pa   kita.
          3SG   POSS   song   delicious make   INV-sleep   to   1SG

   the song is nice and puts me to sleep.

(33)   ana-ana   **biking**   **putus**   tong   pe   tali   pakeang.
          RED-child   make   broken.off   1PL   POSS   rope   clothes

   the children broke our clothesline.

Example (34) is a request to add some water to the sago porridge to make it thinner, because the speaker thinks the porridge is too thick. In example (34) *biking* is combined with the quality word *lombo* 'soft' and results in the construction *biking lombo* 'make soft'. The causer *ngoni* 'second person' is asked to do something to the *pupeda* 'sago porridge', the undergoer or causee, so that it gets the quality of *lombo*

'soft'. In example (35) *biking* is combined with *itang* 'black' and results in the construction *biking itang* 'make black'. In this example, *de* 'third person singular' is the causer who makes *de pe kumis* 'his moustache', the causee, come into a different state and becomes *itang* 'black'.

(34)   mama,   ngoni **biking** **lombo** pupeda   sadiki   ka.
         mother   2   make   soft   sago. porridge a.little QT
         my goodness, please make the sago porridge a bit thinner!

(35)   de   **biking** **itang** de   pe   kumis.
         3SG   make   black   3SG   POSS moustache
         he blackens his moustache.

In all the examples above, the undergoer or causee undergoes a transformation from one state into another. The original state is not overtly expressed; it is implied to be the opposite of the word with which *biking* is combined, which refers to the resultant state or quality. In example (32) the clothesline changes from being one long line into two parts, and the song in example (33) changes the state of *kita* from being awake into being asleep. Example (34) suggests that the sago porridge is too firm and stiff and there is a request to change its structure to become soft and smooth. In example (35) the moustache undergoes a change in colour and becomes black (again).

A causative meaning may be expressed by the combination of an activity or quality words with *kase*. The difference between these and *biking*-constructions described here is that causative *kase*-constructions do not imply a change of state. They are described in the following section.

5.2.3 *Kase* + Verb constructions

This section describes the various meanings of *kase* which are dependent on the word with which *kase* is combined. In example (36) *kase* is combined with the thing word *doi* 'money', and the lexical meaning 'give' applies.

(36)   de   **kase** doi   ka   mari.
         3SG   give   money to   here
         she gave me the money.

In the following examples, *kase* 'give' is followed by an activity or quality word. The resultant constructions indicate a causative meaning, that is, the causer makes or lets someone/something else, the causee, perform the action expressed in the word that follows *kase*. In this grammatical function as indicator of causative meanings, *kase* can be shortened to *kas* and has to be immediately followed by the activity word. No other lexical material may intervene between these elements. This may be an indication that *kase* is in the process to become a bound element *kas-*, expressing causativity. In other instances words referring to the causee intervene between *kase*

and the activity word. They refer to the goal of *kase* as well as serve as performer of the activity expressed in the word with which *kase* is combined. This type of construction expresses a permissive meaning.

Example (37) is taken from a story of someone who helps a woman with her shopping. He carries it for her and loads it into the bus. In this example, *kase* is combined with *nae* 'go up, resulting in *kase nae* '(lit.) give go up', expressing the causative meaning 'someone causes something to go up'. *Kita* 'first person singular' is the causer, who causes *barang* 'thing' to move in an upward direction. *Barang* 'thing' is the causee and refers to the performer of the activity expressed in *nae*, the activity word with which *kase* is combined. The expression *kita kase nae barang* then means 'I made the goods go up' and in the situation of this example it reflects 'I loaded the goods (into the bus)'. Example (38) is taken from a story about a mosquito attack. In this example the speaker wonders what a mosquito injects into someone's body when it stings. Here *kase* is combined with *masong* 'enter', resulting in *kase masong* and expresses the causative meaning 'make something enter'. The third person singular *de* refers to the mosquito and serves as the causer that brings about action. *Barang apa* 'what thing' refers to the material the bee injects and serves as the theme or causee of the action. In example (39) *lari* 'run' is combined with *kase*, resulting in *kase lari* 'let something run'. *Ikang* 'fish' serves as the causer, which makes the patient/causee *dong parao* 'their boat' move. Example (40) is taken from a story in which the speaker tells how an event in the future can be foretold with corn seeds. The example describes the corn seeds used for this practice. The activity word *makang* 'eat' occurs in combination with *kase*, resulting in *kase makang* 'cause someone/something to eat'. The causer in this example is not overtly expressed and can be understood from the situation. *Ayang* 'chicken' is the causee and performs the action expressed in *makang* 'eat'. Note that from the context it becomes clear that *milu-milu kiring tu* 'dry corn' from the previous utterance is the central theme of attention. It serves as the theme of *kase makang* and determines that *kase makang* has to be interpreted with a "passive" reading, 'be fed to'.

(37) maitua   nae   ka   muka   baru
      old.woman   go.up   to   front   then
      she got into the car first and then

      kita   **kase**   **nae**   barang,   […]
      1SG   CAUS   go.up   thing
      I loaded the goods, [...]

(38) de   su   kase...   ih,   su   **kase**   **masong**
      3SG   COMP   give   EXCL   COMP   CAUS   enter
      they put... hey, what did they

barang   apa   dalang?
thing   what inside

put inside you?

(39)   ikang   **kase**   **lari**   dong   parao,   ikang   basar.
          fish   CAUS   run   3PL   boat   fish   big

a fish is taking away their boat, a big fish.

(40)   milu-milu   kiring   tu?
          RED-corn   dry   that

(do you know) dry corn?

suka   **kase**   **makang**   ayang   to?
like   CAUS   eat   chicken   QT

those we use to feed the chickens, right?(Lit. those that are fed to chickens?

The combination of *kase* with quality words results in constructions with the causative meaning 'cause, make become X', in which X refers to the quality word. Example (41) is taken from a story in which the speaker says he spilled oil over himself. He digs a hole to cover his body with the sand in the hope that it will prevent the burns from becoming blisters. In the example, *kase* is combined with *panjang* 'long', resulting in *kase panjang* 'make longer, extend'. The first person singular *kita* in this example serves as causer. The causee is understood from the context and refers to the hole the person is digging. The quality word *panjang* 'long' describes the state caused by the action performed by the causer. In example (42) *panas* 'hot' is preceded by *kase* 'give', resulting in *kase panas* 'make hot, to heat'. The causer in this example is *ngana* 'second person singular', who makes the causee *strika* '(flat) iron', which is mentioned previously and can be understood from the context, become *panas* 'hot'. Note that in both examples the *kase*-construction follows an activity word. In such contexts the second element may express the purpose for which the activity in the first element is performed.

(41)   itu   biking   abis,   kita   gale   **kase**   **panjang**.
          that   make   finished   1SG   dig   CAUS   long

after I finished that, I dug to make it long.

(42)   coba   strika   kong   ngana   cok   **kase**   **panas**.
          try   (flat) iron CONJ   2SG   plug   CAUS   hot

take an iron and plug it in to warm it up.

In the following examples, *kase* is not immediately followed by an action word, but other lexical material, referring to the causee, intervenes between the two elements. The resultant construction receives a permissive meaning. The permitter refers to the person who permits the permittee to perform the action expressed in the activity word with which *kase* occurs. Depending on the situation, this may mean that the permitter does not prevent an action to take place. The permittee refers to the person who is given the opportunity to perform the activity as well as serving as the agent of the activity word with which *kase* is combined. The permittee appears between *kase* and the activity word. In example (43) *paitua* 'old man' serves as subject and refers to the permitter. The construction *paitua pe kaka sana di Tobelo* 'the old man's older brother there in Tobelo' refers to the permittee as well as to the performer of *pegang* 'hold' with which *kase* occurs. The whole construction *paitua kase paitua pe kaka sana di Tobelo pegang* expresses the permissive meaning 'the old man lets/permits his older brother there in Tobelo hold (the island)'. In example (44) *kase* is preceded by the construction *tong pe sebe deng tong pe ma ni* 'our father and our mother', and refers to the permitter. *Halima* follows *kase* and refers to the permittee. It also serves as the performer of *piara* 'take care of', with which *kase* occurs. The construction *pa kita* 'to first person singular' expresses the patient or undergoer of the activity. Note that the two activity words in the *kase*-construction share the permittee. In example (43) the permittee *paitua pe kaka sana di Tobelo* refers to the goal of *kase* 'give' as well as to the agent of *pegang* 'hold' and in example (44) the permittee *Halima* refers to the goal of *kase* as well as to the agent of *piara*.

(43) paitua **kase** paitua pe kaka sana di Tobelo
old.man give old.man POSS older.sibling there in Tobelo
he let his older brother in Tobelo

pegang pulo itu.
hold island that
manage the island.

(44) tong pe sebe deng tong pe ma ni
1PL POSS father and 1PL POSS mother this
my daddy and my mom

su **kase** Halima **piara** pa kita.
COMP give Halima take.care.of to 1SG
let Halima raise me.

5.2.4 *Kase* and *kas-*

When *kase* is followed by an activity word and expresses a causative meaning, it may be shortened to *kas*. In this position *kas* becomes an inseparable part of the following word and serves as a bound element to express a causative meaning.

Example (45) is taken from a story in which the speaker talks about how his friend carried him out of the jungle. His friend's feet hurt and he cut his shoes to give his toes more space. In this example, *kas* is combined with *kaluar* 'go out', resulting in *kaskaluar* expressing the meaning 'let out'. The subject *de* is the causer, who lets the causee, namely *jari-jari* 'toes', *kaluar* 'go out' of the shoes. In example (45) *kase* is shortened to *kas* and combined with *tinggal* 'stay, remain', resulting in *kastinggal* 'let something/someone stay (behind)'. The expression *kastinggal* is commonly used to denote the meaning '(deliberately) leave behind'. The subject *dong* 'third person plural' serves as the causer of the action, while *kita* is the causee, referring to the person who is left behind, and the actor of *tinggal*. The word *kastinggal* in example (47) has the same shape as the one in the previous example (46), but the semantic role of the arguments with which it occurs differs. In example (46) the subject *dong*, which precedes the predicate, refers to the causer of the action expressed in *kastinggal* 'leave behind', while *kita* refers to the causee and the theme that is left behind. In example (47) the subject *sambayang* 'prayer' refers to the causee and the theme that is left behind. In this example, the causer of the action is not overtly expressed. These examples clearly show that *kas* merely serves to add a causative meaning to the base word, rather than to serve, for instance to increase the valency of the action word. Example (48) is taken from a story in which a soldier borrows a wok. In the example, the owner tells the soldier that he may return the wok the following day. The word *kaspulang* expresses a causative meaning and implies a causer, causee, and a theme. The example shows that it is not obligatory to overtly express all the arguments, for example when they can be understood.

(45) de   robe   baru   de   **kas-kaluar**   jari-jari.
      3SG   torn   then   3SG   CAUS-go.out   PL-toe
      he ripped it off and stuck out his toes.

(46) dong   **kas-tinggal**   kita   sandiri   di   pulau.
      3PL   CAUS-stay   1SG   own   in   island
      they left me alone on the island.

(47) sambayang   tara   parna   **kas-tinggal**   hey.
      prayer   NEG   ever   CAUS-stay   EXCL
      ow, he never forgets his prayers.

(48) "nanti   beso   baru   **kas-pulang**."
      later   tomorrow   then   CAUS-go.home
      "you can return it tomorrow."

5.3 Bound elements

Elements such as *ba-*, *baku*, *ta-*, and combinations of these may be combined with words to create new words. These elements cannot occur independently to express a meaning in their own respect. They always have to be followed by another item which serves as base and semantic centre. No other lexical material may intervene between these elements and the base to which they are attached. These bound elements serve merely to add certain aspects to the meaning of the base.

In Chapter 3 I showed that prefixation may be applied to all types of words and results in words that show the same flexibility as any other lexical item. Prefixation is merely a device to add semantic aspects to the word to which it is attached. The following paragraphs concern prefixation of words with *ba-*, *baku-*, and *ta-*. I describe the effect of the prefixes on the meaning of the words. It should be noted that newly formed words presented in the examples here mainly serve as predicates, expressing a verbal meaning. In different contexts and situations, they may serve functions other than predicate, and express other meanings as well. In the various examples presented here, the glosses of certain prefixes may differ. This is because of the different meanings a particular prefix may express in the context of the example, and does not refer to different prefixes of the same shape.

When *ba-* is attached to a word, the resultant word may express various meanings, depending on the meaning of its base. Many of the newly-formed words seem to express some dynamic aspect. When the base expresses an action or activity, the resultant *ba*-word may have a reflexive, durative, or habitual meaning aspect added to the meaning of the base. When the prefix *ba-* is attached to words expressing a thing, the resultant *ba*-words may express some action performed with the base as its instrument. Other resultant words may denote the production of some substance or the performance of some act. When *ba-* is attached to words expressing quality, the newly-formed words refer to processes or procedures.

5.3.1 Prefix *ba-*

The prefix *ba-* attached to certain activity words denotes an action that is performed reflexively: one performs an action to oneself. The resultant word is an activity word of which the actor and the patient of the action share the same referent. Example (49) tells what a person suffering from a high fever wanted to do to cool down his body. The prefixation of *colo* 'dip' with *ba-*, resulting in *bacolo* 'dip oneself', and *lego* 'throw (underhand)' with *ba-*, resulting in *balego* 'thrown oneself down', both express a reflexive meaning. The speaker of example (50), who was stealing the fruit from a mango tree, tells how he held on to the tree, while someone was throwing stones at him to chase him out of the tree. The word *bapegang* 'hold oneself' consists of *ba-* and *pegang* 'hold' and expresses a reflexive meaning. In example (51) *ba-* is attached to the *jatong* 'fall', resulting in *bajatong* 'let oneself fall', while in example (52) *banae* consists of the prefix *ba-* and *nae* 'go up', denoting that the child is performing a pulling action on himself, expressing the meaning 'pull oneself up'.

(49) eh,   dia   panas skali kong de   mau   **ba-colo**,
      EXCL 3SG   hot   very   CONJ 3SG want REFL-dip
      eh, he was very hot and he wanted to plunge,

      ba-lego   dalang dorom, dorom.
      REFL-throw.down   inside drum   drum
      throw himself in the drum, drum.

(50) de   pe   batang basar, kita **ba-pegang** bagini,   to?
      3SG POSS stem   big   1SG   REFL-hold   like.this QT
      the trunk was very thick, so I held on like this, right?

(51) ana   satu de   putus asa   kong
      child one   3SG break hope CONJ
      someone lost hope and

      de   **ba-jatong** dari atas seng.
      3SG REFL-fall   from top   zinc
      he let himself fall from the zinc roof.

(52) lia   ana   sana.   de   **ba-nae**   di atas meja.
      look child there   3SG REFL-go up   in top   table
      look at the child there. he is pulling himself onto the table.

A *ba*-prefix may indicate that an activity is performed habitually. In example (53) the speaker talks about a person who died after drinking alcohol. The speaker is convinced that the person's death is related to his drinking habit. In this example, *minum* 'drink' is prefixed by *ba-*, resulting in *baminum* 'habitually drink alcohol', which refers specifically to the drinking of alcohol (not to other drinks) and to the habit of drinking regularly. In example (54) *isap* 'suck' is combined with *ba-*, resulting in *baisap* 'smoke', denoting a habitual activity of smoking cigarettes. Note that in this example *baisap* serves as subject and merely has a thing-like referent, that is, the act of habitually smoking cigarettes, rather than expressing an activity. In example (55) *baangka* 'lift up' is followed by *barang* 'thing' resulting in the expression *baangka barang*. The combination of *baangka* with *barang* 'thing', referring to the goods that are lifted, results in an expression with the specific meaning of lifting and carrying goods as a regularly performed action, habit, and profession to earn money. Note that in this context *baangka barang* serves as central theme of attention and has to be interpreted with a nominal meaning. It denotes an act or performance, rather than an action or activity.

(53)   tapi   de   **ba-minum**[16]   turus.
            but   3SG   HAB-drink   continue
            but he drank continuously.

(54)   tapi   **ba-isap**   jalan   trus.
            but   HAB-suck   walk   continue
            but smoking continues.

(55)   iyo,   **ba-angka**   **barang**   kita   paling   tara   bisa.
            yes   HAB-lift.up   thing   1SG   very   NEG   can
            that's true, I really can't carry things.

In the following examples, *ba*-words express a durative meaning. In example (56)
the prefix *ba*- is attached to *jual* 'sell', resulting in *bajual* 'sell' expressing a durative
activity. In example (57) the prefix *ba*- is attached to *rubus* 'boil' to denote a dura-
tive activity. It is followed by *kasbi* 'cassava', which serves as the patient that
undergoes the action of the predicate. In example (58) *bafikir* 'think of' contains the
prefix *ba*- and expresses a durative meaning 'keep in mind, consider'. It is followed
by *orang pe tanaga* 'person's strength', which serves as the theme of the action ex-
pressed in the predicate.

(56)   Fadin   **ba-jual**   di   pasar   ikang.
            Fadin   DUR-sell   in   market   fish
            Fadin was selling at the fish market.

(57)   tong   asik   **ba-rubus**   **kasbi**,   to?
            1PL   busy   DUR-boil   cassava   QT
            I was busy boiling cassava, right?

(58)   iyo,   dapa   bayar,   me   **ba-fikir**   **orang**   **pe**   **tanaga**
            yes   get   pay   PART DUR-think   person   POSS   power
            right, I get paid, but one can keep someone's strength in mind

            sadiki   e.
            a.little EXCL
            a little.

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[16] This is a case in which the prefix *ba*- is attached to a standard Indonesian word *minum*
'drink'. The Ternate Malay equivalent would be *baminong* 'regularly drink alcohol'.

Depending on the meaning of the base, combinations of prefix *ba-* with thing words result in words with various meanings. Some *ba*-words refer to an activity where the base serves as instrument. In example (59) *ba-* is attached to *sisir* 'comb', resulting in *basisir* 'comb', which may denote an activity with *sisir* 'comb' as an instrument. In example (60) *ba-* is attached to *sapu* 'broom', resulting in *basapu* 'sweep', referring to an action within which *sapu* is used as instrument. In example (61) *ba-* is combined with *uba* 'medicine', resulting in *bauba* '(lit.) use medicine'. The meaning of *bauba* expresses the involvement of *uba* in the action. *Bauba* may denote the activity of a patient who takes medical care 'get medical care, see a physician' as well as the activity of a doctor who provides medical care expressing the meaning 'to heal'. In this example, the speaker talks about his grandfather's knowledge of traditional healing methods, and *bauba* expresses the meaning 'to heal'.

(59)　　　　[...]　de　　bangong　nae,　　**ba-sisir**,
　　　　　　　　　　3SG　rise　　　　go.up　　USE-comb
　　　　　　[...] she stood up, combed her hair,

　　　　　　de　　mara　　pa　　kita　　ni.
　　　　　　3SG　angry　　to　　1SG　　this
　　　　　　and she was mad at me.

(60)　　　　kita　　**ba-sapu**,　　cuci　　piring.
　　　　　　1SG　　USE-broom　　wash　　plate
　　　　　　I was sweeping, washing the dishes.

(61)　　　　tong　　pe　　papa　　pe　　papa　　tu,
　　　　　　1PL　　POSS　daddy　POSS　daddy　that
　　　　　　my father's father

　　　　　　paitua　　suka　　biking-biking　aer;　　**ba-uba**　　lagi.
　　　　　　old.man　like　　RED-make　　　water　USE-medicine　again
　　　　　　used to make (medicinal) water; he also heals.

Other *ba*-words containing a thing word may express the possessive meaning 'own, have, possess, etc.'. Example (62) is taken from a description. The speaker describes a person as a big man with legs completely covered with wounds: *de pe kaki pe bonya!* 'his legs have wounds all over!'. The speaker then continues with example (62), where *ba-* adds a possessive meaning to *luka* 'wound', resulting in *baluka* 'have wounds'. The construction *kaki baluka* may be interpreted as a clause within which *baluka* serves as predicate, reflecting the meaning 'have wounds'. In an interpretation of *kaki baluka* as consisting of a head *kaki* modified by *baluka*, the meaning 'legs with wounds' or 'wounded legs' is reflected. There is no clear difference in structure and both interpretations may be appropriate within the context. In example

(63) *ba-* is attached to *abu* 'dust', resulting in *baabu*. In this example it is preceded by *tong pe tangan* 'our hands' and is interpreted as predicate, expressing the meaning 'have dust' or 'be dusty'. In this example, *baabu* could be interpreted as modifier of *tong pe tangan* 'our hands', resulting in a construction with the meaning 'our dusty hands'. The presence of *kong*, a conjunction used to join clauses together, may indicate that the construction has to be interpreted as a clause with *baabu* as predicate. In example (64), the prefix *ba-* is attached to *rasa* 'taste', resulting in *barasa* 'have the taste of' or 'savour of'. In this example *barasa* serves as predicate and expresses a verbal meaning 'have the taste of'.

(62)   kaki   **ba-luka**   to?
          leg   POSS-wound   QT
          1. his legs have wounds, right?
          2. he has wounded legs, right?

(63)   kong   tong   pe   tangan   **ba-abu**.
          CONJ   1PL   POSS   hand   POSS-dust
          and our hands were dusty.

(64)   dia   **ba-rasa**   milu   skali.
          3SG   POSS-taste   corn   very
          it has a strong taste of corn.

The combination of *ba-* attached to certain thing words may result in words expressing 'to produce X' or 'to perform X', within which X refers to the base to which *ba-* is attached. In example (65) the prefix *ba-* is attached to *bunyi* 'sound', resulting in *babunyi* and expresses the meaning 'produce, make sound'. In this example *babunyi* serves as predicate and the verbal meaning appears. In example (66) *ba-* is attached to *suar* 'sweat', resulting in *basuar* meaning 'produce sweat'. When *ba-* is attached to words referring to some performance, for instance a dance, *ba-*words refer to performing the dance. In example (67) *ba-* is attached to *gala*, the name of a traditional, Ternate dance, resulting in *bagala*. In this example *bagala* serves as predicate and expresses the meaning 'do, perform the *gala* dance'.

(65)   langsung   de   puru   **ba-bunyi**   prr.
          immediately   3SG   stomach   DO-sound   IMIT
          my stomach immediately grumbled prr.

(66)   su   mandi   abis   baru   **ba-suar**.
          COMP   bathe   finished   then   DO-sweat
          I had taken a bath and was sweating again.

(67) o,   di   lao dong **ba-gala**   lagi   e?
      EXCL in   sea 3PL   DO-k.o.dance again EXCL

so, over there they perform the gala dance, right?

When prefix *ba-* is attached to words expressing quality it adds a procedural meaning aspect to the base, denoting a process towards the quality or state expressed in the base, which has not been reached yet. In example (68) the speaker gives a description of a kind of grass. The leaves are sharp and because of this feature it is used as a sponge or brush. *Batajang* 'be sharpish' refers to a characteristic of the grass as being relatively sharp. In example (69) *ba-* is attached to *manis* 'sweet', resulting in *bamanis* 'sweetish' and denoting a slightly sweet quality. The speaker in example (70) describes the colour of an alcoholic drink. In this example, *kuning* 'yellow' is prefixed by *ba-*, resulting in *bakuning* 'yellowish', describing that the quality is similar to, but not exactly the same as, what is expressed in the base *kuning*. Note that *warna bakuning* may be interpreted as a construction within which *bakuning* modifies the head *warna*, reflecting the meaning 'yellowish colour'.

(68) dia kan **ba-tajang** to?
      3SG QT   PROC-sharp   QT

they're sharp, right?

(69) de   pe   aer   rasa   **ba-manis**.
      3SG POSS water taste PROC-sweet

the juice tastes sweetish.

(70) warna   **ba-kuning**.
      colour PROC-yellow

the colour is yellowish.

5.3.2 Prefix *baku-*

The prefix *baku-* may be attached to activity words to add a collective or multiple meaning aspect to the base, to express that an activity or action is performed by more than one person and/or performed in different ways. In certain contexts and situations *baku*-words may express a reciprocal meaning.

The first two examples provided here are taken from a story of a father who meets his son after having been separated for several years. The father stands in front of his son's house and the son comes out to meet the guest. In example (71) *baku-* is attached to *lia* 'see', resulting in *bakulia* expressing a reciprocal meaning 'see each other'. In the same example, *baku-* is attached to *pegang* 'hold', resulting in *baku-pegang* 'hold each other'. It is followed by *tangang*, resulting in *bakupegang tangang* 'shake hands with each other'. In example (72) the prefix *baku-* is attached to *polo* 'embrace' and results in *bakupolo*, adding a reciprocal meaning to the word, resulting in the meaning 'embrace each other'. *Baku-* may indicate that an action or

activity is performed collectively. Example (73) is taken from a story about a sago porridge eating competition. One of the candidates ate so much that he could hardly breathe. Some men had to carry him to the sultan's palace to be cured. In this example, *baku-* is attached to *pikul* 'carry', resulting in *bakupikul* 'carry collectively' or 'carry together'.

(71)   trus   **baku-lia**   to,   jadi   **baku-pegang**   tangang.
             continue   REC-see   QT   thus   REC-hold   hand
             and then they looked at each other and they held each other's hands.

(72)   trus   dong   dua   **baku-polo**   suda.
             continue   3PL   two   REC-embrace   COMP
             and then the two hugged each other.

(73)   de   su   tara   bisa   ba-napas,   kong   dong
             3SG   COMP   NEG   can   POSS-breath   CONJ   3PL
             he couldn't breathe anymore and they

             baku-pikul,   bawa   ka   atas   kadatong
             COLL-carry   bring   to   top   palace
             carried him and brought him to the palace.

Words with prefix *baku-* may express that an action is performed intensively, involves multiple actions, and is performed at different places. In example (74) a woman is alone in the house when she suddenly hears a bell ringing. She does not know where the sound is coming from. She looks everywhere to find the source. The prefix *baku-* is attached to *cari* 'search', resulting in *bakucari* 'search intensively', expressing that the person is looking intensively and at different places searching for something. The speaker of example (75) is discussing the number of people working at a certain place. There are not many female workers, while the male workers are innumerable. In this example, the prefix *baku-* is attached to *rekeng* 'count', resulting in *bakurekeng* 'count intensively' to express the intensive counting of all the male workers as a multiple action. Example (76) describes how the storyteller is sitting quietly in the boat. He is afraid that a whale might suddenly emerge from the water, overturn the boat, and that he and the goods inside the boat would fall in the water. In this example, *baku-* is attached to *jaga* 'guard', resulting in *bakujaga* expressing that the guarding and looking after his belongings is performed in an intensive way.

(74)   maitua   **baku-cari**   sampe   di   bawa-bawa   kas.
             old.woman   INT-search   arrive   in   RED-bottom   cupboard
             she was searching everywhere even under the cupboards.

(75)   tapi   laki-laki...   ngana   **baku-rekeng**   sampe!
            but   RED-man   2SG   INT-count   arrive
            but the males… you count them for a long time!

            tara   abis-abis.
            NEG   RED-finished
            it would not come to an end.

(76)   eh   kita   **baku-jaga**   mati.
            EXCL   1SG   INT-guard   dead
            hey, I was guarding everything with my life.

Baku- may be attached to a duplicated activity word. The resultant word denotes a
repetitive action performed in a reciprocal way. The situation of example (77) is that
a number of people has to decide where each of them is going to sleep: in the speed-
boat or on the shore. The authorities have told them that sleeping in the speedboat is
not safe, and each of them tries to avoid being chosen to sleep there by pushing an-
other person forward. In the example, *tola* 'push' is duplicated, indicating that it is a
repetitive action. *Baku-* is attached to the resultant word and becomes *bakutola-tola*,
expressing the meaning 'push repeatedly at each other'. The background of example
(78) is that the speaker describes a situation where a large number of people has to
eat, but there are not enough plates for everyone. In order to solve the problem, it is
decided to eat in shifts. In this example, *ganti* 'replace' is duplicated, resulting in
ganti-ganti, to express a repetitive activity 'replace repeatedly'. The prefixation with
baku- results in *bakuganti-ganti*, expressing that a repetitively performed action is
done reciprocally: 'repeatedly replace each other'.

(77)   **baku-tola-tola**,   ahirnya   samua   tara
            REC-REP-push   finally   all   NEG
            we pushed each other forward, but finally we all

            tidor   di   spit,   tidor   orang   pe   ruma.
            sleep   in   speedboat   sleep   person   POSS   house
            slept at someone's house, not in the speedboat.

(78)   baru   makang   **baku-ganti-ganti**.
            then   eat   REC-REP-replace
            furthermore we ate in turns. (Lit. repeatedly replace each other).

The *baku-* prefix can be attached to words that have undergone other prefixation
processes, resulting in words with a sequence of prefixes. In example (79) the prefix
ba- is attached to *gara* 'move' to add a durative meaning aspect to the word. This
serves as the base to which *baku-* is attached to express a collective and reciprocal

meaning, resulting in *bakubagara*, denoting the collective moving around each other of the bait. The background of example (80) is the speaker's explanation that in order to build a solid floor it is better to pour the concrete all at once, so that it becomes one whole, rather than to do it in stages and have connecting parts. In this example, *ta-* is attached to *sambung* 'connect', resulting in *tasambung* 'be connected', expressing a state. The prefix *baku-* is attached to this base, resulting in *bakutasambung* expressing collectivity as well as reciprocity, denoting the meaning 'be in the state of being connected to each other'. In example (81) *baku-* is attached to *malawang* 'oppose', resulting in *bakumalawang* 'oppose each other'. The prefixation with *baku-* expresses collectivity and reciprocity. The base word *malawang* consists of the fossilized element *ma-* and the base *lawang* 'opponent'.

(79)   umpang   hidup   tong   pake,   umpang
           bait   live   1PL   use   bait
           we used live bait, the bait

           baku-ba-gara   di   bawa.
           REC-DUR-move   in   bottom
           moved under water.

(80)   jang   dia   **baku-ta-sambung**   bagini   baru   tara   kuat.
           don't 3SG   REC-INV-connect   like.this   then   NEG   strong
           don't let it be connected like this and be weak.

(81)   tong   dua   **baku-malawang**.
           1PL   two   REC-oppose
           the two of us argued with each other.

5.3.3 Prefix *ta-*

The prefix *ta-* indicates that an action is involuntarily or unintentionally performed. *Ta*-words may describe the state of a thing or person and determines a "passive" interpretation, within which the subject serves as undergoer.

The subjects in the following examples do not control the situation in which they are. They do not have the power to influence the situation, and involuntarily perform or undergo the action expressed in the *ta*-word. The speaker of example (82) says that when he goes to sleep, he looks at some photographs first. Not long after that he falls asleep. *Kita* in this example is the experiencer of the activity, while *tasono* 'unintentionally sleep' or 'fall asleep' expresses that the actor involuntarily comes in to the state expressed by the base *sono* 'sleep'. In example (83) the prefix *ta-* is attached to *tinggal* 'stay, remain', resulting in *tatinggal* 'unwillingly left behind'. *Kita pe kos* serves as the patient, who involuntarily undergoes the activity expressed in *tinggal* 'stay'. In example (84) the prefix *ta-* is attached to *iko* 'follow', resulting in *taiko* 'unintentionally follow'. The example is taken from a story about fishermen

who use small and light boats. The boats are so light that when a fisherman catches a big fish that tries to escape, the fish is able bring the boat along. *Taiko* expresses that the boat involuntarily follows the fish. Example (85) is taken from a story about a crocodile who attacked someone in a boat, hit the boat, and the boat split open. In this example, *ta-* is attached to *bala* 'split', resulting in *tabala* 'split'. The subject of *tabala* is understood from the context and refers to *parau*, which serves as the undergoer/patient of the action and determines a passive interpretation of the activity word.

(82)   tar   lama   kita   **ta-sono**,   suda.
         NEG   long   1SG   INV-sleep   COMP

not long after that I finally fall asleep.

(83)   de   bilang:"   Hamja   e,   kita   pe   kos
         3SG   say   Hamja   EXCL   1SG   POSS   T-shirt

he said: "Hamja,

         ta-tinggal   di   atas."
         INV-stay   in   above

I left my T-shirt up there."

(84)   ikang...   ikang   kalo   kase   lari   dong   parao,
         fish   fish   when   CAUS   run   3PL   boat

a fish... when a fish pulls their boat,

         ta-iko   suda.
         INV-follow   COMP

It is taken away.

(85)   de   bage   parau.   **ta-bala**.
         3SG   hit   boat   INV-split

he attacked the boat. It split open.

The *ta*-words in the following examples express that something or someone has (unintentionally and unwittingly) come in to the state as described by the base. In these examples, the subject refers to the undergoer of the action expressed in the base and has a passive reading. In example (86) the prefix *ta-* is attached to *kupas* 'peel', resulting in *takupas* 'be (in the state of) peeled'. In example (87), the prefix *ta-* is attached to *potong* 'cut', resulting in *tapotong* 'be (in the state of) cut'. In example (88) the prefix *ta-* is attached to the *sirang* 'pour', resulting in *tasirang* 'be (in the state of) poured'.

(86)   kong de   pe   kaki su   **ta-kupas**.
         CONJ 3SG   POSS foot COMP INV-peel

and his feet were peeled.

(87)   "tara lama ngana tangang **ta-potong**."
         NEG   long 2SG   hand   INV-cut

"you'll cut your hand." ((*Lit.*) *"it would not take long (before) your hand is cut"*).

(88)   "kita **ta-sirang** deng minya panas-panas."
         1SG   INV-pour   with oil   RED-hot

"I've had very hot oil spilled all over me."

The *ta-* prefix can be attached to words that have undergone prefixation, for instance with *baku-* and *ba-*. The examples with *ta-baku-* have been obtained by elicitation. In example (89) *baku-* is attached to *tukar* 'exchange', resulting in *bakutukar* and expressing reciprocity, that is, the sandals have been exchanged with each other. The prefix *ta-* is attached to *bakutukar* 'exchange with each other' and expresses a state (of an involuntary action), resulting in *tabakutukar* 'be (involuntarily) exchanged with each other'. In example (90) the prefix *baku-* is attached to *polo* 'embrace' and expresses reciprocity, resulting in *bakupolo* 'embrace each other'. The prefixation with *ta-* expresses an involuntary action, resulting in *tabakupolo* 'involuntarily, unintentionally embrace each other'. In example (91) *ciong* 'kiss' is prefixed with *baku-*, resulting in *bakuciong* 'kiss each other' and expresses reciprocity. The prefixation with *ta-* results in *tabakuciong* '(lit.) kiss each other unintentionally', expressing a reciprocal action performed unintentionally.

(89)   kita pe   sandal **ta-baku-tukar**   deng dia.
         1SG   POSS slipper INV-REC-exchange   with 3SG

My slippers have been switched with his.

(90)   kita baku-tabrak deng dia sampe   **ta-baku-polo**.
         1SG   REC-collide with 3SG so that INV-REC-embrace

I bumped into him so that we embraced each other.

(91)   kita jatong ta-palaka   kong **ta-baku-ciong** deng mesel.
         1SG   fall   INV-forward CONJ INV-REC-kiss   with floor

I fell forward and kissed the floor.

Example (92) is found in spontaneous speech. In this example, *ta-* is attached to a *ba-*word. The background of this example is that the storyteller is standing on a lad-

der. The ladder slips, but he can grab something to hold on to and is in a hanging position. The word *gantong* 'hang' is prefixed with *ba-* resulting in *bagantong*, expressing a reflexive meaning, namely that the person hangs or holds on to something. The prefixation with *ta-* expresses the state of an involuntary action, resulting in *tabagantong* 'being in the state of (involuntarily) hanging'.

(92) **ta-ba-gantong** bagini.
      INV-REFL-hang   like.this
      I was hanging like this.

The prefix *ta-* can be attached to a duplicated base to express unintentionally performing a repetitive action. The repetitive action is expressed by the repetition of the activity word. In example (93) *angka* 'lift up' is duplicated resulting in *angka-angka* 'lift up repetitively' and forms the base to which *ta-* is attached, resulting in *taangka-angka* 'involuntarily/unintentionally lifting up repetitively'. In example (94) *guling* 'roll' is duplicated resulting in *guling-guling* and expresses repetition of the activity, 'roll repetitively'. This forms the base to which *ta-* is attached to express unintentionality, resulting in *taguling-guling* 'unintentionally rolling over repetitively'. *Taguling-guling* may refer to the manner an activity is performed.

(93) jalang bahu   **ta-angka-angka**...
      walk   shoulder INV-REP-lift.up
      he walks with hunched shoulders...

(94) orang   tola   pa   kita   kong
      person push   to   1SG   CONJ
      someone pushed me

      kita   jatong   **ta-guling-guling**.
      1SG   fall   INV-REP-roll
      and I rolled down.

5.4 Reduplication of activity words

The reduplication of action words expresses repetition of the action. Example (95) is taken from a story of two friends in school. The speaker relates that when they were at school one of them might succeed to pass to a higher grade, while the other failed. The following year it could be the other way around. The speaker in the example says that he passed his friend twice. In this example, *lewat* 'pass' is reduplicated to express repetition, resulting in *lewat-lewat* 'pass repetitively'. The situation of example (96) is that the speaker is told that he mentions a person's name very often. After some time, he is again told that he mentioned the person's name. As a reaction he asks if the person is counting the times he mentions the name. In this example *rekeng* 'count' is reduplicated, resulting in *rekeng-rekeng*, expressing that the activ-

ity is done repetitively. In example (97) the activity word *lempar* is repeated, resulting in *lempar-lempar* and expressing the meaning 'throw repeatedly'. In this example *lempar-lempar* serves as the X element of a Y pe X construction and has to be interpreted with a nominal meaning 'the repetitive throwing'.

(95) kita **lewat-lewat** dua kali.
      1SG   REP-pass   two time
      I passed him twice.

(96) cih,   ngana **rekeng-rekeng** dari tadi?
      EXCL   2SG   REP-count   from just
      so you've been counting the whole time?

(97) kita bilang: "ngoni pe   **lempar-lempar** ini
      1SG   say   2   POSS REP-throw   this
      I said: "your throws

      bahaya   ni."
      dangerous this
      are dangerous.

In the following examples, *ba*-words and *baku*-words are reduplicated to express repetition of the action. The reduplication of activity words sometimes implies that the action is not specifically aimed at a certain point, purpose, or direction.

In example (98) *baminong* 'habitually drink alcohol' is reduplicated, resulting in *baminong-baminong*, expressing the repetitive drinking of alcohol. In example (99) the speaker is talking about a mouse. The word *bajalang* 'walk' is reduplicated resulting in *bajalang-bajalang*. The reduplication implies that the action does not have a specific goal or destination, and expresses an action performed repeatedly and at various places, namely, the mouse walks to and fro, and here and there. In example (100) *bacarita* 'tell a story' is reduplicated, resulting in *bacarita-bacarita*. It expresses a situation in which more stories are told and the talking does not have a specific goal or purpose. *Bacarita-bacarita* may express the meaning 'chit chat'.

(98) suda, kita su   tara **ba-minong-ba-minong** suda.
      COMP   1SG   COMP NEG   REP-HAB-drink   COMP
      it's over, I won't be drinking anymore.

(99) de   **ba-jalang-ba-jalang** bagitu   suda,
      3SG   REP-DUR-walk   like.that COMP
      he just walks around like that,

de   tara   manakal   orang.
3SG   NEG   be.naughty   person
he won't harm anyone.

(100)   **ba-carita-ba-carita**,   bolong   sampe   satu   jam
          RED-DO-story   not.yet   arrive   one   hour
          we were talking and talking, but within an hour

de   su   rayu.
3SG   COMP   tempt
she started to tempt me.

Example (101) is taken from a story about people who travel as stowaways on a ship from Ternate to Jakarta. In the example *baku-* is attached to *tanya* 'ask' and results in *bakutanya* 'ask each other'. The reduplicated word *bakutanya-bakutanya* refers to the activity of members of small groups of people questioning each other, and express the meaning 'alternately question each other'. The speaker of example (102) says that he and his friend were teasing each other back and forth. At some point, he could not stand it any longer, and he gave his friend a punch. In the example *baku-* is attached to *terek* 'tease' and expresses a reciprocal meaning, resulting in *baku-terek* 'tease each other'. The reduplication of the word denotes the repetition of the reciprocal action and results in *bakuterek-bakuterek*. It expresses the meaning 'repeatedly tease each other' or 'take turns teasing each other'.

(101)   **baku-tanya-baku-tanya**,   padahal   samua   pelarian.
          REP-REC-ask   whereas   all   stowaway
          we asked and asked each other although all of us were stowaways.

(102)   **baku-terek-baku-terek**   kita   su   tara   tahang
          REP-REC-tease   1SG   COMP   NEG   endure
          we were always teasing each other and I could not stand it anymore

su   tara   poha   baku-terek   […]
COMP   NEG   powerful   REC-tease
I could not stand teasing each other […]

5.5 Reduplication of bound elements

The reduplication of bound elements, for instance of *ba-* and *baku-*, emphasizes that an action or activity is performed severely, repetitively or intensively. In example (103) the *ba-* is reduplicated and attached to *dara* 'blood' resulting in *babadara* 'bleed severely', to express intensity of the activity. Example (104) talks about a person's aversion to slimy animals, such as snakes and eels. In the example, *ba-* is

reduplicated and indicates that the activity is performed repeatedly. It is attached to *kore* 'scrape', resulting in *babakore* 'scratch repetitively'. The background of example (105) is that two people have a date. Suddenly they meet a relative and they both pretend not to have anything to do with each other. The word *babadiri* 'stand motionless' consists of a reduplicated prefix *ba-*, to emphasize the intensity with which the action is performed, in other words, the person stands motionless. The reduplicated *ba-* in *babadiang* 'be very quiet' emphasizes that the person does not make any sound and is completely silent.

(103) "kita   flores[17]   pa   ngana   satu   kali
       1SG   hit   to   2SG   one   time
       "if I would hit you once with a sword

       ngana   **ba-ba-dara**   ni."
       2SG   INT.DO-blood   this
       you would bleed heavily."

(104) dia   ba-sontong,   **ba-ba-kore**   di   kaki   saja
       3SG   BA-touch   INT.BA-scrape   in   leg   only
       if he touches me or just scratches my leg

       kita   bataria   […]
       1SG   scream
       I scream […].

(105) dia   **ba-ba-diri**   situ,   kita   **ba-ba-diang**.
       3SG   INT-DO-stand   there   1SG   INT-DO-quiet
       she was standing over there and I kept quiet.

The speaker of example (106) tells how seven people slept in a small cell. Some of them slept in a sitting position, while others slept with their legs up. The example shows a reduplicated *baku-* attached to *susun* 'to stack', resulting in *bakubakususun* 'intensively stack on top of each other'. It emphasizes the compact way the persons were stacked. Note that *bakubakususun* follows *tidor* 'sleep' and serves as modifier, referring to the way of lying against and on top of each other.

(106) tidor   **baku-baku-susun**   model   kopra   ni.
       sleep   INT-REC-stack   shape   copra   this
       we were sleeping in stacks like copra.

[17] The term *flores* is taken from the name of the island of Flores. After a woman had been murdered by someone from this island, for a short period of time the term *flores* was used to refer to hit someone severely or kill someone with a sword. See also pp. 46-7.

5.6 Summary

In this chapter, I have described combinations of activity words with other words. The resultant constructions within which the activity word serves as semantic centre may form fixed expressions with a specific meaning as well as combinations of which the meaning can be derived from the composing elements. In many combinations, the semantic centre is followed by another element. Some elements only occur preceding the semantic centre. These concern bound elements, for instance *ba-*, *baku*, and *ta-*, which add certain semantic aspects to the meaning of the base word. Certain activity words also serve to indicate specific interpretations, for instance *dapa*, which indicates a passive reading when the subject is the undergoer or indicates ability when the subject is an agent. Both *biking* and *kase* indicate the causative interpretation of the activity word with which they are combined.

6 Function words

In this chapter, a number of lexical items which are merely used to serve grammatical functions are described. Some of these function words have been described in previous chapters, for instance *pe* which often occurs between two elements and indicates that the element following *pe* is the head of the construction; and *yang*, which indicates that the element following *yang* serves as modifier. Proximal *ini* and distal *itu* as well as their shortened forms *ni* and *tu* respectively, frequently close off a string of words and in this position indicate the border of these constructions and form a useful tool for parsing. Similar functions are fulfilled by conjunctions discussed here. Lexical items such as *deng* and *ka* are used to connect single words as well as strings of words together to form larger constructions with a syntactic meaning. Other conjunctions, such as *kong* and *tapi*, may join clauses together and serve as a boundary between them. *Kong* connects clauses together and describes a series of events, while *tapi* expresses a contradiction between the clauses. This meaning is shared by *me*, a conjunction that may connect two clauses. Another function *me* fulfils is that it may join different types of constructions together and indicate the central theme of attention, thus a useful tool to achieve an appropriate interpretation. Personal pronouns are another group of items that facilitate interpretation. These items are used to refer to participants within a conversation as well as to other referents. The combination of personal pronouns with other lexical items is constrained by the rule that they can only occupy the left-most position when combined with nouns. Personal pronouns and other words with grammatical functions reveal patterns in a patchwork of words and constructions and serve as landmarks for parsing and interpreting.

The pronouns are described in § 6.1, followed in § 6.2 by a description of the functions and meanings of various conjunctions. Prepositions which are used to express location and direction are described in § 6.3, and interjections, lexical items used to express the speaker's feelings, thoughts and attitudes are described in § 6.4. The chapter closes with a short summary.

6.1 Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns are used to refer to participants in a speech event and to others, as well as to refer to something expressed previously. These words may occur in constructions with other words, but there are some restrictions. Personal pronouns do not occur in head-initial XY constructions. A construction *parao kita for instance expressing the meaning 'my boat' does not seem to occur[18] nor *kita parao as a

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[18] This construction is known in Malay/Indonesian varieties of other places, including in Jakarta Indonesian and in the standard language.

head-initial XY construction. Personal pronouns do serve as modifiers of head-final YX possessive constructions as has been described in § 4.3.4. In these constructions they are the left-most element and serve as modifier, expressing the possessor. Personal pronouns cannot appear as X element in Y *pe* X constructions, although they do serve as modifier and Y element in such constructions. A construction *dong pe ana* 'their child' is possible, whereas **ana pe dong* is not. Taking all this into consideration, the conclusion can be drawn that when personal pronouns occur with nouns, they always precede them. Such constructions may only result in possessive YX constructions where the pronoun refers to the possessor, expressing the meaning 'pronoun's X', and where X is the head of the construction, referring to the possessum. Another option is that the resultant construction is an equational clause, expressing 'pronoun is X', and X refers to the thing expressed in the predicate.

Some pronouns have a shortened form. In most contexts, these shortened forms and their full equivalents are mutually interchangeable. However, following *di*, *ka*, *dari*, *pa*, and *deng*, only the full forms may occur. The shortened forms do not occur in this position, except when they are part of a Y *pe* X construction. Personal pronouns distinguish in number (singular and plural) and some have specific usage, for example to show respect to other interlocutors. The personal pronouns are the following:

Person	Singular		Plural	
	Full	**Shortened**	**Full**	**Shortened**
1	kita saya (respectful)	–	(kitorang) torang	tong
2	ngana	–	ngoni	–
3	dia	de	dorang	dong

6.1.1 First person singular *kita*, *saya*

There are two words speakers can use to refer to themselves: *kita* and *saya*. The preference for one of these two words depends on the speech situation and the interlocutors in the conversation. *Kita* is used amongst peers, when talking to people of the same generation, rank or status, and to those who are younger, lower in rank, and status. In more formal situations as well as in conversations with interlocutors who are considered to be of higher rank or status, *saya* is more generally used and expresses the speaker's respect towards the other interlocutor(s). Speakers may use their personal name to refer to themselves. In some cases speakers may refer to themselves with terms others use to refer to them, for instance, kinship terms.

Example (1) is taken from a situation in which the speaker tells his two friends a story. In this example, *kita* as well as *saya* are used. When telling the story to his two friends, the speaker refers to himself with *kita*. The speaker then tells an anecdote in which he explains to a woman why he does not want to accept her money after having carried her shopping to her bus. In this explanation, he uses *saya* to refer to himself. He chooses this word to express respect, because he is talking to an

older woman with whom he is not familiar. Example (2) is an answer to a question some friends asked the speaker. They want to know who the children in a picture are, and the speaker replies jokingly that they are his children. The speaker uses *kita* because he is amongst peers. The situation in which example (3) occurs is a teacher asking Harun to calculate how many woks of *kola* would remain if there were five woks and he ate three. Harun answers that he is not able to eat three woks and refers to himself with his name, Harun. In example (4) the speaker relates what his father told him. In this example, father uses the term *Ko*, a term of address to refer to older brothers, to refer to himself; it is the term the speaker generally uses to address his father.

(1)   **kita** bilang, "Ibu... **saya** bantu saja pa ngoni."
         1SG say   mother 1SG assist only to 2
         I said: "Madam, I'm only helping you."

(2)   cih, me, **kita** pe ana, tarada.
         EXCL CONJ 1SG POSS child NEG
         well, my children, right.

(3)   "yah, Ibu, kalo **Harun** makang
         EXCL mother when Harun eat
         "but, Madam, I wouldn't be able to eat

         tiga balangang, **Harun** tara poha."
         three wok   Harun NEG powerful
         three woks of 'kola'."

(4)   "di ruma yang **Ko** paling sayang cuma ngana."
         in house REL EPIT very care only 2SG
         "you are the one whom I love most at home."

6.1.2 Second person singular *ngana*

The second person singular, *ngana* 'you (sing.)', has its origin in the local, Ternate language where it has the same function. *Ngana* is used to refer to the addressee and is used to persons of the same generation, rank, or status, as well as to those younger, or with a lower rank or status than the speaker. Speakers may also use personal names and kinship terms to address and refer to them.

In example (5) people throw stones at some thieves trying to get mangoes from a tree to chase them out of the tree. One of thieves asks them to stop and promises he will come down. The speaker uses *ngana* when talking to Hamja, the person who is throwing stones at him, expressing they are peers and each other's equals. In example (6) the speakers uses *ngana* 'you' to refer to Anwar, a friend with whom the

speaker is stealing mangoes. Anwar is of the same generation as the speaker. In this example, *ngana* occurs as modifier of the Y *pe* X construction and functions as the possessor. The exclamative intonation pattern indicates that the expression *ngana pe capat!* has an evaluative reading 'how fast you are; you are very fast'. In example (7) *ngana* follows *pa* 'to, at, etc.', resulting in the construction *pa ngana* 'to you'. The speaker tells a story in which he imagines that a very important person invites him. The person who has to pick him up addresses him with *ngana*, because they are of the same generation or rank or because the person considers him to be of lower rank.

(5)   "Hamja,   jang   **ngana**   lempar,   kita   akang   turung."
        Hamja   don't 2SG   throw   1SG   FUT   go.down

        "Hamja, stop throwing things at me, I'll come down."

(6)   ih,   Anwar,   **ngana**   pe   capat!
        EXCL   Anwar   2SG   POSS   fast

        gee, Anwar, you're fast!

(7)   "Habibie   pangge   pa   **ngana**."
        Habibie   call   to   2SG

        "Habibie asks you to come."

6.1.3 Third person singular *dia, de*

The third person singular *dia* may be used to refer to animate as well as to inanimate entities. *Dia* can be shortened and becomes *de*. These two items are almost mutually exchangeable, but the shortened form *de* has some restrictions. It cannot occur following prepositions, except when it serves as Y element in Y *pe* X constructions, nor can it occur post-verbally. In these positions the long form *dia* occurs.

In example (8) *dia* refers to *Anwar ini* 'this Anwar' who is mentioned previously and refers to a human entity. The speaker of example (9) is talking about coffee and *dia* is used to refer to this inanimate entity. In example (10) both *dia* and *de* refer to the same referent *tikus ini* 'this mouse'. The full form *dia* occurs following *pa* 'to', resulting *pa dia* 'to it', because *de* cannot occur in this position. In the second part of the example *de* 'third person singular' serves as agent of the action expressed in *manakal* 'do something naughty'. The shortened form *de* in example (11) is posited immediately following *di* 'in, at, etc.' as the possessor Y in the Y *pe* X construction *de pe akar* 'its root'. In this function the shortened form *de* may occur. Example (12) is taken from a story about a man who has a lot of wounds. Flies follow him wherever he goes. The full form *dia* in example (12) refers to the patient that undergoes the action expressed by *iko* 'follow'. In this position the use of *de* is not permitted and only the full form *dia* may occur.

(8) Anwar ini **dia** memang pintar.
Anwar this 3SG indeed smart
this guy Anwar is really smart.

(9) **dia** ba-rasa milu skali.
3SG POSS-taste corn very
it has a strong taste of corn.

(10) tikus ini, kalo manakal pa **dia**,
mouse this when be.naughty to 3SG
this mouse, if we harm it,

de manakal pa torang.
3SG be.naughty to 1PL
it will harm us.

(11) pe sampe di bawa ba-injang **di de pe akar**...
POSS arrive in bottom BA-step.on in 3SG POSS root
the moment I was down, I was stepping on the root...

(12) de pe lalar iko de pe luka,
3SG POSS fly follow 3SG POSS wound
the flies are following his wounds

bukang iko **dia**.
NEG follow 3SG
they are not following him.

6.1.4 First person plural *torang, tong*

The first person pronoun plural *torang* 'we' can be shortened to *tong*. In fact, *torang* itself is a shortened form of *kitorang* 'we', which is sometimes used, mainly by older speakers. Young speakers seldom use this term. The shortened form *tong* may occur preceding predicates, but cannot follow them, in which case only the full form *torang* may occur. The shortened form *tong* cannot appear after prepositions, except if participating in a Y *pe* X construction. Although *torang* is explicitly used to refer to more than one person, it may occasionally refer to a single person. *Torang* (and *tong*) refer to a group of people and may include as well as exclude the addressee(s).

In example (13) *dia* 'he' exhorts Caken to steal mangoes and uses the third person plural *tong* 'we' to refer to more than one person, including the addressee Caken. In example (14) *torang* follows the predicate and serves as undergoer of the action *bunu* 'kill'. In this position, the use of the shortened form *tong* is not permitted and

only the full form *torang* may appear. The speaker talks about his fears when he was left alone on a small island. *Torang* in this example could be interpreted as referring to the people who are on the island, but since he is the only person left, *torang* could refer to him as a single person. The utterance may be interpreted as a general statement in which reading *torang* could refer to humans in general. In example (15) *torang* occurs preceding the predicate *parenta* 'command'. In the same example *torang* occurs following the preposition *pa* 'to', resulting in the construction *pa torang* 'to us'. In this construction only the full term *torang* may occur. In the context of example (15), in which the speaker talks about soccer games, the utterance may be interpreted as a general statement, in which *torang* refers to soccer players in general. In example (16) *tong* participates as the Y element of the Y *pe* X construction *tong pe kaka sana* 'our older sibling there', referring to the possessor. In this example the speaker refers to his older sibling as *tong pe kaka* 'our older sibling', in which the plural *tong* is used to refer to the speaker himself and those associated with him, for example, his other siblings.

(13)   dia   buju   pa   kita   bilang,   "Caken,
            3SG   persuade to   1SG   say   Caken
            he talked me into it, saying, "Caken,

            tong   pancuri   mangga,   mari".
            1PL   steal   mango   HORT
            let's steal some mangoes."

(14)   iblis   tara   mungkin   bunu   **torang**.
            devil   NEG   possible   kill   1PL
            it's impossible for a devil to kill us.

(15)   maeng bola   skarang ni   bukang **torang** parenta   bola,
            play   ball   now   this   NEG   1PL   command   ball
            nowadays playing soccer is not that we command the ball,

            kong   bola   parenta   **pa**   **torang**.
            CONJ   ball   command   to   1PL
            but the ball commands us.

(16)   kita   tinggal   **pa**   **tong**   pe   kaka   sana.
            1SG   stay   POSS 1PL   POSS older.sibling there
            I was living with my older sister over there.

6.1.5 Second person plural *ngoni*

The second person plural *ngoni* is used to address a group of people. In example (17), a group of about 5 to 6 persons are gathered together. They are going to steal mangoes from a tree by throwing sticks at the fruit, and they receive instructions from the leader. In this example, *ngoni* refers to a group and acts as the performer of the action expressed in the predicate *lempar* 'throw'. The speaker of example (18) has told his friends that he is married, but when his friends came to visit him, he has to confess that he lied to them. In this example, *ngoni* follows *pa* 'to', resulting in the construction *pa ngoni* 'to you (pl.)' and serving as the goal to whom the action is directed. In example (19) *ngoni* is the Y element of the possessive construction *ngoni pe ana kampung satu* 'one of the girls of your village'. In this construction, *ngoni* serves as modifier and possessor in the construction, while *ana kampung* 'village youth' serves as head and acts as the possessum.

A speaker may use *ngoni* to refer to the addressee respectfully. In example (20) the speaker says that he has to call Aba, a man of about sixty years old. The speaker uses *ngoni* to show respect to the older man, whom he calls Aba, a term originating from Arabic for 'father'.

(17)   "kita   rekeng   sampe   tiga   **ngoni**   lempar."
         1SG   count   arrive   three   2   throw
         "I count to three and then you throw (the sticks)."

(18)   kita   foya   suda   pa   **ngoni**.
         1SG   lie   COMP   to   2
         I lied to you.

(19)   "ck,   tanya   **ngoni**   **pe**   **ana**   **kampung**   **satu**   e?"
         tut   ask   2   POSS   child   village   one   QT
         "can I ask one of the girls of your village?".

(20)   "Aba,   dong   dara   mu   perlu   pa   **ngoni**,   bole?"
         Aba   3PL   land   want   necessary   to   2   may
         "Aba, someone wants to talk to you, is that okay?"

6.1.6 Third person plural *dorang, dong*

The third person plural is *dorang* 'they' and its shortened form is *dong*. The shortened form *dong* may not occur after a preposition and it cannot be used postverbally. In these positions, only the full form *dorang* occurs. The shortened form *dong* may be combined with a personal name and expresses an associative meaning, for instance *dong Halima* 'Halima and associates'.

The situation of example (21) is that someone shows his hand to his friends. It is swollen, because stones were thrown at him while he was in a tree stealing mangoes.

He has left the bag with the mangoes in the tree and his friends want to go over to get the bag. The speaker uses *dorang* to refer to the friends who want to help to get the bag with mangoes. In example (22) *dong* cross-references with *ikang-ikang basar* 'big fish', which serves as the central theme of attention. *Dong* serves as agent of the action expressed in the predicate. In example (23) the full form *dorang* follows the preposition *pa* 'to'. In this position the shortened form *dong* is not permitted and only the full form *dorang* may occur. In example (24) the shortened form *dong* does follow *pa* 'to, at. etc.', but in this example, *dong* is part of the possessive Y *pe* X construction *dong pe muka* 'their front'. In such a context, the use of a shortened form is possible.

(21) **dorang** bilang, "mari tong ka dara."
     3PL   say   HORT 1PL to land
     they said: "let's go landwards."

(22)   ikang-ikang basar **dong** ciong, apalagi   gurango.
          PL-fish   big   3PL   smell   moreover   shark
          big fish smell it, particularly sharks.

(23)   kita   inga   pa   **dorang** sampe, ana-ana   sana.
          1SG   remember   to   3PL   arrive PL-child there
          I always think of them, the children there.

(24)   tong   brenti pas   **pa dong** pe   muka.
          1PL   stop   exact to 3PL   POSS   face
          we stopped precisely in front of them.

6.2 Conjunctions

Conjunctions are words that join words or units of words together to form larger constructions. The elements connected to each other may belong to the same type, for instance words referring to things, activities and properties as well as to different types of words, for example a combination of an activity word with a thing word, or a thing word with a negator. Their intermediate position and combinatorial features as well as the meaning they express serve to determine structures and interpretations.

6.2.1 *Deng* 'and, with'

Deng may connect words, word constructions, as well as clauses. The composing elements may be equal to each other, for example, words referring to a thing, words or constructions denoting an activity, constructions denoting a location, or clauses

describing events, to form a constituent expressing a series or enumeration. When *deng* joins different items together, for example, activity word and thing word, *it* introduces constructions that refer to partners or associations together with whom or instruments with which actions are performed. When *deng* occurs with *dapa* + verb constructions, it refers to the performer of the action.

In example (25) *deng* connects two words together which both refer to things, namely *peda* 'machete' and *piso* 'knife', and forms a single constituent *peda deng piso* 'machete and knife', which serves as subject. In example (26) two activity words *pikul* 'carry' and *nae* 'go up' are joined together by *deng*, resulting in *pikul deng nae* 'carrying and going up' to form a single constituent. This constituent serves as central theme of attention, describing the act of an activity. In example (27) *deng* joins two constructions *di kaki* 'in the leg' and *di tangang* 'in the arm' together, resulting in *di kaki deng di tangang* 'in the leg and in the arm'. The resultant constituent expresses the location or goal where the action was directed. In example (28) *deng* connects two clauses which describe two equal activities. One clause consists of *kita pi ka bawa* 'I had to go down' and the other consists of *kita langsung mu bacolo di aer* 'I wanted to plunge into the water'. The whole construction may be analyzed as one constituent serving as the subject. The predicate *terpaksa* 'be forced' describes the manner in which the events, described in the subject, take place. In this reading, the predicate precedes the subject.

(25) **peda   deng   piso**   bagini   suda.
      machete   and   knife   like.this   COMP
      I held the machete and the knife like this.

(26) **pikul   deng   nae**   tong   cuma   tiga   orang.
      carry   and   go.up   1PL   only   three   person
      carrying and going up and there were only the three of us.

(27) dia   bage   **di   kaki   deng   di   tangang**.
      3SG   hit   in   leg   and   in   hand
      it got him in the leg and in the arm.

(28) eis   tarpaksa   **kita   pi   ka   bawa   deng**
      EXCL   forcibly   1SG   go   to   bottom   and
      oops, I had to go down and

      kita   langsung   mu   ba-colo   di   aer.
      1SG   immediately   want   REFL-dip   in   water
      I wanted to plunge into the water.

In the following examples, the comitative *deng* joins activity and thing words together. The *deng* constructions in these examples, depending on the context, refer to the person or thing with which an action is performed.

In example (29) *deng* connects the activity word *bakupukul* 'hit each other' and *Anwar*, personal name, resulting in *bakupukul deng Anwar*. In this example, *bakupukul deng Anwar* serves as subject and refers to the act of hitting Anwar, rather than denoting action. *Deng Anwar* 'with Anwar' refers to the person with whom the action in *bakupukul* 'hit each other' is performed. In example (30) *deng* joins the activity word *kaweng* 'marry' and the second person pronoun *ngana* together, resulting in *kaweng deng ngana* 'marry with you'. The construction serves as predicate and *deng ngana* refers to associate, the person with whom the action *kaweng* is performed. In this example, *kita* serves as subject and refers to the agent of the action. Example (31) is taken from a story in which the speaker tells how he was attacked by bees. His friends laughed at him and told him he should get to know the bees a little. In this example, *deng* connects *perkenalang* 'introduction' to *ofu* 'bee', resulting in *perkenalang deng ofu*. The construction serves as predicate in which *deng ofu* refers to the associate with whom the person performs the action. *Perkenalang* originates from the standard language meaning 'introduction', while in this example it is part of the predicate expressing a verbal meaning.

(29) **baku-pukul deng Anwar** su   tarada   suda.
　　　REC-hit   with Anwar   COMP   NEG   COMP
　　　there is no fighting with Anwar anymore.

(30) kita **kaweng deng ngana,** abis   ngana.
　　　1SG   marry   with 2SG   finished   2SG
　　　I'll marry you and you cannot do anything anymore.

(31) dong   bilang,   "ngana **perkenalang deng ofu** sadiki."
　　　3PL   say   2SG   introduction   with bee   a.little
　　　they said, "you have to get to know bees a little."

The constructions with *deng* in the following examples refer to the instrument or the implement used to perform the action or activity expressed in the verb. Example (32) is taken from a story about catching a crocodile. In this example, *deng* connects *bakurung* 'enclose' and *soma* 'with a fishing net', resulting in *bakurung deng soma* 'enclose with a fishing net'. In this example, *deng soma* refers to the implement used in the action of *bakurung* 'enclose'. In example (33) *deng* 'with' joins *basirang* 'pour' to *aer* 'water', resulting in *basirang deng aer* 'with water'. *Deng aer* refers to the implement with which the activity *basirang* 'pour' is performed. In example (34) *deng* joins *hitung* 'count' and *jari* 'finger' together, resulting in *hitung deng jari* 'count with fingers', expressing that the fingers of the hand are used as a tool in for counting. In all these examples, the activity word expresses a verbal meaning.

(32) [...] supaya dia nae dong **ba-kurung deng soma**.
        so.that 3SG go.up 3PL DUR-enclose with fishing.net
so that when it emerged they'd catch it with a fishing net.

(33) [...] kong ngana langsung mo **ba-sirang deng aer**.
        CONJ 2SG immediately want REFL-pour with water
[...] and you immediately want to splash yourself with water.

(34) parampuang ngana bisa **hitung deng jari**.
      woman 2SG can count with finger
you could count the women on the fingers (of your hand).

In certain contexts, when occurring with *dapa* + verb constructions expressing a passive reading, *deng* introduces the performer of the action. The subject in example (35) is *polisi* and refers to the patient who undergoes the action expressed in *dapa kuti talinga*, and has a passive reading. In this example, *deng* is followed by *marinir* 'marine', resulting in *deng marinir* '(lit.) with marine', expressing the performer of the action, i.e. the person who flicked the policeman's ears. The subject *kita* in example (36) is the patient who undergoes the action expressed in *dapa holo* 'be stung'. *Deng* connects *dapa holo* with *ofu* 'bee', and introduces the agent who performs the action expressed in the verb *holo* 'sting'.

(35) polisi **dapa kuti talinga deng marinir**.
      police get flick ear with marine
the policeman's ears were flicked by a marine.

(36) [...] kita tara parna **dapa holo deng ofu**
        1SG NEG ever get sting with bee
I was never stung by bees in such a way.

      bagitu macang.
      like.that kind

Example (37) shows that features of the referent may be useful in determining which interpretation is most appropriate. In this example, *deng* connects *dapa pukul* 'be hit' to *pantong* 'cudgel. The *dapa* construction indicates a passive reading, and the subject in this example, *kita* 'first person singular', refers to the patient. The *deng* construction in such a context may refer to the agent of the action. In this example the referent is a non-human, inanimate entity *pantong* 'cudgel', which may make an interpretation as performer less appropriate. An interpretation of *pantong* as the instrument used in the action may be an alternative option.

(37)   […] kita **dapa** **pukul** satu kali **deng** **pantong**.
              1SG get   hit   one time with cudgel

[…] he hit me once with a cudgel.

6.2.2 *Ka* 'or'

The word *ka* 'or' is used to express a sequence of alternatives. It may connect equal words as well as a series of words, and serves as a tool for parsing. In example (38) *ka* 'or' connects *ruma* 'house' and *istana* 'palace', resulting in *ruma ka istana* 'house or palace', a constituent that serves as predicate. In example (39) the speaker wants to express a person's degree of proficiency in martial arts by referring to the colour of her belt. *Ka* 'or' connects *ijo* 'green' and *kuning* 'yellow' together, resulting in the expression *ijo ka kuning* 'green or yellow', serving as predicate and expressing a verbal meaning 'be green or yellow'. In example (40) the speaker jokingly suggests that there are two ways for someone to become black: *colo deng arang* 'plunge in charcoal' or *seka deng arang* 'rub with charcoal'. The utterance can be interpreted as an imperative, in which *pigi* is the predicate and *colo deng arang ka seka deng arang* denotes the purpose of the action of *pigi* 'go'. An alternative interpretation is that *pigi* 'the going' serves as subject, and *colo deng arang ka seka deng arang* serves as predicate referring to the purpose. In both interpretations *colo deng arang ka seka deng arang* is interpreted as one constituent in its own right. In the last two examples, negators *bolong* and *tarada* are used following *ka* to express the alternative and form elliptical constructions. In example (41) the speaker questions whether a cable that has been thrown from one room to another has reached the room or not. In this example, *ka* connects *tambus* 'penetrate' to the negator *bolong* 'not yet', resulting in *tambus ka bolong* 'penetrate or not yet'. In example (42) the speaker wonders what would happen if a famous soccer player kicked a ball. There are two alternative events: *gol* 'goal' or *tarada* 'not', which are expressed in *gol ka tarada* 'goal or not'.

(38)   ini **ruma** **ka** **istana**?
              this house or palace

is this a house or a palace?

(39)   de   su   ijo   ka, ih,   **ijo**   **ka** **kuning** [...]
              3SG COMP green or EXCL **green** **or** **yellow**

she already has green, umm, green or yellow, […]

(40)   pigi **colo** **deng** **arang** **ka** **seka** **deng** **arang**.
              go dip   with charcoal or rub   with charcoal

plunge in charcoal or rub yourself with charcoal.

(41)   "Ma,   kabel   **tambus**   **ka**   **bolong**?"
                mother   cable   penetrate   or   not.yet
            "Ma, is the cable in or not?"

(42)   **gol**   **ka**   **tarada**?
          goal   or   NEG
          would it be a goal or not?

6.2.3 *Kong* 'and then'

Kong is used to join two clauses together to describe a series of events. This function is a useful tool that limits the number of plausible interpretations and facilitates the determination of an appropriate meaning. The subject of the clauses may be the same or different. The relationship between the two clauses can be various: the second clause may express the reason why the event expressed in the first clause happens, it may express the result of what is described in the first clause, or it may describe the conditions for what is expressed in the first clause. A few examples of the use of *kong* are given here.

Example (43) is taken from a story about stealing mangoes. The thieves threw sticks to get the fruit out of the tree. The sound of the sticks falling on the roof woke up the owners who chased after the thieves. In this example, *kong* connects two clauses together, namely, *dong bangong nae* and *dong dusu*. The two clauses share the same subject *dong* 'third person plural' and describe two successive actions *dong* performed. In example (44) the speaker describes what happened when he tried to escape after being caught while stealing mangoes. In this example, *kong* connects three clauses together, describing a series of successive actions performed by different actors. Each clause has its own subject: *kita* 'first person singular', *de* 'third person singular', and *kita* respectively. In example (45) *kong* joins two clauses which denote actions performed by two different actors, namely *kita* 'first person singular' and *kofi pe ampas* 'coffee dregs'. There is a causal relationship between the two clauses: the action in the first clause causes what is described in the second clause. The clauses that *kong* joins together in example (46) have different subjects. *Kita* 'first person singular' in the first clause refers to the person who does not like to drink coffee, while in the second clause it forms a condition, when he does not like to drink it. The subject of the second clause is *de pe ampas* 'the dregs' followed by the predicate *laeng tinggalang laeng tarada* 'some sink, some do not'. If *kong* could function as relativizer, the second clause could then be interpreted as modifier of *kofi*. Example (47) is taken from a story about a soldier who borrows a wok. He is one of the soldiers who followed training before being sent to West-Irian. The first clause of the example, *dong mau pi Irian Barat* 'they are about to go to West-Irian', is interpreted as describing an event that is about to happen at some time in the future. The second clause is *dong latian* 'they train' and expresses the reason that the activity in the first clause takes place.

(43)   dong   bangong   nae   **kong**   dong   dusu...
         3PL   wake.up   go.up CONJ   3PL   chase
         they woke up and chased us...

(44)   kita   gara   falungku,   **kong**   de   ba-colo   **kong**   kita   lari.
         1SG   feign   fist   CONJ   3SG   REFL-dip   CONJ   1SG   run
         I feigned a punch, he ducked away, and I took off.

(45)   kita   putar   kofi   **kong**   kofi   pe   ampas   nae.
         1SG   stir   coffee CONJ   coffee   POSS   dreg   go.up
         I stirred the coffee and the coffee dregs came up.

(46)   kita   tara   suka   minum   kofi   **kong**
         1SG   NEG   like   drink   coffee CONJ
         I don't like to drink the kind of coffee that

         de   pe   ampas   laeng   tinggalang   laeng   tarada.
         3SG   POSS   dreg   other   sink   other   NEG
         some of the dregs sink and some don't.

(47)   dong   mau   pi   Irian   Barat   **kong**   dong   latian.
         3PL   want   go   Irian   West   CONJ   3PL   train
         they wanted to go to West-Irian so they were training.

Speakers may use *kong* at the end of utterances for emphasis and to imply rejection of the opposite. Example (48) is taken from a story in which the speaker is mistakenly thought to be a porter at the market. When a woman asks him to bring her shopping to the bus, he helps her, but when she wants to give him money for his services, he tells her that he is not a porter. She apologizes and example (48) quotes the speaker's reaction. In this example, the speaker uses *kong* to emphasize what he says, that he only wanted to help the woman. It implies that he rejects the opposite of his statement, namely that he worked for her (and wants to be paid for his services). Example (49) is taken from a conversation about people who are afraid to be home alone at night. The speaker of this example assures the interlocutor not to be afraid. According to him, the house she lives in is bright, which means that it is well illuminated and is not a place with evil spirits. *Kong* emphasizes what is expressed in *tarang dia* 'it's bright', and implies that the opposite situation is unreal. Example (50) is taken from a story in which the speaker receives magic spells that may protect him against evil spirits. The speaker did not want to accept one particular spell, despite the man's attempts to convince him that it will not harm others. In this ex-

ample, *kong* emphasizes that the speaker definitely does not want to receive the spell, implying the opposite situation is not going to happen.

(48)   "suda   tara   apa-apa   suda,   Ibu,
         COMP   NEG   PL-what   COMP   mother
         "that's fine, Madam,

         saya   hanya   bantu   saja   **kong**."
         1SG   only   assist   only   CONJ
         I was just helping you."

(49)   di   sini   di   ruma   tara   apa...   me   tarang   dia   **kong**.
         in   here   in   house   NEG   what   CONJ   bright   3SG   CONJ
         it's fine here in the house… it's bright.

(50)   paitua   kase   satu   tu,
         old.man   give   one   that
         he gave me one thing,

         kita   tara   mau   ambe   mati-mati   **kong**.
         1SG   NEG   want   take   RED-dead   CONJ
         I really didn't want to take it.

6.2.4 *La* 'and next'

Another word that may connect clauses together is *la* 'and next'. Generally, *la* is used to expresses a series of successive activities performed by the same actor.

   The context in which example (51) occurs is a story of a soldier who wants to borrow a wok. The speaker, sitting in front of his shed, tells him to look inside and take one. In this example, *lia dalam* 'look inside' is followed by *ambe* 'take' and connected together by *la* 'and then', expressing a sequence of actions the soldier can take to get his wok. In example (52) the speaker wonders what would happen if he and his girlfriend were found together in the room. In the example, *la* connects *orang riki* '(lit.) person reach' and *orang bunu pa torang* 'people kill us' and describes two successive events. Example (53) is taken from a story in which the speaker moves building material from a road to a house situated higher than the road. He has to carry the material and climb up the hill, which he expresses by example (53). In this example, *la* connects *pikul* 'carry' and *nae* 'go up' and refers to the activities the speaker has to perform.

(51)   "coba   lia   dalang,   **la**   ambe".
         try   see   inside   CONJ   take
         "take a look inside and take it".

(52)   "[...] orang   riki   **la**   orang   bunu   pa   torang."
        person   reach   CONJ   person kill   to   1PL
        "[...] if people caught us, they would kill us."

(53)   pikul   **la**   nae   lagi.
        carry   CONJ   go.up   again
        carrying and going up.

La, when it occupies the final position in a clause, may serve to soften or weaken a statement and put it into perspective. In example (54) the speaker estimates how long the construction work will take. He thinks it will take three weeks, but to express that this number is not absolute, he uses *la* to weaken the statement to become 'more or less three weeks'. In example (55) the speaker describes a group of people who will participate in a test to determine whether or not they can leave the mental hospital where they are living. He jokingly describes the patients as professionals (in being insane) and the test should determine which of them is no longer professional. In example (55) the speaker uses *jang talalu prof* 'don't let them be too professional' and adds *la* to it to weaken the statement and to make it less absolute. In example (56) the speaker says that he was too short to reach a broken lamp on the ceiling. He put a bench on the table which put him in a better position. He uses the expression *lumayan* 'it was reasonable', to express that he was in a reasonable position and adds *la* to weaken the statement. The situation was less than reasonable, and he still needed some other tools to be able to reach the lamp.

(54)   kita   taru   tiga   minggu   **la**.
        1SG   put   three   week   PART
        I estimate about three weeks.

(55)   pokonya   jang   talalu   prof   **la**.
        main.point   don't   too   professional PART
        the main point was that they should not be too professional.

(56)   lumayan   **la**,   pake   obeng   to   jadi   sampe.
        reasonable PART   use   screwdriver QT   become   arrive
        it was reasonable, I used a screwdriver, right, and then I could reach it.

6.2.5 *Tapi* 'but'

Two clauses can be joined by *tapi*, 'but', to express a contradiction or opposition. In some cases, the information provided in the clauses is contradictory. In other cases, the two opposites are not overtly expressed but implied, and can be derived from the context and the situation.

Example (57) is taken from a story in which someone spilled hot oil over his body. At some spots, blisters appeared, while the rest of his body remained untouched. In the first clause of this example, the speaker states that he suffered from blisters at certain spots, while the second clause *yang laeng tarada* 'others not' preceded by *tapi*, states that other spots were the opposite, namely, they had no blisters. The speaker in example (58) attempts to describe the colour of a bee. In the first clause he expresses that the colour is *model nasi kuning* 'similar to yellow rice', while the second clause says that the yellow colour is lighter. *Tapi* joins the two clauses and indicates a contradiction. Example (59) is taken from a story in which the speaker talks about a man who gives him some magic spells to protect himself. The example gives a description of the man. In the first clause, it is said that the man is very old *paitua su tua skali* 'the man is very old', and implies that the man is weak. The second clause states that the man is *kuat* 'strong', and to indicate that this is contradictory to what is said previously, *tapi* connects the two clauses.

(57) de   malopo sadiki di   sini, **tapi** yang laeng tarada.
      3SG   blister a.little in   here   but   REL   other NEG
      it was a bit blistered here, but the rest had nothing.

(58) model   nasi   kuning bagitu,
      shape   cooked.rice   yellow like.that
      like yellow rice, but lighter.

      tapi kuning lebe   muda.
      but   yellow more   young

(59) paitua   su   tua   skali, **tapi** kuat.
      old.man   COMP   old   very   but   strong
      he's very old but he's strong.

6.2.6 *Me* 'but; even'

Me may be used to join clauses and to express a contradiction. In this function it expresses the same meaning as *tapi* and the two words are mutually exchangeable. Another function of *me* is to emphasize the central theme of attention. In this function, *me* immediately follows the central theme of attention and forms the border between this and the following constituent. *Me* may be used to attract the hearer's attention, in which case it occurs at the beginning of a clause.

Example (60) is taken from a story about a person who is attacked by bees. The clause *pake topi* '(I) was wearing a cap' is followed by *me* which forms the boundary between this clause and the next clause *de ada dalang topi tu* 'they were in my cap'. In this example, *me* introduces a statement that is opposite to what is implied in the previous clause. In example (61) the speaker talks about snakes and says that there is one close to the place where he lives. In the second part, he states *dong su*

tangka 'they have caught (it)', which contradicts what is stated before. *Me* connects the two clauses and indicates the contradiction. In example (62) the speaker is about to tell an anecdote and describes the main character. In the first part, the speaker says that the person looks similar to someone called Iskandar, but in the second part he states the opposite, namely that there is a difference in height between the two persons. *Me* introduces the contradiction. In all these examples, *me* joins two clauses and introduces a statement that contradicts the previous statement.

(60)   pake   topi,   **me**   de   ada   dalang topi tu, ofu.
            use   cap   CONJ 3SG be.present inside   cap   that bee
            I was wearing a cap, but they were under my cap, the bees.

(61)   ada,   **me**   dong su   tangka.
            be.present CONJ   3PL   COMP   catch
            there was, but they caught it.

(62)   model Iskandar suda,   **me**   Iskandar tinggi,
            shape   Iskandar COMP CONJ   Iskandar high
            he looked like Iskandar, but Iskandar is tall

            de   kacili dia.
            3SG small   3SG
            while he is short.

In some contexts, *me* follows a constituent to give it more emphasis and to indicate it as the central theme of attention. *Me* then forms the border between this and the following constituent. The context of example (63) is that the speaker is describing the way his friend was eating. The speaker jokingly says that it was so disgusting that not only did it take away his appetite, but his hunger too. In this example, *me* follows the construction *de pe lapar-lapar* 'the hunger' to give it more emphasis. It serves as subject, and is the central theme of attention. *Me* indicates the border between this constituent and the predicate. In example (64) the speaker says that in a region with a lot of mosquitoes, people wear socks and gloves to protect them against the mosquito bites. In this example, *me* connects *karpus* 'hood' to the clause *dong pake* 'they wear'. *Karpus* is emphasized and serves as the central theme of attention. It refers to the theme that undergoes the action expressed in the verb *pake* 'wear'. The predicate is *dong pake*, consisting of *dong* serving as agent and the action verb *pake* 'wear'. In example (65) *me* connects the construction *di sini pa Om Wan* 'here at Uncle Wan's place' to *ada tikus kacili bagini* 'there are small mice like this'. The first element *di sini pa Om Wan* forms the central theme of attention and refers to the location of the event. *Tikus kacili bagini* refers to the entity that is present at the location, while *ada* 'be present' expresses the location.

(63) de   pe   lapar-lapar **me**   ilang.
      3SG   POSS   RED-hungry   CONJ   disappear
      even my hunger was gone.

(64) karpus **me**   dong   pake.
      hood   CONJ   3PL   use
      they even wear hoods.

(65) di   sini pa   Om   Wan   **me**
      in   here to   uncle Wan   CONJ
      even here at Uncle Wan's house

      ada   tikus   kacili   bagini.
      be.present   mouse   small   like.this
      there are small mice like this.

A speaker may use *me* to attract the hearer's attention and verbally underline what the speaker is about to say. It may express the meaning 'imagine...' or 'don't forget...'. The speaker of example (66) talks about bees that attacked him. The sting of these bees made him feel dizzy. He uses the expression *bisa ni* 'the poison', which is preceded by *me* to give it more emphasis. In example (67) the speaker is telling how hot oil spilled over him when a wok fell on the floor. The noise of the falling wok woke up his friends. With the expression *me kita banting balangang* 'I had dropped the wok', the speaker emphasizes the event that had woken them up and why they were shocked. The use of *me* in this context gives more prominence to what the speaker is about to say and is used as a device to attract the hearer's attention. Example (68) is taken from a story in which the speaker is talking about the time when he ran away from home. In the story he suddenly meets his father whom he has not seen since he left home. The speaker emphasizes that at that moment he had not been home for one month. The expression he uses is *satu bulang tara pulang* 'I hadn't been home for one month' and is preceded by *me* to give it more emphasis and to attract the hearer's attention 'don't forget that I had not been home for one month'.

(66) pusing, ngana. **me**   bisa   ni.
      dizzy   2SG   CONJ   poison   this
      I was dizzy. It was because of the poison.

(67) dong   kage.   dong   bilang...
      3PL   startled 3PL   say
      they were shocked. they said...

me	kita	banting	balangang.
CONJ	1SG	slam.down	wok

I had dropped the wok.

(68)

tong	pe	sebe	pangge,	"Sat,	mari..."
1PL	POSS	father	call	TRU-Arsad	HORT

my father called me, "Sat, come here…"

me	satu	bulang	tara	pulang.
CONJ	one	month	NEG	go.home

well, I hadn't been home for one month.

6.2.7 *Kalo* 'if, when'

Kalo 'if, when' connects two clauses together and expresses a conditional meaning. In some contexts, for example when *kalo* connects a word referring to an activity and a thing together, *kalo* may serve similar to a relativizer, indicating that what follows serves as modifier. The part that precedes *kalo* becomes head and receives the attention. *Kalo* may occur preceding a construction to give it more emphasis and prominence.

    The speaker in example (69) is talking about the mosquitoes of a certain place. One of their features is that you do not feel them when they perch on your body. In this example, *kalo* connects two clauses together, *ngana tara rasa* 'you don't feel it' and *de tera* 'it perches'. In this position, it serves as the border between two clauses adding a conditional meaning to the second clause. Examples (70) and (71) are taken from a story about knowledge of supernatural powers. It is said that some people receive this knowledge in a dream. The speaker states that it is good when someone receives positive things in a dream, but advises rejecting knowledge that can harm others. In example (70) *kalo* connects *mimpi* 'dream' and *barang bae-bae* 'good things' together to express a conditional meaning. It serves as a relativizer indicating that *barang bae-bae* acts as modifier of the head *mimpi*, resulting in *mimpi kalo barang bae-bae*, expressing the meaning, 'dreaming, if about good things'. This construction serves as subject followed by the predicate *bagus* 'beautiful'. In this type of construction, where *kalo* serves as relativizer and indicates the modifier, it serves a grammatical function useful as a strategy in parsing. In example (70) *kalo* precedes *dapa barang tara bae* 'get bad things' and results in a headless relative construction. It serves as subject and expresses a nominal meaning *dapa barang tara bae* 'receiving bad things'. The predicate expresses a vetative meaning *jang mau* 'don't want', resulting in the meaning 'don't want to receive bad things'.

(69)

ngana	tara	rasa	**kalo**	de	tera.
2SG	NEG	feel	when	3SG	perch

you don't feel if they perch.

(70) mimpi **kalo** barang bae-bae bagus.
   dream when thing RED-good beautiful
   when you dream good things, it's fine.

(71) **kalo** dapa barang tara bae jang mau.
   when get thing NEG good don't want
   don't take it if you get bad things.

6.3 Prepositions

The location of persons, things, events, or movement towards as well as from a certain location may be indicated by a preposition. The referents are spatial as well as temporal items. These elements cannot occur independently and are always combined with other items. In these constructions, they occupy the left-most position, serving as border between constituents and are a useful tool in parsing. *Di* 'in, at' indicates location and is followed by a word that refers to the place where a person or object is located or where an event or process takes place. *Ka* 'to' is used to express movement towards or in the direction of a place, while *dari* 'from' expresses movement away from a location, or refers to the place of origin or source. *Pa* 'to' may express location of a person or thing, as well as the goal of an action or activity.

6.3.1 *Di* 'in, at'

Di 'in, at' expresses location and is followed by a word that refers to the place where a person or object is, or where an event or situation is taking place. In example (72) the speaker describes what happens if a very big person steps into a car. In this example *di* is followed by *oto* 'car' and refers to the place where the person is located. In this example, it serves as predicate and expresses a verbal meaning. In example (73) the location is expressed by *atas* 'top', referring to some place up in the tree where the person has left his T-shirt, while in example (74) *sana* 'there' refers to some unidentified place where the speaker's friends are fishing. In example (75) *di* is followed by *muka* 'front', resulting in *di muka* 'in the front'. This construction serves as the X element in the Y *pe* X construction [*de pe capato*] *pe* [*di muka*] 'the (part) in the front of his shoe' or 'the front of his shoe' and expresses a nominal meaning 'the front'. The Y element is *de pe capato* 'his shoes' which in itself is a Y *pe* X construction.

(72) de **di oto**, oto miring ngik.
   3SG in car car slanting IMIT
   when he is in the car, the car tilts, crack.

(73) "Hamja e, kita pe kos ta-tinggal **di atas**."
  Hamja EXCL 1SG POSS T-shirt INV-stay in top
  he said: "Hamja, I left my T-shirt up there."

(74) ya, dong mangael **di sana**.
  EXCL 3PL fish in there
  oh no, they were fishing over there.

(75) de iris **de pe capato** pe **di muka** tu!
  3SG slice 3SG POSS shoe POSS in front that
  he cut the toe of his shoes.

6.3.2 *Dari* 'from'

Dari, 'from', may be followed by words with spatial as well as temporal referents. It indicates direction, namely a movement, action, event or process away from a location. It may refer to the source from where a thing or person originates. In combination with a temporal referent, *dari* may express the starting time. *Dari* constructions are used in the comparative degree *lebe X dari* 'more X than', in which X refers to a quality or property.

In example (76) *dari* 'from' is followed by *pulo* 'island', resulting in the construction *dari pulo* 'from the island', referring to the location from where the activity or movement starts. In example (77) *dari* is followed by *mana* 'where', resulting in *dari mana* 'from where', questioning the place of origin or the place where the person was earlier. In this example, *dari mana* serves as the predicate and expresses a verbal meaning. In example (78) *dari* is followed by *Morotai*, the name of an island north of Halmahera, resulting in *dari Morotai* 'from Morotai' referring to the place of origin. In this example, *dari Morotai* serves as modifier of the head *walirang* 'sulphur'. In example (79) *dari* 'from' is followed by *pagi* 'morning', resulting in the construction *dari pagi* 'from the morning'. The expression refers to the starting time of an activity or event. In example (80) *lebe barat dari batu* 'heavier than stone' is used to express a comparative degree.

(76) **dari pulo** kita panggayung.
  from island 1SG paddle
  I paddled from the island.

(77) "ngoni **dari mana**?"
  2PL from where
  "where do you come from?"

(78) **walirang** **dari** **Morotai** de ambe sadiki.
      sulphur   from   Morotai   3SG take   a.little
he took a little bit of sulphur from Morotai.

(79) mulai **dari** **pagi** sampe sore.
      start from   morning arrive late.afternoon
starting in the morning until the late afternoon.

(80) de   lebe barat **dari** **batu**.
      2SG more heavy from   stone
it's heavier than stone.

6.3.3 *Ka* 'to'

Ka 'to' is used to express the direction of a movement towards a certain location. It is often followed by a word with a spatial referent, such as *atas* 'top', *bawa* 'bottom', *balakang* 'back', *muka* 'front, face'; expressions such as *sini* 'here', *sana* 'there', *situ* 'over there', as well as *dara* 'land' and *lao* 'sea', words referring to certain points of orientation. Example (81) is taken from a story of two friends climbing in a tree to steal mangoes. When they get caught, one of them jumps down and manages to escape. In this example, *ka* 'to' is followed by *bawa* 'bottom', resulting in the construction *ka bawa* '(lit.) to bottom', the direction of the movement. Example (82) is taken from a story about fishing. In this example *ka* 'to' follows *atas* 'top', resulting in *ka atas* '(lit.) to the top' and refers to the upward direction of the fish when it is pulled out of the water. In example (83) *ka* 'to' is followed by *sana* 'there', resulting in *ka sana* '(lit.) to there', expressing a movement to an unspecified location at some distance from the speaker. In example (84) *ka* 'to' precedes *dara* 'land', resulting in *ka dara* '(lit.) to land' or 'landwards', an expression to refer to a direction towards inland. In this example *ka dara* serves as predicate and expresses a verbal meaning '(lit.) go landwards'.

(81) kage   lagi   de   su   ba-lumpa   **ka** **bawa**, [...]
      suddenly again 3SG COMP REFL-jump   to   bottom
the next moment he jumped down [...]

[Referring to a fish that was caught]
(82) eh,   tara sala, **ka** **atas** de   pe   pia pai!
      EXCL NEG   wrong to   top   3SG POSS enormous
hey, I was right, when it was pulled up, it was huge!

(83) "pi **ka sana** tanya pa dia!"
      go to there ask to 3SG

      "go there and ask him!"

(84) tong **ka dara**.
      1PL to land

      we went over there.

6.3.4 *Pa* 'to'

Pa 'to, at' generally indicates the destination or goal of a movement, action, or activity. *Pa* is generally followed by a word referring to a human entity and results in a construction expressing a direction to the person or the house/place where the person lives and is associated with. In other contexts, *pa* constructions may refer to the undergoer or the person or thing to which an action is directed.

In example (85), *pa* 'to, at' is followed by *Udin*, a personal name, resulting in the expression *pa Udin* 'at, to Udin' which may refer to the person himself as well as the place where he lives. The construction acts as the goal of the movement expressed in *ka lao* 'towards the sea'. With example (86) the speaker expresses his surprise about someone's early afternoon visits, because that part of the day is considered to be the time that people rest. In this example, *pa* 'to, at' is followed by *orang* 'person', resulting in *pa orang* 'to someone' referring to an unspecified person who is the goal or destination of the movement expressed in *datang* 'come'. In example (87) *pa* 'to, at' is followed by the construction *pramugari satu* 'a stewardess', resulting in *pa pramugari satu* 'to a stewardess' and refers to the person to whom the action expressed by *bilang* 'say' is directed.

(85) kita bilang... kita ka lao **pa Udin**.
      1SG say 1SG to sea to Udin

      I said... I went seawards to Udin.

(86) siang bolong kong datang **pa orang** xx.
      daytime broad CONJ come to person xx

      visiting someone in the middle of the day...

(87) kong pilot bilang **pa pramugari satu** bilang,
      CONJ pilot say to stewardess one say

      and the pilot said to a stewardess,

      "coba kase... suru ana-ana ba-diang."
      try give order RED-child DUR-quiet

      "please, let them... order them to be quiet."

The referent of the construction with *pa* in the following examples is a non-human and inanimate location. In all these cases, *pa* is followed by a possessive construction Y *pe* X of which the Y element refers to a human possessor.

In example (88) *pa* is followed by the possessive construction *tong pe kobong* 'our garden', resulting in *pa tong pe kobong* 'at our garden'. The possessor in the construction that immediately follows *pa* is *tong* and refers to a human entity, while *kobong* 'garden' refers to the possessum and serves as head. In example (89 *pa* 'to, at' is followed by the possessive construction *Om Udu pe tampa* 'Uncle Udu's place', resulting in *pa Om Udu pe tampa* and refers to the place where Uncle Udu usually sits. The possessor of the location is human and expressed by *Om Udu* 'Uncle Udu'. In example (92) the speaker says what his girlfriend wanted him to do when they were alone in the room. In this example, *pa* is followed by the possessive expression *de pe pala-pala* 'her lap', resulting in *pa de pe pala-pala* and expressing the location where the speaker has to sleep. *Pa* is immediately followed by *de* 'third person singular', which refers to a human referent.

(88)   ini   ka   dara   **pa   tong   pe   kobong**   tu,   ada.
           this   to   land   to   1PL   POSS   garden   that   be.present
           here landwards at our garden, there are some.

(89)   Om   Bakir   sini   **pa   Om   Udu   pe   tampa**...
           uncle   Bakir   here   to   uncle   Udu   POSS   place
           Uncle Bakir was here at Uncle Udu's place...

(90)   de   suru   kita   tidor   **pa   de   pe   pala-pala**.
           3SG   order   1SG   sleep   to   3SG   POSS   thigh
           she let me sleep on her lap.

Pa may optionally refer to the undergoer of an action. In example (91) *kita* 'first person singular' is preceded by *pa*, resulting in *pa kita* 'at me' and refers to the patient of the action expressed in *holo* 'sting'. The performer of this action is *ofu* 'bee'. Example (92) is taken from a story about a snake and what happened when it was caught. In this example, *kupas* 'peel' functions as verb and is followed by *pa dia* 'to third person singular', which refers to the patient that undergoes the action. In example (93) *kita pe kaki* 'my leg', consisting of *kita* 'first person singular', the possessor, and *kaki* 'leg', the possessum, is preceded by *pa*. It refers to the undergoer of the action expressed in *pukul* 'hit'.

(91)   [...]   ofu   su   holo   **pa   kita**.
                 bee   COMP   sting   to   1SG
           [...] a bee stung me.

(92) dong kupas **pa** **dia**.
      3PL   peel   to   3SG

they skinned it.

(93) dulu   sebe   suka   pukul **pa** **kita** **pe**   **kaki**.
      before daddy like   hit   to   1SG   POSS   leg

daddy used to hit my legs.

In some contexts, the presence of *pa* serves as a useful device for an appropriate interpretation. Emotion words serving as predicate may occur with two constituents: one that refers to the experiencer of the emotion and another that refers to the stimulus that brings about the emotion. When an emotion word occurs with a *pa* construction, this often refers to the stimulus. In the absence of *pa*, the stimulus is not overtly indicated and has to be interpreted from the context and situation. Example (94) can be interpreted in two ways. For some speakers, the constituent preceding the verb *kage* 'startle' refers to the experiencer and the one following it refers to the stimulus. In such a reading, *tusa* 'cat' is the experiencer, while *torang* 'first person plural' refers to the stimulus, expressing the meaning 'the cat is startled by us' or 'we startle the cat'. For other speakers, the reverse order applies: the stimulus precedes the predicate and the experiencer follows it, so that *tusa* is the stimulus and *torang* the experiencer, expressing the meaning 'the cat startles us' or 'we are startled by the cat'. In example (95) where the verb *tako* 'be afraid' is followed by *pa dorang* 'to them'. This constituent has then to be interpreted as the stimulus of the emotion and leads to the meaning 'even the police are afraid of them' or 'they even frighten the police'.

(94) tusa kage   torang.
      cat   startled 1PL

1. we startle the cat.
2. the cat startles us.

(95) polisi   me   tako   **pa** dorang.
      police   CONJ afraid to   3PL

even the police are afraid of them.

6.4 Interjections

Words serving as interjections are expressions in their own right. They form an independent structure in themselves and can be considered as exclamatory utterances. Some of these words are used mainly to express the speaker's feelings, while other words may express other meanings when occurring in a different linguistic context. Three categories of interjections can be distinguished: expressive

interjections which are related to the emotions and feelings of the speaker as well as to a state of knowledge and thoughts; conative interjections which are directed to a hearer to get his attention or to make the hearer respond or react; and phatic interjections that are used for communicative purposes (Ameka 1992:113).

6.4.1 Emotive expressive interjections

Emotive expressive interjections express the emotions and the feelings of the speaker. A few examples are given here.

6.4.1.1 Cis *'yech'*

The interjection *cis* expresses a rejective attitude of the speaker, because of a feeling of disgust or disapproval. *Cis* may express 'I feel disgust', as exemplified in example (96), an utterance often heard when a child is about to pick something up from the floor or wants to put something unknown in his/her mouth. In example (97) the speaker thinks back to the time when he was a child and how naughty he and his friends were. He uses *cis* to express his disapproval.

(96)   **cis**,   kotor   itu.
          EXCL   dirty   that

          yech, that's dirty.

(97)   **cis**,   kajahatang   sampe   ana-ana.
          EXCL   bad   arrive   RED-child

          yech, how naughty the children were.

6.4.1.2 Cik *'humph'*

The interjection *cik* (sometimes *cek*) expresses the speaker's attitude of avoidance or refusal. Example (98) is taken from a context where children ask for some fruit. The owner of the fruit tree is unwilling to give them any, and replies that the fruit are still too small. The utterance starts with *cik* 'I don't want', expressing reluctance, and continues with the reason why the person is not willing to give the fruit. In example (99) the speaker tells how he refuses to accept magic spells that may paralyze opponents who are too strong to fight against using fists. He uses *cek* 'I don't want' to express his reluctance to accept spells that harm others, and expresses his attitude towards evil things. In example (100) the speaker expresses her disapproval that the window is open by using *cik* 'I don't like this situation'. She then orders her friend to close the window.

(98)   bilang,   "**cik**,   de   masi   kacili."
          say   EXCL   3SG   still   small

          he'll say, "humph, they're still small."

(99)　　　　　kita　bilang,　"**cek**,　barang　tara　bae　jang　pake."
　　　　　　　1SG　say　　　EXCL　because　NEG　good　don't　use
　　　　　　　I said, "humph, it's better not to use evil things."

(100)　　　　"**cek**,　tutu　jendela!"
　　　　　　　EXCL　close　window
　　　　　　　"oooo, close the window!"

6.4.1.3 Aduh *'ouch; wow; oops'*

The interjection *aduh* (also *adoh*) expresses that the speaker is hit and in pain. The pain can be physical, for instance because the speaker is hit by something or someone. It may be used to express that the person is hit by something shocking or is experiencing amazement. In example (101) the speaker notices that in Ternate it is common to use *aduh* (*mama*), for instance when someone accidently kicks a stone. It is an utterance to express 'I am hit' or 'I am in pain'. A person can also be struck by something abstract, such as beauty. In example (102) *aduh* 'I'm struck' and 'I have pain' is uttered when the speaker sees a beautiful person. It expresses that the speaker is struck and so overwhelmed by emotion that it almost hurts. In example (103) the speaker quotes a short dialogue between two people who just met each other. Speaker A is a young man who has some interest in the young woman, speaker B. When speaker A hears that the woman is a student, he is very surprised, probably he did not expect she would go to university and/or he may realize that their educational backgrounds are very different. The utterance *aduh* expresses that he is struck by the information provided to him.

(101)　　　　di　sini,　biasa,　tandang　batu　bagitu
　　　　　　　in　here　common　kick　　stone　like.that
　　　　　　　here it's common that when we hit a stone

　　　　　　　tong　suka　bataria　"**aduh**　mama".
　　　　　　　1PL　like　scream　EXCL　mother
　　　　　　　we scream "ouch, mother".

(102)　　　　**aduh**,　dokter　manis.
　　　　　　　EXCL　doctor　pretty
　　　　　　　wow, the doctor is so pretty.

(103)　　　　A:　"oi,　　　　ngana　skola　mana?"
　　　　　　　　　EXCL　　　2SG　　school　where
　　　　　　　　　"hey, where do you go to school?"

B: "cek,   kita   kulia   UnKhair[19]."
        EXCL   1SG   lecture   Khairun.University
        "oh it's nothing, I study at Khairun University."

A: **"aduh**!"
        EXCL
        "oops!"

6.4.1.4 Ih *'gee; huh'*

The interjection *ih* is commonly uttered when the speaker encounters something unexpected, expressing shock and surprise. Example (104) expresses the speaker's surprise when he realizes how fast his friend Anwar has climbed out of the mango tree when they were caught stealing mangoes. In this example, *ih* expresses surprise and is followed by an evaluative construction. The situation in which example (105) occurs is that a soldier asks a young man, who is holding the soldier's weapon, if it is heavy. The man gives an affirmative answer, while the example reflects the soldier's reaction. By uttering *ih*, the speaker expresses surprise, because he does not expect the weapon to be considered heavy. It is followed by the soldier's evaluation of the weapon *haringang saja* 'it's light'. In example (106) the speaker talks about a conversation he had with a girl. He asked her where she was going and he tries to remember what and how she replied, but cannot recall it. He uses *ih* to express his surprise that he cannot immediately recall the girl's answer. He might be a little annoyed because he cannot recall her words. A slight feeling of annoyance may be found in all these examples. The speaker of example (102) may feel unpleasant, because his friend Anwar is faster than he is. The soldier in example (107) may feel a little bit offended, because a heavy weapon implies that it may be hard for him to carry it, while it is not.

(104)   **ih**,   Anwar,   ngana   pe   capat!
            EXCL   Anwar   2SG   POSS   fast
            gee, Anwar, you're fast!

(105)   "**ih**,   haringang   saja   bilang   barat."
            EXCL   light   only   say   heavy
            "huh, it's light and you're saying it's heavy."

(106)   **ih**,   de   bilang   apa   tu?
            EXCL   3SG   say   what   that
            huh, what did she say?

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[19] *UnKhair* is an acronym of *Universitas Khairun* 'Khairun University', the state university in Ternate and named after one of the sultans.

6.4.1.5 Astaga *'my goodness'*

The expression *astaga* has derived from an originally Arabic expression known in Indonesia as *astaghfirullah* or also *astaghfirullahalazim* 'may God forgive me'. The expression is used to express the speaker's shock. The reaction of speaker B in example (107) when he heard that speaker A had very hot oil spilled all over him was *astaga* expressing that he was shocked by what he heard. In example (108) the speaker seems to have problems with the pronunciation of the word *dorom* 'drum', which he pronounced as *dorong* [dɔˈrɔŋ] and then he corrects himself saying *dorom* [dɔˈrɔm]. In the utterance *dorong ni, astaga* '(I said) *dorong*, my goodness', he expresses his shock that he has pronounced the word wrongly as [dɔˈrɔŋ]. *Astaga* is used as an afterthought.

A variation of the expression, *astagafirkan*, is used mainly by youngsters. This expression is a combination of *astagafirullah* and *firkan* 'square'. The first syllable *fir* of the word *firullah* has probably triggered the use of *firkan*. *Firullah* as well as *firkan* are not Ternate Malay words, but originate from Arabic and Dutch respectively. In example (109) speaker A begins to tell a story about a rapist. She says that the person was completely naked. Speaker B utters *astagafirkan* 'Oh my goodness', expressing shock and fear. Speaker A recognizes the emotions expressed by the utterance and is surprised because according to her nothing shocking or scary has happened yet in the story.

(107)   A: "kita   ta-sirang   deng   minya   panas-panas."
                1SG   INV-splash   with   oil   RED-hot

                "I had very hot oil spilled all over me."

      B: **"astaga**."
                EXCL

                "oh my goodness!"

(108)   eh,   dia   panas   skali   kong   de   mau   ba-colo,
           EXCL   3SG   hot   very   CONJ   3SG   want   REFL-dip

           hey, he was very hot and he wanted to plunge,

           ba-lego   dalang   dorong,   dorom.
           REFL-throw.down   inside   drum   drum

           throw himself in the drum, drum…

           dorong   ni,   **astaga**.
           drum   this   EXCL

           I said "dorong", oh my goodness!

(109) A: dia   badiri macam di   huk   bagitu   itu.
           3SG   stand   sort   in   corner like.that   that
           he was standing in a corner.

           su   deng   talanjang bulat   ini.
           COMP   with   naked   round   this
           he was completely naked.

       B: **astagafirkan.**
           EXCL
           o my goodness!

       A: bolong   apa-apa   lagi   kong.
           not.yet   PL-what   more   CONJ
           but nothing has happened yet!

A number of interjections are used to express the speaker's state of mind, while in other contexts they may express another meaning. Some expressions have clearly a religious background, for instance *Allah* 'Allah', which is used to express anxiety and is generally used amongst Muslims, or *ya Tuhan Yesus* 'Oh, Lord Jesus', which is more generally in use amongst Christians. *Ampong* 'mercy' and *mama pe ana* 'mother's child' may have a Christian background.

6.4.1.6 Allah *'Allah'*

The uttering of *Allah* 'Allah' may express the speaker's anxiety or surprise. In example (110 *Allah* expresses the speaker's anxiety. It is followed by *jang* 'don't' to express a prohibition, and the speaker strongly advises not to sleep there because he thinks the place is too dangerous. Example (111) is taken from a story about stealing mangoes. The thieves thought that everybody in the house would be asleep, but the owner's children were on guard. *Allah* in this example expresses surprise, because the thieves did not know the real situation. In order to emphasize one's anxiety, *Allah* may also be preceded by *ya*, an exclamation of despair or disappointment, resulting in the expression *ya Allah*. In example (112) *ya Allah* expresses the speaker's strong anxiety about what is going to happen. It is followed by an utterance describing the emotional state of the speaker.

(110)   "**Allah**,   ngoni   jang   tidor   sini."
           Allah   2   don't   sleep   here
           "gosh, don't sleep here."

(111)   **Allah**,   tong   tar   tau.
           Allah   1PL   NEG   know
           oh my God, we didn't know that.

(112)   **ya   Allah**, kita pe   tako   stenga mati   ni!
               EXCL   Allah   1SG   POSS   afraid half   dead   this
               oh my God, I was scared to death!

A Christian speaker may use *ya Tuhan Yesus* 'Oh Lord Jesus' to express shock and anxiety. Example (113) was uttered by a Christian speaker when he was shocked that something detached from a motorcycle the moment he sat on it.

(113)   **ya   Tuhan Yesus**, ini   bagimana ni?
               EXCL   Lord   Jesus   this how   this
               Oh Lord Jesus, what happened to this?

6.4.1.7 Ampong *'mercy'*

The word *ampong* 'mercy' expresses speaker's despair or shock, and wish to end an unpleasant situation. Children may use this expression as sign of surrender or submission, for instance when they are physically held back from something or when they are tickled. Example (114) is taken from a story about two women who wanted to collect fire wood. They were very scared when they heard shots fired by soldiers during training, because it reminded them of war. In this example, *ampong* expresses the women's despair and their wish that the situation end. The expression *ampong* may be preceded by *ya* resulting in *ya ampong*, expressing the speaker's shock. Example (115) a short dialogue in which speaker B says that he ran into a tree. Speaker A is shocked and expresses this in his reply *ya ampong* 'my goodness'. Example (116) is taken from a story about a severe type of malaria. In this example *ampong* is not used to express the speaker's feeling or attitude, but as a lexical item in its own right, with the meaning 'mercy'. It is combined with *minta* 'ask', resulting in *minta ampong* 'ask for mercy'.

(114)   nene,   **ampong**!"
               grandmother   mercy
               the women said, "have mercy."

(115)   A: "biki   apa,   Zir?"
               make   what   TRU-Bajir
               "what happened?"

           B: "cih,   kita tabrak   lemong."
               EXCL   1SG   collide   citrus
               "ah, I ran into a citrus tree."

           A: **ya   ampong**!
               EXCL   mercy
               my goodness!

(116) kalo tara perna kana malaria... minta **ampong** suda.
      when NEG ever hit malaria ask.for mercy COMP
      if you've never had malaria before… you'll better ask for mercy.

6.4.1.8 Mama *'my goodness'*

The word *mama* 'mother' may be used to express the speaker's shock, surprise, or amazement. In example (117) the speaker expresses that he is astonished when he realizes that the woman he sees is prettier than her daughter. The first *mama* in this example serves as interjection and expresses the speaker's shock, while the second *mama*, participating in the Y *pe* X construction, *de pe mama* 'her mother', refers to a specific person expressing the meaning 'mother'. Example (118) is about a woman who practices martial arts. Her friends try to figure out which level she has. One friend suggests she may have the black belt. *Mama* 'gosh' in this example expresses the speaker's amazement. He continues with an explanation of his astonishment. In example (119) the speaker tells about his friend who suffers from asthma. *Mama* 'my goodness' expresses the speaker's shock. He continues to describe what happens to his friend during an asthma attack.

(117) kita bilang, "**mama**, de pe **mama**
      1SG say   mother 3SG POSS mother
      I said, "good gracious, her mother is even prettier."

      lebe manis lagi."
      more pretty again

(118) **mama**, sapa kalo sampe su itang tu
      mother who when arrive COMP black that
      gosh, anyone who has reached black

      memang hebat   tu.
      indeed tremendous that
      is really great.

(119) kalo dia panyake datang, **mama**!
      when 3SG illness come mother
      when he gets an attack, my goodness!

      hosa, "aha, aha, aha."
      pant IMIT IMIT IMIT
      he pants, "uhu, uhu, uhu".

Mama may combine with other words to form new interjections. In example (120) *mama* 'mother' is combined with *jou* 'lord', a word originated from the Ternate lan-

guage and used to refer to a high-ranking person, for instance the sultan or God. The resultant expression *mama jou* expresses shock or amazement. The speaker of this example expresses that he was shocked when he heard that mice had gnawed at someone's toes. He continues with an evaluation of the mice. Another expression is the possessive construction *mama pe ana* 'mother's child'. Although it may have a Christian background and may refer to Mary's child Jesus, it is a common expression, used amongst non-Christians. In example (121) *mama pe ana* expresses the speaker's shock when he arrived at a place with a lot of bees. The place immediately reminded him of the bad experiences he had with bees. In example (122) the expression *kiamama pe ana* is used. The meaning of *kiamama* is obscure, and it may be a combination of *kiamat* 'doomed' and *mama* 'mother'. The speaker was shocked by a woman's beauty. When he tried to imagine her wearing lipstick he was stunned, expressing that with *kiamama pe ana* of example (122).

(120)   **mama   jou**,   tikus   pe   kajahatang!
        mother   lord   mouse   POSS   bad
        goodness gracious, how nasty these mice were.

(121)   kita   bilang,   "**mama   pe   ana**."
        1SG   say   mother   POSS   child
        I said, "my goodness.".

(122)   **kiamama   pe   ana**!
        EXCL   POSS   child
        o my goodness!

6.4.1.9 Ngana *'man'*

The second person singular *ngana* may be used to express the speaker's astonishment or shock, or to emphasize one's feelings. In this function, *ngana* occurs at the end of a clause. In example (123) the speaker expresses his astonishment that someone called him stupid because he did not know that instant coffee does not have any coffee dregs. The speaker of example (124) talks about a very heavy person. When he sits in a car, the car tilts over to one side. In this example, the speaker uses *ngana* to emphasize his emotion expressed in *tako* 'be afraid'. Example (125) is taken from a story in which the speaker tells that when he was small his friends would often tease him and make him cry. The speaker uses *ngana* to emphasize the previous affirmative *iyo* 'yes', namely that he really cried when his friends teased him. He expresses shock and surprise with regard to his reaction. He then continues by repeating what shocked him, that is, the fact that he cried, *kita manangis* 'I cried'.

(123)   de   bilang   kita   bodo,   **ngana**!
        3SG   say   1SG   stupid   2SG
        she said that I was stupid!

(124)   kita   lia,   kita   tako,   **ngana**.
           1SG   see   1SG   afraid   2SG

           wow, I was afraid when I saw it.

(125)   eh,   kita   manangis   sampe!   iyo,   **ngana**,   kita   manangis.
           EXCL   1SG   cry   arrive   yes   2SG   1SG   cry

           ow, I was crying! yes, man, I was crying!

6.4.1.10 Sampe *'gee'*

The word *sampe* 'arrive' may serve to express an evaluative meaning. In this function, *sampe* occurs at the end of a clause and is often uttered in a specific rising intonation pattern and with lengthening of the final vowel. Example (126) is taken from a story about a group of boys stealing mango fruit. The owner wakes up and chases after the boys, who run for their lives. In this example *sampe* is used for emphasis and expresses the speaker's evaluation of the activity, reflecting the meaning 'we ran for our lives' or 'we ran our legs off'. In example (127) the speaker tells how *Om Pit* hit someone, because *Om Pit* thought the person insulted him. *Sampe* expresses the speaker's evaluation of the event and refers to the intensity of the action. It reflects the meaning 'Uncle Pit gave him a sound thrashing'. Example (128) is taken from a story about the number of workers in a factory. There are not many female workers and they can be easily counted. The male workers are so many as to be innumerable. In this example, *sampe* expresses the speaker's evaluation of the counting, expressing that it would take ages to finish, or that a person would count until he drops.

(126)   eh,   tong   lari   **sampe**!
           EXCL   1PL   run   arrive

           wow, we ran for our lives!

(127)   Om   Pit   lipa   pa   dia   **sampe**!
           uncle   Piet   fold   to   3SG   arrive

           Uncle Pit hit him!

(128)   ngana   baku-rekeng   **sampe**!
           2SG   INT-count   arrive

           You'd go on counting them for a long time!

6.4.2 Conative interjections

Conative interjections are interjections that are directed to a hearer and serve to get someone's attention or response (Ameka 1992:113). A few examples are given here. Example (129) tells what the speaker did after he was caught stealing mangoes. He went to his friends and called them together. The expression to get his friends'

attention is *e* [eː] 'hey'. Example (130) was recorded when the speaker tried to get someone's attention, because a third person in the room did not succeed in getting her attention. In this example, *e* 'hey' is used. Example (131) *hus* 'be quiet' is used when a person urges someone to stop talking and be quiet. It is a very direct address, and is considered to be impolite to use to older persons or people of higher rank or status. A person can try to get someone's attention, for instance a waiter, by hissing *sut*, 'psst'. An alternative way to call a waiter or a waitress, is to call *nyong* 'young man' or *cewek* 'young woman, girl'. In example (132) the speaker says how uncomfortable he feels when girls hiss at him to get his attention when he passes. In this example *sut*, 'psst', expresses the hissing.

(129) kita pangge ana-ana, "**e**, mari."
       1SG   call   RED-child EXCL HORT
       I called the guys, "hey, come here."

(130) **e**,   pangge.
       EXCL call
       hey, he's calling you.

(131) **hus**!
       hush
       be quiet!

(132) pokonya   ba-jalang dong "**sut**, **sut**".
       main.point BA-walk   3PL   psst   psst
       the point is that when we walk, they hiss, "psst, psst'.

6.4.3 Phatic interjections

Phatic interjections have communicative purposes. When listening to a conversation, one may hear the polite first person singular *saya* uttered repetitively, expressing that the hearer is listening and paying attention to what the speaker is saying, particularly when the speaker is an older person and considered to be of higher rank or status. Humming is another way to express affirmation and confirmation, while *he* [hɛ] and *he* [he] express that the speaker needs more information or asks for confirmation.

In the conversation in example (133) the speakers talk about how it would be to have a wife who masters boxing. In example (133b) speaker B hums and expresses agreement with speaker A, although he continues to express his doubts about what might happen when the situation changes. In example (134) the speakers are talking about a crocodile and the crocodile's habitat. In example (134) speaker A asks where the crocodile lives. In example (134b) speaker B replies with *he* [hɛ]. It is not exactly clear what speaker B means with this expression. His reaction may mean

that he has not heard the question well and wants speaker A to repeat her question. It is also possible that speaker B does not understand what speaker A wants to know exactly. In example (134c) speaker A replies and provides a possible answer to her own question, showing that she interpreted speaker A's *he* to mean 'I don't know what you mean', and the conversation can continue.

In example (135) the two speakers talk about wages. Speaker A calculates that if he works seven days and receives 3,500 rupiah per day, he would at least earn 21,000 rupiah per week. The question tag *to* 'right?' at the end of his utterance expresses that he expects a reaction. In example (135b) speaker B hums, which may express that she has heard what speaker A just said or it may express that the calculation he just explained is correct. Speaker A then replies with *he?* [he], uttered with a rising intonation pattern typical for questions to express that he asks for confirmation, meaning 'am I right?'. He continues with repeating his calculation, indicating that he had asked for confirmation that the outcome of his calculation was correct.

(133)   A: tapi   kalo   dong   sayang,   pasti
                 but   when   3PL   compassion   definitely
                 but if they care

                 dong   tara   tinju.
                 3PL   NEG   boxing
                 they definitely don't hit you.

(133b)   B: **hmm**,   tapi   satu   kali   saat   pasti   ngana   sala.
                 uh-huh   but   one   time   moment   definitely   2SG   wrong
                 yeah, but what if you really do something wrong some time?

(134)   A: jadi   de   tinggal   di   mana   tu?
                 become   3SG   stay   in   where   that
                 so where does he live?

(134b)   B: **he**?
                 huh
                 huh?

(134c)   A: di   kali?
                 in   river
                 in the river?

(134d)   B: di   situ   stau   di...,   bukang   kali,   laut   situ.
                 in   there   NEG   in   NEG   river   sea   there
                 over there in… not a river, over there's the sea.

(135)   A: kalo   tuju   hari,   dua   pulu   satu...   to?
                 when   seven   day   two   tens   one   QT
                 when it is seven days, it is twenty one thousand rupiah… right?

(135b)   B: **hmm**.
                 uh-huh
                 uh-huh.

(135c)   A: **he**?
                 right
                 right?

6.5 Summary

In this chapter, I havs shown that small words, the meaning of which is not always clear, are as important as those used for their semantic content, Pronouns explain the relationship between the speaker and other interlocutors in addition to serving as a tool to refer to persons, things and events. Words serving as connectors between other words, constituents, and larger constructions as well as the meanings they provide about the relationship between the combined elements, have all been described here. Their position as borders of constituents make them important landmarks and indicators of structures in strings of words. Interjections express the speaker's views, feelings, attitudes and evaluations.

7 Clauses

This chapter concerns the structure of clauses, the different types, various subjects and predicates, as well as the function of certain lexical items in the clauses.

The different types of utterances can be characterized by certain prosodic features and the presence of certain lexical items. They determine whether an utterance is a statement, question, imperative or vetative. When *apa* 'what', *siapa* 'who', or *bagimana* 'how' occur in a sentence, they indicate that the speaker questions a thing, a person, or a manner, and the sentence has to be interpreted as question. When the speaker wants someone to do something, he may use *coba* 'try' to soften the command, and the use of this word with an additional intonation pattern typical for imperatives, to determine that the sentence has to be interpreted as imperative.

A strategy to indicate that certain elements in the sentence have to receive more attention is the word order. The most common structure of a clause is the subject-predicate order, in which the subject precedes the predicate. When the reverse order occurs, that is, when predicate precedes the subject, it is the predicate that receives more attention. Elements that precede the subject and share the same referent as the subject particularly serve as the central theme of attention.

The shape of certain subject-predicate constructions looks similar to head-modifier constructions described in chapter 4. When both elements share the same referent, or when the second element expresses a quality or property, consists of a *yang*-construction, or a construction with *di* 'in, at', *dari* 'from', or *deng* 'with', the relationship between the two elements may be particularly difficult to detect. The context and the situation as well as prosodic features may be helpful in determining the structure and in achieving the most appropriate interpretation. Another way to facilitate interpretation is observing the use, among others, of aspect markers *su* indicating completion, *ada* indicating progression and *masi* indicating continuity. These serve to express certain meaning aspects, and function to indicate that the construction has to be interpreted as predicate.

Certain items are considered to stand outside the clause and function as independent syntactic entities in their own right. They may precede as well as follow the clause. Those that often precede the clause include, *jang(ang)* 'don't', which indicates a vetative meaning, or interjections which express the speaker's feelings. Certain items expressing modality which serve to provide information about the speaker's attitude in relation to the utterance, such as, *sebenarnya* 'actually', indicating contradiction or *pasti* 'definitely' to indicate certainty, often precede the subject or clause. Expressions expressing temporal information often precede the subject.

In § 7.1. various types of the sentences are described, followed by § 7.2 which discusses the order of subject and predicate, central themes of attention, and the subject in its various semantic roles. In § 7.3 the meaning and structure of predicates is described. Predicate operators are described in § 7.4, and § 7.5 provides examples of

expressions for time, space, and mood. A short summary is found at the end of this chapter.

7.1 Types of sentences

Certain types of sentences can be distinguished from each other based on structure, intonation pattern, and on the presence of specific indicators. Equational sentences differ from other types of sentences in that the subject as well as the predicate share the same referent. This type of sentence has the same shape as head-modifier constructions. The meaning determined by context and situation may indicate which interpretation is most appropriate. Statements, questions, and vetatives may differ from each other only in their intonation patterns. Sometimes, specific lexical items are used to indicate the type of sentence. These four types and their characteristics are described here.

7.1.1 Equations

The structure of equational sentences is similar to constructions discussed in § 4.2, which are analyzed as head-modifier constructions. The difference between the two is sometimes hard to detect based on formal and overtly expressed features. The context and situation may determine how they are best analyzed, although under certain circumstances it remains vague which interpretation is most appropriate.

The speaker of example (1) gives a description of a certain type of cassava and talks about the length and the taste. Summarizing, he uses *itu kasbi peot* in which *itu* 'that' serves as subject and *kasbi peot* as predicate, and both have the same referent. This interpretation reflects the meaning 'that is "kasbi peot"'. A different interpretation of this example is that *kasbi* serves as head of the construction, modified by *peot* 'dented' and *itu* 'the', reflecting the meaning 'the dented cassava'. The context and situation then determines which interpretation is most appropriate. In the context of this example in which the utterance is a summary, a "clausal" interpretation seems to fit best. Example (2) is similar to the previous example. It is part of a description of two islands situated close to the island of Morotai. The subject in this example is *dong tampa ambe-ambe kayu* 'their place where (fire) wood is taken' while *situ* 'there' serves as predicate. Both elements refer to the same location and share the same referent, namely two uninhabited islands close to Morotai. The two elements form an equational clause. An alternative interpretation of this example is a head-modifier construction. The head is formed by the construction *dong tampa ambe-ambe kayu*. The modifier of the example is *situ* 'there'. In this interpretation, example (2) reflects the meaning 'their place over there where (fire) wood is taken' or 'their place where (fire) wood is taken situated over there'. Note that the head of the construction is a head-final YX possessive construction with a pronoun expressing the possessor (see § 4.3.4). The head is the third person plural *dong* and the modifier consists of *tampa* 'place' which is modified by *ambe-ambe kayu* 'get (fire) wood', expressing the meaning 'place to get (fire) wood'. In the context of this example in which a description of the place is

provided, the interpretation as a clause seems to be most appropriate. Example (3) is interpreted as a clause, consisting of the subject *Halima* (personal name) and followed by the predicate *kita pe kaka* 'my older sibling'. Unlike the previous examples, it seems that this construction cannot be interpreted as a head-modifier construction. Y *pe* X constructions seldom occur as modifiers in head-modifier constructions. This limits the number of possible interpretations and *Halima kita pe kaka* can be interpreted only as a subject-predicate clause construction. The subject and predicate have the same referent and form an equational clause, which in the larger context of the example serves as theme.

(1)   [itu]$_S$ [kasbi   peot]$_P$.
         that   cassava   dented
         that is "kasbi peot".

(2)   [dong   tampa   ambe-ambe   kayu]$_S$ [situ]$_P$.
         3PL   place   REP-take   wood   there
         over there, it's their place to get wood.

(3)   de   bilang   [Halima]$_S$ [kita   pe   kaka]$_P$.
         3SG   say   Halima   1SG   POSS   older.sibling
         he says that Halima is my sister.

The shape of the clauses in the following examples is similar to head-initial head-modifier constructions with *yang*-constructions serving as modifiers, discussed in § 4.2.12. There are no formal differences between these head-modifier constructions and subject-predicate constructions. How the constructions in these examples are best interpreted depends on the context and the situation, although there may be situations in which this remains vague. Prosodic features may be of some help. The examples here are interpreted as subject-predicate constructions expressing a clausal meaning. The subject and the predicate in these examples have the same referent and form equational clauses.

   Example (4) is taken from a story about the airport in Morotai, an island north of Halmahera. During World War II, the island was partly in the hands of the American army and partly occupied by the Japanese army. The speaker thought the airport was built by Americans, is unsure whether it was the Americans or the Japanese who built the airport, and wonders if it was the American army that was stationed in Morotai. The construction *yang dulu di sana* 'who/which were there' refers to the people who were at the location where the airport of Morotai is. It serves as predicate, while *Amerika* (name of a country) serves as subject. Both subject and predicate share the same referent, namely American soldiers who were stationed in Morotai, and form an equational clause, expressing the meaning '(it was) the Americans who were there, right?'. Based on the shape, this construction could be interpreted as consisting of the head *Amerika*, followed by a *yang-*

construction as modifier, expressing the meaning 'the Americans, who were there, right?' This interpretation implies that there were other Americans on the island, but those who were at the location of the airport had built it. What seems to be the point of discussion in the story is whether it was the Japanese or the Americans who built the airport. In such a context, the interpretation of example (4) as a subject-predicate construction with the meaning '(it was) the Americans who were there, right?' seems to be most appropriate. Example (5) is taken from a story about stealing mangoes from a tree. When the thieves were caught, they left the stolen fruit in the tree. The speaker of this example, who was one of the thieves, called his friends to help him. One of them volunteered to get the fruit. The predicate in example (5) consists of the relativizer *yang* followed by *ambe* 'take', resulting in *yang ambe* 'who gets it'. The first person singular *kita* serves as subject, and both refer to the same person, forming an equational clause. An alternative interpretation of this construction as consisting of a head *kita*, followed by the modifier *yang ambe*, would result in the meaning 'I, who get it'. This seems to be less appropriate than the subject-predicate construction which reflects the meaning 'I (am the one) who gets it'. In example (6) *ini* indicates the border between constituents. The subject consists of *de ini*, while the predicate consists of the relativizer *yang* followed by *pukul kita di pasar sayor* 'hit me at the vegetable market'. Both subject and predicate share the same referent and together they form an equational clause. In this example *ini* is interpreted as the boundary between two constituents. The result is that only an interpretation of the *yang*-construction as predicate seems to be appropriate.

(4)   [Amerika]$_S$ [yang dulu   di   sana]$_P$ to?
       America   REL   before   in   there   QT
       the Americans were there, right?

(5)   de   bilang,   "[kita]$_S$ [yang   ambe]$_P$."
       3SG   say   1SG   REL   take
       he said, "I'll get it."

(6)   "[de   ini]$_S$ [yang   pukul   kita   di   pasar   sayor]$_P$."
       3SG   this   REL   hit   1SG   in   market vegetable
       "he's the one who hit me at the vegetable market."

7.1.2 Questions

Questions can be created in two ways: one way is the use of a rising intonation pattern typical for questions, while the other way is the use of particular words and tags expressing a question. The interrogative may occur at various places in the utterance and generally occupy the position of what is questioned. Question tags are independent expressions in their own right and are often posited at the right-most position in a clause. These question tags are used as a means to elicit an affirmative

reaction, they may direct the listener's attention to certain elements and give these more emphasis, as well as maintain the listener's attention.

The structure of examples (7)–(9) and (7b)–(9b) are similar; they differ only in intonation pattern. These intonation patterns determine that examples (7)-(9) have to be interpreted as statements, while the b-sentences of (7b)–(9b) as questions. The intonation pattern of statements is falling while that of questions is rising. Example (10) is uttered by someone who is talking about porters at the markers and explains how they offer their help. The rising intonation pattern with which *angka* 'lift up' is uttered, expresses that they are asking the women if they may carry their shopping.

(7)   ngana   su   kaweng.
           2SG   COMP   marry
           you are married.

(7b)   ngana   su   kaweng?
           2SG   COMP   marry
           are you married?

(8)   mau   ambe   jalang   rata   saja.
           want   take   street   straight   only
           we want to take a straight route.

(8b)   mau   ambe   jalang   rata   saja?
           want   take   street   straight   only
           do we want to take a straight route?

(9)   "iyo   suda,   ngana   ator."
           yes   COMP   2SG   arrange
           "that's fine, you arrange it."

(9b)   "iyo   suda,   ngana   ator?"
           yes   COMP   2SG   arrange
           "that's fine; are you going to arrange it?"

(10)   dong   ka   sana,   "Bibi,   Bibi,   angka?"
           3PL   to   there   EPIT   EPIT   lift.up
           they go there and ask, "shall I carry this for you?"

Another device to create questions is the use of interrogatives: *apa* 'what' serves to question non-human things and *mana* 'where' is used to question location. They generally occupy the position of the thing or location questioned. These words may

be combined with other elements to form words to question matters such as time, reason, quantity and persons.

7.1.2.1 *Interrogative* apa

In the following examples, *apa* serves to question the identity of non-human referents. Example (11) is taken from a story about a woman who hears a doorbell for the first time. *Apa* 'what' questions the identity of the sound the woman hears. In example (12) *apa* 'what' questions the identity of the thing that the speaker wants to give to his friends. Example (13) is taken from a story of someone's experiences when he was suffering from malaria. Sometimes he feels very cold and wonders what he can use to cover himself. *Apa* 'what' occurs after *deng* 'with' and refers to the thing that can be used to do what is expressed in the predicate, namely, *batutu* 'cover oneself'. When *apa* is used as modifier, it questions the kind or type of head. In example (14) *apa* 'what' modifies *pisang* 'banana' and questions the kind or type of banana.

(11)   **apa**   itu?
          what   that
          what is that?

(12)   kita   mu   kase   **apa**   pa   ngoni,   e?
          1SG   want   give   what   to   2   EXCL
          what shall I give you?

(13)   ngana   ba-tutu   **deng**   **apa**?
          2SG   REFL-close   with   what
          what did you cover yourself with?

(14)   "pisang   **apa**,   Ibu?"
          banana   what   mother
          "what kind of bananas are they, Madam?"

The interrogative word *apa* 'what' in combination with *tempo* 'time', results in *tempo apa* 'when' and questions time. In example (15) *tempo apa* 'when' questions time and immediately follows the subject *tong ini* 'we here'. In example (16) *tempo apa* is posited after the predicate *pulang* 'go home' and questions the time of the action.

(15)   kong   tong   ini   **tempo**   **apa**   baru   sadar   ni?
          CONJ   1PL   this   time   what   then   aware   this
          and I, when am I going to repent?

(16)   ngana   pulang   **tempo**   **apa**?
           2SG   go.home   time   what
           when are you going home?

The interrogative *apa* 'what' in combination with *biki* 'make', resulting in the expression *biki apa* 'why' questions reason or cause. *Biki apa* 'why' has probably derived from *biking apa* '(lit.) make what', consisting of *biking* 'make' and *apa* 'what'. The expression *biki apa* 'why' is sometimes reduced to the alternative form *kiapa*. The two expressions *biki apa* and *kiapa* are mutually interchangeable.

   Example (17) is taken from a story about someone who suffered from malaria. The fever was so high that he wanted to cool himself and plunged in an oil drum filled with water. His friends wanted to know why he did that. The construction *biki apa* 'why' questioning reason is posited preceding the predicate to give it more attention. Example (18) is taken from a story in which the speaker imagines that a very important person sends two people to Ternate to invite him to come to Jakarta. When he meets these two people, he asked them the reason for calling him, as is displayed in example (18). In this example, *biki apa* 'why' follows the predicate *pangge* 'call', to question the reason for this activity. This expression often implies that the person is called to do something 'what do I have to do for you to call me?'. Example (19) refers to arrogant performers of martial arts, who think they do not have to fear anybody because of their skills. In this example, the reduced form *kiapa* 'why' is used, questioning the reason why the person would be afraid.

(17)   dong   mangamu,   dong,   "**biki**   **apa**   ngana   colo?".
           3PL   berserk   3PL   make   what   2SG   dip
           they grumbled, saying "why did you plunge into the water?"

(18)   "pangge   **biki**   **apa**?"
           call   make   what
           "why are you calling me?"

(19)   "**kiapa**   kong   tako   pa   dia?"
           why   CONJ   afraid   to   3SG
           "why would I be afraid of him?"

In order to question amount, quantity, or a number, *barapa* 'how much' is used. It is a fossilized form consisting of the interrogative *apa* 'what' and a prefix *bar-*, and is considered a monomorphemic word. *Barapa?* 'how much?' may occur as a constituent in its own right, as well as serve as modifier preceding another word when questioning the amount of something. *Barapa* follows the head it modifies when it questions a specific number (of the referent), for instance in a series. The speaker of example (20) is asked to mix sand and concrete. He replies with *barapa?* 'how much?' to question the amounts of the materials he has to mix. In example (21)

barapa 'how much' precedes *hari* 'day' and questions the total number of days the speaker has worked. In example (22) the reduced form *brapa* 'how much' follows *jam* 'hour' to question the time as a number of a series. In example (23) *barapa* 'how much' serves as a modifier of *nomor* 'number' and questions the number of the series used to refer to the grades of coarseness of sandpaper.

(20)   "**barapa**?"
                   how.much
             "how many?"

(21)   su   **barapa**   hari   tadi,   e?
                  COMP   how.much   day   earlier   EXCL
             how many days was it today?

(22)   jam   **brapa**   tu?
                  hour   how.much   that
             what time is it?

(23)   mama,   kartas   paser   nomor   **barapa**   ni   dia?
                  mother   paper   sand   number   how.much   this   3SG
             my goodness, what number sandpaper is this?

In order to question the identity of a human entity, *sapa* 'who' is used. Historically this word has derived from the construction *si apa* 'the what', consisting of the personifier *si* and the interrogative *apa* 'what'. *Sapa* 'who' occurs in the position of the word or construction that is questioned.

    In example (24) the speaker talks about a certain drink and the interlocutor wonders whether it is the same drink a person named Roni sells. The speaker replies with example (24), questioning the person who sells the drink. The speaker of example (25) imagines what he would think if he were the type of person who does not care about others and who ignores people who address him. In this example *sapa* 'who' serves as predicate and questions the identity of the subject *ngana* 'you', expressing the meaning 'who are you?'. The speaker in example (26) says that he lied to his friends and told them he is married and has children. When they visited him, they wanted to meet his wife, and the speaker asks himself what he should do. In the example, *sapa* 'who' follows the predicate *tunjung* 'point at' and questions the object or target of the predicate *tunjung*, namely, the person who is pointed at. In the story where example (27) occurs, the speaker says that he had photos of children with him and a friend asked him who were the people in the photos. In this example, *sapa* questions the person who serves as possessor in a Y *pe* X construction. Within the context of this example, *sapa pe foto* questions the identity of the people in the photo, while in a different context, *sapa pe foto* could question the owner of the

photo, who is not necessarily in the photo. In example (28) *sapa* 'who' follows *pa* 'to, at', resulting in the construction *pa sapa* 'to whom', and questions the goal to whom the action expressed in the predicate *kase* 'give' is directed.

(24)   **sapa**   jual?
         who   sell
         who sells it?

(25)   "cek,   ngana   **sapa**?"
         EXCL   2SG   who
         "eh, who are you?"

(26)   kita   mao   tunjung   **sapa**?
         1SG   want   point.at   who
         who can I point to?

(27)   de   bilang,   "**sapa**   pe   foto?"
         3SG   say   who   POSS   photo
         he asked, "whose photos are they?"

(28)   ngana   mau   kase   **pa   sapa**?
         2SG   want   give   to   who
         who do you want to give that to?

7.1.2.2 Interrogative mana

The interrogative *mana* 'where' questions location. When *mana* serves as modifier in head-modifier constructions it questions a single item amongst a larger number of similar or identical items. Example (29) is taken from a story about stealing mangoes. The thieves left the sack of fruit in the tree. One of their friends goes back and tells Hamja, the owner's son, that he left his T-shirt in the tree. He climbs the tree, throws the sack with stolen fruit to his friends, and comes down without the shirt. In example (29) Hamja questions the location of the T-shirt. *Mana* 'where' serves as predicate questioning the location and *kos* 'T-shirt' serves as subject. The speaker of example (30) is attacked by bees that are even under his cap. He wonders where these bees come from. *Mana* 'where' immediately follows *iko* 'follow' and questions the location where the bees came from or the route they followed to get under his cap. Example (31) tells of two women who are afraid of soldiers. They do not know where to look for fire wood, because at their place soldiers are undergoing military training. In this example, *mana* 'where' follows *di* 'in, at', resulting in *di mana* 'where' to question the location. When *mana* 'where' serves as modifier, it questions type or kind. In example (32) *mana* follows the head *bagean* and serves as

modifier, resulting in *bagean mana* 'which field'. It questions one specific field out of a number of possible fields of study a student can choose in high school.

(29) ka bawa Hamja tanya: "eh, kos **mana**?"
      to bottom Hamja ask EXCL T-shirt where
      when he got down, Hamja asked: "hey, where is your T-shirt?"

(30) de maso iko **mana**?
      3SG enter follow where
      where did he come in?

(31) "[...] la tong cari kayu di **mana** ni?"
              CONJ 1PL search wood in where this
      [...] then where do we have to look for fire wood?"

(32) de tanya, "bagean... STM...
      3SG ask division technical.high.school
      she asked , 'the field... technical high school

      STM **bagean** **mana**?"
      technical.high.school division where
      which field did you take at technical high school?

Bagimana is an interrogative consisting of two elements: *bagi* (related to *bagai* 'similar' in other Malay varieties) and *mana* 'where', but is considered to be a mon-omorphemic word in Ternate Malay. It may question a property or manner, and may also be used in comparisons.

   In example (33) *bagimana* 'how' acts as predicate questioning the state of the subject *de pe rasa* 'the taste'. In this example, the speaker says that he was once hit by a soldier. He jokingly wonders what a police fist would feel like. He uses *rasa* which can mean 'feel' as well as 'taste' and wonders in example (33) how it would taste. In example (34) the speaker says that he and his friend were in a mango tree stealing mangoes. The owner's son caught them and threw stones at them to chase them out of the tree. His friend escaped and he was still wondering what to do. In example (34) *bagimana* 'how' immediately follows the predicate *biking* 'make' and questions manner, namely the way to successfully escape being caught by the owner's son. In example (35) the speaker explains the features of certain bees and he uses *bagimana* 'how' to question what their size can be compared to. In this exam-ple, *basar* is considered to serve as predicate while *bagimana*, which follows the predicate, serves to express comparison, that is, *basar bagimana* '(lit.) as big as how'.

(33)   de   pe   rasa   **bagimana**?   kurang   fetsin ka?
            3SG   POSS taste   how   less   MSG   or

how does it taste? maybe too little MSG?

[speaker is in a tree and people are throwing stones at him]

(34)   "ini   biking **bagimana** supaya kita bisa lolos."
           this make   how   so.that 1SG   can   slip.off

"what can I do to escape?"

(35)   ofu, ofu basar **bagimana** e?
           bee   bee big   how   EXCL

how big were those bees?

Question tags function to elicit a reaction from other interlocutors and indicate that the utterance has to be interpreted as a question. They occur generally at the end of clauses, but may occur elsewhere, in which position they may highlight the theme of attention. The negators *tarada* 'no' and *tara* 'not' serve as question tags when they occur at the end of a clause and a specific intonation pattern is added.

7.1.2.3 To *as question tag*

The question tag *to* is posited at the end of a clause and indicates that the utterance has to be interpreted as a question. It is a means to elicit some reaction from other interlocutors, particularly an affirmative response, and it may be used to keep the attention of listeners when telling a story. In example (36) *to* is posited after *kita bapegang bagini* 'I held on like this' and serves to indicate a question. The speaker tells what happened when someone threw stones at him and his friend while they were stealing mangoes from a mango tree. The speaker seems to expect an affirmative reaction as a sign that the interlocutor understands what is happening and is paying attention to the story. When *to* is added to a negative statement as in example (37) *de tara dapa makang* 'he didn't get anything to eat', the expected reaction would be positive. The speaker elicits an affirmative response or some other sign of agreement from the other interlocutors. Example (38) is the beginning of a story about what happened when the speaker and his friend went out for a drink. The speaker forms a question and elicits a reaction from the interlocutors by using *to*. It is posited after the first constituent and indicates the theme of attention. In example (39) *to* follows the constituent *dong pe ruma* 'their houses' to indicate this as the theme of attention as well as to form a question to elicit a reaction. The speaker tells how tough it was to carry building material from the road to the house which he and his friends were renovating. In this example, *tinggi* refers to the location of the house and not the shape of the house. The house was situated higher than the road.

(36)   [...] kita   ba-pegang   bagini,   **to**?
                   1SG   REFL-hold   like.this QT

[...] so I held on like this, right?

(37)   de   tara   dapa   makang   **to**?
            3SG   NEG   can   eat   QT

he didn't get anything to eat, right?

(38)   minong   **to**,   de   bawa   torang.
            drink   QT   3SG   bring   1PL

we went drinking, right, he brought us.

(39)   dong   pe   ruma   **to**...   tinggi.
            3PL   POSS   house QT   high

their houses... were high.

7.1.2.4 Kan *as question tag*

Kan serves as a question tag to elicit a reaction from the listener. The speaker expects an affirmative reaction as a sign that he still has the listener's attention as well as ascertaining that he and the listener share the same information. *Kan* may be posited after the first constituent of an utterance to indicate that it serves as the central theme of attention.

Example (40) is taken from a story in which the speaker imagines that a female doctor would definitely fall for him if he had a moustache, because her husband does not have one. In the example, *kan* is posited after *dokter pe laki* 'doctor's husband' to emphasize the part of the utterance that has the attention. At the same time, the presence of *kan* expresses that the speaker expects a reaction from the listener. In example (41) the speaker talks about the cleaning of pots with a certain kind of grass. It has rough and sharp leaves which are used as a sponge to clean the dishes. In the expression *dia kan itang* 'it is black, right', the speaker refers to the blackened cooking pot. He adds *kan* to elicit the listener's reaction and indicates that *dia* has the attention. In example (42) the speaker talks about the army. He thinks that some soldiers behave arrogantly because they play an important role in society, while in other places their role is only marginal. In this example, *kan* occurs after the first constituent *di sini* 'here' to indicate that this has the attention and to give it more emphasis, implying the situation is not like this at other locations.

(40)   dokter   pe   laki   **kan**   tara   ba-kumis...
            doctor   POSS   husband   QT   NEG   POSS-moustache

the doctor's husband doesn't have a moustache, right...

(41)   dia **kan** itang? langsung puti bersi.
         3SG   QT   black   immediately white clean

it was black, right? it immediately turned bright white.

(42)   di sini **kan** dong pegang peranan.
         in here   QT   3PL   hold   role

here they play a role, right?

7.1.2.5 Tarada *as question tag*

When the negator *tarada* 'no' occurs at the end of a clause and is uttered with a rising intonation pattern, it serves as question tag. A speaker may use it to elicit a reaction from other interlocutors.

In example (43) *kita su kurang ka lao* 'I don't go there very often' becomes a question by adding the negator *tarada*. The speaker elicits an affirmative response from other interlocutors. Example (44) is taken from a conversation about certain types of porridge. The speaker says that he prefers white porridge, based on which another interlocutor draws the conclusion that he prefers cassava porridge, because that type of flour results in a white porridge. The speaker's reply is expressed in example (45). It consists of the statement *iyo kasbi* 'right, (it's) cassava' and by adding *tarada* the speaker changes it into a question: *iyo kasbi, tarada*? 'yes, cassava, right?', expecting an affirmative reaction. Example (46) is taken from a story in which the speaker says that he brought pictures of some children to Sorong. He lied to his friends, telling them the children in the photo were his children. In example (46) the speaker repeats that this happened when he was in Sorong. He adds *tarada* to indicate a question to which he expects an affirmative answer. He repeats the information he provided before and may use the question tag *tarada* as a way of reminding the listener that he is still talking about the same location.

(43)   kita su   kurang ka   lao, **tarada**?
         1SG COMP   less   to   sea   NEG

I don't go there very often, right?

(44)   iyo, kasbi, **tarada**?
         yes   cassava NEG

right, cassava, isn't it?

(45)   kita pi Sorong, **tarada**?
         1SG go Sorong   NEG

I went to Sorong, right?

7.1.2.6 Tara *as question tag*

Similar to *tarada*, the negator *tara* may be used as a question tag, eliciting an affirmative reaction. In this function, *tara* gets more accent than when it serves as negator. Example (46) is the answer to a question about how lava stones are used as building material. The speaker expects the interlocutor already knows the answer and elicits an affirmative reaction by adding *tara* to his answer *fondasi* 'foundation', resulting in *fondasi tara* 'as a foundation, right?'. Example (47) is taken from a conversation in which a person asks the speaker the same question she asked him a few days earlier. He reacts with the statement *ih, kita su bilang* 'hey, I've told you that' and adds *tara* to it to change the statement in a question to which he expects an affirmative reaction. In example (48) the speaker refers to the airport on the island of Morotai. He is not sure if it was built by the Japanese or the American army. The statement *buatan Amerika punya* 'made by the Americans' becomes a question by adding *tara* to it and elicits an affirmative reaction.

(46)   fondasi,   **tara**?
         foundation   NEG

         as a foundation, right?

(47)   ih,   kita   su   bilang,   **tara**?
         EXCL   1SG   COMP   say   NEG

         hey, I've told you, haven't I?

(48)   buatan   Amerika   punya,   **tara**?
         product   America   possess   NEG

         made by the Americans, wasn't it?

7.1.3 Imperatives

An utterance can be interpreted as an imperative based on the commanding intonation pattern. Certain words, often to soften the imperative, indicate an imperative meaning. A person's name or the second person pronoun *ngana* may optionally be used to indicate to whom the command is directed. In example (49) a father orders his son to read the two sentences he has written down. The word is uttered with a commanding intonation pattern, which is indicated by the exclamation mark at the end of the sentence. In example (50) the speaker expresses how his friend ordered him to close the door. Example (51) is about a soldier who wants to borrow a wok. The speaker tells him to go into the shed to see if there is a wok he can borrow. The speaker uses *coba* 'try' to soften the order and indicates an imperative meaning.

(49)   "baca!"
         read

         read it!

(50)   "Caken,   tutu   pintu!"
               Caken   close   door
               "Caken, close the door!"

(51)   "**coba** lia   dalang   la   ambe".
               try   see   inside   CONJ   take
               "take a look inside and take it".

Another lexical item that may be used to soften an order or request is *dulu* 'before' which is posited at the end of a clause. The context and the situation determine whether *dulu* serves to soften a command or has to be interpreted with a temporal referent, or serve another function. In example (52) the speaker describes the kind of mosquitoes found in Sorong and says jokingly that they are so big that one could order them to buy cigarettes. In this example, *dulu* is posited at the end of the clause and serves to soften the order. The second person singular *ngana* refers to the person to whom the order is directed of which the referent is determined by the context and the situation. From the context of this example, it is obvious that it refers to *nyamu di Sorong* 'mosquitoes in Sorong'. In example (53) the speaker talks about how he used to visit the medical centre to ask his friend to give him an injection when he felt sick. The speaker uses *dulu* to soften his order.

(52)   nyamu   di   Sorong,   kalo   minta   tolong,
               mosquito in   Sorong   when   ask.for   help
               mosquitoes in Sorong, if you ask them,

               "ngana   ka   dara   bli   roko   **dulu**."...
               2SG   to   land   buy   cigarette   before
               "go and buy some cigarettes."...

(53)   "suntik   **dulu**."
               inject   before
               "please, give me an injection."

A speaker may soften a command and make it merely hortative by the use of *suda*, which is posited at the end of a clause. Since *suda* may serve various functions and express various meanings, context and situation determine which interpretation is most appropriate. The shortened form *su* cannot occur in a clause-final position and cannot serve this function. The speaker of example (54) says that he worked very hard that day. When it was time for lunch he felt so hungry that he could hardly wait for his friend, who is older than him, and who wanted to wash his hands first. In the example, the speaker tells how he told the man to hurry. He uses *suda* to soften the order, because he is talking to an older person as well as urging him to hurry. The speaker of example (55) tells how his friend Ba urged him to reveal which of her

two relatives he likes most. In this example, the speaker uses *suda* to soften her command. Example (56) is taken from a story in which the speaker tells how he ran away from home a few times. His mother visited him regularly and persuaded him to come home. She uses *suda* to soften her command as well as to strongly encourage him to return home.

(54)   "Om   Ota   capat   **suda**,   su   lapar."
         uncle   Ota   fast   COMP   COMP   hungry
         "Uncle Ota hurry up, I'm hungry."

(55)   Ba   tanya,   "sapa,   bilang   **suda**."
         Ba   ask   who   say   COMP
         Ba asked, "who is it, please tell me."

(56)   tong   ma   su   buju-buju,   "pulang   **suda**.".
         1PL   mother   COMP   REP-persuade   go.home   COMP
         my mother tried to persuade me, saying "come home, please.".

7.1.4 Vetatives

Vetative sentences are expressed by *jang* 'don't', a shortened form of *jangang* 'don't'. These two forms are mutually interchangable, although the shortened form seems to be more common in use. Both items can be used as independent expressions in their own right and are uttered in an exclamative way.

In example (57) someone is told not to immediately wash himself with water after being stung by bees, because these spots would become very itchy. In this example, *jang* precedes the predicate *bacolo* 'dip oneself'. In example (58) the speaker tells how a woman apologized to him after she mistakenly thought he was a porter. She asks him not to be angry at her. In this example, the vetative *jang* precedes *mara* to indicate a vetative meaning, resulting in *jang mara* 'don't be angry'. Example (59) is taken from a story about boys stealing mangoes. In order to get the thieves out of the mango tree, people throw stones at them. One of the thieves asks them to stop it. He uses *jang* which precedes *ngana lempar* 'throw' to give it a vetative meaning. The speaker in example (60) talks about how a woman forbids him to touch a weapon. She uses the long form *jangang* 'don't', which occurs independently and serves as a clause in its own respect.

(57)   dong   bilang: "**jang**   **ba-colo**."
         3PL   say   don't   REFL-dip
         they said: "don't plunge."

(58)   "o,   iyo,   **jang   mara**."
             EXCL   yes   don't   angry
             "oh, right, don't be angry."

(59)   "Hamja,   **jang   ngana   lempar**,   [...]."
             Hamja   don't   2SG   throw
             "Hamja, stop throwing things at me, [...]."

(60)   "cih   **jangang**,   ya   Allah,   ampong,
             EXCL   don't   EXCL   Allah   mercy
             "hey, don't, oh my goodness, have mercy,

             itu   iblis,   iblis."
             that   devil   devil
             that's the devil, the devil."

7.2 Subject and Predicate: order and meaning

The most frequent order in which a subject and a predicate occurs is the subject-predicate order. There are examples with the reverse order in which the predicate precedes the subject. The difference in order seems to result in a difference in meaning. A clear example of this occurrence is when *ada* serves as predicate. The subject may follow as well as precede *ada*, resulting in two different meanings, although the difference is hard to detect and describe. When *ada* follows the subject, *it* expresses that someone/something is present at a certain location or that it exists, 'be present' or 'exist'. The referent of the subject which precedes *ada* is often definite. When *ada* precedes the subject, it reflects the meaning 'there is/are', and describes a factual situation. The subject may refer to an indefinite entity. In the following examples the subject is indicated by the subscript "$_S$", while the predicate is indicated by the subscript "$_P$".

Example (61) is taken from a story about two boys stealing mangoes from a tree. They are caught by Hamja, the owner's son, who is standing under the tree. The subject *Hamja* in this example precedes the predicate, which consists of the continuous marker *masi* and *ada*, resulting in *Hamja masi ada* '(lit.) Hamja still be present'. It expresses the presence of the referent at a certain location. In a different context, *Hamja masi ada* could mean 'Hamja is still alive'. The speaker in example (62) tells of a soldier who borrowed a wok. When he arrives at his shed, he notices that the wok has been returned. The predicate consisting of the completive marker *su* and *ada* follows the subject *balangang* 'wok', expressing the meaning 'the wok is present', indicating that the referent is located at a certain place. The speaker of example (63) tells a joke about someone who thought that bus drivers call the passenger's name to notify that they have arrived at their destination. Actually the driver calls street names or the name of buildings they pass, which may coincidently be similar

to personal names. In this example, *ada* follows the subject *parampuang pe nama Kartini* 'female name Kartini', expressing the meaning 'female name Kartini is present'. It denotes the existence of the referent, 'a female name Kartini exists'. The subjects in all these examples are definite.

(61) [Hamja]$_S$ [masi ada]$_P$ [di bawa pohong]$_{LOC}$.
      Hamja still be.present in bottom tree
      Hamja was still under the tree.

(62) […] kong kita lia [balangang]$_S$ [su ada]$_P$.
      CONJ 1SG see wok COMP be.present
      […] and I saw that the wok was already there.

(63) jadi [parampuang pe nama Kartini]$_S$ [ada]$_P$ to?
      become woman POSS name Kartini be.present QT
      so, the female name Kartini exists, right?

In the following examples, *ada* precedes the subject and refers to the factual occurrence or the real presence of something, reflecting the meaning 'there is/are'.

The speaker of example (64) has just informed his friend, with whom he was stealing mangoes, that someone is standing under the tree. The example reflects his friend's reply. In this example, *ada* precedes the subject *orang* 'person', resulting in *ada orang* and expresses the meaning 'there is a person' or 'there is someone'. Example (65) describes the situation when the speaker returned to a small island after getting drinking water on the main island. In this example, *ada* precedes the subject *ikang paus satu ekor paling basar* 'a very big whale', expressing the meaning 'there is a very big whale'. In example (66) the speaker talks about their television which does not display subtitles properly on the screen. The predicate *ada* in this example precedes the subject *teks* 'text', expressing the meaning 'there is a text' or 'there are texts'. The subjects in these examples may refer to an indefinite entity.

(64) "iyo, [ada]$_P$ [orang]$_S$, ba-diang."
      yes be.present person DUR-quiet
      "yes, there is someone, be quiet."

(65) baru [ada]$_P$ [ikang paus satu ekor
      moreover be.present fish whale one tail
      moreover there was a

```
         paling    basar]_S   situ,    ngana.
         very      big        there    2SG
```
very big whale over there.

(66)   ah,   kalo   [ada]_P   [teks]_S   tar   bisa   baca,   suda.
         EXCL   when   be.present text   NEG   can   read   COMP

yes, and when there are subtitles you can't read them.

7.2.1 Predicate + Subject

The examples of *ada* which may precede as well as follow the subject have shown a slight difference between the two word orders. In those cases where *ada* precedes the subject, the "being present" seems to be more prominent. When the subject is mentioned first, this constituent receives the attention and *ada* expresses that the subject is present at some location. Although the difference between the different word order is hard to detect, it seems that the constituent mentioned first, receives more attention and is slightly emphasized.

   In example (67) the speaker says that his neighbours received a cupboard. It becomes clear that he likes the cupboard very much and wanted to have it himself. In the example the predicate *gaga* 'stylish' precedes the subject *bufet* 'cupboard' to emphasize the quality expressed in the predicate, and reflects the meaning 'it was stylish, the cupboard'. The speaker of example (68) is about to tell a funny story about a boy and starts with a description of the child. The construction *ana kacili* 'small child' serves as predicate and precedes the subject *ana itu* 'that child' to give it more attention. It expresses the meaning 'it was a small child, that child'. Example (69) describes the habitat of a crocodile. The speaker puts the attention on the colour of the water, probably to emphasize the difference with the situation in Ternate. The predicate *soklat* 'brown' precedes the subject *de pe aer* 'the water', and expresses the meaning 'it is brown, the water'.

(67)   [gaga]_P   [bufet]_S.
         stylish   cupboard

the cupboard was stylish.

(68)   [ana   kacili]_P   [ana   itu]_S   [...]
         child   small   child   that

he was a small boy [...].

(69)   lia   ka   bawa   me   [soklat]_P   [de   pe   aer]_S.
         see   to   bottom PART   brown   3SG   POSS   water

if you look down the water is brown.

7.2.2 Central theme of attention

In the previous paragraph I showed how the word order may indicate which constituent is emphasized and is the centre of attention. Another strategy to give a constituent more attention is to combine it with certain items. In the discussion on question tags *to* and *kan* in § 7.1.2.3 and § 7.1.2.4 respectively, we have seen that when these immediately follow the first constituent, they give it more attention. In this paragraph, examples are presented where the subject is preceded by certain constituents. The combination puts the constituent in the centre of attention, particularly when the constituent and the subject share the same referent. Central themes of attention are then considered to be independent entities that form an utterance in their own respect, and are often found in sentence initial position.

The subjects in the following examples are preceded by a construction that has the same referent as the subject and serves as the central theme of attention. Example (70) is taken from a story about two boys who were stealing mangoes and got caught. The speaker is about to tell how one of them, Anwar, succeeded in escaping. The construction *Anwar ini* 'this Anwar' in this example is followed by the subject *dia*. It has the same referent as the subject, that is, a person named Anwar, and serves as the central theme of attention. The speaker in example (71) tells of his friend who suffers from asthma. The speaker wants to warn his friend not to weaken himself and stay up too late, because it may cause his death. He does not dare to say it aloud, afraid that his words may be interpreted as cursing. The speaker then continues with example (71), in which the third person plural *dong* serves as subject and follows the constituent *orang yang bardosa* 'people who commit sins', to indicate this as the central theme of attention. *Dong* and *orang yang bardosa* share the same referent.

When the subject is expressed by a possessive construction, it is the possessor that shares its referent with the central theme of attention. In example (72) *de itu* is central theme of attention and is followed by the possessive construction *de pe sajara* '(lit.) his history', the subject. *De itu* and the possessor expressed in the subject share the same referent, namely a person called *Om Pit*, who is overtly expressed in the afterthought, *Om Pit* 'Uncle Pit'. Example (73) is taken from a joke about how patients in a mental hospital undergo an examination and the speaker wonders how these people think. The subject in example (73) is the possessive construction *dong pe pikirang* 'their thoughts'. It follows the construction *orang gila tu* 'the crazy people' and indicates that this is the central theme of attention. The possessor of the construction, *dong* 'third person plural', and *orang gila tu* 'the crazy people' share the same referent, namely the people who are crazy. Note that in this example the predicate *bagimana* 'how?' precedes the subject *dong pe pikirang*, resulting in a predicate-subject order, which makes the predicate more prominent.

Example (74) has the same structure as the previous examples. In this example the speaker tells how he and his friends had to carry building material from the road to a house on a hill. In this example, the activity word *angka* 'lift up' serves as subject and refers to the lifting up of *paser* 'sand', which precedes the subject and serves as central theme of attention. The subject as well as the central theme share the same referent, namely the sand delivered to be used as building material for the house.

(70)   [Anwar   ini]   [[dia]$_S$ [memang   pintar]$_P$].
              Anwar   this   3SG   indeed   smart

              this guy Anwar is really smart.

(71)   [orang   yang   bardosa]   [[dong]$_S$ [umur   panjang]$_P$].
              person   REL   commit.sin   3PL   age   long

              those who commit sins will have a long life.

(72)   [de   itu],   [[de   pe   sajara]$_S$ [paling   banya]$_P$],
              3SG   that   3SG   POSS   history   very   many

              Om   Pit.
              uncle   Pit

              he, Uncle Pit, has a lot of stories.

(73)   [orang   gila   tu]   [[bagimana]$_P$ [dong   pe
              person   crazy   that   how   3PL   POSS

              pikirang]$_S$]?
              thought

              what are the thoughts of crazy people?

(74)   [paser]   [[angka]$_S$ [bolong   abis]$_P$],
              sand   lift.up   not.yet   finished

              we hadn't finished carrying the sand,

              kirikil   su   datang   lagi.
              gravel   COMP   come   again

              or the gravel arrived.

In contrast to the previous series of examples, the subject and the theme of attention in the following examples do not share the same referent. The central themes of attention have various semantic roles, namely theme, goal, or stimulus, all referring to things involved with the action expressed in the predicate.

    Example (75) is taken from a description of the way two friends return home from the forest. The speaker's friend carries him on his back while carrying foodstuffs in his hand. The speaker holds the machete in his hand. *Peda* 'machete' precedes the subject and gets the attention. It serves as the theme which undergoes the action expressed in the predicate. The subject is *kita* 'first person singular' and refers to the agent that performs the action expressed in the predicate *pegang* 'hold'. The speaker of example (76) is telling how he hurt his toe when he was carrying lava stones and

one of the stones fell on his foot. Then he continues talking about what happened with his fingers. *Jari kanan sini* 'the right finger here' receives the attention. It serves as goal or location to which the action in the predicate is directed. The performer is *dorang* 'third person plural', and *lempar* 'throw' expresses the action. Example (77) is taken from a story in which the speaker tells of a soldier who borrowed his wok. The soldier had carefully cleaned the wok before returning it. The Y *pe* X construction *paitua pe cuci balangan* 'his cleaning of the wok' is the central theme of attention and serves as the stimulus that brings about the emotion expressed by *herang* 'surprised'. The subject *kita* 'first person singular' serves as the experiencer and the predicate *herang* 'surprised' describes the emotion experienced by the subject.

(75)   [peda]$_{THEME}$ [kita]$_S$ [pegang]$_P$.
         machete   1SG   hold
         I was holding the machete.

(76)   iyo, [jari   kanan   sini]$_{GOAL}$ [dorang]$_S$ [lempar]$_P$.
         yes   finger right   here   3PL   throw
         that's right, someone threw something at this finger.

(77)   [paitua   pe   cuci   balangang]$_{STIM}$
         old.man   POSS   wash   wok

         [kita]$_S$ [herang]$_P$.
         1SG   surprised
         the way he washed the wok surprised me.

Other constituents may precede the subject and receive more attention, amongst others, expressions referring to time and location. These often occur at the end of a clause, but may occur at other positions as well. Example (78) describes the state of a body after an attack by a crocodile. In the example, *bageang badang di sini* 'this part of the body' refers to a certain part of the victim's body and precedes the subject *daging* 'flesh'. The construction preceding the subject receives the attention. Example (79) is taken from a story in which the speaker talks of his experiences in Morotai. In that place it was more common to smoke tobacco than cigarettes. The construction *di sana* 'there' in the example refers to Morotai, the place the speaker is talking about. It precedes the subject *isap sek* 'the smoking of tobacco' to give it more attention. The subject is followed by the predicate *tara berenti* 'do not stop'. In example (80) the speaker talks about when he ran away from home and how long he did not live with his family. The expression *satu bulang* 'one month' refers to the period of time he was away from home, which, to give it more attention, precedes the subject *kita* 'first person singular'. In example (81) the speaker starts a story about a man who ate so many slabs of sago during an eating competition that he

could hardly breathe. The expression *itu hari* precedes the subject *dong* 'third person plural' to give it more attention and refers to the day of the eating competition.

(78) [bageang badang di sini]_{LOC} [daging]_S [tarada]_P...
      division body in here flesh NEG

      there was no flesh at this part of the body

(79) [di sana]_{LOC} [isap sek]_S [tara berenti]_P, ngana.
      in there suck tobacco NEG stop 2SG

      there we kept on smoking tobacco, you know.

(80) [satu bulang]_{TIME} [kita]_S [tara tinggal di ruma]_P.
      one month 1SG NEG stay in house

      one whole month I didn't live at home.

(81) [itu hari]_{TIME} [dong]_S [pertandingan makan di RRI[20] tu]_P.
      that day 3PL competition eat in RRI that

      once, there was an eating competition at RRI.

7.2.3 Subject and semantic roles

Subjects may consist of various constructions and serve different semantic roles, depending on the predicate as well as the context and situation in which they occur. The subjects in this paragraph are printed in **bold**.

In example (82) the speaker talks about two women who wanted to look for fire wood. Suddenly they heard shots and looked for shelter. The speaker called them over and they became confused, and did not know where to hide. The predicate in example (82) *su bingung* 'confused', consisting of the completive marker *su* followed by *bingung* 'confused', describes a state of mind. The subject *nene* 'grand-mother' that precedes the predicate refers to the experiencer of the state. The predicate in example (83) is *bakumis* 'possess a moustache'. This predicate is preceded by the Y *pe* X construction *dokter pe laki* 'the doctor's husband', which serves as subject and refers to the possessor of the characteristic expressed in the predicate. Example (84) is taken from a story about fishing. The speaker tells how he tried to pull up the fish he caught, while the fish tried to escape. In example (84) the predicate *sadap* 'delicious' is preceded by the clause *kita bakuambe deng dia* 'I compete with him', which expresses an event and serves as subject. This clause consists of an agent *kita* 'first person singular', which acts as the performer of the action, the action *bakuambe* 'compete each other', and the associative *deng dia* 'with him' with whom the agent performs the action. In example (85) the speaker describes a small

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[20] *RRI* is the abbreviation for *Radio Republik Indonesia*, the national radio station of Indonesia.

bundle made of some strips with sulphur which are tied together. The example consists of two clauses within which *bagini* 'like this' serves as predicate. The quality word *basar* 'big' serves as subject of the first clause in which it expresses the meaning 'size', referring to the size of the strips. In the second clause, *panjang-panjang* 'lengths' serves as subject and refers to the length of the different strips. An alternative interpretation of this example could be that the two clauses consist only of the predicates *basar bagini* and *panjang-panjang bagini*, while the subject is not overtly expressed and is understood from the context. There are no formal features to use to determine which interpretation is most appropriate, although prosodic features may give some indication. In example (86) *isap sek* '(lit.) suck tobacco' serves as subject and serves as the performer of the action expressed in the predicate. It refers to the act of the performance and reflects the meaning 'the smoking of tobacco'. The predicate is *tara berenti* 'not stop' and expresses an activity.

The predicate in example (87) consists of *datang* 'come', preceded by *su* to express that the action is completed, and followed by *lagi* again', which indicates a repetition of a previous event, resulting in *su datang lagi* 'have come again'. The subject, *kirikil* 'gravel', precedes the predicate and refers to the agent who performs the action *datang* 'come'. Since *kirikil* is not in control to perform the action itself, it can be considered as a metaphorical agent. In an alternative analysis, *kirikil* could be regarded as the entity that is transferred from one place to another. In such analysis, *kirikil* serves as the theme that undergoes the action expressed in the activity word, while the performer of the action is not overtly expressed, and is understood from the context. *Kirikil su datang lagi* would then be the equivalent of 'the gravel has been delivered (lit. let come) again'. The absence of overtly expressed features to distinguish between different syntactic functions makes more than one interpretation possible. A similar case is found in the following example. In example (88) *tentara sana* 'the army there' serves as the subject, while *tara pake* 'not use' is the predicate. This example can be interpreted in two ways, depending on how the subject is interpreted. In the context of this example, in which the speaker talks about the role of the army in the society, the construction *tentara sana* is best interpreted as a theme, and *tentara sana tara pake* receives a "passive" reading 'the army there is not used'. When talking about particular military equipment, for instance, *tentara sana* can be interpreted as agent and *tentara sana tara pake* may express the meaning 'the army there does not use it'. Since there are no overtly expressed features to distinguish between these two possible interpretations, the most appropriate reading is determined by the context and the situation in which it occurs.

(82)   [**nene**]ₛ   [su   bingung.]ₚ,
             grandmother   COMP   confused

             the women were confused.

(83)   [**dokter   pe   laki**]ₛ   kan   [tara   ba-kumis]ₚ
             doctor   POSS   husband   QT   NEG   POSS-mustache

             the doctor's husband has no moustache, right?

(84)   oh,   [[**kita**]_{AGT}   [**baku-ambe**]_{ACT}
EXCL 1SG   REC-take
oh, I competed

[**deng**   **dia**]_{ASS}]_S   [sadap]_P,   ngana.
with   3SG   delicious   2SG
with it marvellously.

(85)   [**basar**]_S [bagini]_P, panjang-panjang bagini.
big   like.this   PL-long   like.this
it is this big and about this long. (Lit. the size is like this, the lengths are like these).

(86)   di   sana [**isap** **sek**]_S [tara berenti]_P, ngana.
in   there suck   tobacco NEG   stop   2SG
there we smoked tobacco all the time, you know. (Lit. there, the smoking of tobacco did not stop.)

(87)   paser angka bolong abis,
sand   lift.up not.yet   finished
we hadn't finished carrying the sand

[**kirikil**]_S   [su   datang lagi]_P.
gravel   COMP come   again
or the gravel arrived.

(88)   [**tentara** **sana**]_S [tara pake.]_P
army   there   NEG use
they don't use the army there.

7.3 Predicate

Predicates may consist of constructions of various shapes and express various meanings. The examples show that predicates may consist of head-modifier constructions, quality words, action words, and other types of constructions to express state, location, movement, quality, and action. I describe the structure of predicates and analyze the relation between constituents occurring in the predicate where the core expresses an action or activity word. The predicate in the following examples is printed in **bold**.

7.3.1 Predicate: Meaning

Predicates may express a variety of meanings of which only a few are described here. These meanings are expressed by different types of words and constructions.

7.3.1.1 *Predicate expressing state*

In the following examples, the predicates describe a state and provide information with regard to the state, weight, and grade of the subject. The predicate in example (89) is expressed by the construction *kapala pusing* '(lit.) head dizzy', which consists of the head *kapala* 'head' and is modified by *pusing* 'dizzy'. It describes the state of the subject *kita* 'first person singular'. Formally this type of construction, consisting of pronouns or thing words combined other thing words, is similar to YX-possessive constructions discussed in § 4.3.4, so that *kita kapala pusing* could be analyzed as consisting of a head *kapala pusing* 'dizzy head', expressing the possessum, preceded by the first person singular pronoun *kita*, which serves as modifier and possessor. The construction *kita kepala pusing* then expresses the meaning 'my dizzy head'. Formally, there is no difference between the two structures. The subject of example (90) is the Y *pe* X construction *semen pe barat* 'the weight of cement', while the predicate is expressed by *ampa-ampa pulu kilo* 'approximately forty kilograms', a head-final construction, consisting of the head *kilo* 'kilogram', modified by the preceding quantity *ampa-ampa puluh* 'forty', and describes the weight of the subject. In example (91) the subject is *de pe kaki* 'his feet' and the predicate is *sake* 'painful', referring to the state of affairs of the subject. An alternative analysis of this structure could be head-modifier, in which the possessive construction *de pe kaki* 'his feet' is the head, modified by the quality word *sake* 'painful', resulting in a construction expressing the meaning 'his painful feet'. In this example, there are no formal features that could distinguish between the two structures. In order to explicitly indicate how the structure should be interpreted, the speaker may use certain items, for instance aspect markers, to enforce a clausal interpretation. These markers are predicate operators and determine a clausal interpretation. In example (92) *su* occurs, which expresses a completive meaning and also determines a clausal interpretation. The subject in this example is *de pe rambu* 'her hair', and is followed by the predicate *su tabongkar* 'tangled', referring to the state of the subject and expressing the meaning 'her hair was tangled'.

(89)   kita   bilang: "ih,   [kita]ₛ   **[kapala   pusing]**ₚ."
         1SG   say   EXCL   1SG   head   dizzy

         I say: "phew, I'm dizzy."

(90)   […]   baru   [semen   pe   barat]ₛ
                just   cement   POSS   heavy

         moreover, the weight of each sack of cement is

[**ampa-ampa pulu kilo**]_P, to?
PL-four   tens   kilogram QT

about forty kilos, right?

(91) [de pe   kaki]_S [**sake**]_P.
      3SG POSS leg   painful

his feet hurt.

(92) [de pe   rambu]_S [**su   ta-bongkar**]_P.
      3SG POSS hair   COMP INV-take.apart

her hair was tangled.

Two examples are found in which the predicate consists of a *deng* construction, describing a person's outfit. In both cases, the expressions with *deng* denote the wearing of a uniform, but other combinations and meanings might be possible.

In example (93) the speaker describes a woman he met at the market. The predicate in this example consists of *deng pakeang ini* '(lit.) with clothes this'. The speaker's *ini* 'this' serves as a filler, a substitute word for an expression he has forgotten or cannot recall, and then he resumes with the word he was possibly looking for previously, namely, *guru* 'teacher'. The expression he wants is *pakeang guru* 'teacher's uniform'. The person who wears the teacher uniform is expressed in *maitua* '(lit.) old woman', which precedes the predicate and serves as subject. In example (99) the speaker asks himself how it feels to be hit by a police officer, a soldier, or another person in uniform. The predicate consists of *dinas* 'agency' preceded by *deng* 'with', resulting in the construction *deng dinas*, referring to wearing of a uniform related to the government, for instance the uniform of civil servants, the army, or the police, and expressing the meaning '(wear a) uniform'. The predicate is preceded by *dong* 'third person plural' which serves as subject, and refers to the wearer of the uniform.

(93) [maitua]_S [**deng pakeang ini**... **guru**]_P to?
      old.woman   with   clothes   this   teacher   QT

she was wearing a whatchamacallit… a teacher's uniform, right?

(94) apalagi   [dong]_S [**deng   dinas**]_P [...]
      moreover   3PL   with   agency

moreover when they wear a uniform […]

7.3.1.2 Predicate expressing location

A predicate may express the location of the subject. Example (95) describes the location of the thieves when they were caught stealing mangoes from a mango tree. In the three clauses, the subjects are expressed by *Anwar* (personal name) and the first

person singular *kita*, while the predicates are expressed by *atas* 'top', *ujung* 'tip', and *tenga* 'middle', all preceded by *di* 'in, at' to express location. Example (96) is taken from a description of two small islands. The predicate is *situ* 'there' while the subject consists of *dong tampa ambe-ambe kayu 'their (fire) wood taking place'*. Note that the subject is expressed by a head-final possessive YX construction of which the possessor is *dong* 'third person plural' and the possessum is expressed by *tampa ambe-ambe kayu* '(fire) wood taken place' or 'the place where fire wood is taken'. Example (97) consists of two clauses of which the predicates are head-modifier constructions with *kalas* 'class' serving as head, modified by *tiga* 'three' and *lima* 'five' respectively. The predicates in this example express position or location, namely the grade in elementary school of the subjects *Aten* 'Aten' and *kita* 'first person singular'. Example (98) is taken from a story in which a person gets a bag with stolen mangoes from a mango tree by pretending that he is one of the thieves who has left his T-shirt in the tree. When he comes down from the tree he is asked where his T-shirt is, because he did not carry it down with him. In example (98) the position or location of the subject *kos* 'T-shirt' is questioned and *mana* 'where' serves as predicate. In a different context, when *mana* is interpreted as modifier of the head *kos* 'T-shirt', it expresses the meaning 'which T-shirt?', questioning choice, that is, one of a number of referents.

(95)   jadi,   kita... Anwar **di   atas**, Anwar **di   ujung**,
         become   1SG   Anwar in   top   Anwar in   tip
         so, I... Anwar was on top, Anwar was at the top,

         kita   **di   tenga**.
         1SG   in   middle
         I was in the middle.

(96)   [dong   tampa   ambe-ambe   kayu]ₛ   [**situ**]ₚ.
         3PL   place   RED-take   wood   there
         over there it's their place to get wood.

(97)   [Aten]ₛ   [**kalas   tiga**]ₚ,   [kita]ₛ   [**kalas   lima**]ₚ.
         Aten   class   three   1SG   class   five
         when Aten was in the third grade, I was in the fifth grade.

(98)   "eh,   [kos]ₛ   [**mana**]ₚ?"
         EXCL   T-shirt   where
         "hey, where is your T-shirt?"

7.3.1.3 *Predicate expressing movement*
The movements in the following predicates may be expressed by a movement word such as *kaluar* 'go out', *datang* 'come', *pigi* 'go', etc. as well as constructions con-

sisting of *dari* 'from' and *ka* 'to', which refer to the direction of a movement, followed by a word expressing location. Only a few examples are given here. In example (99) the speaker tells how his friend invites him to talk in the room. The predicate in this example is *masong* 'enter', which is followed by *dalang* 'inside', referring to a location, namely a bedroom. The predicate of example (100) consists of *dari* followed by *mana* 'where', resulting in the construction *dari mana* 'from where'. *Dari* indicates a direction away from the location, while *mana* questions the location. The entity of which the location is questioned is expressed in the subject *ngoni* 'second person', which precedes the predicate, resulting in the structure [*ngoni*] [*dari mana*]. According to the speaker of example (101) police officers are afraid of marines. When they pass by, police officers step aside. The subject of the predicate *bapinggir* 'go aside' is understood from the context and is mentioned previously, namely *polisi* 'police'. The *ba*-prefix of *bapinggir* may express various meanings when *pinggir* is interpreted as a thing word, including a possessive meaning 'with sides', but within this situation, a procedural meaning seems to work better. *Bapinggir* reflects the meaning 'go to the side' or 'step aside'. In example (102) the speaker explains how he tries to repair a lamp in the room. He is standing on a ladder that suddenly starts to move. The predicate in this example is *talucur* and denotes an involuntary movement, expressing the meaning 'involuntarily slip', which is performed by the subject *tangga* 'ladder'. The same construction could be interpreted as consisting of *tangga* as head of the construction, modified by *talucur* 'slipping', expressing the meaning 'slipping ladder'. There are no overtly expressed features indicating which interpretation is most appropriate.

(99) "e,   [tong]$_S$ **[masong   dalang]**$_P$, ba-carita dalang."
      EXCL   1PL   enter   inside   DO-story   inside
      "hey, let's go inside and chat inside."

(100) "[ngoni]$_S$ **[dari   mana]**$_P$?"
       2   from   where
       "where do you come from?"

(101) polisi   tako,   **[ba-pinggir]**$_P$,   dong   kaluar.
       police   afraid   PROC-side   3PL   go.out
       the police were afraid, stepped aside and they could leave.

(102) kita,   "eh,   eh,   [tangga]$_S$ **[ta-lucur]**$_P$."
       1SG   EXCL   EXCL   ladder   INV-slip
       I said, "hey, hey, the ladder is slipping."

7.3.1.4 *Predicate expressing quality*

A predicate may denote a characteristic, property, or state of affairs of the subject. The structure of these subject-predicate constructions looks similar to head-modifier

constructions discussed in § 4.2.10, when the first element expresses a thing and is followed by the second element expressing quality. The context and the situation determine how the constructions are best interpreted. Some circumstances may facilitate the interpretation. When the first element is a personal pronoun which is followed by a quality word, the latter often serves as predicate, since pronouns do not seem to become heads of constructions with quality words as modifiers. A possessive interpretation in which the quality word serves as head and expresses the possessum with a preceding modifier expressing the possessor does not seem to work either. In cases where pronouns occur as first element, a subject-predicate interpretation may come first to mind.

The presence of certain elements such as the proximal *ini* 'this', distal *itu* 'that', or their shortened forms *ni* or *tu* may be helpful in determining the structure. When they follow quality words and close off the construction, the quality words serve as modifiers and participate in a larger constituent. When the proximal or distal precedes quality words and indicates the border between constituents, the quality words are distinct constituents in their own right, and may serve as predicates. The presence of predicate operators may enforce a subject-predicate interpretation.

In example (103) the speaker tells how he is impressed by the beauty of a female doctor. In her presence he pretends to be strong, but when she leaves, he shows his tiredness. He then continues with the exclamative expression in example (103). In this example *manis* 'pretty' is interpreted as predicate while the entity referring to the bearer of the property is the subject *dokter* 'doctor', which precedes the predicate. There are no overtly expressed elements that may help to determine whether the property word serves as modifier or as a predicate. In example (104) *sadap* 'delicious' serves as predicate and describes the property of the subject *kofi ini* 'this coffee' which precedes the predicate. In this case *ini* 'this' indicates the border between the two constituents and supports an analysis of *sadap* 'delicious' as a constituent in its own right, serving as predicate. Example (105) tells about the composition of an alcoholic drink. The subject in this example, *de* 'third person singular', refers to the drink and serves as the bearer of the quality expressed in the predicate *baasam* 'slightly sour, sourish'. The presence of the pronoun *de* makes a subject-predicate interpretation come first to mind. The predicate in example (106) consists of *tabala* 'split' and the entity which is in this state is expressed by the Y *pe* X construction, *parau pe muka* 'the front of the boat'. The presence of the predicate operator *su*, expressing completion, determines that the structure is best interpreted as subject-predicate, where the predicate describes the state of the subject.

(103)   aduh,   [dokter]_S   [**manis**]_P.
        EXCL   doctor   pretty

        wow, the doctor is so pretty.

(104)   ck,   [kofi   ini]_S   [**sadap**]_P.
        tut   coffee this   delicious

        tut, this coffee is delicious.

(105)   dong   campur deng   aer   ka   apa,
             3PL   mix   and   water or   what
             maybe they mixed it with water,

             kong   [de]_S   [**ba-asam**]_P.
             CONJ   3SG   PROC-sour
             therefore it's a bit sour.

(106)   [parau   pe   muka]_S   [**su   ta-bala**]_P.
             boat   POSS   front   COMP   INV-split
             the front of the boat was split.

7.3.1.5 *Predicate expresses action*

A predicate may consist of a word or a construction denoting an action or activity. The predicate in example (107) is expressed by the action word *marontak* 'struggle (to get free)' and is preceded by *ular* 'snake', which serves as the agent of the action. In example (108) the speaker explains how a ceiling was made of plywood. The predicate consists of a number of elements, including *kase bengkok* 'make bent', which refers to the action, *itu triplek* 'the plywood', which refers to the patient that undergoes the action, *bagini* 'like this', referring to the way the action was performed. The second clause of the sentence consists of *kase bapuru* 'make something have a stomach', which means that the plywood was given a round shape, and *pa dia* 'to him/her/it', referring to the patient that undergoes the action. The predicate in example (109) is *pertandingan makang pupeda* 'sago porridge eating competition', consisting of the thing word *pertandingan* 'competition', serving as head and modified by *makang pupeda* 'eat sago porridge', expressing an activity. The function as predicate provides this construction with a verbal meaning. The subject is the agent of the activity and may refer to the performer of the activity, namely a participant in the competition or the organizer of the event, depending on the context and situation.

(107)   kong   [ular]_S   [**marontak**]_P,   […]
             CONJ   snake   struggle
             and the snake struggled to get loose, […]

(108)   [dong]_S   [[**kase   bengkok**]_{ACT}   [**itu   triplek**]_{PAT}   [**bagini**]]_P,
             3PL   CAUS   bent   that   plywood   like.this
             they bent the plywood like this,

             [[**kase   ba-puru**]_{ACT}   [**pa   dia**]_{PAT}]_P...
             CAUS   POSS-stomach   to   3SG
             made it rounded…

(109)　　　　[tong]_S　**[pertandingan　makang　pupeda]**_P,　　mari.
　　　　　　　　1PL　　　competition　　eat　　　sago.porridge　HORT
　　　　　　　　let's have a sago porridge eating competition.

7.3.2 Predicate: the structure

The following paragraphs describe the structure of predicates expressing an action or activity and the constructions occurring within the predicate that refer to participants involved in the activity, as well as to constructions providing additional information concerning time, place, and manner of the activity or event.

7.3.2.1 *Predicate: Verb + Noun*

Predicates may be followed by a thing word or construction which may have a variety of referents, depending on the meaning of the activity expressed in the predicate. The activity may be followed by a construction expressing the theme that is affected by the activity or the location the activity is directed towards. The construction may refer to the stimulus that brings about the emotion when an emotion or cognition is expressed in the predicate. The predicate in these examples is printed in **bold**.

　The predicate in example (110) *pukul* 'hit' is followed by *testa* 'forehead', which serves as the patient, the thing that is affected by the action expressed in the action word. The action in example (111) is expressed by *manakal* 'harm', preceded by the negator *tara*, resulting in *tara manakal* 'not harm'. It is followed by *orang* 'person', which serves as patient, the undergoer of action expressed in the activity word. In example (112) *bajual* 'sell' is followed by *ikang garam* 'salted fish', serving as the theme that is affected by the activity. The action word in example (113), *lempar* 'throw', is followed by *ruma* 'house', which refers to the goal to which the action is directed. In example (114) a number of predicates occur. In the first part *dari Tobelo* 'from Tobelo' serves as predicate and expresses a movement from a location Tobelo, the name of a place on the island of Halmahera. This is followed by *pi Ternate*, which consists of a movement word *pi* 'go', followed by the location or goal to where the movement is directed, *Ternate*. The last part consists of *kaspulang spit*, which consists of the activity *kaspulang*, expressing a causative meaning 'cause something to go home/return', followed by *spit*, which serves as the theme that is affected by the action in the predicate. Example (115) is taken from a story about a crocodile. In this example *ada* 'be present' is preceded and followed by a thing construction, in which context it often expresses a possessive meaning. The construction preceding *ada* refers to the possessor, while the construction following *ada*, in this example *lida* 'tongue', refers to the item that is possessed. Example (116) is taken from a story about the fate of the speaker's fingers. Some were hit by something someone threw at him, while other fingers were hurt by lava stones. The activity in example (116) is expressed by the construction *su dapa tindis* '(lit.) have been pressed' and is followed by *batu angos* 'lava stones'. In this example *dapa* is followed by an activity word *tindis* 'press' and indicates a "passive" reading. The subject *yang ini* 'this one' refers to the speaker's fingers and serves as patient or undergoer of the action, while *batu angos* refers to the agent of the action *tindis* 'press'. An alternative interpretation of *dapa* is that it may express ability, so that

dapa tindis expresses 'be able to press' or 'can press'. This reading does not seem to be appropriate in the context of this example. The predicate in example (117) *tako* 'afraid', refers to an emotion, and is followed by *parampuang* 'woman', which refers to the stimulus that brings about the emotion. It is preceded by *paling* 'very' to express intensity and the degree of the emotion. The subject *kita* 'first person singular' refers to the experiencer of the emotion. For some speakers, it may be possible that the order of the experiencer and the stimulus is reversed: the stimulus precedes the emotion word while the experiencer follows it. In the context of the example within which the speaker talks about his attitude towards women, an interpretation of *kita* as the experiencer seems to be the most appropriate.

The subject in examples (110)–(114) serves as the agent of the action expressed in the predicate. The subject in example (115) *dia* 'third person singular' refers to the possessor. The subject of example (116) is the undergoer of the action, while in example (117) the subject refers to the experiencer of the emotion expressed in the predicate.

(110) [kita]_AGT [**pukul**]_ACT [**testa**]_PAT ngana.
       1SG   hit   forehead   2SG
       I hit my forehead.

(111) "cuma [de]_AGT [**tar   manakal**]_ACT [orang]_PAT."
       only   3SG   NEG be.naughty   person
       "but it doesn't harm humans."

(112) [kita]_AGT [**ba-jual**]_ACT [**ikang   garam**]_THEME.
       1SG   DUR-sell   fish   salt
       I was selling salted fish.

(113) [kita]_AGT [**lempar**]_ACT [**ruma**]_GOAL.
       1SG   throw   house
       I threw stones at the house.

(114) "cih,   [tong]_ENT [**dari** [**Tobelo**]_SOURCE]_ACT,
       EXCL   1PL   from   Tobelo
       "ah, we're from Tobelo

       [**pi**]_ACT [**Ternate**]_LOC, [**kas-pulang**]_ACT [**spit**]_THEME."
       go   Ternate   CAUS-go.home   speedboat
       going to Ternate to return a speedboat."

(115)   kalo   [dia]_{POSSER}   [**ada**]_{POSS}   [**lida**]_{POSSED},   dia   rasa   sadap,
          when   3SG   be.present   tongue   3SG   taste   delicious
          if it had a tongue and it sensed something delicious,

          abis   ngoni.
          finished   2
          then you'd be finished.

(116)   [yang   ini]_{PAT}   [**su   dapa   tindis**]_{ACT}   [**batu   angos.**]_{AGT}
          REL   this   COMP   get   press   stone   burned
          this one was squashed by lava stones.

(117)   [kita]_{EXP}   [**paling**]   [**tako**]_{EMOTION}   [**parampuang**]_{STIM}.
          1SG   very   afraid   woman
          I was very afraid of women.

In § 6.3.4 various functions of *pa* have been described, including its function as indicator of the undergoer of an action, the goal or location where an action is directed towards, as well as indicating the stimulus that brings about an emotion. The predicates in the following examples are followed by constructions with *pa*, and refer to these kinds of participants.

In example (118) *pikul* 'carry' is followed by *pa kita*, which consists of *pa* 'to' and *kita* 'first person singular', and expresses the undergoer or theme that is affected by the activity expressed in the action *pikul* 'carry'. The subject precedes the activity word and is expressed by the Y *pe* X construction *kita pe tamang* 'my friend' and refers to the agent or performer of the action. Example (119) concerns movement, expressed by a construction in which the negator *tara* 'not' is followed by the motion word *pi* 'go'. The subject and agent is *kita* 'first person singular', while the goal of the movement refers to a human entity, expressed in *pa Pak mantri* 'to the medical assistant', to which the action is (not) directed. In example (120) *tako* 'afraid' expresses a state of mind, while the subject *polisi* 'police' refers to the experiencer of this state. It is followed by *pa dorang*, consisting of *pa* 'to, which serves to indicate that what follows, *dorang* 'third person plural', expresses the stimulus that brings about the emotion the experiencer feels. Some speakers could interpret *dorang* as the experiencer when *pa* would be absent,

(118)   [kita   pe   tamang]_{AGT}   [**pikul**]_{ACT}   [**pa   kita**]_{THEME}.
          1SG   POSS   friend   carry   to   1SG
          my friend carried me.

(119)   [...]   [kita]_{AGT}   **[tara   pi]**_{ACT}   **[pa   Pak   mantri]**_{GOAL}.
          1SG   NEG   go   to   EPIT   medical.assistant

[...] I didn't go to the medical assistant.

(120)   [polisi]_{EXP}   me   **[tako]**_{ACT}   **[pa   dorang]**_{STIM}.
          police   PART   afraid   to   3PL

even the police were afraid of them.

The predicates in the following examples contain *deng*-constructions where various uses are described § 6.2.1, including *deng* serving as agent 'who', associate 'with whom', and instrument 'with which' an action is performed. A few examples are presented here.

In example (121) the speaker talks about the police in the society and the fact that in some places the police play only a marginal role. The action in this example is expressed by *dapa kuti* 'be flicked', within which *dapa* indicates that the action is undergone and a passive reading is applicable. The subject *polisi* 'police' then refers to the patient who undergoes the action, while *deng marinir* 'by a marine' refers to the agent of the action. The presence of *dapa* in the predicate and the passive reading it expresses, facilitates an interpretation of *deng marinir* as agent. *Talinga* serves as theme that is affected by the action and immediately follows the action. In example (122) the speaker talks about a woman who has a lot of friends. The predicate in this example consists of *batamang* 'have friends', and expresses reciprocity. It is followed by *deng dia* 'with him', which then refers to the associate with whom the agent performs the action, that is, with whom the agent has established a friendly relationship. The agent is expressed in the subject *banya orang* 'a lot of people'. Note that this clause serves as predicate in a subject-predicate construction within which *Lin itu* 'that Lin' is the subject. *Itu* indicates the border between this subject and the predicate. The predicate in the second part of example (123) is *lempar* 'throw'. It is followed by *deng batu* 'with a stone' or 'with stones', referring to the instrument or implement with which the action is performed. The subject *nene* refers to the agent and performer of the action. The fact that *deng batu* has a inanimate referent facilitates the interpretation. In a different context and when the referent is human it is possible to interpret the construction as referring to an agent or as associate.

(121)   [polisi]_{PAT}   **[dapa   kuti]**_{ACT}   **[talinga]**_{LOC}   **[deng   marinir]**_{AGT}.
          police   get   flick   ear   with   marine

the policeman's ears were flicked by a marine.

(122)   cuma   Lin   itu   [yang   orang   banya]_S
          only   Lin   that   REL   person   many

only Lin had many

    [**ba-tamang**]_{ACT}   [**deng**   **dia**]_{ASS}.
    POSS-friend   with   3SG
    friends.

(123)   nene   dengar,   [nene]_{AGT}
       grandmother   hear   grandmother
       if she hears it, she'll

    [**lempar**]_{ACT}   [**deng**   **batu**]_{INSTR}.
    throw   with   stone
    throw stones at you.

7.3.2.2 *Predicate: Verb + Noun + Noun*

Predicates may express transaction, such as *kase* 'give' and *bayar* 'pay', and may be followed by constructions that refer to the theme, namely the entity that is transferred, as well as a constituent that refers to the goal of the action, for instance the person to whom the theme is transferred. Constructions in such predicates often occur in a certain order: the activity is immediately followed by the goal, which is then followed by the theme, resulting in the structure: [   ]_{ACTION} [   ]_{GOAL} [   ]_{THEME}.

 Some examples with this structure are presented here. The activity in example (124) is *bayar* 'pay' and is immediately followed by *kita* 'first person singular', which serves as the goal, the person to whom the action is directed. This is followed by *barapa juta* 'several million (rupiah)', which refers to the theme, the money that is transferred by the action. The speaker in example (125) is saying that his girlfriend probably regrets their relationship, because she has given him a lot of money during that time. In the example, the speaker expresses what her thoughts could be. The predicate in the second clause of the example consists of *kase* 'give'. It is followed by *dia* 'third person singular', which refers to the person to whom the action is directed, namely the goal of the action. *Doi* 'money' refers to the theme, the money that is transferred, and follows the goal. In this example, *jang* precedes the predicate to indicate a vetative meaning.

(124)   biar   [ngoni]_{AGT}   [**bayar**]_{ACT}   [**kita**]_{GOAL}
       although   2   pay   1SG
       even if you paid me several million (rupiah),

    [**barapa**   **juta**]_{THEME}   me   kita   tara   mau.
    how.much   million   PART   1SG   NEG   want
    I wouldn't want to do that.

(125)   "[…]   tau   la   jang   [**kase**]_{ACT}   [**dia**]_{GOAL}   [**doi**]_{THEME}.".
          know   CONJ   don't   give   3SG   money
       "[…] if I had known it before, I wouldn't have given him money".

The constituents participating in the predicate may occur in a different order, within which the verb is immediately followed by the theme, which is followed by the goal. In this type of construction, the goal is indicated by *pa*, an element that indicates location, and depending on the context and situation, the location may refer to the goal of an action, the source, or some other location, related to the action. The predicate has the following structure: [ ]$_{ACTION}$ [ ]$_{THEME}$ [ ]$_{GOAL}$.

In example (126) *kase* 'give' is immediately followed by the theme *apa* 'what', referring to the thing that is transferred by the action. This is followed by the goal to whom the action is directed, *pa ngoni* 'to you'. The speaker of example (127) says that when he was small, still in primary school, he asked his mother for some money, and when she did not give it, he threw stones at the house. In this example, *minta* 'ask for' is immediately followed by *doi* 'money', the theme, which is followed by the construction *pa tong Ma* 'to our mother', consisting of *pa* and the possessive construction *tong Ma* 'our mother' and refers to the goal, the person to whom the request is directed. The performer of *minta* 'ask for' is not overtly expressed, but from the context it is understood that it refers to storyteller.

(126) [kita]$_{AGT}$ [**mu kase**]$_{ACT}$ [**apa**]$_{THEME}$ [**pa ngoni**]$_{GOAL}$, e?
      1SG   want give   what   to   2   EXCL
      what shall I give you?

(127) [**minta**]$_{ACT}$ [**doi**]$_{THEME}$ [**pa tong Ma**]$_{GOAL}$
      ask.for   money   to   1PL   mother
      I asked my mother for some money

      kong   tong   Ma   tara   kase.
      CONJ   1PL   mother   NEG   give.
      and she didn't give me any.

In the following examples, the action word is followed by a theme and a *pa*-construction referring to some location. Example (128) is taken from a story in which the speaker tells of a place where a dangerous crocodile lives. He and his friends decide not to sleep on the shore and he apologizes to the crocodile, telling it that he does not want to die yet. He does not want to become the crocodile's meal. The predicate in this example consists of *minta* 'ask for', which is followed by *maaf* 'pardon', the theme that is affected by the action, and refers to what the agent asks for. The construction *pa buaya* 'to the crocodile' refers to the source from whom the agent asks for pardon. The preposition *pa* is generally used to refer to a human location (see § 6.3.4) and indicates that the speaker has assigned the crocodile with human properties. Example (129) is taken from a story about masters in martial arts and how they are trained to restrain themselves. Others, who only want to intimidate and do not master any fighting skills, behave the opposite way, according to the speaker, and only look for trouble. In this example, where the speaker talks about the last group, the predicate consists of *cari* 'search' and is followed by *hal* 'matter',

which refers to the theme, while the construction *pa torang* follows the theme and refers to the location where the action is performed.

(128)   eh,   [kita]_{AGT}   **[minta]**_{ACT}   **[maaf]**_{THEME}   [pa   buaya]_{SOURCE}.
           EXCL   1SG   ask.for   pardon   to   crocodile

           hey, I apologized to the crocodile. (Lit. 'hey, I asked for pardon from the crocodile')

(129)   [dong]_{AGT}   mala   **[cari]**_{ACT}   **[hal]**_{THEME}   [pa   torang]_{LOC}
           3PL   even   search   matter   to   1PL

           they would even look for trouble with us.

The context and the situation in which an utterance appears determines how constituents may be interpreted. The situation in the story from which example (130) is taken is that a soldier has borrowed a wok. When the soldier returns the wok to the owner, the owner asks him if he wants to borrow it again, using the construction *pinjang lagi* 'borrow again'. From the context and the situation, all participants in the action can be understood: the person who borrows the wok, the source who provides the wok, as well as the wok that is borrowed. In this example *lagi* 'again' indicates a repetition of a previous event or action and *pinjang* 'borrow' expresses the whole event of borrowing including the participants and objects involved in the event.

(130)   "**[pinjang]**_{ACT}   **[lagi]**?"
           borrow   again

           do you want to borrow it again?

7.3.2.3 *Predicate: Modal Verb + Verb*

A predicate may contain two successive verbs, of which the first expresses modality, such as *musi* 'must', *bisa* 'can', *inging* 'want, wish', *suka* 'like', and *bole* 'may', and is followed by an expression denoting action or activity. A few examples of modal verbs followed by another verb are described here. This type of construction may be analyzed as serial verb constructions.

   The word *musi* 'must' is used to express necessity. Example (131) is taken from a story about how the speaker, who is ill and weak, is carried by his friend out of the forest. They are only the two of them and they follow the river to avoid getting lost. In example (130) *musi* 'must' is used to express the desirability as well as the strong necessity to perform the action *iko* 'follow', which expresses a movement. The word *kali* expresses location and refers to the direction of the movement, while *trus* 'continue' indicates the continuity of the activity. In example (132) *musi* is used to express that under the circumstances described, namely when the tide is in, it is almost certain that the crocodile is present. In this situation, *musi* expresses an aspect of possibility and certainty in addition to necessity.

(131)   "Caken, ini   hari   tong   dua
        Caken   this   day   1PL   two
        "Caken, today the two of us

        [musi iko]_P   **[kali]**_{LOC}   **[trus]**."
        must   follow   river   continue
        have to follow the river continuously."

(132)   pokonya, kalo   aer   basar, dong   bilang,
        CONCL   when   water   big   3PL   say
        the point is that when the tide is in, they said,

        dia   **[musi   ada]**_P.
        3SG   must   be.present
        it must be there.

When *bisa* is followed by an activity word, it expresses ability. The speaker of ex-
ample (133) says that he was stung by bees while he was holding one jerry can of
cooking oil and one of petroleum. Luckily, the jerry cans fell in the sand, otherwise
they would have broken and there would be no way to prepare food or make a fire.
Bisa in this example expresses ability to do something and is followed by *bagoreng*
'fry' and *babakar* 'burn'. Note that predicate operators, including the negator *tara*,
precede the modal verb, and occupy the left-most position. Example (134) is taken
from a story about stealing mangoes from a tree. The example describes the
speaker's thoughts while he is in the tree and Hamja is throwing stones at him, to
chase him out of the tree. He wonders what he can do to escape. *Bisa* is followed by
lolos 'slip off' and expresses ability as well as the possibility of getting away from
the dire situation.

(133)   jerigen   pica   tong   **[tara   bisa   ba-goreng]**_P
        jerry can   broken 1PL   NEG   can   DUR-fry
        the jerry cans would have broken and we wouldn't be able to fry

        [tara   bisa   ba-bakar]_P.
        NEG   can   DUR-burn
        or grill anything.

(134)   […] "ini   biking   bagimana   supaya   kita   **[bisa   lolos]**_P."
             this   make   how   so.that 1SG   can   slip.off
        "what can I do to escape?"

Inging is used to express desirability. In example (135) the speaker talks about his
attitude towards women, and expresses that he does not want to get married yet. In

this example, *inging* 'wish, desire' expresses desirability and is followed by the activity word *kaweng* 'marry', referring to the activity the agent does (not yet) want to perform. The predicate is preceded by *bolong* 'not yet', the aspect marker to indicate non-completiveness, and implies that at some point in time the activity or state may be completed or reached. In example (136) *inging* is followed by *hidup* 'live' and expresses the speaker's desire to live. This construction is preceded by *masi* to express continuous aspect. Note that aspect markers such as the non-completive marker *bolong* 'not yet' and the continuous marker *masi* 'still' as well as negators, always precede the modal verb.

(135)   kita   [**bolong   inging   kaweng**]_P.
          1SG   not.yet   wish   marry
          I don't want to get married yet.

(136)   he,   [**masi   inging   hidup**]_P,   umur   masi   panjang,   [...]
          EXCL   still   wish   live   age   still   long
          hey, you still want to live, have a long life ahead [...]

When *suka* is followed by a thing word, for example *de suka ular* 'he likes snakes', the meaning 'like' occurs, but when *suka* is followed by an activity it may refer to 'like' as well as express that an action or activity is performed regularly or habitually. The context and the situation determines which interpretation is most appropriate.

   In example (137) *suka* 'like' is used in combination with *minum kofi* 'drink coffee'. When *minum kofi* is interpreted as a noun 'the drinking of coffee' serving as the theme, *suka* receives the meaning of 'like', but when *kofi* is considered to be the theme, *suka* may either mean 'like' or express habituality of the action. This utterance occurs after the person who presented him the coffee told him not to comment if he does not like the taste of the coffee she made for him. In this situation, an interpretation of *suka* to mean 'like' may come first to mind. In example (138) the speaker says how his friends teased him when he did not move to a higher grade. In the context of the example, it is not exactly clear how *suka* has to be interpreted. It may express the meaning 'like', in which case the example expresses that *Wan* (personal name) likes to tease people, but it may also express a habitual meaning aspect 'used to', to express that Wan used to tease others. A combination of the two meanings: that Wan used to tease because he likes to do it may also be possible. In example (139) *suka* is combined with *bataria* 'scream'. In the conversation, the speaker talks about expressions used as exclamations. An interpretation of *suka* as expressing habituality is appropriate in this situation, and this reading is supported by *biasa* 'common', which appears previously in the context.

(137)   kita   [**tar   suka**]_P   [**minum   kofi**]_THEME   kong
          1SG   NEG   like   drink   coffee   CONJ
          I don't like to drink the kind of coffee that

de	pe	ampas	laeng	tinggalang	laeng	tarada.
3SG	POSS	dreg	other	sink	other	NEG

some of the dregs sink and some don't.

(138) | Wan | dara | de | **[suka** | **ba-terek]**P, |
|----|----|----|----|----|
| TRU-Ridwan | land | 3SG | like | DUR-tease |

Fadin	pe	kaka	ni.
Fadin	POSS	older.sibling	this

Wan there, Fadin's brother, he likes to tease.

(139) | di | sini, | biasa, | tandang | batu | bagitu |
|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| in | here | common | kick | stone | like.that |

here it's common that when we hit a stone

tong	**[suka**	**bataria]**P	"aduh	mama".
1PL	like	scream	EXCL	mother

we scream "ouch, mother".

Bole expresses possibility and may indicate a permissive meaning aspect as well. Example (140) tells of the close relationship between two persons; it is as if they are joined together and form a unity. In this example, *bole* is followed by *lapas* 'let loose', to express the possibility to let loose, which is preceded by the negator *tara* to express the opposite meaning 'cannot let loose'. In this situation, *bole* may indicate a permittive meaning as well. Example (141) refers to the production of shoes for a giant spirit and expresses that seven factories would be needed to produce shoes of such enormous size. In this example, *bole* expresses possibility as well as ability. It is followed by the activity word *biking* 'make, produce', while *de pe spato* 'his shoes' refers to the theme, i.e. the thing that is produced or created.

(140) | dia | **[tara** | **bole** | **lapas]**P | **[dari** | **Caken]**LOC. |
|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| 3SG | NEG | may | let.loose | from | Caken |

he can't separate from Caken.

(141) | pabrik | tuju | baru | dong | **[bole** | **biking]**P |
|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| factory | seven | then | 3PL | may | make |

seven factories, and only then could they make

[de	**pe**	**spato]**THEME
3SG	POSS	shoe

its shoes.

7.3.2.4 Predicate: Verb + Manner

The way or manner an action is performed can be expressed in various ways, for example both reduplicated quality words and activity words may serve to express manner when they immediately follow an activity. A few examples are presented here. The predicate in example (142) consists of the action word *lari* 'run' which is preceded by *langsung* 'immediately', indicating the temporal background of the motion and followed by *fol-fol* 'at full speed', a reduplicated construction of *fol* 'full', expressing the way it is performed. Example (143) is taken from a story about the destruction of a bee hive. This was done at night when the bees were sleeping. The speaker describes the way the bees slept by using *asik-asik* 'very busy', expressing the manner and intensity of their activity. In example (144) the speaker describes the way he put the pictures in the room where he stayed, namely *rata-rata*, a reduplicated form of *rata* 'straight', meaning 'straight in a line', followed by *bagini* 'like this'. The situation of example (145) is that the speaker is paddling seawards to a small island and sees a whale. Luckily, the whale moves away from him and he continues to paddle seawards as quickly as he can. The expression *capat-capat* is used to express the fast way the agent paddles to the island. The construction *panggayung sampe lao* is interpreted as consisting of an activity word *panggayung* 'to paddle' followed by the location, namely the goal or destination of the movement, *sampe lao* 'until (a place located towards the) sea'.

(142)   kita   [**langsung**]$_{TIME}$ [**lari**]$_{ACT}$ [**fol-fol**]$_{MANNER}$.
          1SG   immediately   run   INT-full
          I immediately ran away at full speed.

(143)   malang-malang   ofu   [**tidor**]$_{ACT}$ [**asik-asik**]$_{MANNER}$.
          RED-night   bee   sleep   INT-busy
          at night bees are sound asleep.

In the following examples, activity words express the manner in which an activity is performed. These words immediately follow the activity in the predicate.

   In example (144) *dudu* 'sit' is followed by *badekat* 'get close', resulting in *dudu badekat* 'sit close' and describes the way the person performs the activity, namely the persons sit in such a way that they are closer to the target. The actor of both activities is the subject *nene* 'grandmothers', while *pa dia* 'to him/her/it', refers to the location or place. The actor who performs the action expressed in *tidor bajejer bagini* in example (145) is understood from the context and is referred to by the expression *dong tiga* 'the three of them' in the first clause. The verb *tidor* 'sleep' is followed by *bajejer* 'line up' denoting the way the activity *tidor* is performed and is followed by *bagini* 'like this', expressing comparison. In example (146) the speaker talks about a wild crocodile and imagines what happens if someone suddenly stands in front of the crocodile. In the example, *badiri* 'stand' is immediately followed by *bakumangada* 'face each other', expressing the manner the activity is performed,

resulting in *badiri bakumangada* 'stand facing each other', describing a situation in which the person is standing face-to-face with the crocodile.

(144)   nene   **[dudu]**_{ACT}   **[ba-dekat]**_{MANNER}   **pa**   **kita**.

nene	[dudu]_{ACT}	[ba-dekat]_{MANNER}	pa	kita
grandmother	sit	PROC-near	to	1SG

the women were sitting close to me.

(145)

dong	tiga	bagini,	[tidor]_{ACT}	[bajejer]_{MANNER}	bagini.
3PL	three	like.this	sleep	line.up	like.this

they were like this, they were sleeping in a line.

(146)

ngana	[badiri]	[baku-mangada]_{MANNER}	dia,	ha...
2SG	stand	REC-face	3SG	EXCL

if you stood face-to-face to it…

7.3.2.5 Predicate: Verb + Clause

The predicate in the following examples contains a clause which may have various functions depending on the meaning of the activity word and the context and situation in which it occurs. In example (147) the perception word *lia* 'see' is followed by *balangang su ada* 'the wok was there', which refers to stimulus or the theme, namely the thing or event that is perceived by the subject *kita* 'first person singular', the experiencer. In example (148) the speaker says that he was asked to sleep at someone's house, while the family went away for some time. The communication verb *suru* 'order' is followed by *kita tidor* 'I sleep', describing the message, namely the order the subject received. In example (149) the speaker says that he once argued with a woman about whether his drink was coffee or not. His drink did not have any dregs and therefore he did not believe it was coffee, while she had given him instant coffee. In this example *bilang* 'say' is followed by *kita bodo* 'I am stupid', consisting of the subject *kita* 'first person singular', and the property word *bodo* 'stupid'. The clause refers to the theme, namely the message that the subject *de* 'third person singular' mentioned in the first clause has transferred by her words.

(147)

[…]	kong	kita	lia	[[balangang]_S	[su	ada]_{P.}]
	CONJ	1SG	see	wok	COMP	be.present

[…] and I saw that the wok was already there.

(148)

dong	suru	[[kita]_S	[tidor]_{P.}]
3PL	order	1SG	sleep

they let me sleep there.

(149)   de   bilang   [[**kita**]_S [**bodo**]_P],   ngana!
          3SG   say   1SG   stupid   2SG

she said that I was stupid!

7.4 Predicate operators

In this paragraph, a number of predicate operators are discussed, including negators and aspect markers. These operators function to indicate certain meaning aspects as well as serve a grammatical function by indicating that the construction in which they participate is best interpreted as predicate.

7.4.1 Negators

The two negators that are often used to negate predicates are *tara* 'not (present)' and *bukang* 'not'. The difference between these two is that *bukang* 'not' implies a contradiction 'not A, (but B)', while *tara* implies absolute absence 'not present'. *Bukang* as well as *tara* can be used to negate thing constructions, but in such contexts *tara* may mean 'not possess', while *bukang* negates the identity of the thing and implies an alternative.

7.4.1.1 *Negator* tara

The predicate in example (150) consists of *tidor* 'sleep, which is preceded by the negator *tara*, resulting in *tara tidor* 'not sleep'. The predicate in example (151) *sadiki* 'a little' refers to a small amount. It is preceded by the negator *tara*, resulting in *tara sadiki* 'not a little'. The subject of this example is the Y *pe* X construction *de pe sajara* 'the history', which refers to the entity of which the amount is described in the predicate. Example (152) is an expression used to say that something has no equal. The expression *tara dua* 'there are no two (of them)' consists of *dua* 'two', referring to an amount and the negator *tara*. The entity of which it is said that it has no (second) equivalent is expressed by the subject *kita pe mara ni* 'my anger'. The predicate in example (153) consists of *cewe* 'girl', preceded by *tara* 'not', resulting in *tara cewe* 'no girl(friend)'. This expression describes the state of the subject *kita* 'first person singular' and the meaning of *tara* as 'not possess' is applicable, resulting in *tara cewe* with the meaning 'do not have a girl(friend)'. Example (154) reflects the speaker's explanation about why he thought that the hot drink offered to him was tea. He used to drink his coffee with coffee dregs and was not familiar with instant coffee. The predicate consists of the negator *tara* and *ampas* 'dregs', resulting in *tara ampas* '(there are) no dregs'. From the situation it becomes clear that *ampas* refers to the coffee dregs.

(150)   kita   bilang,   "ngana   **tara**   **tidor**?".
          1SG   say   2SG   NEG   sleep

I asked, "aren't you going to sleep?".

(151)   de   pe   sajara   **tara**   **sadiki**.
              3SG   POSS history NEG   a.little

the stories he has are not just a few.

(152)   ih,   kita   pe   mara   ni   **tara**   **dua**.
              EXCL 1SG   POSS angry this NEG   two

gee, I was so angry. (Lit. 'my anger does not have an equivalent')

(153)   cek,   kita   **tara**   **cewe**.
              EXCL 1SG   NEG   girl

gee, I don't have a girlfriend.

(154)   me,   **tara**   **ampas**.
              PART NEG   dregs

it didn't have any dregs.

When the negator *tara* precedes *ada* 'be present' it may merge and becomes *tarada* 'not present'. Some speakers make a clear distinction between *tara ada* 'not be present' and *tarada*, while generally the two forms seems to be mutually interchangeable. *Tarada* may be used as the negative response to questions. In example (155) *tara* precedes *ada*, resulting in *tara ada* 'not present'. It is followed by the subject *aer* 'water', resulting in a predicate-subject construction *tara ada aer* 'there is no water'. Example (156) consists of two clauses. The first clause provides information about the size of the mice: *samua tikus kacili* 'all mice are small'. The predicate of the second clause is *tarada* 'not present', while the subject follows the predicate and consists of *yang basar* 'big ones', resulting in the predicate-subject construction *tarada yang basar* 'there are no big ones'. In example (157) the speaker asks what would happen if a famous soccer player kicked the ball. He gives two alternatives; there would be a *gol* 'goal' or there wouldn't, *tarada* 'not (present)'. The negative answer to this question would be *tarada* 'no'.

(155)   […] kolam   mandi-mandi cuma [**tara** **ada**]$_P$ [**aer**]$_S$.
                  pool   RED-bathe   only   NEG   exist   water

[…] a bathing pool, but there was no water.

(156)   samua   tikus   kacili   [**tarada**]$_P$ [**yang** **basar**]$_S$.
              all   mouse   small   NEG   REL   big

all mice are small, there are no big ones.

(157)   gol   ka   **tarada**?
            goal   or   NEG

would there be a goal or not?

The negator *tara* may be shortened to *tar*, which then immediately precedes the predicate and no other lexical material can intervene. It seems that this element is in the process of becoming a bound element *tar-* expressing negation. Example (158) is taken from a story about stealing mangoes. What the thieves did not know was that the owner's children were on guard while the owner was sleeping. The predicate in this example consists of *tau* 'know' which is preceded by *tar*, the shortened form of *tara*, resulting in *tar tau* 'not know'. Example (159) tells about a man who uses his gifts to heal people. It is told that he once first made a person sick and then got paid to heal him. The predicate in example (159) is *doi* 'money', which is preceded by the negator *tar*, resulting in *tar doi* 'not possess money'. Example (160) tells of a medical assistant, who was so pretty that many patients went to see her for medical care. In example (160), the predicate is *sadiki* 'a little', preceded by *tar*, resulting in *tar sadiki* 'not a little'. The entity of which is said that (the number) is not small is the subject that precedes the predicate, namely *orang basuntik* 'people getting vaccinations'.

(158)   Allah,   tong   **tar**   **tau**.
            Allah   1PL   NEG   know

o my God, we didn't know that.

(159)   paitua   carita   itu   paitua   **tar**   **doi**
            old.man   tell   that   old.man   NEG   money

he said that he didn't have any money

            sampe   paitua   nekat   biking.
            arrive   old.man   determined   make

so that he was determined to do it.

(160)   orang   ba-suntik   **tar**   **sadiki**.
            person   USE-inject   NEG   a.little

the number of people getting vaccinations is not small.

7.4.1.2 *Negator* bukang

Bukang is used as negator meaning 'not A, (but B)' and implies that the opposite or the alternative of the expressed is prominent. It is not obligatory to overtly express the opposite or alternative.

The speaker in example (161) tells how he was mistakenly regarded as a porter and how he explained that he was not. In the example, *ana-ana baangka* 'porter', is preceded by the negator *bukang*, resulting in *bukang ana-ana baangka* 'not a porter'. The scope of the negation is on *ana-an baangka* 'porter'. In example (162) the

speaker tells of a man with wounds and jokingly says that when the man is on his motorcycle flies follow him. In the example, *bukang* precedes the predicate *iko dia* 'follow him' to negate this and to imply that the alternative, namely *iko de pe luka* 'follow his wounds', is what the flies do. In example (163) the speaker talks about a snake in his garden. The example is his reply to the question about whether there really is a snake in the garden. In this example, *bukang* negates *di atas*, which refers to a location on the hill, while the alternative is expressed in *di bawa barangka* 'at the lower part, at the ditch'. In example (164) *bukang* is used to negate a clause. The speaker of this example talks about a boat that seems to move by itself and he continues to explain what the real cause is. The clause *dong panggayung* 'they paddle' is preceded by *bukang* to negate it. The alternative is expressed in *ikang kase lari dong parao* 'a fish takes away their boat'. The scope of the negation is on the people who paddle, because they did not move the boat; it was the fish that moved the boat.

(161)   saya   tara...   **bukang**   ana-ana   ba-angka."
            1SG   NEG   NEG   PL-child   DUR-lift.up
            I'm no..., I'm not a porter."

(162)   de   pe   lalar   iko   de   pe   luka,
            3SG   POSS   fly   follow   3SG   POSS   wound
            the flies are following his wounds,

            bukang   iko   dia.
            NEG   follow   3SG
            they are not following him.

(163)   ada,   tapi   **bukang**   di   atas,   di   bawa   barangka.
            be.present   but   NEG   in   top   in   bottom   ditch
            yes, there are, not up the hill, but down at the ditch.

(164)   padahal   **bukang**   dong   panggayung...
            whereas   NEG   3PL   paddle
            while they're not paddling...

            ikang   kase   lari   dong   parao,   ikang   basar.
            fish   give   run   3PL   boat   fish   big
            a fish is taking away their boat, a big fish.

7.4.2 Aspect markers

Aspect markers are items that may provide the temporal view of an action, event or process. In the following paragraphs, a few of these expressions are described: *ada* serves to express that an action, process, or event progressively continues, *mau* (and

its short form *mu*) serves to express that an action, process, or event is about to begin, *suda* (and its short form *su*) serves to express that an action, process, or event has been completed, *bolong* is the opposite of *suda* and serves to express that an action, process, or event has not yet been completed, and *masi* expresses that an action, process, or event started in the past continues to proceed at the moment of the utterance. These aspect markers often appear preceding predicates and they may also form an utterance in their own respect, for instance as an answer to a question. Some of the markers may express their lexical meaning, depending on the context and the situation in which they occur. When serving their grammatical functions, this meaning may be less prominent.

7.4.2.1 *Progressive marker* ada

When *ada* 'be present' is combined with a construction expressing an action, process, or a state, the result is a construction within which *ada* expresses a progressive meaning, indicating that an action, process, or a state (of affairs) is progressively taking place at a certain moment in time and will continue for some time. The period of time of the action, process, or state can be situated in the past.

In example (165) *ada* precedes the predicate *dengar* 'hear' and serves to express a progressive meaning, indicating that the experiencer was hearing a voice over a certain period of time. The constituent *de pe kalamareng malang tu* 'last night' expresses that the time of the event lies in the past. Example (166) tells of a woman who the speaker thinks practices martial art. The verb in this example *balajar* 'learn' is preceded by *ada* to express that the activity expressed in the predicate is being performed at the moment of the utterance and is expected to continue for some time. In example (167) the speaker tells how he and his friend are angry with each other. In this example, the predicate *mara* 'angry', is preceded by *ada*, expressing a progressive meaning. *Ada* indicates that the moment the friend became angry at the speaker, the speaker was angry at her and would be in that state for some period of time.

(165)   baru   de   pe   kalamareng   malang   tu
          moreover   3SG   POSS   yesterday   night   that
          moreover, last night
          kita   **ada**   **dengar**   orang   pe   suara.
          1SG   PROG   hear   person   POSS   voice
          I heard someone's voice.

(166)   mangkali   **ada**   **balajar**   bela   diri.
          maybe   PROG   learn   defend   self
          maybe she's learning how to defend herself.

(167)   padahal   kita   **ada**   **mara**   pa   dia,
                whereas   1SG   PROG   angry   to   3SG
                I was angry with her,

                tapi   dia   mara   pa   kita   ulang.
                but   3SG   angry   to   1SG   repeat
                but she was also angry with me.

7.4.2.2 *Ingressive marker* mau/mu

Mau expresses the meaning 'want' and also indicates an ingressive meaning, expressing that an action is about to begin. When *mau* is followed by a thing, the meaning is often 'want', while when followed by an action or activity, 'want' as well as the ingressive meaning are applicable. In example (168) *mau* serves as predicate and expresses the meaning 'want'. In this example, the speaker talks about the price of a house that is for sale. *Mau* occurs in a construction X *mau* Y in which it is preceded by the third person plural *dong*, referring to the experiencer of the predicate, and followed by *dua pulu juta* 'twenty million', the amount of money that the owner wants for his house. In this context where *mau* is followed by a thing, it expresses the meaning 'want, wish, desire'.

(168)   ah   itu   dong   **mau**   dua   pulu   juta.
                EXCL   that   3PL   want   two   ten   million
                yeah, for that one they wanted twenty million.

When *mau* occurs in a construction X *mau* Y, in which Y expresses an action or activity, two interpretations are possible depending on the context and the situation. When X which precedes *mau* is interpreted as the voluntary performer of the action expressed in Y and is able to have control over the action, *mau* expresses the meaning 'want, wish, desire'. However, when X serves as an agent that involuntarily performs the action in Y, or when X is a patient that undergoes the action expressed in Y, then *mau* loses its meaning of intentionality and indicates an ingressive meaning, expressing that the action is about to begin. In this function, *mau* may be shortened to *mu*.

    In example (169) the speaker tells how he has received knowledge to use supernatural powers, but refuses those powers that may harm others. In this example, *mau* 'want' occurs as an independent word, serves as predicate, and expresses the meaning 'want, desire'. Example (170) is taken from a story in which a soldier asks the person who tells the story if he can borrow a wok to do some cooking. *Mau* is followed by the activity word *masa* 'cook', which is preceded by the first person plural *tong*, and refers to the agent who may voluntarily perform the action *masa*. In this context, *mau* expresses 'want, wish, desire' and *mau masa* reflects the meaning 'want to cook'. The speaker of example (171) says that he had just met a very pretty girl. A few moments later he met the girl's mother and was shocked and felt he would faint, because the mother was even prettier than the daughter. In this example, *mau* 'want' is used in combination with *tabanting* 'fall down unintentionally'.

The prefix *ta–* denotes an action that is performed unwittingly or unintentionally. The agent is not in control of the action. In such a context, *mau* expresses that an activity is about to start, and the interpretation of an ingressive meaning is more appropriate.

The speaker in example (172) talks about how he and his friend went through primary school. Some years they were in the same class, while in other years they were in separate classes. In this example, *mau* occurs in combination with *nae* 'go up', an activity word that may refer to an activity that is voluntarily performed as well as refer to an activity in which the agent is not in control of the activity. When Sof is interpreted as agent, the person who voluntarily performs the action, the resulting construction *Sof mau nae kalas tiga* means that Sof has the wish to go to the third grade. When Sof is interpreted as being less in control of the action, *mau nae* expresses the ingressive meaning 'be about to go up'. In this example, Sof could be interpreted as the undergoer of *nae*, in which case the "wanting" meaning as well as the ingressive meaning is applicable, resulting in a meaning 'Sof wanted to be moved up to the third grade' or 'Sof was about to be moved up to the third grade'. Within the context of this example, and supposing that Sof wished to go to a higher grade, the more appropriate interpretation is the ingressive meaning, namely that Sof was about to go to the third grade, when *kita* moved to third grade.

In some cases, particularly when *mau* serves to express an ingressive meaning aspect, it may be shortened to *mu*. An example of the shortened *mu* is found in example (173), in which it occurs with *munta* 'vomit', resulting in *mu munta* 'about to vomit'. The experiencer *kita* does not have any control over the action of *munta* 'vomit' to take place and an ingressive meaning of *mu* is more appropriate. *Kita mu munta* reflects the meaning 'I'm about to vomit' or 'I have to vomit'. In example (174) the shortened form *mu* occurs with *ujang* 'rain' which serves as predicate. In this function *ujang* never occurs with a subject and *ujang* expresses the meaning 'it's raining'. In this context, only the interpretation of *mu* expressing a ingressive meaning is appropriate.

(169)   kalo   dapa   barang   tara   bae   jang   **mau**.
          when   get   because NEG   good don't want
          don't want it, if you get bad things.

(170)   "[...] tong   **mau**   **masa**   sadiki,   bole?"
                  1PL   want   cook   a.little may
          we want to cook something, is that possible?

(171)   kita   **mau**   **ta-banting**.
          1SG   want   INV-slam.down
          I almost fell down.

(172) Sof **mau nae** kalas tiga, kita nae kalas tiga [...]
       Sof want go.up class three 1SG go.up class three
       when Sof moved up to the third grade, I moved up to the third grade [...]

(173) hmm, kita lia kita foto kacili-kacili
       EXCL 1SG see 1SG photo RED-small
       humph, if I look at my photo when I was a child,

       kita **mu** munta.
       1SG want vomit
       it makes me want to throw up.

(174) su galap, tara lama su **mu ujang**.
       COMP dark NEG long COMP want rain
       it's dark; it won't take long before it starts to rain.

7.4.2.3 *Completive marker* suda

The completive marker *suda* may occur in predicates which express an action, movement or process to indicate that the action that has started previously has come to completion or will be completed. Predicates expressing stative events may contain the completive marker *su* to indicate that the state has been reached and implying that this is the completion of a previous process or development.

In example (175) *makang* 'eat' is preceded by completive marker *suda*, resulting in *suda makang* 'have eaten'. This example is taken from a context in which the speaker comments on a chocolate brand and asks whether his friends have ever eaten chocolate of this particular brand. In example (176) the construction *dan satu* 'first dan, a degree of proficiency in judo or karate' is preceded by *suda*, resulting in *suda dan satu*, expressing that the subject has reached the degree of first dan.

(175) **suda makang**?
       COMP eat
       have you eaten some?

(176) ngana **suda dan satu** ka dan lapan lagi…
       2SG COMP dan one or dan eight more
       if you are a first dan or even an eighth dan…

The completive marker *suda* is generally shortened to *su*. In example (176) *su* precedes *tidor* 'sleep', resulting in *su tidor* expressing that the person has come into the state of being asleep. The predicate of example (177) consists of *malam* 'night', preceded by *su*, resulting *su malam*, expressing that a certain period of time has been

reached. In example (178) *su* occurs with *tete* 'grandfather', resulting in *su tete* 'be a grandfather', expressing that the person has reached the rank or age of a grandfather. In the same example, *su* occurs with *tua* 'old', resulting in *su tua* 'be old', expressing that the person has reached the state/stage of a old age.

(177)   lia,   dong   **su**   **tidor**.
          see   3PL   COMP   sleep
          we looked; they were asleep.

(178)   ...maso   singga   di   Loloda   barang   **su**   **malam**...
          enter   stop.by in   Loloda   because COMP   night
          ...we entered and stopped in Loloda because it was dark...

(179)   **su**   **tete**,   **su**   **tua**.
          COMP   grandfather COMP   old
          he's a grandfather, he is old.

The difference in use between the full form *suda* and its shortened form *su* is that the full form occurs mainly in careful speech and as an answer to yes/no-questions, in which case it is used as an utterance in its own respect. The shortened form *su* cannot be used as an utterance in its own right and cannot serve as an answer to questions. Examples (180) and (181) show two questions and answers to show that although the shortened form *su* is used in the question, only *suda* can be used as an independent word in the response. In example (180) *su* precedes *kaweng* 'marry', resulting in the question *su kaweng?* 'are you married?'. In (180b) the answer is *suda* 'yes'. Example (181) is about a borrowed wok that B returns. In the example *su* precedes *barsi* 'clean', resulting in the question *su barsi?* 'is it clean?'. The answer to this question is *iyo, suda* 'yes, it is' in example (181b). In these cases where it forms the answer to a question, *suda* cannot alternate with *su*.

(180)   A: ngana   **su**   **kaweng**?
               2SG   COMP   marry
               are you married?

(180b)   B: **suda,**   tara   parcaya.
               COMP   NEG   believe
               yes, believe it or not.

(181)   A: "**su**   barsi   tu?"
               COMP   clean   that
               "is it clean?"

(181b)   B: "iyo, **suda**,   Dik."
            yes   COMP   TRU-younger.sibling
            "yes, it is."

7.4.2.4 *Non-completive marker* bolong

The opposite of *su(da)* is *bolong* 'not yet', indicating that an action, process or event has not yet taken place or been performed, a certain state has not yet been reached, or that someone/something does not yet possess a certain characteristic or property. The use of *bolong* implies the expectation that at some point in time the action will come to completion, the state will be reached, and the characteristic or property will be possessed.

In example (182) the speaker confesses that he told his friends that he is married, while he is not. In this example, *bolong* occurs with *kaweng* 'marry', resulting in *bolong kaweng* 'not yet married'. The use of *bolong* implies the expectation that at some point in time the marital state will be obtained. Since this state is still highly preferred, *bolong* is generally used as the negative answer to questions about someone's marital state, rather than the negator *tarada* 'not (present)', which is also used as a negative reply, but is considered to be too absolute. In example (183) *bolong* occurs with *puas* 'satisfied', resulting in *bolong puas* 'not yet satisfied' and expressing that the person has not yet reached this state. In example (184) *tua* 'old' is combined with *bolong* 'not yet', resulting in *bolong tua* expressing that the person has not reached old age yet, but will be at some moment. In example (185) *bos* serves as predicate, expressing the meaning 'be boss'. It is preceded by *bolong* 'not yet' and describes that the persons have not yet achieved the status expressed in the predicate.

(182)   **bolong   kaweng**   kong   bilang   su   kaweng.
            NCOMP   marry   CONJ   say   COMP   marry
            I'm not married and I said that I am.

(183)   kita   pe   dudu   ba-carita   **bolong   puas**.
            1SG   POSS   sit   BA-story   NCOMP   satisfied
            I hadn't had enough of talking.

(184)   [...]   dia   basar   kong   kita   **bolong   tua**..."
                    3SG   big   CONJ   1SG   NCOMP   old
            [...]she might be grown up while I'm not old yet..."

(185)   de   bilang: "cih,   dorang   ini   **bolong   bos**."
            3SG   say   EXCL   3PL   this   NCOMP   boss
            he said: "ah well, they are not bosses yet."

7.4.2.5 *Continuous marker* masi

Masi 'still' occurs with predicates to indicate that what is expressed in the predicate is continuously taking place, for example an activity, or event; or that a characteristic or property is still present. The difference between *masi* 'still' and the progressive marker *ada*, which also contains an aspect of continuity, is that *ada* does not acknowledge explicitly that the activity has started in the past and is continuing; in the use of *ada* it is more important that at the moment of reference or speaking the activity is progressively being performed or the state is progressively continuing. The use of *masi* implies that something has started in the past and is continuing.

Example (186) is taken from a story about someone who wants to pick up a bag of stolen mangoes which is still in the mango tree. The thieves were discovered by Hamja who stood under the tree, and chased the thieves out of tree. When the person arrived at the location, he found that Hamja was still standing there. The predicate in example (186) is *ada* 'be present' and is preceded by *masi* to express that the event of Hamja being under the tree started before the person arrived at the tree and continued while he was there. In example (187) the speaker says that when he was caught stealing mangoes from a tree, he told the person who discovered him that he would come down, although he was still looking for a way out. In this example, two instances of *masi* occur. In the first part, *masi* precedes *di atas pohong* 'in the tree', resulting in *masi di atas pohong* and expresses that the situation of the person in the tree started some time before and is continuing. In the same utterance, *bafikir* 'think' occurs and is preceded by *masi* to express that the process of thinking that started previously has not yet come to completion and is continuing. Example (188) is taken from a story in which the speaker describes himself when he was a child. The predicate *kacili* 'small' in this example is preceded by *masi* 'still', resulting in *masi kacili* to express that he is talking about a certain period in the past when he was small, namely *dulu* 'formerly', and continued to be like that during that period of time. In example (189) *masi* 'still' precedes *polisi* 'police', resulting in *masi polisi* 'still a police officer', expressing that starting somewhere in the past and continuing during a period of time in the past (referred to by *jamang dulu* 'in the earlier days'), the person served as a police officer.

(186)   Hamja **masi**   **ada**   di   bawa   pohong.
        Hamja   CONT   be.present   in   bottom   tree
        Hamja was still under the tree.

(187)   **masi**   **di**   **atas**   **pohong**,   kita   **masi**   **ba-fikir**:   […]
        CONT   in   top   tree   1SG   still   DUR-think
        still in the tree, I was thinking: […].

(188)   dulu   kita   **masi**   **kacili**.
        before   1SG   CONT   small
        formerly when I was still a child.

(189) dia   jamang dulu   dia   **masi** **polisi** dia   paling jahat.
       3SG   period before 3SG   CONT   police   3SG   very   bad

in earlier days when he was a police officer, he was very bad.

Masi 'still' may serve as an affirmative answer to a yes/no question. In example (190) the question is whether a certain couple is still alive. The affirmative reply to this question is found in example (190b) *masi* 'still' reflecting the meaning 'yes, they are'.

(190)   **masi**   **hidup**   to?
        CONT   live   QT

they're still alive, right?

(190b) **masi**.
        CONT

yes, (they are).

7.5 Time, Space, and Mood

Expressions regarding time, location or direction of an action, event, or movement, as well as speaker's subjective judgements, provide additional information.

Some of these expressions may occur freely in the utterance, for example *skarang* 'now, nowadays' and may occur at various places, preceding, following, as well as inside the clause. Other expressions describing a temporal context may occur preceding the subject, for example *hari Minggu* 'Sunday' and *magrib tadi* 'this afternoon'. Modal expressions, such as *sebenarnya* 'actually' and *pasti* 'definitely', used to express the speaker's view, generally occur preceding the subject.

7.5.1 Temporal expressions

The temporal situation may be described by expressions that refer to a specific moment or period in time, for example the names of the days of the week, names of the months as well as the names of the Muslim prayer times. Other expressions refer to less specific and indefinite time periods. These temporal expressions often occur preceding the subject or at the end of a clause.

Example (191) is taken from a story in which the speaker and his friends burned down a beehive at night. The next morning they went back to look at the result. In this example, the expression *beso pagi* 'tomorrow morning' is used to refer the morning of the next day, namely the morning after the night they had burned down the bee hive. In example (192) the speaker talks about his activities. He is helping friends renovating a house. On Sundays he has to come late, probably because the night before he watches a television series that ends late at night and he will be too tired to wake up early the next day. In this example, the speaker uses *hari Minggu* 'Sunday' to refer to a certain time. Within the given situation, this example could be interpreted as a general statement and *hari Minggu* would refer to every Sunday

during the period that the speaker works. It may also refer to the first coming Sunday following the moment of the utterance or to a previous Sunday. The context and the situation determines which interpretation is most appropriate. Example (193) is taken from story about a very smart person who was taken to Jakarta. The time of his departure is referred to with *dua taong lalu ni* 'two years ago', and refers to some moment previous to the moment of the utterance. In example (194) the expression *magrib tadi* 'this sunset' is used to refer to the time around sunset previous to the moment of the utterance. *Magrib* is the time at sunset when one of the five Muslim prayers has to be performed. *Tadi* 'earlier' expresses that the time period lies in the recent past. In this example, *tadi* is used to modify *magrib*, but *tadi* may be used as a time expression in its own right. Example (195) has a predicate-subject structure, consisting of the predicate *rame* 'crowded' and the subject *di sini* 'here', referring to the location of the event. In this example, *skarang* 'now, nowadays' precedes the subject and refers to the period of time when the recording was made.

(191)   e,   **beso**   **pagi**   tong   ka   lao   lia   ofu.
            EXCL tomorrow morning 1PL   to   sea   see   bee
            ah, the next morning we went seawards to look at the bees.

(192)   **hari**   **Minggu** tong   musi   datang   lat...
            day   Sunday   1PL   must   come   late
            Sunday I have to come late.

(193)   **dua**   **taong**   **lalu**   **ni...** dong   bawa   dia   di   Jakarta.
            two   year   pass   this   3PL   bring   3SG   in   Jakarta
            now two years ago, they took him to Jakarta.

(194)   **magrib**   **tadi**   tong   ba-ribut   dalang   ruma   ni.
            at.sunset earlier   1PL   POSS-noisy   inside   house   this
            this afternoon we were so noisy at home.

(195)   we,   rame   **skarang** di   sini.
            EXCL   crowded   now   in   here
            gee, nowadays it's cheerful here.

Tadi 'earlier' refers to a moment or period in time in the recent past. Example (196) is taken from a story about a person who was mistakenly regarded as a porter. He felt embarrassed when the woman he helped with her shopping gave him money, and he regrets helping her. In this example, *tadi* 'earlier' refers to a recent moment in the past, namely the time before the person helped the woman with her shopping. In example (197) the speaker says that that day, namely the day of the recording, he

was very tired and could not lift up stones anymore. The example was recorded in the evening and *tadi* refers to the time period between the moment he started to work until he ended his work in the late afternoon. Note that in this example, *karja* 'work' serves as subject and refers to the entity whose feature is described in the predicate *paya skali* 'very troublesome', while *kita* serves as the central theme of attention. *Tadi* precedes the subject.

(196)   "ya   Allah   ampong,   **tadi**   kita   tau
          EXCL   Allah   mercy   earlier   1SG   know
          "goodness gracious, if I had realized this before,

          jang   angka   suda."
          don't   lift.up   COMP
          I wouldn't have carried this."

(197)   kita   me   **tadi**   karja   paya   skali.
          1SG   PART   earlier   work   troublesome   very
          I did a lousy job today.

Dulu 'before' can be used to refer to some indefinite period in time in the remote past. In example (198) the reaction of a person who looks at a picture of his childhood time is reflected. In the picture, he has long hair. In this example, *dulu* 'before' refers to the remote past, when the person was still a child and did not yet go to school. Note that *dulu* both precedes the subject *kita pe rambu* and follows it. In the latter position, *dulu* 'before' may be interpreted as modifier of the construction *kita pe rambu*, resulting in [*kita pe rambu*] [*dulu*] 'my hairstyle of the past' or as a modifier of the X element *rambu*, resulting in [*kita*] pe [*rambu dulu*] 'my earlier hairstyle'.

(198)   "Mama,   **dulu**,   kita   pe   rambu   **dulu**   bagini?"
          mommy   before   1SG   POSS   hair   before   like.this
          "oh my goodness, was my hair like this?"

Nanti 'later' refers to an indefinite time period somewhere in the future which may be in the near as well as the distant future, depending on the context and situation. In example (199) *nanti* 'later' occurs preceding the subject. In this example, the speaker says that he and his friend have been talking in the room. His friend becomes tired and wants to take a nap. They are discussing who is going to sleep where and the speaker suggests that he will sleep on the floor. In this example, *nanti* 'later' refers to the near future, namely the moment they decide to go to sleep. Example (200) is taken from a discussion about how many portions of sago porridge a person could eat during a sago porridge eating competition. At the moment of the utterance, the time for the competition has not yet been decided and it is not clear if this event will ever take place. In the example, the speaker refers to the score of the

competition. The time to which *nanti* 'later' in this example refers, remains vague and depends on the time of the competition, which may be held in the near future, the far future, or may not be organized at all.

(199)   **nanti**   kita   tidor   di   bawa.
          later   1SG   sleep   in   bottom
          and I will sleep on the floor.

(200)   tunggu,   tunggu   saja,   **nanti**   lia.
          wait   wait   only   later   see
          wait, just wait and see.

Ahirnya 'finally, in the end' is used to express that an event or situation occurs after some period of time as well as to express a conclusive meaning. This expression is taken from the standard language which allows a morphological process with a suffix *-nya*, unknown to Ternate Malay, so that in the latter language *akhirnya* is a monomorphemic word. The background of example (201) is a discussion about where to sleep. The story is that there is a dangerous crocodile in the area, and village leaders find it safer for the visitors to sleep on the shore rather than in a speedboat. There were different ideas about the issue, but in the end it was decided that everybody would sleep on the shore. *Ahirnya* 'finally' expresses a conclusive meaning as well as implies the passing of some period of time. The context of example (202) is that people in a neighbourhood were not sure whether one of their members really suffered from mental problems or just pretended to be mentally ill. After years of uncertainty and discussion, people discovered that the person pretended to be mentally ill, and was actually a very intelligent person. *Ahirnya* 'finally' expresses a conclusive meaning and implies that some time has passed before the real situation was known.

(201)   **ahirnya**   samua   tara   tidor   di   spit,
          finally   all   NEG   sleep   in   speedboat
          finally we did not sleep in the speedboat,l,

          tidor   orang   pe   ruma.
          sleep   person   POSS   house
          we all slept at someone's house.

(202)   **ahirnya**   orang   tau   de   bikin   diri   gila.
          finally   person   know   3SG   make   self   crazy
          finally people knew that he was pretending to be crazy.

7.5.2 Spatial expressions

It is very common for Ternate Malay speakers to refer to the direction of a movement or the location of an object, person, or event by using *lao* 'sea, seawards', *dara* 'land, landwards', *bawa* 'bottom, downwards', and *atas* 'top, upwards' as points of orientation. These words may be combined with *ka* 'to', *dari* 'to', and *di* 'in, at' to indicate direction or location as well as immediately follow a thing to indicate the location. The four points of orientation are used not only in their literal meaning, but have a wider usage. When used to refer to objects, persons or events on the island of Ternate itself, the terms *atas* and *bawa* refer to a location situated in an anticlockwise or clockwise direction from the reference point. *Atas* may refer to the sultan's palace as well. The terms *dara* and *lao* refer to landward and seaward situated locations and directions respectively.

When used to refer to places outside the island of Ternate, *dara* may be used to refer to places on the island of Halmahera, and *lao* may be used for places at a larger distance from the island of Ternate as well as places abroad. This system of spatial orientation may have its origin in local languages which have been adopted in the local Malay varieties (Bowden 2005).

The directions expressed in the following examples are obvious from the context and express the "literal" meaning of the words. Example (203) is taken from a story about stealing mangoes. One of the thieves ran away towards the sea, but left the sack with mangoes behind. When he told his friends about it, they decided to go back and try to get the fruit. Seen from their position, the fruit is situated in a landward position and the movement is expressed by *ka dara* 'landwards'. Example (204) is taken from the same story, and tells about the person who picked up the sack with mangoes left behind in the tree because the thieves were caught. He wraps the sack and throws it in a seaward direction where his friends are waiting to catch it, expressed in *ka lao* 'seawards'. Example (205) tells how one of the mango thieves jumps down from the mango tree and runs away, after having been caught. The direction of the movement from the tree to the ground is expressed in *ka bawa* 'downwards'. In example (206) the speaker talks about a fishing event. He thought he caught a big fish and when he pulled it out of the water it turned out that he was right. In the example, the speaker uses *ka atas* 'to the top' to express the direction of the fish, when it was pulled out of the water.

(203) dorang bilang, "mari tong **ka** **dara**."
 3PL say HORT 1PL to land
 they said, "let's go there."

(204) bungkus kong de lempar **ka** **lao**.
 pack CONJ 3SG throw to sea
 he wrapped it and threw it seawards.

(205) kage   lagi   de   su   ba-lumpa   **ka**   **bawa**,
      suddenly again 3SG   COMP   REFL-jump   to   bottom
      the next moment he jumped down

      de   su   lari!
      3SG   COMP   run
      and ran away!

(206) e,   tara   sala,   **ka** **atas** de   pe   pia.pai!
      EXCL   NEG   wrong   to   top   3SG   POSS   enormous
      hey, I was right, when it was pulled up, it was huge!

In the following examples *atas*, *bawa*, *dara*, *lao* are used to refer to locations and directions on the island. The island of Ternate is more or less a round island with a volcano in the middle. A main road runs around the island along the coast line. When moving parallel to the coast, keeping the mountain on the left hand side, and moving anticlockwise, the direction of the movement is referred to as *ka atas* 'to top, upwards'. When the mountain is kept on the right hand side and one moves clockwise, the movement is referred to as *ka bawa* 'to bottom, downwards'. The same holds for a location, so that a location is situated *atas* 'top, upward' or *di atas* 'at top, upward', when it lies in a clockwise direction from the starting point or the point of reference. A location is *bawa* 'bottom, downward' or *di bawa* 'at bottom, downwards', when situated in a anticlockwise direction from the point of reference. The expressions *ka lao* 'seawards' or *(di) lao* 'seaward' and *ka dara* 'landwards' or *(di) dara* 'landward' refer to movements and locations in the direction of the sea and the mountain respectively, seen from a certain point of reference, for example from where the speaker is located.

   The conversation in example (207) was held in Salero, a neighbourhood in Ternate town, situated on the east coast of the island. Speaker A talks about a house and refers to its location by the expression *di bawa*, because to reach this location from the place where the conversation took place one walks in a clockwise direction. Speaker B does not know exactly where the house is, because the house could be located one block away as well as a few kilometres away and asks speaker A to be more specific. The answer is Kampung Makasar, a neighbourhood situated adjacent to Salero in a clockwise direction. In example (208) the location where teenagers used to work as porters is expressed by *di bawa* 'at the bottom' and *di pasar* 'at the market'. *Di bawa* is used because the market is situated in a clockwise direction from the location of the speaker and the speech event. Example (209) is taken from a story in which the speaker, who lives in Salero says that he ran away from home several times. The second time he moved to a neighbourhood called Sangaji which is situated in a anticlockwise direction from the place where he lived and is referred to by *ka atas*.

The sultan of Ternate is highly respected in the Ternate community. The sultan's palace may be referred to with *atas* 'up', independent from the point of reference. Example (210) is taken from a story about a sago bread eating competition. A man had eaten a lot of sago bread, drank a lot, and felt so sick that they brought him up to the sultan's palace to be treated with traditional medicines.

Example (211) was noted down when a group of people visited a village to witness the preparations for a wedding. The speaker had not been to this village before and wanted to find out the relationship between the inhabitants and the sultan by asking whether they regularly go to the palace, which is referred to by the expression *ka atas* 'to top' or 'go upwards'.

(207)   A: dong   biking   plafon **di bawa** gaga,   ngana.
             3PL   make   ceiling in   bottom stylish 2SG
             they made a very nice ceiling down there.

        B: di mana?
             in   where
             where?

        A: di Kampung Makasar tu.
             in   Kampung Makasar that
             in Kampung Makasar.

(208)   **di bawa**, di   pasar   kan   suka
             in bottom in   market QT   like
             at the market teenagers usually

             ana-ana   kacil   ba-angka   barang, to?
             PL-child   small   DUR-lift.up thing   QT
             carry things, right?

(209)   lebe   jao   **ka atas**, jao   di Sangaji   pante.
             more   far   to   top   far   in Sangaji   beach
             further up, far away to Sangaji at the beach.

(210)   kong   dong   baku-pikul, bawa **ka   atas** kadatong [...]
             CONJ 3PL   COLL-carry   bring to   top   palace
             and they carried him and brought him to the palace

(211)   ngoni   suka   **ka**   **atas**?
             2   like   to   top
             do you often go upwards?

These expressions are also used when referring to things in and around the house. Example (212) was noted down during an elicitation session. In this spontaneous created example, the expression of *ka lao* 'to the sea, seawards' is used in a home situation to describe the position of the television. Example (213) was noted down while sitting on a terrace in front of a house. The speaker brings two cups of coffee and puts them on the table and explains which cup is intended for whom. She refers to one of the two cups with *yang di dara* 'the one landward', because it is located in a landward direction. The speaker of example (214) tells how he and his friend divided the space when they took a nap. One slept *di ujung dara* 'at the landward end', while the other slept *di ujung lao* 'at the seaward end' of the bed.

(212)   dong   kase   mangada   telefisi   **ka**   **lao**.
             3PL   give   face   television to   sea
             they placed the television facing the sea.

(213)   ngana   punya   yang   **di**   **dara**.
             2SG   possess REL   in   land
             yours is on the landward side.

(214)   "ngana   di   ujung   **dara**,   kita   di   ujung   **lao**!"
             2SG   in   tip   land   1SG   in   tip   sea
             "you sleep at that end, I sleep at this end!"

The terms *dara* and *lao* are also used for places outside the island of Ternate. Places in Halmahera, a large island east of Ternate are referred to as being *dara* 'landwards'. Places further away such as Ambon, Jakarta and places abroad are referred to with *lao* 'sea, seaward'. The following examples were noted down during elicitation sessions about the use of these terms. The place in example (215) is Sidangoli that is located on the west coast of Halmahera facing Ternate. This place is referred to as being *dara* 'land, landwards'. The fact that places in Halmahera are *dara* 'land, landwards' may be related to the role of Halmahera as the provider of foodstuffs for Ternate (and other places). From a Ternate point of view, Halmahera is regarded as its 'hinterland'. Places like Bacan in example (216) and Makian in example (217) are referred to as *atas* 'top, upward'. They are both located south of Ternate and play an important cultural role in the region of Maluku Utara. Tidore may be referred to with *sana* 'there' as is displayed in example (218). Places further away from Ternate and outside Maluku Utara, such as Jakarta and Ambon, as well as places abroad, for example Amsterdam and New York, are referred to with *lao* 'sea'.

(215) ngana   tara   pi   Sidangoli   **dara**?
       2SG   NEG   go   Sidangoli   land
       aren't you going landwards to Sidangoli?

(216) tong   mau   pi   **ka**   **atas**   pi   Bacang.
       1PL   want   go   to   top   go   Bacan
       we want to go upwards to Bacan.

(217) tong   mau   pi   **ka**   **atas**   pi   Makeang.
       1Pl   want   go   to   top   go   Makian
       we want to go upwards to Makian.

(218) tong   mau   pi   **ka**   **sana**   pi   Tidore.
       1PL   want   go   to   there   go   Tidore
       we want to go over there to Tidore.

(219) dong   dapa   projek   **di**   **lao**   di   Jakarta.
       3PL   get   project   in   see   in   Jakarta
       they got a project seawards in Jakarta.

7.5.3 Modal expressions

The speaker's attitude in relation to his or her own utterance may be expressed in various ways. A speaker may indicate that statements contradict the actual situation, that they express certainty, probability and plausibility, or that they express a desirable situation. In § 7.3.2.3 I discussed verbs which may be used to express their lexical meaning or to express modality, in which case they are immediately followed by an action or activity. Examples were presented with *bisa* 'can' which expresses ability, *bole* 'may' which expresses possibility, and *suka* 'like' and *inging* 'desire', which may express a positive evaluation and desirability respectively. In § 6.2 I discussed conjunctions, some of which may be used to express modality, for example to indicate a contradiction *tapi* 'but' or *me* 'but' may be used, and also to introduce a statement that is contradictive to a previous one. These, together with the interjections in § 6.4 are devices available to the speaker to express his or her attitudes, evaluations, views or feelings.

In this paragraph, I present examples of modality words which often precede the subject, but may also occur in other positions. The scope of these words often lies on the whole event expressed in the clause.

Sebenarnya 'actually' may be used to indicate contradiction. It introduces a description of a situation which is the opposite of the real situation or what is expected, stated previously, or is preferable according to existing norms and conventions. In example (220) *sebenarnya* 'actually' describes a situation that reflects the preferred

situation, which is the opposite of the situation in the real world. The speaker talks about prices of various houses and says that buyers intended to buy a certain house, but because they could not agree on the price and they saw another, larger house for a better price, they bought that house. The example tells of the house the buyers intended to buy, but did not, and *sebenarnya* 'actually' indicates that what is described is contradictory to the situation in the real world. The speaker of example (221) talks about his uncle who borrowed a ladder, but did not put it back at the right place nor in the correct position. *Sebenarnya* introduces the description of how the ladder should have been posited correctly, namely *kasmangada ka dara* 'let it face landwards', and indicates that the situation in reality is opposite to what is described here.

(220) | **sebenarnya** | dong | mau | bli | yang | sabla | ka | mari | tu. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| actually | 3PL | want | buy | REL | side | to | here | that |

actually they wanted to buy to one over here.

(221) | **sebenarnya** | musi | kas-mangada | ka | dara. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| actually | must | CAUS-face | to | land |

actually it has to face the land.

Pasti 'definitely, certainly' expresses the assumption that an event, action or process will certainly and definitely take place. *Pasti* 'definitely' often precedes the subject. Example (222) is taken from a conversation about what it would be like to have a wife who mastered boxing. The speaker agrees that wives would not hit their husbands they love, but he is convinced that if there came a moment when the husband made a mistake, the situation would change. In this example, *pasti* is used to express the speaker's certainty that the situation he sketches, namely that one does make a mistake, occurs. In example (223) the speaker tells a joke about a person who was introduced to someone named "*Ta-kira-ngana-yakis*". This name may sound like a Japanese name, but in Ternate Malay it means 'I-think-you're-a-monkey'. The speaker tries to demonstrate that he is telling a true story and states that one really can meet a person with this name. In the example, *pasti* 'really' is used to express that the speaker is convinced that the name really exists.

(222) | hmm, | tapi | satu | kali | saat | **pasti** | ngana | sala. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| EXCL | but | one | time | moment | definitely | 2SG | wrong |

yeah, but what if you really do something wrong some time?

(223) | ngana | berkenalan | deng | Japang, |
|---|---|---|---|
| 2SG | be.introduced | with | Japan |

if you are introduced to a Japanese,

pasti	ada	nama	"Ta-kira-ngana-yakis".
definitely	be.present	name	I-think-you're-a-monkey

there really is the name "I-think-you're-a-monkey".

The opposite of *pasti* 'definitely' is *mangkali* 'maybe', which is used to express uncertainty and probability. It may occur preceding the subject as well as in other positions in the utterance. Example (224) is taken from a story about mice that gnaw at someone's toes while he is sleeping, particularly at night when it is dark in the room. The speaker imagines how the mice would react when they notice that the lights are turned off. In this example, he uses *mangkali* 'maybe' to introduce a description of a possible situation of which the speaker pretends to be uncertain. Example (225) tells of a woman who likes to pay visits during siesta time, which is considered to be inappropriate. In the example, *mangkali* serves to express the speaker's uncertainty with regard to his evaluation as well as to indicate the probability of the explanation for this friend's behaviour. In this example, *mangkali* precedes the predicate *laef* 'forgetful', which bears the scope of the uncertainty.

(224)	**mangkali**	de	simore,	de	tatawa,	su	topu	tangang.
	maybe	3SG	be.happy	3SG	laugh	COMP	clap	hand

   probably it's happy, it laughs, and claps its hands.

(225)	"cih,	ngana	**mangkali**	laef	ka	apa?"
	EXCL	2SG	maybe	forgetful	or	what

   "are you senile?"

Lebae 'better' expresses desirability and introduces a description of what the speaker views as the preferable situation. The expression *lebae* is a contraction of *lebe bae* '(lit.) better' and often occurs preceding the subject, but may appear in other positions as well. Example (226) reflects the utterance of someone who discovers two boys in a tree stealing mangoes. He throws stones at them to chase them out of the tree and suggests they come down. The speaker uses *lebae* to express desirability and continues to describe the preferred situation. Example (227) is taken from a story about a place where mice might gnaw at someone's toes, particularly when it is dark in the room. In the example, the speaker uses *lebae* to introduce a suggestion and a description of the preferable condition in the room. In example (228) the speaker uses the full expression *lebe bae* '(lit.) better'. The speaker talks about a conversation with a girl to whom he said he had graduated from high school. She had told him she was a university student. The speaker *lebe bae* 'it's better' to express his positive evaluation and continues with a description of the preferred situation, namely saying that he graduated from technical high school.

(226)	oi,	**lebae**	ngoni	turung	tara	kita	lempar	trus.
	EXCL	better	2	go.down	NEG	1SG	throw	continue

   hey, you better come down, or I'll keep on throwing it.

(227) **lebae** ngana tidor kas-manyala lampu.
       better 2SG sleep CAUS-flame lamp

it's better that you switch on a light when you sleep.

(228) e,   **lebe bae** bilang kita lulusan STM.
       EXCL more good say   1SG graduated technical.high.school

hey, it would have been better to say that I graduated from a technical high school.

7.6 Summary

This chapter concerns the structure of clauses and provides a description of subjects, predicates, and other elements that may participate in the predicate. The order of the subject and predicate indicate which part is in the centre of attention. Speakers may use this strategy to give other elements attention as well, and put them preceding the subject. Subjects may serve various semantic roles depending on the context and the situation and these roles may determine how the predicate is best interpreted. In some contexts, the structure of predicates looks very similar to other constructions. In these circumstances, elements such as aspect markers and other predicate operators can serve as useful tools to distinguish between these constructions. Lexical items may be function to distinguish between types of utterances, for example *jang(ang)* indicates a vetative; *coba* and *dulu*, in their function to soften a command, may indicate an imperative; and interrogatives, such as *apa* and *mana* convey that utterances have to be interpreted as questions. Certain lexical items can be used to express the speaker's attitude and evaluation of events and often precede the clause. Temporal, spatial, and modal expressions provide additional information and often occur preceding or following the predicate. In addition to lexical material, prosodic features and intonation patterns may distinguish between certain types of utterances and indicate which elements have to receive the listener's attention. These are only mentioned in passing here, and further research is needed to gain more insight into and understanding of their role and function within the language.

8 Texts

The texts presented here are fragments taken from a recording of about three hours recorded in Salero, a section in Ternate Town in 1994. The Ternate Malay speaker with the initials AD is a young man of 21 years old. At the time of the recording I have been in Ternate for several months and have become to know the man quite well. That evening he came to visited us and started to tell all kinds of stories and anecdotes. We decided to record them as nice examples of spontaneous spoken Ternate Malay.

The text is divided into sentences. The first line is the transcription of the text in the Indonesian spelling. The following conventions are used: "ng" represents the velar nasal [ŋ], "j" represents the palatal stop [ɟ], "ny" represents the palatal nasal [ɲ], and "y" represents the semivowel [j]. The second line refers to the interlinear glossing, while the third line is a free English translation.

Each sentence is preceded by a number that refers to the start time of the utterance on the audio file in minutes and seconds, so that for instance 01.22 stands for 1 minute and 22 seconds. The audio files can be found on the CD that is added to the book.

8.1 Pancuri mangga

Audio:	Pancuri_mangga.mp3
Length:	02.25 minutes
Synopsis:	the speaker tells how he and his friend Anwar steal mangoes from a mango tree and got caught by the owner's son.

00.00 AD: itu   sapa   yang   buju?
that   who   REL   persuade
who was it who talked me into it?

00.01 AD: Anwar.
Anwar
Anwar.

00.01 AD: Anwar   dara.
Anwar   land
Anwar who lives landwards.

00.02 BL: ha.
             EXCL
             uh-huh.

00.02 AD: dia   buju   pa   kita   bilang,
             3SG   persuade   to   1SG   say
             he talked me into it, saying,

             "Caken, tong   pancuri   mangga,   mari."
             Caken   1PL   steal   mango   HORT
             "Caken, let's steal some mangoes."

00.05 AD: "mari."
             HORT
             "let's go."

00.06 AD: tong   ka   dara.
             1PL   to   land
             we went over there.

00.08 AD: di jalan dara, Salero jalan dara skali
             in street land   Salero street land very
             in the street there in Salero, the street furthest inland

             ada   pohon mangga basar satu.
             be.present   tree   mango   big   one
             was this big mango tree.

00.11 AD: ah,   mangga   koper   itu.
             EXCL   mango   k.o. mango   that
             yes, the koper *mango.*

00.13 AD: "mangga   madu",   dong   bilang.
             mango   honey   3PL   say
             "honey mango" they call it.

00.14 BL: hmm.
              uh-huh
              uh-huh.

00.15 AD: e,   de   pe   bua   sampe!
              EXCL   3SG   POSS   fruit   arrive
              gosh, the fruit!

00.18 AD: "Allah, nae."
              Allah   go.up
              "oh God! let's climb it."

00.20 AD: cari   sak   tarigu tara   dapa, bawa sarung bantal.
              search sack flour   NEG   get   bring cover   pillow
              we looked for a flour sack, but could not find one, so we brought a
              pillowcase.

00.24 AD: sarung bantal polo   kan   panjang   to?
              cover   pillow hug   QT   long   QT
              a pillowcase for a bolster is long, right?

00.25 AD: tong   bawa.
              1PL   bring
              we brought it.

00.27 AD: "bawa   suda."
              bring   COMP
              "just bring it."

00.28 AD: tong   bawa.
              1PL   bring
              we brought it.

00.29 AD: bawa   ka   dara, tong   nae.
              bring to   land   1PL   go.up
              we brought it there and climbed up.

00.31 AD: lia, dong su   tidor.
look 3PL   COMP sleep
we looked; they were asleep.

00.33 AD: Haji Buka su   tidor.
haji   Buka   COMP sleep
Haji Buka was asleep.

00.34 AD: Haji Buka pe   ana-ana...
haji   Buka   POSS PL-child
Haji Buka's children…

00.35 AD: padahal Haji Buka pe   ana-ana jaga, ngana.
whereas haji   Buka   POSS PL-child guard   2SG
but Haji Buka's children were guarding.

00.37 AD: paitua   tidor baru   de   pe   ana-ana
old.man sleep whereas 3SG POSS PL-child
he was asleep, but his children

jaga   di atas tingkat.
guard in top   floor
were on guard on the second floor.

00.41 AD: Allah, tong tar   tau
Allah   1PL   NEG   know
o my God, we didn't know that.

00.42 AD: nae,   nae,   nae   bagini, kong   dong kaluar, ngana.
go.up go.up go.up like.this CONJ 3PL   go.out   2SG
we climbed and climbed and then they came out.

00.44 AD: jadi,   kita… Anwar di atas, Anwar di ujung,
become 1SG   Anwar in top   Anwar in tip
so, I… Anwar was on top, Anwar was at the top,

kita   di   tenga.
1SG   in   middle
I was in the middle.

00.51   AD: kita   asik   pete-pete   isi   sak   tarigu...
1SG   busy   REP-pick   fill   sack   flour
I was busy picking the fruit and filling the flour sack...

isi   di   sarung   bantal...
fill   in   cover   pillow
putting them in the pillowcase...

00.52   BL: mmm.
uh-huh
uh-huh.

00.54   AD: Anwar   lagi   isi   dalang   kos.
Anwar   again   fill   inside   T-shirt
Anwar was putting them in his T-shirt.

00.57   AD: ya,   kage   kita   dengar   batu   nae   fung-fang-fung.
EXCL   suddenly   1SG   hear   stone   go.up   IMIT
o, suddenly I heard stones coming up, whoosh-whoosh-whoosh.

01.00   AD: e,   dong   pe   ana   lempar.
EXCL   3PL   POSS   child   throw
oops, their son was throwing them.

01.02   AD: ya Allah   s…
oh Allah
oh God…!

01.03   AD: de   pe   ana   angka   kirikil   alus-alus...
3SG   POSS   child   lift.up   gravel   PL-fine
his son was picking up some fine gravel...

01.04 BL: mmm.
uh-huh
uh-huh.

01.05 AD: de   lempar nae.
3SG throw go.up
and was throwing it up.

01.08 AD: kita bilang, "ah,   Anwar, ada   orang di bawa."
1SG say   EXCL Anwar be.present person in bottom
I said, "uh, Anwar, there is someone down there."

01.12 AD: "iyo ada   orang, ba-diang."
yes   be.present orang   DUR-quiet
"yes, there is someone, be quiet."

01.14 AD: kage   kita dengar paitua   pe   ana   pe   suara bilang,
suddenly 1SG hear   old.man POSS child POSS voice say
suddenly I heard his son's voice,

"eh,   turung,   turung."
EXCL go.down go.down
"hey, get down, get down."

01.19 AD: "oi   lebae ngoni turung   tara   kita lempar trus."
EXCL better 2   go.down NEG 1SG throw   continue
hey, you better get down or I'll keep on throwing it."

01.22 AD: Anwar ini, dia   memang pintar.
Anwar   this 3SG indeed   smart
this guy Anwar is really smart.

01.24 AD: dia   jaga   kita turung, de   turung iko   sabla sana.
3SG guard 1SG go.down 3SG go.down follow side   there
he watched me going down and went down at the other side.

01.27 AD: su   dekat pagar to?
           COMP close   fence QT
           it was close to the fence, right?

01.28 BL: ha-ah.
           uh-huh
           uh-huh.

01.29 AD: ya Allah, kita bolong sampe,
           yes Allah 1SG   not.yet arrive
           o God! I was not there yet but

           de   sampe ka muka, ngana.
           3SG arrive   to   front   2SG
           he was there first!

01.31 AD: kita turung   plang-plang.
           1SG   go.down   INT-slow
           I went down slowly.

01.33 AD: "ih,   Anwar, ngana pe   capat!"
           EXCL Anwar   2SG   POSS fast
           "gee Anwar, you are fast!"

01.34 AD: kage   lagi de   su   ba-lumpa   ka bawa,
           suddenly again 3SG COMP REFL-jump to   bottom
           the next moment he jumped down and

           de   su   lari.
           3SG COMP run
           he ran away.

01.36 BL: lari.
           run
           he ran away.

01.37 AD: de   loncat pas   luar   pagar to,
            3SG   jump   exactly outside fence QT
            he jumped right down on the other side of the fence, right,

           me   kita masi   di atas.
           CONJ   1SG   still in top
           but I was still up there.

01.41 AD: oi,   de   pe   ana   lempar trus.
            EXCL   3SG   POSS child throw   continue
            o gee, the son kept on throwing gravel.

01.42 AD: terahir de   ambe batu   basar bagini.
            final   3SG   take stone big   like.this
            finally he picked up a stone as big as this.

01.45 AD: kong   kita pegang batang.
            CONJ   1SG   hold   stem
            so I held on to the trunk.

01.46 AD: de   pe   batang basar, kita ba-pegang bagini   to?
            3SG   POSS stem   big   1SG   REFL-hold like.this QT
            the trunk was very thick, so I held on like this, right?

01.48 BL: kena tangan.
            hit   hand
            it hit your hand.

01.49 AD: kong   batu   bage, ngana,
            CONJ   stone hit   2SG
            and then a stone hit me,

           lapis-lapis deng batang tu   e.
           PL-layer   with stem   that EXCL
           smashing my hand to the trunk.

01.51 AD: kita   pe   tangang...
         1SG   POSS   hand

my hand…

01.52 AD: kita   su   tara   bisa   bataria…
         1SG   COMP NEG   can   scream

I could not scream…

01.53 AD: kita   bagini.
         1SG   like.this

I was doing like this.

01.55 AD: kita   momake   pa   dia   ni!
         1SG   curse   to   3SG   this

I was cursing him!

01.56 AD: "ana ini di bawa,   tara lama kita bage pa dia."
         child this in bottom NEG long 1SG hit   to 3SG

"this guy down there, it won't take long or I'll give it to him."

02.00 AD: dia   suru   turung
         3SG   order   go.down

he ordered me to come down.

02.01 AD: kita bilang, "iyo, kita turung, tapi ngana jang lempar."
         1SG   say   yes   1SG go.down but 2SG   don't throw

I said, "yes, I'm coming down, but stop throwing things at me."

02.02 AD: kita bilang, de   pe   nama Hamja,
         1SG   say   3SG POSS name Hamja

I said, his name is Hamja,

02.04 AD: "Hamja, jang   ngana lempar, kita akang turung."
         Hamja   don't 2SG   throw   1SG   FUT   go.down

"Hamja, stop throwing things at me, I'll come down."

02.07 AD: "turung,   turung."
              go.down   go.down
              "get down, get down."

02.08 AD: kita...   masi   di   atas   pohong   kita   masi   ba-fikir,
              1SG   still   in   top   tree   1SG   still   DUR-think
              I was still in the tree, I was still thinking,

              "ini   biking   bagimana   supaya   kita   bisa   lolos."
              this   make   how   so.that 1SG   can   escape
              "what can I do escape."

02.13 AD: cih,   ck,   ah,   turung,   su   dapa   akal   ni.
              EXCL   tut   EXCL go.down   COMP   get   mind   this
              ah, tut, yes, I went down, I had an idea.

02.15 AD: turung   bagini...
              go.down   like.this
              I climbed down…

02.16 AD: pe   sampe   di   bawa   ba-injang   di   de   pe   akar,
              POSS   arrive in   bottom REFL-step   in   3SG   POSS   root
              the moment I was down, I stepped on the root,

02.21 AD: de   pe   haga…   haga   ka   mari,
              3SG   POSS   stare   stare to   here
              he was staring at me,

              kita   gara   falungku,   kong   de   ba-colo   kong   kita   lari.
              1SG   feign fist   CONJ   3SG   REFL-dip   CONJ   1SG   run
              I feigned a punch, he ducked away, and I took off.

8.2 Dalang utang

Audio: Dalang_Utang.mp3
Length: 02.36
Synopsis: the speaker tells how he and his friend leave the forest after he has
            fallen ill.

00.00 AD: kita   maso   utang   pi   surfei,   sake   dalang   utang.
            1SG   enter jungle go   survey   painful inside   jungle
            I went into the jungle to do a survey and became ill in the jungle.

00.07 AD: malaria   bage   dalang   utang.
            malaria   hit   inside   jungle
            malaria hit me in the jungle.

00.09 AD: woih,   kita   bilang,   "su   tara   poha,
            EXCL   1SG   say   COMP   NEG   powerful
            wow, I said, "I can't make it,

            su   malaria."
            COMP   malaria
            I have malaria."

00.11 AD: kita   mu   kaluar,   tong   kaluar   utang…
            1SG   want go.out   1PL   go.out   jungle
            when I wanted to get out, we went out of the jungle…

00.13 AD: kita   su   tara   poha   ba-jalang.
            1SG   COMP   NEG   powerful   DUR-walk
            I wasn't able to walk anymore.

00.15 AD: kita   pe   tamang   pikul   pa   kita.
            1SG   POSS   friend   carry   to   1SG
            my friend carried me.

00.16 AD: ih,   tamang itu,   memang dia…
           EXCL   friend   that   indeed   3SG
wow, that friend is really someone…

00.18 AD: kita inga   de   pe   bae   skali.
           1SG   remember   3SG POSS good   very
I always remember his kindness.

00.20 AD: lima blas kilo   ba-jalang nae   gunung,
           five tens kilometre DUR-walk   go.up   mountain
walking fifteen kilometres, climbing,

           turung   gunung,   nae   gunung,   turung   gunung.
           go.down   mountain go.up   mountain go.down   mountain
going down, climbing, going down the mountains.

00.24 AD: de   pikul pa   kita, coba.
           3SG   carry to   1SG   try
he was carrying me, mind you.

00.25 AD: dapa di   mana?
           get   in   where
where do you get that?

00.26 BL: he-em.
           uh-huh
uh-huh.

00.27 AD: sompong,   cahi,   dukung.
           carry.on.shoulder   carry.on.the.back   carry.on.the.hip
he carried me on his shoulders, on his back, on his hips.

00.30 AD: de   tinggi tu,   de   kuat,   de   itu.
           3SG   high   that 3SG   strong 3SG   that
he's tall, he's strong, this guy.

00.33   AD: nama   Jumat.
              name   Jumat
              his name is Jumat.

00.34   AD: itu   Ma   Haji   pe   ana,   tarada,
              that   EPIT Haji   POSS child   NEG
              he's Ma Haji's son, right,

              yang   ngana   deng   Aba   pi   tu.
              REL   2SG   and   Aba   go   that
              the person you and Aba visited.

00.34   BL: hmm   hmm   hmm.
              uh-huh uh-huh uh-huh
              uh-huh, uh-huh, uh-huh.

00.35   AD: Ma   Haji   pe   ana   tu.
              EPIT Haji   POSS child that
              Ma Haji's son.

00.37   AD: xxx   de   dukung,   de   siksa   pa   kita,   sampe.
              xxx   3SG   carry.on.the.hip 3SG   torture to   1SG   arrive
              xxx he carried me on his hips and he tortured himself for me.

00.41   AD: de   dukung,   dia   sompong,
              3SG   carry.on.the.hip 3SG   carry.on.shoulder
              he carried me on his hips, on his shoulders,

              dia   cahi,   dia   bagitu,   suda.
              3SG   carry.on.the.back 3SG   like.that COMP
              on his back, he just did it like that.

00.45   AD: sampe   de   pe   capato...,   de   pe   kaki   sake.
              arrive 3SG   POSS shoe   3SG   POSS foot   painful
              so that his shoes..., his feet hurt.

00.47 AD: de   pake   capato   apa,   jenggelbot,   ni.
              3SG   use   shoe   what   jungle.boot   this
              he wore whatsitcalled shoes, jungle boots.

00.48 BL: hmm.
              uh-huh
              uh-huh.

00.49 AD: kong   de   pe   kaki   su   ta-kupas.
              CONJ   3SG   POSS   foot   COMP   INV-peel
              and his feet were peeled.

00.51 AD: dia   ambe   peda   baru…   de   bawa   peda.
              3SG   take   machete then   3SG   bring   machete
              he took his machete and… he brought a machete.

00.53 AD: de   iris   de   pe   capato   pe   di   muka   tu!
              3SG   slice   3SG   POSS   shoe   POSS   in   front   that
              he cut the toe of his shoes.

00.55 AD: de   robe   baru   de   kas-kaluar   jari-jari.
              3SG   tear   then   3SG   CAUS-go.out   PL-toe
              he ripped it off and stuck out his toes.

00.58 AD: jari-jari   satu-satu   yang   ini   e   kaluar-kaluar.
              PL-toe   RED-one   REL   this   EXCL   PL-go.out
              each of these toes stuck out.

01.00 AD: kita   bilang   dia,   "ngana   ni   gila   skali   e.
              1SG   say   3SG   2SG   this   crazy   very   EXCL
              I said to him, "you're very crazy".

01.02 AD: "nae."
              go.up
              "climb on me."

01.03   AD: "capat."
              fast
              "quick."

01.04   AD: de   maruku   ka   bawa,   kita   ba-gantong.
              3SG   bow   to   bottom   1SG   REFL-hang
              he bowed down and I hang on to him."

01.06   AD: ba-jalang.
              DUR-walk
              he walked.

01.07   AD: tong   dua   ba-jalang   iko   kali   tu.
              1PL   two   DUR-walk   follow   river that
              the two of us followed the river.

01.09   AD: mau   ambe   jalan   rata   saja?
              want   take   street   straight   only
              do we want to take a straight route?

01.10   AD: tong   iko   kali   trus.
              1PL   follow   river   continue
              we continued to follow the river.

01.11   AD: pokonya,   kali   pe   jalang   iko   mana   tong   iko.
              main.point   river   POSS   street   follow   where   1PL   follow
              the main point is that wherever the river goes we followed it.

01.14   AD: de   ba-pero   ka   pi   mana,   tong   iko   turus.
              3SG   POSS-curve   or   go   where   1PL   follow   continue
              when it turned or wherever it went, we continued to follow it.

01.17   AD: deng   ahirnya   kaluar   juga.
              and   finally   go.out   also
              and finally we succeeded in getting out.

01.19   AD: de   bilang,   "Caken..."
              3SG   say   Caken
              he said, "Caken..."

01.20   AD: eh,   baru   dong   su   ka   muka,   su   jao.
              EXCL   moreover 3PL   COMP   to   front   COMP   far
              o, moreover, the others were ahead, they were far in the front.

01.21   BL: hmm.
              EXCL
              o, I see.

01.22   AD: sisa   tong   dua   yang   paling   balakang,
              remain   1PL   two   REL   very   back
              only the two of us remained behind,

              barang   kita   ni.
              because   1SG   this
              because of me.

01.25   AD: "Caken, ini   hari   tong   dua   musi   iko   kali   trus."
              Caken   this   day   1PL   two   must   follow river   continue
              "Caken, today the two of us have to follow the river continuously."

01.28   AD: "kalo   tarada   tong   dua   ilang."
              when   NEG   1PL   two   disappear
              "otherwise we both will get lost."

01.32   AD: "iyo   suda,   ngana   ator."
              yes   COMP   2SG   arrange
              "that's fine, you arrange it."

01.33   AD: kong   de   bawa   jalang   ni.
              CONJ   3SG   bring   street   this
              and he showed the way.

01.35   AD: inga   dia   kasiang,
              remember   3SG   compassion
              when I think of him I feel sorry for him,

              kita   sayang   skali   pa   dia.
              1SG   compassion   very   to   3SG
              I like him very much.

01.38   AD: cahi   baru   di   tangang   kiri   ni,
              carry.on.the.back   then   in   hand   left   this
              he was carrying me on his back while in his left hand

              bembeng-bembeng   makanang.
              REP-carry.in.the.hand   food
              he carried the food.

01.43   AD: peda   kita   pegang.
              machete   1SG   hold
              I was holding the machete.

01.45   AD: "Caken,   coba   pegang   peda   model..."
              Caken   try   hold   machete   shape
              "Caken, try to hold the machete... like..."

 01.46   AD: peda   bagini.
              machete   like.this
              the machete was like this.

01.48   AD: eh,   garap.
              EXCL   funny
              hey, that was funny.

01.49   AD: sampe   di   kali   satu   di   batu-batu   banya
              arrive   in   river   one   in   PL-stone   many
              when we arrived at a river with many rocks,

              de   lapas   pa   kita,   de   istirahat.
              3SG   let.loose   to   1SG   3SG   rest
              he put me down, he rested.

01.54 AD: de   ambe   kornet,   daging   ni,   lobang,
            3SG   take   corned.beef   meat   this   hole
       he took a can with corned beef, that's meat, made a hole,

            de   lia   aer...
            3SG   see   water
       he saw water…

02.00 AD: eh,   de   makang   sabarang,   ana   itu.
            EXCL   3SG   eat   random   child   that
       wow, that guy, he eats whatever there is.

02.02 AD: de   ambe   aer   kali,   de   campur,
            3SG   take   water   river   3SG   mix
       he took river water, he mixed it,

            de   putar   kong   de   bage.
            3SG   revolve   CONJ   3SG   hit
       he stirred it, and he took it.

02.04 AD: kita,   "muhamadan."
            1SG   EXCL
       I thought, "my goodness."

02.07 AD: "ini   ana   ka   binatang   ni?"
            this   child   or   animal   this
       "is this a man or an animal?"

02.09 AD: kita   lia   de   makang,   kita   pe
            1SG   see   3SG   eat   1SG   POSS
       when I saw him eating

            nafsu   makang   ilang.
            desire   eat   disappear
       I lost my appetite.

02.11 AD: gili.
            tickle
       it's disgusting.

02.12 AD: de   pe   lapar-lapar   me   ilang.
              3SG   POSS RED-hungry PART disappear
even my hunger was gone.

02.14 AD: "kita   su   jadi   kanyang lia   ngana makang."
              1SG   COMP become sated   see   2SG   eat
"I'm full just by watching you eat."

02.18 AD: aer   manta-manta me   tong   kipas   barang
              water   INT-unripe   PART 1PL   fan   because
we even had unboiled water

              me   tong   aus   ni.
              PART 1PL   thirsty this
because we were very thirsty.

02.22 AD: kita   memang   sial   suda.
              1SG   indeed   unfortunate COMP
I was definitely unlucky.

02.23 AD: maso, maso   utang...
              enter   enter   jungle
I just went into the jungle…

02.25 AD: baru   dalam   perjalanan, ofu   su   holo   pa   kita.
              just   inside   journey   bee   COMP sting   to   1SG
I was just on my way, when a bee stung me.

02.29 AD: xxx   kita   tanya   sini,
              xxx   1SG   ask   here
xxx I asked around,

              orang   tua-tua   bilang, kalo   ba-jalang   di   utang
              person PL-old   say   when DUR-walk   in   jungle
the elders say that when you're walking in the jungle

              kong   ofu   su   holo   lebae, ck,   kombali.
              CONJ   bee   COMP   sting   better tut   return
and a bee stings you, you'd better go back.

02.34 AD: itu   soe   suda   biar   akang
            that   misfortune COMP   although   FUT
            that brings misfortune, whatever happens

            ngana   dapa   ini,
            2SG   get   this
            you'll get this,

            halangan   ini   ka   ini.
            hindrance   this   or   this
            some hindrance or something else.

02.38 AD: kalo   tara   bodito,   suda,   sake   ka   dalang   utang.
            when   NEG   accident   COMP   painful   or   inside   jungle
            if you don't get an accident, you'll certainly get ill in the jungle.

02.41 AD: pantas!
            no.wonder
            no wonder!

8.3 Ofu Tison

Audio: Ofu_Tison.mp3
Length: 02.37 minutes
Synopsis: the speaker tells about his encounter with bees

00.00 AD: BRI   sini,   bank
            Indonesian.People's.Bank   here   bank
            BRI here, the BRI-bank here

            BRI   sini,   de   kontrak   pulo   itu   satu.
            Indonesian.People's.Bank   here   3SG   contract   island   that   one
            leased an island.

00.03 AD: pulo   kacili,
            island small
            it's a small island,

            basar   model   deng   lapangan   foli   sabla   dara.
            big   shape   with   field   volleyball   side   land
            the size is similar to the volleyball field there.

00.06 BL: hmm.
             uh-huh
             uh-huh.

00.07 AD: kadatong   pe   turung   ka   bawa   sana   ada
             palace   POSS   go.down   to   bottom there be.present
             from the palace downwards in a clockwise direction is

             lapangan   foli   sana,   ah,   basar   itu.
             field   volleyball   there   EXCL   big   that
             a volleyball field, well, it is as large as that.

00.12 AD: dong   kontrak   tapi   di   dalang   tu
             3PL   contract   but   in   inside   that
             they leased it, and there

             nanas   sasaja,   nanas,   kalapa.
             pineapple   only   pineapple   coconut
             are only pineapples, pineapples and coconut trees.

00.15 AD: e,   asik,   ngana!
             EXCL   busy   2SG
             wow, it was great!

00.17 AD: lemong,   lemong   satu   pohong   saja.
             citrus   citrus   one   tree   only
             there was only one citrus tree.

00.19 BL: oh,   orang   ba-kobong?
             EXCL   person   POSS-garden
             oh, do people keep gardens?

00.20 AD: orang   punya,   to?
             person   possess   QT
             it's someone's property, right?

00.21　AD:　Papilaya　　punya.
　　　　　　Papilaya　　possess
　　　　　　Papilaya owns it.

00.22　BL:　e　　　orang　Ambon　lagi.
　　　　　　EXCL　person　Ambon　again
　　　　　　hey, he is an Ambonese.

00.24　AD:　dong　pe,　　dong　pulo　itu　nama　Papilaya.
　　　　　　3PL　POSS　　3PL　island　that　name　Papilaya
　　　　　　their, their island is called Papilaya.

00.27　BL:　o.
　　　　　　EXCL
　　　　　　oh.

00.27　AD:　di　muka　Tobelo.
　　　　　　in　front　Tobelo
　　　　　　it's in front of Tobelo.

00.30　AD:　paitua　　maninggal,　tarada,　kong　paitua　kase
　　　　　　old.man　　pass.away　　NEG　　CONJ　old.man　give
　　　　　　he passed away, right, and he let

　　　　　　paitua　　pe　　kaka　　　　sana　di　Tobelo　pegang　pulo　itu.
　　　　　　old.man　POSS　older.sibling　there　in　Tobelo　hold　island　that
　　　　　　his older brother in Tobelo manage the island.

00.34　AD:　kong　tanya　kalo　ada　　　　orang　mu　　kontrak
　　　　　　CONJ　ask　　when　be.present　person　want　contract
　　　　　　he asked him to allow anyone who wanted to lease the island

　　　　　　kase　saja.
　　　　　　give　only
　　　　　　to have it.

00.38 AD: itu tong kontrak satu taong.
that 1PL contract one year
we leased it for one year.

00.41 AD: ya Allah!
EXCL Allah
oh my goodness!

00.42 AD: kontrak itu, baru de pe ofu pe tampa lagi.
contract that moreover 3SG POSS bee POSS place again
we leased it, and it was also a place of bees.

00.46 AD: kita langsung bayangkan Sorong, ngana.
1SG immediately imagine Sorong 2SG
I immediately imagined Sorong.

00.48 AD: kita bilang, "mama pe ana", baru
1SG say mother POSS child moreover
I said, "my goodness", and the bees there

ofu sana ofu sadis, ngana, ofu itang.
bee there bee sadistic 2SG bee black
are sadistic bees, black bees.

00.53 AD: ofu itang-itang bagini e.
bee PL-black like.this EXCL
bees, as black as this.

00.55 AD: baru, hmm, mama, poco-poco.
moreover EXCL mother chubby
and, my goodness, they were fat.

00.58 AD: bagini-bagini, ngana!
PL-like.this 2SG
like this!

01.00   AD: jadi   sana   bukang   ofu,   Tison[21]   sana.
              become   there   NEG   bee   Tyson   there
              so there, there are no bees, but there are Tysons.

01.02   AD: eh,   ofu   pasti...   tara   mungkin,
              EXCL   bee   definitely NEG   possible
              no, they are definitely... it's impossible,

              ofu   tara   bagini.
              bee   NEG   like.this
              bees cannot be like this.

01.05   AD: dong   mu   tatawa.
              3PL   want   laugh
              they had to laugh.

01.06   AD: dong   rencana   bakar.
              3PL   plan   burn
              they planned to burn them.

01.08   AD: malam-malam.
              INT-night
              at night.

01.09   AD: ana   Tobelo   tu   dia…   talanjang   badang,
              child Tobelo   that   3SG   naked   body
              the man from Tobelo… he did not wear a shirt,

              pake   calana   dalang.
              use   trousers inside
              he only wore underpants.

01.14   AD: kita   bilang,   "ah,   ini   antara   de   holo...
              1SG   say   EXCL   this   between   3SG   sting
              I said, "ow, either they sting or…

---

[21] Referring to the famous American boxer of the 1990s, Mike Tyson.

    satu   kali   saja,   ngana   ta-banting."
    one   time   only   2SG   INV-slam.down
    only once and you're down."

01.16   AD: me   ofu   la   kacili.
                   PART   bee   CONJ   small
                   if only they were bees and small.

01.18   AD: dia   ambe   walirang,   to?
                   3SG   take   sulphur   QT
                   he took some sulphur, right?

01.19   AD: walirang   dari   Morotai   de   ambe   sadiki.
                   sulphur   from   Morotai   3SG   take   a.little
                   he took a little bit of sulphur from Morotai.

01.21   AD: gulung   satu   ika   ini…   alus-alus   bagini.
                   roll   one   bind   this   PL-fine   like.this
                   one bunch… it was fine like this.

01.24   AD: dong   gulung   satu   ika   model   sosapu   bagitu.
                   3PL   roll   one   bind   shape   broom   like.that
                   they rolled one bunch like a broom.

01.26   BL: hmm.
                   uh-huh
                   uh-huh.

01.27   AD: basar   bagini,   panjang-panjang   bagini.
                   big   like.this   PL-long   like.this
                   it was this big and about this long.

01.32   AD: dia   isap   roko,   isap   roko   sampe   manyala   abis.
                   3SG   suck   cigarette   suck   cigarette   arrive   flame   finished
                   he smoked a cigarette and smoked until it didn't flare up anymore.

01.34   AD: su   dekat   situ.
              COMP   close   there
              we were close to the place.

 01.35   AD: malang-malang   ofu   tidor   asik-asik.
               INT-night   bee   sleep   INT-busy
               at night bees are sound asleep.

01.36   AD: kita   dengar-dengar   ofu   manggoro   sadap   ni   dia!
              1SG   REP-hear   bee   snore   delicious   this   3SG
              I heard the bees snore loudly.

01.39   AD: kasiang,   ngana!
              compassion   2SG
              it was so sad!

01.40   AD: dong   bakar,   ngana!
              3PL   burn   2SG
              they burned them!

01.42   AD: tst,   walirang   de   manyala   capat   to?
              IMIT   sulphur   3SG   flame   fast   QT
              tsst, sulphur burns fast, right?

01.43   AD: tst,   model   garis.
              IMIT   shape   match
              tsst, like a match.

01.45   AD: de   warna   deng   garis   soklat   bagitu.
              3SG   colour   with   match   brown   like.that
              the colour is the same as matches, brown.

01.48   AD: de   pe   bakar...   de   bakar
              3SG   POSS   burn   3SG   burn
              the moment he burned it... he burned it

deng   roko   bagini,   kong   de   tsst
with   cigarette like.this CONJ 3SG   IMIT
with a cigarette, and then it hissed

kong   dia   fol,   fol,   kong   de   lapas.
CONJ   3SG   full   full   CONJ 3SG   let.loose
and it went at full speed… it went at full speed and he let it go.

01.53 AD: eh,   dia   lari   kong   tabrak   lemong.
             EXCL   3SG   run   CONJ   collide   citrus
             hey, he ran and ran into a citrus tree.

01.55 AD: kita   bilang,   "ngana   mati,   ngana."
             1SG   say   2SG   dead   2SG
             I said, "you're dead, man."

01.57 AD: padahal   ofu   tara   dusu   tu!
             whereas   bee   NEG   chase   that
             in fact the bees didn't chase him!

01.59 BL: o?
             EXCL
             oh?

01.59 AD: eh,   de   lari   karna   tako   ni.
             EXCL   3SG   run   because afraid this
             eh, he was running because he was scared.

02.01 AD: jang   sampe   ofu   dusu,   baru   talanjang badang.
             don't   arrive   bee   chase   moreover naked   body
             he was careful that the bees didn't follow him while he was not wearing a shirt.

02.03 AD: kong   de   lari   de   bage   lemong   satu   pohong.
             CONJ   3SG   run   3SG   hit   citrus   one   tree
             so he ran and he hit a citrus tree.

02.06　AD:　　e,　　　　kita　　tatawa.
　　　　　　　　　EXCL　　1SG　　laugh
　　　　　　　hey, I laughed.

02.07　AD:　　ana　　itu　　de　　pe　　　nama　　Bajir,
　　　　　　　　　child　that　3SG　POSS　　name　　Bajir
　　　　　　　this guy's name is Bajir,

　　　　　　　ana　　paling　bual-bual.
　　　　　　　child　very　　INT-boasting
　　　　　　　a very boasting person.

02.11　AD:　　"ya,　　adudu,　　adudu!"
　　　　　　　　　EXCL　　EXCL　　　EXCL
　　　　　　　"o, ow, ow!"

02.11　AD:　　sangka　　biki　　apa　　padahal...
　　　　　　　　　suppose　　make　what　whereas
　　　　　　　we supposed that something had happened to him, while…

02.13　AD:　　oh,　　　tong　sini　su　　　sangka　mu　　dapa　holo,
　　　　　　　　　EXCL　　1PL　here　COMP　suppose　want　get　　sting
　　　　　　　oh, we thought that he was stung,

　　　　　　　padahal　tabrak　lemong.
　　　　　　　whereas　collide　citrus
　　　　　　　but he ran into a citrus tree.

02.17　AD:　　"biki　apa,　　Zir?"
　　　　　　　　　make　what　　TRU-Bajir
　　　　　　　"what happened?"

02.18　AD:　　"cih,　　kita　tabrak　lemong."
　　　　　　　　　EXCL　　1SG　collide　citrus
　　　　　　　"ah, I ran into a citrus tree."

02.19 AD: "ya   ampong!"
             EXCL   mercy
             "my goodness!"

02.22 AD: e,   beso   pagi   tong   ka   lao   lia   ofu.
             EXCL   tomorrow   morning   1PL   to   sea   see   bee
             ah, the next morning we went seawards to look at the bees.

02.25 AD: eh,   mati   samua.
             EXCL   dead   all
             oh, they were all dead.

02.28 AD: de   pe   madu   me   kering.
             3SG   POSS   honey   PART   dry
             even the honey was dry.

02.29 BL: hmm.
             uh-huh
             uh-huh.

02.30 AD: ofu   madu   itu.
             bee   honey   that
             the honey of the bees.

02.32 AD: madu   basar.
             honey   big
             large honey combs.

02.32 AD: banya,   ngana,   de   madu   tu.
             many   2SG   3SG   honey   that
             there was a lot of honey.

02.33 AD: kering   samua.
             dry   all
             it was all dry.

02.35 AD: kita   bilang, "sukur,   ofu su   mati."
1SG   say   thank.God   bee COMP   dead
I said, "thank God, the bees are dead."

8.4 Tasirang

Audio: Tasirang.mp3
Length: 01.36 minutes
Synopsis: the speaker tells how hot oil spilled over him.

00.00 AD: satu   kali   lagi   minya   sirang...
one   time   again oil   pour
another time oil spilled...

ta-sirang   pa   kita.
INV-pour   to   1SG
spilled on me.

00.03 AD: minya   kalapa   panas-panas, baru   ba-goreng   abis.
oil   coconut   INT-hot   just   DUR-fry   finished
very hot coconut oil, right after it was used for frying.

00.07 AD: pe   angka   ikang... e   suntung...
POSS   lift.up fish   FILL   squid
the moment I was taking out the fish... umm, the squids...

00.10 AD: kita   angka   suntung   bagini,   pe   angka   balangang...
1SG   lift.up squid   like.this POSS   lift.up wok
I was taking out the squids like this... the moment I lifted the wok...

kong   gata-gata   ta-putar.
CONJ   k.o.pincers INV-revolve
the pincers twisted.

00.10 AD: kong   balangang ta-lipa   bagini   kong   de   bage
CONJ   wok   INV-fold like.this CONJ   3SG   hit
and the wok turned over and hit me

di   sini   e.
in   here   EXCL
here.

00.18   AD: dari   sini...   di   bawa   sampe   sini.
from   here   in   bottom   arrive   here
from here… and down to here.

00.21   AD: di   puru   lagi.
in   stomach   again
also on my stomach.

00.22   AD: de   pe   tampias   kana   puru.
3SG   POSS   splatter   hit   stomach
the splatters hit my stomach.

00.24   AD: o,   kita   rasa   abis   suda.
EXCL   1SG   feel   finished   COMP
o, I felt I was finished.

00.25   AD: "kita   ni   malopo   basar   punya."
1SG   this   blister   big   possess
"I'll surely have huge blisters."

00.28   AD: kita   langsung   lari,   fol-fol.
1SG   immediately   run   INT-full
I immediately ran away, at full speed.

00.30   AD: lari....   pas...
run   exactly
I was running… exactly…

00.33   AD: itu   di   Tobelo.
that   in   Tobelo
it was in Tobelo.

00.34 AD: pinggir   pante   deng   kita   langsung   dudu   ka   bawa,
           side   beach   and   1SG   immediately   sit   to   bottom
I was on the beach and I immediately sat down,

             kong   kita   gale   paser.
             CONJ   1SG   dig   sand
and dug up sand.

00.40 AD: gale,   kita   kumpul,   kumpul,   kong   kita   bage.
           dig   1SG   gather   gather   CONJ   1SG   hit
I dug it up and gathered, gathered it, and I put it all over me.

00.42 AD: itu   biking   abis,   kita   gale   kase   panjang.
           that   make   finished   1SG   dig   give   long
after I finished that, I dug to make it long.

00.44 AD: kita   tanang   kita   pe   kaki...   tanang...   malam-malam.
           1SG   plant   1SG   POSS   leg   plant   INT-night
I buried my legs... I buried them... it was in the middle of the night.

00.48 AD: kita   tanang   kaki   bagini.
           1SG   plant   leg   like.this
I buried my legs like this.

00.50 AD: dong   kage.
           3PL   startled
they were shocked.

00.51 AD: dong   bilang...
           3PL   say
they said...

00.51 AD: me   kita   banting   balangang.
           CONJ   1SG   slam.down   wok
I had dropped the wok.

00.53   AD: dong   bangong,   "biki   apa,   biki   apa,   cih?"
          3PL   rise   make   what   make   what   EXCL

they woke up, "hey, what's happening, what's happening?"

00.56   AD: "ba-diang."
          DUR-quiet

"be quiet."

00.57   AD: "kita   ta-sirang   deng   minya   panas-panas."
          1SG   INV-pour   with   oil   INT-hot

"I've had very hot oil spilled all over me."

01.00   AD: "astaga,   ambe   odol!"
          EXCL   take   toothpaste

"oh my goodness, get some toothpaste!"

01.01   AD: "su   tara   usa   pake   odol   suda."
          COMP   NEG   necessary   use   toothpaste   COMP

"it's not necessary to use toothpaste."

01.02   AD: "pake   ini,   paser."
          use   this   sand

I'm using this, sand."

01.04   AD: eh,   de   pe   beso   kita   kage   nae.
          EXCL   3SG   POSS   tomorrow   1SG   startled   go.up

gee, the next day I woke up with a shock.

01.06   AD: e,   bersi.
          EXCL   clean

he, it was smooth.

01.08   AD: tara   malopo.
          NEG   blister

there were no blisters.

01.08   BL: o?
                EXCL
                really?

01.08   AD: kita   bilang,   "sukur."
                1SG   say   thank.God
                I said, "thank God."

01.11   AD: e,   kita   baca   sukur,
                EXCL   1SG   read   thank.God
                wow, I thanked God and

                hari   itu   memang   De   iko   ka   apa.
                day   that   indeed   3SG   follow   or   what
                that day He probably did what I wanted.

01.14   AD: kita   angka   paser,   kong   seka,   ngana.
                1SG   lift.up   sand   CONJ   rub   2SG
                I took sand, rubbed it on my body,

01.15   AD: de   tara   malopo   samua.
                3SG   NEG   blister   all
                the spots didn't all blister.

01.17   AD: eh,   ta-sirang   antero   kaki   kiri   ni.
                EXCL   INV-pour   entire   leg   left   this
                eh, my whole left leg was spilled on.

01.20   AD: ah,   cuma   di   sini   sadiki...   sadiki   saja.
                EXCL   only   in   here   a.little   a.little   only
                o right, but here there were only a few.

01.22   AD: yang   kita   rasa   pidis,   de   malopo   sadiki   di   sini,
                REL   1SG   feel   spicy   3SG   blister   a.little   in   here
                where I felt sore, it was a bit blistered here,

    tapi   yang   laeng   tarada.
    but   REL   other   NEG
    but the rest had nothing.

01.26   AD: kita   bilang,   "ih,   untung   de   tara   malopo   samua."
              1SG   say   EXCL   luck   3SG   NEG   blister   all
              I said, "phew, luckily not everything got blistered."

01.28   AD: kalo   de   malopo   samua   akang   itang   busu   suda.
              when   3SG   blister   all   FUT   black   rotten   COMP
              if everything had blistered, it would be all blackened.

01.31   AD: kalo   orang   lia,   orang   su   tara   suka.
              when   person   see   person   COMP   NEG   like
              when people saw it, they wouldn't like me anymore.

01.35   AD: eh,   cih.
              EXCL   EXCL
              oops.

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Index

ability, 116-8, 140, 210, 217, 219, 241
activity word, 43, 92, 99, 107-10, 112-5,
    118, 120-3, 125, 130, 132, 134, 136-7,
    140, 148-50, 198, 202-3, 210, 212,
    217-21, 227-8
adjective, 1, 58
adverb. *See* manner
affix, 4-5, 10, 22
agent, 55-6, 58, 114, 117, 119, 123, 140,
    144, 148, 150-1, 158, 199, 201-2, 209-
    13, 215, 218, 220, 227-8
Ambon, 1-2, 8, 11-2, 240, 266
Arabic, 20, 29, 32-3, 147, 170
aspect marker, 179, 204, 218, 222, 226,
    244
assimilation, 38, 40
Austronesian, 11

Bacan, 2-3, 8, 12, 240-1
Banda, 1
Bird's Head, 4
Blagden, C.O., 6-7, 9
bound element, 107, 120, 123, 125, 224
Brunei, 7

categorization, 49
causative, 9, 33, 44, 100, 107, 114, 119,
    120-4, 140, 210
centre of attention, 198, 244
Chinese, 9, 33
classifier, 54, 62-5
collective meaning, 50, 59-61, 66, 105,
    107, 130-3
comitative, 96, 150
comparison, 96, 188, 220
completive, 195, 201, 204, 229, 231
consonant cluster, 31

desirability, 216-7, 241, 243
distal, 59, 68, 73-4, 77-8, 91, 101, 105,
    141, 208
durative, 125, 127, 132
Dutch, 12, 18, 24, 29, 32-4, 64, 170

English, 24
exclamation, 72, 92, 97-100, 111, 144,
    171, 194, 208, 218

Flores, 44-5, 139
focus, 41
function words, 34, 114, 141

gender, 41, 43

habitual activity, 125-6, 137, 218
Halmahera, 2-4, 10, 86, 89, 162, 181,
    210, 237, 240
Hiri, 4
hortative, 193

imperative, 152, 179, 192, 244
Indonesian, 3-4, 10-1, 13, 21, 245
    Jakarta –, 3, 5, 141
    Riau –, 1
ingressive, 227-8
intensive, 101, 131, 138-9
interjection, 141, 166-9, 171, 173, 175-6,
    179, 241
interrogative, 53, 81, 182-8, 244
involuntary action, 50, 107, 119, 133,
    135-6, 207, 227

Jakarta, 2, 3, 5, 12-3, 138, 141, 185, 234,
    240-1
Java, 2, 69
Javanese, 5, 8
Jawi script, 5, 9-10
Johor, 5

Kampung Makasar, 238-9
Kupang, 1

Larantuka, 1
lexical item, 1, 34, 41, 51, 107, 125, 141,
    172, 179-180, 193, 244
loanwords, 1, 7, 9, 18

Nederlandse samenvatting

Ternate Maleis is een variant van het Maleis die gesproken wordt op Ternate, een klein eiland in de oost-Indonesische provincie Maluku Utara (Noord-Molukken. Vroeger was Ternate vooral bekend om de specerijenhandel, met name in die van kruidnagelen, omdat die oorspronkelijk alleen in dit gebied groeiden. Handelaren uit vele delen van de wereld kwamen om hun geluk te beproeven aan deze lucratieve handel. De enige stad op het eiland, ook Ternate genaamd, was in die tijd een belangrijk handelscentrum, waar Maleis gebruikt werd als communicatiemiddel met de plaatselijke bevolking en tussen de handelaren onderling. De locale variant die zich daar ontwikkelde is de moedertaal van een groot deel van de bevolking, met name van hen die in de stad wonen. Het vervult nog altijd een belangrijke rol als communicatiemiddel tussen mensen met verschillende taalachtergronden. Het oorspronkelijke Ternataans dat hier wordt gesproken en evenals een aantal andere talen in Maluku Utara tot de non-Austronesische taalfamilie behoort, wordt hierdoor bedreigd. Deze taal wordt voornamelijk gesproken in het niet-stedelijk gebied op het eiland en speelt een rol bij speciale gelegenheden.

Dit proefschrift is een grammatica van Ternate Maleis, gebaseerd op spontaan vertelde verhalen, die de basis vormen voor de analyse en de bron zijn van de voorbeelden. Het proefschrift wil een aanvulling zijn op bestaande studies naar Maleise varianten in het algemeen en in het bijzonder naar die in Indonesië.

In hoofdstuk 1 wordt een algemene schets gegeven van Ternate, het eiland en de stad, waar het onderzoek heeft plaatsgevonden, en hoe het materiaal, dat de basis vormt voor dit proefschrift is verzameld. Er wordt een globaal overzicht gegeven van een aantal eerdere publicaties over Maleis in Ternate. Dit hoofdstuk wordt gevolgd door de bespreking van de fonologie van het Ternate Maleis in hoofdstuk 2.

Hoofdstuk 3 behandelt een interessant punt dat bij de studie van Ternate Maleis (en andere talen) naar voren komt, namelijk de flexibiliteit van woorden. In Ternate Maleis kunnen woorden zonder dat ze van vorm veranderen, enkelvoud of meervoud aanduiden, een handeling in het heden, het verleden, of de toekomst uitdrukken, en ze kunnen verschillende syntactische rollen aannemen en betekenissen weergeven. Dit kan worden geïllustreerd met de zin *dia karung₁ pake karung₂ strep* 'hij stopt het in een gestreepte zak', waar *karung₁* als het predicaat dient, werkwoordelijk gebruikt wordt, en 'in een zak stoppen' betekent, terwijl *karung₂* als het lijdend voorwerp van *pake* 'gebruiken' kan worden geïnterpreteerd, verwijst naar het ding dat gebruikt wordt en waarin iets gestopt wordt, en de betekenis 'zak' uitdrukt. In de vertaling van de zin is willekeurig gekozen voor een mannelijk persoon die de handeling uitvoert, de tegenwoordige tijd van de handeling, en een enkel-

voudige zak. Maar *dia* zou ook naar een vrouw kunnen verwijzen, *karung₁* een handeling in het verleden aanduiden, en *karung₂* zou een meervoudige betekenis kunnen hebben, waardoor de zin ook zou kunnen betekenen 'zij stopte het in gestreepte zakken'. De talige context en de niet-talige situatie bepalen welke interpretatie het beste past.

Om de betekenis van een groep woorden op de juiste manier te kunnen interpreteren zijn er regels en hulpmiddelen. Een regel is dat in Ternate Maleis het hoofd van een woordgroep meestal vooraf gaat en de modificeerders erop volgen. Daarnaast zijn er verschillende elementen die kunnen dienen als markeerders. Een element zoals *pe* geeft aan dat wat volgt op *pe*, het hoofd van de constructie is, terwijl een element zoals *yang* aangeeft dat wat erop volgt, dient als een modificeerder. Met deze elementen wordt aangegeven hoe onderdelen in de constructie zich tot elkaar verhouden wat het bepalen van de betekenis mogelijk maakt.

Hoofdstuk 4 handelt over woordgroepen waarvan het hoofd gevormd wordt door een woord dat veelal naar een ding verwijst. In dit hoofdstuk gaat het met name om de structuur van de woordgroep, de relatie tussen de samenstellende delen, en de betekenis die een woordgroep kan uitdrukken. Meestal is het hoofd van de woordgroep het deel dat voorop gaat, maar er zijn uitzonderingen. Het hoofd van woordgroepen die een bezit aangeven, kunnen achter in de woordgroep staan. Een voorbeeld hiervan zijn bezittelijke constructies bestaande uit een Y *pe* X of een YX structuur, waarbij X het hoofd is en naar het bezit verwijst, terwijl Y de modificeerder vormt en naar de bezitter verwijst. De betekenis van een Y *pe* X constructie is 'de Y van X' of 'Y's X', waardoor bijvoorbeeld *kita pe ruma* 'het huis van mij' of 'mijn huis' betekent. Een voorbeeld van een YX bezittelijke constructie is *Ibu barang* 'mevrouw's spullen' of 'de spullen van mevrouw'. In dit voorbeeld vormt *Ibu* 'mevrouw' de modificeerder bij *barang* 'spullen', dat het hoofd van de woordgroep is. Er zijn woorden, waaronder *ini* 'dit' en *itu* 'dat' en telwoorden, die in hun functie als modificeerder zowel aan het hoofdwoord vooraf kunnen gaan als erop kunnen volgen. Het verschil in positie van deze elementen leidt tot een verschil in betekenis.

Hoofdstuk 5 behandelt de verschillende structuren waaruit woordgroepen waarvan het hoofdwoord verwijst naar een activiteit of een handeling, kunnen bestaan. Het hoofdwoord kan gevolgd worden door een woord dat een ding aanduidt. Bij sommige van deze combinaties is de betekenis af te leiden van de betekenis van de elementen en is het ding op de een of andere manier betrokken bij de handeling. Bij andere combinaties vormen ze een vaste uitdrukking waarvan de betekenis niet asltijd is af te leiden uit de betekenis van de elementen.

Een combinatie van twee woorden die beide een handeling aangeven kan in sommige gevallen een betekenis uitdrukken die verwijst naar een opeenvolging van handelingen uitgevoerd door een zelfde agent. Een dergelijke combinatie van woorden kan eveneens verwijzen naar een gebeurtenis, waarbij de handelingen verschillende uitvoerders hebben. De context en situatie bepalen welke interpretatie het beste past.

Een aantal woorden kunnen gecombineerd worden met gebonden elementen die aan het basiswoord worden voorgevoegd. Deze voorvoegsels, waaronder *ba-*, *baku-*, en *ta-*, voegen een bepaalde betekenis toe aan die van het basiswoord. Het resultaat van dergelijke processen leidt tot woorden die veelvuldig gebruikt worden om een handeling aan te geven, maar afhankelijk van de context en de situatie, kunnen zij andere betekenissen uitdrukken.

In hoofdstuk 6 worden een aantal groepen woorden behandeld die voornamelijk gebruikt worden om een bepaalde functie te vervullen, waaronder persoonlijke voornaamwoorden, die een verwijzende functie hebben en waarvan de betekenis bepaald wordt door de context en de situatie waarin zij worden gebruikt, en conjuncties, die gebruikt worden om woorden en zinsdelen met elkaar te verbinden. Een viertal woorden wordt voornamelijk gebruikt om een plaats of een richting aan te duiden: *di* 'in, op', *dari* 'van, vanaf', *ka* 'naar', *pa* 'naar, aan'. Vanwege hun positie aan het begin van een groep woorden, geven zij aan waar een woordgroep begint en dat het woord dat erop volgt een locatie aanduidt. In dit hoofdstuk wordt tevens een aantal uitroepen besproken. Deze bestaan veelal uit kleine woordjes die op zichzelf staan en uitdrukking geven aan de gevoelens of de houding van de spreker. Deze uitroepen kunnen dienen om de aandacht van iemand te trekken en vervullen communicatieve doeleinden doordat ze de reactie van de spreker weergeven.

Hoofdstuk 7 behandelt zinstructuren, waarbij aandacht wordt besteed aan verschillende typen zinnen en hoe deze te herkennen zijn, verschillende woordvolgordes en hun betekenis, en zinsdelen die een predicaat vormen.

Verschillende typen zinnen worden van elkaar onderscheiden door bepaalde woorden. De aanwezigheid van woorden zoals *apa* 'wat?' of *mana* 'waar?' en combinaties waarin deze woorden voorkomen, zoals *biki apa* 'waarom?', *tempo apa* 'wanneer?', en *bagimana* 'hoe?' geeft aan dat het om vragende zinnen gaat, terwijl de aanwezigheid van *jang* of *jangang* 'niet doen' aangeeft dat het om verbiedende zinnen gaat. Een intonatiepatroon kenmerkend voor bepaalde typen zinnen vergemakkelijkt de herkenning ervan.

De meest gangbare volgorde van het subject en het predicaat is dat het subject aan het predicaat voorafgaat. Wanneer deze woordvolgorde verandert en het predicaat voorafgaat aan het subject, geeft dit aan dat dat zinsdeel in het centrum van de aandacht staat en dat het meer nadruk krijgt. Andere zinsdelen die aan het subject vooraf kunnen gaan zijn tijdsaanduidingen, bijvoorbeeld, *beso pagi* 'morgenochtend', *dua taong lalu ni* 'twee jaar geleden', of *nanti* 'straks, later' en modale uitdrukkingen, zoals *sebenarnya* 'eigenlijk', dat een tegenstelling aangeeft, *pasti* 'vast en zeker' dat zekerheid aangeeft, of *mangkali* 'misschien, vermoedelijk' dat aangeeft dat de spreker niet zeker is van zijn zaak en dat zijn uitspraak een veronderstelling of vermoeden weergeeft. *Tara* en *tarada* zijn woorden die helemaal aan het eind van een zin kunnen staan. In deze positie worden ze met een specifiek accent uitgesproken. Ze dienen dan als vraaglabels en worden gebruikt om een reactie te ontlokken en geven aan dat het om een vragende zin gaat, waarop de spreker een reactie verwacht. Andere woorden die in deze positie kunnen voorkomen zijn

sampe, dat uitgesproken met een uitroepend intonatiepatroon (in de voorbeelden weergegeven door een uitroepteken), een beoordeling van de spreker weergeeft, zoals in het voorbeeld *manusia sampe!* 'wat een mensen!', of *ngana* dat, eveneens met een uitroepend intonatiepatroon uitgesproken, de verbazing van de spreker aangeeft. *Basar, ngana!* 'het was groot, joh!' was iemand's commentaar toen hij vertelde over een enorm groot huis.

Subject-predicaat en hoofd-modificeerder constructies zijn niet altijd duidelijk van elkaar te onderscheiden, met name wanneer het tweede deel in de constructie een eigenschap aanduidt, bestaat uit een relativerende *yang* constructie, of een constructie met *di* 'in, op, etc.', *dari* 'afkomstig uit, van', of *deng* 'met', of wanneer de twee samenstellende delen naar dezelfde referent verwijzen. De aanwezigheid van bepaalde woorden, zoals bijvoorbeeld aspect markeerders, kan dan bepalend zijn, omdat deze woorden alleen in predicaten voorkomen en een predicatieve interpretatie afdwingen. De context en de situatie bepalen welke intepretatie en welke betekenis het beste passen.

Hoofdstuk 8, tevens het laatste hoofdstuk, bevat een viertal Ternate Maleise teksten, voorzien van interlineaire glossen, en een Engelse vertaling. De teksten zijn verhalen die een 21-jarige man spontaan vertelde in Ternate. De geluidsopname hiervan vormt de bron van de voorbeelden die in dit proefschrift gebruikt zijn. Twintig korte verhalen van deze opname zijn uitgewerkt en kunnen nagelezen en beluisterd worden op de CD die bij het proefschrift is gevoegd.

Curriculum Vitae

Betty Litamahuputty was born in Deventer, where she also went to primary and high school. From 1982 to 1984, she was employed as a consultant at the *Dewan Maluku Deventer*, a muncipal advisory board on Moluccan affairs. In 1986 she started her studies at the Department of Languages and Cultures of Southeast Asia and Oceania (now Southeast Asian Studies) at Leiden University, obtaining her MA in 1991. From 1992 to 1996 she was a PhD-student at the Research School CNWS, Leiden University with a research project on a linguistic description of Ternate Malay. She taught Indonesian language courses at the Department of Indo-Pacific Languages at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa and several other institutes in the Netherlands. She has been involved in projects on the Javanese language at Leiden University and endangered Moluccan languages at Monash University, Melbourne. Since 2001 Betty works for the Jakarta Field Station of the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology in Leipzig.