A description of Ternate Malay

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ABSTRACT

Ternate Malay is a local variety of Malay in Ternate, a small island in the Maluku Utara province in eastern Indonesia. The majority of speakers live in Ternate town, where it serves as mother tongue as well as a means of communication between people of various ethnic and linguistic backgrounds. In the last few decades there is a growing scholarly interest in local Malay varieties, particularly in the eastern part of Indonesia. This article is a short description of Ternate Malay based on the idea that words in Ternate Malay receive their meaning in the combination with other words and that the linguistic context as well as the non-linguistic situation in which they occur, determine the most suitable interpretation of utterances. It is shown how certain words facilitate the determination of the interpretation.

KEYWORDS

Malay dialects, linguistics, grammar, Ternate, Maluku Utara.
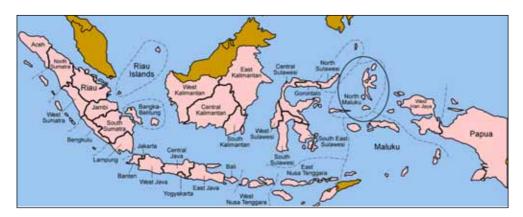
INTRODUCTION[1]

Ternate Malay is a variety of Malay spoken on Ternate, a small island in the eastern Indonesian province of Maluku Utara (see Maps 1-2). Ternate has been famous as an important centre in the spice trade, particularly that of cloves, since in this region cloves originally grow. For centuries traders from all over the world came here to get their share in this profitable trade (see Andaya 1993). Malay was used as a lingua franca between the traders and the local population as well as amongst the traders themselves who had different linguistic backgrounds. In the town, also called Ternate, a local variety of Malay developed and became the mother tongue of the majority of people now

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[1]   This article is based on the PhD thesis Ternate Malay; Grammar and texts, defended on 11 October 2012 at Leiden University (Netherlands). The thesis as well as the contents of the CD rom appended to it are accessible through: http://www.lotpublications.nl/, LOT Dissertation Series, 2012, number 306 or http://lingweb.eva.mpg.de/jakarta/ternate.

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living in the urban part of the island. For others Malay is a second language and fulfils the role as a means of communication for people with different linguistic backgrounds (Adelaar and Prentice 1996).

Map 1. Map of Indonesia (http://mapsof.net/uploads/static-maps/indonesia_provinces_english.png).

Map 2. Map of North Mollucas (http://www.halmaherautara.com/images/peta_big_en.jpg).

This article summarizes some aspects of the Ternate Malay grammar. Ternate Malay has, similar to some other languages and Malay varieties, no clear-cut distinction between word classes. Various scholars have attempted to find a satisfactory solution for the fact that, for instance, verbs and adjectives in Malay show similar features (*inter alia* Gonda 1949; Teeuw 1962; Steinhauer 1986). For Riau Indonesian, a variety of colloquial Indonesian spoken in western Indonesia, David Gil (1994, 2000) suggests to consider a word as the smallest syntactic unit. He does not find strong support for a distinction between nouns and verbs (Gil Forthcoming). This encouraged and influenced me to elaborate a view on Ternate Malay. The basic idea here is that most words in Ternate Malay receive their meaning from their relationship with other words. There are some other words that merely serve grammatical functions to indicate the structure of a string of words, and additionally contribute to the meaning. The linguistic context as well as the non-linguistic situation determines which interpretation is the most suitable.

The structure of this article is as follows. After this introduction some notes on the languages on the island and the main publications on Malay in the North Moluccan region is described. It is followed by a section on the flexibility of Ternate Malay words and some sections in which attention is paid to various combinations of words to form larger constructions and clauses as well as function words and their role in interpreting the structure of strings of words. The article is closed off with a short conclusion.

LANGUAGES IN TERNATE

The urban part of the island of Ternate is inhabited by an ethnically and linguistically diverse society of more than 160,000 people (Badan 2010). Ternate Malay is their main language of daily communication, *bahasa hari-hari* 'daily language', and has to be distinguished from Indonesian, the standardized national language, and Jakarta Indonesian, a colloquial form of Indonesian emerged in the capital city of Jakarta and which gains some popularity amongst the Indonesian youth throughout the archipelago. The indigenous language of Ternate is generally referred to as *bahasa Ternate* 'Ternate language', while some would use the term *bahasa Ternate asli* 'original Ternate language' to distinguish it from Ternate Malay. The Ternate language is the first language for the majority of people *di blakang gunung* 'behind the mountain', ethnic Ternate people who live in the rural part of the island. This language belongs, together with Northeast Halmaheran, Sahu, and West-Makian, to the North Moluccan subgroup of the West-Papuan phylum within the non-Austronesian language family (Voorhoeve 1994: 649). The group of languages is closely related to languages in the western tip of the Bird's Head peninsula of Papua (Voorhoeve 1988: 181).

The sultan of Ternate is an important figure as traditional leader in the Ternate community. At his court, situated in the urban part of the city, the Ternate language is the official language and is used during traditional events and ceremonies. In negotiations at the market where Ternate women sell

their crops, some familiarity with the Ternate language may be of help to get a better price for fruits, vegetables, fish, or other products.

Indonesian, the national language, is the language of administration, mass media, religion, and is used at formal events. In its written form it reaches the people through newspapers, schoolbooks, administrative documents, and other writings. Some radio and television broadcasting programs use standard Indonesian. It is used in schools, churches, mosques, at official meetings and in other formal and semi-formal situations, as well as in conversations on abstract, philosophical, theoretical, and other topics, although it is not uncommon to notice that the language is flavoured with local elements. Jakarta Indonesian is spreading throughout the nation via radio and television broadcasting programs, soap operas and talk shows, in which it is used to create an informal setting. Young people in Ternate may use Jakarta Indonesian words and expressions in their speech as well as, for example, in their text messages or in social media, which is considered by some to be a form of showing off, while for others it is a link to the world outside Ternate and Maluku Utara. Jakarta Indonesian may be the target language under semi-formal circumstances, for instance, in communication with visitors from Jakarta. These languages are in a diglossic state (Sneddon 2003) and are scaled on a continuum in which standard Indonesian is the high variety and Ternate Malay the low variety. In the literature, the term "North Moluccan Malay" is used to refer to 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' for the Malay lingua franca spoken throughout and outside Halmahera, which has also become a home language (*inter alia* Masinambow 1976).

A number of studies on Malay in Ternate and the North Moluccan region are available. These concern written as well as spoken forms of Malay and provide linguistic information as well as give insights into the sociolinguistic situation of a region in a certain period of time. The oldest records of Malay from Ternate and the Maluku region can be found in manuscripts, such as letters from local rulers. These exhibit a kind of written Malay used in a certain period of time for administrative purposes. In an article on two Malay letters, written at the sultan's court in Ternate in 1521 and 1522, C.O. Blagden transcribes the letters, which were originally written in Jawi script, into the Latin script and provides it with an English translation. He notes that the style of the letters reveals that the scribes were probably of Ternate origin and not very acquainted with the Malay language (Blagden 1930: 87). As an example Blagden mentions the word order, which has been influenced by the local, Ternate language, and is exemplified in *Raja Sultan Abu Hayat surat* 'Letter of Sultan Abu Hayat', a possessive construction with a possessor-possessed structure, which is conform the language of Ternate language and not commonly found in Malay (Blagden 1930: 94).

Word lists compiled by Pigafetta, one of the few crew members who survived a voyage to the Moluccas under captain Ferdinan Magellan in 1521

(Robertson 1906: 117) and one written by Dutch sailors in 1599 (Keuning 1942: 158-175; Collins and Schmidt 1992) reflect some of the lexicon and constructions of sixteenth century spoken Malay in the Moluccan region. Pigafetta's wordlist was for some years the topic of a hot scholarly debate about the location where the words had been collected. Now it is generally accepted that the Malay word list includes non-Malay, probably Philippino (and Brunei) words, which Pigafetta may have misplaced in the list (Blagden 1931; Kern 1938). The idea that the word list reflects "Moluccan Malay" (Le Roux 1929; Gonda 1938) seems to be merely based on the position in the manuscript, that is, immediately following a description of Pigafetta's stay in Tidore (Blagden 1931). Although there is uncertainty about the exact location where Pigafetta's word list was collected, the identity of the person who provided him with the words, which variety of Malay the word list reflects, it shows that Malay was an important means of communication throughout the Indonesian archipelago, including the Maluku region, in the sixteenth century.

In 1878 P. van der Crab published a history of Ternate, based on a manuscript written by Naidah in both the Ternate language as well as in Malay in Jawi script. Although Van der Crab remarks that the text may have little historical value, it may have some importance for the study of the Ternate language (Van der Crab 1878). It forms an example of nineteenth century colloquial Malay in Ternate.

C.L. Voorhoeve provides the results of a comparative study between local Malay and Standard Indonesian in an article in a volume on Malay studies. The sample texts added to the article to illustrate the North Moluccan Malay variety he studied were taken from the above mentioned history of Ternate, as well as from texts recorded with speakers from Sahu and Ibu, places on the island of Halmahera, and a speaker from West-Makian (Voorhoeve 1983). In the same volume Paul Taylor's article on the complex multilingual situation of Wasile, a village in the Kao district in Halmahera (Taylor 1983) is published. He discusses various parts of the grammar of Malay spoken in the Kao Bay region in Halmahera in relation to Standard Indonesian and to the indigenous language of Tobelo. John Bowden's article published in 2005 discusses the directional system as used in North Moluccan Malay and argues that although indigenous languages in the region are threatened, some aspects of the structure of these languages retain as features in the local variety of Malay (Bowden 2005).

These publications form valuable documents on the (socio)linguistic situation in the North Moluccan region and, particularly the additional language data, are valuable examples of Malay used in the region throughout the centuries.

PHONOLOGY

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/. 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		ŋ	
Fricative	f	s			h
Lateral approximant		l			
Trill		r			
Semivowel	w		j		

Categorization of lexical items

Words in Ternate Malay, as well as in some other languages, are flexible and do not show overtly expressed features to distinguish between different syntactic functions and meanings. The words do not exhibit elements expressing number, gender, tense, etcetera; and words may fulfil different syntactic roles and express various meanings without any change in their formal shape. Certain bound elements, for example, *ba-*, *baku-*, or *ta-*, may be attached to lexical items, but express different meanings which are determined by the context and the situation, and less by the morphological process they have undergone.

The following examples show this flexibility of Ternate Malay words. They are taken from a recording, made with a Ternate Malay speaker, who was telling all kinds of anecdotes and stories, during a fieldwork period in Ternate. His stories, elicitation sessions with native speakers, as well as participatory observations during fieldwork periods form the data used for the analysis in the description.

Many words in Ternate Malay may serve different syntactic functions without changing their formal shape. In example (1) *karung₁* serves as predicate, denotes an activity, and expresses the meaning 'to put in a bag', while *karung₂* is interpreted as patient of *pake* 'use', refers to a thing, and expresses the meaning 'sack, bag'. In the English translation *dia* 'third person singular' is interpreted as referring to a male person, the action *karung₁* is interpreted as reflecting the present tense, while *karung₂* is interpreted with a

singular referent. But, in a different context and situation this same utterance could be interpreted differently: *dia* could refer to a female person, *karung₁* to an action that took place in the past, the future or any other time period, while *karung₂* could refer to multiple bags. Examples (2a) and (2b) show two uses of *kunci*: in (2a) *kunci* serves as theme of the activity *ambe* 'take' and refers to a thing, a key, while in (2b) *kunci* serves as predicate, expressing a verbal meaning 'to lock'. Example (3) shows *bajalang* which consists of the bound element *ba-* and *jalang* 'walk, street'. *Bajalang₁* is the X element of a Y *pe* X possessive construction, in which it serves as head and has *de facto* a nominal interpretation 'his/her/its walking'. In the same example *bajalang₂* serves as predicate and receives a verbal interpretation.

(1) *Dia*   *karung₁*   *pake*   *karung₂*   *strep.*
     3SG   sack.[V]   use   sack.[N]   line
     'He puts it in a striped sack.'
     'She put them in striped sacks.'

(2a) *Ambe*   *kunci*   *lagi*   *to?*
     take   key.[N]   again   QT
     'He took the key again, right?'

(2b) *Untung* *dong* *kunci*   *pintu,* *kunci*   *jendela.*
     luck   3PL   key.[V]   door   key.[V]   window
     'Luckily they locked the door and locked the windows.'

(3) *Kita* *pe*   *ba-jalang₁*   *bagini,* *sebe* *ba-jalang₂*   *ka*   *dara.*
     1SG   POSS   DUR-walk.[N]   like.this dad   DUR-walk.[V]   to   land
     'I was just walking like this when dad was walking landwards.'

Since words, including those that have undergone morphological processes, may be used in a flexible way, a hearer has to take the linguistic context as well as the non-linguistic situation into account to be able to achieve the most suitable interpretation.

There are several strategies to facilitate the hearer in this task and assist to achieve a successful communication. The presence of certain indicators facilitates the parsing of strings of words. The frequent use of words in certain functions and environments makes specific interpretations come first to mind. Certain additional intonational patterns and other prosodic features may tag utterances and determine specific interpretation.

One of those markers is *pe*, an element to indicate that what follows serves as head, while the element preceding *pe* serves as modifier of the construction. These Y *pe* X constructions often express a possessive meaning, while under certain circumstances and when uttered with a particular intonation pattern, a

different meaning is applicable. In the *Y pe X* construction *de pe bae* in example (4), *pe* indicates that the X element *bae* serves as head, while Y, *de*, serves as modifier. The frequent use as expressing possession, makes an interpretation of *de pe bae* reflecting the meaning 'his/her/its good-heartedness' comes first to mind. The larger linguistic context, prosodic features, as well as the situation in which the construction occurs determine whether this interpretation works well. An additional exclamatory intonation pattern applied to Y *pe* X!, indicated by the exclamation mark, determines an evaluative interpretation, so that in example (5) *ngana pe capat!* the meaning 'you are fast!' or 'how fast you are!' is merely appropriate.

(4) *Kita   inga   de   pe   bae   skali.*
     1SG   remember   3SG   POSS   good   very
     'I always remember his good-heartedness.'

(5) *Ih,   Anwar,   ngana   pe   capat!*
     EXCL   Anwar   2SG   POSS   fast
     'Gee, Anwar, you're fast!'

The flexible character of Ternate Malay words makes it difficult to establish pre-determined word categories and meanings. The interpretation of the structure in which words occurs is merely important for the determination of the meaning of a string of words. In the following sections, various types of structures and their meanings are analysed and described.

NOUN CONSTRUCTION

Within the view that words do not belong to pre-determined categories, the notion of constituent is not self-evident. Nonetheless it seems that these are necessary. This section concerns strings of words of which one element serves as head and another as modifier of a construction. In many examples here, these are interpreted with a nominal meaning, but the context and situation may determine other interpretations as well. In this section I look at word order differences of constructions for which the head has a nominal interpretation.

     The order of heads and modifier determines the meaning of the construction. Most constructions are head-initial with the head preceding the modifier, but in some cases the reversed order may occur and a different meaning is expressed. Quantity words, such as the (low) cardinal numerals and some indefinite numerals, for instance, express a distributive meaning when serving as modifier in head-initial constructions (examples (6), (7), and (8)), while a collective meaning is expressed when they precede the head in head-final constructions (examples (9), (10), and (11)).

     Example (6) is the answer to a question on the amount of bedrooms in a house. The speaker counts aloud and concludes that there are six rooms in total. *Kamar anam* 'six rooms' serves as subject, while *samua* 'all' is used predicatively.

Example (7) is taken from a conversation about a very tall, evil spirit and forms the reply, when one of the interlocutors wondered what the spirit's shoe size was and if this size would be available. The head *pabrik* 'factory' is followed by the quantity word *tuju* 'seven', resulting in a construction *pabrik tuju* to express a distributive meaning. In example (8) *samua* 'all' serves as modifier and follows the head *ular-ular* 'snakes', resulting in the head-initial construction *ular-ular samua* 'all the snakes', expressing a distributive meaning indicating that every individual snake the man possessed has been released.

(6) *Kamar   anam   samua.*
     room   six   all
     'Six rooms in total.'

(7) *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.'

(8) *Ular-ular   samua   paitua   lapas.*
     PL-snake   all   old.man   let.loose
     'He freed all the snakes.'

In constructions where a quantifier precedes its head a collective meaning is applicable in which the amount as a whole is merely important. The speaker in example (9) asks himself how many days he has worked and realizes that the whole period to the moment of speaking lasts four days. In example (10) the speaker refers to the amount of sago porridge he is able to eat and explains that when he said five, he meant *lima bale* 'five portions' or 'five plates' and not *lima bokor* 'five bowls'. In example (11) the speaker jokingly describes how other fingers of his hand reacted to the swollen index finger. In this example *samua* 'all' precedes *jari* 'finger' and results in the head-final construction *samua jari* which expresses a collective meaning.

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

(10) *Lima   bale   bukang   lima   bokor.*
     five   turn.around   NEG   five   bowl
     'Five portions, not five bowls.'

(11) *Samua   jari   tako   pa   dia.*
     all   finger afraid to   3SG
     'All the fingers were afraid of it.'

The semantic relationship between heads and modifiers in head-initial constructions vary. Only a few examples are given here. The modifying words in constructions may refer to certain substance or material, resulting in expressions referring to products made of that material, as illustrated in examples (12)–(14).

(12)   *kadera bulu*   'bamboo chair'   >   *kadera* 'chair'   *bulu*   'bamboo'
(13)   *soma nilong*   'nylon fishing net' >   *soma*   'fishing net' *nilong*   'nylon'
(14)   *pupeda sagu*   'sago porridge'   >   *pupeda* 'porridge'   *sagu*   'sago'

Modifiers may refer to the source or location from where head originates or is found example (15), where *kali* 'river' refers to the source of the head *aer* 'water' and *aer kali* refers to 'water from the river', and in example (16) *tana* 'soil; land' is the place of origin from where *minya* 'oil' is taken.

(15)   *aer kali*   'river water'   >   *aer*   'water'   *kali*   'river'
(16)   *minya tana*   'petroleum'   >   *minya*   'oil'   *tana*   'soil'

Constructions may refer to tools or implements used in relation to the activity, expressed by the modifier. In example (17) *bola* refers to a round-shaped thing 'ball' as well as denotes the specific activity with a ball, 'play football'. In combination with *spatu* 'shoe', it refers to the type of shoes, often shoes used to play football, that is, 'football shoes'. The combination of *aer* 'water' with *minum* 'drink' in example (18) refers to 'water to drink', while in example (19) *kayu bakar* refers to 'fire wood', wood that is used to make a fire, to burn.

(17)   *spatu bola*   'football shoes'   >   *spatu* 'shoe'   *bola*   'ball; (play) football'
(18)   *aer minum*   'drinking water' >   *aer*   'water' *minum*   'drink'
(19)   *kayu bakar*   'fire wood'   >   *kayu* 'wood' *bakar*   'burn'

In the previous section it is noted that *pe* provides information about the structure of a string of words, indicating that the element following it serves as the head of the construction. Y *pe* X constructions are then head-final constructions, which often express a possessive meaning. The X element and head refers to the possessed, while the Y element and modifier refers to the possessor.

    Another type of head-final constructions, often expressing a possessive meaning, are certain YX constructions. The first element in these constructions is the modifier and refers to the possessor. The second element X is the head and refers to the possessed. Example (20) is a woman's answer when the speaker of this example asked what he had to carry. She asks him to carry her shopping to which she refers with the expression *Ibu barang*, an expression in which *barang* 'thing, goods' serves as head and *Ibu* 'madam, mother' is the modifier, resulting in a possessive head-final construction *Ibu barang* '(lit.)

mother's goods'. In (21) *dong parau* 'their boat' forms a possessive construction with a head-final YX structure: *dong* serves as modifier and refers to the possessor, while *parau* serves as head and refers to the possessed.

(20) *Angka*   *Ibu*   *barang*   *ni.*
      lift.up   mother   thing   this
      'Carry my goods.'

(21) *Ikang*   *kase*   *lari*   *dong* *parau,*   *ikang*   *basar.*
      fish   CAUS   run   3PL   boat   fish   big
      'A fish is taking away their boat, a big fish.'

VERB CONSTRUCTIONS

In this section constructions are described in which activity words serve as semantic centre. The combination of two activity words may denote a series of actions performed by one and the same actor. In example (22) the speaker accepts someone's request to climb in a tree to get his shirt he has left behind. Within this context it is obvious that the actor of *nae* 'go up' and *ambe* 'take' are the same person, that is, the person who made the request. Example (23) is taken from a story about a wild crocodile and the speaker describes how the crocodile attacked someone. In this example *lari* 'run' is followed by *dusu* 'chase' and in this context both activities share the same performer, that is, *buaya* 'crocodile'.

(22) *Iyo*   *suda,*   *kalo*   *gitu*   *nae*   *ambe*   *basar.*
      yes   COMP   when   like.that   go.up   take   big
      'Fine, if that's true, climb up and get it.'

(23) *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 after him.'

In other cases where two activity words occur following each other, the performers of these activities have different referents. In example (24), for instance, the speaker shares his view of how to act when borrowing someone's property, that is, the person who borrows something, for instance a ladder, has to return it to its original location. The agent of *bawa* in this example is expressed by *sapa yang pake* '(the person) who uses it', while the agent of *pulang* is implied and refers to the thing that is used (or borrowed); the performers of the two activities *bawa* and *pulang* have different referents. In example (25), the two activity words *lempar* 'throw' and *nae* 'go up' occur with different agents. *De* 'third person singular' refers back to *de pe ana* 'his son' and serves as the actor of *lempar* 'throw', while the actor of *nae* 'go up' is understood from the context and refers to *kirikil* 'gravel', which is mentioned previously.

The linguistic context as well as the situation determines the interpretation.

(24) | *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.'

(25) | *De* | *pe* | *ana* | *angka* | *kirikil* | *alus-alus,* | *de* | *lempar* | *nae.* |
|------|------|-------|---------|-----------|--------------|------|----------|--------|
| 3SG | POSS | child | lift.up | gravel | PL-fine | 3SG | throw | go.up |

'His son was picking up some fine gravel and was throwing it up.'

Bound elements such as *ba-*, *baku-*, and *ta-* always precede the word to which they are attached and no other lexical material may intervene between these two elements. The bound elements serve to add certain meaning aspects to the word, for instance, when *ba-* is attached to certain thing words, the resultant construction may denote an activity in which the thing is used as a tool or implement. In example (26), *ba-* is attached to *sapu* 'broom' to denote an activity performed with the *sapu* 'broom' as a tool. The resulting construction *basapu* serves in this example as predicate and receives a verbal interpretation, 'to sweep'. In example (27) *ba-* is attached to *suntik* 'injection', resulting in *basuntik* 'to inject' and denotes an activity in which *suntik* 'injection' is used as a tool. In the context of this example *basuntik* serves as modifier in the construction *orang basuntik* 'people who are injected' and receives an adjectival interpretation. Depending on the situation *basuntik* may be used in the more specific meaning 'to vaccinate'.

(26) | *kita* | *ba-sapu,* | *cuci* | *piring.* |
|------|-----------|--------|----------|
| 1SG | USE-broom | wash | plate |

'I was sweeping, washing the dishes.'

(27) | *Orang* | *ba-suntik* | *tar* | *sadiki.* |
|--------|--------------|------|----------|
| person | USE-injection | NEG | a.little |

'The number of people vaccinating is not less.'

Attaching *ba-* to words is a very productive process and can be applied to a wide range of words to result in adding various meaning aspects to the base to which it is attached. *Ba*-words may denote the production or performance of the base, for example, in example (28) where *ba-* is attached to *suar* 'sweat, perspiration' and the resulting *ba-suar* 'to sweat' refers to the production of *suar*. In example (29) *gala* 'a traditional Ternate dance' is the base to which *ba-* is attached, resulting in *bagala* 'to perform the *gala* (a traditional Ternate dance)'. In both examples the *ba*-words serve as predicate and a verbal meaning is applicable.

(28) *Su   mandi   abis   baru   ba-suar.*
     COMP   bathe   finished then   DO-sweat
     'I had taken a bath and was sweating again.'

(29) *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 *ba-* is attached to quality words, such as *kuning* 'yellow' and *tajang* 'sharp', the resultant words merely describe a process towards the state or quality expressed in the base. In example (30) *bakuning* has to be interpreted to describe a color which has not yet reached the stage to be called yellow, 'yellowish'. In example (31) the speaker tells about a type of grass that can be used as a sponge, because the leaves are coarse. The word *batajang* 'sharpish' describes the quality of the grass as proceeding towards being sharp, but it has not yet reached the stage of sharpness when it is able to cut. Note that in example (30) *bakuning* could be interpreted as modifier of the head *warna* in which case an adjectival reading occurs: 'yellowish colours'.

(30) *Warna   ba-kuning.*
     colour   PROC-yellow
     'The colour is yellowish.'

(31) *Dia   kan   ba-tajang   to?*
     3SG   QT   PROC-sharp   QT
     'They're sharp, right?'

When *ba-* is attached to activity words it may add various meaning aspects to the word, including habituality or reflexivity of the action or activity. In example (32) *ba-* is attached to *isap* 'suck' and results in *baisap* which expresses habituality as well as it may reflect the specific meaning 'to smoke (cigarettes)'. In this context *baisap* serves as subject and receives a nominal interpretation 'the smoking (of cigarettes)'. In example (33) *ba-* is attached to *jatong* 'fall' to express that the activity is done reflexively, that is, *bajatong* 'let oneself fall' implies that the action is performed by an agent on his/her own person.

(32) *Tapi   ba-isap   jalan   trus.*
     but   HAB-suck   walk   continue
     'But smoking continues.'

(33) *De   ba-jatong   dari   atas   seng.*
     3SG   REFL-fall   from   top   zinc
     'He let himself fall from the zinc roof.'

Attaching the bound element *baku-* on words often results in words with a reciprocal meaning as well as it may add a collective or multiple meaning aspect to the word. Example (34) is taken from a story in which a man meets his father after being separated for a very long period of time. The speaker tells that after the two men recognized each other, they embraced each other, which is expressed in *bakupolo* 'to embrace each other', where *baku-* is attached to *polo* 'hug, embrace' to add a reciprocal aspect to the meaning. Example (35) tells about a woman's reaction when she heard a bell ringing, but she did not know what the sound was and where it came from. The word *bakucari* is a combination of *cari* 'search' and *baku-*, expressing intensively or multiply performed activities.

(34)　*Trus*　　*dong*　　*dua*　　<u>*baku-polo*</u>　　*suda.*
　　　continue　3PL　　two　　REC-embrace　COMP
　　　'And then the two hugged each other.'

(35)　*Maitua*　　　　<u>*baku-cari*</u>　　*sampe*　　*di*　　*bawa-bawa*　　*kas*.
　　　old.woman　　INT-search　arrive　in　　PL-bottom　　cupboard
　　　'She was searching everywhere even under the cupboards.'

The attachment of *ta-* to activity word results in a "passive" interpretation of the word, and the subject may refer to the person who or the thing that undergoes an action or is unable to control the action. It often expresses an action that is involuntarily performed. In example (36) the speaker describes the type of boats fishermen use. These boats are so light that when they catch a big fish and it can still swim away, it takes away their boat. The word *taiko* consists of *iko* 'follow' and *ta-*, which indicates an involuntarily or unintentionally performed action or activity and a "passive" interpretation. Words may be preceded by a series of bound elements as is shown in example (37). In this example *tukar* 'exchange' is combined with *baku-* to express reciprocity and with *ta-* to indicate the action is involuntarily performed, resulting in *tabakutukar* 'unintentionally exchanged with each other'.

(36)　*Ikang...*　*ikang*　*kalo*　*kase*　*lari*　*dong*　*parao,*　<u>*ta-iko*</u>　　*suda.*
　　　fish　　　fish　　when　CAUS　run　3PL　boat　　INV-follow　COMP
　　　'A fish... when a fish pulls their boat, it is taken away.'

(37)　*Kita*　　*pe*　　*sandal*　<u>*ta-baku-tukar*</u>　　*deng*　　*dia.*
　　　1SG　　POSS　slipper　INV-REC-exchange　with　　3SG
　　　'My slippers have been switched with his.'

The words *dapa* 'get', *biking* 'make', and *kase* 'give' express a lexical meaning, for instance, when they are combined with thing words, but serve a grammatical function with a specific meaning when followed by activity or quality words.

In examples (38)–(40), *dapa*, *biking*, and *kase* are followed by a word referring to a thing, that is, *dapa* is followed by *barang* 'thing' expressing the meaning 'to get things', *biking* is followed by *dabu-dabu manta* and expresses the meaning 'to make a raw spicy sauce', while *kase*, followed by *doi* expresses the meaning 'to give money'.

(38) *Kalo   dapa   barang   tara   bae   jang   mau.*
       when   get   thing   NEG   good   don't   want
       'Don't take it if you get bad things.'

(39) *baru   ngana   biking   dabu-dabu   manta* ...
       then   2SG   make   spicy.condiment   raw
       'and then you make a raw spicy sauce...'

(40) *De   kase   doi   ka   mari.*
       3SG   give   money   to   here
       'She gave me the money.'

When these words are followed with activity or quality words, they serve another function and express a different meaning. A few examples of the various uses of each of these three words are given here.

The combination of *dapa* with, for example perception words, add the modal meaning aspect of "ability" to the word with which it occurs. Example (41) is taken from a story about a giant evil spirit who can see more than humans would expect. In this example *dapa* is followed by the perception word *lia* 'see', resulting in *dapa lia* and expresses the meaning 'be able to see'. A similar case is found in example (42), where another perception word, *dengar* 'hear', is combined with *dapa* and the aspect of ability is applicable. Example (43) shows that the modal function of *dapa* is not limited only to perception words. The example is taken from a story about a football match in which the storyteller expresses there is too little time left for the loosing team to catch up. Here *dapa* is combined with *balas* 'reply', interpreted with a verbal meaning, resulting in the combination *dapa balas* which expresses the meaning 'be able to reply'.

(41) *De   dapa   lia   ngana   di   bawa.*
       3SG   get   see   2SG   in   bottom
       'It can see you down there.'

(42) *Ha,   baru   malang-malang   dapa   dengar   orang   bataria.*
       EXCL   then   PL-night   get   hear   person   scream
       'O yes, and at night you hear someone screaming.'

(43) *Tara*   <u>*dapa*</u>   <u>*balas*</u>   *su*   *babak*   *kedua.*
     NEG   get   reply   COMP   phase   second
     'They could not fight back and it was already the second half.'

In other contexts, when *dapa* is followed by an activity word and the subject refers to the undergoer, a "passive" interpretation is applicable. In example (44) *dapa tindis* is preceded by the subject yang ini 'this one' which refers to the undergoer of the action. In such a context *dapa* determines a passive reading and *dapa tindis* receives the meaning 'be squashed' or 'get squashed'. Note that the agent of the action is *batu angos* 'lava stones' which follows the predicate. In example (45) *kita* 'first person singular' is interpreted as the undergoer and *dapa holo* receives a passive reading 'be stung'. In this example the agent is expressed by the expression deng ofu 'by bees', in which case the presence of deng 'with, and' is an indicator that what follows deng may serve as agent. There are several cues to facilitate an appropriate interpretation.

(44) *Yang*   *ini*   *su*   <u>*dapa*</u>   <u>*tindis*</u>   *batu*   *angos.*
     REL   this   COMP   get   press   stone   burned
     'This one got squashed by lava stones.'

(45) *Kita*   *tara*   *parna*   <u>*dapa*</u>   <u>*holo*</u>   *deng*   *ofu*   *bagitu*   *macam.*
     1SG   NEG   ever   get   sting   with   bee   like.that   kind
     'I've never been stung by bees in such a way.'

The combination of *biking* and *kase* (sometimes shortened to *kas*) with activity or quality words determine a causative reading. There is a semantic difference in meaning between the two words: the combination of *biking* and quality words implies causing a complete transformation from one state into another, while such a transformation is not implied when *kase* is used with quality words to express a causative meaning. First, two examples in which *biking* is combined with a quality word. In example (46) *biking* is combined with *itang* 'black' to express the causative meaning 'to make black' or 'to blacken'. In example (47) *lombo* 'soft' is combined with *biking*, resulting in *biking lombo* '(lit.) to make soft' or '(lit.) to soften'. The use of *biking* in both examples implies a complete transformation, that is, from being not black into black in example (46) and from thick or not soft into soft or thin in example (47).

(46) *De*   <u>*biking*</u>   <u>*itang*</u>   *de*   *pe*   *kumis.*
     3SG   make   black   3SG   POSS   moustache
     'He painted his moustache black.'

(47) *Mama,*   *ngoni*   <u>*biking*</u>   <u>*lombo*</u>   *pupeda*   *sadiki*   *ka.*
     mother   2   make   soft   sago. porridge   a.little   QT
     'My goodness, please make the sago porridge a bit thinner!'

A complete transformation in the state or quality is not implied in the following combinations of *kase* and quality words. The speaker of example (48) tells how he spilled hot oil over his body. He immediately runs to the beach to dig a hole and to cover himself with the sand in the hope to prevent the burnt spots to become blisters. After having done that he digs to make the hole longer. In the example *kase* is combined with *panjang*, resulting in *kase panjang* and expresses the causative meaning 'to make long'. In this context the action does not imply a complete transformation of the hole, only a change in its shape. Example (49) is taken from an explanation in which the speaker describes the consequences of extreme temperature changes. In this example *kase* is combined with the quality word *panas* 'hot', resulting in *kase panas* with the causative meaning 'to make hot' or 'to heat'. The actor's action does not imply a complete transformation of the iron's state, but merely a change in the temperature. In those contexts where *kase* serves a causative meaning, it may be shorted to *kas-*. No other material may intervene between *kas-* and the following word. The speaker of example (50) tells how his friend carried him out of the jungle when he fell sick. His friend's feet were sore and he ripped of a part of his shoes to give his toe more space. In this example *kas* is combined with the activity word *kaluar* 'go out', resulting in *kas-kaluar* 'to let (them) go out' to expresses a causative meaning.

(48) *Itu*   *biking*   *abis,*   *kita*   *gale*   <u>*kase*</u>   <u>*panjang*</u>.
      that   make   finished   1SG   dig   CAUS   long
      'After I finished that, I dug to make it long.'

(49) *Coba*   *strika*   *kong*   *ngana*   *cok*   <u>*kase*</u>   <u>*panas*</u>.
      try   (flat) iron CONJ   2SG   plug   CAUS   hot
      'Take an iron and plug it in to warm it up.'

(50) *De*   *robe*   *baru*   *de*   <u>*kas-kaluar*</u>   *jari-jari*.
      3SG   torn   then   3SG   CAUS-go.out   PL-toe
      'He ripped it off and stuck out his toes.'

FUNCTION WORDS

Function words merely serve grammatical functions and form a useful tool for parsing strings of words because they are less flexible in interpretation and therefore facilitate the interpretation of the other words in the clause since they delimit the interpretation options of those other words, and also because they help to recognise constituent boundaries in a clause. In this section the use of four groups of function words are briefly described: personal pronouns, conjunctions, prepositions, and question words.

Personal pronouns

The combinatory features of personal pronouns with other words are useful indicators which provide information about the structure of the constructions. When pronouns are followed by other words, resultant constructions can be interpreted either as head-final YX possessive constructions or as subject-predicate clauses. The interpretation as a possessive construction often applies when the personal pronoun is followed by a thing word or when it participates as Y element in a Y *pe* X construction. In both type of constructions pronouns may only serve as modifier and refer to the possessor. They never serve as Y element and possessed in these possessive constructions. The context and the situation determine which interpretation works best. In example (51) the speaker is eager to meet his friend's wife of whom he has heard a lot of stories, but has not met yet. In this example the second person singular *ngana* is followed by *bini* 'wife' resulting in *ngana bini*, which serves as subject and expresses the meaning 'your wife'. In example (52) *kita* 'first person singular' is followed by *tangang* 'hand', resulting in *kita tangang*, which serves as theme of the action and expresses the meaning 'my hand'. Personal pronouns occur in Y *pe* X possessive constructions and similar to YX possessive construction they only serve as modifiers referring to the possessor. In example (53) the shortened first personal plural pronoun *tong* forms the Y element that serves as modifier and refers to the possessor, while *kaki* 'foot, leg' is the X element and head of the construction. In some contexts where the personal pronoun and the following thing word do not express a possessive meaning, the interpretation of the subject-predicate structure applies. This is exemplified in example (54). The third person singular pronoun *dia* is followed by *orang Sanana*[2] 'Sanana person'. A possessive interpretation does not work well and *dia* has to be interpreted as subject, while *orang Sanana* is the predicate. Both subject and predicate share the same referent and form an equational clause *dia orang Sanana* 'he is a Sanana person'.

(51) *Mana,*   *ngana*   *bini,*   *mana?"*
      which   2SG   wife   which
      'Who is your wife, who?'

(52) *Ngoni*   *lia*   *kita*   *tangang*   *de*   *bangka*   *dapa*   *lempar.*
      2   see   1SG   hand   3SG   swollen   get   throw
      'Look, my hand is swollen, it was hit.'

(53) *Ka*   *sana,*   *de*   *poloso*   *tong*   *pe*   *kaki.*
      to   there   3SG   squeeze   1PL   POSS   leg
      'When we go there, she massages our legs.'

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[2]   Name of a place and an island in the Sula archipelago, Maluku Utara.

(54) *Kapala   skola   nama   Pak   Salim,   <u>dia</u>   <u>orang</u>   <u>Sanana</u>.*
     head   school name   EPIT Salim   3SG   person   Sanana
     'The headmaster is called Mr. Salim, he is from Sanana.'

Conjunctions

Conjunctions are elements that join words or word constructions together. This intermediate position may give them a role as indicators of the border between two elements and a tool in parsing strings of words as well as they may indicate the semantic relationship between these. A few conjunctions are described here: *deng* 'and, with', *ka* 'or', *kong* 'and then', and *tapi* 'but'. *Deng* may join two elements of equal status together to express a series of, for instance, things, activities, events, etcetera. In example (55) *deng* 'and' joins two thing words together, indicating a series of things. The resultant construction serves as subject. In example (56) *deng* joins two clauses together and indicates two successive activity or events.

(55) <u>*Peda*</u>   <u>*deng*</u>   <u>*piso*</u>   *bagini*   *suda.*
     machete   and   knife   like.this   COMP
     'I held the machete and the knife like this.' (Lit. machete and knife were like this.)

(56) *Eis,*   *tarpaksa*   <u>*kita*</u>   <u>*pi*</u>   <u>*ka*</u>   <u>*bawa*</u>   <u>*deng*</u>
     EXCL   forcibly   1SG   go   to   bottom   and
     'Oops, I had to go down and

     <u>*kita*</u>   <u>*langsung*</u>   <u>*mu*</u>   <u>*ba-colo*</u>   <u>*di*</u>   <u>*aer.*</u>
     1SG   immediately   want   REFL-dip   in   water
     I wanted to plunge into the water.'

While *deng* expresses a series of things, activities, and events, *ka* 'or' expresses a sequence of alternatives when it connects words or word constructions together. In example (57) the speaker wants to refer to a person's degree of proficiency in martial arts by referring to the colour of her belt, but he forgot the exact colour. The conjunction *ka* 'or' connects the two quality words *ijo* 'green' and *kuning* 'yellow' together, resulting in *ijo ka kuning* 'green or yellow'. The resultant construction may be interpreted as predicate with a verbal interpretation 'be green or yellow'. In example (58) the speaker suggests two alternative ways to make a person turn black. In this example *ka* connects *colo deng arang* 'plunge in charcoal' and *seka deng arang* 'rub with charcoal' together. The construction can be interpreted as serving as predicate expressing a purpose, where *pigi* serves a subject and receives a nominal interpretation 'the going'. In example (59) *ka* joins *tambus* 'penetrate' and the non-completive marker *bolong* 'not yet', resulting in *tambus ka bolong* 'penetrated or not yet' to

express the two alternative states of the cable.

(57) *ih,*   *ijo*   *ka*   *kuning*   *[...]*
    EXCL   green   or   yellow
    'umm, green or yellow, [...]'

(58) *Pigi*   *colo*   *deng*   *arang*   *ka*   *seka*   *deng*   *arang.*
    go   dip   with   charcoal   or   rub   with   charcoal
    'Plunge in charcoal or rub yourself with charcoal.'

(59) *"Ma,*   *kabel*   ***tambus***   *ka*   *bolong?"*
    mother   cable   penetrate   or   NCOMP
    "Ma, is the cable in or not?"

The conjunction *kong* joins clauses together and may describe a series of actions and events. These actions may be performed by the same agent as well as by different agents. The relationship between the connecting clauses may be, for instance, a series of successive actions of the same actor, or it may describe consecutive actions or events in which an action or event is the consequence of or reaction to a previous action or event. The agent *dong* 'third person plural' of the two clauses joined together by *kong* in example (60) shares the same referent and the description follows the chronological order of two actions: the first clause describes the action that precedes the action described in the second clause. In example (61) the speaker tells how he is caught when stealing mangos from a tree and how he escaped from being punished. In this example *kong* joins a series of clauses together, each of them has a different actor, and describes an action which is a reaction to a previous action.

(60) *Dong*   *bangong*   *nae*   *kong*   *dong*   *dusu...*
    3PL   wake.up   go.up   CONJ   3PL   chase
    'They woke up and chased us...'

(61) *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.'

Me is a conjunction used to connect clauses together which are contradictive to each other. Example (62) is taken from a conversation about snakes and the speaker tells that where he lives there is a snake, but he immediately adds that the snake has been caught. He uses *me* to join the two clauses together as well as to indicate that the information in the second clause is in contradiction his previous statement. In example (63) the speaker is about to tell a story and describes the main character by comparing him with someone called Iskandar.

In the first clause of the example, the speaker states that the main character looks like Iskandar, but in the second clause, he revises this statement by adding information about Iskandar, which contradicts his previous statement.

(62) *Ada,   <u>me</u>   dong   su   tangka.*
     be.present CONJ   3PL   COMP   catch
     'There was, but they caught it.'

(63) *Model   Iskandar   suda,   <u>me</u>   Iskandar   tinggi,   de   kacili   dia.*
     shape   Iskandar   COMP   CONJ   Iskandar   high   3SG   small   3SG
     'He looked like Iskandar, but Iskandar is tall, while he is short.'

Prepositions

Prepositions are small words that cannot be used independently to express a meaning in their own respect. They are always followed by other lexical material, which refers to a location. Their presence indicates the border and distinguishes between constituents as well as denotes the meaning of the construction: *di* 'in, at' indicates location, *ka* 'to' and *pa* 'to' express movement towards a location, while *dari* 'from', expresses a movement away from a location. In example (64) the speaker tells about a very big person and describes what happens when the person sits in a car. In the example *di* 'in, at' is followed by *oto* 'car', referring to the location of the person. *Ka* 'to' expresses direction and in example (65), where it is followed by *bawa* 'bottom', the resultant expression *ka bawa* 'down, downward', indicates a movement in downward direction. *Ka* is commonly followed by an expression referring to non-human locations, while to express movement towards a person or a place associated with a person, *pa* often occurs. In example (66) *pa* 'to' is followed by *Udin*, a person's name, resulting in *pa Udin* 'to Udin', denoting the movement towards a person or the house/place associated with the person, named Udin. Note that in the same example *ka lao* 'to sea, seaward' denotes a movement towards a non-human entity *lao* 'sea'. In example (67) *dari* is combined with *pulo* 'island' to refer to the location from where the action begins.

(64) *De   <u>di</u>   <u>oto</u>,   oto   miring   ngik.*
     3SG   in   car   car   slanting   IMIT
     'When he is in the car, the car tilts, crack.'

(65) *Kage   lagi   de   su   ba-lumpa   <u>ka</u>   <u>bawa</u>,   [...]*
     suddenly   again   3SG   COMP   REFL-jump   to   bottom
     'The next moment he jumped down [...]'

(66)   *Kita*   *bilang...*   *kita*   <u>*ka*</u>   <u>*lao*</u>   *pa*   <u>*Udin*</u>.
      1SG   say   1SG   to   sea   to   Udin
      'I said... I went seawards to Udin.'

(67)   <u>*Dari*</u>   <u>*pulo*</u>   *kita*   *panggayung.*
      from   island   1SG   paddle
      'I paddled from the island.'

Question words

Certain words determine the type of utterances and how they have to be interpreted, that is, whether it concerns questions, prohibitions, commands, or other type of utterance. A particular intonation pattern specific for the type of the utterance may be added to determine the type.

Words to indicate that an utterance has to be interpreted as a question are *apa* 'what', *mana* 'where', and combinations of these with other items. A few examples are discussed here. The speaker of example (68) wonders what present he will give to his friends and uses *apa* 'what' to question things as well as to indicate that the utterance has to be interpreted as a question. In example (69) the speaker tells how he suffered from malaria. At times he felt so cold that he did not know how to warm himself and wonders what one could use to cover oneself with. In this example *apa* questions a thing and the combination with *deng* refers to an instrument or device. When *apa* is combined with *tempo* 'time', the resultant construction *tempo apa* 'when' questions time. In example (70) the speaker tells a story about a heavy drinker, who managed to overcome his addiction and changed into a devout Muslim. The speaker wonders when he will repent, using *tempo apa* 'when' to question time. The combination *biki apa* 'why' has probably derived from *biking apa* 'make, do what?' and questions reason or cause, such as in example (71), when the speaker asked why his friends called him. Sometimes *biki apa* is shortened and becomes *kiapa* 'why'. Example (72) reflects the thoughts of masters in martial arts, who arrogantly question why they should be afraid of others?

(68)   *Kita*   *mu*   *kase*   <u>*apa*</u>   *pa*   *ngoni,*   *e*?
      1SG   want   give   what   to   2   EXCL
      'What shall I give you?'

(69)   *Ngana*   *ba-tutu*   <u>*deng*</u>   <u>*apa*</u>?
      2SG   REFL-close   with   what
      'What did you cover yourself with?'

(70)   *Kong*   *tong*   *ini*   <u>*tempo*</u>   <u>*apa*</u>   *baru*   *sadar*   *ni?*
      CONJ   1PL   this   time   what   then   aware   this
      'And I, when am I going to repent?'

(71) *Pangge* <u>*biki*</u> <u>*apa*</u>*?*
      call   make   what
      'Why are you calling me?'

(72) <u>*Kiapa*</u> *kong* *tako* *pa* *dia*?
      why   CONJ   afraid to   3SG
      'Why would I be afraid of him?'

The word *b(a)rapa* 'how much' is used when questioning an amount, quantity, or number, for instance, when asking someone's telephone number, the size of something, the amount of certain objects. *Barapa* consists of a bound element *bar-* and *apa* 'what'. In example (73) *brapa* serves as modifier of *jam* 'hour, clock' and questions what time it is. Another word derived from *apa* is *sapa*, which questions the identity of human entities and consists of a combination of the personifier *si* and *apa* 'what'. In example (74) *sapa* serves as the Y element in a Y *pe* X possessive construction and questions a person's identity, the possessor's identity. Note that *sapa* cannot occur as X element in Y *pe* X constructions.

(73) *Jam*   <u>*brapa*</u>   *tu*?
      hour   how.much   that
      'What time is it?'

(74) *De*   *bilang,* "<u>*Sapa*</u> *pe*   *foto*?"
      3SG   say   who   POSS   picture
      'He asked, "Whose photos are they?"'

Mana 'where' is another element used to form questions. It often questions a location and when serving as modifier it may question a single item amongst a set of a larger number of similar items or the type/sort as well. The speaker of example (75) tells that when bees attacked him, they managed to enter his cap and stung him on his head. In this example the speaker uses *mana* to question the location from where the bees could get under his cap. *Mana* in example (76) may be interpreted in two ways, depending on the interpretation of its function and relation to other words. If *mana* is interpreted as predicate either *ngana skola* 'your school' or *skola* 'school' serves as subject, and *mana* questions the location of the school: [*ngana skola*]$_S$ [*mana*]$_P$ 'where is your school' or [*ngana*]$_S$ [[*skola*]$_S$ [*mana*]$_P$]$_P$ 'where is your school]'. In an alternative interpretation where *mana* serves as modifier of the head *skola* 'school', it questions a specific or single school from a larger set of schools: [*ngana*]$_S$ [*skola mana*]$_P$ 'which/what school do you go to?'.

(75) *De*   *maso*   *iko*   <u>*mana*</u>?
     3SG   enter   follow   where
     'Where did he come in?'

(76) *Oi,*   *ngana*   *skola*   <u>*mana*</u>?
     EXCL   2SG   school   where
     'Hey, where do you go to school?' or 'Hey, which/what school do you go to?'

Bagimana 'how', which is considered to be a monomorphemic word and may, depending on the context question a property or characteristic, when it serves as predicate. The speaker of example (77) tells he once fought with a soldier and he jokingly wonders how a policeman's fist would feel. *Bagimana* 'how' serves in this example as predicate and questions the property or characteristics of the subject *de pe rasa* 'its taste'. Note that in the answer the speaker plays with the meaning of *rasa* which may mean 'feel' as well as 'taste'. In example (78) the speaker tells that someone found out that he was stealing mangos from a tree. While he was still in the tree, he wondered how to escape from being caught. In this example *bagimana* is part of the predicate and follows *biking* 'make, do', the semantic centre, to question the manner in which the action is performed. When the speaker of example (79) is telling a story about bees, he wonders how he can describe their size. In the example *bagimana* occurs with a quality word *basar* 'big' and questions the item for comparison, resulting in the meaning 'how big'.

(77) *De*   *pe*   *rasa*   <u>*bagimana*</u>?   *Kurang*   *fetsin*   *ka*?
     3SG   POSS   taste   how   less   MSG   or
     'How does it taste? Maybe too little MSG?'

(78) *Ini*   *biking*   <u>*bagimana*</u>   *supaya*   *kita*   *bisa*   *lolos*.
     this   make   how   so.that   1SG   can   slip.off
     'What can I do to escape?'

(79) *Ofu,*   *ofu*   *basar*   <u>*bagimana*</u> *e*?
     bee   bee   big   how   EXCL
     'How big were those bees?'

A word to express prohibition the speaker may use *jangang* 'don't' or its shortened form *jang*. These words may serve as an independent clause with its own structure, for instance in example (80), as well as in combination with other words, such as in example (81), where the shortened form *jang* is followed by *mara* 'angry', which denotes the prohibition, resulting in *jang mara* 'don't be angry'.

(80) *Cih*   *jangang,*   *ya*   *Allah,*   *ampong,*   *itu*   *iblis,*   *iblis.*
      EXCL   don't   EXCL   Allah   mercy   that   devil   devil
      Hey, don't, oh my goodness, have mercy, that's the devil, the devil.

(81) *O,*   *iyo,*   *jang*   *mara.*
      EXCL   yes   don't   angry
      Oh, right, don't be angry.

Interjections

Interjections are words that form utterances in their own respect and with their own independent structure. They often express the speaker's feelings and attitudes and may be used to attract someone's attention and serve communicative functions (Ameka 1992). A speaker may use *cis* 'yech' to show a rejective attitude, for instance, because of disapproval or of disgust as is illustrated in example (82), an expression often used to children. The interjection *cik* (sometimes *cek*) expresses the speaker's attitude of avoidance or refusal. In example (83) the speaker tells how someone did not allow children to pick some fruits from his trees. The owner uses *cik* to show his rejective attitude 'I don't want that', and uses the excuse that the fruits are too small (and thus not ripe) to be eaten. When talking about magic spells the speaker of example (84) tells how he refused to receive spells that may harm others. He uses *cek* 'I don't want that' to express disapproval and continues with the advice not to use evil things.

(82) *Cis,*   *kotor*   *itu.*
      EXCL   dirty   that
      'Yech, that's dirty.'

(83) *Bilang,*   "*Cik,*   *de*   *masi*   *kacili.*"
      say   EXCL   3SG   still   small
      'He'll say, "ah, they're still small."'

(84) *Kita*   *bilang,*   "*Cek,*   *barang*   *tara*   *bae*   *jang*   *pake.*"
      1SG   say   EXCL   because   NEG   good   don't   use
      'I said, "Ah, it's better not to use evil things."'

Aduh 'ouch, wow, oops' expresses that the speaker is hit and in pain. It could be physical pain, because the person is literally hit by something or an expression to show the person is so overwhelmed by emotion that it almost hurts. In example (85) the speaker explains when *aduh* is used, that is, as an utterance when someone is in pain after hitting a stone. In example (86) the person is hit the doctor's beauty and expresses his emotion by using *aduh* 'ouch, wow, oops'.

(85) *Di sini, biasa, tandang batu bagitu tong suka bataria,*
in here common kick stone like.that 1PL like scream
'Here it's common that when we hit a stone we scream,

"*Aduh mama*".
EXCL mother
"Ouch, mother".'

(86) *Aduh, dokter manis.*
EXCL doctor pretty
'Wow, the doctor is so pretty.'

Some content words may serve as interjections, for instance, to express amazement or shock. In this function they often receive an additional specific intonation pattern, for instance, they are uttered in an exclamative way. In example (87) the speaker is shocked by the sight of a beautiful woman, but when her mother appears, he almost faints. *Mama$_1$* is uttered in an exclamative way and expresses the speaker's amazement, while *mama$_2$* serves as head in a Y *pe* X construction, does not receive an additional exclamative intonation pattern, and refers to a specific person. In example (88) the construction *mama jou* is uttered with an exclamative intonation, expressing the speaker's shock, when he heard that mice gnawed at someone's toes. The speaker of example (89) expresses his shock and amazement when a woman told him how she evaluates him, because he did not know that instant coffee does not have any dregs. The second person singular *ngana* is uttered here with an exclamative intonation, and expresses the speaker's shock. In this function *ngana* 'man' often occurs at the end of utterances.

(87) *Kita bilang, "Mama$_1$, de pe mama$_2$*
1SG say mother 3SG POSS mother
'I said, "Good gracious, her mother

lebe manis lagi."
more pretty again
is even prettier."'

(88) *Mama jou, tikus pe kajahatang!*
mother lord mouse POSS bad
'Goodness gracious, how nasty these mice were.'

(89) *De bilang kita bodo, ngana!*
3SG say 1SG stupid 2SG
'She said that I was stupid!'

Conative interjections are interjections directed to a hearer and serve to get someone's attention or response (Ameka 1992: 113). Example (90) is taken from a conversation in which the speaker tells how uncomfortable he feels when girls try to get his attention by hissing at him. Hissing is a common way to try to attract the attention of a young waiter or waitress, as an alternative way to call *cewek* 'young woman, girl' or *nyong* 'young man'. In example (91) the speaker uses *e* 'hey', pronounced as [e:], to attract his friend's attention, when she did not notice that her husband called her. *Hus!* 'hush' in example (92) an expression commonly used to urge someone to be quiet and to stop talking any further.

(90) *Pokonya*   *ba-jalang*   *dong*   "<u>*sut*</u>, <u>*sut*</u>".
      main.point   DUR-walk   3PL   psst   psst
      'The point is that when we walk, they hiss, "psst, psst".'

(91) <u>*E*</u>,   *pangge.*
      EXCL   call
      'Hey, he's calling you.'

(92) <u>*Hus*</u>!
      hush
      'Be quiet!'

Phatic interjections are small words used for communicative purposes. In (93a) the speaker calculates how much money he would earn when he works seven days and receives three thousand five hundred rupiah per day. He ends his calculation with the question tag *to?* 'right?' to elicit a reaction. Example (93b) shows person B's reaction, *hmm*, a humming sound which may express the speaker's confirmation 'that is correct', that is, the calculation is correct, or the humming expresses that the speaker is paying attention and is following the line of argumentation. Speaker A's reaction to the humming is *he?* [he] with an additional rising intonation pattern typical for questions to indicate that he is asking for confirmation 'am I right?' or 'do I do it correctly?', and is referring to the calculation he made. Speaker A receives a reaction from person C, whose humming confirms that the calculation of speaker A is correct, who then repeats the calculation all interlocutors agreed upon in example (93e).

(93a)   A: *Kalo*   *tuju*   *hari,*   *dua*   *pulu*   *satu...*   <u>*to*</u>?
            when   seven   day   two   tens   one   QT
            'When it is seven days, it is twenty one thousand rupiah... right?'

(93b)   B: <u>*Hmm*</u>.
            uh-huh
            'Uh-huh.'

(93c)   A: *He*?
                 right
                 'Right?'

(93d)   C: *Hmm.*
                 uh-huh
                 'Uh-huh.'

(93e)   A: *Tuju   kali   tiga   dua   pulu   satu.*
                 seven   time   three   two   tens   one
                 'Seven times three is twenty one.'

Interjections are words to express speaker's view, attitude, emotion, as well as to communicate with others have a structure in their own respect. In the following section the structure of clauses is discussed.

Clauses: word order and meaning

The most common order for subjects and predicates to form clauses is the subject-predicate structure, in which subjects precede predicates. These elements may reflect different meanings, depending on the relationship with each other. Subjects may have various referents, depending on the semantic roles they fulfil, while predicates may express activities, movements, locations, states, events, etcetera. A few examples are discussed here.

Example (94) has a subject-predicate structure in which *marontak* 'struggle' expresses an activity performed by the subject *ular* 'snake', serving as actor of the activity. Example (95) consists of two clauses in which each of them *bagini* serves as predicate and receive a verbal meaning 'be like this'. The subject of the first clause, *basa*r 'big', as well as of the second clause *panjang-panjang* 'long', are interpreted with a nominal meaning 'the "bigness"' or 'the size' and 'the "longness"' or 'the lengths' respectively. They both serve as bearer of a feature or characteristic, expressed in the predicate *bagini* 'like this'. In example (96) *tong* serves as subject, while the predicate consists of *pertandingan makang pupeda* 'sago porridge eating competition', consisting of the head *pertandingan* 'competition' modified by *makang papeda* 'eat sago porridge', and receives a verbal interpretation 'to have sago porridge eating competition'. The situation determines the role the subject fulfils: *tong* may refer to the actor, a participant or competitor in the sago eating competition, but *tong* may refer to the organizer of the competition who does not actively participate in the competition as well, while a combination of these would also be possible, so that *tong* may refer to those who organize as well as participate in the event. Note that *mari* 'let's' indicates that the utterance has to be interpreted as a hortative. The subject of example (97) is *tentara sana* 'the army over there' which is predicated by *tara pake* 'not use'. The interpretation of this utterance is determined by the context and the situation: the subject could be an actor, an undergoer, or serve some other role. In a conversation, for instance, about the use of military equipment, *tentara sana* could be interpreted as agent, and

tentara sana tara pake could reflect the meaning 'the army there does not use that', in which the theme is understood from the context and refers to military equipment. In a context in which the role of the army is discussed, *tentara sana* could be interpreted as an undergoer, an instrument or tool, used, for instance, by the government, society, or some other institution, which is not overtly expressed but may be understood from the context and the situation. In such a situation *tentara sana tara pake* reflects the meaning 'the army there is not used' and the utterance receives a "passive" reading.

(94) *Kong*   [*ular*]S   [*marontak*]P,   […].
      CONJ   snake   struggle
      'And the snake struggled to get loose, […]'.

(95) [*Basar*]S   [*bagini*]P,   [*panjang-panjang*]S   [*bagini*]P.
      big   like.this   PL-long   like.this
      'It is this big and about this long. (Literally: The size is like this, the lengths are like these).'

(96) [*Tong*]S   [*pertandingan   makang   pupeda*]P,   *mari*.
      1PL   competition   eat   sago.porridge   HORT
      'Let's have a sago porridge eating competition.'

(97) [*Tentara   sana*]S   [*tara   pake*]P.
      army   there   NEG   use
      'They don't use the army there.' (Literally: The army there is not used)

Although the subject often precedes the predicate, the reversed order is possible and used to give the predicate more prominence. In example (98) the speaker describes the sea in Loloda (Halmahera) which is muddy and has a brown colour. The predicate *soklat* 'brown' precedes the subject *de pe aer* 'the water' and becomes the central theme of attention. In example (99) the speaker describes the main character in the story he is about to tell. The predicate *ana kacili* 'small child, boy' precedes the subject *ana itu* 'that child' and becomes the central theme of attention.

(98) *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.'

(99) [*Ana   kacili*]P   [*ana   itu*]S   [...]
      child   small   child   that
      'He was a small boy [...].'

The subject may be preceded by a constituent which shares its referent with the subject. If the subject is expressed in a possessive construction, it is the possessor that is shared with the preceding constituent. The preceding constituent then serves as the central theme of attention. In example (100) *Anwar ini* 'this Anwar' is followed by the third person singular *dia*. They share the same referent and *Anwar ini* then refers to the central theme of attention. In cases where the subject is expressed by a Y *pe* X possessive construction, it is the Y element and possessor with which it shares the same referent. In example (101) the construction *orang gila tu* 'crazy people' shares its referent with *dong* 'third person plural', the Y element and possessor in the Y *pe* X construction *dong pe pikirang* 'their thoughts', which serves as subject. Note that the predicate *bagimana* precedes the subject to give it more prominence.

(100) [*Anwar   ini*]   [[*dia*]s   [*memang   pintar*]P].
      Anwar   this   3SG   indeed   smart
      'This guy Anwar is really smart.'

(101) [*orang   gila   tu*]   [[*bagimana*]P   [*dong   pe   pikirang*]s]?
      person   crazy   that   how   3PL   POSS   thought
      'What are the thoughts of crazy people?'

Various elements may occur preceding the subject and attract the attention. These may fulfil various semantic roles. In example (102) *peda* 'machete' serves as theme and undergoer of the activity expressed in the predicate *pegang* 'hold', while the actor of the activity is expressed by the subject *kita* 'first person singular'. In example (103) *jari kanan sini* 'the right finger here' is the goal of the activity expressed in *lempar* 'throw' and serves as the central theme of attention. In example (104) the stimulus that caused the emotion to emerge is expressed in *paitua pe cuci balangang* 'the way he washed the wok', which precedes the subject *kita* 'first person singular' to receive the attention.

(102) [*Peda*]THEME [*kita*]s   [*pegang*]P.
      machete   1SG   hold
      'I was holding the machete.'

(103) *Iyo*,   [*jari   kanan   sini*]GOAL   [*dorang*]s   [*lempar*]P.
      yes   finger   right   here   3PL   throw
      'That's right, someone threw something at this finger.'

(104) [*Paitua   pe   cuci   balangang*]STIM   [*kita*]s   [*herang*]P.
      old.man   POSS   wash   wok   1SG   surprised
      'The way he washed the wok surprised me.'

In some cases the central theme of attention is followed by *kan* 'right?' to emphasize its prominence and then serves as the border with the following constituent. *Kan* often elicits a reaction from other interlocutors, serves as question tag, and indicates that the utterance has to be interpreted as a question.

(105) [*Dokter pe laki*]POSS *kan* *tara* *ba-kumis* ...
       doctor POSS husband QT NEG POSS-moustache
       'The doctor's husband doesn't have a moustache, right ...'

(106) [*Di sini*]LOC *kan* *dong* *pegang* *peranan.*
       in here QT 3PL hold role
       'Here they play a role, right?'

Other words that may serve as question tags are *tara* 'not' and *tarada* 'no, not present'. In this function they appear at the end of utterances and are provided with specific prosodic features. Example (107) reflects a reaction given when someone asked the speaker the same question she has asked him some time before. *Tara* occurs at the end of the utterance with an additional intonation pattern and indicates a question to which the speaker expects some reaction. In example (108) the speaker tells about his preference for a white coloured type of porridge on which basis his friend concludes he must like cassava porridge the most. The speaker then continues with example (108) and the question tag *tarada* at the end of the utterance to indicate the elicitation of a reaction, and to determine an interrogative interpretation.

(107) *Ih, kita su bilang, tara?*
       EXCL 1SG COMP say NEG
       'Hey, I've told you, haven't I?'

(108) *Iyo, kasbi, tarada?*
       yes cassava NEG
       'Right, cassava, isn't it?'

Another function of *tara* and *tarada* is for negation. *Tarada* 'no' may occur as an utterance in its own respect, for instance, to express a negative reply to a yes-no question or is used in a series of alternatives. *Tarada* 'not present' is often used to express the absence in which case it can be interpreted as a combination of *tara* and *ada* expressing the meaning 'not present', although some speakers clearly distinguish between *tara ada* and *tarada*. In example (109) *tarada* serves as predicate to express the absence of the subject *yang basar* 'big ones', while in example (110) *tarada* 'not present' expresses a negative option in a series of alternatives. In example (111) *tara* is combined with *ada* 'be present' and serves as predicate, expressing that the subject *aer* 'water' is

not present in the pool.

(109)   *Samua*   *tikus*   *kacili,*   [*tarada*]ᴾ   [*yang*   *basar*]s.
        all   mouse   small   NEG   REL   big
        'All mice are small, there are no big ones.'

(110)   *gol*   *ka*   *tarada*?
        goal   or   NEG
        'Would there be a goal or not?'

(111)   […]   *kolam*   *mandi-mandi*   *cuma*   [*tara*   *ada*]ᴾ   [*aer*]s.
              pool   PL-bathe   only   NEG   exist   water
        '[…] a bathing pool, but there was no water.'

The negator *tara* always precedes the centre of the predicate when serving as predicate operator. In example (112) *tara* precedes *tidor* 'sleep' to add a negative meaning, while in example (113) *tara* precedes *sadiki* 'a little', resulting *tara sadiki* and expresses the meaning 'not a little'. Sometimes *tara* is shortened to *tar* as is illustrated in example (114), where it precedes *doi* 'money'. The resultant combination *tar doi* serves as predicate and receives a verbal interpretation 'not possess any money'.

(112)   *Kita*   *bilang,*   "*Ngana*   *tara*   *tidor*?".
        1SG   say   2SG   NEG   sleep
        'I asked, "Aren't you going to sleep?".'

(113)   *De*   *pe*   *sajara*   *tara*   *sadiki.*
        3SG   POSS   history   NEG   a.little
        'The stories he has are not just a few.'

(114)   *Paitua*   *carita*   *itu*   *paitua*   *tar*   *doi*   [...]
        old.man   tell   that   old.man   NEG   money
        'He said that he didn't have any money [...].'

Other words that may serve as predicate operators are, amongst others, *ada*, expressing a progressive meaning aspect, *mau* (also shortened to *mu*) expressing ingression, *suda* (often shortened to *su*), expressing completion, *bolong*, expressing non-completion, and *masi*, which expresses continuation. In example (115) the speaker tells how he sent his friend home after she had offended him. She became angry with him, while in fact, he was angry with her. In order to express that he was being angry at the time she was angry with him, the speaker uses the progressive marker *ada* in combination with *mara* 'be angry'. In example (116) *mau* precedes *tabanting* 'involuntarily fall

down', which expresses an action in which the actor is not in control. In such a context *mau* should be interpreted with an ingressive meaning and *mau tabanting* receives the meaning 'be about to fall down'. In other contexts and situations the lexical meaning of *mau* 'want, wish' could be applicable. In example (117) in which the speaker describes an elderly person, *su* occurs with *tete* 'grandfather' as well as with *tua* 'old' to form predicates expressing the completion of a certain state: *su tete* 'be a grandfather' indicates that the person has reached the status of a grandfather and *su tua* denotes that the person has reached a high age. An example in which non-completion is expressed is found in example (118), where the speaker tells that his friend jokingly evaluates the position of a family based on the number of refrigerators. Since the family only owns one refrigerator, they have not yet reached the powerful position of a boss, which is expressed in the construction *bolong bos* 'not yes a boss', where *bolong* indicates a non-completive meaning. In example (119) *masi* is combined with *ada* 'be present' to express that an action is continuously taken place or something is continuously in a certain state. The combination of *masi* with *ada* 'be present', results in *masi ada* 'still present' and denotes the continuity of a person's presence.

(115) *Padahal   kita   ada   mara   pa   dia,   [...].*
whereas   1SG   PROG   angry   to   3SG
'I was angry with her, [...].'

(116) *Kita   mau   ta-banting.*
1SG   INGR   INV-slam
'I almost fell down.'

(117) *Su   tete,   su   tua.*
COMP   grandfather   COMP   old
'He's a grandfather, he is old.'

(118) *De   bilang,   "Cih,   dorang   ini   bolong   bos."*
3SG   say   EXCL   3PL   this   NCOMP   boss
'He said: "ah well, they are not bosses yet."'

(119) *Hamja   masi   ada   di   bawa   pohong.*
Hamja   CONT   be.present   in   bottom   tree
'Hamja was still under the tree.'

The presence of these predicate operators facilitates the identification of a string of words by enforcing a predicative interpretation. In their absence, strings of words are open for multiple interpretations and only the context and situation determine which interpretation fits best. The difficulty to distinguish

between head-modifier on the one hand and subject-predicate structures on the other, occurs when the second element denotes quality, for example, *rambu panjang* in which *panjang* 'long' can be interpreted either as a predicative element, resulting in the meaning 'the hair is long' or as a modifying element expressing 'long hair'. Other instances occur when the second element consists of the relativizing *yang*-construction, for example, *kumis yang paling bagus*, which can reflect 'the moustache is the most beautiful (thing)' (predicative interpretation) or 'the most beautiful moustache' (modifying interpretation), or the second element is introduced by a preposition, such as in *nyamu di Sorong* 'the mosquitoes are in Sorong' (predicative) or 'the in Sorong living mosquitoes' (modifying). When a personal pronoun is followed by a thing word, for instance, *tong guru*, *guru* can be interpreted predicatively and the construction means 'we are teachers' or *guru* serves as head in a YX construction and *tong guru* expresses possession with the meaning 'our teachers'. Predicate operators, function words, prosodic features, word order may serve as indicators to facilitate parsing to determine of the most suitable interpretation.

Conclusion

In this article I have summarized the main aspects of a Ternate Malay grammar. Starting point is that Ternate Malay is a language in which words are flexible in that they may serve different syntactic functions without changing their appearance. This makes it hard to apply traditionally used linguistic tools to distinguish between word categories. Morphological processes do change a word's formal shape, but these processes often serve to provide the word with additional meaning aspects, while the resultant construction exhibits the same flexibility as its base and may be used in different syntactic functions without any other additional change in its shape. Under these circumstances it is the linguistic context as well as the non-linguistic situation in which words occur that determine interpretation works best.

Certain words serve as useful tools to facilitate the interpretation, for instance, the possessive marker *pe*, which indicates that the element following *pe* serves as head, while the element preceding *pe* serves as modifier in the construction. Other indicators are conjunctions which may join words and constructions together, as well as indicate the semantic relationship between these elements, and predicate operators which indicate a predicative interpretation of a string of words as well as provide the verb with certain meaning aspects. The word order is important and may express specific meanings, as is shown with modifying numerals which result in a distributive meaning when they precede the head and express a collective meaning when they follow it. A specific word order may determine which element serves as central theme of attention and helps to achieve the best interpretation. The role of prosodic features are only mentioned in passing and in general terms, despite the impression that they are important in the determination of the most suitable interpretation of strings of words. Further research into this

topic is needed to gain more insight in and get a better understanding of the way the language is structured.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1	first person		N	noun
2	second person		NCOMP	non-completive
3	third person		NEG	negator
CAUS	causative		P	predicate
COMP	completive		PART	particle
CONJ	conjunctive		PL	plural
CONT	continuous		POSS	possessive; possessor
DO	do		PROC	procedural
DUR	durative		QT	question tag
EPIT	epithet		REC	reciprocal
EXCL	exclamation		REFL	reflexive
HAB	habitual		REL	relativizer
IMIT	imitative		S	subject
INGR	ingressive		SG	singular
INT	intensive		STIM	stimulus
INV	involuntarily		USE	use
k.o.	kind of		V	verb
LOC	locative			

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