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Author: Litamahuputty, Betty

Title: Ternate Malay : grammar and texts

Date: 2012-10-11

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** kerja su **ampa hari**.
 four day work COMP four day
 four days, I've been working for four days now.

- (7) **lima bale**¹¹, bukung **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 *pohon* ‘(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) *lemon* ‘citrus’ is followed by the numeral *satu* ‘one’ and the numeral classifier for plants and trees *pohon* ‘(lit.) tree’, resulting in *lemon dua pohon* ‘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 express 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 lepas.
 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 *inilitu*

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* ‘today’, 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 position, *ini* expresses a definite meaning. In example (37) *ini* ‘this’ modifies and precedes *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* expresses 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 in [*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, pasir.**
 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", dalam 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... Nescafe ni...**
 coffee what this Nescafe this
 1. *coffee what’s it called... Nescafe...*
 2. *what kind of coffee is this... Nescafe?*
- (44b) B: **cih.**
 EXCL
what do you think?
- (44c) A: **bukang, kita bilang Nescafe, 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 kerja 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 bu kang 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

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 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 **pupeda¹⁴ 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,** bu kang **soma banang.**
 3PL hit fishing.net nylon NEG fishing.net thread
they had used a nylon fishing net, not a cotton fishing net.

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 sayur, **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 *sis* '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's 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.

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 hilang, 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 *berat* ‘heavy’ and denotes a feature of the Y element, which is *semen* ‘cement’, resulting in *semen pe berat* ‘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** **berat** 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 *cepat* ‘fast’, resulting in *ngana pe cepat* ‘your speed’. The exclamative intonation pattern determines an evaluative meaning of the construction, so that *ngana pe cepat!* 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!’.

(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 banka
 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.

