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5 Verb constructions

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

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

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

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

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

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

5.1 Activity + Thing constructions

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

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

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

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

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

- (2) baru de kalo **nae motor**, ngana,
 then 3SG when go.up motorcycle 2SG
and when he goes by motorcycle
- de pe lalar iko-iko.
 3SG POSS fly RED-follow
flies follow him.
- (3) ngana su lia nene sihir **nae sosapu**, to?
 2SG COMP see grandmother witch go.up broom QT
you have seen a witch on a broom, right?
- (4) paitua **nae haji**, ada orang pata.
 old.man go.up haji exist person break
when he went on the haji, someone broke something.
- (5) kita **nae kalas ampa**, Aten **nae kalas tiga**.
 1SG go.up class four Aten go.up class three
I moved up to the fourth grade, Aten moved up to the third grade.

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

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

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

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

ciong tangang.
 kiss hand
and I kissed his hand.

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

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

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

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

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

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

- (10) yah, tong ini su parna bagitu,
EXCL 1PL this COMP ever like.that
well, we had that before,
- jadi **minta** **ampong** juga, jangan lagi.
 thus ask.for mercy only don't again
so, mercy, don't let that happen again.
- (11) ya Allah, **makang** **untung** kiamat.
EXCL Allah eat luck doomsday
oh my goodness, he profited like hell.
- (12) de kaluar pi **buang** **aer**, kong
3SG go.out go throw.away water CONJ
if she goes out to relieve herself and
- orang dusu, “ngana abis, ngana”.
 person chase 2SG finished 2SG
someone's following her, “you'll be finished”.

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

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

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

- (14) **tidor pistol**, laen... laen tidor...
 sleep pistol other other sleep
we slept huddled up, others... others slept...
- dia tidor dudu-dudu, [...]
 3SG sleep RED-sit
he slept while sitting, [...]

5.2 Activity + Activity

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

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

- (15) Hamja bilang, “*iy* suda, kalo gitu **nae ambe.**”
 Hamja say yes COMP when like.that go.up take
Hamja said: “fine, if that’s true, climb up and get it.”
- (16) badiri bagini buaya **lari dusu** pa dia,
 stand like.this crocodile run chase to 3SG
(the crocodile) was standing upright like this to run and chase him.
- (17) apalagi de tatawa, mama, model deng
 moreover 3SG laugh mother shape with
particularly if she laughs, my goodness,
- putri **turung mandi** ni.
 princes go.down bathe this
like (one of) the princesses who came down (from heaven) and took a bath.

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

- (18) kalo **mint**a **tolong** “ngana ka dara
 when ask.for help 2SG to land
 if you ask them, “go
 bli roko dulu.”...
 buy cigarette before
 and buy some cigarettes.”...
- (19) dia... sapa yang pake **bawa** **pulang** ka mari.
 3SG who REL use bring go.home to here
 he... who uses it has to bring it back here.
- (20) de pe ana angka kirikil alus-alus,
 3SG POSS child lift.up gravel PL-fine
 his son was picking up some fine gravel
 de **lempar** **nae**.
 3SG throw go.up
 and was throwing it up.

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

5.2.1 *Dapa* + Verb constructions

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[Rais tells they are two points behind]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5.2.2 *Biking* + Verb constructions

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

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

When *biking* ‘make’ is followed by an activity or quality word, the result is an expression with the causative meaning ‘cause, let, make something (becomes) X’, in which X refers to the activity or the quality expressed in the word with which *biking* ‘make’ is combined. In these contexts, *biking* serves a grammatical function, indicating causativity.

The following examples occurred during elicitation sessions. In example (32) *biking* is combined with *tasono* ‘fall asleep’, which expresses an activity that is involuntarily performed. The resultant construction *biking tasono* has to be interpreted with a causative meaning, expressing ‘make someone fall asleep’. The expression *de pe lagu* ‘the song’ serves as the agent or causer of the activity, while *kita* ‘first person singular’ serves as the undergoer or causee. In example (33) *biking* ‘make’ is combined with *putus* ‘broken off’, describing a state, and results in the construction *biking putus* ‘(lit.) make broken off’. *Ana-ana* ‘children’ refers to the causer who causes the *tong pe tali pakeang* ‘our clothesline’, referring to the causee, comes in a state of being *putus* ‘broken off’.

- (32) de pe lagu sadap **biking** ta-sono pa kita.
 3SG POSS song delicious make INV-sleep to 1SG
the song is nice and puts me to sleep.

- (33) ana-ana **biking** putus tong pe tali pakeang.
 RED-child make broken.off 1PL POSS rope clothes
the children broke our clothesline.

Example (34) is a request to add some water to the sago porridge to make it thinner, because the speaker thinks the porridge is too thick. In example (34) *biking* is combined with the quality word *lombo* ‘soft’ and results in the construction *biking lombo* ‘make soft’. The causer *ngoni* ‘second person’ is asked to do something to the *pu-peda* ‘sago porridge’, the undergoer or causee, so that it gets the quality of *lombo*

‘soft’. In example (35) *biking* is combined with *itang* ‘black’ and results in the construction *biking itang* ‘make black’. In this example, *de* ‘third person singular’ is the causer who makes *de pe kumis* ‘his moustache’, the causee, come into a different state and becomes *itang* ‘black’.

- (34) mama, ngoni **biking** **lombo** pupeda sadiki ka.
 mother 2 make soft sago. porridge a.little QT
 my goodness, please make the sago porridge a bit thinner!

- (35) de **biking** **itang** de pe kumis.
 3SG make black 3SG POSS moustache
 he blackens his moustache.

In all the examples above, the undergoer or causee undergoes a transformation from one state into another. The original state is not overtly expressed; it is implied to be the opposite of the word with which *biking* is combined, which refers to the resultant state or quality. In example (32) the clothesline changes from being one long line into two parts, and the song in example (33) changes the state of *kita* from being awake into being asleep. Example (34) suggests that the sago porridge is too firm and stiff and there is a request to change its structure to become soft and smooth. In example (35) the moustache undergoes a change in colour and becomes black (again).

A causative meaning may be expressed by the combination of an activity or quality words with *kase*. The difference between these and *biking*-constructions described here is that causative *kase*-constructions do not imply a change of state. They are described in the following section.

5.2.3 *Kase* + Verb constructions

This section describes the various meanings of *kase* which are dependent on the word with which *kase* is combined. In example (36) *kase* is combined with the thing word *doi* ‘money’, and the lexical meaning ‘give’ applies.

- (36) de **kase** doi ka mari.
 3SG give money to here
 she gave me the money.

In the following examples, *kase* ‘give’ is followed by an activity or quality word. The resultant constructions indicate a causative meaning, that is, the causer makes or lets someone/something else, the causee, perform the action expressed in the word that follows *kase*. In this grammatical function as indicator of causative meanings, *kase* can be shortened to *kas* and has to be immediately followed by the activity word. No other lexical material may intervene between these elements. This may be an indication that *kase* is in the process to become a bound element *kas-*, expressing causativity. In other instances words referring to the causee intervene between *kase*

and the activity word. They refer to the goal of *kase* as well as serve as performer of the activity expressed in the word with which *kase* is combined. This type of construction expresses a permissive meaning.

Example (37) is taken from a story of someone who helps a woman with her shopping. He carries it for her and loads it into the bus. In this example, *kase* is combined with *nae* ‘go up, resulting in *kase nae* ‘(lit.) give go up’, expressing the causative meaning ‘someone causes something to go up’. *Kita* ‘first person singular’ is the causer, who causes *barang* ‘thing’ to move in an upward direction. *Barang* ‘thing’ is the causee and refers to the performer of the activity expressed in *nae*, the activity word with which *kase* is combined. The expression *kita kase nae barang* then means ‘I made the goods go up’ and in the situation of this example it reflects ‘I loaded the goods (into the bus)’. Example (38) is taken from a story about a mosquito attack. In this example the speaker wonders what a mosquito injects into someone’s body when it stings. Here *kase* is combined with *masong* ‘enter’, resulting in *kase masong* and expresses the causative meaning ‘make something enter’. The third person singular *de* refers to the mosquito and serves as the causer that brings about action. *Barang apa* ‘what thing’ refers to the material the bee injects and serves as the theme or causee of the action. In example (39) *lari* ‘run’ is combined with *kase*, resulting in *kase lari* ‘let something run’. *I kang* ‘fish’ serves as the causer, which makes the patient/causee *dong parao* ‘their boat’ move. Example (40) is taken from a story in which the speaker tells how an event in the future can be foretold with corn seeds. The example describes the corn seeds used for this practice. The activity word *makang* ‘eat’ occurs in combination with *kase*, resulting in *kase makang* ‘cause someone/something to eat’. The causer in this example is not overtly expressed and can be understood from the situation. *Ayang* ‘chicken’ is the causee and performs the action expressed in *makang* ‘eat’. Note that from the context it becomes clear that *milu-milu kiring tu* ‘dry corn’ from the previous utterance is the central theme of attention. It serves as the theme of *kase makang* and determines that *kase makang* has to be interpreted with a “passive” reading, ‘be fed to’.

(37) maitua nae ka muka baru
 old.woman go.up to front then
 she got into the car first and then

 kita **kase** **nae** barang, [...]
 1SG CAUS go.up thing
 I loaded the goods, [...]

(38) de su kase... ih, su **kase** **masong**
 3SG COMP give EXCL COMP CAUS enter
 they put... hey, what did they

barang apa dalang?
 thing what inside
put inside you?

- (39) ikang **kase lari** dong parao, ikang basar.
 fish CAUS run 3PL boat fish big
a fish is taking away their boat, a big fish.

- (40) milu-milu kiring tu?
 RED-corn dry that
(do you know) dry corn?

suka **kase makang** ayang to?
 like CAUS eat chicken QT
those we use to feed the chickens, right?(Lit. those that are fed to chickens?)

The combination of *kase* with quality words results in constructions with the causative meaning ‘cause, make become X’, in which X refers to the quality word. Example (41) is taken from a story in which the speaker says he spilled oil over himself. He digs a hole to cover his body with the sand in the hope that it will prevent the burns from becoming blisters. In the example, *kase* is combined with *panjang* ‘long’, resulting in *kase panjang* ‘make longer, extend’. The first person singular *kita* in this example serves as causer. The causee is understood from the context and refers to the hole the person is digging. The quality word *panjang* ‘long’ describes the state caused by the action performed by the causer. In example (42) *panas* ‘hot’ is preceded by *kase* ‘give’, resulting in *kase panas* ‘make hot, to heat’. The causer in this example is *ngana* ‘second person singular’, who makes the causee *strika* ‘(flat) iron’, which is mentioned previously and can be understood from the context, become *panas* ‘hot’. Note that in both examples the *kase*-construction follows an activity word. In such contexts the second element may express the purpose for which the activity in the first element is performed.

- (41) itu biking abis, kita gale **kase panjang**.
 that make finished 1SG dig CAUS long
after I finished that, I dug to make it long.

- (42) coba strika kong ngana cok **kase panas**.
 try (flat) iron CONJ 2SG plug CAUS hot
take an iron and plug it in to warm it up.

In the following examples, *kase* is not immediately followed by an action word, but other lexical material, referring to the causee, intervenes between the two elements. The resultant construction receives a permissive meaning. The permitter refers to the person who permits the permittee to perform the action expressed in the activity word with which *kase* occurs. Depending on the situation, this may mean that the permitter does not prevent an action to take place. The permittee refers to the person who is given the opportunity to perform the activity as well as serving as the agent of the activity word with which *kase* is combined. The permittee appears between *kase* and the activity word. In example (43) *paitua* ‘old man’ serves as subject and refers to the permitter. The construction *paitua pe kaka sana di Tobelo* ‘the old man’s older brother there in Tobelo’ refers to the permittee as well as to the performer of *pegang* ‘hold’ with which *kase* occurs. The whole construction *paitua kase paitua pe kaka sana di Tobelo pegang* expresses the permissive meaning ‘the old man lets/permits his older brother there in Tobelo hold (the island)’. In example (44) *kase* is preceded by the construction *tong pe sebe deng tong pe ma ni* ‘our father and our mother’, and refers to the permitter. *Halima* follows *kase* and refers to the permittee. It also serves as the performer of *piara* ‘take care of’, with which *kase* occurs. The construction *pa kita* ‘to first person singular’ expresses the patient or undergoer of the activity. Note that the two activity words in the *kase*-construction share the permittee. In example (43) the permittee *paitua pe kaka sana di Tobelo* refers to the goal of *kase* ‘give’ as well as to the agent of *pegang* ‘hold’ and in example (44) the permittee *Halima* refers to the goal of *kase* as well as to the agent of *piara*.

- (43) *paitua kase paitua pe kaka sana di Tobelo*
 old.man give old.man POSS older.sibling there in Tobelo
he let his older brother in Tobelo

pegang pulo itu.
 hold island that
manage the island.

- (44) *tong pe sebe deng tong pe ma ni*
 1PL POSS father and 1PL POSS mother this
my daddy and my mom

su **kase** Halima **piara** pa kita.
 COMP give Halima take.care.of to 1SG
let Halima raise me.

5.2.4 *Kase* and *kas-*

When *kase* is followed by an activity word and expresses a causative meaning, it may be shortened to *kas*. In this position *kas* becomes an inseparable part of the following word and serves as a bound element to express a causative meaning.

Example (45) is taken from a story in which the speaker talks about how his friend carried him out of the jungle. His friend's feet hurt and he cut his shoes to give his toes more space. In this example, *kas* is combined with *kaluar* 'go out', resulting in *kaskaluar* expressing the meaning 'let out'. The subject *de* is the causer, who lets the causee, namely *jari-jari* 'toes', *kaluar* 'go out' of the shoes. In example (45) *kase* is shortened to *kas* and combined with *tinggal* 'stay, remain', resulting in *kastinggal* 'let something/someone stay (behind)'. The expression *kastinggal* is commonly used to denote the meaning '(deliberately) leave behind'. The subject *dong* 'third person plural' serves as the causer of the action, while *kita* is the causee, referring to the person who is left behind, and the actor of *tinggal*. The word *kastinggal* in example (47) has the same shape as the one in the previous example (46), but the semantic role of the arguments with which it occurs differs. In example (46) the subject *dong*, which precedes the predicate, refers to the causer of the action expressed in *kastinggal* 'leave behind', while *kita* refers to the causee and the theme that is left behind. In example (47) the subject *sambayang* 'prayer' refers to the causee and the theme that is left behind. In this example, the causer of the action is not overtly expressed. These examples clearly show that *kas* merely serves to add a causative meaning to the base word, rather than to serve, for instance to increase the valency of the action word. Example (48) is taken from a story in which a soldier borrows a wok. In the example, the owner tells the soldier that he may return the wok the following day. The word *kaspulang* expresses a causative meaning and implies a causer, causee, and a theme. The example shows that it is not obligatory to overtly express all the arguments, for example when they can be understood.

- (45) *de* *robe* *baru* *de* ***kas-kaluar*** *jari-jari*.
 3SG torn then 3SG CAUS-go.out PL-toe
 he ripped it off and stuck out his toes.
- (46) *dong* ***kas-tinggal*** *kita* *sandiri* *di* *pulau*.
 3PL CAUS-stay 1SG own in island
 they left me alone on the island.
- (47) *sambayang* *tara* *parna* ***kas-tinggal*** *hey*.
 prayer NEG ever CAUS-stay EXCL
 ow, he never forgets his prayers.
- (48) “*nanti* *beso* *baru* ***kas-pulang***.”
 later tomorrow then CAUS-go.home
 “*you can return it tomorrow.*”

5.3 Bound elements

Elements such as *ba-*, *baku*, *ta-*, and combinations of these may be combined with words to create new words. These elements cannot occur independently to express a meaning in their own respect. They always have to be followed by another item which serves as base and semantic centre. No other lexical material may intervene between these elements and the base to which they are attached. These bound elements serve merely to add certain aspects to the meaning of the base.

In Chapter 3 I showed that prefixation may be applied to all types of words and results in words that show the same flexibility as any other lexical item. Prefixation is merely a device to add semantic aspects to the word to which it is attached. The following paragraphs concern prefixation of words with *ba-*, *baku-*, and *ta-*. I describe the effect of the prefixes on the meaning of the words. It should be noted that newly formed words presented in the examples here mainly serve as predicates, expressing a verbal meaning. In different contexts and situations, they may serve functions other than predicate, and express other meanings as well. In the various examples presented here, the glosses of certain prefixes may differ. This is because of the different meanings a particular prefix may express in the context of the example, and does not refer to different prefixes of the same shape.

When *ba-* is attached to a word, the resultant word may express various meanings, depending on the meaning of its base. Many of the newly-formed words seem to express some dynamic aspect. When the base expresses an action or activity, the resultant *ba*-word may have a reflexive, durative, or habitual meaning aspect added to the meaning of the base. When the prefix *ba-* is attached to words expressing a thing, the resultant *ba*-words may express some action performed with the base as its instrument. Other resultant words may denote the production of some substance or the performance of some act. When *ba-* is attached to words expressing quality, the newly-formed words refer to processes or procedures.

5.3.1 Prefix *ba-*

The prefix *ba-* attached to certain activity words denotes an action that is performed reflexively: one performs an action to oneself. The resultant word is an activity word of which the actor and the patient of the action share the same referent. Example (49) tells what a person suffering from a high fever wanted to do to cool down his body. The prefixation of *colo* 'dip' with *ba-*, resulting in *bacolo* 'dip oneself', and *lego* 'throw (underhand)' with *ba-*, resulting in *balego* 'thrown oneself down', both express a reflexive meaning. The speaker of example (50), who was stealing the fruit from a mango tree, tells how he held on to the tree, while someone was throwing stones at him to chase him out of the tree. The word *bapegang* 'hold oneself' consists of *ba-* and *pegang* 'hold' and expresses a reflexive meaning. In example (51) *ba-* is attached to the *jatong* 'fall', resulting in *bajatong* 'let oneself fall', while in example (52) *banae* consists of the prefix *ba-* and *nae* 'go up', denoting that the child is performing a pulling action on himself, expressing the meaning 'pull oneself up'.

- (49) eh, dia panas skali kong de mau **ba-colo**,
 EXCL 3SG hot very CONJ 3SG want REFL-dip
eh, he was very hot and he wanted to plunge,
- ba-lego** dalang dorom, dorom.
 REFL-throw.down inside drum drum
throw himself in the drum, drum.
- (50) de pe batang basar, kita **ba-pegang** bagini, to?
 3SG POSS stem big 1SG REFL-hold like.this QT
the trunk was very thick, so I held on like this, right?
- (51) ana satu de putus asa kong
 child one 3SG break hope CONJ
someone lost hope and
- de **ba-jatong** dari atas seng.
 3SG REFL-fall from top zinc
he let himself fall from the zinc roof.
- (52) lia ana sana. de **ba-nae** di atas meja.
 look child there 3SG REFL-go up in top table
look at the child there. he is pulling himself onto the table.

A *ba*-prefix may indicate that an activity is performed habitually. In example (53) the speaker talks about a person who died after drinking alcohol. The speaker is convinced that the person's death is related to his drinking habit. In this example, *minum* 'drink' is prefixed by *ba*-, resulting in *baminum* 'habitually drink alcohol', which refers specifically to the drinking of alcohol (not to other drinks) and to the habit of drinking regularly. In example (54) *isap* 'suck' is combined with *ba*-, resulting in *baisap* 'smoke', denoting a habitual activity of smoking cigarettes. Note that in this example *baisap* serves as subject and merely has a thing-like referent, that is, the act of habitually smoking cigarettes, rather than expressing an activity. In example (55) *baangka* 'lift up' is followed by *barang* 'thing' resulting in the expression *baangka barang*. The combination of *baangka* with *barang* 'thing', referring to the goods that are lifted, results in an expression with the specific meaning of lifting and carrying goods as a regularly performed action, habit, and profession to earn money. Note that in this context *baangka barang* serves as central theme of attention and has to be interpreted with a nominal meaning. It denotes an act or performance, rather than an action or activity.

- (53) tapi de **ba-minum**¹⁶ turus.
 but 3SG HAB-drink continue
but he drank continuously.
- (54) tapi **ba-isap** jalan trus.
 but HAB-suck walk continue
but smoking continues.
- (55) iyo, **ba-angka barang** kita paling tara bisa.
 yes HAB-lift.up thing 1SG very NEG can
that's true, I really can't carry things.

In the following examples, *ba*-words express a durative meaning. In example (56) the prefix *ba-* is attached to *jual* 'sell', resulting in *bajual* 'sell' expressing a durative activity. In example (57) the prefix *ba-* is attached to *rubus* 'boil' to denote a durative activity. It is followed by *kasbi* 'cassava', which serves as the patient that undergoes the action of the predicate. In example (58) *bafikir* 'think of' contains the prefix *ba-* and expresses a durative meaning 'keep in mind, consider'. It is followed by *orang pe tanaga* 'person's strength', which serves as the theme of the action expressed in the predicate.

- (56) Fadin **ba-jual** di pasar ikang.
 Fadin DUR-sell in market fish
Fadin was selling at the fish market.
- (57) tong asik **ba-rubus kasbi**, to?
 1PL busy DUR-boil cassava QT
I was busy boiling cassava, right?
- (58) iyo, dapa bayar, me **ba-fikir orang pe tanaga**
 yes get pay PART DUR-think person POSS power
right, I get paid, but one can keep someone's strength in mind
- sadiki e.
 a.little EXCL
a little.

¹⁶ This is a case in which the prefix *ba-* is attached to a standard Indonesian word *minum* 'drink'. The Ternate Malay equivalent would be *baminong* 'regularly drink alcohol'.

Depending on the meaning of the base, combinations of prefix *ba-* with thing words result in words with various meanings. Some *ba-* words refer to an activity where the base serves as instrument. In example (59) *ba-* is attached to *sisir* ‘comb’, resulting in *basisir* ‘comb’, which may denote an activity with *sisir* ‘comb’ as an instrument. In example (60) *ba-* is attached to *sapu* ‘broom’, resulting in *basapu* ‘sweep’, referring to an action within which *sapu* is used as instrument. In example (61) *ba-* is combined with *uba* ‘medicine’, resulting in *bauba* ‘(lit.) use medicine’. The meaning of *bauba* expresses the involvement of *uba* in the action. *Baubu* may denote the activity of a patient who takes medical care ‘get medical care, see a physician’ as well as the activity of a doctor who provides medical care expressing the meaning ‘to heal’. In this example, the speaker talks about his grandfather’s knowledge of traditional healing methods, and *bauba* expresses the meaning ‘to heal’.

- (59) [...] de bangong nae, **ba-sisir**,
 3SG rise go.up USE-comb
 [...] *she stood up, combed her hair,*

de mara pa kita ni.
 3SG angry to 1SG this
and she was mad at me.

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

- (61) tong pe papa pe papa tu,
 1PL POSS daddy POSS daddy that
 my father’s father

paitua suka biking-biking aer; **ba-uba** lagi.
 old.man like RED-make water USE-medicine again
used to make (medicinal) water; he also heals.

Other *ba-* words containing a thing word may express the possessive meaning ‘own, have, possess, etc.’. Example (62) is taken from a description. The speaker describes a person as a big man with legs completely covered with wounds: *de pe kaki pe bonya!* ‘his legs have wounds all over!’. The speaker then continues with example (62), where *ba-* adds a possessive meaning to *luka* ‘wound’, resulting in *baluka* ‘have wounds’. The construction *kaki baluka* may be interpreted as a clause within which *baluka* serves as predicate, reflecting the meaning ‘have wounds’. In an interpretation of *kaki baluka* as consisting of a head *kaki* modified by *baluka*, the meaning ‘legs with wounds’ or ‘wounded legs’ is reflected. There is no clear difference in structure and both interpretations may be appropriate within the context. In example

(63) *ba-* is attached to *abu* ‘dust’, resulting in *baabu*. In this example it is preceded by *tong pe tangan* ‘our hands’ and is interpreted as predicate, expressing the meaning ‘have dust’ or ‘be dusty’. In this example, *baabu* could be interpreted as modifier of *tong pe tangan* ‘our hands’, resulting in a construction with the meaning ‘our dusty hands’. The presence of *kong*, a conjunction used to join clauses together, may indicate that the construction has to be interpreted as a clause with *baabu* as predicate. In example (64), the prefix *ba-* is attached to *rasa* ‘taste’, resulting in *barasa* ‘have the taste of’ or ‘savour of’. In this example *barasa* serves as predicate and expresses a verbal meaning ‘have the taste of’.

- (62) kaki **ba-luka** to?
 leg POSS-wound QT
1. his legs have wounds, right?
2. he has wounded legs, right?

- (63) kong tong pe tangan **ba-abu**.
 CONJ 1PL POSS hand POSS-dust
and our hands were dusty.

- (64) dia **ba-rasa** milu skali.
 3SG POSS-taste corn very
it has a strong taste of corn.

The combination of *ba-* attached to certain thing words may result in words expressing ‘to produce X’ or ‘to perform X’, within which X refers to the base to which *ba-* is attached. In example (65) the prefix *ba-* is attached to *bunyi* ‘sound’, resulting in *babunyi* and expresses the meaning ‘produce, make sound’. In this example *babunyi* serves as predicate and the verbal meaning appears. In example (66) *ba-* is attached to *suar* ‘sweat’, resulting in *basuar* meaning ‘produce sweat’. When *ba-* is attached to words referring to some performance, for instance a dance, *ba-* words refer to performing the dance. In example (67) *ba-* is attached to *gala*, the name of a traditional, Ternate dance, resulting in *bagala*. In this example *bagala* serves as predicate and expresses the meaning ‘do, perform the *gala* dance’.

- (65) langsung de puru **ba-bunyi** prr.
 immediately 3SG stomach DO-sound IMIT
my stomach immediately grumbled prr.

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

- (67) o, di lao dong **ba-gala** lagi e?
 EXCL in sea 3PL DO-k.o.dance again EXCL
so, over there they perform the gala dance, right?

When prefix *ba-* is attached to words expressing quality it adds a procedural meaning aspect to the base, denoting a process towards the quality or state expressed in the base, which has not been reached yet. In example (68) the speaker gives a description of a kind of grass. The leaves are sharp and because of this feature it is used as a sponge or brush. *Batajang* ‘be sharpish’ refers to a characteristic of the grass as being relatively sharp. In example (69) *ba-* is attached to *manis* ‘sweet’, resulting in *bamanis* ‘sweetish’ and denoting a slightly sweet quality. The speaker in example (70) describes the colour of an alcoholic drink. In this example, *kuning* ‘yellow’ is prefixed by *ba-*, resulting in *bakuning* ‘yellowish’, describing that the quality is similar to, but not exactly the same as, what is expressed in the base *kuning*. Note that *warna bakuning* may be interpreted as a construction within which *bakuning* modifies the head *warna*, reflecting the meaning ‘yellowish colour’.

- (68) dia kan **ba-tajang** to?
 3SG QT PROC-sharp QT
they’re sharp, right?

- (69) de pe aer rasa **ba-manis**.
 3SG POSS water taste PROC-sweet
the juice tastes sweetish.

- (70) warna **ba-kuning**.
 colour PROC-yellow
the colour is yellowish.

5.3.2 Prefix *baku-*

The prefix *baku-* may be attached to activity words to add a collective or multiple meaning aspect to the base, to express that an activity or action is performed by more than one person and/or performed in different ways. In certain contexts and situations *baku-* words may express a reciprocal meaning.

The first two examples provided here are taken from a story of a father who meets his son after having been separated for several years. The father stands in front of his son’s house and the son comes out to meet the guest. In example (71) *baku-* is attached to *lia* ‘see’, resulting in *bakulia* expressing a reciprocal meaning ‘see each other’. In the same example, *baku-* is attached to *pegang* ‘hold’, resulting in *bakupegang* ‘hold each other’. It is followed by *tangang*, resulting in *bakupegang tangang* ‘shake hands with each other’. In example (72) the prefix *baku-* is attached to *polo* ‘embrace’ and results in *bakupolo*, adding a reciprocal meaning to the word, resulting in the meaning ‘embrace each other’. *Baku-* may indicate that an action or

activity is performed collectively. Example (73) is taken from a story about a sago porridge eating competition. One of the candidates ate so much that he could hardly breathe. Some men had to carry him to the sultan's palace to be cured. In this example, *baku-* is attached to *pikul* 'carry', resulting in *bakupikul* 'carry collectively' or 'carry together'.

- (71) trus **baku-lia** to, jadi **baku-pegang** tangang.
 continue REC-see QT thus REC-hold hand
and then they looked at each other and they held each other's hands.

- (72) trus dong dua **baku-polo** suda.
 continue 3PL two REC-embrace COMP
and then the two hugged each other.

- (73) de su tara bisa ba-napas, kong dong
 3SG COMP NEG can POSS-breath CONJ 3PL
he couldn't breathe anymore and they

baku-pikul, bawa ka atas kadatong
 COLL-carry bring to top palace
carried him and brought him to the palace.

Words with prefix *baku-* may express that an action is performed intensively, involves multiple actions, and is performed at different places. In example (74) a woman is alone in the house when she suddenly hears a bell ringing. She does not know where the sound is coming from. She looks everywhere to find the source. The prefix *baku-* is attached to *cari* 'search', resulting in *bakucari* 'search intensively', expressing that the person is looking intensively and at different places searching for something. The speaker of example (75) is discussing the number of people working at a certain place. There are not many female workers, while the male workers are innumerable. In this example, the prefix *baku-* is attached to *rekeng* 'count', resulting in *bakurekeng* 'count intensively' to express the intensive counting of all the male workers as a multiple action. Example (76) describes how the storyteller is sitting quietly in the boat. He is afraid that a whale might suddenly emerge from the water, overturn the boat, and that he and the goods inside the boat would fall in the water. In this example, *baku-* is attached to *jaga* 'guard', resulting in *bakujaga* expressing that the guarding and looking after his belongings is performed in an intensive way.

- (74) maitua **baku-cari** sampe di bawa-bawa kas.
 old.woman INT-search arrive in RED-bottom cupboard
she was searching everywhere even under the cupboards.

- (75) tapi laki-laki... ngana **baku-rekeng** sampe!
 but RED-man 2SG INT-count arrive
but the males... you count them for a long time!

tara abis-abis.
 NEG RED-finished
it would not come to an end.

- (76) eh kita **baku-jaga** mati.
 EXCL 1SG INT-guard dead
hey, I was guarding everything with my life.

Baku- may be attached to a duplicated activity word. The resultant word denotes a repetitive action performed in a reciprocal way. The situation of example (77) is that a number of people has to decide where each of them is going to sleep: in the speedboat or on the shore. The authorities have told them that sleeping in the speedboat is not safe, and each of them tries to avoid being chosen to sleep there by pushing another person forward. In the example, *tola* 'push' is duplicated, indicating that it is a repetitive action. *Baku-* is attached to the resultant word and becomes *bakutola-tola*, expressing the meaning 'push repeatedly at each other'. The background of example (78) is that the speaker describes a situation where a large number of people has to eat, but there are not enough plates for everyone. In order to solve the problem, it is decided to eat in shifts. In this example, *ganti* 'replace' is duplicated, resulting in *ganti-ganti*, to express a repetitive activity 'replace repeatedly'. The prefixation with *baku-* results in *bakuganti-ganti*, expressing that a repetitively performed action is done reciprocally: 'repeatedly replace each other'.

- (77) **baku-tola-tola**, ahirnya samua tara
 REC-REP-push finally all NEG
we pushed each other forward, but finally we all

tidor di spit, tidor orang pe ruma.
 sleep in speedboat sleep person POSS house
slept at someone's house, not in the speedboat.

- (78) baru makang **baku-ganti-ganti**.
 then eat REC-REP-replace
furthermore we ate in turns. (Lit. repeatedly replace each other).

The *baku-* prefix can be attached to words that have undergone other prefixation processes, resulting in words with a sequence of prefixes. In example (79) the prefix *ba-* is attached to *gara* 'move' to add a durative meaning aspect to the word. This serves as the base to which *baku-* is attached to express a collective and reciprocal

meaning, resulting in *bakubagara*, denoting the collective moving around each other of the bait. The background of example (80) is the speaker's explanation that in order to build a solid floor it is better to pour the concrete all at once, so that it becomes one whole, rather than to do it in stages and have connecting parts. In this example, *ta-* is attached to *sambung* 'connect', resulting in *tasambung* 'be connected', expressing a state. The prefix *baku-* is attached to this base, resulting in *bakutasambung* expressing collectivity as well as reciprocity, denoting the meaning 'be in the state of being connected to each other'. In example (81) *baku-* is attached to *malawang* 'oppose', resulting in *bakumalawang* 'oppose each other'. The prefixation with *baku-* expresses collectivity and reciprocity. The base word *malawang* consists of the fossilized element *ma-* and the base *lawang* 'opponent'.

- (79) umpang hidup tong pake, umpang
 bait live 1PL use bait
 we used live bait, the bait

baku-ba-gara di bawa.
 REC-DUR-move in bottom
moved under water.

- (80) jang dia **baku-ta-sambung** bagini baru tara kuat.
 don't 3SG REC-INV-connect like.this then NEG strong
 don't let it be connected like this and be weak.

- (81) tong dua **baku-malawang.**
 1PL two REC-oppose
 the two of us argued with each other.

5.3.3 Prefix *ta-*

The prefix *ta-* indicates that an action is involuntarily or unintentionally performed. *Ta-*words may describe the state of a thing or person and determines a "passive" interpretation, within which the subject serves as undergoer.

The subjects in the following examples do not control the situation in which they are. They do not have the power to influence the situation, and involuntarily perform or undergo the action expressed in the *ta-*word. The speaker of example (82) says that when he goes to sleep, he looks at some photographs first. Not long after that he falls asleep. *Kita* in this example is the experiencer of the activity, while *tasono* 'unintentionally sleep' or 'fall asleep' expresses that the actor involuntarily comes in to the state expressed by the base *sono* 'sleep'. In example (83) the prefix *ta-* is attached to *tinggal* 'stay, remain', resulting in *tatinggal* 'unwillingly left behind'. *Kita pe kos* serves as the patient, who involuntarily undergoes the activity expressed in *tinggal* 'stay'. In example (84) the prefix *ta-* is attached to *iko* 'follow', resulting in *taiko* 'unintentionally follow'. The example is taken from a story about fishermen

who use small and light boats. The boats are so light that when a fisherman catches a big fish that tries to escape, the fish is able bring the boat along. *Taiko* expresses that the boat involuntarily follows the fish. Example (85) is taken from a story about a crocodile who attacked someone in a boat, hit the boat, and the boat split open. In this example, *ta-* is attached to *bala* ‘split’, resulting in *tabala* ‘split’. The subject of *tabala* is understood from the context and refers to *parau*, which serves as the undergoer/patient of the action and determines a passive interpretation of the activity word.

- (82) tar lama kita **ta-sono**, suda.
 NEG long 1SG INV-sleep COMP
not long after that I finally fall asleep.
- (83) de bilang:” Hamja e, kita pe kos
 3SG say Hamja EXCL 1SG POSS T-shirt
he said: “Hamja,

ta-tinggal di atas.”
 INV-stay in above
I left my T-shirt up there.”
- (84) ikang... ikang kalo kase lari dong parao,
 fish fish when CAUS run 3PL boat
a fish... when a fish pulls their boat,

ta-iko suda.
 INV-follow COMP
It is taken away.
- (85) de bage parau. **ta-bala**.
 3SG hit boat INV-split
he attacked the boat. It split open.

The *ta*-words in the following examples express that something or someone has (unintentionally and unwittingly) come in to the state as described by the base. In these examples, the subject refers to the undergoer of the action expressed in the base and has a passive reading. In example (86) the prefix *ta-* is attached to *kupas* ‘peel’, resulting in *takupas* ‘be (in the state of) peeled’. In example (87), the prefix *ta-* is attached to *potong* ‘cut’, resulting in *tapotong* ‘be (in the state of) cut’. In example (88) the prefix *ta-* is attached to the *sirang* ‘pour’, resulting in *tasirang* ‘be (in the state of) poured’.

- (86) kong de pe kaki su **ta-kupas**.
 CONJ 3SG POSS foot COMP INV-peel
and his feet were peeled.
- (87) “tara lama ngana tangang **ta-potong**.”
 NEG long 2SG hand INV-cut
“you’ll cut your hand.” (Lit.) “it would not take long (before) your hand is cut”).
- (88) “kita **ta-sirang** deng minya panas-panas.”
 1SG INV-pour with oil RED-hot
“I’ve had very hot oil spilled all over me.”

The *ta-* prefix can be attached to words that have undergone prefixation, for instance with *baku-* and *ba-*. The examples with *ta-baku-* have been obtained by elicitation. In example (89) *baku-* is attached to *tukar* ‘exchange’, resulting in *bakutukar* and expressing reciprocity, that is, the sandals have been exchanged with each other. The prefix *ta-* is attached to *bakutukar* ‘exchange with each other’ and expresses a state (of an involuntary action), resulting in *tabakutukar* ‘be (involuntarily) exchanged with each other’. In example (90) the prefix *baku-* is attached to *polo* ‘embrace’ and expresses reciprocity, resulting in *bakupolo* ‘embrace each other’. The prefixation with *ta-* expresses an involuntary action, resulting in *tabakupolo* ‘involuntarily, unintentionally embrace each other’. In example (91) *ciong* ‘kiss’ is prefixed with *baku-*, resulting in *bakuciong* ‘kiss each other’ and expresses reciprocity. The prefixation with *ta-* results in *tabakuciong* ‘(lit.) kiss each other unintentionally’, expressing a reciprocal action performed unintentionally.

- (89) kita pe sandal **ta-baku-tukar** deng dia.
 1SG POSS slipper INV-REC-exchange with 3SG
My slippers have been switched with his.
- (90) kita baku-tabrak deng dia sampe **ta-baku-polo**.
 1SG REC-collide with 3SG so that INV-REC-embrace
I bumped into him so that we embraced each other.
- (91) kita jatong ta-palaka kong **ta-baku-ciong** deng mesel.
 1SG fall INV-forward CONJ INV-REC-kiss with floor
I fell forward and kissed the floor.

Example (92) is found in spontaneous speech. In this example, *ta-* is attached to a *ba-* word. The background of this example is that the storyteller is standing on a lad-

der. The ladder slips, but he can grab something to hold on to and is in a hanging position. The word *gantong* ‘hang’ is prefixed with *ba-* resulting in *bagantong*, expressing a reflexive meaning, namely that the person hangs or holds on to something. The prefixation with *ta-* expresses the state of an involuntary action, resulting in *tabagantong* ‘being in the state of (involuntarily) hanging’.

- (92) **ta-ba-gantong** bagini.
 INV-REFL-hang like.this
 I was hanging like this.

The prefix *ta-* can be attached to a duplicated base to express unintentionally performing a repetitive action. The repetitive action is expressed by the repetition of the activity word. In example (93) *angka* ‘lift up’ is duplicated resulting in *angka-angka* ‘lift up repetitively’ and forms the base to which *ta-* is attached, resulting in *taangka-angka* ‘involuntarily/unintentionally lifting up repetitively’. In example (94) *guling* ‘roll’ is duplicated resulting in *guling-guling* and expresses repetition of the activity, ‘roll repetitively’. This forms the base to which *ta-* is attached to express unintentionality, resulting in *taguling-guling* ‘unintentionally rolling over repetitively’. *Taguling-guling* may refer to the manner an activity is performed.

- (93) jalang bahu **ta-angka-angka...**
 walk shoulder INV-REP-lift.up
 he walks with hunched shoulders...

- (94) orang tola pa kita kong
 person push to 1SG CONJ
 someone pushed me

 kita jatong **ta-guling-guling.**
 1SG fall INV-REP-roll
 and I rolled down.

5.4 Reduplication of activity words

The reduplication of action words expresses repetition of the action. Example (95) is taken from a story of two friends in school. The speaker relates that when they were at school one of them might succeed to pass to a higher grade, while the other failed. The following year it could be the other way around. The speaker in the example says that he passed his friend twice. In this example, *lewat* ‘pass’ is reduplicated to express repetition, resulting in *lewat-lewat* ‘pass repetitively’. The situation of example (96) is that the speaker is told that he mentions a person’s name very often. After some time, he is again told that he mentioned the person’s name. As a reaction he asks if the person is counting the times he mentions the name. In this example *rekeng* ‘count’ is reduplicated, resulting in *rekeng-rekeng*, expressing that the activ-

de tara manakal orang.
 3SG NEG be.naughty person
he won't harm anyone.

- (100) **ba-carita-ba-carita**, bolong sampe satu jam
 RED-DO-story not.yet arrive one hour
we were talking and talking, but within an hour

de su rayu.
 3SG COMP tempt
she started to tempt me.

Example (101) is taken from a story about people who travel as stowaways on a ship from Ternate to Jakarta. In the example *baku-* is attached to *tanya* 'ask' and results in *bakutanya* 'ask each other'. The reduplicated word *bakutanya-bakutanya* refers to the activity of members of small groups of people questioning each other, and express the meaning 'alternately question each other'. The speaker of example (102) says that he and his friend were teasing each other back and forth. At some point, he could not stand it any longer, and he gave his friend a punch. In the example *baku-* is attached to *terek* 'tease' and expresses a reciprocal meaning, resulting in *baku-terek* 'tease each other'. The reduplication of the word denotes the repetition of the reciprocal action and results in *bakuterek-bakuterek*. It expresses the meaning 'repeatedly tease each other' or 'take turns teasing each other'.

- (101) **baku-tanya-baku-tanya**, padahal samua pelarian.
 REP-REC-ask whereas all stowaway
we asked and asked each other although all of us were stowaways.

- (102) **baku-terek-baku-terek** kita su tara tahan
 REP-REC-tease 1SG COMP NEG endure
we were always teasing each other and I could not stand it anymore

su tara poha baku-terek [...]
 COMP NEG powerful REC-tease
I could not stand teasing each other [...]

5.5 Reduplication of bound elements

The reduplication of bound elements, for instance of *ba-* and *baku-*, emphasizes that an action or activity is performed severely, repetitively or intensively. In example (103) the *ba-* is reduplicated and attached to *dara* 'blood' resulting in *babadara* 'bleed severely', to express intensity of the activity. Example (104) talks about a person's aversion to slimy animals, such as snakes and eels. In the example, *ba-* is

reduplicated and indicates that the activity is performed repeatedly. It is attached to *kore* ‘scrape’, resulting in *babakore* ‘scratch repetitively’. The background of example (105) is that two people have a date. Suddenly they meet a relative and they both pretend not to have anything to do with each other. The word *babadiri* ‘stand motionless’ consists of a reduplicated prefix *ba-*, to emphasize the intensity with which the action is performed, in other words, the person stands motionless. The reduplicated *ba-* in *babadiang* ‘be very quiet’ emphasizes that the person does not make any sound and is completely silent.

- (103) “kita flores¹⁷ pa ngana satu kali
 1SG hit to 2SG one time
“if I would hit you once with a sword

 ngana **ba-ba-dara** ni.”
 2SG INT.DO-blood this
you would bleed heavily.”
- (104) dia ba-sontong, **ba-ba-kore** di kaki saja
 3SG BA-touch INT.BA-scrape in leg only
if he touches me or just scratches my leg

 kita bataria [...]
 1SG scream
I scream [...].
- (105) dia **ba-ba-diri** situ, kita **ba-ba-diang**.
 3SG INT-DO-stand there 1SG INT-DO-quiet
she was standing over there and I kept quiet.

The speaker of example (106) tells how seven people slept in a small cell. Some of them slept in a sitting position, while others slept with their legs up. The example shows a reduplicated *baku-* attached to *susun* ‘to stack’, resulting in *bakubakususun* ‘intensively stack on top of each other’. It emphasizes the compact way the persons were stacked. Note that *bakubakususun* follows *tidor* ‘sleep’ and serves as modifier, referring to the way of lying against and on top of each other.

- (106) tidor **baku-baku-susun** model kopra ni.
 sleep INT-REC-stack shape copra this
we were sleeping in stacks like copra.

¹⁷ The term *flores* is taken from the name of the island of Flores. After a woman had been murdered by someone from this island, for a short period of time the term *flores* was used to refer to hit someone severely or kill someone with a sword. See also pp. 46-7.

5.6 Summary

In this chapter, I have described combinations of activity words with other words. The resultant constructions within which the activity word serves as semantic centre may form fixed expressions with a specific meaning as well as combinations of which the meaning can be derived from the composing elements. In many combinations, the semantic centre is followed by another element. Some elements only occur preceding the semantic centre. These concern bound elements, for instance *ba-*, *baku*, and *ta-*, which add certain semantic aspects to the meaning of the base word. Certain activity words also serve to indicate specific interpretations, for instance *dapa*, which indicates a passive reading when the subject is the undergoer or indicates ability when the subject is an agent. Both *biking* and *kase* indicate the causative interpretation of the activity word with which they are combined.