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7 Clauses

This chapter concerns the structure of clauses, the different types, various subjects and predicates, as well as the function of certain lexical items in the clauses.

The different types of utterances can be characterized by certain prosodic features and the presence of certain lexical items. They determine whether an utterance is a statement, question, imperative or vetative. When *apa* ‘what’, *siapa* ‘who’, or *bagimana* ‘how’ occur in a sentence, they indicate that the speaker questions a thing, a person, or a manner, and the sentence has to be interpreted as question. When the speaker wants someone to do something, he may use *coba* ‘try’ to soften the command, and the use of this word with an additional intonation pattern typical for imperatives, to determine that the sentence has to be interpreted as imperative.

A strategy to indicate that certain elements in the sentence have to receive more attention is the word order. The most common structure of a clause is the subject-predicate order, in which the subject precedes the predicate. When the reverse order occurs, that is, when predicate precedes the subject, it is the predicate that receives more attention. Elements that precede the subject and share the same referent as the subject particularly serve as the central theme of attention.

The shape of certain subject-predicate constructions looks similar to head-modifier constructions described in chapter 4. When both elements share the same referent, or when the second element expresses a quality or property, consists of a *yang*-construction, or a construction with *di* ‘in, at’, *dari* ‘from’, or *deng* ‘with’, the relationship between the two elements may be particularly difficult to detect. The context and the situation as well as prosodic features may be helpful in determining the structure and in achieving the most appropriate interpretation. Another way to facilitate interpretation is observing the use, among others, of aspect markers *su* indicating completion, *ada* indicating progression and *masi* indicating continuity. These serve to express certain meaning aspects, and function to indicate that the construction has to be interpreted as predicate.

Certain items are considered to stand outside the clause and function as independent syntactic entities in their own right. They may precede as well as follow the clause. Those that often precede the clause include, *jang(ang)* ‘don’t’, which indicates a vetative meaning, or interjections which express the speaker’s feelings. Certain items expressing modality which serve to provide information about the speaker’s attitude in relation to the utterance, such as, *sebenarnya* ‘actually’, indicating contradiction or *pasti* ‘definitely’ to indicate certainty, often precede the subject or clause. Expressions expressing temporal information often precede the subject.

In § 7.1. various types of the sentences are described, followed by § 7.2 which discusses the order of subject and predicate, central themes of attention, and the subject in its various semantic roles. In § 7.3 the meaning and structure of predicates is described. Predicate operators are described in § 7.4, and § 7.5 provides examples of

expressions for time, space, and mood. A short summary is found at the end of this chapter.

7.1 Types of sentences

Certain types of sentences can be distinguished from each other based on structure, intonation pattern, and on the presence of specific indicators. Equational sentences differ from other types of sentences in that the subject as well as the predicate share the same referent. This type of sentence has the same shape as head-modifier constructions. The meaning determined by context and situation may indicate which interpretation is most appropriate. Statements, questions, and negatives may differ from each other only in their intonation patterns. Sometimes, specific lexical items are used to indicate the type of sentence. These four types and their characteristics are described here.

7.1.1 Equations

The structure of equational sentences is similar to constructions discussed in § 4.2, which are analyzed as head-modifier constructions. The difference between the two is sometimes hard to detect based on formal and overtly expressed features. The context and situation may determine how they are best analyzed, although under certain circumstances it remains vague which interpretation is most appropriate.

The speaker of example (1) gives a description of a certain type of cassava and talks about the length and the taste. Summarizing, he uses *itu kasbi peot* in which *itu* ‘that’ serves as subject and *kasbi peot* as predicate, and both have the same referent. This interpretation reflects the meaning ‘that is “kasbi peot”’. A different interpretation of this example is that *kasbi* serves as head of the construction, modified by *peot* ‘dented’ and *itu* ‘the’, reflecting the meaning ‘the dented cassava’. The context and situation then determines which interpretation is most appropriate. In the context of this example in which the utterance is a summary, a “clausal” interpretation seems to fit best. Example (2) is similar to the previous example. It is part of a description of two islands situated close to the island of Morotai. The subject in this example is *dong tampa ambe-ambe kayu* ‘their place where (fire) wood is taken’ while *situ* ‘there’ serves as predicate. Both elements refer to the same location and share the same referent, namely two uninhabited islands close to Morotai. The two elements form an equational clause. An alternative interpretation of this example is a head-modifier construction. The head is formed by the construction *dong tampa ambe-ambe kayu*. The modifier of the example is *situ* ‘there’. In this interpretation, example (2) reflects the meaning ‘their place over there where (fire) wood is taken’ or ‘their place where (fire) wood is taken situated over there’. Note that the head of the construction is a head-final YX possessive construction with a pronoun expressing the possessor (see § 4.3.4). The head is the third person plural *dong* and the modifier consists of *tampa* ‘place’ which is modified by *ambe-ambe kayu* ‘get (fire) wood’, expressing the meaning ‘place to get (fire) wood’. In the context of this example in which a description of the place is

provided, the interpretation as a clause seems to be most appropriate. Example (3) is interpreted as a clause, consisting of the subject *Halima* (personal name) and followed by the predicate *kita pe kaka* ‘my older sibling’. Unlike the previous examples, it seems that this construction cannot be interpreted as a head-modifier construction. *Y pe X* constructions seldom occur as modifiers in head-modifier constructions. This limits the number of possible interpretations and *Halima kita pe kaka* can be interpreted only as a subject-predicate clause construction. The subject and predicate have the same referent and form an equational clause, which in the larger context of the example serves as theme.

- (1) [itu]_S [kasbi peot]_P.
 that cassava dented
 that is “kasbi peot”.
- (2) [dong tampa ambe-ambe kayu]_S [situ]_P.
 3PL place REP-take wood there
 over there, it’s their place to get wood.
- (3) de bilang [Halima]_S [kita pe kaka]_P.
 3SG say Halima 1SG POSS older.sibling
 he says that Halima is my sister.

The shape of the clauses in the following examples is similar to head-initial head-modifier constructions with *yang*-constructions serving as modifiers, discussed in § 4.2.12. There are no formal differences between these head-modifier constructions and subject-predicate constructions. How the constructions in these examples are best interpreted depends on the context and the situation, although there may be situations in which this remains vague. Prosodic features may be of some help. The examples here are interpreted as subject-predicate constructions expressing a clausal meaning. The subject and the predicate in these examples have the same referent and form equational clauses.

Example (4) is taken from a story about the airport in Morotai, an island north of Halmahera. During World War II, the island was partly in the hands of the American army and partly occupied by the Japanese army. The speaker thought the airport was built by Americans, is unsure whether it was the Americans or the Japanese who built the airport, and wonders if it was the American army that was stationed in Morotai. The construction *yang dulu di sana* ‘who/which were there’ refers to the people who were at the location where the airport of Morotai is. It serves as predicate, while *Amerika* (name of a country) serves as subject. Both subject and predicate share the same referent, namely American soldiers who were stationed in Morotai, and form an equational clause, expressing the meaning ‘(it was) the Americans who were there, right?’. Based on the shape, this construction could be interpreted as consisting of the head *Amerika*, followed by a *yang*-

construction as modifier, expressing the meaning ‘the Americans, who were there, right?’ This interpretation implies that there were other Americans on the island, but those who were at the location of the airport had built it. What seems to be the point of discussion in the story is whether it was the Japanese or the Americans who built the airport. In such a context, the interpretation of example (4) as a subject-predicate construction with the meaning ‘(it was) the Americans who were there, right?’ seems to be most appropriate. Example (5) is taken from a story about stealing mangoes from a tree. When the thieves were caught, they left the stolen fruit in the tree. The speaker of this example, who was one of the thieves, called his friends to help him. One of them volunteered to get the fruit. The predicate in example (5) consists of the relativizer *yang* followed by *ambe* ‘take’, resulting in *yang ambe* ‘who gets it’. The first person singular *kita* serves as subject, and both refer to the same person, forming an equational clause. An alternative interpretation of this construction as consisting of a head *kita*, followed by the modifier *yang ambe*, would result in the meaning ‘I, who get it’. This seems to be less appropriate than the subject-predicate construction which reflects the meaning ‘I (am the one) who gets it’. In example (6) *ini* indicates the border between constituents. The subject consists of *de ini*, while the predicate consists of the relativizer *yang* followed by *pukul kita di pasar sayor* ‘hit me at the vegetable market’. Both subject and predicate share the same referent and together they form an equational clause. In this example *ini* is interpreted as the boundary between two constituents. The result is that only an interpretation of the *yang*-construction as predicate seems to be appropriate.

- (4) [Amerika]_S [yang dulu di sana]_P to?
 America REL before in there QT
the Americans were there, right?
- (5) de bilang, “[kita]_S [yang ambe]_P.”
 3SG say 1SG REL take
he said, “I’ll get it.”
- (6) “[de ini]_S [yang pukul kita di pasar sayor]_P.”
 3SG this REL hit 1SG in market vegetable
“he’s the one who hit me at the vegetable market.”

7.1.2 Questions

Questions can be created in two ways: one way is the use of a rising intonation pattern typical for questions, while the other way is the use of particular words and tags expressing a question. The interrogative may occur at various places in the utterance and generally occupy the position of what is questioned. Question tags are independent expressions in their own right and are often posited at the right-most position in a clause. These question tags are used as a means to elicit an affirmative

reaction, they may direct the listener's attention to certain elements and give these more emphasis, as well as maintain the listener's attention.

The structure of examples (7)–(9) and (7b)–(9b) are similar; they differ only in intonation pattern. These intonation patterns determine that examples (7)–(9) have to be interpreted as statements, while the b-sentences of (7b)–(9b) as questions. The intonation pattern of statements is falling while that of questions is rising. Example (10) is uttered by someone who is talking about porters at the markers and explains how they offer their help. The rising intonation pattern with which *angka* 'lift up' is uttered, expresses that they are asking the women if they may carry their shopping.

- (7) ngana su kaweng.
 2SG COMP marry
 you are married.
- (7b) ngana su kaweng?
 2SG COMP marry
 are you married?
- (8) mau ambe jalang rata saja.
 want take street straight only
 we want to take a straight route.
- (8b) mau ambe jalang rata saja?
 want take street straight only
 do we want to take a straight route?
- (9) “iyo suda, ngana ator.”
 yes COMP 2SG arrange
 “that's fine, you arrange it.”
- (9b) “iyo suda, ngana ator?”
 yes COMP 2SG arrange
 “that's fine; are you going to arrange it?”
- (10) dong ka sana, “Bibi, Bibi, angka?”
 3PL to there EPIT EPIT lift.up
 they go there and ask, “shall I carry this for you?”

Another device to create questions is the use of interrogatives: *apa* 'what' serves to question non-human things and *mana* 'where' is used to question location. They generally occupy the position of the thing or location questioned. These words may

be combined with other elements to form words to question matters such as time, reason, quantity and persons.

7.1.2.1 Interrogative *apa*

In the following examples, *apa* serves to question the identity of non-human referents. Example (11) is taken from a story about a woman who hears a doorbell for the first time. *Apa* ‘what’ questions the identity of the sound the woman hears. In example (12) *apa* ‘what’ questions the identity of the thing that the speaker wants to give to his friends. Example (13) is taken from a story of someone’s experiences when he was suffering from malaria. Sometimes he feels very cold and wonders what he can use to cover himself. *Apa* ‘what’ occurs after *deng* ‘with’ and refers to the thing that can be used to do what is expressed in the predicate, namely, *batutu* ‘cover oneself’. When *apa* is used as modifier, it questions the kind or type of head. In example (14) *apa* ‘what’ modifies *pisang* ‘banana’ and questions the kind or type of banana.

- (11) **apa** itu?
 what that
 what is that?
- (12) kita mu kase **apa** pa ngoni, e?
 1SG want give what to 2 EXCL
 what shall I give you?
- (13) ngana ba-tutu **deng** **apa**?
 2SG REFL-close with what
 what did you cover yourself with?
- (14) “pisang **apa**, Ibu?”
 banana what mother
 “*what kind of bananas are they, Madam?*”

The interrogative word *apa* ‘what’ in combination with *tempo* ‘time’, results in *tempo apa* ‘when’ and questions time. In example (15) *tempo apa* ‘when’ questions time and immediately follows the subject *tong ini* ‘we here’. In example (16) *tempo apa* is posited after the predicate *pulang* ‘go home’ and questions the time of the action.

- (15) kong tong ini **tempo** **apa** baru sadar ni?
 CONJ 1PL this time what then aware this
 and I, when am I going to repent?

- (16) ngana pulang **tempo** **apa?**
 2SG go.home time what
 when are you going home?

The interrogative *apa* ‘what’ in combination with *biki* ‘make’, resulting in the expression *biki apa* ‘why’ questions reason or cause. *Biki apa* ‘why’ has probably derived from *biking apa* ‘(lit.) make what’, consisting of *biking* ‘make’ and *apa* ‘what’. The expression *biki apa* ‘why’ is sometimes reduced to the alternative form *kiapa*. The two expressions *biki apa* and *kiapa* are mutually interchangeable.

Example (17) is taken from a story about someone who suffered from malaria. The fever was so high that he wanted to cool himself and plunged in an oil drum filled with water. His friends wanted to know why he did that. The construction *biki apa* ‘why’ questioning reason is posited preceding the predicate to give it more attention. Example (18) is taken from a story in which the speaker imagines that a very important person sends two people to Ternate to invite him to come to Jakarta. When he meets these two people, he asked them the reason for calling him, as is displayed in example (18). In this example, *biki apa* ‘why’ follows the predicate *pangge* ‘call’, to question the reason for this activity. This expression often implies that the person is called to do something ‘what do I have to do for you to call me?’. Example (19) refers to arrogant performers of martial arts, who think they do not have to fear anybody because of their skills. In this example, the reduced form *kiapa* ‘why’ is used, questioning the reason why the person would be afraid.

- (17) dong mangamu, dong, “**biki** **apa** ngana colo?”
 3PL berserk 3PL make what 2SG dip
 they grumbled, saying “why did you plunge into the water?”

- (18) “pangge **biki** **apa?**”
 call make what
 “why are you calling me?”

- (19) “**kiapa** kong tako pa dia?”
 why CONJ afraid to 3SG
 “why would I be afraid of him?”

In order to question amount, quantity, or a number, *barapa* ‘how much’ is used. It is a fossilized form consisting of the interrogative *apa* ‘what’ and a prefix *bar-*, and is considered a monomorphemic word. *Barapa?* ‘how much?’ may occur as a constituent in its own right, as well as serve as modifier preceding another word when questioning the amount of something. *Barapa* follows the head it modifies when it questions a specific number (of the referent), for instance in a series. The speaker of example (20) is asked to mix sand and concrete. He replies with *barapa?* ‘how much?’ to question the amounts of the materials he has to mix. In example (21)

barapa ‘how much’ precedes *hari* ‘day’ and questions the total number of days the speaker has worked. In example (22) the reduced form *brapa* ‘how much’ follows *jam* ‘hour’ to question the time as a number of a series. In example (23) *barapa* ‘how much’ serves as a modifier of *nomor* ‘number’ and questions the number of the series used to refer to the grades of coarseness of sandpaper.

- (20) “**barapa?**”
 how.much
 “*how many?*”
- (21) su **barapa** hari tadi, e?
 COMP how.much day earlier EXCL
 how many days was it today?
- (22) jam **brapa** tu?
 hour how.much that
 what time is it?
- (23) mama, kartas paser nomor **barapa** ni dia?
 mother paper sand number how.much this 3SG
 my goodness, what number sandpaper is this?

In order to question the identity of a human entity, *sapa* ‘who’ is used. Historically this word has derived from the construction *si apa* ‘the what’, consisting of the personifier *si* and the interrogative *apa* ‘what’. *Sapa* ‘who’ occurs in the position of the word or construction that is questioned.

In example (24) the speaker talks about a certain drink and the interlocutor wonders whether it is the same drink a person named Roni sells. The speaker replies with example (24), questioning the person who sells the drink. The speaker of example (25) imagines what he would think if he were the type of person who does not care about others and who ignores people who address him. In this example *sapa* ‘who’ serves as predicate and questions the identity of the subject *ngana* ‘you’, expressing the meaning ‘who are you?’. The speaker in example (26) says that he lied to his friends and told them he is married and has children. When they visited him, they wanted to meet his wife, and the speaker asks himself what he should do. In the example, *sapa* ‘who’ follows the predicate *tunjuk* ‘point at’ and questions the object or target of the predicate *tunjuk*, namely, the person who is pointed at. In the story where example (27) occurs, the speaker says that he had photos of children with him and a friend asked him who were the people in the photos. In this example, *sapa* questions the person who serves as possessor in a Y *pe* X construction. Within the context of this example, *sapa pe foto* questions the identity of the people in the photo, while in a different context, *sapa pe foto* could question the owner of the

photo, who is not necessarily in the photo. In example (28) *sapa* ‘who’ follows *pa* ‘to, at’, resulting in the construction *pa sapa* ‘to whom’, and questions the goal to whom the action expressed in the predicate *kase* ‘give’ is directed.

- (24) **sapa** jual?
 who sell
 who sells it?
- (25) “cek, ngana **sapa**?”
 EXCL 2SG who
 “*eh, who are you?*”
- (26) kita mao tunjung **sapa**?
 1SG want point.at who
 who can I point to?
- (27) de bilang, “**sapa** pe foto?”
 3SG say who POSS photo
 he asked, “whose photos are they?”
- (28) ngana mau kase **pa** **sapa**?
 2SG want give to who
 who do you want to give that to?

7.1.2.2 Interrogative *mana*

The interrogative *mana* ‘where’ questions location. When *mana* serves as modifier in head-modifier constructions it questions a single item amongst a larger number of similar or identical items. Example (29) is taken from a story about stealing mangoes. The thieves left the sack of fruit in the tree. One of their friends goes back and tells Hamja, the owner’s son, that he left his T-shirt in the tree. He climbs the tree, throws the sack with stolen fruit to his friends, and comes down without the shirt. In example (29) Hamja questions the location of the T-shirt. *Mana* ‘where’ serves as predicate questioning the location and *kos* ‘T-shirt’ serves as subject. The speaker of example (30) is attacked by bees that are even under his cap. He wonders where these bees come from. *Mana* ‘where’ immediately follows *iko* ‘follow’ and questions the location where the bees came from or the route they followed to get under his cap. Example (31) tells of two women who are afraid of soldiers. They do not know where to look for fire wood, because at their place soldiers are undergoing military training. In this example, *mana* ‘where’ follows *di* ‘in, at’, resulting in *di mana* ‘where’ to question the location. When *mana* ‘where’ serves as modifier, it questions type or kind. In example (32) *mana* follows the head *bagean* and serves as

modifier, resulting in *bagean mana* ‘which field’. It questions one specific field out of a number of possible fields of study a student can choose in high school.

- (29) ka bawa Hamja tanya: “eh, kos **mana**?”
 to bottom Hamja ask EXCL T-shirt where
when he got down, Hamja asked: “hey, where is your T-shirt?”

- (30) de maso iko **mana**?
 3SG enter follow where
where did he come in?

- (31) “[...] la tong cari kayu di **mana** ni?”
 CONJ 1PL search wood in where this
[...] then where do we have to look for fire wood?”

- (32) de tanya, “bagean... STM...
 3SG ask division technical.high.school
she asked , ‘the field... technical high school

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

Bagimana is an interrogative consisting of two elements: *bagi* (related to *bagai* ‘similar’ in other Malay varieties) and *mana* ‘where’, but is considered to be a monomorphemic word in Ternate Malay. It may question a property or manner, and may also be used in comparisons.

In example (33) *bagimana* ‘how’ acts as predicate questioning the state of the subject *de pe rasa* ‘the taste’. In this example, the speaker says that he was once hit by a soldier. He jokingly wonders what a police fist would feel like. He uses *rasa* which can mean ‘feel’ as well as ‘taste’ and wonders in example (33) how it would taste. In example (34) the speaker says that he and his friend were in a mango tree stealing mangoes. The owner’s son caught them and threw stones at them to chase them out of the tree. His friend escaped and he was still wondering what to do. In example (34) *bagimana* ‘how’ immediately follows the predicate *biking* ‘make’ and questions manner, namely the way to successfully escape being caught by the owner’s son. In example (35) the speaker explains the features of certain bees and he uses *bagimana* ‘how’ to question what their size can be compared to. In this example, *basar* is considered to serve as predicate while *bagimana*, which follows the predicate, serves to express comparison, that is, *basar bagimana* ‘(lit.) as big as how’.

- (33) de pe rasa **bagimana?** kurang fetsin ka?
 3SG POSS taste how less MSG or
how does it taste? maybe too little MSG?

[speaker is in a tree and people are throwing stones at him]

- (34) “ini biking **bagimana** supaya kita bisa lolos.”
 this make how so.that 1SG can slip.off
“what can I do to escape?”

- (35) ofu, ofu basar **bagimana** e?
 bee bee big how EXCL
how big were those bees?

Question tags function to elicit a reaction from other interlocutors and indicate that the utterance has to be interpreted as a question. They occur generally at the end of clauses, but may occur elsewhere, in which position they may highlight the theme of attention. The negators *tarada* ‘no’ and *tara* ‘not’ serve as question tags when they occur at the end of a clause and a specific intonation pattern is added.

7.1.2.3 To as question tag

The question tag *to* is posited at the end of a clause and indicates that the utterance has to be interpreted as a question. It is a means to elicit some reaction from other interlocutors, particularly an affirmative response, and it may be used to keep the attention of listeners when telling a story. In example (36) *to* is posited after *kita bapegang bagini* ‘I held on like this’ and serves to indicate a question. The speaker tells what happened when someone threw stones at him and his friend while they were stealing mangoes from a mango tree. The speaker seems to expect an affirmative reaction as a sign that the interlocutor understands what is happening and is paying attention to the story. When *to* is added to a negative statement as in example (37) *de tara dapa makang* ‘he didn’t get anything to eat’, the expected reaction would be positive. The speaker elicits an affirmative response or some other sign of agreement from the other interlocutors. Example (38) is the beginning of a story about what happened when the speaker and his friend went out for a drink. The speaker forms a question and elicits a reaction from the interlocutors by using *to*. It is posited after the first constituent and indicates the theme of attention. In example (39) *to* follows the constituent *dong pe ruma* ‘their houses’ to indicate this as the theme of attention as well as to form a question to elicit a reaction. The speaker tells how tough it was to carry building material from the road to the house which he and his friends were renovating. In this example, *tinggi* refers to the location of the house and not the shape of the house. The house was situated higher than the road.

- (36) [...] kita ba-pegang bagini, **to?**
 1SG REFL-hold like.this QT
[...] so I held on like this, right?

- (37) de tara dapa makang **to?**
 3SG NEG can eat QT
he didn't get anything to eat, right?

- (38) minong **to,** de bawa torang.
 drink QT 3SG bring 1PL
we went drinking, right, he brought us.

- (39) dong pe ruma **to...** tinggi.
 3PL POSS house QT high
their houses... were high.

7.1.2.4 Kan as question tag

Kan serves as a question tag to elicit a reaction from the listener. The speaker expects an affirmative reaction as a sign that he still has the listener's attention as well as ascertaining that he and the listener share the same information. *Kan* may be posited after the first constituent of an utterance to indicate that it serves as the central theme of attention.

Example (40) is taken from a story in which the speaker imagines that a female doctor would definitely fall for him if he had a moustache, because her husband does not have one. In the example, *kan* is posited after *dokter pe laki* 'doctor's husband' to emphasize the part of the utterance that has the attention. At the same time, the presence of *kan* expresses that the speaker expects a reaction from the listener. In example (41) the speaker talks about the cleaning of pots with a certain kind of grass. It has rough and sharp leaves which are used as a sponge to clean the dishes. In the expression *dia kan itang* 'it is black, right', the speaker refers to the blackened cooking pot. He adds *kan* to elicit the listener's reaction and indicates that *dia* has the attention. In example (42) the speaker talks about the army. He thinks that some soldiers behave arrogantly because they play an important role in society, while in other places their role is only marginal. In this example, *kan* occurs after the first constituent *di sini* 'here' to indicate that this has the attention and to give it more emphasis, implying the situation is not like this at other locations.

- (40) dokter pe laki **kan** tara ba-kumis...
 doctor POSS husband QT NEG POSS-moustache
the doctor's husband doesn't have a moustache, right...

- (41) dia **kan** itang? langsung puti bersi.
 3SG QT black immediately white clean
it was black, right? it immediately turned bright white.

- (42) di sini **kan** dong pegang peranan.
 in here QT 3PL hold role
here they play a role, right?

7.1.2.5 Tarada as question tag

When the negator *tarada* ‘no’ occurs at the end of a clause and is uttered with a rising intonation pattern, it serves as question tag. A speaker may use it to elicit a reaction from other interlocutors.

In example (43) *kita su kurang ka lao* ‘I don’t go there very often’ becomes a question by adding the negator *tarada*. The speaker elicits an affirmative response from other interlocutors. Example (44) is taken from a conversation about certain types of porridge. The speaker says that he prefers white porridge, based on which another interlocutor draws the conclusion that he prefers cassava porridge, because that type of flour results in a white porridge. The speaker’s reply is expressed in example (45). It consists of the statement *iyo kasbi* ‘right, (it’s) cassava’ and by adding *tarada* the speaker changes it into a question: *iyo kasbi, tarada?* ‘yes, cassava, right?’, expecting an affirmative reaction. Example (46) is taken from a story in which the speaker says that he brought pictures of some children to Sorong. He lied to his friends, telling them the children in the photo were his children. In example (46) the speaker repeats that this happened when he was in Sorong. He adds *tarada* to indicate a question to which he expects an affirmative answer. He repeats the information he provided before and may use the question tag *tarada* as a way of reminding the listener that he is still talking about the same location.

- (43) kita su kurang ka lao, **tarada?**
 1SG COMP less to sea NEG
I don’t go there very often, right?

- (44) iyo, kasbi, **tarada?**
 yes cassava NEG
right, cassava, isn’t it?

- (45) kita pi Sorong, **tarada?**
 1SG go Sorong NEG
I went to Sorong, right?

7.1.2.6 Tara as question tag

Similar to *tarada*, the negator *tara* may be used as a question tag, eliciting an affirmative reaction. In this function, *tara* gets more accent than when it serves as negator. Example (46) is the answer to a question about how lava stones are used as building material. The speaker expects the interlocutor already knows the answer and elicits an affirmative reaction by adding *tara* to his answer *fondasi* ‘foundation’, resulting in *fondasi tara* ‘as a foundation, right?’. Example (47) is taken from a conversation in which a person asks the speaker the same question she asked him a few days earlier. He reacts with the statement *ih, kita su bilang* ‘hey, I’ve told you that’ and adds *tara* to it to change the statement in a question to which he expects an affirmative reaction. In example (48) the speaker refers to the airport on the island of Morotai. He is not sure if it was built by the Japanese or the American army. The statement *buatan Amerika punya* ‘made by the Americans’ becomes a question by adding *tara* to it and elicits an affirmative reaction.

- (46) *fondasi, tara?*
 foundation NEG
 as a foundation, right?
- (47) *ih, kita su bilang, tara?*
 EXCL 1SG COMP say NEG
 hey, I've told you, haven't I?
- (48) *buatan Amerika punya, tara?*
 product America possess NEG
 made by the Americans, wasn't it?

7.1.3 Imperatives

An utterance can be interpreted as an imperative based on the commanding intonation pattern. Certain words, often to soften the imperative, indicate an imperative meaning. A person’s name or the second person pronoun *ngana* may optionally be used to indicate to whom the command is directed. In example (49) a father orders his son to read the two sentences he has written down. The word is uttered with a commanding intonation pattern, which is indicated by the exclamation mark at the end of the sentence. In example (50) the speaker expresses how his friend ordered him to close the door. Example (51) is about a soldier who wants to borrow a wok. The speaker tells him to go into the shed to see if there is a wok he can borrow. The speaker uses *coba* ‘try’ to soften the order and indicates an imperative meaning.

- (49) “*baca!*”
 read
 read it!

- (50) “Caken, tutu pintu!”
 Caken close door
 “Caken, close the door!”
- (51) “**coba** lia dalang la ambe”.
 try see inside CONJ take
 “take a look inside and take it”.

Another lexical item that may be used to soften an order or request is *dulu* ‘before’ which is posited at the end of a clause. The context and the situation determine whether *dulu* serves to soften a command or has to be interpreted with a temporal referent, or serve another function. In example (52) the speaker describes the kind of mosquitoes found in Sorong and says jokingly that they are so big that one could order them to buy cigarettes. In this example, *dulu* is posited at the end of the clause and serves to soften the order. The second person singular *ngana* refers to the person to whom the order is directed of which the referent is determined by the context and the situation. From the context of this example, it is obvious that it refers to *nyamu di Sorong* ‘mosquitoes in Sorong’. In example (53) the speaker talks about how he used to visit the medical centre to ask his friend to give him an injection when he felt sick. The speaker uses *dulu* to soften his order.

- (52) nyamu di Sorong, kalo minta tolong,
 mosquito in Sorong when ask.for help
mosquitoes in Sorong, if you ask them,
- “ngana ka dara bli roko **dulu**.”...
 2SG to land buy cigarette before
 “go and buy some cigarettes.”...
- (53) “suntik **dulu**.”
 inject before
 “please, give me an injection.”

A speaker may soften a command and make it merely hortative by the use of *suda*, which is posited at the end of a clause. Since *suda* may serve various functions and express various meanings, context and situation determine which interpretation is most appropriate. The shortened form *su* cannot occur in a clause-final position and cannot serve this function. The speaker of example (54) says that he worked very hard that day. When it was time for lunch he felt so hungry that he could hardly wait for his friend, who is older than him, and who wanted to wash his hands first. In the example, the speaker tells how he told the man to hurry. He uses *suda* to soften the order, because he is talking to an older person as well as urging him to hurry. The speaker of example (55) tells how his friend Ba urged him to reveal which of her

two relatives he likes most. In this example, the speaker uses *suda* to soften her command. Example (56) is taken from a story in which the speaker tells how he ran away from home a few times. His mother visited him regularly and persuaded him to come home. She uses *suda* to soften her command as well as to strongly encourage him to return home.

- (54) “Om Ota capat **suda**, su lapar.”
 uncle Ota fast COMP COMP hungry
 “Uncle Ota hurry up, I’m hungry.”

- (55) Ba tanya, “sapa, bilang **suda**.”
 Ba ask who say COMP
 Ba asked, “who is it, please tell me.”

- (56) tong ma su buju-buju, “pulang **suda**.”
 1PL mother COMP REP-persuade go.home COMP
 my mother tried to persuade me, saying “come home, please.”

7.1.4 Vetatives

Vetative sentences are expressed by *jang* ‘don’t’, a shortened form of *jangan* ‘don’t’. These two forms are mutually interchangeable, although the shortened form seems to be more common in use. Both items can be used as independent expressions in their own right and are uttered in an exclamative way.

In example (57) someone is told not to immediately wash himself with water after being stung by bees, because these spots would become very itchy. In this example, *jang* precedes the predicate *bacolo* ‘dip oneself’. In example (58) the speaker tells how a woman apologized to him after she mistakenly thought he was a porter. She asks him not to be angry at her. In this example, the vetative *jang* precedes *mara* to indicate a vetative meaning, resulting in *jang mara* ‘don’t be angry’. Example (59) is taken from a story about boys stealing mangoes. In order to get the thieves out of the mango tree, people throw stones at them. One of the thieves asks them to stop it. He uses *jang* which precedes *ngana lempar* ‘throw’ to give it a vetative meaning. The speaker in example (60) talks about how a woman forbids him to touch a weapon. She uses the long form *jangan* ‘don’t’, which occurs independently and serves as a clause in its own respect.

- (57) dong bilang: “**jang ba-colo**.”
 3PL say don’t REFL-dip
 they said: “don’t plunge.”

- (58) “o, iyo, **jang mara**.”
 EXCL yes don't angry
 “oh, right, don't be angry.”
- (59) “Hamja, **jang ngana lempar**, [...]”
 Hamja don't 2SG throw
 “Hamja, stop throwing things at me, [...]”
- (60) “cih **jangang**, ya Allah, ampong,
 EXCL don't EXCL Allah mercy
 “hey, don't, oh my goodness, have mercy,
 itu iblis, iblis.”
 that devil devil
 that's the devil, the devil.”

7.2 Subject and Predicate: order and meaning

The most frequent order in which a subject and a predicate occurs is the subject-predicate order. There are examples with the reverse order in which the predicate precedes the subject. The difference in order seems to result in a difference in meaning. A clear example of this occurrence is when *ada* serves as predicate. The subject may follow as well as precede *ada*, resulting in two different meanings, although the difference is hard to detect and describe. When *ada* follows the subject, *it* expresses that someone/something is present at a certain location or that it exists, ‘be present’ or ‘exist’. The referent of the subject which precedes *ada* is often definite. When *ada* precedes the subject, it reflects the meaning ‘there is/are’, and describes a factual situation. The subject may refer to an indefinite entity. In the following examples the subject is indicated by the subscript “*s*”, while the predicate is indicated by the subscript “*p*”.

Example (61) is taken from a story about two boys stealing mangoes from a tree. They are caught by Hamja, the owner's son, who is standing under the tree. The subject *Hamja* in this example precedes the predicate, which consists of the continuous marker *masi* and *ada*, resulting in *Hamja masi ada* ‘(lit.) Hamja still be present’. It expresses the presence of the referent at a certain location. In a different context, *Hamja masi ada* could mean ‘Hamja is still alive’. The speaker in example (62) tells of a soldier who borrowed a wok. When he arrives at his shed, he notices that the wok has been returned. The predicate consisting of the completive marker *su* and *ada* follows the subject *balangang* ‘wok’, expressing the meaning ‘the wok is present’, indicating that the referent is located at a certain place. The speaker of example (63) tells a joke about someone who thought that bus drivers call the passenger's name to notify that they have arrived at their destination. Actually the driver calls street names or the name of buildings they pass, which may coincidentally be similar

to personal names. In this example, *ada* follows the subject *parampuang pe nama Kartini* ‘female name Kartini’, expressing the meaning ‘female name Kartini is present’. It denotes the existence of the referent, ‘a female name Kartini exists’. The subjects in all these examples are definite.

- (61) [Hamja]_S [masi ada]_P [di bawa pohong]_{LOC}.
 Hamja still be.present in bottom tree
Hamja was still under the tree.
- (62) [...] kong kita lia [balangang]_S [su ada]_P.
 CONJ 1SG see wok COMP be.present
[...] and I saw that the wok was already there.
- (63) jadi [parampuang pe nama Kartini]_S [ada]_P to?
 become woman POSS name Kartini be.present QT
so, the female name Kartini exists, right?

In the following examples, *ada* precedes the subject and refers to the factual occurrence or the real presence of something, reflecting the meaning ‘there is/are’.

The speaker of example (64) has just informed his friend, with whom he was stealing mangoes, that someone is standing under the tree. The example reflects his friend’s reply. In this example, *ada* precedes the subject *orang* ‘person’, resulting in *ada orang* and expresses the meaning ‘there is a person’ or ‘there is someone’. Example (65) describes the situation when the speaker returned to a small island after getting drinking water on the main island. In this example, *ada* precedes the subject *ikang paus satu ekor paling basar* ‘a very big whale’, expressing the meaning ‘there is a very big whale’. In example (66) the speaker talks about their television which does not display subtitles properly on the screen. The predicate *ada* in this example precedes the subject *teks* ‘text’, expressing the meaning ‘there is a text’ or ‘there are texts’. The subjects in these examples may refer to an indefinite entity.

- (64) “iyo, [ada]_P [orang]_S, ba-diang.”
 yes be.present person DUR-quiet
“yes, there is someone, be quiet.”
- (65) baru [ada]_P [ikang paus satu ekor]
 moreover be.present fish whale one tail
moreover there was a

paling basar]_S situ, ngana.
 very big there 2SG
very big whale over there.

- (66) ah, kalo [ada]_P [teks]_S tar bisa baca, suda.
 EXCL when be.present text NEG can read COMP
yes, and when there are subtitles you can't read them.

7.2.1 Predicate + Subject

The examples of *ada* which may precede as well as follow the subject have shown a slight difference between the two word orders. In those cases where *ada* precedes the subject, the “being present” seems to be more prominent. When the subject is mentioned first, this constituent receives the attention and *ada* expresses that the subject is present at some location. Although the difference between the different word order is hard to detect, it seems that the constituent mentioned first, receives more attention and is slightly emphasized.

In example (67) the speaker says that his neighbours received a cupboard. It becomes clear that he likes the cupboard very much and wanted to have it himself. In the example the predicate *gaga* ‘stylish’ precedes the subject *bufet* ‘cupboard’ to emphasize the quality expressed in the predicate, and reflects the meaning ‘it was stylish, the cupboard’. The speaker of example (68) is about to tell a funny story about a boy and starts with a description of the child. The construction *ana kacili* ‘small child’ serves as predicate and precedes the subject *ana itu* ‘that child’ to give it more attention. It expresses the meaning ‘it was a small child, that child’. Example (69) describes the habitat of a crocodile. The speaker puts the attention on the colour of the water, probably to emphasize the difference with the situation in Ternate. The predicate *soklat* ‘brown’ precedes the subject *de pe aer* ‘the water’, and expresses the meaning ‘it is brown, the water’.

- (67) [gaga]_P [bufet]_S.
 stylish cupboard
the cupboard was stylish.

- (68) [ana kacili]_P [ana itu]_S [...]
 child small child that
he was a small boy [...].

- (69) lia ka bawa me [soklat]_P [de pe aer]_S.
 see to bottom PART brown 3SG POSS water
if you look down the water is brown.

7.2.2 Central theme of attention

In the previous paragraph I showed how the word order may indicate which constituent is emphasized and is the centre of attention. Another strategy to give a constituent more attention is to combine it with certain items. In the discussion on question tags *to* and *kan* in § 7.1.2.3 and § 7.1.2.4 respectively, we have seen that when these immediately follow the first constituent, they give it more attention. In this paragraph, examples are presented where the subject is preceded by certain constituents. The combination puts the constituent in the centre of attention, particularly when the constituent and the subject share the same referent. Central themes of attention are then considered to be independent entities that form an utterance in their own respect, and are often found in sentence initial position.

The subjects in the following examples are preceded by a construction that has the same referent as the subject and serves as the central theme of attention. Example (70) is taken from a story about two boys who were stealing mangoes and got caught. The speaker is about to tell how one of them, Anwar, succeeded in escaping. The construction *Anwar ini* ‘this Anwar’ in this example is followed by the subject *dia*. It has the same referent as the subject, that is, a person named Anwar, and serves as the central theme of attention. The speaker in example (71) tells of his friend who suffers from asthma. The speaker wants to warn his friend not to weaken himself and stay up too late, because it may cause his death. He does not dare to say it aloud, afraid that his words may be interpreted as cursing. The speaker then continues with example (71), in which the third person plural *dong* serves as subject and follows the constituent *orang yang bardosa* ‘people who commit sins’, to indicate this as the central theme of attention. *Dong* and *orang yang bardosa* share the same referent.

When the subject is expressed by a possessive construction, it is the possessor that shares its referent with the central theme of attention. In example (72) *de itu* is central theme of attention and is followed by the possessive construction *de pe sajarah* ‘(lit.) his history’, the subject. *De itu* and the possessor expressed in the subject share the same referent, namely a person called *Om Pit*, who is overtly expressed in the afterthought, *Om Pit* ‘Uncle Pit’. Example (73) is taken from a joke about how patients in a mental hospital undergo an examination and the speaker wonders how these people think. The subject in example (73) is the possessive construction *dong pe pikirang* ‘their thoughts’. It follows the construction *orang gila tu* ‘the crazy people’ and indicates that this is the central theme of attention. The possessor of the construction, *dong* ‘third person plural’, and *orang gila tu* ‘the crazy people’ share the same referent, namely the people who are crazy. Note that in this example the predicate *bagimana* ‘how?’ precedes the subject *dong pe pikirang*, resulting in a predicate-subject order, which makes the predicate more prominent.

Example (74) has the same structure as the previous examples. In this example the speaker tells how he and his friends had to carry building material from the road to a house on a hill. In this example, the activity word *angka* ‘lift up’ serves as subject and refers to the lifting up of *paser* ‘sand’, which precedes the subject and serves as central theme of attention. The subject as well as the central theme share the same referent, namely the sand delivered to be used as building material for the house.

- (70) [Anwar ini] [[dia]_S [memang pintar]_P].
 Anwar this 3SG indeed smart
this guy Anwar is really smart.
- (71) [orang yang bardosa] [[dong]_S [umur panjang]_P].
 person REL commit.sin 3PL age long
those who commit sins will have a long life.
- (72) [de itu], [[de pe sajarah]_S [paling banya]_P],
 3SG that 3SG POSS history very many
 Om Pit.
 uncle Pit
he, Uncle Pit, has a lot of stories.
- (73) [orang gila tu] [[bagimana]_P [dong pe
 person crazy that how 3PL POSS
 pikirang]_S?
 thought
what are the thoughts of crazy people?
- (74) [paser] [[angka]_S [bolong abis]_P],
 sand lift.up not.yet finished
we hadn't finished carrying the sand,
 kirikil su datang lagi.
 gravel COMP come again
or the gravel arrived.

In contrast to the previous series of examples, the subject and the theme of attention in the following examples do not share the same referent. The central themes of attention have various semantic roles, namely theme, goal, or stimulus, all referring to things involved with the action expressed in the predicate.

Example (75) is taken from a description of the way two friends return home from the forest. The speaker's friend carries him on his back while carrying foodstuffs in his hand. The speaker holds the machete in his hand. *Peda* 'machete' precedes the subject and gets the attention. It serves as the theme which undergoes the action expressed in the predicate. The subject is *kita* 'first person singular' and refers to the agent that performs the action expressed in the predicate *pegang* 'hold'. The speaker of example (76) is telling how he hurt his toe when he was carrying lava stones and

one of the stones fell on his foot. Then he continues talking about what happened with his fingers. *Jari kanan sini* ‘the right finger here’ receives the attention. It serves as goal or location to which the action in the predicate is directed. The performer is *dorang* ‘third person plural’, and *lempar* ‘throw’ expresses the action. Example (77) is taken from a story in which the speaker tells of a soldier who borrowed his wok. The soldier had carefully cleaned the wok before returning it. The Ype X construction *paitua pe cuci balangan* ‘his cleaning of the wok’ is the central theme of attention and serves as the stimulus that brings about the emotion expressed by *herang* ‘surprised’. The subject *kita* ‘first person singular’ serves as the experiencer and the predicate *herang* ‘surprised’ describes the emotion experienced by the subject.

- (75) [peda]_{THEME} [kita]_S [pegang]_P.
 machete 1SG hold
I was holding the machete.

- (76) iyo, [jari kanan sini]_{GOAL} [dorang]_S [lempar]_P.
 yes finger right here 3PL throw
that's right, someone threw something at this finger.

- (77) [paitua pe cuci balangan]_{STIM}
 old.man POSS wash wok

 [kita]_S [herang]_P.
 1SG surprised
the way he washed the wok surprised me.

Other constituents may precede the subject and receive more attention, amongst others, expressions referring to time and location. These often occur at the end of a clause, but may occur at other positions as well. Example (78) describes the state of a body after an attack by a crocodile. In the example, *bageang badang di sini* ‘this part of the body’ refers to a certain part of the victim’s body and precedes the subject *daging* ‘flesh’. The construction preceding the subject receives the attention. Example (79) is taken from a story in which the speaker talks of his experiences in Morotai. In that place it was more common to smoke tobacco than cigarettes. The construction *di sana* ‘there’ in the example refers to Morotai, the place the speaker is talking about. It precedes the subject *isap sek* ‘the smoking of tobacco’ to give it more attention. The subject is followed by the predicate *tara berenti* ‘do not stop’. In example (80) the speaker talks about when he ran away from home and how long he did not live with his family. The expression *satu bulang* ‘one month’ refers to the period of time he was away from home, which, to give it more attention, precedes the subject *kita* ‘first person singular’. In example (81) the speaker starts a story about a man who ate so many slabs of sago during an eating competition that he

could hardly breathe. The expression *itu hari* precedes the subject *dong* ‘third person plural’ to give it more attention and refers to the day of the eating competition.

- (78) [bageang badang di sini]_{LOC} [daging]_S [tarada]_{P...}
 division body in here flesh NEG
there was no flesh at this part of the body
- (79) [di sana]_{LOC} [isap sek]_S [tara berenti]_P, ngana.
 in there suck tobacco NEG stop 2SG
there we kept on smoking tobacco, you know.
- (80) [satu bulang]_{TIME} [kita]_S [tara tinggal di ruma]_P.
 one month 1SG NEG stay in house
one whole month I didn't live at home.
- (81) [itu hari]_{TIME} [dong]_S [pertandingan makan di RRI]²⁰ tu]_P.
 that day 3PL competition eat in RRI that
once, there was an eating competition at RRI.

7.2.3 Subject and semantic roles

Subjects may consist of various constructions and serve different semantic roles, depending on the predicate as well as the context and situation in which they occur. The subjects in this paragraph are printed in **bold**.

In example (82) the speaker talks about two women who wanted to look for fire wood. Suddenly they heard shots and looked for shelter. The speaker called them over and they became confused, and did not know where to hide. The predicate in example (82) *su bingung* ‘confused’, consisting of the completive marker *su* followed by *bingung* ‘confused’, describes a state of mind. The subject *nene* ‘grandmother’ that precedes the predicate refers to the experiencer of the state. The predicate in example (83) is *bakumis* ‘possess a moustache’. This predicate is preceded by the Y *pe* X construction *dokter pe laki* ‘the doctor’s husband’, which serves as subject and refers to the possessor of the characteristic expressed in the predicate. Example (84) is taken from a story about fishing. The speaker tells how he tried to pull up the fish he caught, while the fish tried to escape. In example (84) the predicate *sadap* ‘delicious’ is preceded by the clause *kita bakuambe deng dia* ‘I compete with him’, which expresses an event and serves as subject. This clause consists of an agent *kita* ‘first person singular’, which acts as the performer of the action, the action *bakuambe* ‘compete each other’, and the associative *deng dia* ‘with him’ with whom the agent performs the action. In example (85) the speaker describes a small

²⁰ *RRI* is the abbreviation for *Radio Republik Indonesia*, the national radio station of Indonesia.

bundle made of some strips with sulphur which are tied together. The example consists of two clauses within which *bagini* ‘like this’ serves as predicate. The quality word *basar* ‘big’ serves as subject of the first clause in which it expresses the meaning ‘size’, referring to the size of the strips. In the second clause, *panjang-panjang* ‘lengths’ serves as subject and refers to the length of the different strips. An alternative interpretation of this example could be that the two clauses consist only of the predicates *basar bagini* and *panjang-panjang bagini*, while the subject is not overtly expressed and is understood from the context. There are no formal features to use to determine which interpretation is most appropriate, although prosodic features may give some indication. In example (86) *isap sek* ‘(lit.) suck tobacco’ serves as subject and serves as the performer of the action expressed in the predicate. It refers to the act of the performance and reflects the meaning ‘the smoking of tobacco’. The predicate is *tara berenti* ‘not stop’ and expresses an activity.

The predicate in example (87) consists of *datang* ‘come’, preceded by *su* to express that the action is completed, and followed by *lagi* again’, which indicates a repetition of a previous event, resulting in *su datang lagi* ‘have come again’. The subject, *kirikil* ‘gravel’, precedes the predicate and refers to the agent who performs the action *datang* ‘come’. Since *kirikil* is not in control to perform the action itself, it can be considered as a metaphorical agent. In an alternative analysis, *kirikil* could be regarded as the entity that is transferred from one place to another. In such analysis, *kirikil* serves as the theme that undergoes the action expressed in the activity word, while the performer of the action is not overtly expressed, and is understood from the context. *Kirikil su datang lagi* would then be the equivalent of ‘the gravel has been delivered (lit. let come) again’. The absence of overtly expressed features to distinguish between different syntactic functions makes more than one interpretation possible. A similar case is found in the following example. In example (88) *tentara sana* ‘the army there’ serves as the subject, while *tara pake* ‘not use’ is the predicate. This example can be interpreted in two ways, depending on how the subject is interpreted. In the context of this example, in which the speaker talks about the role of the army in the society, the construction *tentara sana* is best interpreted as a theme, and *tentara sana tara pake* receives a “passive” reading ‘the army there is not used’. When talking about particular military equipment, for instance, *tentara sana* can be interpreted as agent and *tentara sana tara pake* may express the meaning ‘the army there does not use it’. Since there are no overtly expressed features to distinguish between these two possible interpretations, the most appropriate reading is determined by the context and the situation in which it occurs.

- (82) [nene]_s [su bingung.]_p,
 grandmother COMP confused
the women were confused.

- (83) [dokter pe laki]_s kan [tara ba-kumis]_p
 doctor POSS husband QT NEG POSS-mustache
the doctor's husband has no moustache, right?

- (84) oh, [[**kita**]_{AGT} **baku-ambe**]_{ACT}
 EXCL 1SG REC-take
oh, I competed
- [**deng dia**]_{ASS}_S [sadap]_P, ngana.
 with 3SG delicious 2SG
with it marvellously.
- (85) [**basar**]_S [**bagini**]_P, panjang-panjang bagini.
 big like.this PL-long like.this
it is this big and about this long. (Lit. the size is like this, the lengths are like these).
- (86) di sana [**isap sek**]_S [tara berenti]_P, ngana.
 in there suck tobacco NEG stop 2SG
there we smoked tobacco all the time, you know. (Lit. there, the smoking of tobacco did not stop.)
- (87) paser angka bolong abis,
 sand lift.up not.yet finished
we hadn't finished carrying the sand
- [**kirikil**]_S [su datang lagi]_P.
 gravel COMP come again
or the gravel arrived.
- (88) [**tentara sana**]_S [tara pake.]_P
 army there NEG use
they don't use the army there.

7.3 Predicate

Predicates may consist of constructions of various shapes and express various meanings. The examples show that predicates may consist of head-modifier constructions, quality words, action words, and other types of constructions to express state, location, movement, quality, and action. I describe the structure of predicates and analyze the relation between constituents occurring in the predicate where the core expresses an action or activity word. The predicate in the following examples is printed in **bold**.

7.3.1 Predicate: Meaning

Predicates may express a variety of meanings of which only a few are described here. These meanings are expressed by different types of words and constructions.

7.3.1.1 *Predicate expressing state*

In the following examples, the predicates describe a state and provide information with regard to the state, weight, and grade of the subject. The predicate in example (89) is expressed by the construction *kapala pusing* '(lit.) head dizzy', which consists of the head *kapala* 'head' and is modified by *pusing* 'dizzy'. It describes the state of the subject *kita* 'first person singular'. Formally this type of construction, consisting of pronouns or thing words combined other thing words, is similar to YX-possessive constructions discussed in § 4.3.4, so that *kita kapala pusing* could be analyzed as consisting of a head *kapala pusing* 'dizzy head', expressing the posses- sum, preceded by the first person singular pronoun *kita*, which serves as modifier and possessor. The construction *kita kapala pusing* then expresses the meaning 'my dizzy head'. Formally, there is no difference between the two structures. The subject of example (90) is the Y *pe* X construction *semen pe barat* 'the weight of cement', while the predicate is expressed by *ampa-ampa pulu kilo* 'approximately forty kilo- grams', a head-final construction, consisting of the head *kilo* 'kilogram', modified by the preceding quantity *ampa-ampa puluh* 'forty', and describes the weight of the subject. In example (91) the subject is *de pe kaki* 'his feet' and the predicate is *sake* 'painful', referring to the state of affairs of the subject. An alternative analysis of this structure could be head-modifier, in which the possessive construction *de pe kaki* 'his feet' is the head, modified by the quality word *sake* 'painful', resulting in a construction expressing the meaning 'his painful feet'. In this example, there are no formal features that could distinguish between the two structures. In order to explicitly indicate how the structure should be interpreted, the speaker may use certain items, for instance aspect markers, to enforce a clausal interpretation. These markers are predicate operators and determine a clausal interpretation. In example (92) *su* occurs, which expresses a completive meaning and also determines a clausal interpretation. The subject in this example is *de pe rambu* 'her hair', and is followed by the predicate *su tabongkar* 'tangled', referring to the state of the subject and expressing the meaning 'her hair was tangled'.

- (89) kita bilang: "ih, [kita]_S [kapala pusing]_P."
 1SG say EXCL 1SG head dizzy
I say: "phew, I'm dizzy."

- (90) [...] baru [semen pe barat]_S
 just cement POSS heavy
moreover, the weight of each sack of cement is

[**ampa-ampa** **pulu** **kilo**]_p, to?
 PL-four tens kilogram QT
about forty kilos, right?

(91) [de pe kaki]_s [**sake**]_p.
 3SG POSS leg painful
his feet hurt.

(92) [de pe rambu]_s [**su** **ta-bongkar**]_p.
 3SG POSS hair COMP INV-take.apart
her hair was tangled.

Two examples are found in which the predicate consists of a *deng* construction, describing a person's outfit. In both cases, the expressions with *deng* denote the wearing of a uniform, but other combinations and meanings might be possible.

In example (93) the speaker describes a woman he met at the market. The predicate in this example consists of *deng pakeang ini* '(lit.) with clothes this'. The speaker's *ini* 'this' serves as a filler, a substitute word for an expression he has forgotten or cannot recall, and then he resumes with the word he was possibly looking for previously, namely, *guru* 'teacher'. The expression he wants is *pakeang guru* 'teacher's uniform'. The person who wears the teacher uniform is expressed in *maitua* '(lit.) old woman', which precedes the predicate and serves as subject. In example (99) the speaker asks himself how it feels to be hit by a police officer, a soldier, or another person in uniform. The predicate consists of *dinas* 'agency' preceded by *deng* 'with', resulting in the construction *deng dinas*, referring to wearing of a uniform related to the government, for instance the uniform of civil servants, the army, or the police, and expressing the meaning '(wear a) uniform'. The predicate is preceded by *dong* 'third person plural' which serves as subject, and refers to the wearer of the uniform.

(93) [maitua]_s [**deng** **pakeang** **ini...** **guru**]_p to?
 old.woman with clothes this teacher QT
she was wearing a whatchamacallit... a teacher's uniform, right?

(94) apalagi [dong]_s [**deng** **dinas**]_p [...]
 moreover 3PL with agency
moreover when they wear a uniform [...]

7.3.1.2 Predicate expressing location

A predicate may express the location of the subject. Example (95) describes the location of the thieves when they were caught stealing mangoes from a mango tree. In the three clauses, the subjects are expressed by *Anwar* (personal name) and the first

person singular *kita*, while the predicates are expressed by *atas* ‘top’, *ujung* ‘tip’, and *tenga* ‘middle’, all preceded by *di* ‘in, at’ to express location. Example (96) is taken from a description of two small islands. The predicate is *situ* ‘there’ while the subject consists of *dong tanpa ambe-ambe kayu* ‘their (fire) wood taking place’. Note that the subject is expressed by a head-final possessive YX construction of which the possessor is *dong* ‘third person plural’ and the possessum is expressed by *tampa ambe-ambe kayu* ‘(fire) wood taken place’ or ‘the place where fire wood is taken’. Example (97) consists of two clauses of which the predicates are head-modifier constructions with *kalas* ‘class’ serving as head, modified by *tiga* ‘three’ and *lima* ‘five’ respectively. The predicates in this example express position or location, namely the grade in elementary school of the subjects *Aten* ‘Aten’ and *kita* ‘first person singular’. Example (98) is taken from a story in which a person gets a bag with stolen mangoes from a mango tree by pretending that he is one of the thieves who has left his T-shirt in the tree. When he comes down from the tree he is asked where his T-shirt is, because he did not carry it down with him. In example (98) the position or location of the subject *kos* ‘T-shirt’ is questioned and *mana* ‘where’ serves as predicate. In a different context, when *mana* is interpreted as modifier of the head *kos* ‘T-shirt’, it expresses the meaning ‘which T-shirt?’, questioning choice, that is, one of a number of referents.

- (95) jadi, kita... Anwar **di atas**, Anwar **di ujung**,
 become 1SG Anwar in top Anwar in tip
so, I... Anwar was on top, Anwar was at the top,

kita **di tenga**.
 1SG in middle
I was in the middle.

- (96) [dong tanpa ambe-ambe kayu]_S [situ]_P.
 3PL place RED-take wood there
over there it's their place to get wood.

- (97) [Aten]_S [kalas tiga]_P, [kita]_S [kalas lima]_P.
 Aten class three 1SG class five
when Aten was in the third grade, I was in the fifth grade.

- (98) “eh, [kos]_S [mana]_P?”
 EXCL T-shirt where
“hey, where is your T-shirt?”

7.3.1.3 Predicate expressing movement

The movements in the following predicates may be expressed by a movement word such as *kaluar* ‘go out’, *datang* ‘come’, *pigi* ‘go’, etc. as well as constructions con-

sisting of *dari* ‘from’ and *ka* ‘to’, which refer to the direction of a movement, followed by a word expressing location. Only a few examples are given here. In example (99) the speaker tells how his friend invites him to talk in the room. The predicate in this example is *masong* ‘enter’, which is followed by *dalang* ‘inside’, referring to a location, namely a bedroom. The predicate of example (100) consists of *dari* followed by *mana* ‘where’, resulting in the construction *dari mana* ‘from where’. *Dari* indicates a direction away from the location, while *mana* questions the location. The entity of which the location is questioned is expressed in the subject *ngoni* ‘second person’, which precedes the predicate, resulting in the structure [*ngoni*] [*dari mana*]. According to the speaker of example (101) police officers are afraid of marines. When they pass by, police officers step aside. The subject of the predicate *bapinggir* ‘go aside’ is understood from the context and is mentioned previously, namely *polisi* ‘police’. The *ba*-prefix of *bapinggir* may express various meanings when *pinggir* is interpreted as a thing word, including a possessive meaning ‘with sides’, but within this situation, a procedural meaning seems to work better. *Bapinggir* reflects the meaning ‘go to the side’ or ‘step aside’. In example (102) the speaker explains how he tries to repair a lamp in the room. He is standing on a ladder that suddenly starts to move. The predicate in this example is *talucur* and denotes an involuntary movement, expressing the meaning ‘involuntarily slip’, which is performed by the subject *tangga* ‘ladder’. The same construction could be interpreted as consisting of *tangga* as head of the construction, modified by *talucur* ‘slipping’, expressing the meaning ‘slipping ladder’. There are no overtly expressed features indicating which interpretation is most appropriate.

(99) “e, [tong]_S [masong dalang]_P, ba-carita dalang.”
 EXCL 1PL enter inside DO-story inside
 “hey, let’s go inside and chat inside.”

(100) “[ngoni]_S [dari mana]_P?”
 2 from where
 “where do you come from?”

(101) polisi tako, [ba-pinggir]_P, dong kaluar.
 police afraid PROC-side 3PL go.out
 the police were afraid, stepped aside and they could leave.

(102) kita, “eh, eh, [tangga]_S [ta-lucur]_P.”
 1SG EXCL EXCL ladder INV-slip
 I said, “hey, hey, the ladder is slipping.”

7.3.1.4 Predicate expressing quality

A predicate may denote a characteristic, property, or state of affairs of the subject. The structure of these subject-predicate constructions looks similar to head-modifier

constructions discussed in § 4.2.10, when the first element expresses a thing and is followed by the second element expressing quality. The context and the situation determine how the constructions are best interpreted. Some circumstances may facilitate the interpretation. When the first element is a personal pronoun which is followed by a quality word, the latter often serves as predicate, since pronouns do not seem to become heads of constructions with quality words as modifiers. A possessive interpretation in which the quality word serves as head and expresses the possessum with a preceding modifier expressing the possessor does not seem to work either. In cases where pronouns occur as first element, a subject-predicate interpretation may come first to mind.

The presence of certain elements such as the proximal *ini* ‘this’, distal *itu* ‘that’, or their shortened forms *ni* or *tu* may be helpful in determining the structure. When they follow quality words and close off the construction, the quality words serve as modifiers and participate in a larger constituent. When the proximal or distal precedes quality words and indicates the border between constituents, the quality words are distinct constituents in their own right, and may serve as predicates. The presence of predicate operators may enforce a subject-predicate interpretation.

In example (103) the speaker tells how he is impressed by the beauty of a female doctor. In her presence he pretends to be strong, but when she leaves, he shows his tiredness. He then continues with the exclamative expression in example (103). In this example *manis* ‘pretty’ is interpreted as predicate while the entity referring to the bearer of the property is the subject *dokter* ‘doctor’, which precedes the predicate. There are no overtly expressed elements that may help to determine whether the property word serves as modifier or as a predicate. In example (104) *sadap* ‘delicious’ serves as predicate and describes the property of the subject *kofi ini* ‘this coffee’ which precedes the predicate. In this case *ini* ‘this’ indicates the border between the two constituents and supports an analysis of *sadap* ‘delicious’ as a constituent in its own right, serving as predicate. Example (105) tells about the composition of an alcoholic drink. The subject in this example, *de* ‘third person singular’, refers to the drink and serves as the bearer of the quality expressed in the predicate *baasam* ‘slightly sour, sourish’. The presence of the pronoun *de* makes a subject-predicate interpretation come first to mind. The predicate in example (106) consists of *tabala* ‘split’ and the entity which is in this state is expressed by the Y *pe* X construction, *parau pe muka* ‘the front of the boat’. The presence of the predicate operator *su*, expressing completion, determines that the structure is best interpreted as subject-predicate, where the predicate describes the state of the subject.

(103) aduh, [dokter]_s [manis]_p.
 EXCL doctor pretty
 wow, the doctor is so pretty.

(104) ck, [kofi ini]_s [sadap]_p.
 tut coffee this delicious
 tut, this coffee is delicious.

(105) *dong* *campur* *deng* *aer* *ka* *apa*,
 3PL mix and water or what
maybe they mixed it with water,

kong [*de*]_S [**ba-asam**]_P.
 CONJ 3SG PROC-sour
therefore it's a bit sour.

(106) [*parau* *pe* *muka*]_S [**su** **ta-bala**]_P.
 boat POSS front COMP INV-split
the front of the boat was split.

7.3.1.5 Predicate expresses action

A predicate may consist of a word or a construction denoting an action or activity. The predicate in example (107) is expressed by the action word *marontak* ‘struggle (to get free)’ and is preceded by *ular* ‘snake’, which serves as the agent of the action. In example (108) the speaker explains how a ceiling was made of plywood. The predicate consists of a number of elements, including *kase bengkok* ‘make bent’, which refers to the action, *itu triplek* ‘the plywood’, which refers to the patient that undergoes the action, *bagini* ‘like this’, referring to the way the action was performed. The second clause of the sentence consists of *kase bapuru* ‘make something have a stomach’, which means that the plywood was given a round shape, and *pa dia* ‘to him/her/it’, referring to the patient that undergoes the action. The predicate in example (109) is *pertandingan makang pupeda* ‘sago porridge eating competition’, consisting of the thing word *pertandingan* ‘competition’, serving as head and modified by *makang pupeda* ‘eat sago porridge’, expressing an activity. The function as predicate provides this construction with a verbal meaning. The subject is the agent of the activity and may refer to the performer of the activity, namely a participant in the competition or the organizer of the event, depending on the context and situation.

(107) *kong* [*ular*]_S [**marontak**]_P, [...]
 CONJ snake struggle
and the snake struggled to get loose, [...]

(108) [*dong*]_S [[**kase** **bengkok**]_{ACT} [**itu** **triplek**]_{PAT} [**bagini**]]_P,
 3PL CAUS bent that plywood like.this
they bent the plywood like this,

[[**kase** **ba-puru**]_{ACT} [**pa** **dia**]_{PAT}]_P...
 CAUS POSS-stomach to 3SG
made it rounded...

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

7.3.2 Predicate: the structure

The following paragraphs describe the structure of predicates expressing an action or activity and the constructions occurring within the predicate that refer to participants involved in the activity, as well as to constructions providing additional information concerning time, place, and manner of the activity or event.

7.3.2.1 Predicate: Verb + Noun

Predicates may be followed by a thing word or construction which may have a variety of referents, depending on the meaning of the activity expressed in the predicate. The activity may be followed by a construction expressing the theme that is affected by the activity or the location the activity is directed towards. The construction may refer to the stimulus that brings about the emotion when an emotion or cognition is expressed in the predicate. The predicate in these examples is printed in **bold**.

The predicate in example (110) *pukul* 'hit' is followed by *testa* 'forehead', which serves as the patient, the thing that is affected by the action expressed in the action word. The action in example (111) is expressed by *manakal* 'harm', preceded by the negator *tara*, resulting in *tara manakal* 'not harm'. It is followed by *orang* 'person', which serves as patient, the undergoer of action expressed in the activity word. In example (112) *bajual* 'sell' is followed by *ikang garam* 'salted fish', serving as the theme that is affected by the activity. The action word in example (113), *lempar* 'throw', is followed by *ruma* 'house', which refers to the goal to which the action is directed. In example (114) a number of predicates occur. In the first part *dari Tobelo* 'from Tobelo' serves as predicate and expresses a movement from a location Tobelo, the name of a place on the island of Halmahera. This is followed by *pi Ternate*, which consists of a movement word *pi* 'go', followed by the location or goal to where the movement is directed, *Ternate*. The last part consists of *kaspulang spit*, which consists of the activity *kaspulang*, expressing a causative meaning 'cause something to go home/return', followed by *spit*, which serves as the theme that is affected by the action in the predicate. Example (115) is taken from a story about a crocodile. In this example *ada* 'be present' is preceded and followed by a thing construction, in which context it often expresses a possessive meaning. The construction preceding *ada* refers to the possessor, while the construction following *ada*, in this example *lida* 'tongue', refers to the item that is possessed. Example (116) is taken from a story about the fate of the speaker's fingers. Some were hit by something someone threw at him, while other fingers were hurt by lava stones. The activity in example (116) is expressed by the construction *su dapa tindis* '(lit.) have been pressed' and is followed by *batu angos* 'lava stones'. In this example *dapa* is followed by an activity word *tindis* 'press' and indicates a "passive" reading. The subject *yang ini* 'this one' refers to the speaker's fingers and serves as patient or undergoer of the action, while *batu angos* refers to the agent of the action *tindis* 'press'. An alternative interpretation of *dapa* is that it may express ability, so that

dapa tindis expresses ‘be able to press’ or ‘can press’. This reading does not seem to be appropriate in the context of this example. The predicate in example (117) *tako* ‘afraid’, refers to an emotion, and is followed by *parampuang* ‘woman’, which refers to the stimulus that brings about the emotion. It is preceded by *paling* ‘very’ to express intensity and the degree of the emotion. The subject *kita* ‘first person singular’ refers to the experiencer of the emotion. For some speakers, it may be possible that the order of the experiencer and the stimulus is reversed: the stimulus precedes the emotion word while the experiencer follows it. In the context of the example within which the speaker talks about his attitude towards women, an interpretation of *kita* as the experiencer seems to be the most appropriate.

The subject in examples (110)–(114) serves as the agent of the action expressed in the predicate. The subject in example (115) *dia* ‘third person singular’ refers to the possessor. The subject of example (116) is the undergoer of the action, while in example (117) the subject refers to the experiencer of the emotion expressed in the predicate.

- (110) [kita]_{AGT} [pukul]_{ACT} [testa]_{PAT} ngana.
 1SG hit forehead 2SG
I hit my forehead.

- (111) “cuma [de]_{AGT} [tar manakal]_{ACT} [orang]_{PAT}.”
 only 3SG NEG be.naughty person
“but it doesn’t harm humans.”

- (112) [kita]_{AGT} [ba-jual]_{ACT} [ikang garam]_{THEME}.
 1SG DUR-sell fish salt
I was selling salted fish.

- (113) [kita]_{AGT} [lempar]_{ACT} [ruma]_{GOAL}.
 1SG throw house
I threw stones at the house.

- (114) “cih, [tong]_{ENT} [dari [Tobelo]_{SOURCE}]_{ACT}.
 EXCL 1PL from Tobelo
“ah, we’re from Tobelo

[pi]_{ACT} [Ternate]_{LOC}, [kas-pulang]_{ACT} [spit]_{THEME}.”
 go Ternate CAUS-go.home speedboat
going to Ternate to return a speedboat.”

- (115) **kalo** **[dia]**_{POSSER} **[ada]**_{POSS} **[lida]**_{POSSED} **dia** **rasa** **sadap**,
 when 3SG be.present tongue 3SG taste delicious
if it had a tongue and it sensed something delicious,

abis **ngoni**.
 finished 2
then you'd be finished.

- (116) **[yang** **ini]**_{PAT} **[su** **dapa** **tindis]**_{ACT} **[batu** **angos.]**_{AGT}
 REL this COMP get press stone burned
this one was squashed by lava stones.

- (117) **[kita]**_{EXP} **[paling]** **[tako]**_{EMOTION} **[parampuang]**_{STIM}.
 1SG very afraid woman
I was very afraid of women.

In § 6.3.4 various functions of *pa* have been described, including its function as indicator of the undergoer of an action, the goal or location where an action is directed towards, as well as indicating the stimulus that brings about an emotion. The predicates in the following examples are followed by constructions with *pa*, and refer to these kinds of participants.

In example (118) *pikul* 'carry' is followed by *pa kita*, which consists of *pa* 'to' and *kita* 'first person singular', and expresses the undergoer or theme that is affected by the activity expressed in the action *pikul* 'carry'. The subject precedes the activity word and is expressed by the Y *pe* X construction *kita pe tamang* 'my friend' and refers to the agent or performer of the action. Example (119) concerns movement, expressed by a construction in which the negator *tara* 'not' is followed by the motion word *pi* 'go'. The subject and agent is *kita* 'first person singular', while the goal of the movement refers to a human entity, expressed in *pa Pak mantri* 'to the medical assistant', to which the action is (not) directed. In example (120) *tako* 'afraid' expresses a state of mind, while the subject *polisi* 'police' refers to the experiencer of this state. It is followed by *pa dorang*, consisting of *pa* 'to, which serves to indicate that what follows, *dorang* 'third person plural', expresses the stimulus that brings about the emotion the experiencer feels. Some speakers could interpret *dorang* as the experiencer when *pa* would be absent,

- (118) **[kita** **pe** **tamang]**_{AGT} **[pikul]**_{ACT} **[pa** **kita]**_{THEME}.
 1SG POSS friend carry to 1SG
my friend carried me.

- (119) [...] [kita]_{AGT} [tara pi]_{ACT} [pa Pak mantri]_{GOAL}
 1SG NEG go to EPIT medical.assistant
 [...] *I didn't go to the medical assistant.*

- (120) [polisi]_{EXP} me [tako]_{ACT} [pa dorang]_{STIM}
 police PART afraid to 3PL
 even the police were afraid of them.

The predicates in the following examples contain *deng*-constructions where various uses are described § 6.2.1, including *deng* serving as agent ‘who’, associate ‘with whom’, and instrument ‘with which’ an action is performed. A few examples are presented here.

In example (121) the speaker talks about the police in the society and the fact that in some places the police play only a marginal role. The action in this example is expressed by *dapa kuti* ‘be flicked’, within which *dapa* indicates that the action is undergone and a passive reading is applicable. The subject *polisi* ‘police’ then refers to the patient who undergoes the action, while *deng marinir* ‘by a marine’ refers to the agent of the action. The presence of *dapa* in the predicate and the passive reading it expresses, facilitates an interpretation of *deng marinir* as agent. *Talinga* serves as theme that is affected by the action and immediately follows the action. In example (122) the speaker talks about a woman who has a lot of friends. The predicate in this example consists of *batamang* ‘have friends’, and expresses reciprocity. It is followed by *deng dia* ‘with him’, which then refers to the associate with whom the agent performs the action, that is, with whom the agent has established a friendly relationship. The agent is expressed in the subject *banya orang* ‘a lot of people’. Note that this clause serves as predicate in a subject-predicate construction within which *Lin itu* ‘that Lin’ is the subject. *Itu* indicates the border between this subject and the predicate. The predicate in the second part of example (123) is *lempar* ‘throw’. It is followed by *deng batu* ‘with a stone’ or ‘with stones’, referring to the instrument or implement with which the action is performed. The subject *nene* refers to the agent and performer of the action. The fact that *deng batu* has an inanimate referent facilitates the interpretation. In a different context and when the referent is human it is possible to interpret the construction as referring to an agent or as associate.

- (121) [polisi]_{PAT} [dapa kuti]_{ACT} [talinga]_{LOC} [deng marinir]_{AGT}
 police get flick ear with marine
 the policeman's ears were flicked by a marine.

- (122) cuma Lin itu [yang orang banya]_s
 only Lin that REL person many
 only Lin had many

[**ba-tamang**]_{ACT} [**deng dia**]_{ASS}
 POSS-friend with 3SG
friends.

- (123) nene dengar, [nene]_{AGT}
 grandmother hear grandmother
if she hears it, she'll

[**lempar**]_{ACT} [**deng batu**]_{INSTR}
 throw with stone
throw stones at you.

7.3.2.2 Predicate: Verb + Noun + Noun

Predicates may express transaction, such as *kase* ‘give’ and *bayar* ‘pay’, and may be followed by constructions that refer to the theme, namely the entity that is transferred, as well as a constituent that refers to the goal of the action, for instance the person to whom the theme is transferred. Constructions in such predicates often occur in a certain order: the activity is immediately followed by the goal, which is then followed by the theme, resulting in the structure: []_{ACTION} []_{GOAL} []_{THEME}.

Some examples with this structure are presented here. The activity in example (124) is *bayar* ‘pay’ and is immediately followed by *kita* ‘first person singular’, which serves as the goal, the person to whom the action is directed. This is followed by *barapa juta* ‘several million (rupiah)’, which refers to the theme, the money that is transferred by the action. The speaker in example (125) is saying that his girlfriend probably regrets their relationship, because she has given him a lot of money during that time. In the example, the speaker expresses what her thoughts could be. The predicate in the second clause of the example consists of *kase* ‘give’. It is followed by *dia* ‘third person singular’, which refers to the person to whom the action is directed, namely the goal of the action. *Doi* ‘money’ refers to the theme, the money that is transferred, and follows the goal. In this example, *jang* precedes the predicate to indicate a vetative meaning.

- (124) biar [ngoni]_{AGT} [**bayar**]_{ACT} [**kita**]_{GOAL}
 although 2 pay 1SG
even if you paid me several million (rupiah),

[**barapa juta**]_{THEME} me kita tara mau.
 how.much million PART 1SG NEG want
I wouldn't want to do that.

- (125) “[...] tau la jang [**kase**]_{ACT} [**dia**]_{GOAL} [**doi**]_{THEME}”
 know CONJ don't give 3SG money
 “[...] if I had known it before, I wouldn't have given him money”.

The constituents participating in the predicate may occur in a different order, within which the verb is immediately followed by the theme, which is followed by the goal. In this type of construction, the goal is indicated by *pa*, an element that indicates location, and depending on the context and situation, the location may refer to the goal of an action, the source, or some other location, related to the action. The predicate has the following structure: []_{ACTION} []_{THEME} []_{GOAL}.

In example (126) *kase* ‘give’ is immediately followed by the theme *apa* ‘what’, referring to the thing that is transferred by the action. This is followed by the goal to whom the action is directed, *pa ngoni* ‘to you’. The speaker of example (127) says that when he was small, still in primary school, he asked his mother for some money, and when she did not give it, he threw stones at the house. In this example, *minta* ‘ask for’ is immediately followed by *doi* ‘money’, the theme, which is followed by the construction *pa tong Ma* ‘to our mother’, consisting of *pa* and the possessive construction *tong Ma* ‘our mother’ and refers to the goal, the person to whom the request is directed. The performer of *minta* ‘ask for’ is not overtly expressed, but from the context it is understood that it refers to storyteller.

- (126) [kita]_{AGT} [mu kase]_{ACT} [apa]_{THEME} [pa ngoni]_{GOAL} e?
 1SG want give what to 2 EXCL
what shall I give you?

- (127) [minta]_{ACT} [doi]_{THEME} [pa tong Ma]_{GOAL}
 ask.for money to 1PL mother
I asked my mother for some money

kong tong Ma tara kase.
 CONJ 1PL mother NEG give.
and she didn't give me any.

In the following examples, the action word is followed by a theme and a *pa*-construction referring to some location. Example (128) is taken from a story in which the speaker tells of a place where a dangerous crocodile lives. He and his friends decide not to sleep on the shore and he apologizes to the crocodile, telling it that he does not want to die yet. He does not want to become the crocodile's meal. The predicate in this example consists of *minta* ‘ask for’, which is followed by *maaf* ‘pardon’, the theme that is affected by the action, and refers to what the agent asks for. The construction *pa buaya* ‘to the crocodile’ refers to the source from whom the agent asks for pardon. The preposition *pa* is generally used to refer to a human location (see § 6.3.4) and indicates that the speaker has assigned the crocodile with human properties. Example (129) is taken from a story about masters in martial arts and how they are trained to restrain themselves. Others, who only want to intimidate and do not master any fighting skills, behave the opposite way, according to the speaker, and only look for trouble. In this example, where the speaker talks about the last group, the predicate consists of *cari* ‘search’ and is followed by *hal* ‘matter’,

which refers to the theme, while the construction *pa torang* follows the theme and refers to the location where the action is performed.

- (128) eh, [kita]_{AGT} [minta]_{ACT} [maaf]_{THEME} [pa buaya]_{SOURCE}
 EXCL 1SG ask.for pardon to crocodile
hey, I apologized to the crocodile. (Lit. 'hey, I asked for pardon from the crocodile')

- (129) [dong]_{AGT} mala [cari]_{ACT} [hal]_{THEME} [pa torang]_{LOC}
 3PL even search matter to 1PL
they would even look for trouble with us.

The context and the situation in which an utterance appears determines how constituents may be interpreted. The situation in the story from which example (130) is taken is that a soldier has borrowed a wok. When the soldier returns the wok to the owner, the owner asks him if he wants to borrow it again, using the construction *pinjang lagi* 'borrow again'. From the context and the situation, all participants in the action can be understood: the person who borrows the wok, the source who provides the wok, as well as the wok that is borrowed. In this example *lagi* 'again' indicates a repetition of a previous event or action and *pinjang* 'borrow' expresses the whole event of borrowing including the participants and objects involved in the event.

- (130) “[pinjang]_{ACT} [lagi]?”
 borrow again
do you want to borrow it again?

7.3.2.3 Predicate: Modal Verb + Verb

A predicate may contain two successive verbs, of which the first expresses modality, such as *musi* 'must', *bisa* 'can', *inging* 'want, wish', *suka* 'like', and *bole* 'may', and is followed by an expression denoting action or activity. A few examples of modal verbs followed by another verb are described here. This type of construction may be analyzed as serial verb constructions.

The word *musi* 'must' is used to express necessity. Example (131) is taken from a story about how the speaker, who is ill and weak, is carried by his friend out of the forest. They are only the two of them and they follow the river to avoid getting lost. In example (130) *musi* 'must' is used to express the desirability as well as the strong necessity to perform the action *iko* 'follow', which expresses a movement. The word *kali* expresses location and refers to the direction of the movement, while *trus* 'continue' indicates the continuity of the activity. In example (132) *musi* is used to express that under the circumstances described, namely when the tide is in, it is almost certain that the crocodile is present. In this situation, *musi* expresses an aspect of possibility and certainty in addition to necessity.

- (131) “Caken, ini hari tong dua
Caken this day 1PL two
“Caken, today the two of us

[**musi iko**]_P [**kali**]_{LOC} [**trus**].”
must follow river continue
have to follow the river continuously.”

- (132) pokonya, kalo aer basar, dong bilang,
CONCL when water big 3PL say
the point is that when the tide is in, they said,

dia [**musi ada**]_P.
3SG must be.present
it must be there.

When *bisa* is followed by an activity word, it expresses ability. The speaker of example (133) says that he was stung by bees while he was holding one jerry can of cooking oil and one of petroleum. Luckily, the jerry cans fell in the sand, otherwise they would have broken and there would be no way to prepare food or make a fire. *Bisa* in this example expresses ability to do something and is followed by *bagoreng* ‘fry’ and *babakar* ‘burn’. Note that predicate operators, including the negator *tara*, precede the modal verb, and occupy the left-most position. Example (134) is taken from a story about stealing mangoes from a tree. The example describes the speaker’s thoughts while he is in the tree and Hamja is throwing stones at him, to chase him out of the tree. He wonders what he can do to escape. *Bisa* is followed by *lolos* ‘slip off’ and expresses ability as well as the possibility of getting away from the dire situation.

- (133) jerigen pica tong [**tara bisa ba-goreng**]_P
jerry can broken 1PL NEG can DUR-fry
the jerry cans would have broken and we wouldn’t be able to fry

[**tara bisa ba-bakar**]_P.
NEG can DUR-burn
or grill anything.

- (134) [...] “ini biking bagimana supaya kita [**bisa lolos**]_P.”
this make how so.that 1SG can slip.off
“what can I do to escape?”

Inging is used to express desirability. In example (135) the speaker talks about his attitude towards women, and expresses that he does not want to get married yet. In

this example, *inging* ‘wish, desire’ expresses desirability and is followed by the activity word *kaweng* ‘marry’, referring to the activity the agent does (not yet) want to perform. The predicate is preceded by *bolong* ‘not yet’, the aspect marker to indicate non-completeness, and implies that at some point in time the activity or state may be completed or reached. In example (136) *inging* is followed by *hidup* ‘live’ and expresses the speaker’s desire to live. This construction is preceded by *masi* to express continuous aspect. Note that aspect markers such as the non-completive marker *bolong* ‘not yet’ and the continuous marker *masi* ‘still’ as well as negators, always precede the modal verb.

- (135) kita [bolding inging kaweng]_P.
 1SG not.yet wish marry
 I don’t want to get married yet.

- (136) he, [masi inging hidup]_P, umur masi panjang, [...]
 EXCL still wish live age still long
 hey, you still want to live, have a long life ahead [...]

When *suka* is followed by a thing word, for example *de suka ular* ‘he likes snakes’, the meaning ‘like’ occurs, but when *suka* is followed by an activity it may refer to ‘like’ as well as express that an action or activity is performed regularly or habitually. The context and the situation determines which interpretation is most appropriate.

In example (137) *suka* ‘like’ is used in combination with *minum kofi* ‘drink coffee’. When *minum kofi* is interpreted as a noun ‘the drinking of coffee’ serving as the theme, *suka* receives the meaning of ‘like’, but when *kofi* is considered to be the theme, *suka* may either mean ‘like’ or express habituality of the action. This utterance occurs after the person who presented him the coffee told him not to comment if he does not like the taste of the coffee she made for him. In this situation, an interpretation of *suka* to mean ‘like’ may come first to mind. In example (138) the speaker says how his friends teased him when he did not move to a higher grade. In the context of the example, it is not exactly clear how *suka* has to be interpreted. It may express the meaning ‘like’, in which case the example expresses that Wan (personal name) likes to tease people, but it may also express a habitual meaning aspect ‘used to’, to express that Wan used to tease others. A combination of the two meanings: that Wan used to tease because he likes to do it may also be possible. In example (139) *suka* is combined with *bataria* ‘scream’. In the conversation, the speaker talks about expressions used as exclamations. An interpretation of *suka* as expressing habituality is appropriate in this situation, and this reading is supported by *biasa* ‘common’, which appears previously in the context.

- (137) kita [tar suka]_P [minum kofi]_{THEME} kong
 1SG NEG like drink coffee CONJ
 I don’t like to drink the kind of coffee that

de pe ampas laeng tinggalang laeng tarada.
 3SG POSS dreg other sink other NEG
some of the dregs sink and some don't.

(138) Wan dara de [suka ba-terek]_P,
 TRU-Ridwan land 3SG like DUR-tease

Fadin pe kaka ni.
 Fadin POSS older.sibling this
Wan there, Fadin's brother, he likes to tease.

(139) di sini, biasa, tandang batu bagitu
 in here common kick stone like.that
here it's common that when we hit a stone

tong [suka bataria]_P "aduh mama".
 1PL like scream EXCL mother
we scream "ouch, mother".

Bole expresses possibility and may indicate a permissive meaning aspect as well. Example (140) tells of the close relationship between two persons; it is as if they are joined together and form a unity. In this example, *bole* is followed by *lepas* 'let loose', to express the possibility to let loose, which is preceded by the negator *tara* to express the opposite meaning 'cannot let loose'. In this situation, *bole* may indicate a permissive meaning as well. Example (141) refers to the production of shoes for a giant spirit and expresses that seven factories would be needed to produce shoes of such enormous size. In this example, *bole* expresses possibility as well as ability. It is followed by the activity word *biking* 'make, produce', while *de pe spato* 'his shoes' refers to the theme, i.e. the thing that is produced or created.

(140) dia [tara bole lepas]_P [dari Caken]_{LOC}.
 3SG NEG may let.loose from Caken
he can't separate from Caken.

(141) pabrik tuju baru dong [bole biking]_P
 factory seven then 3PL may make
seven factories, and only then could they make

[de pe spato]_{THEME}
 3SG POSS shoe
its shoes.

7.3.2.4 Predicate: Verb + Manner

The way or manner an action is performed can be expressed in various ways, for example both reduplicated quality words and activity words may serve to express manner when they immediately follow an activity. A few examples are presented here. The predicate in example (142) consists of the action word *lari* ‘run’ which is preceded by *langsung* ‘immediately’, indicating the temporal background of the motion and followed by *fol-fol* ‘at full speed’, a reduplicated construction of *fol* ‘full’, expressing the way it is performed. Example (143) is taken from a story about the destruction of a bee hive. This was done at night when the bees were sleeping. The speaker describes the way the bees slept by using *asik-asik* ‘very busy’, expressing the manner and intensity of their activity. In example (144) the speaker describes the way he put the pictures in the room where he stayed, namely *rata-rata*, a reduplicated form of *rata* ‘straight’, meaning ‘straight in a line’, followed by *bagini* ‘like this’. The situation of example (145) is that the speaker is paddling seawards to a small island and sees a whale. Luckily, the whale moves away from him and he continues to paddle seawards as quickly as he can. The expression *capat-capat* is used to express the fast way the agent paddles to the island. The construction *panggayung sampe lao* is interpreted as consisting of an activity word *panggayung* ‘to paddle’ followed by the location, namely the goal or destination of the movement, *sampe lao* ‘until (a place located towards the) sea’.

- (142) kita [**langsung**]_{TIME} [**lari**]_{ACT} [**fol-fol**]_{MANNER}.
 1SG immediately run INT-full
 I immediately ran away at full speed.

- (143) malang-malang ofu [**tidor**]_{ACT} [**asik-asik**]_{MANNER}.
 RED-night bee sleep INT-busy
 at night bees are sound asleep.

In the following examples, activity words express the manner in which an activity is performed. These words immediately follow the activity in the predicate.

In example (144) *dudu* ‘sit’ is followed by *badekat* ‘get close’, resulting in *dudu badekat* ‘sit close’ and describes the way the person performs the activity, namely the persons sit in such a way that they are closer to the target. The actor of both activities is the subject *nene* ‘grandmothers’, while *pa dia* ‘to him/her/it’, refers to the location or place. The actor who performs the action expressed in *tidor bajejer bagini* in example (145) is understood from the context and is referred to by the expression *dong tiga* ‘the three of them’ in the first clause. The verb *tidor* ‘sleep’ is followed by *bajejer* ‘line up’ denoting the way the activity *tidor* is performed and is followed by *bagini* ‘like this’, expressing comparison. In example (146) the speaker talks about a wild crocodile and imagines what happens if someone suddenly stands in front of the crocodile. In the example, *badiri* ‘stand’ is immediately followed by *bakumangada* ‘face each other’, expressing the manner the activity is performed,

resulting in *badiri bakumangada* ‘stand facing each other’, describing a situation in which the person is standing face-to-face with the crocodile.

- (144) nene [dudu]_{ACT} [ba-dekat]_{MANNER} pa kita.
 grandmother sit PROC-near to 1SG
the women were sitting close to me.
- (145) dong tiga bagini, [tidor]_{ACT} [bajejer]_{MANNER} bagini.
 3PL three like.this sleep line.up like.this
they were like this, they were sleeping in a line.
- (146) ngana [badiri] [baku-mangada]_{MANNER} dia, ha...
 2SG stand REC-face 3SG EXCL
if you stood face-to-face to it...

7.3.2.5 Predicate: Verb + Clause

The predicate in the following examples contains a clause which may have various functions depending on the meaning of the activity word and the context and situation in which it occurs. In example (147) the perception word *lia* ‘see’ is followed by *balangang su ada* ‘the wok was there’, which refers to stimulus or the theme, namely the thing or event that is perceived by the subject *kita* ‘first person singular’, the experiencer. In example (148) the speaker says that he was asked to sleep at someone’s house, while the family went away for some time. The communication verb *suru* ‘order’ is followed by *kita tidor* ‘I sleep’, describing the message, namely the order the subject received. In example (149) the speaker says that he once argued with a woman about whether his drink was coffee or not. His drink did not have any dregs and therefore he did not believe it was coffee, while she had given him instant coffee. In this example *bilang* ‘say’ is followed by *kita bodo* ‘I am stupid’, consisting of the subject *kita* ‘first person singular’, and the property word *bodo* ‘stupid’. The clause refers to the theme, namely the message that the subject *de* ‘third person singular’ mentioned in the first clause has transferred by her words.

- (147) [...] kong kita lia [[balangang]_s [su ada]_p.]
 CONJ 1SG see wok COMP be.present
[...] and I saw that the wok was already there.
- (148) dong suru [[kita]_s [tidor]_p.]
 3PL order 1SG sleep
they let me sleep there.

- (149) de bilang [[**kita**]_s [**bodo**]_p], ngana!
 3SG say 1SG stupid 2SG
 she said that I was stupid!

7.4 Predicate operators

In this paragraph, a number of predicate operators are discussed, including negators and aspect markers. These operators function to indicate certain meaning aspects as well as serve a grammatical function by indicating that the construction in which they participate is best interpreted as predicate.

7.4.1 Negators

The two negators that are often used to negate predicates are *tara* ‘not (present)’ and *bukang* ‘not’. The difference between these two is that *bukang* ‘not’ implies a contradiction ‘not A, (but B)’, while *tara* implies absolute absence ‘not present’. *Bukang* as well as *tara* can be used to negate thing constructions, but in such contexts *tara* may mean ‘not possess’, while *bukang* negates the identity of the thing and implies an alternative.

7.4.1.1 Negator tara

The predicate in example (150) consists of *tidor* ‘sleep, which is preceded by the negator *tara*, resulting in *tara tidor* ‘not sleep’. The predicate in example (151) *sadiki* ‘a little’ refers to a small amount. It is preceded by the negator *tara*, resulting in *tara sadiki* ‘not a little’. The subject of this example is the Y *pe* X construction *de pe sajarah* ‘the history’, which refers to the entity of which the amount is described in the predicate. Example (152) is an expression used to say that something has no equal. The expression *tara dua* ‘there are no two (of them)’ consists of *dua* ‘two’, referring to an amount and the negator *tara*. The entity of which it is said that it has no (second) equivalent is expressed by the subject *kita pe mara ni* ‘my anger’. The predicate in example (153) consists of *cewe* ‘girl’, preceded by *tara* ‘not’, resulting in *tara cewe* ‘no girl(friend)’. This expression describes the state of the subject *kita* ‘first person singular’ and the meaning of *tara* as ‘not possess’ is applicable, resulting in *tara cewe* with the meaning ‘do not have a girl(friend)’. Example (154) reflects the speaker’s explanation about why he thought that the hot drink offered to him was tea. He used to drink his coffee with coffee dregs and was not familiar with instant coffee. The predicate consists of the negator *tara* and *ampas* ‘dregs’, resulting in *tara ampas* ‘(there are) no dregs’. From the situation it becomes clear that *ampas* refers to the coffee dregs.

- (150) kita bilang, “ngana **tara** **tidor**?”.
 1SG say 2SG NEG sleep
 I asked, “aren’t you going to sleep?”.

- (151) de pe sajarah **tara sadiki**.
 3SG POSS history NEG a.little
the stories he has are not just a few.
- (152) ih, kita pe mara ni **tara dua**.
 EXCL 1SG POSS angry this NEG two
gee, I was so angry. (Lit. 'my anger does not have an equivalent')
- (153) cek, kita **tara cewe**.
 EXCL 1SG NEG girl
gee, I don't have a girlfriend.
- (154) me, **tara ampas**.
 PART NEG dregs
it didn't have any dregs.

When the negator *tara* precedes *ada* 'be present' it may merge and becomes *tarada* 'not present'. Some speakers make a clear distinction between *tara ada* 'not be present' and *tarada*, while generally the two forms seems to be mutually interchangeable. *Tarada* may be used as the negative response to questions. In example (155) *tara* precedes *ada*, resulting in *tara ada* 'not present'. It is followed by the subject *aer* 'water', resulting in a predicate-subject construction *tara ada aer* 'there is no water'. Example (156) consists of two clauses. The first clause provides information about the size of the mice: *samua tikus kacili* 'all mice are small'. The predicate of the second clause is *tarada* 'not present', while the subject follows the predicate and consists of *yang basar* 'big ones', resulting in the predicate-subject construction *tarada yang basar* 'there are no big ones'. In example (157) the speaker asks what would happen if a famous soccer player kicked the ball. He gives two alternatives; there would be a *gol* 'goal' or there wouldn't, *tarada* 'not (present)'. The negative answer to this question would be *tarada* 'no'.

- (155) [...] kolam mandi-mandi cuma [**tara ada**]_p [**aer**]_s.
 pool RED-bathe only NEG exist water
[...] a bathing pool, but there was no water.
- (156) samua tikus kacili [**tarada**]_p [**yang basar**]_s.
 all mouse small NEG REL big
all mice are small, there are no big ones.

- (157) gol ka **tarada?**
 goal or NEG
 would there be a goal or not?

The negator *tara* may be shortened to *tar*, which then immediately precedes the predicate and no other lexical material can intervene. It seems that this element is in the process of becoming a bound element *tar-* expressing negation. Example (158) is taken from a story about stealing mangoes. What the thieves did not know was that the owner's children were on guard while the owner was sleeping. The predicate in this example consists of *tau* 'know' which is preceded by *tar*, the shortened form of *tara*, resulting in *tar tau* 'not know'. Example (159) tells about a man who uses his gifts to heal people. It is told that he once first made a person sick and then got paid to heal him. The predicate in example (159) is *doi* 'money', which is preceded by the negator *tar*, resulting in *tar doi* 'not possess money'. Example (160) tells of a medical assistant, who was so pretty that many patients went to see her for medical care. In example (160), the predicate is *sadiki* 'a little', preceded by *tar*, resulting in *tar sadiki* 'not a little'. The entity of which is said that (the number) is not small is the subject that precedes the predicate, namely *orang basuntik* 'people getting vaccinations'.

- (158) Allah, tong **tar** **tau.**
 Allah 1PL NEG know
 o my God, we didn't know that.

- (159) paitua carita itu paitua **tar** **doi**
 old.man tell that old.man NEG money
 he said that he didn't have any money
- sampe paitua nekat biking.
 arrive old.man determined make
 so that he was determined to do it.

- (160) orang ba-suntik **tar** **sadiki.**
 person USE-inject NEG a.little
 the number of people getting vaccinations is not small.

7.4.1.2 Negator *bukang*

Bukang is used as negator meaning 'not A, (but B)' and implies that the opposite or the alternative of the expressed is prominent. It is not obligatory to overtly express the opposite or alternative.

The speaker in example (161) tells how he was mistakenly regarded as a porter and how he explained that he was not. In the example, *ana-ana baangka* 'porter', is preceded by the negator *bukang*, resulting in *bukang ana-ana baangka* 'not a porter'. The scope of the negation is on *ana-an baangka* 'porter'. In example (162) the

speaker tells of a man with wounds and jokingly says that when the man is on his motorcycle flies follow him. In the example, *bukang* precedes the predicate *iko dia* ‘follow him’ to negate this and to imply that the alternative, namely *iko de pe luka* ‘follow his wounds’, is what the flies do. In example (163) the speaker talks about a snake in his garden. The example is his reply to the question about whether there really is a snake in the garden. In this example, *bukang* negates *di atas*, which refers to a location on the hill, while the alternative is expressed in *di bawa barangka* ‘at the lower part, at the ditch’. In example (164) *bukang* is used to negate a clause. The speaker of this example talks about a boat that seems to move by itself and he continues to explain what the real cause is. The clause *dong panggayung* ‘they paddle’ is preceded by *bukang* to negate it. The alternative is expressed in *ikang kase lari dong parao* ‘a fish takes away their boat’. The scope of the negation is on the people who paddle, because they did not move the boat; it was the fish that moved the boat.

- (161) saya tara... **bukang** ana-ana ba-angka.”
 1SG NEG NEG PL-child DUR-lift.up
I’m no..., I’m not a porter.”
- (162) de pe lalar iko de pe luka,
 3SG POSS fly follow 3SG POSS wound
the flies are following his wounds,
- bukang** iko dia.
 NEG follow 3SG
they are not following him.
- (163) ada, tapi **bukang** di atas, di bawa barangka.
 be.present but NEG in top in bottom ditch
yes, there are, not up the hill, but down at the ditch.
- (164) padahal **bukang** dong panggayung...
 whereas NEG 3PL paddle
while they’re not paddling...
- ikang kase lari dong parao, ikang basar.
 fish give run 3PL boat fish big
a fish is taking away their boat, a big fish.

7.4.2 Aspect markers

Aspect markers are items that may provide the temporal view of an action, event or process. In the following paragraphs, a few of these expressions are described: *ada* serves to express that an action, process, or event progressively continues, *mau* (and

its short form *mu*) serves to express that an action, process, or event is about to begin, *suda* (and its short form *su*) serves to express that an action, process, or event has been completed, *bolong* is the opposite of *suda* and serves to express that an action, process, or event has not yet been completed, and *masi* expresses that an action, process, or event started in the past continues to proceed at the moment of the utterance. These aspect markers often appear preceding predicates and they may also form an utterance in their own respect, for instance as an answer to a question. Some of the markers may express their lexical meaning, depending on the context and the situation in which they occur. When serving their grammatical functions, this meaning may be less prominent.

7.4.2.1 Progressive marker *ada*

When *ada* ‘be present’ is combined with a construction expressing an action, process, or a state, the result is a construction within which *ada* expresses a progressive meaning, indicating that an action, process, or a state (of affairs) is progressively taking place at a certain moment in time and will continue for some time. The period of time of the action, process, or state can be situated in the past.

In example (165) *ada* precedes the predicate *dengar* ‘hear’ and serves to express a progressive meaning, indicating that the experiencer was hearing a voice over a certain period of time. The constituent *de pe kalamareng malang tu* ‘last night’ expresses that the time of the event lies in the past. Example (166) tells of a woman who the speaker thinks practices martial art. The verb in this example *balajar* ‘learn’ is preceded by *ada* to express that the activity expressed in the predicate is being performed at the moment of the utterance and is expected to continue for some time. In example (167) the speaker tells how he and his friend are angry with each other. In this example, the predicate *mara* ‘angry’, is preceded by *ada*, expressing a progressive meaning. *Ada* indicates that the moment the friend became angry at the speaker, the speaker was angry at her and would be in that state for some period of time.

- (165) baru de pe kalamareng malang tu
 moreover 3SG POSS yesterday night that
moreover, last night
 kita **ada** **dengar** orang pe suara.
 1SG PROG hear person POSS voice
I heard someone’s voice.

- (166) mangkali **ada** **balajar** bela diri.
 maybe PROG learn defend self
maybe she’s learning how to defend herself.

- (167) padahal kita **ada** **mara** pa dia,
 whereas 1SG PROG angry to 3SG
 I was angry with her,
- tapi dia mara pa kita ulang.
 but 3SG angry to 1SG repeat
 but she was also angry with me.

7.4.2.2 Ingressive marker mau/mu

Mau expresses the meaning ‘want’ and also indicates an ingressive meaning, expressing that an action is about to begin. When *mau* is followed by a thing, the meaning is often ‘want’, while when followed by an action or activity, ‘want’ as well as the ingressive meaning are applicable. In example (168) *mau* serves as predicate and expresses the meaning ‘want’. In this example, the speaker talks about the price of a house that is for sale. *Mau* occurs in a construction X *mau* Y in which it is preceded by the third person plural *dong*, referring to the experiencer of the predicate, and followed by *dua puluh juta* ‘twenty million’, the amount of money that the owner wants for his house. In this context where *mau* is followed by a thing, it expresses the meaning ‘want, wish, desire’.

- (168) ah itu dong **mau** dua puluh juta.
 EXCL that 3PL want two ten million
 yeah, for that one they wanted twenty million.

When *mau* occurs in a construction X *mau* Y, in which Y expresses an action or activity, two interpretations are possible depending on the context and the situation. When X which precedes *mau* is interpreted as the voluntary performer of the action expressed in Y and is able to have control over the action, *mau* expresses the meaning ‘want, wish, desire’. However, when X serves as an agent that involuntarily performs the action in Y, or when X is a patient that undergoes the action expressed in Y, then *mau* loses its meaning of intentionality and indicates an ingressive meaning, expressing that the action is about to begin. In this function, *mau* may be shortened to *mu*.

In example (169) the speaker tells how he has received knowledge to use supernatural powers, but refuses those powers that may harm others. In this example, *mau* ‘want’ occurs as an independent word, serves as predicate, and expresses the meaning ‘want, desire’. Example (170) is taken from a story in which a soldier asks the person who tells the story if he can borrow a wok to do some cooking. *Mau* is followed by the activity word *masa* ‘cook’, which is preceded by the first person plural *tong*, and refers to the agent who may voluntarily perform the action *masa*. In this context, *mau* expresses ‘want, wish, desire’ and *mau masa* reflects the meaning ‘want to cook’. The speaker of example (171) says that he had just met a very pretty girl. A few moments later he met the girl’s mother and was shocked and felt he would faint, because the mother was even prettier than the daughter. In this example, *mau* ‘want’ is used in combination with *tabanting* ‘fall down unintentionally’.

The prefix *ta-* denotes an action that is performed unwittingly or unintentionally. The agent is not in control of the action. In such a context, *mau* expresses that an activity is about to start, and the interpretation of an ingressive meaning is more appropriate.

The speaker in example (172) talks about how he and his friend went through primary school. Some years they were in the same class, while in other years they were in separate classes. In this example, *mau* occurs in combination with *nae* ‘go up’, an activity word that may refer to an activity that is voluntarily performed as well as refer to an activity in which the agent is not in control of the activity. When Sof is interpreted as agent, the person who voluntarily performs the action, the resulting construction *Sof mau nae kalas tiga* means that Sof has the wish to go to the third grade. When Sof is interpreted as being less in control of the action, *mau nae* expresses the ingressive meaning ‘be about to go up’. In this example, Sof could be interpreted as the undergoer of *nae*, in which case the “wanting” meaning as well as the ingressive meaning is applicable, resulting in a meaning ‘Sof wanted to be moved up to the third grade’ or ‘Sof was about to be moved up to the third grade’. Within the context of this example, and supposing that Sof wished to go to a higher grade, the more appropriate interpretation is the ingressive meaning, namely that Sof was about to go to the third grade, when *kita* moved to third grade.

In some cases, particularly when *mau* serves to express an ingressive meaning aspect, it may be shortened to *mu*. An example of the shortened *mu* is found in example (173), in which it occurs with *munta* ‘vomit’, resulting in *mu munta* ‘about to vomit’. The experiencer *kita* does not have any control over the action of *munta* ‘vomit’ to take place and an ingressive meaning of *mu* is more appropriate. *Kita mu munta* reflects the meaning ‘I’m about to vomit’ or ‘I have to vomit’. In example (174) the shortened form *mu* occurs with *ujang* ‘rain’ which serves as predicate. In this function *ujang* never occurs with a subject and *ujang* expresses the meaning ‘it’s raining’. In this context, only the interpretation of *mu* expressing a ingressive meaning is appropriate.

- (169) *kalo dapa barang tara bae jang mau.*
 when get because NEG good don't want
 don't want it, if you get bad things.

- (170) “[...] *tong mau masa sadiki, bole?*”
 1PL want cook a.little may
 we want to cook something, is that possible?

- (171) *kita mau ta-banting.*
 1SG want INV-slam.down
 I almost fell down.

- (172) Sof **mau nae** kalas tiga, kita nae kalas tiga [...]

Sof want go.up class three 1SG go.up class three

when Sof moved up to the third grade, I moved up to the third grade

[...]
- (173) hmm, kita lia kita foto kacili-kacili

EXCL 1SG see 1SG photo RED-small

humph, if I look at my photo when I was a child,
- kita **mu** munta.

1SG want vomit

it makes me want to throw up.
- (174) su galap, tara lama su **mu ujang**.

COMP dark NEG long COMP want rain

it's dark; it won't take long before it starts to rain.

7.4.2.3 Completive marker *suda*

The completive marker *suda* may occur in predicates which express an action, movement or process to indicate that the action that has started previously has come to completion or will be completed. Predicates expressing stative events may contain the completive marker *su* to indicate that the state has been reached and implying that this is the completion of a previous process or development.

In example (175) *makang* 'eat' is preceded by completive marker *suda*, resulting in *suda makang* 'have eaten'. This example is taken from a context in which the speaker comments on a chocolate brand and asks whether his friends have ever eaten chocolate of this particular brand. In example (176) the construction *dan satu* 'first dan, a degree of proficiency in judo or karate' is preceded by *suda*, resulting in *suda dan satu*, expressing that the subject has reached the degree of first dan.

- (175) **suda makang?**

COMP eat

have you eaten some?
- (176) ngana **suda dan satu** ka dan lapan lagi...

2SG COMP dan one or dan eight more

if you are a first dan or even an eighth dan...

The completive marker *suda* is generally shortened to *su*. In example (176) *su* precedes *tidor* 'sleep', resulting in *su tidor* expressing that the person has come into the state of being asleep. The predicate of example (177) consists of *malam* 'night', preceded by *su*, resulting *su malam*, expressing that a certain period of time has been

reached. In example (178) *su* occurs with *tete* ‘grandfather’, resulting in *su tete* ‘be a grandfather’, expressing that the person has reached the rank or age of a grandfather. In the same example, *su* occurs with *tua* ‘old’, resulting in *su tua* ‘be old’, expressing that the person has reached the state/stage of a old age.

- (177) *lia, dong su tidor.*
 see 3PL COMP sleep
 we looked; they were asleep.

- (178) ...maso singga di Loloda barang **su malam...**
 enter stop.by in Loloda because COMP night
 ...*we entered and stopped in Loloda because it was dark...*

- (179) **su tete, su tua.**
 COMP grandfather COMP old
 he’s a grandfather, he is old.

The difference in use between the full form *suda* and its shortened form *su* is that the full form occurs mainly in careful speech and as an answer to yes/no-questions, in which case it is used as an utterance in its own respect. The shortened form *su* cannot be used as an utterance in its own right and cannot serve as an answer to questions. Examples (180) and (181) show two questions and answers to show that although the shortened form *su* is used in the question, only *suda* can be used as an independent word in the response. In example (180) *su* precedes *kaweng* ‘marry’, resulting in the question *su kaweng?* ‘are you married?’. In (180b) the answer is *suda* ‘yes’. Example (181) is about a borrowed wok that B returns. In the example *su* precedes *barsi* ‘clean’, resulting in the question *su barsi?* ‘is it clean?’. The answer to this question is *iyo, suda* ‘yes, it is’ in example (181b). In these cases where it forms the answer to a question, *suda* cannot alternate with *su*.

- (180) A: ngana **su kaweng?**
 2SG COMP marry
 are you married?

- (180b) B: **suda,** tara percaya.
 COMP NEG believe
 yes, believe it or not.

- (181) A: “**su barsi tu?**”
 COMP clean that
 “*is it clean?*”

- (181b) B: “iyo, **suda**, Dik.”
 yes COMP TRU-younger.sibling
 “yes, it is.”

7.4.2.4 Non-completive marker *bolong*

The opposite of *su(da)* is *bolong* ‘not yet’, indicating that an action, process or event has not yet taken place or been performed, a certain state has not yet been reached, or that someone/something does not yet possess a certain characteristic or property. The use of *bolong* implies the expectation that at some point in time the action will come to completion, the state will be reached, and the characteristic or property will be possessed.

In example (182) the speaker confesses that he told his friends that he is married, while he is not. In this example, *bolong* occurs with *kaweng* ‘marry’, resulting in *bolong kaweng* ‘not yet married’. The use of *bolong* implies the expectation that at some point in time the marital state will be obtained. Since this state is still highly preferred, *bolong* is generally used as the negative answer to questions about someone’s marital state, rather than the negator *tarada* ‘not (present)’, which is also used as a negative reply, but is considered to be too absolute. In example (183) *bolong* occurs with *puas* ‘satisfied’, resulting in *bolong puas* ‘not yet satisfied’ and expressing that the person has not yet reached this state. In example (184) *tua* ‘old’ is combined with *bolong* ‘not yet’, resulting in *bolong tua* expressing that the person has not reached old age yet, but will be at some moment. In example (185) *bos* serves as predicate, expressing the meaning ‘be boss’. It is preceded by *bolong* ‘not yet’ and describes that the persons have not yet achieved the status expressed in the predicate.

- (182) **bolong kaweng** kong bilang su kaweng.
 NCOMP marry CONJ say COMP marry
I’m not married and I said that I am.

- (183) kita pe dudu ba-carita **bolong puas**.
 1SG POSS sit BA-story NCOMP satisfied
I hadn’t had enough of talking.

- (184) [...] dia basar kong kita **bolong tua...**
 3SG big CONJ 1SG NCOMP old
[...]she might be grown up while I’m not old yet...

- (185) de bilang: “cih, dorang ini **bolong bos**.”
 3SG say EXCL 3PL this NCOMP boss
he said: “ah well, they are not bosses yet.”

7.4.2.5 Continuous marker *masi*

Masi ‘still’ occurs with predicates to indicate that what is expressed in the predicate is continuously taking place, for example an activity, or event; or that a characteristic or property is still present. The difference between *masi* ‘still’ and the progressive marker *ada*, which also contains an aspect of continuity, is that *ada* does not acknowledge explicitly that the activity has started in the past and is continuing; in the use of *ada* it is more important that at the moment of reference or speaking the activity is progressively being performed or the state is progressively continuing. The use of *masi* implies that something has started in the past and is continuing.

Example (186) is taken from a story about someone who wants to pick up a bag of stolen mangoes which is still in the mango tree. The thieves were discovered by Hamja who stood under the tree, and chased the thieves out of tree. When the person arrived at the location, he found that Hamja was still standing there. The predicate in example (186) is *ada* ‘be present’ and is preceded by *masi* to express that the event of Hamja being under the tree started before the person arrived at the tree and continued while he was there. In example (187) the speaker says that when he was caught stealing mangoes from a tree, he told the person who discovered him that he would come down, although he was still looking for a way out. In this example, two instances of *masi* occur. In the first part, *masi* precedes *di atas pohong* ‘in the tree’, resulting in *masi di atas pohong* and expresses that the situation of the person in the tree started some time before and is continuing. In the same utterance, *bafikir* ‘think’ occurs and is preceded by *masi* to express that the process of thinking that started previously has not yet come to completion and is continuing. Example (188) is taken from a story in which the speaker describes himself when he was a child. The predicate *kacili* ‘small’ in this example is preceded by *masi* ‘still’, resulting in *masi kacili* to express that he is talking about a certain period in the past when he was small, namely *dulu* ‘formerly’, and continued to be like that during that period of time. In example (189) *masi* ‘still’ precedes *polisi* ‘police’, resulting in *masi polisi* ‘still a police officer’, expressing that starting somewhere in the past and continuing during a period of time in the past (referred to by *jamang dulu* ‘in the earlier days’), the person served as a police officer.

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

- (187) **masi di atas pohong**, kita **masi ba-fikir**: [...]
 CONT in top tree 1SG still DUR-think
still in the tree, I was thinking: [...].

- (188) dulu kita **masi kacili**.
 before 1SG CONT small
formerly when I was still a child.

- (189) dia jamang dulu dia **masi** **polisi** dia paling jahat.
 3SG period before 3SG CONT police 3SG very bad
 in earlier days when he was a police officer, he was very bad.

Masi ‘still’ may serve as an affirmative answer to a yes/no question. In example (190) the question is whether a certain couple is still alive. The affirmative reply to this question is found in example (190b) *masi* ‘still’ reflecting the meaning ‘yes, they are’.

- (190) **masi** **hidup** to?
 CONT live QT
 they’re still alive, right?

- (190b) **masi.**
 CONT
 yes, (they are).

7.5 Time, Space, and Mood

Expressions regarding time, location or direction of an action, event, or movement, as well as speaker’s subjective judgements, provide additional information.

Some of these expressions may occur freely in the utterance, for example *skarang* ‘now, nowadays’ and may occur at various places, preceding, following, as well as inside the clause. Other expressions describing a temporal context may occur preceding the subject, for example *hari Minggu* ‘Sunday’ and *magrib tadi* ‘this afternoon’. Modal expressions, such as *sebenarnya* ‘actually’ and *pasti* ‘definitely’, used to express the speaker’s view, generally occur preceding the subject.

7.5.1 Temporal expressions

The temporal situation may be described by expressions that refer to a specific moment or period in time, for example the names of the days of the week, names of the months as well as the names of the Muslim prayer times. Other expressions refer to less specific and indefinite time periods. These temporal expressions often occur preceding the subject or at the end of a clause.

Example (191) is taken from a story in which the speaker and his friends burned down a beehive at night. The next morning they went back to look at the result. In this example, the expression *beso pagi* ‘tomorrow morning’ is used to refer the morning of the next day, namely the morning after the night they had burned down the bee hive. In example (192) the speaker talks about his activities. He is helping friends renovating a house. On Sundays he has to come late, probably because the night before he watches a television series that ends late at night and he will be too tired to wake up early the next day. In this example, the speaker uses *hari Minggu* ‘Sunday’ to refer to a certain time. Within the given situation, this example could be interpreted as a general statement and *hari Minggu* would refer to every Sunday

during the period that the speaker works. It may also refer to the first coming Sunday following the moment of the utterance or to a previous Sunday. The context and the situation determines which interpretation is most appropriate. Example (193) is taken from story about a very smart person who was taken to Jakarta. The time of his departure is referred to with *dua taong lalu ni* 'two years ago', and refers to some moment previous to the moment of the utterance. In example (194) the expression *magrib tadi* 'this sunset' is used to refer to the time around sunset previous to the moment of the utterance. *Magrib* is the time at sunset when one of the five Muslim prayers has to be performed. *Tadi* 'earlier' expresses that the time period lies in the recent past. In this example, *tadi* is used to modify *magrib*, but *tadi* may be used as a time expression in its own right. Example (195) has a predicate-subject structure, consisting of the predicate *rame* 'crowded' and the subject *di sini* 'here', referring to the location of the event. In this example, *skarang* 'now, nowadays' precedes the subject and refers to the period of time when the recording was made.

- (191) e, **beso pagi** tong ka lao lia ofu.
EXCL tomorrow morning 1PL to sea see bee
ah, the next morning we went seawards to look at the bees.
- (192) **hari Minggu** tong musi datang lat...
day Sunday 1PL must come late
Sunday I have to come late.
- (193) **dua taong lalu ni...** dong bawa dia di Jakarta.
two year pass this 3PL bring 3SG in Jakarta
now two years ago, they took him to Jakarta.
- (194) **magrib tadi** tong ba-ribut dalang ruma ni.
at.sunset earlier 1PL POSS-noisy inside house this
this afternoon we were so noisy at home.
- (195) we, rame **skarang** di sini.
EXCL crowded now in here
gee, nowadays it's cheerful here.

Tadi 'earlier' refers to a moment or period in time in the recent past. Example (196) is taken from a story about a person who was mistakenly regarded as a porter. He felt embarrassed when the woman he helped with her shopping gave him money, and he regrets helping her. In this example, *tadi* 'earlier' refers to a recent moment in the past, namely the time before the person helped the woman with her shopping. In example (197) the speaker says that that day, namely the day of the recording, he

was very tired and could not lift up stones anymore. The example was recorded in the evening and *tadi* refers to the time period between the moment he started to work until he ended his work in the late afternoon. Note that in this example, *karja* ‘work’ serves as subject and refers to the entity whose feature is described in the predicate *paya skali* ‘very troublesome’, while *kita* serves as the central theme of attention. *Tadi* precedes the subject.

- (196) “ya Allah ampong, **tadi** kita tau
 EXCL Allah mercy earlier 1SG know
 “goodness gracious, if I had realized this before,
 jang angka suda.”
 don’t lift.up COMP
 I wouldn’t have carried this.”

- (197) kita me **tadi** karja paya skali.
 1SG PART earlier work troublesome very
 I did a lousy job today.

Dulu ‘before’ can be used to refer to some indefinite period in time in the remote past. In example (198) the reaction of a person who looks at a picture of his childhood time is reflected. In the picture, he has long hair. In this example, *dulu* ‘before’ refers to the remote past, when the person was still a child and did not yet go to school. Note that *dulu* both precedes the subject *kita pe rambu* and follows it. In the latter position, *dulu* ‘before’ may be interpreted as modifier of the construction *kita pe rambu*, resulting in [*kita pe rambu*] [*dulu*] ‘my hairstyle of the past’ or as a modifier of the X element *rambu*, resulting in [*kita*] pe [*rambu dulu*] ‘my earlier hairstyle’.

- (198) “Mama, **dulu**, kita pe rambu **dulu** bagini?”
 mommy before 1SG POSS hair before like.this
 “oh my goodness, was my hair like this?”

Nanti ‘later’ refers to an indefinite time period somewhere in the future which may be in the near as well as the distant future, depending on the context and situation. In example (199) *nanti* ‘later’ occurs preceding the subject. In this example, the speaker says that he and his friend have been talking in the room. His friend becomes tired and wants to take a nap. They are discussing who is going to sleep where and the speaker suggests that he will sleep on the floor. In this example, *nanti* ‘later’ refers to the near future, namely the moment they decide to go to sleep. Example (200) is taken from a discussion about how many portions of sago porridge a person could eat during a sago porridge eating competition. At the moment of the utterance, the time for the competition has not yet been decided and it is not clear if this event will ever take place. In the example, the speaker refers to the score of the

competition. The time to which *nanti* ‘later’ in this example refers, remains vague and depends on the time of the competition, which may be held in the near future, the far future, or may not be organized at all.

- (199) **nanti** kita tidor di bawa.
 later 1SG sleep in bottom
 and I will sleep on the floor.

- (200) tunggu, tunggu saja, **nanti** lia.
 wait wait only later see
 wait, just wait and see.

Ahirnya ‘finally, in the end’ is used to express that an event or situation occurs after some period of time as well as to express a conclusive meaning. This expression is taken from the standard language which allows a morphological process with a suffix *-nya*, unknown to Ternate Malay, so that in the latter language *akhirnya* is a monomorphemic word. The background of example (201) is a discussion about where to sleep. The story is that there is a dangerous crocodile in the area, and village leaders find it safer for the visitors to sleep on the shore rather than in a speedboat. There were different ideas about the issue, but in the end it was decided that everybody would sleep on the shore. *Ahirnya* ‘finally’ expresses a conclusive meaning as well as implies the passing of some period of time. The context of example (202) is that people in a neighbourhood were not sure whether one of their members really suffered from mental problems or just pretended to be mentally ill. After years of uncertainty and discussion, people discovered that the person pretended to be mentally ill, and was actually a very intelligent person. *Ahirnya* ‘finally’ expresses a conclusive meaning and implies that some time has passed before the real situation was known.

- (201) **ahirnya** samua tara tidor di spit,
 finally all NEG sleep in speedboat
 finally we did not sleep in the speedboat,

tidor orang pe ruma.
 sleep person POSS house
we all slept at someone’s house.

- (202) **ahirnya** orang tau de bikin diri gila.
 finally person know 3SG make self crazy
 finally people knew that he was pretending to be crazy.

7.5.2 Spatial expressions

It is very common for Ternate Malay speakers to refer to the direction of a movement or the location of an object, person, or event by using *lao* ‘sea, seawards’, *dara* ‘land, landwards’, *bawa* ‘bottom, downwards’, and *atas* ‘top, upwards’ as points of orientation. These words may be combined with *ka* ‘to’, *dari* ‘to’, and *di* ‘in, at’ to indicate direction or location as well as immediately follow a thing to indicate the location. The four points of orientation are used not only in their literal meaning, but have a wider usage. When used to refer to objects, persons or events on the island of Ternate itself, the terms *atas* and *bawa* refer to a location situated in an anticlockwise or clockwise direction from the reference point. *Atas* may refer to the sultan’s palace as well. The terms *dara* and *lao* refer to landward and seaward situated locations and directions respectively.

When used to refer to places outside the island of Ternate, *dara* may be used to refer to places on the island of Halmahera, and *lao* may be used for places at a larger distance from the island of Ternate as well as places abroad. This system of spatial orientation may have its origin in local languages which have been adopted in the local Malay varieties (Bowden 2005).

The directions expressed in the following examples are obvious from the context and express the “literal” meaning of the words. Example (203) is taken from a story about stealing mangoes. One of the thieves ran away towards the sea, but left the sack with mangoes behind. When he told his friends about it, they decided to go back and try to get the fruit. Seen from their position, the fruit is situated in a landward position and the movement is expressed by *ka dara* ‘landwards’. Example (204) is taken from the same story, and tells about the person who picked up the sack with mangoes left behind in the tree because the thieves were caught. He wraps the sack and throws it in a seaward direction where his friends are waiting to catch it, expressed in *ka lao* ‘seawards’. Example (205) tells how one of the mango thieves jumps down from the mango tree and runs away, after having been caught. The direction of the movement from the tree to the ground is expressed in *ka bawa* ‘downwards’. In example (206) the speaker talks about a fishing event. He thought he caught a big fish and when he pulled it out of the water it turned out that he was right. In the example, the speaker uses *ka atas* ‘to the top’ to express the direction of the fish, when it was pulled out of the water.

(203) dorang bilang, “mari tong **ka dara.**”
 3PL say HORT 1PL to land
 they said, “let’s go there.”

(204) bungkus kong de lempar **ka lao.**
 pack CONJ 3SG throw to sea
 he wrapped it and threw it seawards.

(205) kage lagi de su ba-lumpa **ka bawa,**
 suddenly again 3SG COMP REFL-jump to bottom
the next moment he jumped down

de su lari!
 3SG COMP run
and ran away!

(206) e, tara sala, **ka atas** de pe pia.pai!
 EXCL NEG wrong to top 3SG POSS enormous
hey, I was right, when it was pulled up, it was huge!

In the following examples *atas*, *bawa*, *dara*, *lao* are used to refer to locations and directions on the island. The island of Ternate is more or less a round island with a volcano in the middle. A main road runs around the island along the coast line. When moving parallel to the coast, keeping the mountain on the left hand side, and moving anticlockwise, the direction of the movement is referred to as *ka atas* 'to top, upwards'. When the mountain is kept on the right hand side and one moves clockwise, the movement is referred to as *ka bawa* 'to bottom, downwards'. The same holds for a location, so that a location is situated *atas* 'top, upward' or *di atas* 'at top, upward', when it lies in a clockwise direction from the starting point or the point of reference. A location is *bawa* 'bottom, downward' or *di bawa* 'at bottom, downwards', when situated in a anticlockwise direction from the point of reference. The expressions *ka lao* 'seawards' or (*di*) *lao* 'seaward' and *ka dara* 'landwards' or (*di*) *dara* 'landward' refer to movements and locations in the direction of the sea and the mountain respectively, seen from a certain point of reference, for example from where the speaker is located.

The conversation in example (207) was held in Salero, a neighbourhood in Ternate town, situated on the east coast of the island. Speaker A talks about a house and refers to its location by the expression *di bawa*, because to reach this location from the place where the conversation took place one walks in a clockwise direction. Speaker B does not know exactly where the house is, because the house could be located one block away as well as a few kilometres away and asks speaker A to be more specific. The answer is Kampung Makasar, a neighbourhood situated adjacent to Salero in a clockwise direction. In example (208) the location where teenagers used to work as porters is expressed by *di bawa* 'at the bottom' and *di pasar* 'at the market'. *Di bawa* is used because the market is situated in a clockwise direction from the location of the speaker and the speech event. Example (209) is taken from a story in which the speaker, who lives in Salero says that he ran away from home several times. The second time he moved to a neighbourhood called Sangaji which is situated in a anticlockwise direction from the place where he lived and is referred to by *ka atas*.

The sultan of Ternate is highly respected in the Ternate community. The sultan's palace may be referred to with *atas* 'up', independent from the point of reference. Example (210) is taken from a story about a sago bread eating competition. A man had eaten a lot of sago bread, drank a lot, and felt so sick that they brought him up to the sultan's palace to be treated with traditional medicines.

Example (211) was noted down when a group of people visited a village to witness the preparations for a wedding. The speaker had not been to this village before and wanted to find out the relationship between the inhabitants and the sultan by asking whether they regularly go to the palace, which is referred to by the expression *ka atas* 'to top' or 'go upwards'.

(207) A: *dong biking plafon di bawa gaga, ngana.*
 3PL make ceiling in bottom stylish 2SG
they made a very nice ceiling down there.

B: *di mana?*
 in where
where?

A: *di Kampung Makasar tu.*
 in Kampung Makasar that
in Kampung Makasar.

(208) *di bawa, di pasar kan suka*
 in bottom in market QT like
at the market teenagers usually

ana-ana kacil ba-angka barang, to?
 PL-child small DUR-lift.up thing QT
carry things, right?

(209) *lebe jao ka atas, jao di Sangaji pante.*
 more far to top far in Sangaji beach
further up, far away to Sangaji at the beach.

(210) *kong dong baku-pikul, bawa ka atas kadatong [...]*
 CONJ 3PL COLL-carry bring to top palace
and they carried him and brought him to the palace

- (211) ngoni suka **ka** **atas?**
 2 like to top
 do you often go upwards?

These expressions are also used when referring to things in and around the house. Example (212) was noted down during an elicitation session. In this spontaneous created example, the expression of *ka lao* ‘to the sea, seawards’ is used in a home situation to describe the position of the television. Example (213) was noted down while sitting on a terrace in front of a house. The speaker brings two cups of coffee and puts them on the table and explains which cup is intended for whom. She refers to one of the two cups with *yang di dara* ‘the one landward’, because it is located in a landward direction. The speaker of example (214) tells how he and his friend divided the space when they took a nap. One slept *di ujung dara* ‘at the landward end’, while the other slept *di ujung lao* ‘at the seaward end’ of the bed.

- (212) dong kase mangada telefisi **ka** **lao**.
 3PL give face television to sea
 they placed the television facing the sea.

- (213) ngana punya yang **di** **dara**.
 2SG possess REL in land
 yours is on the landward side.

- (214) “ngana di ujung **dara**, kita di ujung **lao!**”
 2SG in tip land 1SG in tip sea
 “you sleep at that end, I sleep at this end!”

The terms *dara* and *lao* are also used for places outside the island of Ternate. Places in Halmahera, a large island east of Ternate are referred to as being *dara* ‘landwards’. Places further away such as Ambon, Jakarta and places abroad are referred to with *lao* ‘sea, seaward’. The following examples were noted down during elicitation sessions about the use of these terms. The place in example (215) is Sidangoli that is located on the west coast of Halmahera facing Ternate. This place is referred to as being *dara* ‘land, landwards’. The fact that places in Halmahera are *dara* ‘land, landwards’ may be related to the role of Halmahera as the provider of foodstuffs for Ternate (and other places). From a Ternate point of view, Halmahera is regarded as its ‘hinterland’. Places like Bacan in example (216) and Makian in example (217) are referred to as *atas* ‘top, upward’. They are both located south of Ternate and play an important cultural role in the region of Maluku Utara. Tidore may be referred to with *sana* ‘there’ as is displayed in example (218). Places further away from Ternate and outside Maluku Utara, such as Jakarta and Ambon, as well as places abroad, for example Amsterdam and New York, are referred to with *lao* ‘sea’.

- (215) ngana tara pi Sidangoli **dara**?
 2SG NEG go Sidangoli land
aren't you going landwards to Sidangoli?
- (216) tong mau pi **ka atas** pi Bacang.
 1PL want go to top go Bacan
we want to go upwards to Bacan.
- (217) tong mau pi **ka atas** pi Makeang.
 1PL want go to top go Makian
we want to go upwards to Makian.
- (218) tong mau pi **ka sana** pi Tidore.
 1PL want go to there go Tidore
we want to go over there to Tidore.
- (219) dong dapa projek **di lao** di Jakarta.
 3PL get project in see in Jakarta
they got a project seawards in Jakarta.

7.5.3 Modal expressions

The speaker's attitude in relation to his or her own utterance may be expressed in various ways. A speaker may indicate that statements contradict the actual situation, that they express certainty, probability and plausibility, or that they express a desirable situation. In § 7.3.2.3 I discussed verbs which may be used to express their lexical meaning or to express modality, in which case they are immediately followed by an action or activity. Examples were presented with *bisa* 'can' which expresses ability, *bole* 'may' which expresses possibility, and *suka* 'like' and *inging* 'desire', which may express a positive evaluation and desirability respectively. In § 6.2 I discussed conjunctions, some of which may be used to express modality, for example to indicate a contradiction *tapi* 'but' or *me* 'but' may be used, and also to introduce a statement that is contradictive to a previous one. These, together with the interjections in § 6.4 are devices available to the speaker to express his or her attitudes, evaluations, views or feelings.

In this paragraph, I present examples of modality words which often precede the subject, but may also occur in other positions. The scope of these words often lies on the whole event expressed in the clause.

Sebenarnya 'actually' may be used to indicate contradiction. It introduces a description of a situation which is the opposite of the real situation or what is expected, stated previously, or is preferable according to existing norms and conventions. In example (220) *sebenarnya* 'actually' describes a situation that reflects the preferred

situation, which is the opposite of the situation in the real world. The speaker talks about prices of various houses and says that buyers intended to buy a certain house, but because they could not agree on the price and they saw another, larger house for a better price, they bought that house. The example tells of the house the buyers intended to buy, but did not, and *sebenarnya* ‘actually’ indicates that what is described is contradictory to the situation in the real world. The speaker of example (221) talks about his uncle who borrowed a ladder, but did not put it back at the right place nor in the correct position. *Sebenarnya* introduces the description of how the ladder should have been posited correctly, namely *kasmangada ka dara* ‘let it face landwards’, and indicates that the situation in reality is opposite to what is described here.

(220) **sebenarnya** dong mau bli yang sabla ka mari tu.
 actually 3PL want buy REL side to here that
actually they wanted to buy to one over here.

(221) **sebenarnya** musi kas-mangada ka dara.
 actually must CAUS-face to land
actually it has to face the land.

Pasti ‘definitely, certainly’ expresses the assumption that an event, action or process will certainly and definitely take place. *Pasti* ‘definitely’ often precedes the subject. Example (222) is taken from a conversation about what it would be like to have a wife who mastered boxing. The speaker agrees that wives would not hit their husbands they love, but he is convinced that if there came a moment when the husband made a mistake, the situation would change. In this example, *pasti* is used to express the speaker’s certainty that the situation he sketches, namely that one does make a mistake, occurs. In example (223) the speaker tells a joke about a person who was introduced to someone named “*Ta-kira-ngana-yakis*”. This name may sound like a Japanese name, but in Ternate Malay it means ‘I-think-you’re-a-monkey’. The speaker tries to demonstrate that he is telling a true story and states that one really can meet a person with this name. In the example, *pasti* ‘really’ is used to express that the speaker is convinced that the name really exists.

(222) hmm, tapi satu kali saat **pasti** ngana sala.
 EXCL but one time moment definitely 2SG wrong
yeah, but what if you really do something wrong some time?

(223) ngana berkenalan deng Japang,
 2SG be.introduced with Japan
if you are introduced to a Japanese,

pasti ada nama “Ta-kira-ngana-yakis”.
 definitely be.present name I-think-you’re-a-monkey
there really is the name “I-think-you’re-a-monkey”.

The opposite of *pasti* ‘definitely’ is *mangkali* ‘maybe’, which is used to express uncertainty and probability. It may occur preceding the subject as well as in other positions in the utterance. Example (224) is taken from a story about mice that gnaw at someone’s toes while he is sleeping, particularly at night when it is dark in the room. The speaker imagines how the mice would react when they notice that the lights are turned off. In this example, he uses *mangkali* ‘maybe’ to introduce a description of a possible situation of which the speaker pretends to be uncertain. Example (225) tells of a woman who likes to pay visits during siesta time, which is considered to be inappropriate. In the example, *mangkali* serves to express the speaker’s uncertainty with regard to his evaluation as well as to indicate the probability of the explanation for this friend’s behaviour. In this example, *mangkali* precedes the predicate *laef* ‘forgetful’, which bears the scope of the uncertainty.

(224) **mangkali** de simore, de tatawa, su topu tangang.
 maybe 3SG be.happy 3SG laugh COMP clap hand
probably it’s happy, it laughs, and claps its hands.

(225) “cih, ngana **mangkali** laef ka apa?”
 EXCL 2SG maybe forgetful or what
“are you senile?”

Lebae ‘better’ expresses desirability and introduces a description of what the speaker views as the preferable situation. The expression *lebae* is a contraction of *lebe bae* ‘(lit.) better’ and often occurs preceding the subject, but may appear in other positions as well. Example (226) reflects the utterance of someone who discovers two boys in a tree stealing mangoes. He throws stones at them to chase them out of the tree and suggests they come down. The speaker uses *lebae* to express desirability and continues to describe the preferred situation. Example (227) is taken from a story about a place where mice might gnaw at someone’s toes, particularly when it is dark in the room. In the example, the speaker uses *lebae* to introduce a suggestion and a description of the preferable condition in the room. In example (228) the speaker uses the full expression *lebe bae* ‘(lit.) better’. The speaker talks about a conversation with a girl to whom he said he had graduated from high school. She had told him she was a university student. The speaker *lebe bae* ‘it’s better’ to express his positive evaluation and continues with a description of the preferred situation, namely saying that he graduated from technical high school.

(226) oi, **lebae** ngoni turung tara kita lempar trus.
 EXCL better 2 go.down NEG 1SG throw continue
hey, you better come down, or I’ll keep on throwing it.

(227) **lebae** ngana tidor kas-manyala lampu.
 better 2SG sleep CAUS-flame lamp
it's better that you switch on a light when you sleep.

(228) e, **lebe bae** bilang kita lulusan STM.
 EXCL more good say 1SG graduated technical.high.school
hey, it would have been better to say that I graduated from a technical high school.

7.6 Summary

This chapter concerns the structure of clauses and provides a description of subjects, predicates, and other elements that may participate in the predicate. The order of the subject and predicate indicate which part is in the centre of attention. Speakers may use this strategy to give other elements attention as well, and put them preceding the subject. Subjects may serve various semantic roles depending on the context and the situation and these roles may determine how the predicate is best interpreted. In some contexts, the structure of predicates looks very similar to other constructions. In these circumstances, elements such as aspect markers and other predicate operators can serve as useful tools to distinguish between these constructions. Lexical items may be function to distinguish between types of utterances, for example *jang(ang)* indicates a vetative; *coba* and *dulu*, in their function to soften a command, may indicate an imperative; and interrogatives, such as *apa* and *mana* convey that utterances have to be interpreted as questions. Certain lexical items can be used to express the speaker's attitude and evaluation of events and often precede the clause. Temporal, spatial, and modal expressions provide additional information and often occur preceding or following the predicate. In addition to lexical material, prosodic features and intonation patterns may distinguish between certain types of utterances and indicate which elements have to receive the listener's attention. These are only mentioned in passing here, and further research is needed to gain more insight into and understanding of their role and function within the language.