

Possessive Constructions in Ende: A Language of Eastern Indonesia

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This paper provides an initial description of the different constructions expressing possession in Ende. Possession is most commonly separated into predicative (or verbal) possession and attributive possession (or nominal possession). In Ende, there are at least two (and possibly three) predicative possessive constructions: a juxtaposed possessive construction and an existential possessive construction. Furthermore, there are three attributive possessive constructions: a juxtaposed possessive construction with pronouns, a juxtaposed possessive construction with possessive pronouns, and a ligature possessive construction. In this paper, I will provide examples of all of the constructions, the constraints of each construction and the implications of each.

1. Introduction

In this paper, I provide an initial description of predicative and attributive possession in Ende, an Austronesian language of eastern Indonesia. In §1, I describe the genetic affiliation as well as the current research in Ende and closely related languages of eastern Indonesia. In §2, I begin with a description of Ende predicative possession. I give some examples of juxtaposed predicative possession in §2.1 and existential predicative possession in §2.2. In §3, I provide a description for Ende attributive possession. I give examples of ligature possession in §3.1 and juxtaposed possession with person pronouns as well as juxtaposed attributive possession with person possessive pronouns in §3.2. In §3.3, I discuss issues of (in)alienable possession in Ende and in §3.4 I discuss the use of the third singular possessive pronoun in predicate adjective clauses.

1.1. Genetic Affiliation

Ende is classified as a Bima-Sumba language by Esser (1938) within the Central Malayo-Polynesian (CMP) subgroup (Blust 1993). The language is spoken by 87,000 on the island of Flores in eastern Indonesia. There is currently no grammatical description of Ende and it has received little linguistic attention. Ethnologue (Gordon 2005) groups four languages under Ende-Lio: Ende, Lio, Ngada (Djawanai 1983), and Keo (Baird 2002). Within this small group of languages, Ende is considered to be on a dialect chain with Lio and the two languages are considered to be distinct languages at either end of the dialect chain (Wurm and Hittori 1981).

Most, if not all, of current research in Ende has been conducted by three anthropologists. Needham (1968) provided a description of Ende kinship terms and Nakagawa (1988) published an article on marriage rituals in Ende. Aoki and Nakagawa (1993) have worked on an unpublished Ende-English Dictionary with approximately 2,000 words.

The data used in this study is a collection of elicited sentences as well as a traditional story from a native speaker of Ende, currently living in Surabaya. The analysis of the data came with the help of Fariz Gesiradja, also a native speaker of Ende, living in Arizona. All of the Ende data in this paper are from these sources. Both of the language consultants mentioned now use Indonesian in their daily lives, but are still considered fluent in Ende.

Languages of Flores are mostly unique among other Austronesian languages because of their highly isolating nature, as noted by Baird (2002). Ende is a very isolating SVO language with little derivational morphology.

2. Ende predicative possession

Predicative (or clausal) possession in Ende is expressed with two constructions: an existential construction with the verb *rhatsu* and a juxtaposed construction. Predicative possession always involves two Noun Phrases (NP): one *Possessed* and one *Possessor* in a strict word order. This word order is demonstrated in Table 1.¹

Table 1. Word order in Ende predicative possession

Juxtaposition	Possessor NP + Possessed NP
Existential	Possessor NP <i>rhatsu</i> Possessed NP

2.1. Juxtaposed predicative possessive constructions

As shown in Table 1, juxtaposed constructions involve two NPs: a possessor NP and a possessed NP. The possessor NP is necessarily an attributive possessive NP. In (1), there is the possessive NP *ana ja'o* 'my child'. In (2) *ari ja'o* 'my younger brother' is the possessive NP.

- (1) **Ana ja'o imu rua,** se=imu ghi ata fai,
Child 1SG Person two one=person 3SG.POSS CL female

se=imu ghi Ata aki.
one=person 3SG.POSS CL male

'I have two children, one girl, one boy.'
(Lit. 'My children are two people, one is a girl, one is a boy.')

¹ There appears to be a third predicative possessive construction in Ende. It appears to be locational, involving *we'e* 'close'. An example of this is in (i).

- (i) ki kai mota eu iwa we'e
if 3SG nut.areca betel.leaf not close

'If she doesn't have nuts'

- (2) **Ari** **ja'o** **imu** **rua**, ata aki mesa.
 sibling.younger 1SG. people two CL male both

‘I have two younger brothers, both are male.’

(Lit. ‘My younger siblings are two, both are male.’)

Heine (1997:26) defines the distinction between predicative possession as ‘asserted’ and attributive possession as ‘presupposed’. This predicative juxtaposed construction, although it contains no overt verb is clausal and makes an assertion as suggested by Heine (1997). The characteristics of juxtaposed attributive possessive constructions are discussed in §4.

2.2. Existential predicative possessive constructions

According to Payne (1997:126), a common strategy in the world’s languages for predicative possession is to employ existential verbs and in Ende existential predicative possession is expressed with the verb *rhatu* meaning ‘to exist’. As an intransitive verb, *rhatu* is always interpreted as ‘to exist’ as in (3). It can also be interpreted as such in a transitive clause, but it is not obligatory. An example of *rhatu* meaning ‘to exist’ is in (4).

- (3) Ngga’e rhatu.
 God exist

‘God exists.’

- (4) Piso reku na iwa rhatu nore.
 Knife bent this not exist there

‘This pocket knife isn’t over there.’

2.2.1. *Rhatu* as an existential proform

The existential meaning of *rhatu* also occurs as an existential proform, as in (5).

- (5) Rhatu metu mbana-mbana rheka tembok.
 exist ant walk.around on wall

‘There is an ant walking around on the wall.’

2.2.2. *Rhatu* as ‘to be’

Aoki and Nakagawa (1993) only list *rhatu* as a copula, meaning ‘to be’. This construction is demonstrated in (6) below.

- (6) Ka’e ko oro-imu jo rhatu ata mbingu.
 sibling.older POSS friend 1SG.POSS is CL crazy

‘My friend’s older brother is crazy.’

2.2.3. Rhatu as ‘to have’

In a simple clause, *rhatu* can also express possession and have the interpretation of ‘to have’ as in (7) below.

- (7) Kai rhatu rako.
 3SG. have dog
 ‘She has a dog.’
 (Lit. ‘To her exists a dog.’)

The nature of existential predicative possessives in Ende is still somewhat unclear and unpredictable. With the amount of data I have collected, the nature of *rhatu* is still inconclusive.

3. Ende Attributive Possession

Heine (1997:143) defines and differentiates attributive possession from predicative possession with the following three characteristics:

- a. it presents typically presupposed rather than asserted information;
- b. it involves object-like time stable contents rather than event-like contents; and
- c. it involves phrasal rather than clausal syntax.

According to Heine’s (1997) three characteristics of attributive possession, Ende has three attributive possessive constructions: a juxtaposed construction with pronouns, a juxtaposed construction with possessive pronouns,² and a ligature possessive construction. In all of these constructions the possessed NP element always precedes its possessor NP. Table 2 provides a chart for all of the attributive constructions in Ende.

Table 2. Attributive constructions in Ende

Ligature Possession	Possessed NP <i>ko’o</i> Possessor NP (or Person Pronoun)
Juxtaposition with Pronoun	Possessed NP + Person Pronoun
Juxtaposition with Possessive Pronoun	Possessed NP + Possessive Person Pronoun

Attributive possession in Ende correlates to nouns and modifiers in that the possessed NP (the head) always precedes the possessor (the modifier).

² In §3.2., I will provide evidence for the differentiation between juxtaposition with person pronouns and possessive pronouns as well as possible reasons for such a distinction.

3.1 Ligature possession

The first type of attributive possession is ligature possession using the ligature *ko'o*, often shortened to *ko*. Ligature possession is used with proper names, part-whole possession and complex possessive phrases with more than one possessed and possessor element. An example of ligature possession with a person pronoun is in (8) and a complex possessive phrase with a kinship term in (9). The necessity of the ligature *ko* in (9), but not in (8) is discussed in §3.1.1 and §3.2.

- (8) Na **kedera ko ja'o.**
 This chair LIG 1SG.POSS

‘This is my chair.’

- (9) Na **kedera ko ka'e jo.**
 This chair LIG sibling.older 1SG.POSS

‘This is my sibling’s chair.’

3.1.1. Complex possessive constructions

The ligature possessive construction is most often used with proper names and other nominal elements, especially in complex constructions involving two or more possessed elements as in (10). In complex possessive phrases like (10), it is necessary to use *ko'o* and it is ungrammatical to juxtapose more than one possessor as in (11).

- (10) Ka'e ko'o oro-imu ja'o.
 sibling.older LIG friend 1SG.

‘My friend’s older brother.’

- (11) *Ka'e oro-imu ja'o.
 sibling.older friend 1SG.

‘My friend’s older brother.’

3.1.2. Part-Whole Possession

Part-whole possession is commonly associated with inalienable possession (see §3.3). In Ende, part-whole possession is usually distinguished by the ligature *ko*, as in (12) and (13).

- (12) Embu suka **sene ko kepe,** marha eu sa-esa ne mota
 elder open lid LIG box take leaf.betel one with nut.areca

pu'i rua.
CL two

‘Nenek opened the lid and took one betel leaf and two areca nuts.’

- (13) Iwa jeso to'o rha'e ghi, kai werhe ronggo ngobha kepe
not move get.up place 3SG.POSS 3SG turn back take box

nata ata peso we'e rheke ko fa'o.
nut.betel that put close pole LIG tent

‘Without moving from her seat, she turned back to take a box of betel nut that was close to the tent pole.’

3.2. Juxtaposition in attributive possession

In Ende, there are two attributive possessive constructions using juxtaposition: one using person pronouns and the other using possessive person pronouns. In these juxtaposed constructions, the possessed is juxtaposed with one possessor. The order is always *possessed* + *possessor*. The possessor in juxtaposed constructions is always a person pronoun, either a canonical person pronoun or a possessive person pronoun. The pronoun schemas are listed in Table 3.

Table 3. Person pronouns and possessive person pronouns

	Person Pronouns	Possessive Person Pronouns
1SG	ja'o	jo
2SG	kau	ghu
3SG	kai	ghi
1PL.INCL	kita	-
1PL.EXCL	kami	-
2PL	miu	-
3PL	ebe	be

The Ende person pronoun sets in Table 3 represent the full set of person pronouns. There are no other distinctions of case of the pronoun.

3.2.1. Juxtaposed possessive constructions with canonical pronouns

Ende allows all of the canonical person pronouns to mark an attributive possessive relationship. Since Ende is an extremely isolating language, there are no other markings or morphology that mark this possessive relationship in juxtaposed possessive

constructions. Word order determines whether it is phrasal (and possessive) rather than clausal (and not possessive) in nature. An example of the phrasal attributive possessive construction is in (14), while the clausal non-possessive construction with different word order is in (15).

- (14) Ana kai *Phrasal Word Order*
 child 3SG
 ‘his child’

- (15) Kai ana. *Clausal Word Order*
 3SG. child
 ‘He is a child.’

Although using juxtaposition is more common with person pronouns, it is also completely grammatical to use the ligature *ko’o* with a person pronoun, as in (16). According to native speakers of Ende, this construction is more formal than simple juxtaposition (Gesiradja p.c.).

- (16) Ana ko kai
 child LIG 3SG
 ‘his child’

3.2.2. *Juxtaposed constructions with possessive person pronouns*

Possessive person pronouns in Ende refer to *jo* (1SG), *ghu* (2SG), *ghi* (3SG), and *be* (3PL), shown in Table 3. Examples of the possessive pronouns are shown in (17)–(19). Notice that the same word order is employed; namely, *possessed* + *possessor*.

- (17) Kai nggae ine mere ghi.
 3SG look.for aunt big 3SG.POSS
 ‘He is looking for his aunt.’ (Lit. ‘He is looks for aunt of him.’)

- (18) Kau seka rhima ghu ne piso.
 2SG stab hand 2SG.POSS with knife
 ‘You stabbed your hand with a knife.’

- (19) Ja’o ka koro mbiraka dhu tuka jo ro.
 1SG eat vegetables.spicy too.many until stomach 1SG.POSS hurt
 ‘I ate many spicy vegetables until my stomach hurt.’

The possessive pronoun *jo* ‘1SG.POSS’ bears a close resemblance to *ja’o* ‘1SG’ and even though *ja’o* ‘1SG’ can be used in attributive possession, *jo* ‘1SG.POSS’ can never be used as

a person pronoun. The alternation in (20) illustrates this point quite clearly. This is also true in the case of all other possessive pronouns.

- (20) ndewe ja'o pedhe are kune.
 *ndewe jo pedhe are kune
 earlier 1SG cook rice yellow

‘I cooked yellow rice earlier.’

3.2.3. The conceptual structure of the possessive person pronouns

The claim of the language consultant is that the possessive person pronouns encode both the ligature *ko* and the person pronoun (Gesiradja, p.c.). The idea is that the possessive pronoun is made up of the ligature *ko* and a person pronoun. This is summarized in Table 4.

Table 4. Conceptual structures of possessive person pronouns

1SG.POSS	<i>ko + ja'o = jo</i>
2SG.POSS	<i>ko + kau = ghu</i> [ɣu]*
3SG.POSS	<i>ko + kai = ghi</i> [ɣi]

* Although it is not yet clear whether this is a conceptual or diachronic development, phonological lenition and voicing of the voiceless alveolar stop /k/ to a voiced alveolar fricative /ɣ/ is completely possible.

The conceptual structure is also clear in the syntax. As discussed in §3.2.1, person pronouns most commonly occur alone, as in (21), but can also occur with the ligature *ko*, as in (22). The possessive pronoun *ghi* ‘3SG.POSS’ can occur in a juxtaposed construction in (23), but it is ungrammatical to use ligature *ko* and the possessive pronoun *ghi* ‘3SG. POSS’. It is clear that this would be redundant, which is shown in (24).

- (21) Baba kai rasi bha.
 father 3SG wash plates.

‘His father washes the plates.’

- (22) Baba ko'o kai rasi bha.
 father LIG 3SG wash plates.

‘His father washes the plates.’

- (23) Baba ghi rasi bha.
 father 3SG.POSS wash plates

‘His father washes the plates.’

- (24) *Baba ko ghi rasi bha.
father LIG 3SG.POSS wash plates

‘His father washes the plates.’

In the examples (25)–(27), this ungrammatically is shown for all other possessive pronouns.

- (25) *rako ko be
dog LIG 3PL.POSS

‘their dog’

- (26) *rako ko ghu
dog LIG 2SG.POSS

‘your dog’

- (27) *rako ko jo
dog LIG 1SG.POSS

‘my dog’

3.3. (In)alienability in attributive possessive constructions

According to Payne (1997), many of the world’s languages make an *alienable* and *inalienable* distinction in attributive possession. Payne (1997:105) defines *alienable* possession as ‘the kind of possession that can be terminated’ and *inalienable* possession as ‘the kind of possession that cannot be terminated’. Heine (1997:12) states that this distinction is usually expressed by overt morphology with alienable NPs, while inalienable NPs are not marked with any overt morphology.

In Keo, a closely related and neighboring language of Ende, Baird (2002:207) argues that there is not a clear (in)alienable distinction. Rather, Baird (2002:207) claims that alienability operates on a continuum. Juxtaposition is a more common strategy in inalienable possession and the use of ligatures (e.g. *ko’o*) is a more common strategy for alienable possession. Baird (2002) concludes that there is an alienability continuum in Keo.

In Ende, this is not as clear. My language consultant claims that the use of *ko* in a possessive construction is more explicit than juxtaposition (Gesiradja, p.c.). This could correlate to an (in)alienable distinction. However, I do not have enough evidence to claim this for Ende, so I cannot claim an (in)alienability distinction for Ende.

3.4. *Ghi* in predicate adjective constructions

The third singular possessive pronoun *ghi* also appears to act as a head-marking particle in predicate adjective constructions, as in (28). *Ghi*, in (28), appears to reference its antecedent NP, *fu kita* ‘our hair’ and marks the head noun *werna* ‘color’. This is also the case in (29).

- (28) Fu kita **werna** **ghi** **mite.**
 hair 3PL.INCL color 3SG.POSS black

‘Our hair is black.’ (Lit. Our hair the color of it is black.)

- (29) Oro-imu ja’o **tembo** **ghi** **rembo.**
 friend 1SG body 3SG.POSS fat

‘My friend is fat’

The presence or absence of *ghi* ‘3SG.POSS’ indicates whether it is a predicate adjective or an adjective modifying an NP, as in (30).

- (30) Ka’e jo pake sekerake jins ne **rhambu** **kaos**
 sibling.older 1SG.POSS wear pants jeans with shirt cloth

werna **mbopo**
 color blue

‘My brother is wearing jeans with a blue t-shirt’

4. Conclusion

In this paper I have described predicative and attributive possession in Ende. I have shown the nature of predicative possession in Ende and seek further evidence for the nature of existential possession. I have also addressed many of the issues in attributive possession, but seek more evidence for the nature of possessive pronouns and (in)alienable possession in Ende.

Abbreviations

Abbreviations conform to the Leipzig Glossing Rules (www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/pdf/LGR08_09_12.pdf) with the exception of the following:

CL Classifier

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