

Possessive Structures in Ende: a Language of Eastern Indonesia¹

Bradley J. McDonnell
Arizona State University
bradley.mcdonnell@asu.edu

Introduction

- Ende is an extremely isolating SVO language with very little derivational morphology.
- Ende is a Bima-Sumba language (Esser 1938) in the Central Malayo-Polynesian subgroup (Blust 1993).
- Ende is spoken by 87,000 in eastern Indonesia in central Flores.
- Ende has received very little linguistic attention and has yet to receive an adequate description.
- All of the Ende data in this paper has been collected since February 2005 from Fariz Gesiradja, a native speaker of Ende living in Arizona.

1. Predicative Possession in Ende

There are two types of predicative possession in Ende.

- Existential Possession (*rhatu*)
- Null Copula Possession.

1.1. Existential Possession (*rhatu*)

Rhatu acts as a ‘have’ copula in (1), a ‘be’ copula in (2), and an existential proform in (3). The order is always POSSESSOR POSSESSED in predicative possession.

1. Kai rhatu rako
3SG. have dog
‘She has a dog’

2. Ka’e ko oro-imu jo rhatu ata mbingu
sibling.older POSS friend 1SG.LIG COP person crazy
‘My friend’s older brother is crazy.’

3. Rhatu metu mbana-mbana rheka tembok
exist ant walk.around on wall
‘There is an ant walking around on the wall.’

¹ The abbreviations for this paper are as follows: 1PL.EXCL – First Person Plural Exclusive, 1PL.INCL – First Person Plural Inclusive, 1SG.LIG – First Person Singular Adnominal Ligature, 2SG.LIG – Second Person Singular Adnominal Ligature, 3SG.LIG – Third Person Singular Adnominal Ligature, COP- Copula, POSS – Possessive Particle, PROS – Prospective Aspect, PSSD – Possessed Nominal, PSSR – Possessor Nominal, SPEC – Specificity Marker

1.2 Null Copula Possession

There is one type of null copula possession in (4).

4. Ari ja'o imu rua, ata aki mesa
sibling.younger 1SG. person two person male both
'I have two younger brother, both are male.'
(lit. 'My younger siblings are two, both are male')

2. Attributive Possession in Ende

There are three types of attributive possession in Ende:

- Juxtaposition
- Ligature (*ko 'o*)
- Adnominal ligature (*jo*, *ghu*, *ghi*)

The word order is always POSSESSED POSSESSOR in attributive possession. There appears to be no overt (in)alienable distinction in Ende. However, there seems to be some type of (in)alienability that remains unclear.

2.1 Juxtaposition

Juxtaposed constructions most commonly occur with a pronominal possessor as in (5). The order is always POSSESSED POSSESSOR. It is not possible to juxtapose more than two nominal elements.

5. Ana ja'o
child 1SG.
'My Child'

2.2 Ligature (*ko 'o*) Possession

Ligature possession uses the possessive ligature *ko 'o* (often shorten to *ko*). It can be use in simple possessive constructions in (6) or more complex structures in (7). The structure is always POSSESSED *ko 'o* POSSESSOR.

6. Ana ko'o ja'o
child POSS 1SG.
'My child'

7. Ka'e ko'o oro-imu ja'o.
sibling.older POSS friend 1SG.
'My friend's older brother'

2.3 Adnominal Ligature Possession

Adnominal ligatures in Ende refer to *jo* (1SG.), *ghu* (2SG.), and *ghi* (3SG.). The adnominal ligature is always the POSSESSOR and the nature of it is referential. The adnominal ligature also encodes person and number properties. The adnominal ligature references a noun or a noun phrase and always occurs after a noun, as in (8). Adnominal ligatures cannot occur after the ligature *ko 'o*.

8. Kai nggae ine mere ghi
 3SG. look.for aunt big 3SG.LIG
 'He is looking for his aunt' (Lit. He is looking for aunt of him')

9. Fu kita werna ghi mite
 hair 3PL.INCL color 3SG.LIG black
 'Our hair is black' (Lit. Our hair the color of it is black.)

The referential nature of adnominal ligature possession is not always clear at the clause level, but may be clear in the discourse as in (10).

Speaker 1:

10 a. Q1: Kai ana ko sai?
 3SG. child POSS who
 'Whose child is this?' (Lit. He is child of who?)

b. Q2: Ine-baba ghi ngara ghi sai ?
 mother-father 3SG.LIG name 3SG.LIG who
 'What are his parents names?' (Lit. Parents of him name of them is what?)

Speaker 2:

c. A1: Kai ngara ghi Rhowo.
 3SG. name 3SG.LIG R.
 'His name is Rhowo' (?Lit. He name of him is Rhowo)

d. A2: Ine ghi Whoro Gadi, baba ghi Kerhi Djou
 mother 3SG.LIG W. G. father 3SG.LIG K. D.
 'His mother is Whoro Gadi. His father is Kerhi Djou'
 (Lit. Mother of him is Whoro Gadi. Father of him is Kerhi Djou)

- In (10a), the first *ghi* refers to the anaphor *kai* '3SG.'
- The second *ghi* in (10b) refers to the *ine-baba* 'parents'.
- Every *ghi* in the answer refers to the *kai* '3SG'.

2.4 Overview of Attributive Possession

Juxtaposition	POSSESSED + POSSESSOR
Ligature	POSSESSED + <i>ko'o</i> + POSSESSOR
Adnominal Ligature	POSSESSED + <i>jo/ghu/ghi</i>

3. The Parallelism of the CP & DP

I adopt Szabolcsi's (1994) argument for the parallelism of D and C. Szabolcsi (1994) and references cited therein provide evidence from Hungarian that the Complementizer and the

Determiner are parallel. She argues that D and C change a proposition into an argument in the nominal phrase and in the clause. I adopt Szabolics's (1994) structure here.

3.1. The CP and the DP in Ende

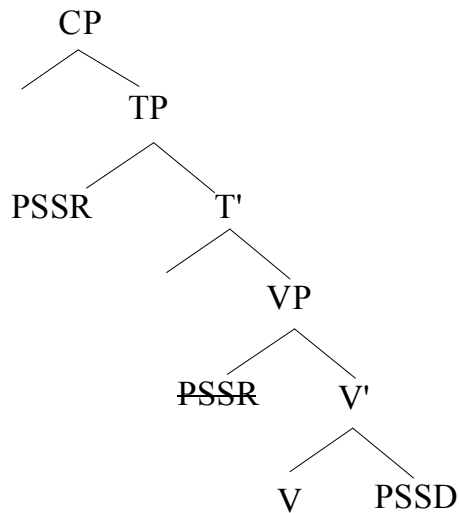
In Ende, the difference between a full clausal argument (11) and a nominal argument (12) depends on the word order.

11. na % ana
 this COP child
 'This is a child' (Clausal Argument)

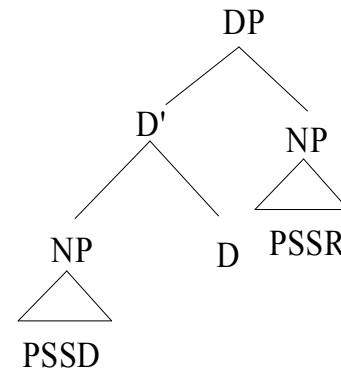
12. ana na
 child this
 'This child' (Nominal Argument)

The structure of the possessive CP and DP in Ende are represented in (13) and (14) below.

13.



14.



3.2 The Status of *ko'o*

Evidence from the closely related (and neighboring) language Keo provides evidence for the possessive ligature *ko'o* to be the head of the DP.

Baird (2002) describes three uses of the particle *ko'o*:

- Deontic Mode Marker (15)
- Possessive Ligature (16)
- Specificity Marker (17)

15. Kami weta nala ngara bhodhu bhodu ko lita ne'e

Keo

1PL.EXCL sister brother if sit sit must cry with

kami muri susa.

1PL.EXCL live difficult

‘We siblings, if we hang out we (have no choice but to) cry about us living in difficulty’

16. Ae ko'o kami Keo
 water POSS 1PL.EXCL
 ‘Our Water’

17. Kami mo mbeta ko pale, mbeta jawa, kami 'ana go'o Keo
 1PL.EXCL PROS buy SPEC rice buy corn 1PL.EX child small
 ‘We were going to buy rice, buy corn, us little kids.’

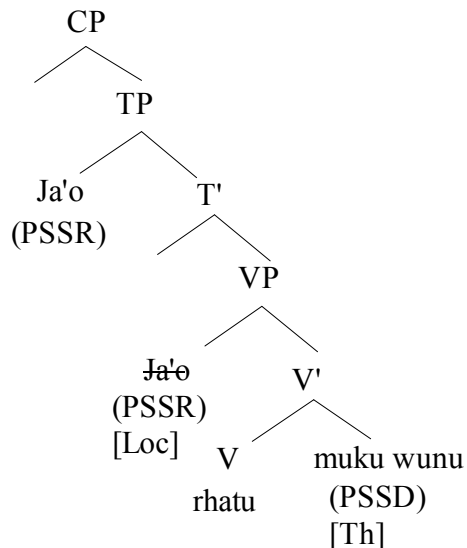
Keo Data from Baird (2002)

From the examples of *ko'o* as a specificity marker in (17), *ko'o* appears to be in the position of D^0 in Ligature possessive constructions.

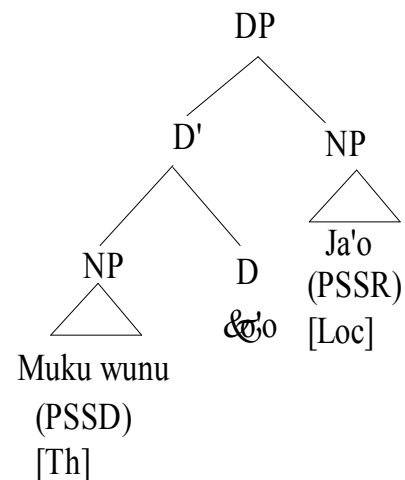
3.3 The Structure of the Possessive CP & DP in Ende

In both constructions the POSSESSED and POSSESSOR are on either side of the Verb (V^0) or the Determiner (D^0). The structures for the Ende DP and CP are mirror images and asymmetrical. The possessed, in both cases, is sister to the D^0 and V^0 respectively. The possessors in both cases are in SPEC,DP and SPEC,VP (or SPEC,TP according the VP- Internal Hypothesis). As demonstrated in (18) and (19), the structures show the asymmetry of attributive and predicative possession.

18.

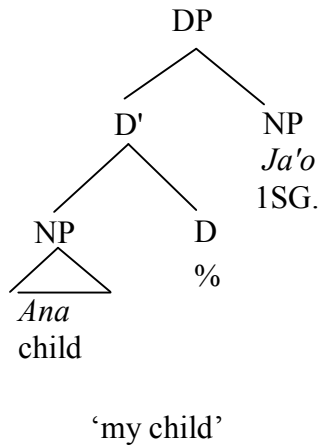


19.



Since juxtaposed possession acts in the same ways as ligature (*ko'o*) possession, the D^0 is null and the pronoun remains in SPEC,DP as in (20).

20.



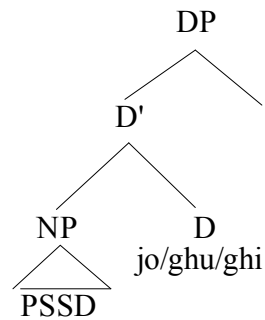
3.4 The Status of Adnominal Ligatures

The adnominal ligature construction is the least clear of all the attributive possessive structures. In all of the examples of *ghi*, it can never co-occur with the possessive particle *ko'o* as in (21).

21. *rako ko'o ghi/ghu/jo
 dog POSS 3SG.LIG/2SG.LIG/1SG.LIG
 'his dog'

For this reason, I argue that the adnominal ligatures *jo* 1SG.LIG, *ghu* 2SG.LIG, and *ghi* 3SG.LIG in Ende occupy the head position in the DP as in (22).

22.



The claim of the native speaker is that the adnominal ligature constructions encode both the *ko'o* and the pronominal element (Gesiradja, pers. comm.). The idea is that the adnominal ligature is made up of the LIGATURE *ko'o* and a PERSONAL PRONOUN. This is summarized in Table 2 below:

Table 2. Conceptual Structures of Adnominal Ligatures

1SG.LIG	<i>ko + ja'o = jo</i>
2SG.LIG	<i>ko + kau = ghu</i>
3SG.LIG	<i>ko + kai = ghi</i>

4. Future Research

In the following section, I will look at possibilities for future research. Nguyen (2004) provides a structure of the Vietnamese NP as well as his typological analysis of Southeast Asian Nominal Phrases. There are theoretical problems with this type of movement within the possessive Ende DP.

4.1. Nguyen (2004): The Structure of the Vietnamese NP

Nguyen (2004) claims for an extended structure of the Vietnamese NP that is based on the following order and headed by the DP:

[DP [DemP [NumP [CLP [NP]]]]]

Furthermore, Nguyen (2004) provides four nominal word order patterns in Southeast Asian Languages in Table 3.

Table 3. Nominal word order in Southeast Asian languages

Type 1:	Dem Num CL N A	Dem [Num CL [NP]]
Type 2:	Dem N A Num CL	Dem [[NP] Num CL]
Type 3	Num CL N A Dem	[Num CL [NP]] Dem
Type 4:	N A Num CL Dem	[[NP] Num CL] Dem

Indonesian and Vietnamese are Type 3, while Ende and Keo are Type 4². The rest of the analysis will focus on Type 4 Noun Phrases.

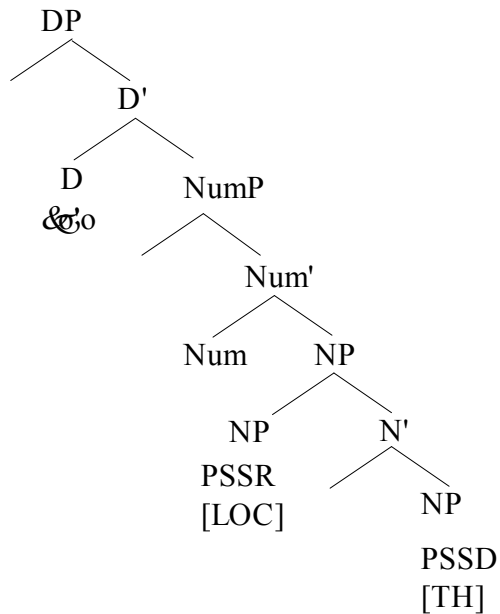
Nguyen (2004) argues that Type 4 languages have the same obligatory XP movement he claimed for the other three types of movement in (23).

23. I. The NP raises to SPEC,NumP
- II.The whole NumP to Spec, DemP.

Using movement, Nguyen's (2004) analysis is more consistent in regards to branching direction. Furthermore, it provides a nice parallel structure for the CP and the DP. I assume that the underlying structure of the Ende DP is in (20). In this situation the NP and VP have the same underlying structure POSSESSOR precedes POSSESSED. This, however, violates the locality principle because the POSSESSED crosses the POSSESSOR. This is not a problem for Nguyen (2004) because he claims that the POSSESSED POSSESSOR relationship is in the Prepositional Phrase. I also adopt a structure more closely related to Ritter (1991) because I have not evidence for a separate Demonstrative Phrase (DemP)

²The classifier in Keo occurs before the numeral, not after the numeral (Baird 2002). Since Keo only has classifiers for numerals we will analyze everything else in these clauses.

24.



In future research I hope to more clearly articulate:

1. The nature of predicative possession in Ende in regards to Freeze (1992).
2. (In)alienability in Ende attributive possession.
3. The underlying structure of the Ende DP and movement therein.

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