



A grammar of Balantak a language of Eastern Sulawesi

René van den Berg
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and
Robert L. Busenitz

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KATA SAMBUTAN

Seraya memanjatkan Puji Syukur ke Hadirat Allah SWT Tuhan Yang Maha Esa, kami menyambut gembira dan memberi apresiasi atas penulisan dan penerbitan buku Tata Bahasa untuk Bahasa Balantak. Buku ini merupakan persembahan yang tak ternilai harganya bagi komunitas masyarakat adat Banggai khususnya suku Balantak dan masyarakat Indonesia pada umumnya.

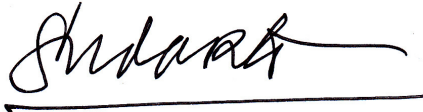


Buku tata bahasa ini berisikan tentang struktur dan gaya bahasa yang ada di dalam bahasa Balantak yang juga merupakan budaya luhur sekaligus memperkaya khasanah kebinekaan di Indonesia. Kami berharap kiranya para penutur bahasa Balantak serta pihak-pihak yang berminat mendalaminya dapat memanfaatkan buku ini sebagai acuan penggunaan bahasa balantak yang baik dan benar. Buku ini sekaligus juga turut menunjang pelestarian bahasa Balantak sebagai identitas budaya penuturnya sehingga tidak lekang di makan waktu.

Kiranya buku ini dapat bermanfaat bagi banyak pihak, walaupun tentu masih dijumpai berbagai kelemahan namun patut dihargai keberadaannya. Akhirnya semoga melalui buku ini dapat muncul lebih banyak inovasi, ide dan gagasan keilmuan baik dalam bentuk penelitian, kajian dan lain sebagainya.

Palu, Oktober 2011

WAKIL GUBERNUR SULAWESI TENGAH

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'H. Sudarto', written over a horizontal line.

H. SUDARTO, SH, M.Hum

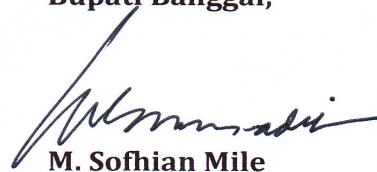
SAMBUTAN BUPATI KABUPATEN BANGGAI

Dengan mengucapkan Puji Syukur ke Hadirat Tuhan Yang Maha Esa, kami menyambut gembira atas penulisan dan penerbitan buku tata bahasa untuk bahasa Balantak. Buku ini merupakan persembahan yang tak ternilai harganya bagi komunitas masyarakat adat Banggai khususnya suku Balantak dan masyarakat Indonesia pada umumnya.

Buku tata bahasa ini berisikan tentang struktur bahasa yang ada di dalam bahasa Balantak. Kami berharap kiranya para penutur bahasa Balantak serta pihak – pihak yang berminat mendalaminya dapat memanfaatkan buku ini sebagai acuan penggunaan bahasa Balantak yang baik dan benar. Buku ini sekaligus juga turut menunjang pelestarian bahasa Balantak sebagai identitas budaya penuturnya sehingga tidak lekang di makan waktu.

Kiranya buku ini dapat dimanfaatkan sebagaimana mestinya, dan semoga melalui buku ini akan muncul lebih banyak lagi ide atau gagasan keilmuan dalam bentuk penelitian, kajian, dan sebagainya.

Luwuk, Oktober 2011
Bupati Banggai,



M. Sofhian Mile

Preface

Writing a grammar of an undescribed language is a formidable task. We are, therefore, very pleased to present the results of our research and analysis, based on almost thirty years of interaction with the Balantak people (at least, for Robert). There is something very special about learning an unwritten language, connecting unfamiliar sounds with familiar meanings, delving into the complexities of verbal morphology, prying into the meaning of elusive particles and realizing that behind the abundance of sounds and words there is a system, that there are balanced structures, fixed patterns and tight associations of sound and meaning which allow people to communicate. It has given us great satisfaction to formulate these structures and through well-chosen examples open a window on the language and culture of the Balantak people.

In our description, we take a structural, theory-neutral, approach towards the language, letting the patterns of Balantak inform our description. Questions of language typology only play a minor role, though our description tries to be typologically informed and relevant. We do not include any discussion of comparative issues in the immediate context of eastern Sulawesi or in the wider context of western Austronesian.

Although we are confident that we have unearthed the major structural features of the language, we are also well aware of the shortcomings of this study. A number of topics are missing, such as prosody and intonation, degrees of comparison, direct and indirect speech, a thorough study of the expression of time (though there are scattered comments in various sections), but also communicative aspects of the language, such as greetings. We also realize that there is more than one way of analyzing the same data. The discussion on complementation in chapter 10, for instance, could benefit from a reanalysis of this topic in the light of Dixon (2010), who makes a distinction between ‘complement clauses’ and ‘complementation strategies’. The chapter on texts is also very limited, and nothing is said about hortatory discourse. Undoubtedly, the careful reader will discover other omissions, but we hope that what is available here will bring this language to life.

This study of Balantak grammar could not have happened without a large number of people who have provided us (Robert and Marilyn Busenitz) with help at various stages.

First of all, we would like to thank all the Balantak native speakers who helped us in our first feeble steps in the language, who were willing to provide texts, and who were not afraid to correct us. These include NM, MB, PN, RL, RyL, SB, HB, HM, YS, YL, and others.

Secondly, SIL colleagues René van den Berg, Timothy Friberg, Michael Martens, Don Barr, Phil Quick, David Andersen, David Mead and Scott Youngman have helped us to understand various aspects of Balantak grammar. In this respect, René van den Berg is in a class by himself. His scholarship uncovered numerous details and refinements in this write-up. David Mead read a preliminary version of the whole document and gave valuable feedback, which led to corrections and improvements in various places. The authors are also grateful to Charlie Hanawalt, Jay McGee, Victorio Litaay, and David Mead for assistance with the maps in this publication.

Thirdly, we acknowledge the assistance of our university and government sponsors at Hasanuddin University (Makassar, South Sulawesi), Tadulako University (Palu, Central Sulawesi) and officials at all levels in Kabupaten Banggai. Without their permission, help and cooperation, the data would not have been gathered in the first place.

Finally, both authors wish to thank God Almighty, the source of all wisdom and knowledge, the one who enabled us to persevere and the one we continue to serve with joy.

Example sources

For each Balantak example, the source is provided after the free translation. The following conventions are used to indicate the source:

t	text (see below for text numbers and titles).
conv	conversational material from one of the following two sources: a. the conversation book <i>Porobuan sanda' ilio tia wurung Balantak</i> (Peding, Pontoh, and Busenitz, 1991); b. spontaneous utterances from native speakers during day-to-day interaction or during language sessions.
dict	examples from the Balantak-Indonesian-English dictionary (Suni and Bradbury, 2000).
elic	elicited material, either translations from Indonesian or (more often) permutations on the basis of existing material.
-m	modified (in the combinations <i>t-m</i> , <i>dict-m</i> and <i>conv-m</i>); some examples were modified to serve the purposes of the particular section, for example by reducing complex material or by substituting a lexical item.

The following chart shows the various texts from which the text examples have been drawn. The total number of texts collected in Balantak is over 100, but not all of these have yet been studied in detail. A dozen or so texts have been extensively investigated, and many example sentences are drawn from those. Others have only been searched for specific features, while others have not been used at all. The latter category is therefore not listed here, which explains the gaps in the numbering. The titles are presented here as they were given by the narrator, author or editor (sometimes in Balantak, sometimes in Indonesian), followed by an English translation. In addition to title and author, the total number of words and the genre is also indicated in the table (narr = narrative, proc = procedural, exp = expository, hort = hortatory).

text nr	title	author	nr of words	genre
t1	<i>Mae' mangala oe</i> Going to get rattan	A B	906	narr
t2	<i>Mangala bolusukon malo-malom</i> Getting durians at night	A B	655	narr
t3	<i>Mansarak pakuli'na wese'</i> Looking for tooth medicine	A B	390	narr
t4	<i>Tundunan mae' na Palu</i> An account of going to Palu	M B	2190	narr
t7	<i>Mosakul</i> Making sago	R B	209	proc
t8	<i>Molikison</i> Making coconut oil	R B	107	proc
t11	<i>Dumodongo</i> Giving birth	U	223	narr
t12	<i>Duyung mingkira' sida manusia</i> A dugong wants to become a man	M B	200	narr
t13	<i>Pambalimba'ian laigan ni tama ni Verona</i> Verona's father moved house	U	355	narr

t15	<i>Pogobosan intom noko daamo nobapesta</i> Dividing up the meat after the party	U	304	narr
t16	<i>Uma-umankumo i ree'a tii tengel</i> My version of the tortoise and the monkey	U	309	narr
t17	<i>Uma-umankumo i opuu</i> My version of the egg	M B	245	narr
t18	<i>Uma-umankumo i ree'a tii bebang</i> My version of the tortoise and the iguana	M B	140	narr
t19	<i>Potobela'na Bau' tia Bokoti'</i> The friendship between Pig and Rat	M B	171	narr
t20	<i>Noko'akalian</i> Tricked	S B	745	narr
t21	<i>Ai Gaet</i> Gaet	S B	983	narr
t22	<i>Alia mamandang enteng samba-samba</i> Don't look down on other people	S B	257	narr
t27	<i>Wuuwa'</i> Barkcloth	E	228	proc/ narr
t29	<i>Ai Puo' nanggeo</i> Puo' is ill	O L	499	narr
t31	<i>Bela' ma'idek</i> A bad friend	H	280	narr
t32	<i>Sasa' matondong</i> The tame cat	H	201	narr
t35	<i>Kuda ni Tumondo' men langkai'</i> The old horse of the king	D S	305	narr
t36	<i>Adi' Banggai'</i> Adi Banggai'	I	698	narr
t37	<i>Bintana' tia bebang motobela'</i> The friendship between the snake and the iguana	U	297	narr
t39	<i>Nuur gora'</i> The noisy coconut	S B	1732	narr
t41	<i>Ilio notakaan nai Dokter Anuranta</i> The day Dr Anuranta arrived	B L	541	narr
t43	<i>Anakna gaja tii kancil, ka' ai bembe'</i> Baby elephant with mouse deer and goat	D S	316	narr
t44	<i>Nimbatangan</i> Performing the graveside ceremony	M S	308	narr
t48	<i>Tundunan kani'imari tundunan mosuo'</i> This account is about marriage	L L	264	exp
t49	<i>Buaya tii Kancil</i> The crocodile and the mouse deer	M L	486	narr
t50	<i>Kaparasya'an</i> Beliefs	P N	9,859	exp
t51	<i>Sando ka' pakuli'</i> Traditional healers and medicine	P N	8,261	exp

t52	<i>Dumodongo</i> Giving birth	P N	5,693	exp
t53	<i>Mo'ale'</i> Gardening	P N	2,745	exp
t54	<i>Motanom</i> Burying the dead	P N	6,727	exp
t55	<i>Tundunan pookantangan</i> An account of family relationships	P N	1,345	exp
t56	<i>Aturan mosuo' na lipu' Balantak</i> Marriage regulations in Balantak	P N	5,455	exp
t58	<i>Tundunan na rae'anmai munsurpei wurung na kacamatan Balantak, Lamala, Kintom, Luwuk, ka' Pagimana.</i> An account of our trip to survey the languages in the subdistricts of Balantak, Lamala, Kintom, Luwuk and Pagimana.	M B	11,147	narr
t62	<i>Tundunanku men dauga' dongo-dongo tia minti'ingku</i> My account of when I still lived with my parents	Y M	2,653	narr
t66	<i>Tundunanku ringkat na Talima A mae' na Palu</i> My account of going from Talima A to Palu	Y M	7,144	narr
t67	<i>Tundunan mulai norumingkat na Talima taka Palu, taka Ujungpandang</i> An account of (a trip) beginning in Talima via Palu to Ujungpandang.	A S	1,264	narr
t68	<i>Tundunanku ringkat na Dolom mae' na Palu</i> My account of going from Dolom to Palu	M R	2,004	narr
t72	<i>Tabea' na mian moola'</i> Regards/respect for important people	N	659	hort
t73	<i>Nangator i Biin</i> Accompanying Biin	M S	141	narr
t76	<i>Tundunan mae' na Davao</i> An account of going to Davao	S M	1,186	narr
t77	<i>Tundunan mangkana'i barakaatna Tumpu men nosida na sa'angu' libutan men ngaanon Elim Parm</i> An account concerning the Lord's blessings which occurred in a place called Elim Parm	Y M	1,200	narr
t78	<i>Poobantili</i> Instructing one another	M L	308	hort

Note. Interlinearized versions of texts 3 and 7 (with free translation) can be found in Friberg (1990), and of texts 35 and 43 in Andersen (1999).

Abbreviations

Personal pronouns and pronominal affixes

1s	first person singular
2s	second person singular
3s	third person singular
1PE	first person plural exclusive
1PI	first person plural inclusive
2P	second person plural
3P	third person plural

Demonstratives

DEM1	demonstrative root 1	<i>ni'i</i>
DEM2	demonstrative root 2	<i>nono'</i>
DEM3	demonstrative root 3	<i>ya'a</i>
DEM4	demonstrative root 4	<i>tu'u</i>
DEM5	demonstrative root 5	<i>le'e</i>
DEM6	demonstrative root 6	<i>ra'a</i>
DEM7	demonstrative root 7	<i>ro'o</i>
DEM8	demonstrative root 8	<i>nooro'o</i>

DEM.ADV1	demonstrative adverb 1	<i>ita</i>
DEM.ADV2	demonstrative adverb 2	<i>no'o</i>
DEM.ADV3	demonstrative adverb 3	<i>mba'a</i>
DEM.ADV4	demonstrative adverb 4	<i>ntu'u</i>
DEM.ADV5	demonstrative adverb 5	<i>nde'e</i>
DEM.ADV6	demonstrative adverb 6	<i>nda'a</i>
DEM.ADV7	demonstrative adverb 7	<i>ndo'o</i>

Interlinear glosses

ACCD	accidental	<i>-ian, too-</i>
ADVS	adversative	<i>ko-</i>
AFF	affective	<i>ka-, ko-</i>
ALL	allative	
ALL.I	allative irrealis	<i>-waa / -yaa</i>
ALL.R	allative realis	<i>-mbaa</i>
APPL	applicative	<i>-kon</i>
APPROX	approximal	<i>-mari</i>
ART	article	<i>a</i>
ATT	attitudinal particle	
ATTP	attemptive	<i>pi-</i>
AV	actor voice	
AV.GER	actor voice gerund	<i>pVng-</i>
AV.I	actor voice irrealis	<i>mVng-</i>
AV.R	actor voice realis	<i>nVng-</i>
BEN	benefactive	<i>-ii</i>
CAUS	causative	<i>pa-, -i, -kon</i>

D	deictic marker	<i>i-, ka-</i>
DEM	demonstrative	
DEM.ADV	demonstrative adverb	
DIR	directional	<i>-i</i>
DIST	distributive	<i>poo-, -an</i>
EMP.ART	emphatic article	<i>ai</i>
EXIST	existential	<i>isian</i>
EXT	extension	<i>-a</i>
FUT	future	<i>-si, bo ~ boo</i>
GER	gerund	<i>pVng-</i>
I	irrealis	
IMPF	imperfective	<i>-po</i>
INTR	intransitive	<i>ba-, ma-, mo-, -um-</i>
INTR.GER	intransitive gerund	<i>pa-, ping-, po-</i>
INTR.I	intransitive irrealis	<i>ma-, ming-, mo-</i>
INTR.R	intransitive realis	<i>na-, ning-, no-</i>
INVIS	invisible	<i>ku-</i>
LOC	locative	<i>-an, ku-, na</i>
LV	locative voice	<i>-an</i>
MULT	multiple subjects	<i>poto-</i>
NOM	nominalizer	<i>ka-, ko-, po-, -an, -na</i>
NEG.INTR.R	negative intransitive realis	<i>i-</i>
NVOL	non-volitional	<i>tong-</i>
OBL	oblique	
ORD	ordinal numeral	<i>ko-</i>
PA	personal article	<i>i</i>
PERF	perfective	<i>-mo</i>
PERM	permissive	<i>-a</i>
PLUR	plural	<i>ari, raa-</i>
PURP	purposive	<i>minti-</i>
PV	patient voice	
PV.I	patient voice irrealis	<i>-on</i>
PV.R	patient voice realis	<i>ni-</i>
R	realis	<i>no-, -in-</i>
REC	reciprocal	<i>poo-, bari-</i>
REC.KIN	reciprocal kinship	<i>moto-</i>
RED	reduplication	
SEQ	sequential	<i>-si</i>
SF	stem former	<i>pa-, ping-, po-</i>
SURPR	surprise	<i>noko-</i>
VBR	verbalizer	<i>-i</i>
VEN	venitive	<i>-mari</i>

Not included in this list of abbreviations are morpheme glosses which constitute full English words. These include EVEN (Balantak *-po*), HAVE (*-an, -on*), DONT (*alia, amo*), RANDOM (*mangkai-*), TIME (*piri-*) and NOT.IDEAL (*poo-...-ikon*).

Others

CA	common argument
e.o.	each other
k.o.	kind of
RC	relative clause
s.t.	something
s.o.	someone

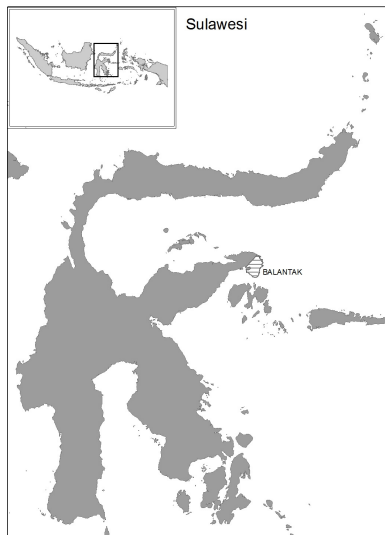
1. Introduction

This chapter is a brief introduction to the Balantak people and their homeland in Central Sulawesi, Indonesia. It is meant to give some background to the grammar of Balantak that follows. This chapter consists of eight sections: geography (§1.1), demographic factors (§1.2), language (§1.3), society and culture (§1.4), economy (§1.5), religion (§1.6), history (§1.7), and methodology (§1.8).

1.1 Geography

Stretching out like a long arm across the waters of the Molucca Sea is the east peninsula of Sulawesi, Indonesia. Residing on the hat-shaped end of that peninsula are three language groups: a part of the Saluan people live in the northern portion of the 'hat', the Andio people live in the western portion, while the southern and eastern part is the home of the Balantak people (see map 1). Administratively, the Balantak homeland is located in the Banggai district (*kabupaten*) of Central Sulawesi province and spread over four sub-districts (*kecamatan*): Balantak, Balantak Selatan, Lamala and Masama. The town of Balantak serves as the government, economic, and communication center for the Balantak sub-district; the town of Tongke is such a center for the Balantak Selatan sub-district, Bonebobakal for the Lamala sub-district and Tangeban for the Masama sub-district. The majority of the Balantak towns and villages are located along the coast, with a few inland villages in each sub-district.

Map 1. Indonesia, Sulawesi and Balantak



1.2 Demographic factors

The Balantak people, numbering around 30,000, primarily live in the Balantak homeland. A small percentage of the Balantak people have relocated to other areas in Indonesia, largely to attend school or to work in government jobs or other employment. Inland villages tend to be entirely Balantak in composition, while coastal villages have a small percentage of outsiders residing there, including Bajau, Balinese, Bugis, Chinese, Gorontalo, Javanese, and Manadonese.

The population is primarily clustered in villages. People tend to perceive their membership in communities by village or town. Only a very small minority do not have any residence in a village; these people live in small homes in their gardens some distance from a village.

Among the Balantak people, as a rule those who live along the coast tend to be somewhat better off economically, better-educated, and in better health than those who live in inland villages. The majority of Balantak villages have a population of less than two thousand people.

Of the few thousand Balantak people who are now living outside the language area, the majority of these are in the towns of Luwuk, Palu, Makassar, and Manado, with very few living outside of Sulawesi. They generally seem to maintain contact with their home area, but in most cases it appears that their children are not learning the Balantak language.

1.3 Language

1.3.1 Language name

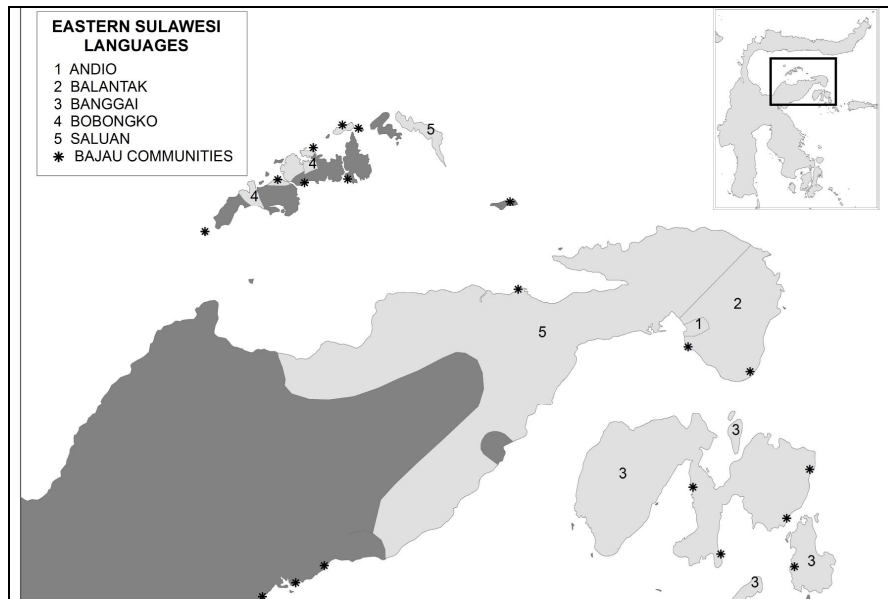
Balantak (Ethnologue code: blz) is referred to as *Bahasa Balantak* in Indonesian and as *wurung Balantak* in the language itself. The alternative name *kosian*, listed by Adriani (1914:275) and repeated in the Ethnologue with the variant *sian*, are not in general use. These words are only used as negators in Balantak and were probably introduced by analogy with the names for languages further west in Central Sulawesi, where negators are or were commonly employed for naming languages (e.g., Da'a, Uma, Bare'e/Pamona).

1.3.2 Language affiliation

Balantak is an Austronesian language. Within the Western Malayo-Polynesian branch of Austronesian, it belongs to the Saluan-Banggai group (also known as Loinang), as first advocated by Adriani in Adriani & Kruyt (1914) and further clarified by Mead (2003a). The five other members of the Saluan-Banggai group are 1) **Saluan**, spoken west of Balantak on the eastern arm of Sulawesi, 2) **Banggai**, spoken in the Banggai archipelago to the south of the Balantak area, 3) **Bobongko**, spoken on the north coast of Togian Island, 4) the tiny **Andio** language, spoken in two small villages surrounded by Balantak speakers, and 5) **Batui**, spoken in the town of the same name (Mead forthcoming). See map 2 for the location of each of these languages. Classifications of the Saluan-Banggai group by other scholars (e.g., Esser 1938, Barr, Barr and Salombe 1979, Sneddon 1983) differ as to whether Banggai is included or treated as an isolate. Earlier classifications were also unaware of the existence of Andio and Batui and confused about the identity of Bobongko (see Mead 2003a for a detailed discussion).

Within the Saluan-Banggai group, Balantak appears to form a subgroup with Banggai, although this subgrouping is primarily based on some shared sound changes. Lexically, Banggai is the most divergent Saluan language, and typologically, it also displays some unusual characteristics, such the well-known 'preposed genitive', a common feature of languages further east, which in Sulawesi is found in just one area.

Map 2. Eastern Sulawesi languages.



According to Mead (2003b), the Saluan-Banggai group is part of the Eastern Celebic languages, in which they subgroup with Southeastern Celebic, a group which comprises the Bungku-Tolaki and the Muna-Buton languages. More comparative work is needed to corroborate the existence of the Celebic group, a large grouping of Sulawesi languages that also encompasses the Kaili-Pamona and the Tomini-Tolitoli languages, and to validate the place of Eastern Celebic within it.

1.3.3 Dialects

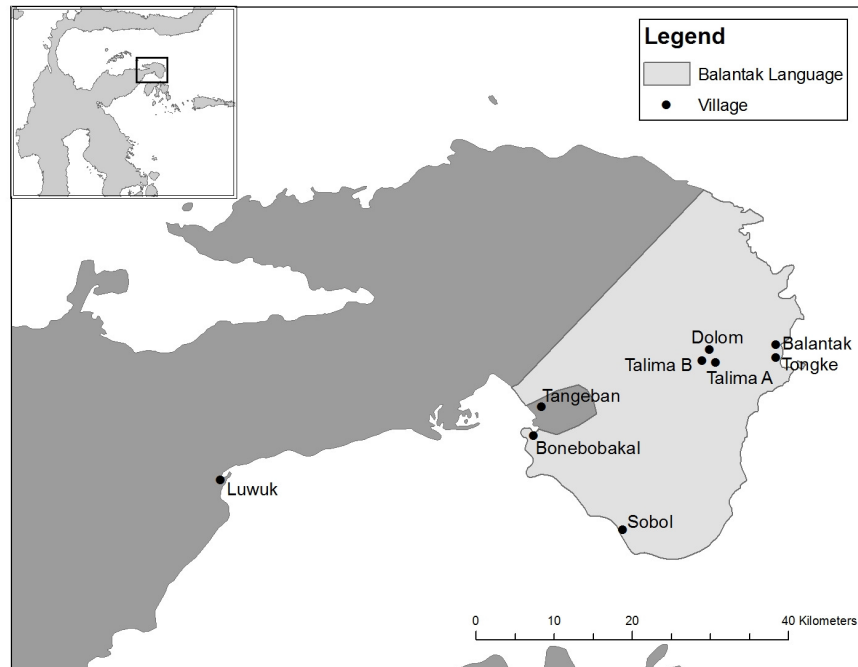
While there are some definite dialect differences in Balantak, these are fairly small, with 90% or more lexical similarity between all dialects (R. Busenitz 1991). Many native speakers express a feeling that the particular dialect of the three-village area of Dolom, Talima A, and Talima B in some way is the ‘original’ or ‘proper’ Balantak language and that the other dialects have evolved from that. This is known as the Batubiring dialect. Since there is no standard literary dialect, it is unclear which dialect will emerge as the standard, but most publications in the vernacular are based on the Batubiring speech variety. See map 3 for the location of some villages in the Balantak area.

1.3.4 Language vitality

According to unofficial estimates, approximately 10% of the Balantak population could be described as coordinate bilinguals (that is, equally proficient in both Indonesian and Balantak), 80% as subordinate bilinguals (they can speak both languages, but are more proficient in Balantak), and another 10% as incipient bilinguals (can speak only a very limited amount of Indonesian, and, for all practical purposes, are monolingual).

The Balantak language is the language of the majority of daily life in the Balantak area. While Indonesian is the official language of government and education and is used for most formal religious affairs, Balantak is widely used informally in local government offices, shops, businesses, and even occasionally for explanations in the schoolroom, particularly in the earlier grades.

Map 3. Balantak villages



Balantak people view Indonesian as the prestige language, but the vast majority still prefer to use their mother tongue in most affairs of daily life. Members of the younger generation, in particular, frequently borrow words from Indonesian, often ‘Balantak-izing’ Indonesian root words with Balantak prefixes and suffixes. While bilingualism is steadily increasing, various factors would indicate that the vernacular is also being maintained: 1) Balantak is still very widely used. 2) Most Balantak children speak only their mother tongue before they enter school. 3) Balantak remains the language of informal communication in schools, offices, and businesses. 4) Although Balantak people typically accommodate to outsiders by switching to Indonesian, outsiders who are in the area for any length of time nearly always tend to learn some Balantak; and 5) Some incipient bilinguals appear resistant to change and persist in using Balantak almost exclusively.

1.3.5 Vernacular literature

There is still only a relatively small amount of literature in Balantak. Several writing projects were initiated as part of the UNHAS-SIL program (1981–1991) with the purpose of getting people interested in reading and writing Balantak materials, as well as for the testing of orthography and writing conventions. As a result, seven trial booklets on various topics were produced by Balantak authors, including folk-tales, riddles, books on trapping and hunting, cooking, and a set of conversations. An expanded conversation book was produced at a workshop convened by local Department of Education and Culture officials and was published in trilingual format (Balantak-Indonesian-English) in 1991 (Peding, Pontoh, and Busenitz). Kambay and Tiban (2000) contains twenty-two folktales in Balantak, with Indonesian translation.

The Banggai District Interchurch Cooperative Council has conducted several translation orientation and review seminars and, starting in the 1990s, has published a variety of Balantak scripture portions from the New Testament. The Balantak New Testament came off the press in 2010 under the title *Kitap Molinas Men Ringkat na Alaata’ala*. A trilingual Balantak-Indonesian-English dictionary was produced in 2000 (Sunı and Bradbury 2000) and was printed and distributed by the local government in 2006.

1.3.6 Earlier studies

The earliest notes on Balantak were published almost a hundred years ago (Adriani and Kruyt 1914:275–281).¹ Busenitz and Busenitz (1991) is the first detailed study of Balantak phonology and morphophonemics. Other aspects of the Balantak language that have been documented are the system of spatial deictics (Busenitz and Busenitz 1992) and the intricate system of voice morphology (R. Busenitz 1993), an Indonesian version of which appeared a few years earlier (R. Busenitz 1987). Two cultural texts with an interlinear morphological analysis and free translation are presented in Friberg (1990), and a further two in Andersen (1999). Needless to say, insights into the language have grown over the years and the current description (as well as some of the glossing) differs in several ways from that presented in these earlier articles. A team from Pusat Bahasa at Palu, Central Sulawesi, has also made a brief study of Balantak (Rozali et al. 1992).

1.4 Society and culture

Published information on Balantak culture prior to the work carried out by the Busenitzes is limited to Dutch sources. Albert Kruyt, a pioneer missionary in Central Sulawesi, traveled extensively in Sulawesi in the first decades of the 20th century and published numerous ethnographic articles on the places he visited, including four on Balantak culture. Kruyt (1932a) is a general study of the area and the people, Kruyt (1932b) deals with black magic in Banggai and Balantak; Kruyt (1933) with issues of life and death in Balantak, while Kruyt (1934) describes the rice culture in Balantak. Dormeier (1947) is primarily concerned with issues of customary law (*adat*) in Banggai, but often mentions Balantak in passing. The following paragraphs summarize a number of the more conspicuous features of Balantak society.

Prestige, a sense of belonging, social adeptness, and social generosity in proportion to one's wealth and status are all important components of the focus of Balantak culture. Personal relationships are of great significance and value to the Balantak. Whatever is needed to cultivate or nurture a relationship is considered worth the cost. It is always important to make another person feel at ease. Guests are treated with honor and gracious hospitality. To be praised for one's hospitality and adeptness in entertaining is considered a great compliment.

Immediate families live and work together and generally remain very loyal to each other throughout their lives. Older siblings who are no longer in school are expected to help financially support younger siblings, and sometimes even cousins, nieces and nephews, who are still in school. An entire family will make great sacrifices to put the brightest, most-promising child through school. If that child graduates and gets a job, he is always expected to help support his parents and other siblings.

When a child marries, the new couple usually resides with either the bride or groom's family for some time, often at least until the birth of one or two children. This is considered to be part of the 'growing up' process in which the newlyweds are perceived to still need the input and supervision of their parents before moving out and living independently.

¹Adriani's information on Balantak is based on a word list which he collected from three Balantak speakers at an unspecified location. His comments on the sound system and some of the affixes are brief but correct (though he missed the glottal stop) and his description of the complex allomorphy of the 2sg possessive suffix *-Vm* is accurate (see also §2.8.7). Some of his other statements are more questionable, including his claim that possession is often on the basis of the root *ko'o* as in *ko'ongku tokon* 'my stick', *ko'oom siok* 'your chicken' (see §4.1.3 for a discussion of the real function of these oblique pronouns). Also surprising is that the demonstrative *i rale'e* is given as the equivalent of 'they' (*i raaya'a* in this grammar; see §4.1 and §8.3) and that verb forms with *ya-* are called 'impersonal passives.' Such constructions are actually agented patient voice verbs with the pronoun *ia* (rather than *ya-*; see §7.4.1). As he did not collect any texts, Adriani failed to encounter the patient voice verbal affixes *ni-* and *-on*, but he also missed agent voice transitive verb forms with their rich morphophonemics. Given the interest in comparative issues of the great pioneer of Sulawesi linguistics, these and various other features of Balantak would certainly have given him great delight.

Descent is traced patrilineally, with the children taking the surname of the father. The wife usually retains her own surname throughout life, although this custom is now slowly changing and conforming to the more common national practice of assuming the husband's name after marriage. See R. Busenitz (1993) for a discussion of Balantak kinship terminology.

Children are the focus of the Balantak family. Small children are loved and indulged by all and are a great source of pleasure, pride, and entertainment. As they become older, children provide an important labor contribution to the family. When parents grow old, their children become their parents' providers and caretakers.

There are three types of authority structures in existence in Balantak society: traditional, governmental, and religious. Each structure has its own sphere of influence and its own leaders. Traditional leaders make decisions regarding marriage arrangements, inter-village disputes, and relationship problems. These traditional leaders are the village elders; each village has several men unequivocally recognized as such. Governmental leaders make decisions as they relate to government programs, law enforcement, and act as liaison with the sub-district level authorities. These government leaders include the elected positions of village chief (*kepala desa*), village secretary (*sekretaris desa*) and various others. Religious leaders make decisions with regard to local religious affairs and practices. These leaders would include the local Muslim cleric (*imam*) or Christian pastor (*pendeta*) or priest (*pastor*).

1.5 Economy

The livelihood of the majority of Balantak people is subsistence farming. They grow food in their gardens to provide for their own needs and occasionally to sell to others for cash. Their staple food is rice, which they plant and harvest using traditional labor-intensive methods. Another staple food is sago, which is processed from pulp of the sago tree. Coconut trees, which are abundant throughout the area, are an important source of cash income. Other cash crops in the area include cloves, cocoa, peanuts, and, more recently, vanilla beans. The average family income in the Balantak area is probably less than US \$1000 per year.

It is common for people to exchange labor instead of paying wages. An average daily wage for a male worker is probably about US \$2.50 per day for an unskilled laborer and somewhat more for a skilled worker, such as a carpenter. Women's wages are typically lower because a woman is considered unable physically to do the equivalent work of a man. Men and women often share equally the tasks of farming/gardening, child-care, cooking, and laundry with each individual family working out their own division of labor, according to the needs of their situation. Members of the extended family typically assist each other and exchange labor in the tasks of planting, harvesting, and clearing of new garden sites.

1.6 Religion

Historically, the traditional religion of the Balantak people was animism and involved the worship of local deities and spirits. M. Busenitz (1993) is a detailed description of the various supernatural entities that people believe in and the rituals connected with these beliefs.

Islam came to the area several centuries ago, apparently having been brought by Islamic merchants and traders. As a result, Islam began primarily in the towns along the coast. Today, approximately two-thirds of the Balantak people embrace the Islamic religion.

The advent of Christianity is more recent, having been brought to the Balantak area by Dutch missionaries and Ambonese and Manadonese church leaders in the early 1900s. Protestant churches were established in both inland and coastal villages. About one-third of the Balantak are registered by the government as Christian; the majority of these belong to the Protestant church. There are a number of Catholic churches and a few Pentecostal and Adventist churches as well.

1.7 History

Not much is known about the history or prehistory of the Balantak people. The implications of the Celebic macrogroup hypothesis for population movements have not yet been explored. Dormeier (1947:292) suggests that the Balantak and Saluan languages and perhaps Banggai originally developed from North Sulawesi via Bobongko in the Togian Islands.

According to Kruyt (1932, 1934), before Balantak became a part of the Banggai kingdom sometime in the latter half of the 18th century, it was controlled by the monarchs of Bualemo on the north side of the peninsula. These monarchs were probably outsiders and were the ones who first introduced rice onto the peninsula. When the kingdom of Banggai became more powerful through the influence of Ternate, the empire of Bualemo was destroyed by the united forces of Banggai, Ternate, and Gorontalo. According to Kruyt (1930:352) this took place in the second half of the 18th century. From this time until Indonesia's independence in 1945, the Balantak area was part of the larger Banggai kingdom. This kingdom included the Banggai, Saluan, Balantak, and Andio language groups, as well as people from the Togian and Una-Una islands, and was ruled by a king residing in Banggai. According to stories related by Balantak village elders, the king visited the Balantak area on several occasions, but, as he was considered too 'holy' to set foot on the ground, he was carried in a special chair at all times. (Traditional Balantak beliefs held that if a very important person set foot on the ground it would cause an earthquake or other natural disaster.)

During the time that the Balantak area was part of the Banggai kingdom, there were raids from Ternate and a number of Balantak people were taken captive there. These captive Balantaks intermarried with the Ternate people and never returned to their families in Sulawesi.

1.8 Methodology

This description of Balantak is based on almost three decades of interaction with the Balantak language and culture by Robert and Marilyn Busenitz. In 1981, they moved to the inland village of Dolom with their children, where they immersed themselves in the Balantak language and culture as part of the UNHAS-SIL cooperative programme. They learned to speak Balantak, collected a large body of texts, standardised the orthography, analyzed various aspects of the language, all in cooperation with native speakers. Aside from furlough trips to the USA and teaching commitments in Palu and Makassar, this phase lasted until 1992. In 1994, Robert and Marilyn relocated to Davao (southern Philippines) and in 2002, to the USA. During those years Robert made frequent trips to the Balantak area (sometimes accompanied by Marilyn), while several native speakers visited Davao and Manado (the capital of northern Sulawesi) for continued work on the dictionary, grammar, and language development.

René van den Berg first worked on Balantak as a linguistics consultant in 1990, giving advice on some of the papers that were being written for publication at the time. In January 2007, Robert and René spent three weeks in Manado (northern Sulawesi) with two Balantak native speakers (NM and HB) focussing on grammar issues. Using Indonesian as the primary means of communication (with some Balantak increasingly interspersed), they worked through some twenty texts that had already been collected and transcribed, and discussed a large variety of grammatical questions that came up. All the initial analysis was done by the Busenitzes; van den Berg is responsible for details and refinements and most of the write-up. As mentioned above, in some places the analysis differs somewhat from that given in earlier publications.

2. Phonology

2.1 Introduction

This chapter is a condensed version of Busenitz and Busenitz (1991), with some additions and revisions, notably the sections on glottal insertion (§2.8.6), reduplication (§2.9) and loan words (§2.11). Apart from some very interesting morphophonemic processes, Balantak phonology is fairly straightforward.

2.2 Phonemes

The consonant and vowel phonemes of Balantak are listed in Tables 2.1 and 2.2. Phonemes in brackets only occur in loanwords (see §2.11).

Table 2.1. Consonant phonemes

	bilabial	alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
voiceless plosive	p	t		k	ʔ
voiced plosive	b	d		g	
voiceless affricate			(tʃ)		
voiced affricate			(dʒ)		
voiceless fricative		s			(h)
nasal	m	n		ŋ	
lateral		l			
trill		r			
approximant	w		y		

Table 2.2. Vowel phonemes

	front	central	back
high	i		u
mid	ɛ		ɔ
low		a	

In the remainder of this work, the following orthographic conventions will be used: /ŋ/ will be represented as *ng*; /ʔ/ as ' (a straight apostrophe); /dʒ/ as *j*, /tʃ/ as *c*, /ɛ/ as *e* and /ɔ/ as *o*. All other symbols have their expected phonetic value.

The following points can be made about phonetics and allophony.

a. The labio-velar approximant *w* has full lip rounding. Unlike some other Sulawesi languages, *w* is not a voiced bilabial fricative.

b. The voiceless plosives have unreleased allophones when they occur in word-final position:

<i>suap</i>	[suapʰ]	'burn'
<i>wakat</i>	[wakatʰ]	'root'
<i>atak</i>	[atakʰ]	'red ant'

2.3 Syllable structure

The syllable comprises a nucleus consisting of a vowel, and optional margins consisting of consonants. The syllable onset may consist of one or two consonants, but in the case of a consonant cluster, the first consonant is a nasal followed by a homorganic plosive (see §2.4). The syllable coda may consist of only one consonant, and in syllables with initial consonant sequences, only a glottal coda is possible. Six syllable types, therefore, occur in Balantak, as shown in table 2.3.

Table 2.3. Syllable types

Open syllables	Closed syllables
V	VC
CV	CVC
NCV	NCV'

The overall formula for the syllable in Balantak is as follows: (N) (C) V (C). The various syllable types are illustrated in the following forms (syllable boundaries are marked by full stops):

V	<i>i</i> <i>o.e</i>	'personal article' 'rattan'
CV	<i>na</i> <i>ko.li.ki</i>	'general preposition' 'eyebrow'
CCV	<i>mba.ri.pi</i> <i>ndo.eng</i>	'formerly' 'to hang'
VC	<i>ga.u'</i> <i>ku.ang</i>	'behaviour' 'skin'
CVC	<i>ben.teng</i> <i>sam.ba'</i>	'full, satisfied' 'amazed'
NCV'	<i>ntu'u</i> <i>mba'a</i>	'that (to the front)' 'this, that' ¹

The consonants that occur syllable-initially and syllable-finally are noted in table 2.4 below. Note that voiced stops and semivowels are disallowed in final position, while glottal stop is disallowed initially. The distribution of consonants over syllables and words appears to be the identical; in other words, the constraints just mentioned also apply on the word level. Vowel-initial words such as *ala* 'get (it)!' can be (and often are) pronounced with an initial glottal stop, but since there is no contrast between glottal and zero, glottal stop is not phonemic in this position.

¹The adverbial demonstrative words *ntu'u*, *mba'a*, *nde'e*, *nda'a* and *ndo'o* (see chapter 8) appear to be the only words having a syllable with an initial consonant sequence with a coda consonant. The medial glottal could be analyzed as being the onset of the second syllable, but since glottals do not occur word-initially and native speaker intuition prefers the syllable break after the glottal, we analyse this as a sixth syllable type.

Table 2.4. Consonant distribution in Balantak

	p	t	k	'	b	d	g	m	n	ng	s	l	r	w	y
syllable-initial	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
syllable-final	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-

The glottal stop is an unusual consonant in Balantak for the following reasons:

- a. It is the only consonant that does not occur (phonemically) in word-initial position.
- b. It is the only medial consonant which does not syllabify to the next syllable. In a word such as *wakat* 'root', the syllable break precedes *k*: *wa.kat*. This is true for all other consonants. However, with glottal-medial words such as *re'es* 'fed up with', the glottal is in coda position (according to native speaker intuition): *re'.es*.
- c. Glottal stop links up with vowels in the morphophonemics of the possessive suffix *-Vm* 'your', rather than with the other consonants (see § 2.8.7).
- d. It is automatically inserted between words and between prefixes and stems (see §2.8.6).

2.4 Consonant sequences

Consonant sequences are found word-initially and word-medially, but never word-finally.

- a. Word-medially within a single morpheme, homorganic nasal-obstruent clusters occur, as illustrated below. Notice that all these sequences belong to two different syllables (syllable breaks are again marked by a full stop).

mb	<i>lam.bak</i>	'conceited'
mp	<i>gam.pal</i>	'underlayer'
nd	<i>ban.de'</i>	'middle'
nt	<i>pin.tung</i>	'dark'
ns	<i>len.se</i>	'empty'
ngg	<i>ung.gak</i>	'hornbill'
ngk	<i>bang.kal</i>	'former garden'

- b. Across morpheme boundaries involving suffixation, many other combinations of consonants are found, in addition to the ones listed above. Consonant-initial suffixes are limited to voiceless obstruents and nasals (e.g., *-po*, *-mo*, *-na*, *-nta* ~ *-ta*, *-ngku* ~ *-ku*, *-kon*, *-si*) and hence, only a fraction of all theoretically possible sequences of consonants occur. The following list is illustrative. Again, these sequences are split over the two syllables.

pt	<i>atop.ta</i>	'our roof'	(<i>atop</i> 'roof')
pk	<i>atop.ku</i>	'my roof'	
kn	<i>anak.na</i>	'her child'	(<i>anak</i> 'child')
km	<i>anak.mai</i>	'our child'	
rk	<i>nuur.ku</i>	'my coconuts'	(<i>nuur</i> 'coconut')
rm	<i>nuur.muu</i>	'your (pl) coconuts'	
ngn	<i>wurung.na</i>	'his language'	(<i>wurung</i> 'language')
ngt	<i>wurung.ta</i>	'our language'	
'k	<i>ale'.ku</i>	'my garden'	(<i>ale'</i> 'garden')
't	<i>ale'.ta</i>	'our garden'	
sk	<i>utus.ku</i>	'my sibling'	(<i>utus</i> 'sibling')

sn	<i>utus.na</i>	‘his sibling’	
ps	<i>ma'ulop.si</i>	‘later, in the morning’	(-si ‘later’)
ms	<i>malom.si</i>	‘later, at night’	
ts	<i>maka'amat.si</i>	‘be careful’	

When the possessive suffixes *-ngku* ‘my’ and *-nta* ‘our (inclusive)’ are added to vowel-final nouns (see § 2.8.4), the nasal is syllabified to the previous syllable: *lima* ‘hand’ + *-ngku* ‘my’ > *limang.ku*; *tama* ‘father’ + *-nta* ‘our’ > *taman.ta*. Sequences of identical consonants resulting from affixation are pronounced as single consonants (see § 2.8.5).

c. As noted above, word-initial consonant sequences are restricted to a combination of a nasal and a homorganic plosive: *mb*, *nd*, *nt* (in one example: *ntu'u* ‘that’) and *ngg*. Other nasal-obstruent clusters (*mp*, *ngk*, *ns*) are found word-medially, but not word-initially. These clusters present an interesting analytical problem, and several possibilities are explored in Busenitz and Busenitz (1991). Since the language has final nasals, and medial nasal-obstruent clusters are never treated as units, we analyse these initial clusters as true sequences, rather than as unitary prenasalized consonants. We thereby create extra syllable patterns (NCV and NCV'), but this avoids the addition of four prenasalized phonemes with a very limited distribution. Another piece of evidence that the nasal is a full-fledged consonant in these words is its behaviour with respect to the actor voice (AV) prefix *mVng-*. With the root *ndoeng* ‘to hang’, the AV irrealis is *mongo-ndoeng*, showing the allomorph that occurs before nasals (rather than the allomorph before voiced plosives, which would be **mon-ndoeng*); see § 2.8.1 for details.

It should be noted that these initial sequences are fairly rare, in any case. The Balantak dictionary (which is root-based) contains nineteen instances of initial *mb* (four of which alternate with initial *m*)² against 183 roots with initial *m* directly followed by a vowel. There are nineteen entries with initial *nd* (two of which are variants), and only seven cases of initial *ngg*. Some examples:

<i>mbaana</i>	‘where’	(variant <i>maana</i>)
<i>mbaripi</i>	‘formerly’	(variant <i>maripi</i>)
<i>ndaing</i>	‘dried meat’	
<i>ndoloi</i>	‘fiancée’	
<i>nggeaak</i>	‘saliva’	
<i>nggolong</i>	‘spinning top’	

2.5 Vowel sequences

All possible twenty-five vowel sequences occur intramorphemically. Each vowel represents a different syllable nucleus, although vowel sequences of identical vowels are phonetically long vowels. Some examples:

ii	<i>kiing</i>	‘temple (body part)’
io	<i>lio'</i>	‘drunk’
ee	<i>leelo'</i>	‘to call’
ea	<i>memea'</i>	‘red’
aa	<i>baabo'</i>	‘uncle’
au	<i>wawau</i>	‘to do, make’
oo	<i>toop</i>	‘cigarette’
oe	<i>toe</i>	‘ebony’
uu	<i>uus</i>	‘to chew’
ui	<i>lui'</i>	‘rope’

²Some of the *mb*-initial roots in the dictionary could actually be cases of initial *b*. The word *mimbuol* ‘talk in one’s sleep’, for instance, is entered under the root *mbuol* (which does not occur by itself). However, the root could just as well be *buol*, as the intransitive prefix *ming-* yields identical surface forms before *b* and *mb*.

Sequences of three vowels are rare in roots, but the following have been found:

iai	<i>biai'</i>	'many'
iau	<i>kaliau'</i>	'shield'
ea	<i>nggeaak</i>	'saliva'
eau	<i>beaul</i>	'to stretch the body (after sleeping)'
eua	<i>beua'</i>	'scorpion'
auo	<i>bauong</i>	'woven rice container' (variant <i>bouang</i>)
uaa	<i>buaa'</i>	'to tell a lie'

Sequences of four vowels occur in derived words (infixes marked by <...>)

aioo	<i>alaioon</i>	'fetched by you'	(<i>ala-i-o < o > n</i>)
oaoo	<i>oloaon</i>	'moved away from by you'	(<i>oloa-o < o > n</i>)

2.6 Root structure

Roots display various combinations of syllable types. The following chart shows all of the possibilities of mono- and disyllabic roots, and a few examples of the more frequent tri- and quadrisyllabic roots.

1 syllable	V	<i>i</i>	'personal articles'
	CV	<i>na</i>	'general preposition'
	CVC	<i>men</i>	'relativizer'
	NCV'	-	
2 syllables	V.V	<i>o.e</i>	'rattan'
	V.VC	<i>a.u'</i>	'dog'
	V.CV	<i>a.pu</i>	'fire'
	V.CVC	<i>u.tok</i>	'brain'
	CV.V	<i>no.a</i>	'breath, soul'
	CV.VC	<i>ka.ar</i>	'rubbish'
	CV.CV	<i>tu.nu</i>	'to burn'
	CV.CVC	<i>ba.kar</i>	'breadfruit'
	CVC.V	<i>ra'.a</i>	'there'
	CVC.VC	<i>ro'.up</i>	'face'
	CVC.CV	<i>tam.bo</i>	'wage'
	CVC.CVC	<i>pin.tung</i>	'dark'
	NCV.V	-	
	NCV.VC	<i>nda.ing</i>	'aslant'
	NCV.CV	<i>mba.se</i>	'attitudinal particle' (variant <i>mase</i>)
	NCV.CVC	<i>nggo.long</i>	'spinning top'
	NCV'.V	<i>mba'.a</i>	'here; there'
	NCV'.VC	-	
	NCV'.CV	-	
	NCV'.CVC	-	
3 syllables	V.CV.V	<i>o.pu.u</i>	'egg'
	V.CV.VC	<i>o.ru.ang</i>	'to sit'
	V.CV.CVC	<i>o.lu.kon</i>	'beforehand, first'
	VC.CV.CVC	<i>am.pu.du'</i>	'short, low'
	CV.V.CV	<i>bu.a.ya</i>	'crocodile'
	CV.V.CVC	<i>pa.a.san</i>	'opinion, guess'
	CV.CV.V	<i>pa.la.a</i>	'palm of hand, sole of foot'

	CV.CV.VC	<i>lo.lo.on</i>	‘thousand’
	CV.CV.CV	<i>sa.bo.le</i>	‘certainly’
	CV.CV.CVC	<i>ku.li.bang</i>	‘copra’
	CV.CVC.CVC	<i>pa.lam.pang</i>	‘ladder’
	CVC.CV.CVC	<i>rang.gu.gur</i>	‘to tremble, shiver’
	NCV.CV.CV	<i>mba.ri.pi</i>	‘formerly’
4 syllables	CV.CV.V.CVC	<i>ku.ri.i.bir</i>	‘useless activity’
	CV.CV.CV.CV	<i>bo.ku.la.li</i>	‘ankle’
	CV.CV.CV.CVC	<i>bo.li.ka.ka'</i>	‘ring finger’

Notice that all the monosyllabic roots are function words that never occur in isolation. Although written separately, they tend to cliticize to the next word (the article *a* tends to cliticize to the preceding word). True content words are always polysyllabic, an observation which is supported by the lengthening of the vowel in monosyllabic loan words such as *taas* ‘bag’ (from Indonesian/Dutch *tas*; see §2.11).

2.7 Stress

Primary word stress is invariably penultimate, irrespective of affixation. Secondary stress falls on alternating syllables preceding the primary stress. To avoid confusion with the glottal, primary stress is marked by an acute accent over the vowel of the stressed syllable, secondary stress by a grave accent.

<i>má.ta</i>	‘eye’
<i>ma.táng.ku</i>	‘my eye’
<i>mà.tang.kú.mo</i>	‘it is my eye’

Words which end in a long vowel or have a long vowel preceding a final consonant, always receive the stress on the long vowel. Thus, *palaa* [palá:] ‘palm’ and *mangkaan* [maŋká:n] ‘eat’. When a suffix is added to a word with such a sequence of identical vowels, there is no phonetically discernible shift of stress (as happens with sequences of different vowels), until the identical vowel sequence falls outside of the penultimate syllable. Example: *kaan* [ká:n] ‘to eat’, *kaanon* [ká:non] ‘eaten’ (no stress shift), but *kaanonku* [ka:nónku] ‘eaten by me’.

2.8 Morphophonemics

This section presents a very brief overview of the major morphophonemic processes in Balantak. For more examples in a different arrangement, the reader is referred to Busenitz and Busenitz (1991).

2.8.1 Actor voice prefixes *mVng-*, *nVng-* and *pVng-*

The following rules apply to the actor voice prefixes (irrealis *mVng-*, realis *nVng-* and gerund *pVng-*), each of which has twenty allomorphs.

a. The vowel of the prefix, represented by V, is determined by the first vowel of the root (regressive vowel harmony).

b. Before vowels and the consonants *k* and *g* there are no further changes; the allomorphs are simply *mVng-*, *nVng-* and *pVng-*.

c. Before *p* and *b* the velar nasal undergoes full assimilation to *m* (nasal accretion), resulting in the allomorphs *mVm-*, *nVm-* and *pVm-*. In some cases, the *p* belonging to the verbal base is subsequently deleted; see §2.8.2 for details.

d. Before *t*, *d* and *s*, the velar nasal undergoes full assimilation to *n* (nasal accretion), resulting in the allomorphs *mVn-*, *nVn-* and *pVn-*.

e. Before sonorants (*m, n, ng, l, r, w, y*) an epenthetic vowel is inserted, the quality of which is identical to the vowel of the prefix and the first vowel of the root, resulting in the allomorphs *mVngV-*, *nVngV-* and *pVngV-*.

The twenty allomorphs of the irrealis agent voice prefix *mVng-* are illustrated in table 2.5.

Table 2.5. Irrealis agent voice allomorphs

<i>mVng-</i> before vowels, k, g	<i>mVm-</i> before p, b	<i>mVn-</i> before t, d, s	<i>mVngV-</i> before sonorants
<i>mang-ala</i> 'to take, get'	<i>mam-bala</i> 'to fence in'	<i>man-taring</i> 'to cook'	<i>manga-wawau</i> 'to make'
<i>meng-keke</i> 'to dig'	<i>mem-pepel</i> 'to hammer'	<i>men-deer</i> 'to spread'	<i>menge-leelo'</i> 'to call, invite'
<i>ming-ili</i> 'to buy'	<i>mim-[p]iile'</i> 'to see'	<i>min-sikooop</i> 'to shovel'	<i>mingi-nika'</i> 'to marry'
<i>mong-gopot</i> 'to sort, arrange'	<i>mom-popok</i> 'to cut'	<i>mon-sosop</i> 'to suck'	<i>mongo-yoong</i> 'to shake'
<i>mung-kukudi</i> 'to peel'	<i>mum-buani'</i> 'to fish with net'	<i>mun-tunu</i> 'to burn'	<i>mungu-rudus</i> 'to pick'

Loanwords with initial *c* or *j* show assimilation of the nasal, following the Indonesian pattern, in addition to vowel harmony: *men-cetak* 'print', *man-jama'at-kon* 'to form a congregation'. We have no examples of the prefixes *mVng-*, *nVng-* or *pVng-* before verbal roots with initial *h*.

2.8.2 Bases with initial p

When an actor voice prefix precedes a verb base which begins with *p*, this consonant is either retained or deleted after triggering the nasal assimilation noted above. In addition to roots with initial *p*, there are five prefixes with initial *p*, making the situation rather complex. Since the Balantak data has been quoted in the literature (e.g., Blust 2004:127), we treat it in some detail. The following cases can be distinguished.

a. When the actor voice prefix precedes a verb root that is *p*-initial, and the second syllable of the root does not begin with *p*, the initial *p* is deleted after triggering nasal assimilation, a process which can be regarded as nasal substitution. It also affects borrowings. In these cases (and throughout this grammar), such deleted *p*'s will be written as ~~[p]~~, with strikethrough in brackets.

<i>mVng-</i> + <i>pake</i>	→	<i>mam-[p]ake</i>	'to use'
<i>mVng-</i> + <i>penek</i>	→	<i>mem-[p]enek</i>	'to climb'
<i>mVng-</i> + <i>piile'</i>	→	<i>mim-[p]iile'</i>	'to see'
<i>mVng-</i> + <i>posuu'</i>	→	<i>mom-[p]osuu'</i>	'to send'
<i>mVng-</i> + <i>pukul</i>	→	<i>mum-[p]ukul</i>	'to hit'
<i>mVng-</i> + <i>parkir</i>	→	<i>mam-[p]arkir</i>	'park (a car)'

b. When the second syllable of the root is also *p*-initial, the initial *p* is retained. In this case there is only nasal assimilation.

<i>mVng-</i> + <i>pipir</i>	→	<i>mim-pipir</i>	'to splatter'
<i>mVng-</i> + <i>pupu</i>	→	<i>mum-pupu</i>	'to pick'
<i>mVng-</i> + <i>popok</i>	→	<i>mom-popok</i>	'to cut'
<i>mVng-</i> + <i>papa'</i>	→	<i>mam-papa'</i>	'to make a bamboo board'
<i>mVng-</i> + <i>papagi</i>	→	<i>mam-papagi</i>	'to slap the face'
<i>mVng-</i> + <i>pepel</i>	→	<i>mem-pepel</i>	'to hammer'

c. In combination with the reciprocal prefix *poo-* (§5.5.9), the actor voice prefix triggers deletion of the stem-initial *p*. Since the reciprocal prefix creates intransitive verbs, further transitivity affixation is needed to allow for the actor voice prefix. This is done through the applicative suffixes *-kon* or *-ii*, usually with causative meaning.

<i>mVng-</i> + <i>poo-beel-kon</i>	→	<i>mom-[p̥]oo-beel-kon</i>	‘to make two things come close’ (<i>beel</i> ‘close’)
<i>mVng-</i> + <i>poo'-umpak-kon</i>	→	<i>mom-[p̥]oo'-umpak-kon</i>	‘to connect two pieces again’ (<i>umpak</i> ‘connected’)
<i>mVng-</i> + <i>poo-tuung-kon</i>	→	<i>mom-[p̥]oo-tuung-kon</i>	‘to make two parties meet, confront’ (<i>poo-tuung</i> ‘to meet’)
<i>mVng-</i> + <i>poo-tundun-ii-kon</i>	→	<i>mom-[p̥]oo-tundun-ii-kon</i>	‘to discuss s.t. in a meeting’ (<i>tundun</i> ‘story’)

d. In combination with the distributive prefix *poo-* ‘each do s.t.’ (§5.7.8) there is only nasal assimilation. This is the main difference with the reciprocal *poo-* prefix. Note the contrastive meaning of *mom-[p̥]oo-beel-kon* above with *mom-poo-beel-kon* below.

<i>mVng-</i> + <i>poo-beel-kon</i>	→	<i>mom-poo-beel-kon</i>	‘each bring s.t. close’ (<i>beel</i> ‘close’)
<i>mVng-</i> + <i>poo-beel-I</i>	→	<i>mom-poo-beel-i</i>	‘each approach s.t.’
<i>mVng-</i> + <i>poo-daat</i>	→	<i>mom-poo-daat</i>	‘each pull’ (<i>daat</i> ‘pull’)
<i>mVng-</i> + <i>poo-wawa</i>	→	<i>mom-poo-wawa</i>	‘each bring’ (<i>wawa</i> ‘carry, bring’)

e. In combination with the ‘less-than-ideal’ affix combination *poo-...-i-kon* (‘do s.t. in less than ideal circumstances, do without too much effort, do what is possible under the circumstances, just do a bit’) there is usually deletion, but we also have examples where *p* has been retained. The difficulty is that this is a low-frequency prefix and that only patient voice forms seem to be acceptable with certain verbs; actor voice forms were often rejected (see §5.7.9 for further discussion).

<i>mVng</i> + <i>-poo-tulung-i-kon</i>	→	<i>mom-[p̥]oo-tulung-i-kon</i>	‘just help a bit’ (<i>tulungi</i> ‘help’)
<i>mVng</i> + <i>-poo-barut-i-kon</i>	→	<i>mom-poo-barut-i-kon</i>	‘just look for fallen durians as best as one can’ (<i>barut</i> ‘look for fallen durians’)

f. In combination with the causative prefix *pa-* (occasionally *po-*; see §5.6.1) there is deletion of *p*:

<i>mVng-</i> + <i>pa-kabus</i>	→	<i>mam-[p̥]a-kabus</i>	‘to finish s.t.’ (<i>kabus</i> ‘finished’)
<i>mVng-</i> + <i>pa-kana'</i>	→	<i>mam-[p̥]a-kana'</i>	‘to fasten’ (<i>kana'</i> ‘right, correct, true; hit, touch’)
<i>mVng-</i> + <i>pa-tokol</i>	→	<i>mam-[p̥]a-tokol</i>	‘to put to sleep’ (<i>tokol</i> ‘to lie down’)
<i>mVng-</i> + <i>pa-kaan</i>	→	<i>mam-[p̥]a-kaan</i>	‘to feed’ (<i>kaan</i> ‘to eat’)
<i>mVng-</i> + <i>pa-rios</i>	→	<i>mam-[p̥]a-rios</i>	‘to turn s.t.’ (<i>rios</i> ‘to turn around’)
<i>mVng-</i> + <i>pa-telengan</i>	→	<i>mam-[p̥]a-telengan</i>	‘to turn face upward’ (<i>telengan</i> ‘lie face up’)

mVng- + *po-loop-i* → *mom-[p̚]o-loop-i* ‘give a bath to s.o.’
(*mo-loop* ‘take a bath’)

However, with *p*-initial roots, no deletion takes place:

mVng- + *pa-polos-i* → *mam-pa-polos-i* ‘to hurt’
(*ma-polos* ‘painful’)
mVng- + *pa-pate-i* → *mam-pa-pate-i* ‘to kill’
(*pate* ‘to die, be dead’)
mVng- + *po-pupus* → *mom-po-pupus* ‘to fulfill, to finish’
(*pupus* ‘finished’)

g. In combination with the attemptive prefix *pi-* (§5.7.3) there is deletion, even with *p*-initial roots:

mVng- + *pi-daga-i* → *mim-[p̚]i-daga-i* ‘to try to guard’
(*daga-i* ‘to guard’)
mVng- + *pi-soop-kon* → *mim-[p̚]i-soop-kon* ‘to try to enter s.t.’
(*soop-kon* ‘to enter s.t.’)
mVng- + *pi-piile'* → *mim-[p̚]i-piile'* ‘to try to see’
(*piile'* ‘to see’)
mVng- + *pi-pupu* → *mim-[p̚]i-pupu* ‘to try to pick’
(*pupu* ‘to pick’)

2.8.3 Other ng-final prefixes

Surprisingly, other prefixes which end in a velar nasal show different behaviour: *ming-*, *ning-* and *ping-* (intransitive), *tong-* (unintentional) and the prefixed numerals *sang-* (‘one’) *ruang-* (‘two’) and *tolung-* (‘three’) undergo nasal assimilation before obstruents (*p*, *b*, *t*, *d*, *s*), just like the actor prefixes. However, there are two main differences: with this set of prefixes there is never deletion of *p* (only assimilation); neither is there vowel epenthesis before sonorants. Instead, the velar nasal is deleted before sonorants. Also, the vowels in these prefixes are fixed and do not assimilate. Examples:

ming- + *usan* → *ming-usan* ‘to walk in the rain’
ming- + *soop* → *min-soop* ‘to enter’
ming- + *noa* → *mi-noa* ‘to breathe’
tong- + *piile'* → *tom-piile'* ‘to see unintentionally’
tong- + *yoona* → *to-yoona* ‘to shake unintentionally’
sang- + *bitu'on* → *sam-bitu'on* ‘one month’
sang- + *loloona* → *sa-loloona* ‘one thousand’
sang- + *taa'* → *san-taa'* ‘one word’
sang- + *wuras* → *sa-wuras* ‘one seed’ (variant *sam-buras*)
ruang- + *ilio* → *ruang-ilio* ‘two days’
ruang- + *pulo'* → *ruam-pulo'* ‘twenty’
tolung- + *ilio* → *tolung-ilio* ‘three days’
tolung- + *pulo'* → *tolum-pulo'* ‘thirty’

This system of allomorphy can result in some homophony. The prefix in a verb like *min-sirap* ‘burn (over a flame)’ could be either the actor voice prefix *mVng-* (with vowel harmony and nasal assimilation) or the intransitive prefix *ming-* (with just nasal assimilation), in combination with the root *sirap*. The occurrence of patient voice forms such as *ni-sirap* and *sirap-on* show that in *min-sirap* we are dealing with the actor voice prefix *mVng-*.

An exception to the nasal deletion rule is *ming-* + *penek* ‘to climb a tree’ > *mimenek*.

2.8.4 Nasal deletion in possessive suffixes

The pronominal suffixes *-ngku* ‘my’ and *-nta* ‘our (inclusive)’ both delete the nasal following nouns ending in a consonant, thereby avoiding an ungrammatical sequence of three consonants.

<i>tama</i> + <i>-ngku</i>	→	<i>tama-ngku</i>	‘my father’
<i>nuur</i> + <i>-ngku</i>	→	<i>nuur-ku</i>	‘my coconut’
<i>laigan</i> + <i>-ngku</i>	→	<i>laigan-ku</i>	‘my house’
<i>apu</i> + <i>-nta</i>	→	<i>apu-nta</i>	‘our fire’
<i>siok</i> + <i>-nta</i>	→	<i>siok-ta</i>	‘our chicken’
<i>wurung</i> + <i>-nta</i>	→	<i>wurung-ta</i>	‘our language’

2.8.5 Consonant degemination

When the final consonant of a noun or verb base is identical to the initial consonant of a following suffix or clitic, consonant degemination occurs, resulting in a single consonant. The consonants involved are *p*, *t*, *k*, *s*, *m* and *n* in *-po*, *-ta* (from *-nta* after *n* is lost), *-kon*, *-ku* (from *-ngku* after *ng* is lost), *-si*, *-mo*, *-muu* and *-na*. In each case, the single surface consonant syllabifies to the next syllable.

<i>ma'ulop</i> + <i>-po</i>	→	<i>ma'ulopo</i>	‘since morning’
<i>bunut</i> + <i>-nta</i>	→	<i>bunuta</i>	‘our coconut husks’
<i>wuuk</i> + <i>-ngku</i>	→	<i>wuuku</i>	‘my hair’
<i>sarak</i> + <i>-kon</i>	→	<i>sarakon</i>	‘to look for’
<i>dampas</i> + <i>-si</i>	→	<i>dampasi</i>	‘(will be) free later’
<i>susum</i> + <i>-muu</i>	→	<i>susumu</i>	‘your (pl) fish’
<i>malom</i> + <i>-mo</i>	→	<i>malomo</i>	‘(it is) already night’
<i>naan</i> + <i>-na</i>	→	<i>naana</i>	‘his name’

In the practical Balantak orthography, however, which is followed throughout this grammar, such underlying sequences are still written with double consonants: *ma'uloppo*, *bunutta*, *wuukku*, *sarakkon*, *dampassi* etc. This follows Indonesian orthography, where double consonants are also written, though not pronounced (e.g., *masukkan*, *betullah*).

2.8.6 Glottal insertion

There is a set of prefixes in Balantak which show a glottal before word stems beginning with a vowel; before verb stems beginning with a consonant no glottal is present. These prefixes include *ba-*, *ka-*, *ki-*, *ni-*, *pi-*, *poo-*, *ti-*, *to-*, as well as *ma-*, *mara-*, *mo-*, *moko-*, *moto-* and their corresponding sets of *n*-initial (realis) and *p*-initial (gerund) prefixes. The following pairs are illustrative:

<i>poopool</i>	‘to hit each other’	<i>pool</i>	‘to hit’
<i>poo'ala</i>	‘to take from each other’	<i>ala</i>	‘to take’
<i>motokol</i>	‘to lie down’	<i>tokol</i>	‘to lie down, sleep’
<i>mo'ale'</i>	‘to garden’	<i>ale'</i>	‘garden’

There are three possible analyses to account for the presence of the glottal in these alternations:

a. The root has an initial glottal and the prefix ends in a vowel: *poo-* + *'ala*. This is the least satisfactory analysis, because glottal is not phonemic word-initially, as mentioned in §2.3. Also, prefixes such as *mVng-* simply yield the form *mangala*, indicating a vowel-initial root *ala* ‘to take’.

b. The prefix ends in a glottal which surfaces before vowel-initial roots, but gets deleted before consonant-initial roots: *poo'* + *ala*. This position, taken in Busenitz and Busenitz (1991), describes the alternation accurately, but leaves certain facts unexplained.

c. An alternative analysis is to argue that neither prefix nor root contains a glottal: *poo-* + *ala*. The glottal is inserted by rule when a vowel-final prefix meets a vowel-initial root. This seems to be the most

plausible analysis. Evidence for this approach comes from reduplication, where glottals are normally not written. The reduplicated form of *upa* ‘what’ is *upa-upa* [upaʔupa] ‘things; anything’. The occurrence of the medial glottal is unexplained (as *upa* neither starts nor ends with a glottal), unless we posit automatic glottal insertion between the final vowel of the reduplicant (which acts as a prefix) and the initial vowel of the root. In *Caa*-reduplication (§2.9.3) the same process can be seen at work. Compare *sianta notaatokol* ‘did not sleep at all’ (root *tokol* ‘to lie down, sleep’) with *sianta no'aa'ili* ‘did not buy anything’ (root *ili* ‘to buy’). The reduplicative template copies the initial consonant and supplies the fixed vowel sequence *aa*. When the reduplicant meets a vowel-initial root, a glottal stop is automatically inserted, accounting for the sequence *aa'ili*. The rule of glottal insertion accounts for the glottal in both prefixes and reduplication and is, therefore, to be preferred over the previous analysis. An additional advantage of this analysis is that it is historically correct; most of the prefixes listed above have been reconstructed with final vowels, e.g., *ni-, *ka- and *pa- (see Blust 2003).

Glottal insertion also applies between proclitics and words (although again, it is not written): *na aropna* [naʔarópna] ‘in front of it’. It also occurs between full words when vowels meet (word break symbolized by #): *tia opuu* [tía#ʔopú:] ‘with an egg’; *kalu isian* [kálu#ʔisían] ‘if there is’; *mingili oto* [mingíli#ʔóto] ‘buy a car’.

Notice, however, that glottal insertion does not apply at the juncture of stems and suffixes, as shown by *ala* + *-on* > *alaon* ‘taken’, not *[alaʔon], and *bela* + *-i* > *belai* ‘to wound’, not *[belaʔi]. Glottal insertion does not apply with enclitics, either. The article *a*, for instance, precedes nouns, but optionally cliticizes to the preceding verb (though it is always written separately). In the clause, *mapolos a kompongku* ‘I have a stomach-ache’, the article *a* can be pronounced as part of the preceding phonological word: *mapolosa*. However, it does not trigger a shift in stress, which is still on the penultimate syllable *po*: [mapólósa#kompónku]. Similarly, in the clause, *ni'ilimo a otongku* ‘my car has already been bought’, the article cliticizes to the verb and glottal insertion is not possible: *[niʔilimoʔa]. However, a non-phonemic glottal does occur between *a* and *oto*, as *oto* is a new phonological word: [niʔilímoa#ʔotónku]. A similar case can be seen with *alaonku i kuu* ‘I will take you’, where there is no glottal between the suffix *-ku* and the personal article *i*: [alaónkui#kú:].

2.8.7 Second person singular possessive suffix -Vm

Several different phonological processes occur with the second person singular possessive suffix *-Vm* ‘your’. Like *mVng-*, this suffix also has twenty surface forms, but the allomorphy is arguably more complex in this case. In order to give a clear overall presentation, we present the processes together here, followed by a table.

a. The base form *-Vm* has a relatively restricted environment: it is found following stems ending with a single vowel or a sequence of two non-identical vowels. The quality of the suffix vowel is determined by the last vowel of the root (or the stem, in case there are other suffixes).

<i>tama</i> + <i>-Vm</i>	→	<i>tama-am</i>	‘your father’
<i>kopi</i> + <i>-Vm</i>	→	<i>kopi-im</i>	‘your coffee’
<i>tambue</i> + <i>-Vm</i>	→	<i>tambue-em</i>	‘your green beans’

The allomorph *-Vm* is also found following glottal-final roots, irrespective of the number or identity of the preceding vowels (showing the aberrant behaviour of glottals vis-à-vis other consonants):

<i>ale'</i> + <i>-Vm</i>	→	<i>ale'-em</i>	‘your garden’
<i>bakoko'</i> + <i>-Vm</i>	→	<i>bakoko'-om</i>	‘your knife’
<i>bau'</i> + <i>-Vm</i>	→	<i>bau'-um</i>	‘your pig’
<i>waa'</i> + <i>-Vm</i>	→	<i>waa'-am</i>	‘your ear infection’

b. When a noun ends with a sequence of identical vowels, *w* is inserted before the vowel of the suffix *-Vm*. This insertion prevents a sequence of three identical vowels.

<i>palaa</i> + <i>-Vm</i>	→	<i>palaa-wam</i>	‘your palm’
<i>kasabii</i> + <i>-Vm</i>	→	<i>kasabii-wim</i>	‘your cassava’

opuu + *-Vm* → *opuu-wum* ‘your egg’

c. When the stem ends in a consonant (other than glottal), preceded by a single vowel or a sequence of unlike vowels, *-Vm* is realized as an infix *-V-*, which is inserted before the final consonant.

sarat + *-Vm* → *sara<a>t* ‘your foot’
wewer + *-Vm* → *wewe<e>r* ‘your lips’
pakean + *-Vm* → *pakea<a>n* ‘your clothes’

d. When the stem ends in a consonant (other than glottal) preceded by a sequence of like vowels, *-Vm* is realized as the infix *-wV-* with epenthetic *w*.

balaan + *-Vm* → *balaa<wa>n* ‘your palm stem’
weer + *-Vm* → *wee<we>r* ‘your water’
roon + *-Vm* → *roo<wo>n* ‘your banana leaf’

The examples, so far, have been nouns, but the possessive suffixes also occur as agents on irrealis patient-voice forms, marked by *-on* (see §3.5). Notice the following forms:

suap + *-on* + *-Vm* → *suap-o<o>n* ‘burned by you’
ala + *-on* + *-Vm* → *ala-o<o>n* ‘taken by you’
bako + *-on* + *-Vm* → *bako-o<wo>n* ‘cut by you’

Table 2.6 shows the various allomorphs in chart form, where the gloss is the simple noun.

Table 2.6. Allomorphs of 2sg possessive *-Vm*

final CV _i (V _j)	final glottal	final CV _i V _i	final CV(V _j)C	final CV _i V _i C
<i>tama</i> <i>tama-am</i> ‘father’	<i>waa'</i> <i>waa'-am</i> ‘ear infection’	<i>palaa</i> <i>palaa-wam</i> ‘palm’	<i>sarat</i> <i>sara<a>t</i> ‘foot, leg’	<i>balaan</i> <i>balaa<wa>n</i> ‘palm stem’
<i>tambue</i> <i>tambue-em</i> ‘green bean’	<i>ale'</i> <i>ale'-em</i> ‘garden’	<i>see</i> <i>see-wem</i> ‘odor’	<i>wewer</i> <i>wewe<e>r</i> ‘lip’	<i>weer</i> <i>wee<we>r</i> ‘water’
<i>kopi</i> <i>kopi-im</i> ‘coffee’	<i>orii'</i> <i>orii'-im</i> ‘pole, post’	<i>kasabii</i> <i>kasabii-wim</i> ‘cassava’	<i>witis</i> <i>witi<i>s</i> ‘calf (of leg)’	<i>piit</i> <i>pui<wi>t</i> ‘bicycle’
<i>tigo</i> <i>tigo-om</i> ‘tobacco’	<i>bakoko'</i> <i>bakoko'-om</i> ‘machete’	<i>suloo</i> <i>suloo-wom</i> ‘heart’	<i>bolusukon</i> <i>bolusuko<o>n</i> ‘durian’	<i>roon</i> <i>roo<wo>n</i> ‘banana leaf’
<i>apu</i> <i>apu-um</i> ‘fire’	<i>bau'</i> <i>bau'-um</i> ‘pig’	<i>opuu</i> <i>opuu-wum</i> ‘egg’	<i>popurun</i> <i>popuru<u>n</i> ‘sago’	<i>tuur</i> <i>tuu<wu>r</i> ‘knee’

2.9 Reduplication

This section deals with the formal aspects of reduplication; the semantics is briefly touched on, but a more extensive discussion is presented in the sections referred to below. Five types of productive reduplication are found in Balantak, all of which are prefixing. The only exception found, so far, is the adverb *sabole-bole* ‘must; very much hoped’, which shows disyllabic suffixing reduplication on the basis of *sabole* ‘definitely, certainly’.

2.9.1 CV-reduplication

CV-reduplication on verbs creates nouns indicating the instrument used to perform the action; occasionally, it may also refer to the manner or the person performing the action. With vowel-initial bases only V is reduplicated.

<i>to-tobok</i>	‘dagger, spike’	<i>mon-tobok</i>	‘to stab’
<i>ko-koot</i>	‘rope’	<i>mong-koot</i>	‘to tie’
<i>pe-penek</i>	‘tree climber’	<i>mem-[p]enek</i>	‘to climb’
<i>su-sulu’i</i>	‘nail clipper’	<i>mun-sulu’i</i>	‘to clip one’s nails’
<i>i’-inum</i>	‘way of drinking’	<i>ming-inum</i>	‘to drink’

CV-reduplication also occurs on a few other words as a fossilized prefix:

<i>te-tende’</i>	‘run!’	<i>t < um > etende’</i>	‘to run’	(*tende’)
<i>ke-kerer</i>	‘stand!’	<i>k < um > ekerer</i>	‘to stand’	(*kerer)
<i>ti-tiu’</i>	‘a little’	<i>toro tiu’</i>	‘a few times’	(*tiu’)

In glossing such words, this reduplication will not be indicated.

2.9.2 CVV-reduplication with V-infixation

This unusual pattern appears to be a combination of reduplication and infixation. The first CV of the root is reduplicated with the V copied (resulting in CVV); at the same time the first vowel of the root is also copied through reduplicative infixation, resulting in the pattern CV_iV_i-CV_iV_i. This type is found on unmarked stative verbs and means ‘approaching the state of X, almost X, not quite X, not really X.’

<i>bee-beenteng</i>	‘almost full’	<i>benteng</i>	‘full, satisfied’
<i>maa-maalom</i>	‘almost dark’	<i>malom</i>	‘dark’
<i>mee-meemel</i>	‘almost cold’	<i>memel</i>	‘cold’
<i>naa-naau’</i>	‘not so long’	<i>nau’</i>	‘long’
<i>poo-poore</i>	‘not really good’	<i>pore</i>	‘good’

With stative verb roots having the prefixes *ma-* or *mo-*, the pattern is slightly different. The infixing is still there (see below), but the reduplicating prefix is disyllabic (CVCV) rather than CVV.

<i>ma’a-ma’aagor</i>	‘not really fast’	<i>ma’-agor</i>	‘fast’
<i>mapo-mapoolos</i>	‘almost painful’	<i>ma-polos</i>	‘painful’
<i>mara-maraawat</i>	‘not really heavy’	<i>ma-rawat</i>	‘heavy’
<i>mo’i-mo’iitom</i>	‘not really black’	<i>mo’-itom</i>	‘black’
<i>molo-moloolu</i>	‘almost hungry’	<i>mo-lolu</i>	‘hungry’
<i>motu-motuu’a</i>	‘not really old’	<i>mo-tu’a</i>	‘old’
<i>moyu-moyuubok</i>	‘not really soft’	<i>mo-yubok</i>	‘soft’

Most of the verbs in this latter group have variants without infixation: *ma’a-ma’aagor*, *mapo-mapolos*, *molo-mololu* etc. In that case, we seem to be dealing with simple disyllabic reduplication (see §2.9.4) where *ma-* and *mo-* are taken as part of the base.

2.9.3 Caa-reduplication

Caa-reduplication copies the first consonant (if there is one) and supplies the fixed vowel sequence *aa*. It occurs on dynamic and transitive verbs in combination with a negator (*sian* or *sianta* ‘not’) in the meaning ‘never did X; did not X at all; did not X anything’. For the occurrence of the glottal stop with vowel-initial roots, see §2.8.6.

<i>sianta no-baa-bubut</i>	‘pull nothing’	<i>bubut</i>	‘to pull out’
<i>sianta no-kaa-kaan</i>	‘eat nothing’	<i>kaan</i>	‘to eat’
<i>sianta no-raa-rongor</i>	‘never listen’	<i>rongor</i>	‘to hear’
<i>sianta no-saa-soosa’</i>	‘never honour’	<i>soosa’</i>	‘to honour, worship’
<i>sianta no-taa-tokol</i>	‘never sleep’	<i>tokol</i>	‘to lie down, sleep’
<i>sianta no-taa-toop</i>	‘never smoke’	<i>toop</i>	‘to smoke’
<i>sianta no’-aa’-ili</i>	‘buy nothing’	<i>ili</i>	‘to buy’
<i>sianta no’-aa’-inum</i>	‘not drink at all’	<i>inum</i>	‘to drink’

2.9.4 Disyllabic reduplication

This is the most common reduplication type in the language, occurring on verbs, nouns, and numerals, as well as some adverbs. The first two syllables of the root are reduplicated, minus the coda of the second syllable. For the semantics, see §4.2.3 (for nouns), §4.5.3 (for numerals), and §5.7.11 (for verbs). In this section, only the progressive/continuative meaning on verbs is illustrated.

<i>into-inton</i>	‘holding’	<i>inton</i>	‘to hold’
<i>kolo-kolon</i>	‘carrying’	<i>kolon</i>	‘to carry’
<i>loe-loe</i>	‘hanging’	<i>loe</i>	‘to hang’
<i>rae-rae’</i>	‘going’	<i>rae’</i>	‘to go’

2.9.5 Prosodic word reduplication

This reduplication type copies the full prosodic word: either two syllables (including the coda of the second syllable) or three syllables. It appears to be productive only on numerals (§4.5.3), but it also occurs with a few nouns and adverbs:

<i>sa’angu’-sa’angu’</i>	‘only one or two’	<i>sa’angu’</i>	‘one’
<i>rua’-rua’</i>	‘in pairs’	<i>rua’</i>	‘two’
<i>tolu’-tolu’</i>	‘in groups of three’	<i>tolu’</i>	‘three’
<i>paat-paat</i>	‘in groups of four’	<i>paat</i>	‘four’
<i>ilio-ilio</i>	1. ‘during day time’ 2. ‘every day’	<i>ilio</i>	‘day’
<i>pensan-pensan</i>	‘occasionally’	<i>pensan</i>	‘once’

2.10 Miscellaneous

This section describes three minor phonological processes in Balantak.

a. **Deletion of *w***. When the locative prefix *ku-* is added to the demonstrative irrealis venitive prefix *waa* (§8.7), *w* is deleted: *ku-* + *waa-* + *le’e* > *kuaale’e* ‘over there (to the side)’; *ku-* + *waa-* + *ro’o* > *kuaaro’o* ‘over there (below)’. As the sequence *uwa* does not appear in roots (with the exception of *beyuwa’* ‘scorpion’, a variant of *beua’*), this appears to be a phonotactic constraint in the language.

Similarly, the sequence *awu* varies with *au* in *malawu* ~ *malau* ‘go down’, although similar words retain *w*, e.g., *awu* ‘dust’; *r < um > awut* ‘clear weeds’. Compare, also, the optional *w*-deletion in *dawo’* ~ *dao’* ‘fall’, although again, this does not occur in other *awo* sequences, such as *awok* ‘k.o. bamboo’; *wawo* ‘top’; *dawok* ‘in-law’.

b. **Syllabic nasal**. In colloquial speech, the perfective suffix *-mo* is sometimes realized as a syllabic nasal *m*: *birisii-mo* [birisí:m] ‘it is already clean’; *daa-mo* [dá:m] ‘it is done’, *lapus-mo* [lapús:m] ‘it is dead’. Note that the loss of the final vowel does not alter the stress.

c. **Vowel deletion**. In colloquial speech, the vowel in a *kV̄k* sequence may be deleted in trisyllabic words. The resulting geminate consonant is pronounced as a long consonant (symbolized by a colon). The only known cases are *bakoko’ku* > [bakók:u] ‘my machete’ and *bokukum* > [bók:um] ‘shirt’.

2.11 Adaptation of loanwords

Most of the borrowed vocabulary in Balantak originates from Malay/Indonesian, though the ultimate source languages of many words are Dutch, Arabic, Sanskrit, Persian, Portuguese, and Hokkien. Some words appear to be direct loans from Dutch, possibly through Manado Malay, and a few loans could have come from the neighbouring Banggai language. Since the segmental phonology of Balantak is rather similar to Indonesian, a number of words have been borrowed without any phonological change. These include *kapal* ‘ship’, *karung* ‘bag’, *kidung* ‘hymn’, *lelang* ‘auction’, *meter* ‘metre’ and many others. Other loans have undergone phonological adaptations. In this section, the main adaptations of these loanwords are discussed, but no attempt is made to provide a comprehensive treatment of borrowings in Balantak. Sources of loans are taken from Jones (2007).

a. **Vowel lengthening.** Since Balantak does not allow monosyllabic content words, all monosyllabic loanwords have a lengthened vowel in order to fulfill the constraint of a disyllabic root. Interestingly, some of the Dutch originals also have a long vowel, which has been shortened in Indonesian.

Balantak		Indonesian	
<i>baang</i>	‘bank’	<i>bank</i>	(Dutch <i>bank</i>)
<i>boom</i>	‘bomb’	<i>bom</i>	(Dutch <i>bom</i>)
<i>boor</i>	‘drill’	<i>bor</i>	(Dutch <i>boor</i>)
<i>ceet</i>	‘paint’	<i>cet ~ cat</i>	(Hokkien <i>cchat</i>)
<i>doos</i>	‘box’	<i>dos</i>	(Dutch <i>doos</i>)
<i>goong</i>	‘gong’	<i>gong</i>	
<i>kool</i>	‘cabbage’	<i>kol</i>	(Dutch <i>kool</i>)
<i>paas</i>	‘suitable’	<i>pas</i>	(Dutch <i>pas</i>)
<i>piit</i>	‘bicycle’	-	(Dutch <i>fiets</i>)
<i>rook</i>	‘skirt’	<i>rok</i>	(Dutch <i>rok</i>)
<i>seeng</i>	‘corrugated iron roofing’	<i>seng</i>	(Dutch <i>zink</i>)
<i>taas</i>	‘bag’	<i>tas</i>	(Dutch <i>tas</i>)

Vowel lengthening is also found in polysyllabic words where stress falls on the last syllable in Indonesian (either because the first syllable contains schwa, which is never stressed, or because it has retained final stress from Dutch). In those cases, even though the original word is disyllabic, the unstressed initial syllable is extrametrical, not counting for stress purposes.

<i>akoor</i>	‘agree’	<i>akor</i>	(Dutch <i>accoord</i>)
<i>baal</i>	‘ball’	-	(Dutch <i>bal</i>)
<i>bensiin</i>	‘petrol, gas’	<i>bensin</i>	(Dutch <i>benzine</i>)
<i>betoon</i>	‘brick’	<i>beton</i>	(Dutch <i>beton</i> ‘concrete’)
<i>galaas</i>	‘glass’	<i>gelas</i>	(Dutch <i>glas</i>)
<i>kalaar</i>	‘finished’	<i>kelar</i>	(Dutch <i>klaar</i>)
<i>kalaas</i>	‘class’	<i>kelas</i>	(Dutch <i>klas</i>)
<i>kantaang</i>	‘potato’	<i>kentang</i>	
<i>kaseet</i>	‘casette’	<i>kaset</i>	(Dutch <i>casette</i>)
<i>salaang</i>	‘plastic pipe/hose’	<i>selang</i>	(Dutch <i>slang</i>)
<i>sitoor</i>	‘deposit’	<i>setor</i>	(Dutch <i>storten</i>)
<i>turuus</i>	‘continue’	<i>terus</i>	

b. **Replacement of schwa.** The mid-central Indonesian vowel /ə/ (written as *e*) is often replaced by *a*. However, if there is only a single vowel following (which is lengthened in Balantak), schwa takes the identity of that vowel.

<i>birisii</i>	‘clean’	<i>bersih</i>	
<i>beleek</i>	‘tin can’	<i>blek</i>	(Dutch <i>blik</i>)
<i>kapala</i>	‘head, chief’	<i>kepala</i>	(Sanskrit <i>kapāla</i>)

<i>katupat</i>	‘woven rice container’	<i>ketupat</i>
<i>tampat</i>	‘place’	<i>tempat</i>
<i>turuus</i>	‘continue’	<i>terus</i>

Following *s*, schwa is replaced by *i*:

<i>sikoop</i>	‘shovel’	<i>skop ~ sekop</i>	(Dutch <i>schop</i>)
<i>sipeda</i>	‘bicycle’	<i>sepéda</i>	(Dutch <i>velocipède</i>)
<i>sitirika</i>	‘to iron’	<i>seterika</i>	(Dutch <i>strijken</i>)

c. **Breaking of clusters.** Initial and medial clusters which are not allowed, are broken with an epenthetic vowel (often *a*). In addition to the first two examples in the previous section (*birisii* and *beleek*), the following can be listed:

<i>baradosa</i>	‘sinful’	<i>berdosa</i>	(Sanskrit <i>doṣa</i>)
<i>barakaat</i>	‘blessing’	<i>berkat</i>	(Arabic <i>baraka</i>)
<i>kasubii</i>	‘cassava’ (also <i>kasabii</i> , <i>kasabii</i>)	<i>kasbi</i>	
<i>kurubaan</i>	‘sacrifice’	<i>kurban</i>	(Arabic <i>qurbān</i>)
<i>sarataa</i>	‘after’	<i>serta</i> ‘with’	(Sanskrit <i>sārtha</i>)
<i>surugaa</i>	‘heaven’	<i>surga</i>	(Sanskrit <i>svarga</i>)

In recent loans, clusters do occur, e.g., *dokter* ‘doctor’.

d. **Introduction of palatals *c* and *j*.** The voiceless palatal affricate *c* and the voiced palatal affricate *j* are found only in clear or suspected loanwords:

<i>catur</i>	‘chess’	<i>catur</i>	(Sanskrit <i>caturaṅga</i>)
<i>ceet</i>	‘paint’	<i>cet</i>	(Hokkien <i>cchat</i>)
<i>kaca</i>	‘glass’	<i>kaca</i>	(Sanskrit <i>kāca</i>)
<i>jaam</i>	‘hour, time’	<i>jam</i>	(Arabic <i>zām</i>)
<i>janggo’</i>	‘beard’	<i>janggut</i>	
<i>jaha’</i>	‘rice cooked in bamboo’	-	
<i>japung</i>	‘k.o. sea cucumber’	-	
<i>pajeko</i>	‘plough’	-	(Makasar <i>pa’jeko</i>)

In (presumably) older loanwords *c* has been borrowed as *s*, and *j* as *d*, while in other cases, there is free variation:

<i>bisara</i>	‘to speak’	<i>bicara</i>	(Sanskrit <i>vicāra</i>)
<i>daga</i>	‘to guard’	<i>jaga</i>	(Sanskrit <i>jagarti</i>)
<i>donga</i>	‘deer’ (var. <i>donga’</i> , <i>jonga</i>)	<i>jonga</i>	
<i>meda</i>	‘table’ (var. <i>meja</i> , <i>meja’</i>)	<i>meja</i>	(Portuguese <i>mesa</i>)
<i>karandang</i>	‘basket’	<i>keranjang</i>	

e. **Introduction of *h*.** There is no *h* in native words in Balantak and in older loan words, initial *h* has been lost; e.g., *alus* ‘soft, smooth; spirit, ghost’ (Ind *halus*) and *ukum* ‘to judge’ (Ind *hukum*). In more recent loanwords, initial *h* is retained: *harimau* ‘tiger’, *hapal* ‘to memorize’ and *hurup* ‘letter’, but final *h* (which is not pronounced in colloquial Malay) is always lost: *lati* ‘to exercise’ (Ind *latih*).

f. **Substitution of *f* by *p*.** There is no *f* or *v* in native words, and these sounds are consistently replaced by *p*:

<i>hapal</i>	‘to memorize’	<i>hafal</i>	(Arabic <i>ḥafẓ</i>)
<i>pitamiin</i>	‘vitamine’	<i>vitamin</i>	(Dutch <i>vitamine</i>)
<i>poloît</i>	‘flute’	<i>peluit</i>	(Dutch <i>fluit</i>)
<i>poto</i>	‘photograph’	<i>foto</i>	(Dutch <i>foto</i>)

g. **Paragogic glottal.** A number of vowel-final nouns have added a word-final glottal. The constraints behind this adaptation are not yet clear. In addition to the variants *meja'* and *donga'* listed above, the following have been found:

<i>piso'</i>	'knife'	<i>pisau</i>	
<i>sapi'</i>	'cow'	<i>sapi</i>	
<i>toko'</i>	'shop'	<i>toko</i>	(Hokkien <i>thó kò</i>)

h. **Rhotacization of l.** In a small number of words, *l* has been replaced by *r*.

<i>asar</i>	'provided that, as long as'	<i>asal</i>	(Arabic <i>ašl</i>)
<i>botor</i>	'bottle'	<i>botol</i>	(English; Portuguese <i>bottiglia</i>)
<i>aruar</i>	'trousers'	<i>seluar</i>	(Persian <i>shalwār</i>)

In at least two cases, the reverse has occurred; that is, *r* has been replaced by *l*.

<i>parakala</i>	'issue, lawsuit'	<i>perkara</i>	(Sanskrit <i>prakāra</i>)
<i>takalan</i>	'measure, liter'	<i>takaran</i>	

However, in most loanwords *l* and *r* have been retained (see examples above, e.g., *boor*, *kool*, *rook*, *kapala*, *turuus*). The most plausible explanation for this strange pattern is that these words entered Balantak through Banggai, where *r* is in free variation with *l* in both native words and in loanwords (van den Bergh 1953:11-12).³ Words such as *botor* 'bottle' may represent cases of hypercorrection in Banggai, which was carried over into Balantak.

i. **Idiosyncratic changes.** A rather large number of words show unexpected changes.

<i>bidodari</i>	'fairy'	<i>bidadari</i>	(Sanskrit <i>vidyādhari</i>)
<i>bokor</i>	'cup, beaker'	<i>beker</i>	(Dutch <i>beker</i>)
<i>diim</i>	'evil spirit'	<i>jīn</i>	(Arabic <i>jinn</i>)
<i>doi'</i>	'money'	<i>doit ~ duit</i> (archaic)	(Dutch <i>duit</i>)
<i>domi</i>	'domino'	<i>domino</i>	(Dutch <i>domino</i>)
<i>intam</i>	'diamond'	<i>intan</i>	
<i>karatupeel</i>	'slingshot, catapult'	<i>katapel</i> ⁴	(Dutch <i>katapult</i>)
<i>marampatii</i>	'pigeon, dove'	<i>merpati</i>	(Sanskrit <i>parapati</i>)
<i>pulutiik</i>	'politics'	<i>politik</i>	(Dutch <i>politiek</i>)
<i>ridikii</i>	'favour, fortune'	<i>rezeki</i>	(Arabic <i>rizq</i>)
<i>rosloiten</i>	'zipper'	<i>ritsleting</i>	(Dutch <i>ritssluiting</i>)
<i>sabu'</i>	'soap'	<i>sabun</i>	(Portuguese <i>sabão</i> or Arabic <i>ṣābūn</i>)
<i>sinsim</i>	'ring'	<i>cincin</i>	
<i>surumiin</i>	'goggles, diving mask'	<i>cermin</i>	'mirror'
<i>Balantak staap</i>	'Balantak town'	-	(Dutch <i>stad</i>)
<i>talalo</i>	'too (much)'	<i>terlalu</i>	

³Mead (2003a:70) states that earlier PMP *d, *D and *r have merged as *r* in Proto-Saluan-Banggai, which subsequently became *l* in Banggai. Given van den Bergh's statement about free variation between *l* and *r* in many Banggai words, this appears to be an oversimplification.

⁴The addition of *ra* is unexplained in Balantak, but *r* is also found in e.g., Jakarta Malay *kertepèl ~ kertepil*, Kupang Malay *kartapel* and Muna *karatapel*.

3. Grammar overview

3.1 Introduction

Before delving into the complexities of Balantak grammar, we first present a basic overview of its morphosyntax. The advantages of doing this are several. In the first place, this approach enables us to deal with various subcomponents of the language in a unified way, leaving the details to be worked out for the various levels in later chapters. For instance, issues of voice, mode, verb morphology, word order and articles are all intertwined, and the customary way of describing these aspects in different chapters may obscure their crucial interrelationship. Secondly, the reader will hopefully gain a broad initial understanding of the major structural properties of Balantak, without drowning in the details, irregularities, and exceptions which inevitably accompany a more comprehensive treatment. Finally, this approach allows us to carefully define our terminology and illustrate it on selected non-complex examples.

Some of the examples in this chapter are taken from texts or from conversations, but have been modified to suit the purpose of this introductory overview. A number have also been elicited, sometimes by creating variations in voice and word order. All examples have been carefully checked for acceptability.

We will start off with a brief typology of Balantak (§3.2), followed by a short discussion of word classes (§3.3), and then move into the core of the chapter.

3.2 Basic typology

The following brief statements present a very succinct typological picture of Balantak. In many ways, Balantak is a fairly typical Western Austronesian language (Himmelman 2005).

a. Balantak has **three modes**: **irrealis** (for the present and future), **realis** (for the past), and a **gerund**. The gerund is an atemporal multifunctional category which blends into nominalization. Its functions include those of imperative, purpose, and instrument.

b. Balantak has a **symmetrical voice** system distinguishing **three voices**: agent voice, patient voice, and locative voice.

c. The voice and mode categories are often **combined** into single portmanteau affixes. The suffix *-on*, for instance, marks irrealis patient voice.

d. The realis patient voice has two distinct manifestations: **agentless** and **agented**.

e. There are **three pronominal sets**: free pronouns, possessive suffixes (also used for non-subject agents), and oblique pronouns.

f. There is considerable **valency-changing morphology**, including two applicatives (*-i* and *-kon*), causatives and reciprocals. Other verbal morphology covers categories such as accidental, non-volitional, requestive, and attemptive.

g. The language uses **prepositions**.

h. Within the noun phrase, the **possessor** phrase always **follows** the head noun.

i. The **deictic system** uses seven basic demonstrative forms and is extremely complex.

j. The **numeral system** is thoroughly **decimal**. The number and use of **classifiers** is very limited.

k. There is a rich system of **nominalizations**.

l. **Constituent order** in intransitive clauses is either VS or SV; in transitive clauses mainly SVO, though important variations exist. Non-initial common subjects are marked with the article *a*.

m. **Clause combining** mainly happens through juxtaposition, conjoining, and subordination.

n. **Morphologically**, the language is rich, making use of prefixes, infixes, suffixes, circumfixes and several types of reduplication.

o. The language does **not** make use of:

- gender distinctions in nouns and pronouns;
- definite or indefinite articles;

- case-marking morphology on nouns;
- person-marking on verbs;
- copular constructions.

3.3 Word classes

For Balantak, we distinguish the following twelve word classes. Of these twelve, only the first two, nouns and verbs, are open classes. All other classes are closed. We realize that this classification is not the only conceivable one. It would be possible, for instance, to lump several of the closed classes together, e.g., articles, prepositions, conjunctions, and particles into a large class of ‘function words’. In terms of their distribution and semantics, however, the members of these classes are all sufficiently different to warrant their own word class.

We now briefly illustrate each category and give some defining features.

a. **Nouns** *wiwine* ‘woman’, *laigan* ‘house’

An open class, the members of which typically denote concrete entities and function as the head of a noun phrase. A noun phrase may function as subject, object, object of preposition, possessive phrase, or as nominal predicate in an equative clause. Nouns can be affixed by possessive suffixes and can be modified by articles, demonstratives, numerals, and quantifiers. See also chapter 4.

b. **Verbs** *pate* ‘die, be dead’, *bolos* ‘borrow’

An open class, the members of which typically denote states (property concepts), processes, and actions. Verbs function as the backbone of most clauses and are inflected for mode (realis, irrealis, gerund). Transitive verbs occur in either agent, patient, or locative voice. See also chapter 5.

c. **Pronouns** *yaku* ‘I’, *kai* ‘we (exclusive)’

A closed class of two sets (free and oblique) of seven elements each, that directly refer to the participants in a speech situation, or have anaphoric reference; see §4.1. There is also an additional set of pronominal suffixes (§4.1.2).

d. **Articles** *a* ‘article with common nouns’; *ai* ‘emphatic article’

Four words that precede nouns or pronouns with a syntactic-pragmatic function (§4.3).

e. **Demonstratives** *ni’i* ‘this’, *kando’o* ‘down there’

A closed class of eight words (and many derivatives) that locate a referent in relation to the speech situation (§4.4 and chapter 8).

f. **Numerals** *rua* ‘two’, *saloloon* ‘one thousand’

A closed class of words expressing precise numbers (§4.5).

g. **Quantifiers** *biai* ‘many’, *wiwi’na* ‘all’

A closed class of five words which give an imprecise indication of number or quantity (§4.6).

h. **Adverbs** *tuu* ‘very’, *tongko* ‘only’

A closed multifunctional class covering degree words, temporal adverbs, focussing adverbs, and sentence adverbs (§7.8).

i. **Prepositions** *na* ‘in, on, at’, *bo* ‘for’

A closed class of only a few words, always followed by a noun phrase, which indicate various semantic roles, notably location, purpose, accompaniment, and comparison (chapter 6).

j. **Conjunctions** *ka* ‘and’, *sarataa* ‘when, after’

A closed class of words that join two syntactic units, especially clauses (§10.3)

k. **Interjections** *bee* ‘surprise, shock’, *para-paraamo* ‘too bad’

A closed class of words which express the speaker’s emotion or state of mind (§7.10).

l. **Particles** *men* ‘relativizer’; *daa* ‘attitudinal marker’

A residual category of a few function words and some attitudinal markers (§7.8.5)

Notice that in this description, we do not recognize adjectives. Adjectival concepts (such as ‘big’, ‘good’ and ‘red’) are treated as stative verbs in Balantak. For more discussion, see §5.1.

3.4 Mode in intransitive verbs

The voice-mode interaction is distinctly at the heart of Balantak grammar. We start out with intransitive verbs in this section and then move on to transitive verbs in §3.5.

Balantak has three modes: irrealis, realis, and gerund. **Mode** is the grammatical category that (in Balantak) is usually marked by the initial consonants *m*, *n* and *p*. Semantically, mode involves not only tense (realis and irrealis), but also various non-temporal usages connected with the gerund.¹ Table 3.1 gives sample paradigms for the three modes on selected intransitive verbs from three of the seven verb classes.

Table 3.1. Mode affixes on intransitive verbs

	irrealis	realis	gerund	
class 1	<i>min-soop</i>	<i>nin-soop</i>	<i>pin-soop</i>	‘to enter’
class 2	<i>mo-loop</i>	<i>no-loop</i>	<i>po-loop</i>	‘to bathe’
class 3	<i>ma-lawu</i>	<i>na-lawu</i>	<i>pa-lawu</i>	‘to go down’

Irrealis verb forms place the action or the state in the present or the future; it is also the mode used in conditional clauses, procedural discourse, and clauses expressing general truths. **Realis** verb forms always refer to a completed state or event in the past. The **gerund** is an atemporal verb form which has at least six functions (details in §5.4). The most important of these is its use in imperative clauses, followed by its usage in purpose and adverbial clauses. Note that in these examples, all irrealis verb forms have an initial *m*, all realis forms an initial *n*, and all gerunds an initial *p*. These initial consonants are the unambiguous carriers of mode

¹We use ‘mode’ as a language-specific cover term in Balantak for this tripartite contrast. The terms mood or modality are hardly appropriate as cover terms for the semantic range covered by realis, irrealis, and gerund, but a term is needed to cover these three verb forms. The gerund is, admittedly, very different semantically, but the three verb forms are undeniably in paradigmatic opposition.

The following simple examples illustrate the modes in intransitive clauses, with examples (1) and (2) illustrating irrealis and realis respectively, and examples (3) and (4) illustrating the gerund in an imperative and an adverbial clause.

- (1) *Kalu mian min-soop, ...*
 if person INTR.I-enter
 ‘If someone enters...’ (conv)
- (2) *Balambang nin-soop na laigan.*
 butterfly INTR.R-enter LOC house
 ‘A butterfly entered the house.’ (conv)
- (3) *Pin-soop kuu!*
 INTR.G-enter 2S
 ‘Come in you!’ (conv)
- (4) *Noko po-loop, kasi yaku' na-lawu.*
 after INTR.GER-bathe then 1S INTR.R-go.down
 ‘After I bathed, then I went down.’ (Or: ‘Having bathed, I went down.’) (t68-m)

The relationship between the phonemes *m*, *n* and *p* in these mode morphemes is of some theoretical and comparative interest, but will not be explored in this grammar. We will simply treat them as a paradigmatic set displaying a threefold contrast, without considering one of them the basic form from which the others are derived.

3.5 Mode and voice in transitive verbs

Voice makes reference to two distinct grammatical categories:

a. **Semantic roles:** agent, patient, instrument, beneficiary, locative. These specify the roles which the participants of a given verb play. They can be arranged according to a semantic hierarchy.

b. **Grammatical relations:** subject, object, oblique (and possibly others). These specify the ‘perspective’ or ‘vantage point’ from which the state or event is presented. Subject is sometimes called the ‘privileged’ noun phrase.

Voice refers to the morphosyntactic alignment of semantic roles and grammatical relations, specifically, the selection of subject. In a given clause, only one of the semantic roles can be the subject. In English, this is done through the active - passive opposition (*John hit the dog - the dog was hit by John*); Balantak uses three voices.²

a. **Agent voice (AV)** is characterized by the following features:

- the agent is the subject;
- the patient is the object;
- the verb is marked with an AV affix;
- constituent order is normally SVO (or agent-verb-patient).

b. **Patient voice (PV)** is characterized by the following features:

- the patient is the subject;
- the verb is marked with one of the PV affixes or bare;
- the agent is realized in the following ways:
 - in irrealis PV (marked by *-on*) as zero, as a pronominal suffix or as a full possessive noun phrase;
 - in agentless realis PV (marked by *ni-*) as zero;

²The terminology used here differs from that of Busenitz (1994), where ‘focus’ is used instead of voice, and ‘topic’ instead of subject. The current terminology is more in agreement with the literature on Austronesian voice systems.

- in agented realis PV (bare verbs) as a free pronoun (PRO) preceding the verb, for third persons, optionally extended by a noun phrase following the verb;
 - constituent order is normally patient-verb-agent.
- c. **Locative voice** (LV) is characterized by the following features:
- the location or the time is the subject;
 - the verb is marked with one of the LV affix combinations;
 - the agent is realized in the same way as in irrealis PV clauses (zero, pronominal suffix, or a full possessive noun phrase).

Table 3.2 shows the voice-mode affixes employed on the verb *ili* ‘buy’.

Table 3.2. Voice-mode affixes on *ili* ‘buy’

	irrealis	realis	gerund
agent voice	<i>ming-ili</i>	<i>ning-ili</i>	<i>ping-ili</i>
patient voice	<i>ili-on</i>	<i>ni'-ili</i> / PRO <i>ili</i>	<i>ili</i>
locative voice	<i>ming-ili-an</i>	<i>ning-ili-an</i>	<i>ping-ili-an</i>

Examples:

- (5) *Kita ming-ili loka'* (agent voice irrealis)
 1PI AV.I-buy banana
 ‘We will buy bananas.’ (conv)
- (6) *Loka' ka-ni'i ili-on-ta* (patient voice irrealis)
 banana D-DEM1 buy-PV.I-1PI
 ‘We will buy these bananas. / These bananas will be bought by us.’ (elic)
- (7) *Loka' ka-ni'i ili-on-na sina-ngku.* (patient voice irrealis)
 banana D-DEM1 buy-PV.I-3S mother-1S
 ‘My mother will buy these bananas. / These bananas will be bought by my mother.’ (elic)

Example (5) is an agent voice with the pronoun *kita* as the subject. The indefinite patient *loka'* is the object. In (6), we see the patient in subject position, and the verb marked for patient voice. Notice that the subject is definite (through the demonstrative), as it is highly unusual for the patient to be indefinite in patient voice constructions. The agent ‘we’ is indicated by the possessive suffix *-ta* on the verb. In (7), the nominal agent *sinangku* ‘my mother’ follows the 3sg possessive suffix *-na*. These non-subject agents must follow the verb directly in PV constructions.

Realis patient voice distinguishes between agentless and agented constructions. The **agentless** PV is marked by the prefix *ni-* (with a variant *ni'-* before vowel-initial roots). No agent can be presented in this type of clause, and an English passive is, therefore, the most appropriate translation in this context.

- (8) *Loka' ka-ni'i sian-po ni'-ili.*
 banana D-DEM1 NEG-IMPF PV.R-buy
 ‘These bananas have not yet been bought.’ (elic)

In **agented** realis PV clauses, the agent is explicitly mentioned. In this case, the bare verb form is used preceded by a free pronoun. A full nominal agent is also possible, in which the a pronoun *ia* still precedes the verb, as in (10).

- (9) *Loka' ka-ni'i yaku' ili.*
 banana D-DEM1 1S buy
 ‘I bought these bananas. / These bananas were bought by me.’ (elic)

- (10) *Loka' ka-ni'i ia ili sina-ngku.*
 banana D-DEM1 3S buy mother-1S
 'My mother bought these bananas. / These bananas were bought by my mother.' (elic)

The status of *ia* in these clauses is that of a free pronoun, not a passive marker, as discussed in §7.4.3.

A patient voice gerund is morphologically unmarked, as in the following imperative clause, though this is rare:

- (11) *Rae' ili!*
 go buy
 'Go and buy it/them!' (elic)

Locative voice (LV) takes the semantic role of location (or time) and makes this the subject of a clause. Clauses with LV are not as common as AV and PV, but realis LV is fairly common in relative clauses. LV is marked by a circumfix: a combination of the AV prefixes (which in this case simply mark mode) and the suffix *-an*. As in irrealis PVs, the agent is marked by a pronominal suffix.

- (12) *pasar men ning-ili-an-na pae...*
 market REL R-buy-LV-3S rice
 'the market where she bought rice...' (elic)

Notice that in AV constructions the *nVng-* prefix is glossed as AV.R and *mVng-* as AV.I, as in (5). In LV, however, the *nVng-* and *mVng-* prefixes are simply to be glossed as R and I, as in (12), since we are no longer dealing with agent voice.

Since LV does not need to refer to a patient, it is also possible to have LV on intransitive clauses, as in example (13), where a LV with temporal meaning occurs on the intransitive verb *taka* 'arrive'. The distinguishing feature of LV is the suffix *-an* and the possessive suffix marking the agent.

- (13) *ilio men no-taka-an-ku*
 day REL R-arrive-LV-1S
 'the day on which I arrived' (t67)

Locative gerunds are typically used as locative nominalizations and often function as nouns, as in (14), where the locative gerund occurs in a prepositional phrase.

- (14) *Taka na ping-ili-an oli, raaya'a no-mae'-mo.*
 arrive LOC GER-buy-LV oil 3P R-go-PERF
 'When we arrived at the place for buying oil, they had left.' (t68-m)

In subsequent discussions of PV and LV clauses, we will often refer to the **non-subject agent**, illustrated by *yaku'* in (9), *sinangku* in (10) and *-ku* in (13). Voice is extensively discussed in chapter 7 on clause structure.

3.6 Applicatives

In most clauses, semantic roles which are neither agents nor patients are expressed as obliques. An **oblique** is a grammatical relation which is not a subject or an object, but either a prepositional phrase or an adverbial phrase. Obliques are usually optional constituents that provide extra information about a state or event. Balantak mostly uses prepositional phrases for the semantic function of instrument, beneficiary, recipient and location, as in (15) where the instrument is marked with the preposition *tia* 'with'.

- (15) *Ia nang-ampit olipan tia kau.*
 3S AV.R-squash centipede with wood
 'He squashed the centipede with a piece of wood.' (dict)

It is, however, possible to express a number of semantic roles as objects, directly following the verb. This is done by means of the so-called **applicative** suffixes *-kon*, *-i* and *-ii*, suffixes that add an extra argument (which is not an agent or a patient) to the verb structure. This extra argument, then, becomes the object of the verb, and the verb is automatically transitive and, hence, marked with agent voice prefixes. The semantic role of the added argument depends on the suffix, as well as the verb, and is to a large extent lexically specific. Example (16) shows the intransitive verb *ba-bisara* 'speak', while (17) shows the transitive verb *nim-bisara-kon* 'speak about, discuss' (in its AV realis form), where the object has the semantic function of theme.

- (16) *Kai ba-bisara sang-ilio.*
 1PE INTR-speak one-day
 'We talked for a whole day.' (elic)
- (17) *Kai nim-bisara-kon parakala i-ya'a.*
 1PE AV.R-speak-APPL issue D-DEM3
 'We talked about the issue.' (elic)

The other applicative suffix is *-i*, which also adds an argument to an intransitive verb. In this, the action or state denoted by the base is directed towards a person or location, as in example (18):

- (18) a) *Alia mim-borek!*
 DONT INTR.I-lie
 'Don't lie!' (dict-m)
- b) *Alia mom-borek-i minti'i-im!*
 DONT AV.I-lie-DIR parent-2S
 'Don't lie to your parents!' (dict-m)

Applicatives can also occur on transitive verbs, creating ditransitive verbs.

Since applicatives create transitive verbs, it is also possible to have applicatives with patient voice, as in (19):

- (19) *Parakala men bisara-kon-on-ta...*
 issue REL speak-APPL-PV.I-1PI
 'The issue that we will talk about...' (dict-m)

and locative voice, as in (20):

- (20) *Na laigan-mo ka-ni'i a bo pim-bisara-kon-an-ta parakala.*
 LOC house-PERF D-DEM1 ART for GER-speak-APPL-LV-1PI issue
 'Let this be the house where we will talk about the issue.' (t56-m)

Example (20) is admittedly complex, but not unusual for Balantak. It shows a locative gerund in a purpose clause with an agent suffix *-ta*. The whole construction is a semi-cleft (§9.5.2). The three applicative formations are further discussed in §5.6.2–§5.6.4.

3.7 Word order

In the discussion on word order (strictly speaking, constituent order), it is helpful to invoke and modify the notion of predicate. We define **predicate** for Balantak as that part of a verbal clause which includes the verb, the object (in AV), the non-subject agent (in PV and LV), but never the subject, nor any obliques. In the following examples (repeated from above) the predicate is underlined:

(21) *Kita ming-ili loka'.* (agent voice irrealis)
 1pi AV.I-buy banana
 'We will buy bananas.' (elic)

(22) *Loka' ka-ni'i ili-on-na sina-ngku.* (patient voice irrealis)
 banana D-DEM1 buy-PV.I-3S mother-1S
 'My mother will buy these bananas.' (elic)

Our use of the term 'predicate' is similar to what is often called the VP (verb phrase) in other language descriptions. However, since not all predicates have a verbal head in Balantak, the notion of a VP is clearly inadequate. In non-verbal clauses, the predicate is the noun phrase or prepositional phrase that makes a statement about the subject, as in the following examples:

(23) *Tama-ngku guru.*
 father-1S teacher
 'My father is a teacher.' (elic)

(24) *Kukis ka-ni'i bo ko'oom.*
 cake D-DEM1 for 2S.OBL
 'This cake is for you.' (conv)

Above, we stated that the subject typically precedes the verb in intransitive clauses, in AV clauses (where the subject is the agent), as well as in PV clauses (where the subject is the patient). There are a few cases, however, where there is significant variation to this order.

The main word order variation is **subject-predicate inversion**, leading to a clause where the subject follows the predicate. This happens when the subject is given, or known information, and is informationally less salient than the predicate. In all such cases, the subject is marked with the article *a* (when it is a common noun). Consider the following two examples:

(25) *Ma-polos tuu' a sengke'-ku.*
 INTR.I-hurt very ART back-1S
 'My back really hurts.' (conv)

(26) *Pintanga' bisara koi-ya'a, uar-kon-on-mo a panganon.*
 in.the.middle speak like-DEM3 go.out-CAUS-PV.I-PERF ART proposal.gift
 'While they are speaking thus, the marriage proposal gifts are taken out.' (t56)

The intransitive clause (25) has the order predicate-subject. The subject is in clause-final position (and marked with *a*); it is less salient, presumably, because for the speaker, this body part is a known and given entity. Example (26) is from a text which describes marriage negotiations. The *panganon* 'marriage proposal gifts' have been mentioned several times and are a given entity in the setting, hence, their position as less salient following the predicate. What is salient at this point in the text is that they are taken out and subsequently presented. Again, the predicate is informationally more prominent than the subject.

The fact that a subject which follows a predicate is marked with *a* is an important test for subjecthood in Balantak. A number of transitive clause types are found in which the presence of *a* is

helpful in deciding which constituent is the subject and which voice we are dealing with (see §7.4 for details). The article *i*, which occurs with proper nouns and pronouns, does not have the same limitations as *a*. It occurs with any grammatical role: subject, object, agent in PVs and even before possessors.

This, then, is Balantak morphosyntax in a nutshell. Now that we have established a broad overall framework, we are in a position to pay detailed attention to the various structural components. The first of these will be the noun phrase.

4. Nouns and noun phrases

This chapter describes the structure of nouns and noun phrases in Balantak, starting with the pronouns (including pronominal affixes) in §4.1 and types of nouns in §4.2. This is followed by a detailed treatment of word classes that typically occur in the noun phrase: articles in §4.3, demonstratives in §4.4 (though the discussion there is kept brief), numerals in §4.5, classifiers and measure nouns in §4.6, and quantifiers in §4.7. Possessive noun phrases are treated in §4.8, and the chapter ends on a few other noun modifiers and combinations of modifiers (§4.9), other heads of noun phrases (§4.10), and coordination of noun phrases (§4.11). Relative clauses are also part of the noun phrase, but these are treated in §10.1 in the chapter on complex sentences.

The internal structure of the noun phrase in Balantak is essentially as follows:

(ART)
 (NUM) **N** (NP[POSS]) (REL.CL.) (DEM)
 (QUANT)

4.1 Pronouns

There are three different pronominal sets in Balantak, plus some additional forms, as shown in table 4.1. Because the independent pronouns and the possessive suffixes are extremely common in Balantak, we only illustrate them sparingly here. Many examples will be found in subsequent chapters. The oblique pronouns, however, are less common and, hence, we pay special attention to them in this chapter.

Table 4.1. Pronouns

		independent	possessive	oblique	additional forms
sg	1	<i>yaku'</i>	<i>-ngku ~ -ku</i>	<i>ko'ongku ~ ingku'</i>	<i>ku-</i>
	2	<i>koo</i>	<i>-Vm</i>	<i>ko'oom</i>	<i>=ko</i>
	3	<i>ia</i>	<i>-na</i>	<i>ko'ona</i>	
pl	1ex	<i>kai</i>	<i>-mai</i>	<i>ko'omai</i>	
	1in	<i>kita</i>	<i>-nta ~ -ta</i>	<i>ko'onta</i>	
	2	<i>kuu</i>	<i>-muu</i>	<i>ko'omuu</i>	
	3	<i>(i)raaya'a</i>	<i>-na i raaya'a</i>	<i>ko'ona i raaya'a</i>	<i>ira</i>

Notes on table 4.1

a. The 1SG possessive form *-ngku* is used following vowels, *-ku* following consonants; the same allomorphic rule applies to 1PL inclusive *-nta* and *-ta* (see §2.8.4).

b. The 1SG additional form *ku-* is a preclitic form of *yaku'* used in oral conversational narratives. See §4.1.4 and §7.6.

c. The 2SG possessive form *-Vm* stands for 20 allomorphs, the formative rules of which are outlined in §2.8.7. The possessive forms are used for possession and to mark the agent in patient and locative voice verb forms (see §4.1.2).

d. The 2SG has a shortened cliticized form *=ko* occurring in prohibitives (see §9.3.3).

e. All forms of the second person plural pronouns may also be used as honorifics for second person singular. This plural form is typically used for an individual older than the speaker, or for anyone to whom the speaker wishes to indicate deference. The second person singular form is typically used among peers who are well acquainted. This honorific usage is illustrated in examples (6j), (18) and (19). The politeness feature it is not explicitly marked in the gloss (which is simply given as 2P), but the free translations will add 'sir' or 'madam'.

f. Some dialects of Balantak, particularly around Balantak Staap (the district capital), also use the first person plural inclusive pronouns for honorific purposes. This could be due to influence from South Sulawesi languages such as Bugis, where this phenomenon is very common. See examples (3) and (6i).

g. The 3PL form (*i*) *raaya'a* is really a demonstrative (see §4.4). An original form *ira* (cf. PMP **iDa* ‘they’) can still be seen in certain numeral constructions (see §4.1.4).

4.1.1 Independent pronouns

Independent pronouns may be used as subjects, objects and objects of prepositions, as illustrated in the following examples.

a. subject

(1) *Yaku' taka, ia mae'.*
1s arrive 3s go
‘I came, he went.’ (conv)

(2) *Koo tio mam-bayar...*
2s must AV.I-pay
‘You must pay...’ (t56)

Example (3) illustrates the honorific usage of *kita* ‘we (inclusive)’, which is restricted to the Balantak Staap dialect.

(3) *Maana-si i kita?*
where-SEQ PI 1PI
‘Where have you just come from, Sir?’ (conv)

b. object

(4) *Mian i-ya'a mim-[p]ikirawar-i i kita...*
person D-DEM3 AV.I-ask-APPL PA 1PI
‘That person will ask us...’ (t50)

c. object of preposition

(5) *Kalu mae' poo-lolo' tii koo...*
If go RED-follow with.PA 2S
‘If I go together with you...’ (dict)

4.1.2 Possessive suffixes

Possessive suffixes are used for four purposes: a) to inflect nouns for regular possession; b) to mark the agent on patient-voice or locative-voice constructions, c) to indicate the person who is affected by a *ko*-derivation, and d) somewhat rarely, to mark the agent in an agent-voice construction. In addition, the 3SG suffix *-na* has some special uses.

a. **Regular possession on nouns.** For the morphophonemics of the 2nd person singular suffix *-Vm*, see §2.8.7. The infixed allomorphs are indicated by angled brackets <...>. For more complex examples of nominal possession, see also §4.8.

(6) a) *lima-ngku* ‘my arm/hand’
b) *limang-ku* ‘my work’
c) *laigan-ku* ‘my house’

d)	<i>tama-am</i>	'your father'
e)	<i>wee < we > r</i>	'your water'
f)	<i>oto-na</i>	'his/her car'
g)	<i>oe-mai</i>	'our (excl) rattan'
h)	<i>wawa-nta</i>	'our (incl) load/baggage'
i)	<i>anak-ta</i>	1) 'our (incl) child(ren)' 2) 'your (polite) child(ren)' (Balantak Staap area)
j)	<i>wurung-muu</i>	1) 'your (pl) talk/words' 2) 'your (polite) talk/words'
k)	<i>tano'-na i raaya'a</i>	'their land'

b. **Agent** on irrealis patient voice (PV) and locative voice (LV) constructions:

- (7) *wawa-on-ku*
carry-PV.I-1S
'I will carry it'
- (8) *kaan-on-na*
eat- PV.I-3S
'he/she will eat (him/her/it); (he/she/it) will be eaten by him/her'
- (9) *bako-o < wo > n*
cut-PV.I-2S
'you will cut it'
- (10) *no-taka-an-ku*
R-arrive-LV-1S
'(the place) where I arrived'

c. In a *ko*-derivation (§5.5.4), the person who is 'affected' can be expressed by a possessive suffix:

- (11) *Gau'-na mian i-ya'a ko-pore-ngku.*
behaviour-3S person D-DEM3 AFF-good-1S
'That person's behaviour makes a good impression on me.' (conv)
- (12) *Nooro'o men kuu tundun a daa ko-kana'-ku.*
DEM8 REL 2P speak ATT ATT AFF-right-1S
'What you said there really suits me.' (dict-m)

d. The possessive can also mark the **agent** in realis agent-voice constructions. This construction is somewhat rare in our corpus, and only the following four have been found, so far. They are not yet fully understood.

- (13) *Ning-ili-ngku loka' mahal tuu'.*
AV.R-buy-1S banana expensive very
'The bananas that I bought were very expensive.' (conv)
- (14) ... *kada' daa bino nan-tausi-ngku doi'.*
so.that AFF for.R AV.R-get-1S money
'...so that I would get some money.' (t2)
- (15) *Sipeda men pake-on-ku koi-ni'i nan-tarai-na tama-mai.*
bicycle REL use-PV.I-1S like-DEM1 AV.R-give-3S father-1PE
'The bike that I use now was a gift from my father.' (dict)

- (16) *Nin-simbat-ku...*
 AV.R-answer-1S
 'I answered...' (t4)

The 3SG suffix *-na* has a few special usages which are not covered in the previous examples. These include in the first place its use in comparative contexts, where it is suffixed to stative verbs in relative or cleft constructions. Of all the possessive suffixes, only *-na* is possible in this position.

- (17) *Kai moto'-utus ia-mo a mo-tu'a-na.*
 1PE REC.I-sibling 3S-PERF ART ST-old-3S
 'Of us siblings he is the oldest.' (dict)
- (18) *Riaa-mo a utus-muu men itiu'-na?*
 where-PERF ART sibling-2P REL small-3S
 'Where has your younger/youngest brother gone, Sir?' (conv)
- (19) *Kalaas-mo pi-pii a anak-muu men balaki'-na?*
 class-PERF RED-how.many ART child-2P REL big-3S
 'What class is your oldest child in, Madam? (dict)
- (20) *Paa-paasan-ku yaku' a pande-na.*
 RED-opinion-1S 1S ART clever-3S
 'In my opinion, I'm the clever one / the cleverest.' (t22)

In the second place, *-na* is used on numeral bases to derive ordinals (e.g., *ko-rua'-na* 'second') and some other forms (see §4.5.2). Thirdly, *-na* occurs on demonstratives to denote a return to a previous place, e.g., *waa-ro'o-na* 'back down there' (see §8.10.3). It also appears to be a frozen suffix in the word *roona* 'leaf, specifically the betelnut leaf', probably originally *roon-na*. Compare PMP **dahun* 'leaf' and the double *-na* in *roona-na loka* 'banana leaf'.

4.1.3 Oblique pronouns

The oblique pronouns all contain an element *ko'o* (except for the 1SG variant *ingku'*), followed by what appears to be possessive suffixes. They could, therefore, be analysed as nouns, which is very likely the origin of the word *ko'o*. Synchronically, however, they do not function like nouns, but in three rather distinct ways. In the first place, they are found after prepositions, secondly as independent possessive pronouns, and thirdly, as topicalized pronouns. We realize that the name 'oblique pronouns' is an imperfect label for this somewhat heterogeneous assortment of pronominal functions, but, at least, it draws attention to the fact that this set does not fill a core grammatical function.

a. **Following prepositions** *bo* and *na*. The preposition *tia* ~ *tii* is followed by independent pronouns.

- (21) a) *Kukis kani'i bo ko'oom.*
 biscuit this for 2S.OBL
 'This biscuit is for you.' (dict)
- b) **Kukis kani'i bo koo.*
 biscuit this for 2S
- (22) *Yaku' bo mun-tulis surat bo ko'omuu.*
 1S FUT AV.I-write letter for 2P.OBL
 'I will write you a letter, Sir.' (dict)

- (23) *Ai yaku' mae' waa-tu'u na ko'ona.*
 EMP.ART 1S go ALL-DEM4 LOC 3S.OBL
 'I will go over there to him.' (t35)
- (24) *Alia ba-potoo na ko'ona.*
 DONT INTR-request LOC 3S.OBL
 'Don't ask him (to do it).' (dict)
- (25) *Koo rookon-mo na ingku'.*
 2S give-PERF LOC 1S.OBL
 'You gave it to me.' (dict)
- (26) *Sapeo' ka-ni'i na ingku'.*
 hat D-DEM1 LOC 1S.OBL
 'This hat is mine.' (Lit. 'This hat is at/to me'.) (dict)

In one case, a special meaning has developed: *na ko'omai* means 'at our house / at our place' (cf. French *chez nous* 'with us; at our place, at home').

- (27) *Tempo-na i-ya'a ari sina-ni Sion ntu'u na ko'omai.*
 time-3S D-DEM3 PLUR mother-3S.PA S. DEM.ADV4 LOC 1PE.OBL
 'At that time, Sion's mother and her family were staying with us (lit. [were] at ours)' (t11)

b. Oblique pronouns also function as **independent possessive pronouns** ('mine', 'yours' etc.), forming the predicate of an equative clause. In the first three examples, the 1SG forms *ko'ongku* and *ingku'* are fully interchangeable.

- (28) *Laigan ka-nono' ko'ongku.*
 house D-DEM2 1S.OBL
 'That house is mine.' (dict)
- (29) *Ingku' a polpen ka-ni'i.*
 1S.OBL ART pen D-DEM1
 'This pen is mine.' (dict-m)
- (30) *Sabole ingku' i-le'e.*
 certainly 1S.OBL D-DEM5
 'That is certainly mine.' (conv)
- (31) *Sapi ka-tu'u ko'omai.*
 cow D-DEM4 1PE.OBL
 'That cow is ours.' (dict)
- (32) *Alia mang-ala; taasi' ko'oom se'.*
 DONT AV.I-take NEG 2S.OBL ATT
 'Don't take that; it is not yours, is it?' (dict)
- (33) *Too kabai ia sama-sama-kon-mo tia ko'ona i raaya'a.*
 maybe possibly PV RED-same-CAUS-PERF with 3S.OBL PA 3P
 'Maybe he made it (their ticket) the same as theirs.' (t68)

Against our earlier statement, in (33) the oblique form *ko'ona i raaya'a* does follow the preposition *tia*, but this is due to the presence of an elided noun *tiket* 'ticket' after *tia*.

c. **Topicalized pronouns.** The oblique pronoun typically occurs clause-initially and is often co-referential with a regular possessive suffix in the clause. There is still a possessive meaning element present and English translations can capture this topicalization with ‘as for me/you’, or ‘as for mine/yours’, but often this sounds unnatural.

- (34) *Ingku' daa-mo a limang-ku.*
1S.OBL finish-PERF ART work-1S
‘As for me, my work is finished.’ (conv)
- (35) *Ko'oom balaki' a basung kolon-o <o>n?*
2S.OBL big ART basket carry.on.back-PV.I-2S
‘As for you, is the basket you carry on your back big?’ (conv)
- (36) *Ko'omuu se' likison-na upa a men malia' pake-on-muu?*
2P.OBL ATT coconut.oil-3S what ART REL usually use-PV.I-2P
‘What kind of oil do you normally use, Madam?’ (conv)
- (37) *Ko'ona i raaya'a men ni-tarop-kon i-ndo'o: roti, keju ...*
3S.OBL PA 3P REL PV.R-serve-APPL D-DEM.ADV7 bread cheese
‘As for them (= the Americans), they got served bread, cheese’ (t67)

In the following examples, there is no co-referential pronoun in the clause and the oblique pronouns can, therefore, be interpreted as either independent possessives or topicalized pronouns, though the latter seems more likely. The following pair is from a dialogue in which two women share about what they are selling at the market.

- (38) *Ingku' a bi'ot, marisa ka' loiya'.*
1S.OBL ART candle.vegetables pepper and ginger
‘(As for me/mine), I have candle vegetables, peppers and ginger.’ (conv)
- (39) *Ingku' somo lato' sam-parot.*
1S.OBL remain string.bean one-bunch
‘I only have one bunch of string beans left.’ (conv)

We end this section by giving the following elicited contrastive set, where (a) marks present possession, and (b), with the preposition *na*, marks future possession or use. Example (c) with *bo* simply indicates the intended beneficiary.

- (40) a) *Wala'on ka-ni'i ingku'.*
drinking.water D-DEM1 1S.OBL
‘This is my water (and I’ve already had a sip from it).’
- b) *Wala'on ka-ni'i na ingku'.*
drinking.water D-DEM1 LOC 1S.OBL
‘This is my water / water for me (but I haven’t touched it yet)’
- c) *Wala'on ka-ni'i bo ingku'.*
drinking.water D-DEM1 for 1S.OBL
‘This is water for me.’

Finally, when directly followed by a noun phrase, *ingku'* has developed the special meaning ‘I ask for; please give me; may I have’, as in the following example:

- (41) *Ingku' titiu' a kukis-muu?*
 1S.OBL little ART cake-2P
 'Please give me a little bit of your cake, Sir. / May I have some of your cake?' (conv)

In (41), there is a special high-low-high intonation pattern on the word *kukis-muu*, which is characteristic of this type of polite request. When the object of the request is clear from the context, the simple word *ingku'* by itself is enough as a one-word clause to mean 'May I have some?'

4.1.4 Additional pronominal forms

There are three additional pronominal forms, the first two of which are only mentioned briefly here, as they are discussed elsewhere.

a. **First person singular *ku-***. This is the only pronominal preclitic, a situation which is reminiscent of Kaili (Barr 1988ab) and Pendau (Quick 2007). As the following example illustrates, *ku-* seems to be primarily used in conversational style in narrative discourse. For further discussion and examples, see §7.6.

- (42) *Ola-olan ku-wangon...*
 suddenly 1s-get.up
 'Suddenly I woke up ...' (t2)

b. **Second person singular = *ko***. The second person independent pronoun *koo* occurs as a cliticized pronoun = *ko* in strongly worded prohibitive clauses. For further examples, see §9.3.3.

- (43) *Alia pin-soop = ko!*
 DONT INTR.GER-enter = 2S
 'Do not enter! / Don't you dare to enter!' (conv)

c. **Third person plural *ira***. This pronoun seems to be limited to numeral constructions, as it is always preceded by a numeral: *rua' ira* 'the two of them', *lima' ira* 'the five of them' etc. So far, this numeral + *ira* phrase has only been found as the subject of a clause, where it occurs in apposition to a nominal or pronominal subject, either directly following the subject or following the verb. Additionally, *ira* is found in combination with the quantifier *wiwi'na*, resulting in *wiwi'-ira-na* 'all of them.'

- (44) *Raaya'a no-mae' lima' ira ramba-rambanga.*
 3P R-go five 3P RED-together
 'The five of them travelled together.' (dict)

- (45) *Ia rua' ira pintanga' mim-bisara-kon...*
 3S two 3P in.the.middle AV.I-speak-APPL
 'The two of them are currently talking about ...' (dict)

- (46) *Mbaka' ia no-mae'-mo rua' ira.*
 so 3S R-go-PERF two 3P
 'So the two of them have gone.' (t21m)

- (47) *Mian rua' ira i-ya'a poo-pukul tamban no-poso'.*
 person two 3P D-DEM3 REC-hit with.the.result INT.R-faint
 'The two men fought to the knock-out.' (dict)

The pronoun cannot be used on its own in any other construction:

- (48) **Ira no-taka-mo.*
 3P R-arrive-PERF
 ‘They have arrived.’

4.2 Types of nouns

4.2.1 Personal and common nouns

Nouns can be divided into personal and common nouns. The distinguishing feature for this division is found in three areas of the language. In the first place, this concerns the article. Personal nouns optionally take *i* (and occasionally *ai*), while common nouns take *a*. For the distribution of the articles in clauses, see §4.3. Secondly, personal nouns are preceded by the possessor suffix *-ni* (or its variant *-nai*, sometimes written as a separate word), common nouns by *-na*. Thirdly, the prepositions *ni* ‘locative’ and *tii* ‘with’ occur before personal nouns, while the corresponding prepositions before common nouns are *na* and *tia*. Table 4.2 shows the difference on the personal noun *Nius* (a man’s name) and the common noun *mian* ‘person’.

Table 4.2. Personal and common nouns

	personal noun	common noun
article	<i>i Nius</i> ‘Nius’	<i>a mian</i> ‘a/the person’
possessor	<i>laigan-ni Nius</i> ‘Nius’s house’	<i>laigan-na mian</i> ‘a/the person’s house; someone’s house’
prepositions	<i>ni Nius</i> ‘to/at Nius’	<i>na mian</i> ‘to/at a/the person’
	<i>tii Nius</i> ‘with Nius’	<i>tia mian</i> ‘with a/the person’

It is clear that the possessor *-ni* and the articles *ni* and *tii* result from the loss of the vowel *a* when it followed an *i*-initial function word: *na-i* > *ni*, *tia-i* > *tii*. As mentioned, the unmerged form *-nai* still occurs as a variant of *-ni* (e.g., *tama-nai Verona* ‘Verona’s father’), but *tii* has no variant **tiai*. The suffix *-nai* is sometimes written as a separate word. In one text (text 1 in the appendix), both *-ni* and *-nai* occur, apparently interchangeably: *sina-ni Oton* ‘Oton’s mother’, *tae-nai sina-ni Oton* ‘the word of Oton’s mother’, but *tae-ni mama* ‘mother’s word’.

Most nouns in the language are common nouns. Particular subtypes of the common noun are measure nouns, discussed in §4.6.2, and spatial nouns occurring in complex prepositions, mentioned in §6.5.

The class of personal nouns comprises the following categories, here illustrated with the article *i*.

a. **Names of people:** *i Iwan* ‘Iwan’, *i Sion* ‘Sion’. Place names (including the names of villages, towns, rivers and mountains) do not take the article.

b. **Characters** in folk stories. In these cases, the article *i* precedes a common noun, usually the name of an animal, thereby creating a fictional character: *i Wani* ‘Mr Bee’, *i Opuu* ‘Mr Egg’, *i Tengel* ‘Mr Monkey’.

c. Certain **titles:** *i tomundo* ‘the king’, *i pandita* ‘the pastor’. However, the article does not occur with other titles, such as *camat* ‘district chief’, *bupati* ‘regent’ or *Tumpu* ‘Lord’.

d. A few **kinship terms:** *i naung* ‘aunt’, *i mama* ‘mama, (my) mother’ and possibly some others, although most kinship terms are treated as common nouns.

4.2.2 Simple and complex nouns

Many nouns in Balantak discourse are morphologically simple, e.g., *laigan* ‘house’, *salan* ‘path’ and *mian* ‘person’. Complex nouns are formed through affixation, reduplication, and compounding. We briefly

discuss affixation in this subsection and deal with reduplication and compounding in the next subsections.

Nominal affixation involves both inflection and derivation. Inflection takes place when the nouns are affixed with the possessive suffixes, e.g., *laigan-na* ‘his/her house’. See §4.1 for a full list of all the possessive suffixes and more examples.

Nominalization is a noun-forming derivation and occurs with a variety of affixes, various meanings, and on a variety of bases. Nominalizing affixes include the following, given with a single example here, but further discussed and illustrated in chapter 12.

- a. Prefix *ka-*, as in *ka'-agor(-na)* ‘speed’, from *ma'-agor* ‘fast, quick’. See §12.2.5.
- b. Prefix *ko-*, as in *ko'-oloa(-na)* ‘distance’, from *oloa* ‘far’. See §12.2.7.
- c. Prefix *po-*, as in *po-gigis* ‘tool for rubbing or scraping’, from *ming-gigis* ‘to rub, scrape’. See §12.2.43.
- d. Prefix *pVng-* for gerunds, as in *pan-dagai* ‘guard’ from *dagai* ‘guard, watch’. See §5.4.2 and §12.2.50.
- e. Circumfix *ka...-an* as in *ka-tano'-an* ‘land (as opposed to sea)’, from *tano'* ‘land’. See §12.2.6.
- f. Suffix *-an*, as in *gareda-an* ‘church building’, from *gareda* ‘to go to church, worship’. See §12.4.2.
- g. Suffix *-na*, as in *mae'-na* ‘his/her going’ from *mae'* ‘go’. See §12.4.9.

4.2.3 Nominal reduplication

Reduplication of nouns is disyllabic (two syllables minus the coda of the second syllable; see §2.9), and is used to mark similarity. With this meaning, reduplication is typically found on concrete nouns used as toys or for faking.

<i>ana-anak</i>	‘doll’	<i>anak</i>	‘child’
<i>doi-doi'</i>	‘fake money’	<i>doi'</i>	‘money’
<i>dua-duangan</i>	‘toy boat’	<i>duangan</i>	‘boat’
<i>lai-laigan</i>	‘play house’	<i>laigan</i>	‘house’
<i>minti-minti'i</i>	‘s.o. respected as a parent or ancestor, elder’	<i>minti'i</i>	‘parent’
<i>ule-ule</i>	‘toy snake, fake snake’	<i>ule</i>	‘snake’

In very few cases, reduplication may indicate plurality, but this is limited to *utu-utus* ‘siblings’ (*utus* ‘sibling’), and very likely influenced by the Indonesian reduplication *saudara-saudara* ‘siblings’.

4.2.4 Nominal compounds

Balantak does not seem to have many compounds. Most of the noun-noun combinations take the possessive marker *-na*, or are simply juxtaposed (see §4.8). The only real example of a compound noun is *weerkauna* ‘river’ (*weer* ‘water’ and *kau* ‘tree, wood’). The structure of this word, however, is unusual, in that it seems to show the ‘reverse genitive’ order (like neighbouring Banggai), with the possessor preceding the head noun.

4.3 Articles

4.3.1 The personal article *i*

As explained in §4.2.1, the article *i* is found before personal nouns (names of people, characters in folk stories, some titles and a few kinship terms). It also appears before the independent personal pronouns. The precise function of this article, which we gloss PA (personal article), and its exact distribution are somewhat elusive. Since names and pronouns are by nature definite, *i* does not seem to indicate definiteness as such, except tautologically. The article almost always occurs in arguments that follow the verb, either as the post-verbal subject, object, or non-subject agent in a main clause, but also, as the

subject of dependent clauses. It is never found in clause-initial position, and in this respect, *i* seems to parallel the distribution of the article *a* (see §4.3.4 for more discussion), though unlike *a*, *i* is not an indication of subjecthood. However, as a merged component of the possessive suffix *-ni* and the prepositions *ni* ‘at, on, in’ and *tii* ‘with’, *i* also occurs in other syntactic contexts, such as possessive phrases and prepositional phrases, contexts where *a* is never found. Its non-clause-initial position is closely related to issues of foregrounding and salience, which are discussed in §7.3.

The personal article *i* should not be confused with the initial *i* of demonstratives, which we gloss as a deictic marker (see §4.4). Also, the 3rd person plural independent pronoun *i raaya'a* ‘they’ (with the article) differs from the demonstrative *i-raa-ya'a* ‘those’, which is made up of the deictic marker *i-*, the plural marker *raa-*, and the demonstrative root *ya'a* (see also §8.3).

Table 4.3 compares the two articles *i* and *a*.

Table 4.3. The articles *a* and *i*

	nominal category	function	position
<i>i</i>	with proper nouns and pronouns	any grammatical function	not clause-initially, typically post-predicate
<i>a</i>	with common nouns	only with subjects	only post-predicate

The following examples illustrate the personal article *i* in clauses in various grammatical functions.

- (49) *No-mae'-mo i yaku', kai no-poo-leelo'-mo.*
 R-go-PERF PA 1S 1PE R-REC-call-PERF
 ‘I went (outside) and we called out to each other.’ (t1)
- (50) *Akal-kon-on-ta-mo ka' pa-pate-i-on i ia.*
 trick-APPL-PV.I-1PI-PERF and CAUS-die-APPL-PV.I PA 3S
 ‘Let’s trick him and kill him.’ (t35)
- (51) *Sarataa no-poo-tuung-mo i raaya'a...*
 when R-REC-meet-PERF PA 3P
 ‘When they met...’ (t35)
- (52) *Too daa i kuu ming-kira' mang-kaan.*
 maybe ATT PA 2P INTR.I-like AV.I-eat
 ‘Maybe you would like to eat (him), Sir.’ (t35)
- (53) *Daa no-palus-mo i Alakasing, no-taka-mo i Kodo'*
 finish R-absent-PERF PA giant R-arrive-PERF PA monkey
ntu'u-mari.
 DEM.ADV4-VEN
 ‘When the giant monster was away, Monkey arrived there.’ (t31)
- (54) ... *ka' neng-epe-i i Ree'a.*
 and AV.R-mock-APPL PA tortoise
 ‘... and mocked Tortoise.’ (t31)
- (55) ... *ia burit-mo i Bebang soosodo a sengke'-na.*
 3S paint-PERF PA iguana again ART back-3S
 ‘... Iguana painted his (= Snake’s) back again.’ (t37)

The noun phrases with *i* in most of these examples are post-verbal subjects, with the exception of (54), where *i Ree'a* is the object and (55), where *i Bebang* is the non-subject agent in a patient voice clause. Notice that *i kuu* in (52) is a preverbal subject (which is somewhat unusual), but since it follows a modal adverb and an attitudinal particle (*too daa*), it is, strictly speaking, not in clause-initial position.

Occasionally, no personal article is present when we would expect it, as in the following two examples where the expected article is marked with zero. The reasons for its absence are not completely clear.

(56) ... *kada' daa Ø ia taka tu'u-mari.*
 so.that ATT 3S arrive DEM4-VEN
 '... so that he will come over here.' (t35)

(57) *Taka na tolo-do-ni Tomundo', Ø Harimau noko pate-mo.*
 arrive LOC yard-3S.PA king tiger after.R die-PERF
 'When they arrived at the King's yard, Tiger was already dead.' (t35)

It is possible that *i* is absent in (56) because the following pronoun also starts with the vowel *i*. Enough examples exist, however, where the combination *i ia* is found, including (50) above. It is, of course, a preverbal subject, but following the attitudinal particle *daa*, we do expect *i*, as in (52). Example (57) might not be exceptional, as the subject is both preverbal and clause-initial.

4.3.2 The emphatic article *ai*

The article *ai* is similar to *i* in that it, also, only occurs before personal nouns and pronouns. It differs from *i* in that it is only found in preverbal position, usually clause-initially and, hence, a noun phrase marked by *ai* cannot follow the verb. The articles *ai* and *i* are, therefore, in complementary distribution, correlating with a difference in word order. Its pragmatic use involves **thematic prominence** and, hence, we gloss it as EMP.ART 'emphatic article'. Although *ai* appears to be a combination of the articles *a* and *i*, its distribution and usage is sufficiently unique to warrant a separate treatment, whatever its historical origin. It is not used in the Lamala dialect. Balantak *ai* could perhaps be compared to the Indonesian article *si*, which appears to have a similar pragmatic function.

The examples of noun phrases marked with *ai* in our corpus appear to fall in the following categories of thematic prominence:

- *ai* marks a contrastive topic;
- *ai* signals a new initial topic;
- *ai* highlights a character who plays an important role.

In the following examples, the use of *ai* is not obligatory, but according to our language helpers, its presence creates a 'stronger' subject.

Contrastive topic:

(58) *Manusia dodongo-an-na na tano'; ai kita dodongo-an-ta*
 man live-LOC-3S LOC land EMP.ART 1PI live-LOC-1PI

na tobui.
 LOC sea

'Man lives on the land; we (dolphins) live in the sea'. (t12)

(59) *Kalu koi-ya'a, ai kai mule'kon-mo kutung.*
 if like-DEM3 EMP.ART 1PE return-PERF first
 'If it's like that, we will leave.' (Statement by one party during awkward marriage negotiations.) (t56)

- (60) *Waktu Japaang ai kai sianta toik bo bokukum.*
 time Japan EMP.ART 1PE NEG cloth for clothes
 ‘During the Japanese occupation we did not have cloth to make clothes.’ (t27)

The following example is taken from a folktale about a character called Egg who kills a giant monster by means of various small objects and animals. When Egg gives instructions, he addresses each object and animal in turn, by using the emphatic *ai koo* ‘you’ six times. This is the only place where *ai* is used in the text and it nicely illustrates the contrastive topic function.

- (61) *Taka i-ndo'o tae-na Opuu, "Ai koo Te'e rae'*
 arrive D-DEM.ADV7 word-3S egg EMP.ART 2S faeces go

ka-ndo'o na tumburan; ai koo Pa-kaut, rae' ka-nde'e
 D-DEM.ADV7 LOC yard EMP.ART 2S NOM-sew go D-DEM.ADV5

na parikokot-an; ai koo Sarum ...
 LOC hold.rail-LOC EMP.ART 2S big.needle
 ‘When they arrived there, Egg said, “You Faeces, go down there in the yard; you Small Needle, go there on the hand rail, you Big Needle ...”’ (t17)

Examples of *ai* with new initial topics:

- (62) *Ai Kodo' tii Ree'a moto-bela'.*
 EMP.ART monkey with.PA tortoise REC.I-friend
 ‘Monkey and Tortoise were friends.’ (First line of a story.) (t31)
- (63) *Ai yaku' mae' waa-tu'u na ko'ona.*
 EMP.ART 1S go ALL-DEM4 LOC 3S.OBL
 ‘I will go over there to him.’ (New initiative from speaker.) (t35)
- (64) *Ai Harimau ku-aa-tu'u talalo-mo tuu' bodo'.*
 EMP.ART tiger LOC-ALL-DEM4 exceedingly-PERF very bad.
 ‘Tiger over there is exceedingly bad.’ (t35)

In (64), the tiger is mentioned for the first time in the text. As he is a prominent character in the rest of the story, it is very appropriate that he is introduced with the emphatic article *ai*.

The following example illustrates highlighting. It is taken from a text about Monkey and Tortoise in which *ai* only occurs once after the opening sentence. That single occurrence is found right at the climax, after Tortoise has tricked Monkey into releasing him from his noose and hanging himself.

- (65) *Ninti-koot-mo i Kodo' i-nda'a somo loe-loe.*
 REFL.R-hang-PERF PA monkey D-DEM.ADV6 remain RED-hang

Ai Ree'a no-mae'-mo ka' ...
 EMP.ART tortoise R-go-PERF and
 ‘Monkey hung himself up there and just remained hanging. Then Tortoise went away and...’
 (t31)

As mentioned above, the use of *ai* correlates with preverbal position. When asked about using *ai* with *Kodo'* in the first clause of (65), our language helpers agreed that it would indeed be possible to use *ai Kodo'*, but with subject-predicate inversion: *Ai Kodo' nintikootmo inda'a...* For some reason, however, the author decided that Monkey was not prominent enough at this point to warrant the use of *ai*.

The distribution of *ai* seems to be somewhat broader than that of *i* in that it is also found before a number of human nouns that normally never take *i*. This includes common expressions such as *ai*

moro'one 'the man, the men, the male relatives'; *ai langkai* 'the old person, the husband', *ai sando* 'the traditional healer', *ai guru* 'the teacher' and *ai camat* 'the district chief'. It is possible that this also signals thematic prominence.

- (66) *Kalu karani'-mo a ilio-na pa-sawe'-an, ai moro'one...*
 if near-PERF ART day-3S GER-guest-LOC EMP.ART male
 'When the wedding day is near, the man/groom....' (t56)

Occasionally *ai* is found in unexpected places. In each case, however, the listener or reader can be fairly sure that it signals the thematic prominence of the following participant. In (67), for instance, *ai* occurs after the existential *isian*, which is rather unusual. In this case, its use seems to be related to speaker attitude, possibly best translated by 'fortunately'.

- (67) *Daa isian ai Oni' mim-[p]isiso'.*
 ATT EXIST EMP.ART O. AV.I-show
 '(Fortunately) there is Oni' to teach (us).' (conv)

4.3.3 The plural article *ari*

The plural article *ari* only occurs before names, characters in stories, and the word *ime* 'who'. In each case, its meaning is an associative plural marker: 'X and his friends/relatives/companions'. *Ari* never precedes pronouns, all of which are marked for number.

- (68) *Ari Herman mala' mae' na tobui.*
 PLUR H. often go LOC sea
 'Herman and his companions often go out on the ocean.' (dict)
- (69) *Ari mama mon-dodongo-i ale'.*
 PLUR mother AV.I-live-DIR garden
 'Mother and her family were guarding the garden.' (t11)
- (70) a) *Ari ime?*
 PLUR who
 'Who (are/were they)?'
- b) *Ari Masni, Wartu, Googo', raaya'a men ...*
 PLUR M. W. G. 3P REL
 Masni, Wartu, Googo' (and others), they were the ones who...' (conv)
- (71) ... *gause ari Pendeta Haurisa isian-mo sawe'-na.*
 because PLUR pastor H. EXIST-PERF guest-3S
 '... because Pastor Haurisa (and his family) already had guests.' (t58)

When it occurs postverbally, *ari* can be preceded by *a*, even when the following noun is personal:

- (72) *No-ba-deder-mo a ari Buaya.*
 R-INTR-line.up-PERF ART PLUR crocodile
 'Crocodile and his friends lined up.' (t49)
- (73) *Sian-mo oloa a ari Saam.*
 NEG-PERF far ART PLUR S.
 'It's no longer far to Sam and his family.' (Or: '....to Sam's place'.) (t67)

The combination of the possessive marker *-na* and *ari* is realized as *nari* (see §4.8), and the same is true of the preposition *na* and *ari* (§6.1).

4.3.4 The article *a*

The article *a* frequently precedes certain noun phrases. Its main features can be listed as follows:

- *a* only occurs before common nouns;
- *a* only occurs with subjects;
- *a* only occurs following the predicate (both verbal and non-verbal predicates);
- *a* presents known or given information.
- phonologically, *a* optionally cliticizes to the preceding word.

The basic function of *a* is to mark a ‘backed subject’ in cases where we find **subject-predicate inversion**. That is, *a* marks a subject which has been moved to the back of a clause because it is given or known information. The unmarked constituent order in verbal clauses is SV and SVO, but when the subject is given or known, the order of subject and predicate may be reversed, resulting in an inverse structure. The main informational focus of the clause is then on the predicate, rather than on the subject. A suitable term for *a* would be ‘inverse nominative article’, but we gloss it simply as ART. It should be observed that the description in this section only covers the Dolom dialect; other dialects of Balantak have different patterns for the use of *a*, but these have not been investigated.

Since *a* marks ‘backed subjects’, it follows that the article *a* is never used with common nouns in the following syntactic contexts:

- in initial position of an SV or SVO clause;
- after prepositions (*bo*, *na*, *tia*, *koi*);
- with objects following the verb in agent voice;
- before non-subject agents in patient voice and locative voice;
- before a possessed noun phrase;
- in a single-word clause.

With very few exceptions, these generalizations seem to hold for the whole corpus that we collected. In addition, *a* is lacking with subjects in existential clauses following *isian* (see §7.1). Because of its prominent presence in the language, as well as its elusive nature and unusual typology, we provide a variety of example sentences in this section, classified by clause type. Even though clause types have not been discussed, this seems to be the best place to deal with the article in some detail.

Although written as a separate word, *a* is optionally realized as an enclitic that is attached to the preceding word with which it may form a phonological unit. However, it does not cause a stress shift (see §2.8.6 for some details).

As a marker of post-predicate subjects, *a* is found in the following clause types. To help the reader, the subject noun phrase in the examples in this section is underlined.

a. Intransitive clauses. In these clauses, the order is invariably VS when *a* occurs, as in (74a). Without the article, the construction is ungrammatical, as in (74b). The order SV is also possible for intransitive clauses, but in that case the article is obligatorily absent, as in (74c). Its presence with a preverbal subject, as in (74d), results again in an unacceptable construction.

- (74) a) *Ma-polos tuu' a sengke'-ku.*
 INTR.I-hurt very ART back-1S
 ‘My back really hurts.’ (conv)
- b) **Ma-polos tuu' sengke'-ku.*
 INTR.I-hurt very back-1S
- c) *Sengke'-ku ma-polos tuu'.*
 back-1S INTR.I-hurt very
 ‘My back really hurts.’ (elic)

- d) *A sengke'-ku ma-polos tuu'.
 ART back-1S INTR.I-hurt very

Other examples of VS word order in intransitive clauses:

- (75) Alayo' tuu' a ili-na.
 high very ART price-3S
 'The price is very high.' (conv)
- (76) No-biai'-mo a siok-na.
 R-many-PERF ART chicken-3S
 'He has many chickens.' (conv)
- (77) Taasi' titiu' a lewolot men ni-liu.
 NEG little ART obstacle REL PV.R-pass.by
 'There were not a few obstacles that (we) experienced.' (t72)

The following two examples are a bit more complex. Example (78) is a topic-comment construction in which *kangguru* is the external topic, but *sarat-na* 'its leg' is the subject.

- (78) Kangguru, ampudu' a sarat-na na olikon.
 kangaroo short ART leg-3S LOC front
 'Kangaroos have short front legs.' (Lit. 'A kangaroo, short [is] its leg in front.') (dict)

Example (79) shows the article in an intransitive relative clause.

- (79) Pa-kaan-i-on gala men ma-lalas a roona-na.
 CAUS-eat-APPL-PV.I vegetable REL INTR.I-green ART leaf-3S
 'He must be fed with green leafy vegetables.' (conv)

b. Patient voice clauses. In PV clauses, the subject is the semantic patient while the verb is either marked with *ni-* (agentless realis) or *-on* (irrealis). In addition, there is also an agented realis patient voice clause type that is marked by a pronoun (for details see §7.4.3). In patient voice clauses, the article *a* is only used with postverbal subjects (which are semantically patients), never with agents.

- (80) Sarataa daa ni'-inti'i-mo a moro'one i-ya'a,...
 when finish PV.R-know-PERF ART man D-DEM3
 'As soon as the man is known,...' (t56)
- (81) Koi-ni'i sian-po inti'i-on-mai simbat-on a wurung-muu.
 like-DEM1 NEG-IMPV know-PV.I-1PE answer-PV.I ART talk-2P
 'At the moment, we don't yet know how to reply to what you said.' (t56)
- (82) Siso'-kon-on-ku i koo a no-pate-an-na.
 point-APPL-PV.I-1S PA 2S ART R-die-LOC-3S
 'I will show you the place where he died.' (t35)
- (83) Boit-i-on a piso'-muu kabai sobii?
 sharpen-APPL-PV.I ART knife-2P or let.it.be
 'Should your knife be sharpened or shall we just leave it?' (conv)

With agented PV constructions (marked by pronouns followed by a bare verb):

- (84) *Taka ntu'u-mari, ia koyong a kompong-ku.*
 arrive DEM.ADV4-VEN 3S touch ART belly-1S
 'When she arrived here, she massaged my belly.' (t11)
- (85) *Tongko' no-pate a sasa' i-ya'a, ia lego'i sina-na*
 after R-die ART cat D-DEM3, 3S check mother-3S
anak i-ya'a a anak-na.
 child D-DEM3 ART child-3S.
 'When the cat was dead, the mother of the child checked up on her child.' (t32)

The clause structure of (84) is rather deceptive. It appears to be a straightforward SVO clause, with *ia* as the 3SG pronominal subject and *kompong-ku* as the object, an interpretation which is reinforced by the English translation. However, two facts are unexplained under such an analysis. In the first place, there is the lack of verb morphology on *koyong*. If this really were an SVO clause, we would expect agent-voice morphology on the verb, resulting in the form *mong-koyong*. The second anomaly is the presence of *a*, which is never found with objects in agent voice clauses. Therefore, the preferred analysis is to treat the clause as an agented patient-voice construction with a post-predicate subject (the semantic patient), in order to properly account for both the lack of verb morphology and the presence of *a*.

The first clause in (85) is intransitive, while the second clause again shows an agented realis PV. In this case, however, there is a full nominal agent *sinana anak iya'a* 'the child's mother', followed by the subject (the semantic patient).

The following example illustrates the use of *ku-* '1s' on a transitive verb in realis patient voice (see also §7.6):

- (86) *Noko daa ku'-anui a onsong-na...*
 after.R ATT 1S-remove ART plug-3S
 'After that, I removed the plug (of the bamboo tube)...' (t2)

Another type of patient voice, in which the article *a* is found, is the imperative construction. In the patient voice, imperative verb forms are morphologically bare (they can be analyzed as gerunds; see §5.4.3), and so again, we have a structure which superficially resembles a verb followed by its object. But, in fact, the patient is the subject, as shown by the article *a*.

- (87) *Boit-i a piso'-muu!*
 sharpen-APPL ART knife-2P
 'Sharpen your knife, Sir!' (dict)
- (88) *Pa-kana'-kon a paan na peka-ngku.*
 CAUS-right-APPL ART bait LOC hook-1S
 'Put the bait on my fishing hook.' (conv)
- (89) *Turang-i a alayong-na kada' besi ka-nono' dongan rarak.*
 add-APPL ART charcoal-3S so.that iron D-DEM2 quickly hot
 'Add some more charcoal so that the iron will heat quickly.' (dict)

c. Agent voice clauses. The normal word order in agent voice clauses is SVO. However, a variant word order is VOS, in which case, the postverbal subject is marked with *a*. In such cases, the subject is highly topical (well-established in the discourse) and appears to be an afterthought. It is, however, firmly part of the clause core.

- (90) *Tongko' ia piile' sasa' ka-ni'i se' boo-mo mang-kakat anak*
 after 3S see cat D-DEM1 ATT FUT-PERF AV.I-bite child

a bintana' ka-ni'i...

ART python D-DEM1

'When the cat saw that the python was about to bite the child....' (t32)

- (91) *Kalu toro noom-mo bitu'on a umur-na anak men na lalom,*
 if about six-PERF moon ART age-3S child REL LOC inside

uga' ming-inum-mo rombung soosodo
 also AV.I-drink-PERF traditional.medicine again

a sina-na anak.

ART mother-3S child

'When the baby in her womb is about six months old, the mother will drink traditional medicine again.' (t52)

d. Equative clauses. Our earlier statement that *a* only occurs with post-verbal subjects does, of course, not capture non-verbal clauses. Somewhat unusually in equative clause, the normal word order appears to be predicate-subject, resulting in many instances of the article *a* in this clause type. The article is especially common when the predicate is a demonstrative or a question word, both of which are inherently focussed and, therefore, occur in clause-initial position.

- (92) *Koi ka-ni'i a paralu-na.*
 like D-DEM1 ART intention-3S
 'This is his intention.' (t58)

- (93) *Pi-pii a tambo-na?*
 RED-how.many ART wages-3S
 'How much was the charge?' (conv)

e. Clefts and semi-clefts. A cleft construction in Balantak is defined as an equative clause, in which a nominal predicate is followed by a nominal subject that consists of a relative clause introduced by *a men* (see §9.5.1 for details). In semi-clefts, *men* is lacking, but the article *a* is still present (see §9.5.2). We give one example of each here; see §9.5 for further discussion and additional examples.

- (94) *Ai ime a men mae'?*
 EMP.ART who ART REL go
 'Who is going?' (Lit. 'Who is [the one] that goes?') (t4)

- (95) ... *raaya'a a mam-bayar.*
 3P ART AV.I-pay
 '... they were the ones who paid.' (t67)

In spite of some minor residual issues, the main point regarding *a* is clear: it marks common noun subjects which follow the predicate.

4.4 Demonstratives

The deictic system in Balantak is complex and constitutes a separate chapter in this grammar (chapter 8). In this section, we just give an overview of the basic demonstrative forms, plus a few illustrative

examples. The complex semantics of these forms and the manifold derivational possibilities are treated in chapter 8.

There are seven basic demonstratives in Balantak, each of which have a pronominal and a demonstrative form, as shown in table 4.4. (An eighth demonstrative occupies a marginal role, see §8.10.1). Formally, these seven forms are interesting in that almost all of them have the shape CVV with identical vowels. The demonstrative adverb *ntu'u* is the only root in the whole language that begins with *nt* (see §2.4).

Semantically, there appear to be three dimensions of contrast among the demonstratives: a person-oriented dimension, a horizontal dimension, and a vertical dimension. The demonstrative pronouns are simply glossed as DEM1, DEM2, etc., and the demonstrative adverbs as DEM.ADV1, etc.

Table 4.4. Demonstratives

demonstrative pronouns		gloss	demonstrative adverbs	
<i>ni'i</i>	'this'	DEM1	<i>ita</i>	'here'
<i>nono'</i>	'that (near speaker)'	DEM2	<i>no'o</i>	'there (near speaker)'
<i>ya'a</i>	'that'	DEM3	<i>mba'a</i>	'there'
<i>tu'u</i>	'that (ahead)'	DEM4	<i>ntu'u</i>	'there (ahead)'
<i>le'e</i>	'that (sideways)'	DEM5	<i>nde'e</i>	'there (sideways)'
<i>ra'a</i>	'that (above)'	DEM6	<i>nda'a</i>	'there (above)'
<i>ro'o</i>	'that (below)'	DEM7	<i>ndo'o</i>	'there (below)'

In actual usage, the demonstrative roots are very frequently preceded by a prefix which either has the shape *i-* or *ka-*. No discernable shift in meaning can be detected by the addition of this prefix, which we simply gloss as D (deictic).

Demonstrative pronouns can function both attributively and pronominally. Attributively, they typically follow the head noun.

- (96) *Kau ka-ni'i ma-kadang tuu'.*
 wood D-DEM1 ST.I-hard very
 'This wood is very hard.' (conv)

- (97) *minti'i-na moro'one i-ya'a...*
 parent-3S man D-DEM3
 'the parents of that man...' (t56)

- (98) *Le'e daa ule.*
 DEM5 ATT snake
 'That is a snake.' (t39)

In a few oral texts, there are also occasional examples of pronominal demonstratives, e.g., *i-ya'a wuuwa'-ku* 'this *wuuwa'* tree¹ of mine' (t27), and *i-ya'a pakuli'* 'that medicine' (t3), but in edited texts, the word order in these phrases tends to be reversed.

¹Unidentified tree sp., the bark of which is made into bark cloth.

4.5 Numerals

4.5.1 Cardinal numerals

Balantak has a full-fledged decimal system, typical for Western Austronesian languages. The lower numerals (1 to 9) have free, prefixed, and reduplicated forms, as shown in table 4.5. The numeral 1 is aberrant in that it does not have a reduplicated form; the form that corresponds in function to the other reduplicated forms is *sa'angu'*, noted in parentheses in table 4.5. This is actually made up of the prefixed form *sa-* and the classifier *angu'* (see §4.6.1). In addition, the numeral 1 also has various prefixed forms. The final *ng* in *sang-*, *ruang-* and *tolung-* undergoes assimilation and deletion: it is deleted before sonorants, realized as *ng* before vowels, *k* and *g*; as *m* before *p* and *m*, and as *n* before *t*, *d* and *s* (also see §2.8.3).

Table 4.5. Numerals 1–9.

	free	prefixed	reduplicated
1	<i>isa'</i>	<i>sa'</i> , <i>so-</i> , <i>som-</i> , <i>sang-</i>	(<i>sa'angu'</i>)
2	<i>rua'</i>	<i>ruang-</i>	<i>ru-rua'</i>
3	<i>tolu'</i>	<i>tolung-</i>	<i>to-tolu'</i>
4	<i>paat</i>	<i>patom-</i>	<i>pa-paat</i>
5	<i>lima'</i>	<i>limam-</i>	<i>li-lima'</i>
6	<i>noom</i>	<i>nomom-</i>	<i>no-noom</i>
7	<i>pitu'</i>	<i>pitum-</i>	<i>pi-pitu'</i>
8	<i>walu'</i>	<i>walom-</i>	<i>wa-walu'</i>
9	<i>sio'</i>	<i>siom-</i>	<i>si-sio'</i>

The **free** forms 2–9, six of which show non-original final glottals, are used in four ways:

- For counting, when they do not follow or precede a noun (this includes the number one).
- Following units of ten (e.g., *som-pulo' rua'* '12')
- Preceding units of 100 (*atu'*) and 1000 (*loloon*).
- Preceding classifiers and measure nouns (§4.6).

The **prefixed** forms 4–9 only combine with the unit for ten (*-pulo'*) to form the decimals 10 to 90. The numeral for '1' has several prefixed forms: *sa'* occurs in *sa'-atu'* 'one hundred' and *sa'angu'*, *so-* in *so-lolon* 'one thousand', *som-* in *som-pulo'* 'ten', while *sang-* 'one' is used with other classifiers and measure nouns. The prefixed numerals *ruang-* '2' and *tolung-* '3' are also used before a limited number of measure nouns (including *ilio* 'day'), but they are always in free variation with the free forms *rua'* and *tolu'* (see §4.6).

The **reduplicated** forms are mainly used as predicates in equative clauses (§7.2). They also occur as an alternative strategy, optionally following the conjunction *ka'* 'and' after 21. These forms are also used in replies to questions about how many items there are.

Counting from 1–9 uses the free forms: *isa'*, *rua'*, *tolu'*, *paat*, *lima'*, *noom*, *pitu'*, *walu'*, *sio'*. Counting from ten upwards goes as follows:

- 10 *som-pulo'*
- 11 *som-pulo' sa'angu'*
- 12 *som-pulo' rua'*
- 13 *som-pulo' tolu'*
- 14 *som-pulo' paat*
- 15 *som-pulo' lima'*

16	<i>som-pulo' noom</i>		
17	<i>som-pulo' pitu'</i>		
18	<i>som-pulo' walu'</i>		
19	<i>som-pulo' sio'</i>		
20	<i>ruam-pulo'</i>		
21	<i>ruam-pulo' sa'angu'</i>	or	<i>ruampulo' ka' sa'angu'</i>
22	<i>ruam-pulo' rua'</i>	or	<i>ruampulo' (ka') ruru'</i>
23	<i>ruam-pulo' tolu'</i>	or	<i>ruampulo' (ka') totolu'</i>
24	<i>ruam-pulo' paat</i>	or	<i>ruampulo' (ka') papaat</i>
25	<i>ruam-pulo' lima'</i>	or	<i>ruampulo' (ka') lilima'</i>
26	<i>ruam-pulo' noom</i>	or	<i>ruampulo' (ka') nonoom</i>
27	<i>ruam-pulo' pitu'</i>	or	<i>ruampulo' (ka') pipitu'</i>
28	<i>ruam-pulo' walu'</i>	or	<i>ruampulo' (ka') wawalu'</i>
29	<i>ruam-pulo' sio'</i>	or	<i>ruampulo' (ka') sisio'</i>
30	<i>tolum-pulo'</i>		
40	<i>patom-pulo'</i>		
50	<i>limam-pulo'</i>		
60	<i>nomom-pulo'</i>		
70	<i>pitum-pulo'</i>		
80	<i>walum-pulo'</i>		
90	<i>siom-pulo'</i>		
100	<i>sa'-atu</i>		
200	<i>rua' atu</i>		
300	<i>tolu' atu</i>		
400	<i>paat atu</i>		
500	<i>lima' atu</i>		
600	<i>noom atu</i>		
700	<i>pitu' atu</i>		
800	<i>walu' atu</i>		
900	<i>sio' atu</i>		
1000	<i>so-loloon</i>		
1111	<i>so-loloon sa'-atu som-pulo' (ka') sa'angu'</i>		
2000	<i>rua' loloon</i>		
3000	<i>tolu' loloon</i>		

Numerals typically precede the noun they modify.

- (99) *rua' mian*
two person
'two people' (t56)
- (100) *tolu' rondom*
three night
'three nights' (t56)
- (101) *patom-pulo' ka' ru-rua' ilio*
four-ten and RED-two day
'42 days' (t52)
- (102) *lima' atu taa'*
five hundred word
'500 words' (t58)

- (103) *nomom-pulo' loloon rupiah*
 six-ten thousand rupiah
 'Rp 60,000' (t56)

4.5.2 Ordinal numerals

Ordinal numbers are formed on the basis of the free numerals by means of the circumfix *ko-...-na*: *ko-rua'-na* 'second', *ko-tolu'-na* 'third', *ko-paat-na* 'fourth' etc. (with *-na* glossed as 3S). For 'first' there is the separate word *tumbena*, related to the verbal root *tumbe* 'begin' (*mun-tumbe-i* 'to begin s.t.'). Within noun phrases, ordinals are usually put in relative clauses introduced by the relativizer *men*.

- (104) *Ka-ni'i anak-ku men ko-rua'-na.*
 D-DEM1 child-1S REL ORD-two-3S
 'This is my second child.' (dict)
- (105) *Na ilio men ko-tolu'-na...*
 LOC day REL ORD-three-3S
 'On the third day...' (elic)
- (106) *Koo anak men ko-pii-na?*
 2S child REL ORD-how.many-3S
 'Where in the birth order do you come?' (Lit. 'You are the how-manyeth child?') (conv)
- (107) *hurup men ko-som-pulo'-na paat na apjat Balantak*
 letter REL ORD-one-ten-3S four LOC alphabet B.
 'the fourteenth letter of/ the Balantak alphabet' (dict)

4.5.3 Numeral derivations

There are a number of derivations that apply to numeral bases. The following have been found.

a. **Disyllabic reduplication** + *-na* meaning 'all of, the whole of'. Disyllabic reduplication copies the first two syllables of the free form, minus the coda of the second syllable.

<i>rua-rua'-na</i>	'both of them'
<i>tolu-tolu'-na</i>	'all three of them'
<i>paat-paat-na</i>	'all four of them'

b. **Disyllabic reduplication** on the reduplicated numerals, meaning 'just, only'. This procedure creates forms such as *papa-papaat* 'only four', which appears to be an example of what might be called 'quadriplification'. However, it is more economical to analyse this as disyllabic reduplication on a base which happens to contain a CV-reduplication.

<i>toto-totolu'</i>	'only three'
<i>papa-papaat</i>	'only four'
<i>lili-lilima'</i>	'only five'

c. **The prefix *piri-*** (with variants *poro-* and *para-*) creates adverbial multiplicatives 'x times'. This process is limited to the numerals 3–9 (and the word *biai* 'many': *piri-biai* 'many times'). As in English, separate words exist for the first two numbers: *pensan* 'once' and *pinduan* 'twice'. The prefix was probably originally *piri-*, but anticipating vowel harmony has resulted in the two variants. For obscure reasons, the form *piri-tolu* ~ *poro-tolu* lacks the final glottal stop present in the base *tolu* 'three'.

<i>piri-tolu</i> ~ <i>poro-tolu</i>	'three times'
<i>piri-paat</i> ~ <i>para-paat</i>	'four times'
<i>piri-lima'</i>	'five times'

<i>piri-noom</i> ~ <i>poro-noom</i>	‘six times’
<i>piri-pitu'</i>	‘seven times’
<i>piri-walu'</i> ~ <i>para-walu'</i>	‘eight times’
<i>piri-sio'</i>	‘nine times’

- (108) *Mian i-ya'a sambayang piri-lima' sang-ilio.*
 person D-DEM3 pray TIME-five one-day
 ‘That person prays five times a day.’ (dict)
- (109) *Saa'-on-ku sampe poro-tolu*
 count-PV.I-1S until TIME-three
 ‘I will count till three.’ (Lit. ‘... until three times’.) (t35)

d. Suffix **-an** in combination with **toro** creates a nominal distributive construction: ‘each have or do x items’.

<i>toro tolu'-an</i>	‘each (do) three items’
<i>toro paat-an</i>	‘each (do) four items’
<i>toro lima'-an</i>	‘each (do) five items’
<i>toro noom-an</i>	‘each (do) six items’

- (110) *Raaya'a manga-wawa nuur toro lima'-an.*
 3P AV.I-bring coconut each five-DISTR
 ‘They each bring five coconuts’ (t13m)
- (111) *Ping-ili siok toro noom-an!*
 AV.GER-buy chicken each six-DISTR
 ‘Buy six chickens, each one of you!’ (conv)

e. When the numerals combine with temporal nouns, they often take the **perfective suffix -mo** to indicate extent of time. With complex numerals, **-mo** attaches to the first numeral.

<i>rua'-mo taun</i>	‘(already) two years’
<i>tolu'-mo bitu'on</i>	‘(already) three months’
<i>lima'-mo lu'unu</i>	‘(already) five seasons/years’

- (112) *Koi-ni'i ia som-pulo'-mo tolu' taun*
 like-DEM1 3S one-ten-PERF three year
 ‘Now he is thirteen years old.’ (conv)

In addition, the verb *noko* ‘be able’ may appear preceding these temporal phrases to add an element of surprise or unexpectedness (see also §9.1.2).

- (113) *Na Bonebobakal i ia noko lima'-mo taun.*
 LOC B. PA 3S able five-PERF year
 ‘She has lived in Bonebobakal for five years now!’ (conv)
- (114) *Anak-ku ka-ni'i noko tolu'-mo bitu'on.*
 child-1S D-DEM1 able three-PERF moon
 ‘My child here is already three months old!’ (conv)

Noko and what follows it are often written as a single orthographic word. Under an alternative analysis, there is no relation with the verb *noko* ‘able’ and we are dealing with the prefix sequence *no-ko*, with *no-* marking realis and *ko-* having a verbalizing function.

f. The **circumfix *ri...-n*** creates numeral adverbs meaning ‘x days ago’ on three bases. Some of the formations are unique.

<i>ri-pua-n</i>	‘two days ago’
<i>ri-tulu-n</i>	‘three days ago’
<i>ri-pat-on</i>	‘four days ago’

g. The **circumfix *i...-n*** creates numeral adverbs meaning ‘in x days’ on the same three bases. Some of the formations are again unique.

<i>i-pua-n</i>	‘in two days, the day after tomorrow’
<i>i-tulu-n</i>	‘in three days’
<i>i-pat-on</i>	‘in four days’

There are no additional forms on the basis of consecutive numbers. Instead, one simply says *lima' rondom* ‘in five nights/days, five nights/days ago’, *noom rondom* ‘in six nights/days, six nights/days ago’ etc.

h. The **prefix *poko-*** (realis *moko-*) on the root *rua'* ‘two’. The resulting transitive verb *moko-rua'* means ‘make into two parts; do or take two things at once’. It is especially used of taking two wives.

- (115) *Ala ka' poko-rua' a wiwine ka-le'e.*
 take and PART-TWO ART woman D-DEM5
 ‘Go ahead and take that woman as your second wife.’ (conv)

The Balantak dictionary also lists derivations such as *poko-tolu'* ‘make into three parts’ and *poko-noom* ‘make into six parts’, but these formations are not acceptable to all speakers.

i. Finally, on the basis of *sa'angu'* ‘one’, there are the following derivations: the modifier *sa'angu'-an* ‘another, the other one’; the causative verb *po-sa'angu'* ‘unite, bring together’ and the stative verb *mo-sa'angu'* ‘be united, be one’.

4.6 Classifiers and measure nouns

4.6.1 Classifiers

In many languages of Sulawesi, classifiers are obligatorily used when a noun is quantified. Balantak appears to be somewhat exceptional in that there are only a few classifiers, and they appear to be mostly optional. The following example shows how the phrase ‘three coconuts’ can be expressed in Balantak.

- (116) a) *tolu' wuras nuur*
 three CLAS coconut
- b) *tolu' nuur*
 three coconut
- c) *nuur to-tolu'*
 coconut RED-three
- d) *nuur tolu' wuras*
 coconut three CLAS
 ‘three coconuts’

The numeral with classifier may either precede or follow the head noun, but when the numeral precedes, the classifier is optional. When the numeral follows the noun without a classifier, it takes the reduplicated form, as in (116c).

So far, the following classifiers have been found (with *sa-* ‘one’)

<i>sa-wuras</i>	for most objects, but especially fruits (lit. ‘seed’)
<i>sa-woka'</i>	for thin and flat objects (sheets, planks, gravestones)
<i>sa'-angu'</i>	for any object

In addition to *sa-wuras*, there is the form *sam-buras* ‘one’, as well as *ruam-buras* ‘two’ (also *rua' wuras*) and *tolum-buras* ‘three’ (also *tolu' wuras*). For higher numbers, the free forms are used: *paat wuras* ‘four’ etc.

The dividing line between the various classifiers is very fluid, with *sa'angu* having the widest application. It can be used with any noun, including temporal nouns, e.g., *sa'angu tempo* ‘one time, once’. Other nouns allow for two classifiers, e.g., *sa-wuras bokukum* or *sa'-angu' bokukum* ‘one shirt’ are both acceptable. Below are a few more examples of classifiers, though it should be stated again that these are fairly rare in our corpus.

(117) *dopi' sa-woka'*
plank one-CLASS
‘one plank’ (conv)

(118) a) *Pi-pii a meja-muu?*
RED-how.many ART table-2P
‘How many tables do you have, Sir?’ (conv)

b) *Paat wuras.*
four CLASS
‘Four.’

It should also be pointed out that people and animals do not take classifiers. ‘Two children’ is simply *rua' anak* or *anak ru-rua'* and ‘three horses’ is *tolu' kuda* or *kuda to-tolu'*.

4.6.2 Measure nouns

Measure nouns constitute a seemingly open class, which can be divided according to semantic criteria. They differ from other nouns in that they can take the prefix *sang-* (or one of its allomorphs) and they differ from classifiers in that they are not semantically empty, but have a clear meaning, and usually occur without a head noun.

The prefix *sang-* usually occurs in the forms *sam-* (before *p* and *b*), *san-* (before *t*, *d* and *s*), *sang-* (before vowels, *k* and *g*) and *sa-* (before nasal and liquids), and is given with each measure noun in the following list. Often, there is a verb which corresponds to the classifier, e.g., *sam-berak* ‘one torn piece’ is derived from the verb root *berak* ‘to tear, rip’, but these verbs are not listed in the following non-exhaustive sample of measure nouns. With most of these measure nouns, numbers higher than one use the free form, though occasionally the prefixed forms are used for two and three. Where this information is known, forms for such lower numerals are also given.

a. Parts and sections

<i>sa-lopak</i>	‘one piece, one slice’
<i>sam-bande'</i>	‘one half’
<i>sam-berak</i>	‘one torn piece (e.g., of paper)’
<i>sam-bira'</i>	‘one half, one side’
<i>sam-botak</i>	‘one half, one side’

<i>sam-bunta</i>	‘(in) one piece, one whole’
<i>sang-giran</i>	‘one part; another’

b. Parts of trees and plants

<i>sang-apak</i>	‘one hand (of bananas)’ (<i>ruang-apak</i> ~ <i>rua' apak</i>)
<i>sang-kau</i>	‘one tree’

c. Arrangements (especially of food items linked together in a traditional way)

<i>sam-parot</i>	‘one bunch, bundle (e.g., of string beans, onions)’
<i>san-toor</i>	‘one string with skewered pieces of meat’
<i>san-tuum</i>	‘one bundle, bag (e.g., of peppers, ginger, clothes)’

d. Extents of time

<i>sam-bitu'on</i>	‘one month’
<i>sang-gunsal</i>	‘one breath’
<i>sang-ilio</i>	‘one day’ (<i>ruang-ilio</i> ~ <i>rua' ilio</i> ‘two days’; <i>tolung-ilio</i> ~ <i>tolu' ilio</i> ‘three days’; <i>paat ilio</i> ‘four days’; <i>lima' ilio</i> ‘five days’; * <i>limang-ilio</i>)
<i>sang-kudap mata</i>	‘one eyeblink’
<i>sa-lu'unu</i>	‘one crop season, one year’
<i>sa-nondom</i>	‘one night’ (<i>rua' nondom</i> ~ <i>rua' rondom</i> ‘two nights’)

e. Lengths

<i>sa-lesu</i>	‘one cubit’
<i>san-dangan</i>	‘one span’
<i>san-dapa</i>	‘one fathom’
<i>sang-urat</i>	‘one knuckle’
<i>san-siniso'</i>	‘one index finger’
<i>san-tuboi</i>	‘one diminished span (the distance between a spread thumb and the tip of the index finger)’

f. Others

<i>sa-lulusan</i>	‘one group (of people or animals)’
<i>sam-beros</i>	‘one row, line (of people and animals behind e.o.)’
<i>sang-andar</i>	‘one row, line (of weaving or weeding)’
<i>sang-kaliangan</i>	‘one kind, one sort’

We conclude this section by giving some clausal examples of measure nouns.

- (119) *Kukis-na somo sam-bira'*
 biscuit-3S remain one-half
 ‘Only half the cake was left.’ (dict)

- (120) *Kalu bolusukon men moola', tongko' sam-bunta poko-on-ku kaan-on.*
 if durian REL big only one-piece able-PV.I-1S eat-PV.I
 ‘If the durians are big, I can only eat one.’ (dict)

- (121) *Tongko' sang-kudap mata sian-mo ni-piile'*
 only one-blink eye NEG-PERF PV.R-see
 ‘In only a blink of the eye, he was out of sight.’ (dict)

4.7 Quantifiers

Like numerals, quantifiers typically precede the noun they modify, although there are some exceptions. The following quantifiers have been found in Balantak:

<i>biai'</i>	'many, much'
<i>giigii'</i>	'all' (only Lamala dialect)
<i>sanda'</i>	'every, each'
<i>titiu', torotiu'</i>	'a little, some, a bit'
<i>toropii</i>	'several' (<i>toro</i> 'approximately', <i>pii</i> 'how many')
<i>wiwi'na</i>	'all'

Examples of these quantifiers in clauses follow below. Since *giigii'* is restricted to the Lamala dialect, it will not be further illustrated. *Biai'* normally follows the noun it modifies, as in (122) and (123), but it can also occur in predicate position, acting like a verb, as in (124).

(122) ... *kasi ia tulungi mian biai' man-daat oto.*
 then 3S help person many AV.I-pull car
 '... and then many people helped to pull the car.' (t68)

(123) *Yaku' suung-ku nanga-wawa oe biai'.*
 1S self-1S AV.R-carry rattan many
 'I carried lots of rotan by myself.' (t1)

(124) *Yaku' toa'i biai' tuu' a mian na kantor-na kapal udara.*
 1S see many very ART person LOC office-3S boat air
 'I saw there were very many people at the airline office.' (t4)

The quantifier *sanda'* 'each, every' precedes the noun it modifies.

(125) *Ka' sanda' kampung men liu-on,...*
 and each village REL PASS-PV.I
 'And every village that we passed...' (t67)

(126) *Sanda' ilio i kai k<um>aan na laigan-na.*
 each day PA 1PE INTR-eat LOC house-3S
 'Every day we ate at his house.' (t4)

(127) *Koi ka-ni'i a wawau-na po'-ale' pae sanda' lu'unu.*
 like D-DEM1 ART do-3S AV.GER-garden rice every season
 'This is the activity of the rice farmer each (crop) year.' (t50)

The quantifier *titiu'* 'a little, some, a few' is (irregularly) related to the stative verb *ituu'* 'small, little'. This verb is used attributively, as well as predicatively.

(128) *sa'angu' weerkauna itiu'*
 one river small
 'a small river' (or: 'its one river is small') (t68)

(129) *Anak ka-ya'a dauga' itiu' kasee malesi'.*
 child D-DEM3 still small but diligent
 'This child is still small, but a hard worker.' (dict)

The quantifier *titiu'* is not often found modifying a noun, but when it does, it follows the head noun, as in (130). More commonly, *titiu'* is the head of a noun phrase, as in (131) and (132).

- (130) *Tundunan titiu' na...*
 story little LOC
 'A little story about...' (t56)
- (131) *Yaku' dauga' ming-kira' bisara titiu'.*
 1S still INTR.I-like speak little
 'I would still like to say a few things.' (t56)
- (132) *Sianta biai', tongko' titiu'.*
 NEG many only little
 'Not much/many, just a little/few.' (conv)

Additionally, *titiu'* is a degree adverb meaning 'slightly, somewhat, a bit', modifying stative verbs and other adverbs (see §7.8.4d.):

- (133) ... *som-pulo' lima a men moo-moola' titiu'.*
 one-ten five ART REL RED-big little
 '... fifteen (rattan stalks) that were somewhat large.' (t1)

The quantifier *torotiu'* is a variant of *titiu'*, which appears most often in attributive position following the head noun, but also pronominally, as in (136). It is unclear whether there is a difference in meaning between the two forms, and what, exactly, the relationship is with the adverb *toro* 'approximately'.

- (134) ... *se' isian uga' paraluu torotiu'.*
 ATT EXIST also need little
 '... that there is also a little need.' (t56)
- (135) ... *isi-i-on panganon kabai se' doi' torotiu'.*
 fill-APPL-PV.I betelnut or ATT money little
 '... filled with betelnut or some money.' (t56)
- (136) *Too ule'-kon-on a torotiu'...*
 maybe return-CAUS-PV.I ART little
 'Maybe a little (money) was returned...' (t67)

The quantifier *wiwi'na* 'all' also precedes the head noun.

- (137) ***Wiwi'na*** *wurung-na sapu' ka-ni'i isian arati-na.*
 all talk-3S bird D-DEM1 EXIST meaning-3S
 'All of the talk of this bird has meaning.' (t50)
- (138) *Daa tong-oruang-mo wiwi'na a sawe',...*
 after NVOL-sit-PERF all ART guest
 'When all the guests are properly seated ...' (t56)

In (138), *wiwi'na* precedes the article *a*, but there is actually variation in the order of *a* and *wiwi'na*, as shown in the following example. (139a) shows a preverbal subject (obligatorily without *a*); (139b) and (139c) show the variant word order, while (139d) is ungrammatical because the post-verbal subject lacks *a*.

- (139) a) **Wiwi'na** *kau no-pate-mo.*
 all tree R-die-PERF
 'All the trees have died.' (elic)
- b) *No-pate-mo a wiwi'na kau.*
 R-die-PERF ART all tree
- c) *No-pate-mo wiwi'na a kau.*
 R-die-PERF all ART tree
- d) **No-pate-mo wiwi'na kau.*
 R-die-PERF all tree

With nominal subjects, *wiwi'na* may also 'float' to a clause-final position.

- (140) *Minti-minti'i-na wiwine tia utu-utus-na k <um > aan-mo wiwi'na.*
 RED-elder-3S woman with RED-sibling-3S INTR-eat-PERF all
 'The woman's parents and her siblings all eat.' (t56)

In combination with the plural pronouns, some special forms occur, indicating that *-na* is not part of the root, but probably the 3SG possessive suffix. The plural forms are *wiwi'-kai-na* 'all of us (exclusive)', *wiwi'-kita-na* 'all of us (inclusive)', *wiwi'-kuu-na* 'all of you' and *wiwi'-ira-na* 'all of them'. The form *kai wiwi'na*, however, is also acceptable.

- (141) *Kai na-lawu-mo wiwi'-kai-na...*
 1PE INTR.R-go.down-PERF all-1PE-3S
 'All of us went down...' (t67)
- (142) *Sobii-mo ka' tarai-on tiket wiwi'-kuu-na.*
 let.it.be-PERF and give-PV.I ticket all-2P-3S
 'There is no need for all of you to be given a ticket.' (t68)
- (143) *Ai yaku' ia ator-mo i raqya'a wiwi'-ira-na.*
 EMP.ART 1S 3S accompany-PERF PA 3P all-3P-3S
 'All of them accompanied me (to the airport).' (t67)
- (144) *Moki-daga-i i kai wiwi'na men na lalom-na kapal udara.*
 REQ-guard-DIR PA 1PE all REL LOC inside-3S boat air
 'Please guard all of us who are inside the airplane.' (t4)

These special plural pronominal quantifier forms seem to be limited to core positions. They have not been found following prepositions. In those cases, the oblique pronouns (see §4.1.3) are simply followed by *wiwi'na*:

- (145) *bo ko'onta wiwi'na*
 for 1PI.OBL all
 'for all of us'

4.8 Possession

As pronominal possession has been dealt with in §4.1.2, this section focusses on nominal possessive phrases. Possessive phrases always follow the head noun and are generally introduced by the 3SG possessive suffix *-na* 'of'. In this grammar, *-na* is treated as a suffix, but native speakers often write it

separately, thereby causing homography (and potential confusion) with the general locative preposition *na*. As explained in §4.2.1, before personal nouns the form *-ni* is used, with variants *-nai* and *-na i*. There is also a type of noun-noun relationship which does not make use of *-na* or *-ni*, discussed at the end of this section.

Semantically, what is here called ‘possession’ actually covers a wide range of meanings, including bona fide possession, part-whole relationships, family relationships, usage, origin, location etc. The following possessive phrases display some of this semantic variety.

- | | | |
|-------|---|-------------------------|
| (146) | <i>laigan-na wiwine</i>
house-3s woman
‘the woman’s house’ (t56) | (possession/location) |
| (147) | <i>roona-na loka</i>
leaf-3s banana
‘a banana leaf’ (conv) | (part-whole) |
| (148) | <i>tanga'-na bendar</i>
middle-3s main.road
‘the middle of the main road’ (t58) | (part-whole) |
| (149) | <i>bolo'-na ngoor</i>
hole-3s nose
‘a nostril’ (t50) | (body part, part-whole) |
| (150) | <i>sina-na anak</i>
mother-3s child
‘the child’s mother’ (t32) | (family relationship) |
| (151) | <i>pakuli'-na wese'</i>
medicine-3s tooth
‘tooth medicine’ (t3) | (usage/purpose) |
| (152) | <i>ale'-na pae</i>
garden-3s rice
‘rice field’ (t54) | (contents) |
| (153) | <i>posuu-na minti'i</i>
command-3s parent
‘the commands of the parents’ (t56) | (origin) |
| (154) | <i>oloon-na laigan-mai</i>
building.material-3s house-1PE
‘building materials for our house’ (conv) | (purpose) |

Examples of possessive phrases with *-ni* preceding personal nouns:

- | | | |
|-------|--|-----------------------|
| (155) | <i>tama-ni Aman</i>
father-3S.PA A.
‘Aman’s father’ (conv) | (family relationship) |
| (156) | <i>anak-ni aume?</i>
child-3S.PA who
‘whose child?’ (conv) | (family relationship) |

- (157) *kuda-ni Tomundo'* (possession)
 horse-3S.PA king
 'the King's horse' (t35)
- (158) *tae-ni Kancil* (origin)
 word-3S.PA mouse.deer
 'the word of Mouse deer' (t35)

It is, of course, possible to have embedded possessive noun phrases, in which each following noun phrase modifies the preceding head noun. Two examples from our corpus:

- (159) *tolodo-na laigan-ni Tomundo'*
 yard-3S house-3S.PA king
 'the yard of the house of the King' (t35)
- (160) *tae-na noa-na sina-na anak i-ya'a*
 word-3S breath-3S mother-3S child D-DEM3
 'the mother of the child said to herself' (lit. 'the word of the breath/heart of the mother of the child') (t32)

The combination of the possessive marker *-na* and the plural article *ari* (§4.3.3) is realized as *nari*, written as a separate word.

- (161) *oto n-ari Zuzan*
 car 3S-PLUR Z.
 'the car of Zuzan and her family' (t68)

Finally, there is also a noun-noun relationship which does not utilize any possessive marking. The nouns are simply juxtaposed, though semantically, the second noun modifies the first. The second noun may indicate the material the first noun is made of, its gender, as well as a few miscellaneous cases.

- (162) *laigan betoon*
 house brick
 'a brick house' (conv)
- (163) *buso' mosoni*
 bracelet gold
 'a gold bracelet' (elic)
- (164) *kukis pae*
 cake rice
 'rice cake' (conv)
- (165) *utus moro'one*
 sibling man
 'a brother' (t55)
- (166) *anak wiwine*
 child woman
 'a daughter' (t56)
- (167) *anak sikola*
 child school
 'a pupil' (dict)

(168) *anak unon*
 child orphan
 'an orphan' (dict)

(169) *siok rowo'*
 chicken forest
 'a wild chicken' (t50)

4.9 Other modifiers and combinations

In addition to the modifiers dealt with so far (including demonstratives, numerals, quantifiers etc.), there are a few more categories that can modify a noun. They are briefly listed here and discussed elsewhere in more detail.

a. Prepositional phrases (see chapter 6).

(170) *salan-ku na lilis*
 road-1s LOC garden.edge
 'my path at the edge of the garden' (t2)

b. Stative verbs (without any morphology); see §5.1.

(171) *harimau pate*
 tiger die
 'a dead tiger' (t35)

(172) *suo' u'uru*
 groom new
 'a bride; a bridegroom; newly-weds' (t56)

c. Relative clauses (see also §10.1).

(173) *ayop men bodo' tuu'*
 animal REL evil very
 'an animal which is very bad' (t35)

d. Temporal and demonstrative adverbs (see §7.8):

(174) *intom-na pansan*
 side.dish-3s once
 'side dish (of meat or fish) for one meal' (t20)

e. Focussing adverbs (see §7.8.4):

(175) *tongko' roti*
 only bread
 'only bread' (t67)

The internal structure of the noun phrase in Balantak, given at the beginning of this chapter, is repeated here. This formula ignores variant word orders and post-nominal quantifiers, as well as adverbs and prepositional phrases, as there is not enough evidence for their linear order.

(ART)
 (NUM) N (NP[poss]) (REL.CL.) (DEM)
 (QUANT)

The following examples show combinations of nominal modifiers, outlined in the example headings.

- | | | | | |
|-------|---|-----------------|---------------------|---------------------------|
| | N | NP[poss] | REL.CL. | |
| (176) | <i>kuda-ni</i> | <i>tomundo'</i> | <i>men langkai'</i> | |
| | horse-3S.PA | king | REL old | |
| | 'the king's old horse' (or: 'the old king's horse') (t35) | | | |
| | N | REL.CL. | | DEM |
| (177) | <i>wiwine</i> | <i>men</i> | <i>no-suo'-mo</i> | <i>ka-ni'i</i> |
| | woman | REL | INTR.R-marry-PERF | D-DEM1 |
| | 'this woman who got married' (t56) | | | |
| | N | NP[poss] | DEM.ADV. | PP |
| (178) | <i>ka-kaan-ni</i> | <i>Seese'</i> | <i>i-nda'a</i> | <i>na tuo'-na bobuno'</i> |
| | RED-food-3S.PA | snail | D-DEM.ADV6 | LOC top-3S langsung |
| | 'the food of Snail up there in the langsung tree' (t20) | | | |
| | ART | N | | PP |
| (179) | <i>a</i> | <i>sarat-na</i> | <i>na olukon</i> | |
| | ART | leg-3S | LOC front | |
| | 'his front legs' (dict) | | | |

4.10 Other heads of noun phrases

Apart from §4.1, this chapter has concentrated on the noun as the head of a noun phrase. As in many other languages, occasionally other heads are found, including pronouns, demonstratives and quantifiers.

Pronouns can be modified by demonstratives, group names (e.g., ethnic group or age groups), and numerals. In the last case, the pronoun may optionally be repeated.

- (180) *kai i-ni'i*
 1PE D-DEM1
 'we here' (lit. 'this we') (conv)
- (181) *kai samba Balantak*
 1PE tribe B.
 'we Balantak people' (conv)
- (182) *kita minti'i*
 1PI elder
 'we elders' (conv)
- (183) *kai rua' kai*
 1PE two 1PE
 'the two of us, both of us' (t58)

(184) *Kai tolu no-taka.*
 1PE three R-arrive
 ‘The three of us have arrived.’ (elic)

(185) *Ai kai paat kai...*
 EMP.ART 1PE four 1PE
 ‘The four of us...’ (t58)

This modification by a numeral (with an optional repeated pronoun) is also possible with oblique pronouns:

(186) *Ka-nono' boo ko'omuu rua' kuu.*
 D-DEM2 for 2P.OBL two 2P
 ‘That is for both of you.’ (dict)

Example (186) also illustrates the use of a demonstrative (*kanono'*) as the head of a noun phrase. Another example is the following:

(187) *Sabole ingku' i-le'e.*
 certainly 1S.OBL D-DEM5
 ‘That is certainly mine.’ (conv)

Several quantifiers can act as heads of noun phrases, including *torotiu'* in (136), repeated here:

(188) *Too ule'-kon-on a torotiu'...*
 maybe return-CAUS-PV.I ART little
 ‘Maybe a little (money) will be returned...’ (t67)

4.11 Coordination of NPs

To coordinate nouns and noun phrases, Balantak uses either the preposition *tia* ‘with’ (*tii* before personal nouns) or the conjunction *ka'* ‘and’. The difference between *tia* and *ka'* is not quite clear, but *ka'* can also be used to coordinate prepositional phrases, as in (192). Disjunction is marked by *kabai* ‘or’.

(189) *babang tia lato'*
 onion with string.bean
 ‘onions and string beans’ (conv)

(190) *ai Kancil tii Kuda*
 EMP.ART mouse.deer with.PA horse
 ‘Mouse deer and Horse’ (t35)

(191) *moro'one ka' wiwine*
 man and woman
 ‘men and women’ (conv)

(192) *na toure'-na ka' na toure'-em*
 LOC neck-3S and LOC neck-2S
 ‘around his neck and around your neck’ (t35)

(193) *Ime a men mae', yaku' kabai i koo?*
 who ART REL go 1S or PA 2S
 ‘Who will go, you or I?’ (conv)

So far, no examples have been found of appositive noun phrases, apart from the construction with *ira* discussed in §4.1.4.

5. Verbs and verbal morphology

This chapter describes the morphological make-up of verbs in Balantak, undoubtedly the most complex part of the grammar. It starts off with a discussion of the various verb classes: stative, intransitive and transitive (§5.1–§5.3). This is followed by a detailed treatment of three modes (realis, irrealis, and gerund) in §5.4. Derived intransitive verbs (some ten categories) are treated in §5.5, followed by a discussion of valency-increasing morphology (§5.6) and other verbal morphology topics, including reduplication (§5.7). The chapter ends with a section on affix ordering (§5.8) and some sample derivations (§5.9).

A few topics relating to verbs are not treated in detail in this chapter, including voice. A basic overview of voice is given in §3.5, and a detailed treatment is reserved for the chapter on clause structure (§7.4 and §7.5). Also, the enclitics *-mo*, *-po* and *-si* are only briefly mentioned in §5.7.10.

After a presentation of illustrative examples of a particular verbal category in isolation, we will also illustrate them in a few simple clausal examples.

5.1 Stative verbs

Stative verbs refer to property concepts such as ‘good’, ‘fast’, ‘old’ and ‘amazed’. They are a subclass of verbs in that they form the core of a predicate, do not require a copula, participate in the mode-marking morphology of verbs (at least, the realis and the irrealis), and are causativized by *pa-*, *po-*, or *-i*. Apart from their meaning, they differ from other intransitive verbs in their ability to modify nouns in a NP without an intervening relative marker (§4.9), their apparent failure to have a gerund form, and their ability to nominalize with *-na*.

Stative verbs could also be called adjectives or adjectival verbs, but in view of the large number of similarities between ‘regular’ verbs and these ‘adjectival’ verbs, we believe it is appropriate to reflect their status as a subclass of verbs in the terminology used.

Morphologically, the following three classes of stative verbs can be distinguished, as shown in table 5.1.

Table 5.1. Stative verb classes

stative verb class	irrealis	realis	gerund	gloss
a. unmarked	<i>balaki'</i>	<i>(no-)balaki'</i>	-	‘big’
b. <i>ma-</i>	<i>ma-barang</i>	<i>na-barang</i>	-	‘sick’
c. <i>mo-</i>	<i>mo'-itom</i>	<i>no'-itom</i>	-	‘black’

a. Unmarked

<i>balaki'</i>	‘big’
<i>bambal</i>	‘wide’
<i>bansar</i>	‘full’
<i>benteng</i>	‘full, satisfied’
<i>buruki'</i>	‘angry’
<i>langkai'</i>	‘old’ (also a noun ‘husband’)
<i>londik</i>	‘relieved’
<i>oloa</i>	‘far away’
<i>pore</i>	‘good’
<i>re'es</i>	‘sick of, fed up with’
<i>ruar</i>	‘bright, light’
<i>sakaal</i>	‘seriously ill, in a critical condition’

<i>samba'</i>	'amazed'
<i>u'uru</i>	'new'

The realis form of this group can be either zero or *no-*. There does not seem to be any difference between these two forms.

- (1) *Ai yaku' (no-)samba' tuu'*
 EMP.ART 1S R-surprised very
 'I was very surprised.' (t68)
- (2) *Anak-ku (no-)balaki'-mo.*
 child-1S R-big-PERF
 'My child is already big (now).' (conv)

b. With prefix *ma-* (and variant *ma'-* before vowel-initial roots). Some of these roots also exist as nouns, typically occurring with the 3sg possessive *-na* (which is left untranslated).

<i>ma'-agor</i>	'fast'		
<i>ma-barang</i>	'sick'	<i>barang-na</i>	'illness, disease'
<i>ma-dengkul</i>	'crooked'		
<i>ma-kadang</i>	'hard'		
<i>ma-kangkung</i>	'dry'		
<i>ma-karas</i>	'scorching hot'		
<i>ma-male</i>	'tired'		
<i>ma-naam</i>	'tame'		
<i>ma-polos</i>	'painful'	<i>polos-na</i>	'pain'
<i>ma-rawat</i>	'heavy'		
<i>ma-repa</i>	'difficult'		
<i>ma-rere</i>	'dirty'	<i>rere-na</i>	'dirt'
<i>ma-roi'</i>	'bountiful'	<i>roi'-na</i>	'bounty'
<i>ma-sasom</i>	'sharp'		
<i>ma-takut</i>	'afraid'		

Other roots show variation between *ma-* and *ba-*:

<i>ma-bantang</i>	~	<i>ba-bantang</i>	'long' (the form with <i>ma-</i> is rare)
<i>ma-banal</i>	~	<i>ba-banal</i>	'resistant or invulnerable to damage (of a surface)'
<i>ma-banut</i>	~	<i>ba-banut</i>	'strong; not easily broken or torn (of rope, cloth)'
<i>ma'-idek</i>	~	<i>ba'-idek</i>	'bad, ugly' (the form with <i>ba-</i> is more common)

- (3) *Tama-na anak ka-ni'i sida ma-repa tuu'...*
 father-3S child D-DEM1 able INTR.I-difficult very
 'The father of this child will have a very difficult time...' (t56)

- (4) *sa'angu' wawau men ba'-idek*
 one deed REL INTR-bad
 'an evil deed' (t56)

The realis form of these stative verbs is always with *na-* (replacing *ma-*), though a few forms in texts have been recorded with *no-pa-*: *no-pa-kangkung-mo* 'it is already dry' (from *ma-kangkung* 'dry') and *no-pa-barang-mo* 'he is (already) sick' (from *ma-barang* 'sick'), in each case in combination with the perfective suffix *-mo*. It is possible that these forms are dialectal variants.

Most of the stative verbs can probably be nominalized, especially in exclamatory clauses (§9.4).

c. With prefix *mo-* (and variant *mo'* before vowel-initial roots).

<i>mo-bubung</i>	‘rotten (of jackfruit etc.)’
<i>mo'-itom</i>	‘black’
<i>mo-lolu</i>	‘hungry’
<i>mo-tu'a</i>	‘old, elderly’
<i>mo-yubok</i>	‘soft’

- (5) *Kasur-na mo-yubok*
 mattress-3S INTR.I-soft
 ‘His mattress is soft.’ (dict-m)

- (6) *Wiwine men mo-tu'a malia' kana'-on-na panakit ka-ni'i.*
 women REL INTR.I-old often hit-PV.I-3S disease D-DEM1
 ‘Elderly women are often affected by this disease.’ (t50)

The irrealis of these forms is with *no-* (replacing *mo-*). An unusual stative verb is *alalom* ‘deep’, which is somehow related to the locative noun *lalom* ‘inside’ (see §6.5).

5.2 Intransitive verbs

Like stative verbs, intransitive verbs also take a single argument. Semantically, they differ from stative verbs in that there is activity and change in the meaning of these verbs. They refer either to dynamic events, such as going, running, working and speaking, or to processes such as getting better or getting higher. Some of the event verbs are telic (with an implied natural end point, e.g., *min-soop* ‘enter’) and some of them are atelic (e.g., *mo-guas* ‘play’).

Morphologically, there is little that distinguishes intransitive verbs from stative verbs, apart from a larger number of form classes among the former. Also, several verbs have a stative, as well as a process meaning, e.g., *pate* ‘dead, die’ or *tuo'* ‘alive, grow’. The question can, therefore, be raised whether there really is a rigid distinction between stative and intransitive verbs. For the moment, we tentatively answer this question positively by pointing to the partially different morphology (there are no stative verbs with infix *<um>*, for instance) and the fact that there are no gerunds with stative verbs, while intransitive verbs do have gerund forms.

The following table shows the five form classes that comprise the totality of non-derived intransitive verbs. Each class will be discussed in turn.

Table 5.2. Intransitive verb classes

intransitive verb class	irrealis	realis	gerund	gloss
a. unmarked	<i>taka</i>	<i>(no-)taka</i>	<i>taka</i>	‘come’
b. <i><um></i>	<i>l<um>iu</i>	<i>(no-)l<um>iu</i>	<i>liu</i>	‘pass by’
c. <i>ma-</i>	<i>ma-lawu</i>	<i>na-lawu</i>	<i>pa-lawu</i>	‘go down’
d. <i>mo-</i>	<i>mo-guas</i>	<i>no-guas</i>	<i>po-guas</i>	‘play’
e. <i>ming-</i>	<i>min-soop</i>	<i>nin-soop</i>	<i>pin-soop</i>	‘enter’

a. **Unmarked.** The irrealis and the gerund of these verbs are unmarked, while the realis takes an optional prefix *no-*.

<i>lengke</i>	‘to laugh’
<i>mae'</i>	‘to go’
<i>mule'kon</i>	‘to go home, return’ (with fossilized suffix <i>-kon</i>)
<i>pate</i>	‘to die, be dead’
<i>ringkat</i>	‘to stand, stand up’

<i>sawe'</i>	'to reach the top, go up'
<i>taan</i>	'to stop'
<i>taka</i>	'to arrive'
<i>tokol</i>	'to lie, lie down, sleep' (also <i>mo-tokol</i>)
<i>tuo'</i>	'to grow, live, be alive'
<i>tuuk</i>	'to stop by'
<i>wangon</i>	'to get up' (also <i>mi-wangon</i>)
<i>wiri</i>	'to cry, weep'

Notice that *pate* and *tuo'* both have a stative and a process reading. As mentioned above, this could be taken as evidence that the distinction between stative and intransitive verbs is not as robust as is presented here.

- (7) *Ia rimberi' (no-)taka.*
 3s yesterday R-arrive
 'He arrived yesterday.' (conv)

b. With infix <um>. In this class of verbs, the infix <um> is inserted after the first consonant of the root; in case of vowel-initial roots, it is simply prefixed. Most intransitive roots in our corpus which take <um> have an initial *l*, *r* or a vowel, a few have initial *d*, *k*, *s* or *t*. The significance of this is not clear at this point, though it is obvious that this is a closed class of maybe 30 members. Given the widespread use of <um> in other Sulawesi languages, it seems likely that <um> was a more productive affix in an earlier stage of the language. However, <um> is not simply a fossilized affix. The fact that we are dealing with a living affix becomes clear when it is realized that for each of these verbs, the gerund is the simple root. The verb *l<um>angu* 'to swim', for instance, has as gerund *langu*, as shown in the imperative clause *langu-mo i koo!* 'You swim!' These gerund forms are not indicated below. For some of the verbs in the following list the roots also have other meanings. Where known, this is indicated.

<i>d<um>odongo</i>	1. 'to live, stay' 2. 'to give birth'		
<i>k<um>aan</i>	'to eat'		
<i>l<um>akit</i>	'to board, get in, get on'		
<i>l<um>ako'</i>	'to hunt'		
<i>l<um>alin</i>	'to spread (of disease), be contagious'		
<i>l<um>angu</i>	'to swim'		
<i>l<um>ayang</i>	'to fly'		
<i>l<um>iu</i>	'to pass, go past'		
<i>l<um>olo'</i>	'to follow'		
<i>l<um>olong</i>	'to wade, walk in water'		
<i>l<um>opon</i>	'to climb (a hill)'		
<i>l<um>umpat</i>	'to jump' (also <i>lumpat</i> 'jump')		
<i>r<um>ara'</i>	'to bleed'	<i>rara'</i>	'blood'
<i>r<um>ingkat</i>	'to leave'	<i>ringkat</i>	'stand, stand up'
<i>s<um>asayo</i>	'to take a trip'		
<i>t<um>ambu'</i>	'to fetch water'		
<i>t<um>etende'</i>	'to run'		
<i>t<um>uro'</i>	'to drip'		
<i>um-akal</i>	'to deceive'	<i>akal</i>	'mind, intellect, reason'
<i>um-alalom</i>	'to get deeper'	<i>alalom</i>	'deep'
<i>um-alayo'</i>	'to rise, get higher'	<i>alayo'</i>	'high; long'
<i>um-asok</i>	'to plant' (intr)		
<i>um-oruang</i>	'to sit, sit down'		
<i>um-uar</i>	'to go out'		

A number of these verbs have transitive, causative, or applicative derivations based on the root. Examples include *k*<*um*>*aan* ‘to eat (intr) and *mang-kaan* ‘to eat (tr)’; *l*<*um*>*akit* ‘to board, get in’ and *manga-lakit-i* ‘to ride on s.t., travel in s.t.’; *l*<*um*>*olong* ‘to wade, walk in water’ and *mongo-lolong* ‘to wade through s.t.’; *um-akal* ‘to deceive (intr)’ and *mang-akal-i* ‘to deceive, trick (tr)’; *um-uar* ‘to go out’ and *mong-uar-kon* ‘to remove’. These derivations are discussed in other sections of this chapter.

The unmarked verb *taka* ‘arrive’ also has a variant with <*um*> and a slight change in meaning: *t*<*um*>*aka* ‘to arrive unexpectedly’.

Below follow examples of <*um*>-intransitive verbs in clauses. The gerund form (the bare root) is mostly used in imperative clauses (see also §5.4.3), as in examples (12) and (13). Because of the lack of affixation, gerunds are not glossed as gerunds, but as simple roots.

- (8) *Ai ime a no-t<um>aka?*
PA who ART R-INTR-arrive
‘Who is it that arrived (unexpectedly)?’ (elic)
- (9) *Yaku' no-l<um>akit-mo tii raaya'a.*
1S R-INTR-board-PERF with.PA 3P
‘I got in (the car) with them.’ (t68)
- (10) ... *kasi um-uar a wiwine, ka' um-oruang tia moro'one.*
then INTR-go.out ART woman and INTR-sit with man
‘... then the women go outside and sit with the men.’ (t56)
- (11) *Ala-alai-na kae-kae' um-alayo'.*
kite-3S increasingly INTR-high
‘His kite went higher and higher.’ (dict)
- (12) *Alaka' kaan kutung!*
please eat first
‘Please eat first!’ (conv)
- (13) *Alaka' tetende' i koo!*
please run PA 2S
‘You run!’ (conv)

c. With prefix *ma-*. There are very few verbs in this category, all of them motion verbs. The realis of these verbs replaces *ma-* with *na-*, while the gerund has *pa-*.

<i>ma-lawu</i>	‘to go down, descend’ (variant <i>ma-lau</i>)
<i>ma-ndawo'</i>	‘to fall’
<i>ma-sawe'</i>	‘to go up’

d. With prefix *mo-* (and its allomorph *mo'* before vowel-initial roots). Intransitive verbs with the prefix can be split up into three groups, based on the relationship with the base.

- Base is a bound root:

<i>mo-guas</i>	‘to play’
<i>mo-kaut</i>	‘to sew’
<i>mo-loop</i>	‘to bathe’
<i>mo-tokol</i>	‘to lie, lie down, sleep’ (also <i>tokol</i>)
<i>mo'-uus</i>	‘to want’

- (14) *Alia mo-loop na rawa!*
DONT INTR.I-bathe LOC swamp
‘Don’t take a bath in a swamp!’ (dict)

Although the base does not exist independently, nominalizations with the suffix *-na* do occur, especially in exclamatory clauses (see §9.4). The realis form of these verbs has *no-* instead of *mo-*, while the gerund has *po-*: *po-guas!* ‘play!’ and *po-loop!* ‘take a bath!’

- Base is a noun. Strictly speaking these are derived intransitive verbs (the topic of §5.5), but for reasons of presentation they are kept with other *mo-*intransitives. The meaning is often ‘work, make or do something connected with the noun’.

<i>mo'-ale'</i>	‘to work a garden’	<i>ale'</i>	‘garden’
<i>mo-laigan</i>	‘to build a house’	<i>laigan</i>	‘house’
<i>mo-likison</i>	‘to make oil’	<i>likison</i>	‘oil’
<i>mo-nuur</i>	‘to grow coconut trees’	<i>nuur</i>	‘coconut’
<i>mo-pae</i>	‘to grow rice’	<i>pae</i>	‘rice’
<i>mo-sakul</i>	‘to make sago’	<i>sakul</i>	‘sago’
<i>mo-suo'</i>	‘to get married’	<i>suo'</i>	‘family’
<i>mo-tanga'</i>	‘to take the middle’	<i>tanga'</i>	‘middle’
<i>mo-te'e</i>	‘to defecate’	<i>te'e</i>	‘faeces’

- (15) *Mian men limang-na mo-pae, ia uga' sinampang mo-pae.*
 person REL work-3S INTR.I-rice 3S also always INTR.I-rice
 ‘A person whose work is to grow rice, he is also always busy growing rice.’ (t53)

- In contrast with transitive verbs:

<i>mo-baluk</i>	‘to sell’	<i>mam-baluk-kon</i>	‘to sell’
		<i>*ba-baluk; *mam-baluk</i>	
<i>mo-bantil</i>	‘to inform’	<i>mam-bantil-kon</i>	‘to inform, tell’
<i>mo-tanom</i>	‘to bury’	<i>man-tanom</i>	‘to bury (tr)’

In spite of the fact that these verbs are intransitive, they can still take an object, but the object is usually indefinite and non-referential. Also, these objects can never be made into subjects in a patient voice construction, and hence, we consider them non-canonical objects. There is no evidence that such objects should be analysed as incorporated objects.

- (16) *Ia mae' na pasar mo-baluk ombulon.*
 3S go LOC market INTR.I-sell taro
 ‘She has gone to the market to sell taro.’ (dict)

At least one of these verbs appears to show prenasalization: *mong-korowi* (variant *ba-korowi*) ‘have breakfast’. This appears to be the agent voice prefix *mVng-*, but since there is never an object with this verb and it has no corresponding patient voice, we treat it as an exception.

The intransitive prefix *mo-* should not be confused with the agent voice irrealis prefix *mVng-*. The intransitive prefix has no final nasal, and there is no vowel harmony.

e. With prefix *ming-* (and allomorphs *mim-*, *min-* and *mi-*, see §2.8.3). Many of these intransitive verbs share the common meaning element of a dynamic, often deliberate action. In some cases, the base exists as a noun or a stative verb:

<i>mim-bolo'</i>	‘to enter a hole’	<i>bolo'</i>	‘hole’
<i>min-dompu'</i>	‘to give birth to, bear (a child)’		
<i>ming-geges</i>	‘to rub o.s.’		
<i>ming-karurus</i>	‘to slide down, skid’		
<i>ming-kiop</i>	‘to dive’		
<i>ming-kira'</i>	‘to like, want’ (also <i>mong-kira'</i>)		
<i>ming-kura'</i>	‘to go to the bush to relieve o.s.’	<i>kura'</i>	‘bush’
<i>ming-oloa</i>	‘to stay (far) away from’	<i>oloa</i>	‘far’

<i>ming-oap</i>	‘to yawn’		
<i>ming-usan</i>	‘to walk in the rain’	<i>usan</i>	‘rain’
<i>mi-noa</i>	‘to breathe’	<i>noa</i>	‘breath, soul, heart’
<i>min-sangkil</i>	‘to sit on the edge’		
<i>min-sapit</i>	‘to hide o.s.’		
<i>min-soop</i>	‘to enter’		
<i>mi-wangon</i>	‘to awaken, sit up’ (also <i>wangon</i>)		

Another meaning is to produce or grow the noun referred to:

<i>ming-anak</i>	‘to give birth (of animals)’	<i>anak</i>	‘child’
<i>mim-balaang</i>	‘to grow leaves’	<i>balaang</i>	‘leaf’
<i>mim-puo’</i>	‘to grow a banana blossom’	<i>puo’</i>	‘banana blossom’
<i>mi-woo’</i>	‘to bear fruit’	<i>woo’</i>	‘fruit’

Examples of intransitive verbs with *ming-*:

- (17) *Na bulan anam, kasi boroki'-na min-dompu'.*
 LOC moon six then wife-3S INTR.I-give.birth
 ‘In June, his wife will give birth.’ (dict)

- (18) *Kalu kita ming-kiop mam-[p]ake¹ salaang kita sida mi-noa*
 if 1PI INTR.I-dive AV.I-use plastic.pipe 1PI can INTR.I-breath

liu-liu.

RED-continue

‘If we dive using a plastic pipe, we can continue breathing.’ (dict)

5.3 Transitive verbs

The class of transitive verbs in Balantak is large and open. Transitive verbs typically take two participants (though these can be covert in a clause), and they are always marked for one of the three modes, as well as one of the three voices. This is shown in table 5.3 (repeated from chapter 3), here illustrated on the transitive verb *ala* ‘take’.

Table 5.3. Voice-mode affixes on *ala* ‘take’

	irrealis	realis	gerund
agent voice	<i>mang-ala</i>	<i>nang-ala</i>	<i>pang-ala</i>
patient voice	<i>ala-on</i>	<i>ni-ala</i> / PRO <i>ala</i>	<i>ala</i>
locative voice	<i>mang-ala-an</i>	<i>nang-ala-an</i>	<i>pang-ala-an</i>

Recall that the agent voice irrealis prefix is underlyingly *mVng-* and has twenty allomorphs, where were presented in §2.8.1. In this section, we give some further illustrations of transitive verbs. V stands for vowel, the quality of which is determined by the first root vowel.

a. *mVng-* with root-initial vowels, *k* and *g*:

<i>mang-ala</i>	‘to take’
<i>meng-epet</i>	‘to feel, touch’

¹Here, and elsewhere in this grammar, the convention of [p] refers to an underlying /p/ that has been deleted due to a morphophonemic process; see §2.8.2.

<i>ming-ili</i>	‘to buy’
<i>mong-goop</i>	‘to suck, draw in’
<i>mung-umpak</i>	‘to join, connect, link’

b. **mVngV-** with root-initial sonorants (*m, n, ng, l, r, w, y*):

<i>manga-wawau</i>	‘to do, make’
<i>menge-leelo'</i>	‘to call’
<i>mingi-nika'</i>	‘to marry (a couple)’
<i>mongo-rongor</i>	‘to hear’
<i>mungu-yunggot</i>	‘to shake’

c. **mVm-** with root-initial *p* and *b* (in some cases *p* is lost, indicated by [p̤]; see §2.8.2):

<i>mam-balik</i>	‘to turn, turn over’
<i>mem-[p̤]enek</i>	‘to climb’
<i>mim-[p̤]isok</i>	‘to wear (clothing)’
<i>mom-bobok</i>	‘to hit, strike’
<i>mum-pupu</i>	‘to pick’

d. **mVn-** with root-initial *t, d* and *s*:

<i>man-ta'an</i>	‘to fasten, tie up’
<i>men-deer</i>	‘to spread’
<i>min-siirip</i>	‘to glance at’
<i>mon-dolo'</i>	‘to get, fetch’
<i>mun-tunu</i>	‘to burn’

The verb ‘to steal’ is exceptional; the forms are *ma-mangan* (irrealis), *na-mangan* (realis) and *pa-mangan* (gerund). If the root was *mangan*, we would expect *manga-mangan*. It is possible that these are reduced forms which arose by haplology for expected **manga-mangan*, **nanga-mangan* and **panga-mangan*.

Examples of transitive verbs in clauses abound in this chapter (as well as in chapter 7) and for that reason, are not presented here.

5.4 Modes

Balantak makes use of a three-way distinction, in what we term as *mode*, a category which encompasses tense and various non-temporal functions. All transitive verbs, and most intransitive and stative verbs, are marked as realis, irrealis or gerund.

The realis-irrealis distinction primarily has to do with tense, whether the action is completed, or viewed as completed, in the past (realis), or whether it will be, or is presently being done, (irrealis). The gerund is an atemporal verb form with several seemingly unrelated functions. Negation has no effect on the choice of mode: a past negative will still be in realis mode. The existential verb *isian* ‘to be, exist’ is never marked for mode (see §7.1).

Of the three modes, irrealis seems to be the unmarked form. This is shown by the fact that on many intransitive verbs irrealis is unmarked, but realis is optionally marked by *no-*, and the fact that when asking for a specific verb, e.g., ‘to enter’ it is always the irrealis form, which is given as a translation equivalent: *min-soop*.

5.4.1 Realis mode

The main function of realis mode is to refer to a completed state or event in the past. It is, therefore, very commonly used in narrative discourse such as folktales, legends, and personal stories. Realis is morphologically coded in various ways, summarized in the following listing:

- It is optionally marked by the prefix *no-* on certain form classes of intransitive verbs (the unmarked class, the <*um*> class) and also with certain intransitive-deriving prefixes, including adversative *ko-* (§5.5.3), affective *ko-* (§5.5.4), accidental *ko-...-ian* (§5.5.5) reciprocal *poo-* (§5.5.9) and non-volitional *tong-* (§5.7.4).
- It is marked by replacive *n* on a number of stative and intransitive verbs (replacing irrealis *m*): intransitive *mo-/no-*, *ma-/na-* and *ming-/ning-*, purposeful and pretense *minti-/ninti*, and reciprocal kinship *moto-/noto-*.
- It is optionally marked by the infix *-in-* on derived intransitive verbs with adversative and affective prefix *ko-* (§5.5.3, §5.5.4) and the non-volitional prefix *tong-* (§5.7.4). In some Balantak dialects, *-in-* is also a variant of the realis patient voice prefix *ni-*.
- It is marked by the portmanteau prefix *nVng-* on realis agent voice and locative voice transitive verbs (§7.4.1);
- It is marked by the prefix *ni-* on agentless realis patient voice transitive verbs (§7.4.2);
- It is marked by zero on agented realis patient voice, where the agent is marked by a preverbal pronoun (§7.4.3).

Examples of all these realis manifestations are found in the following clauses:

- (19) *Rimberi' kai (no'-)um-uar.*
 yesterday 1PE R-INTR-go.out
 'Yesterday we went out.' (conv)
- (20) *Rimberi' yaku' (no-)mae' na laigan-na utus-ku.*
 yesterday 1S R-go LOC house-3S brother-1S
 'Yesterday I went to my brother's house.' (conv)
- (21) *Tempo i yaku' no-d<um>odongo toro' tanggal sembilan.*
 time PA 1S R-INTR-give.birth about date nine
 'The date I gave birth was approximately the ninth (of the month).' (t11)
- (22) *Yaku' sian-mo na-takut.*
 1S NEG-PERF INTR.R-afraid
 'I was no longer afraid.' (t4)
- (23) *Sarat-ku k<in>o-karis na watu.*
 foot-1S R-ADVS-scratch LOC stone
 'I grazed my foot on a rock.' (dict)
- (24) *Raaya'a no-mae'-mo nang-ala loka'.*
 3P R-go-PERF AV.R-take banana
 'They went and took bananas.' (t16)
- (25) *Gandang-na ni-tutui tia anit-na sapi'.*
 drum-3S PV.R-cover with skin-3S cow
 'The drum was covered with cow hide.' (dict)
- (26) *Yaku' ia posuu'-mo i tanta Leida...*
 1S 3S order-PERF PA aunt L.
 'Aunt Leida ordered me to...' (t4)

5.4.2 Irrealis mode

The irrealis mode places the state or action of the verb in the present or in the future. Like realis, irrealis is morphologically coded in various ways, summarized in the following listing:

- It is marked by zero on a number of form classes of intransitive verbs (unmarked, <um>), as well as certain intransitive-deriving prefixes, including adversative *ko-* (§5.5.3), affective *ko-* (§5.5.4), accidental *ko-...-ian* (§5.5.5), reciprocal *poo-* (§5.5.9), and non-volitional *tong-* (§5.7.4).
- It is marked by *m* on a number of stative and intransitive verbs (replacing realis *n*): *mo-/no-*, *ma-/na*, *ming-/ning*, as well as the derived intransitives *minti-/ninti-* and *moto-/noto*.
- It is marked by the portmanteau prefix *mVng-* on transitive verbs in agent voice and locative voice (§7.4.1);
- It is marked by the suffix *-on* on transitive verbs in patient voice (§7.4.4).

With intransitive verbs that do not mark irrealis, the future marker *bo* is optionally used when there is a clear future reference (see also §9.6):

- (27) *Liila kai (bo) ba-limang.*
 tomorrow 1PE FUT INTR-work
 'Tomorrow we will work.' (conv)

As outlined in the following section, we distinguish some ten uses of the irrealis. They all share the common meaning element that the action is not completed, either at the moment of speech, or at the narrative point. This notion covers present and future tense, but also imperatives, adhortatives, and procedural discourse.

a. **Simple present**, used for present states and activities:

- (28) *Aupa wawau-o <o> n? Mang-anam wuwu'.*
 what make-PV.I-2S AV.I-weave fish.trap
 'What are you doing?' 'I am weaving a fish trap.' (conv)
- (29) *Ilio ka-ni'i raaya'a manga-wawau laigan.*
 day D-DEM1 3P AV.I-make house
 'Today they are building a house.' (conv)

b. **General statements**, referring to timeless truths or habitual events:

- (30) *Yaku' ma-takut-kon ule.*
 1S INTR.I-afraid-APPL snake
 'I am afraid of snakes.' (t1)
- (31) *Mong-kolon ka-polos-na sara'an-ku.*
 AV.I-carry.on.shoulder NOM-painful-3S chest-1S
 'Carrying things on the shoulder hurts my chest.' (t1)
- (32) *Sanda' ilio ia mun-su'un gala na karandang.*
 every day 3S AV.I-carry.on.head vegetables LOC basket
 'Each day, she carries vegetables in a basket on her head.' (dict)

The following realis-irrealis pair with the auxiliary verb *noko / moko* 'can, be able' (also used as verbal conjunction meaning 'after'; §10.3.1) is also illustrative, with the irrealis simply referring to ability, but realis referring to ability, as well as proven experience.

(33) a) *Yaku' moko tokol suung-ku na ale'.*
 1s able.I sleep self-1s LOC garden
 'I can sleep alone in the garden.' (dict)

b) *Yaku' noko tokol suung-ku na ale'.*
 1s able.R sleep self-1s LOC garden
 'I can sleep alone in the garden (and I've done it).'

c. **Future states and events**, including intents, desires and obligations, sometimes in combination with the future marker *bo* (variant *boo*):

(34) *Yaku' ming-ili wawas.*
 1s AV.I-buy rice
 'I will/want to buy rice' (conv)

(35) *Kita tio mon-toropoti panso.*
 1PI must AV.I-prepare torch
 'We must prepare torches.' (dict)

(36) *Yaku' ka-ni'i boo tarai-on-na mian gula-gula ka' sapato.*
 1s D-DEM1 FUT give-PV.I-3S person sweets and shoe
 'People will give me sweets and shoes.' (t31)

(37) ... *kada' daa taka i Harimau, sida-on-ku akal-i-on.*
 so.that ATT arrive PA Tiger can-PV.I-1S trick-VBR-PV.I
 '... so that when Tiger arrives, I can trick him.' (t43)

d. **Purpose clauses** (see also §10.3.7).

(38) *Yaku' mae na pasar ming-ili sole'.*
 1s go LOC market AV.I-buy corn
 'I'm going/went to the market to buy corn.' (conv)

(39) *Raaya'a no-poo'-ange mae' ma-mangan loiya'.*
 3P R-REC-urge go AV.I-steal ginger
 'They urged each other to go and steal ginger.' (t31)

(40) *Yaku' nong-korowi-mo bente-benteng kada' sianta mo-lolu.*
 1s INTR.R-breakfast-PERF RED-full so.that NEG INTR.I-hungry
 'I ate breakfast till I was very full, so that I wouldn't be hungry (later).' (t1)

e. **Imperatives**. In addition to the gerund (see §5.4.3), the irrealis is also used for commands (see also §9.3):

(41) *Mai min-soop!*
 come INTR.I-enter
 'Come on in!' (conv)

(42) *Alia-mo mem-[p]enek na kau!*
 DONT-PERF INTR.I-climb LOC tree
 'Don't climb those trees ever again!' (conv)

f. **Adhortatives** (see also §9.3.4):

- (43) *Mang-ala kutung lui' i kita.*
 AV.I-take first rope PA 1PI
 'Let's first get some rope.' (t35)
- (44) *Akal-kon-on-ta-mo i ia!*
 trick-APPL-PV.I-1PI-PERF PA 3S
 'Let's trick him!' (t35)

g. **Hypothetical events**, including conditionals

- (45) ... *bo dolo'-on-ku kalu man-tausi-mo i-ya'a pakuli.*
 FUT fetch-PV.I-1S if AV.I-obtain-PERF D-DEM3 medicine
 '... I will fetch it, if I obtain that medicine.' (t3)
- (46) *Kalu man-taring gala oso'i kutung.*
 if AV.I-cook vegetable wash first
 'When you cook vegetables, wash them first.' (dict)

h. **Descriptions/situations located in the past**, which are incomplete at the narrative point in the story.

- (47) *Na kura' i-ya'a isian ayop men bodo' tuu',*
 LOC forest D-DEM3 EXIST animal REL evil very
bukuan mang-kaan ayop men sanggiran.
 often AV.I-eat animal REL other
 'In that forest, there was a very bad animal that frequently ate other animals.' (t35)
- (48) *Ku-rongor se' isian-mo koi-ya'a men-dendeng biling.*
 1S-hear ATT EXIST-PERF like-DEM3 AV.I-beat buttress.root
 'I heard that people were already beating buttress roots.' (t1)

In (47), the narrator gives information about a dangerous tiger that was living in the forest. Even though the narrative is located in the past (and the surrounding clauses are all marked as realis), this particular instance of *mang-kaan* 'to eat' is marked as irrealis. This can be accounted for by observing that at this point in the narrative the action of eating is not yet complete, as the tiger is still alive and active. Notice that the existential verb *isian* 'to exist, be' is not marked for realis or irrealis. In (48), the first verb *ku-rongor* 'I heard' is unmarked for mode, but the second verb *men-dendeng* 'to beat' is irrealis, since the beating went on for a while and was still incomplete at the narrative point.

i. **Procedural discourse**. Procedural discourse always makes use of irrealis verb forms, as illustrated in the following examples, one from a text about making sago, and one about making coconut oil. In both cases, the last clause illustrates an irrealis verb in patient voice.

- (49) *Tumbe-tumbe-na yaku' mang-ala lemba. Man-tausi lemba,*
 RED-first-3S 1S AV.I-take trough AV.I-obtain trough
wawa-on-ku na tempat men bo po-sakul-an.
 carry-PV.I-1S LOC place REL for GER-sago-LV
 'First of all I get a settling trough. When I have the trough, I take it to the place for making sago.' (t7)

(50) *Man-tausi nuur i yaku', mule'kon-mo na laigan, ka'*
 AV.I-obtain coconut PA 1S return-PERF LOC house and

bunut-i-on a nuur-ku
 husk-VBR-PV.I ART coconut-1S

'When I have found some coconuts, I return home and remove the husk of my coconuts.' (t8)

j. **Miscellaneous.** There are a few other cases where irrealis is used in past narrative contexts where we might expect a realis. Since we have few examples, we can only offer tentative explanations for these cases.

- **Background information.** Many stories display interesting deviations from the observed patterns. In a number of cases, it appears that irrealis is used for background information that is not on the story-line. The following example is a good illustration, taken from a first-person narrative about a man's experiences on a trip into the forest to find rattan. Halfway into the story, he recounts what he did when he got hungry. (Realis verbs are underlined, irrealis verbs bolded.)

(51) *Yaku' sianta no-mantu, tongko' nam-[p]a-kana' bongkol.*
 1S NEG R-bring.provision only AV.R-CAUS-hit belt

*Bongkol na kompong i-ya'a, tongko' **molo-mo-lolu-mo***
 belt LOC stomach D-DEM3 only RED-INTR.I-hungry-PERF

riiti-on-mo.

tighten-PV.I-PERF

'I didn't bring any food, I only tightened my belt. A belt around the waist, one tightens it when one is getting hungry.' (t1)

Notice the realis verbs in the first two clauses, describing what actually happened. The second sentence is a general timeless truth, also evidenced by the lack of personal pronouns. This is clearly related to the notion of general truth mentioned earlier.

- **Enumeration following general statements.** The following example is from the well-known story about the mousedeer who is trapped on an island surrounded by crocodiles. He tricks the crocodiles by having them line up in the water so that he can count them and hop across. Most of the story is in realis (underlined), but during the counting the narrator moves to irrealis (bold):

(52) *No-ba-deder-mo a ari Buaya. Noko daa-mo,*
 R-INTR-row-PERF ART PLUR crocodile after.R AFF-PERF

ai Kancil no-t<um>ungkap-mo na sengke' n-ari
 EMP.ART mousedeer R-INTR-step.on-PERF LOC back 3S-PLUR

Buaya sa'angu'-sa'angu' waa-tu'u.
 crocodile RED-one ALL-DEM4

*Nun-tumbe-i no-t<um>ungkap-mo i ia, **saa'-on-na** isa'.*
 AV.R-begin-VBR R-INTR-step.on-PERF PA 3S. count-PV.I-3S one

***Tungkap-i-on-na** ko-rua'-na, tae-na rua'.*
 step.on-DIR-PV.I-3S ORD-two word-3S two

'The crocodiles lined up. After that, the mousedeer stepped onto the back of each one of those crocodiles. He began to step and counted, "one." He stepped on the second and said, "two."' (t49)

It appears that the narrator first makes a general statement in realis, and then details the individual repeated action of stepping and counting in irrealis. It is possible that the narrator perceived the individual instances of stepping and counting as incomplete, in the sense that each action contributed to the whole, but did not constitute the complete event in itself. Hence, the irrealis for the enumeration.

We do not have another clear example of this particular kind of enumeration, although the following could be categorized in the same way. It is from a first-person narrative in which a lady recounts a trip from Balantak to Palu, the provincial capital. At the end, she thanks the expat family who has helped her during this trip.

(53) *Ai yaku' ia tonondoi i raaya'a koi mon-tonondoi-na*
 EMP.ART 1S 3S look.after PA 3P as AV.I-look.after-3S

utus-na suung-na, mau l<um>akit na oto raaya'a
 sibling-3S self-3S even INTR-board LOC car 3P

a mam-bayar, ka' kopor-ku leengket-kon-on-na...
 ART AV.I-pay and suitcase-1S lift-APPL-PV.I-3S

'They looked after me as people look after their own sister. Even the car trip, they were the ones who paid for it, and they carried my suitcase for me...' (t67)

The first verb *tonondoi* 'to look after' is an agented realis verb (bare stem), which follows the default realis pattern of the whole narrative. The next verb *mon-tonondoi-na* is irrealis, as it refers to a timeless truth. (The suffix *-na* here is not well understood; it is possibly connected with the fact that the verb acts substantively 'as one who looks after his/her own sibling'.) The next verb, *l<um>akit* 'to board, get on' is unmarked and could be either realis or irrealis (the irrealis has an optional *no-* with *um-*verbs), but given the following two irrealis verbs, we assume it is irrealis. Those two following irrealis verbs are the most interesting in that they clearly refer to real completed past events: the paying of the car (the taxi) and the carrying of the suitcase. The most likely explanation is that this is another case of an enumeration of distinct steps (in irrealis) following a more comprehensive and general statement (in realis).

- **Pretense action.** Again, we only have a single example of this from the folktale about a mousedeer and an elephant who are tricking a tiger.

(54) *Ia pura-pura mang-kaan i Gaja men toko-tokol*
 3S pretend AV.I-eat PA elephant REL RED-lie.down

ninti-pate-pate.

PRETENSE.R-RED-dead

'He (mousedeer) pretended to eat elephant, who was lying down pretending to be dead.'
 (t43)

As expected, the story is told with the main action verbs in realis, except for a few lines such as this one. In this case, it is the pretended action which precludes the use of the realis. Our informants told us that the use of the realis form *nang-kaan* 'eat' would imply that the mousedeer had actually started eating the elephant. What is somewhat surprising is that the verb *ninti-pate-pate* 'pretend to be dead' at the end of the clause is realis with the pretense prefix *ninti-* (irrealis *minti-*).

5.4.3 Gerund mode

In Balantak morphosyntax, realis, irrealis, and gerund mode form a basic tripartite verbal system. This is true for intransitive, as well as for transitive verbs. Table 5.4 (a combination of earlier tables) shows the various surface manifestations of the gerund, as well as realis and irrealis, for intransitive and transitive verbs. The verbal root is indicated by √.

Table 5.4. Realis, irrealis and gerund

intransitive	irrealis	realis	gerund
unmarked	√	(no-)√	√
<um>	<um>√	(no-)<um>√	√
ma-	ma-√	na-√	pa-√
mo-	mo-√	no-√	po-√
ming-	min-√	nin-√	pin-√
transitive			
agent voice	mVng-√	nVng-√	pVng-√
patient voice	√-on	ni-√ / PRO √	√
locative voice	mVng-√-an	nVng-√-an	pVng-√-an

The gerund is essentially an atemporal mode which has no reference to tense or modality. It is used in a variety of contexts, with no clear overarching meaning component, though it is interesting that for a number of the uses, the English *ing*-form is an acceptable translation equivalent. In some cases, a subject is absent, sometimes obligatorily, as with purpose clauses. In the following section, we will lay out the various uses of the gerund, focussing on the gerund of intransitives and transitives and agent and patient voice. Locative voice gerunds represent the intersection of two marked and somewhat difficult categories and are fairly infrequent. Since locative voice is dealt with in detail in §7.5, this section gives few examples of that category. A note on glossing: when the gerund is a bare root (as with some intransitives and patient voice gerunds), the verb is not explicitly marked as gerund, as e.g., *tokol* in example (63).

Here follow the main uses of the gerund.

a. Manner or instrument nominalization

<i>pang-asok</i>	‘method of planting’	<i>mang-asok</i>	‘to plant’
<i>panga-wawau</i>	‘way of making’	<i>manga-wawau</i>	‘to make’
<i>ping-ili</i>	‘way/instrument for buying’	<i>ming-ili</i>	‘to buy’
<i>ping-isii</i>	‘method/instrument for filling’	<i>mingi-isii</i>	‘to fill’
<i>pongo-lopol</i>	‘way/instrument for drugging fish’	<i>mongo-lopol</i>	‘drug fish’

- (55) *Pongo-lopol-ku urang roona-na koluang.*
 AV.GER-drug.fish-1S shrimp leaf-3S pangi²
 ‘I drug shrimp with pangi leaves.’ (Lit. ‘My way/instrument for drugging shrimp is pangi leaves.’) (conv)

- (56) ... *ia pisiso' pom-[p]o-tuo'i listrik tia pam-pa-pate-i.*
 3S show AV.GER-CAUS-live electricity with AV.GER-CAUS-die-CAUS
 ‘... he showed (me) how to turn the lights on and off.’ (Lit. ‘He showed the way of causing-to-be-alive electricity and causing-to-die.’) (t4)

b. In **temporal adverbial** clauses, especially following the verbal conjunctions *moko/noko/poko* ‘after’ (see also §10.3.1).

- (57) *Noko ping-inum weer, yaku' no-mae'-mo.*
 after.R AV.GER-drink water 1S R-go-PERF
 ‘When I had drunk some water, I went on.’ (t1)

²*Pangium edule* (Pangi Family). This tree, which grows in Southeast Asia, has heart-shaped leaves in spirals and can reach a height of 18 meters. Its flowers grow in spikes and are green in color. Its large, brownish, pear-shaped fruits grow in clusters. All parts are poisonous, especially the fruit. (Information from <http://www.survivaliq.com/survival/app-poisonous-plants-pangi.htm>)

- (58) *Moko pong-korowi i kita, ma-lau-mo.*
 after.I AV.GER-breakfast PA 1PI INTR.I-go.down-PERF
 ‘After we’ve had breakfast, we will go down.’ (t15m)
- (59) *Tio moko po-loop, kasi yaku' k <um> aan.*
 must after.I INTR.GER-bathe then 1S INTR-eat
 ‘I must bathe first, then I will eat.’ (Lit. ‘After I must bathe....’) (t1)
- (60) *Pan-tausi berengketan, ku-bubut-mo...*
 AV.GER-obtain k.o.medicinal.grass 1S-pull.up-PERF.
 ‘After finding the medicinal grass, I pulled it up...’ (t3)

c. In **imperatives** (see also §9.3 for other ways of forming imperatives).

- (61) *Mai pin-soop i kuu!*
 come INTR.GER-enter PA 2P
 ‘Come in!’ (dict)
- (62) *Pang-asok loka i koo!*
 AV.GER-plant banana PA 2S
 ‘Plant bananas!’ (conv)
- (63) *Alaka' tokol ka' pinti-pate-pate.*
 please lie.down and PRETENSE.GER-RED-die
 ‘Lie down and pretend you are dead.’ (t35)
- (64) *Ala a kukis ka-ni'i bo ko'oom.*
 take ART biscuit D-DEM1 for 2S.OBL
 ‘Take this biscuit for yourself.’ (dict)

Notice that the gerund patient voice *ala* is a bare root (see table 5.4). It could also have been glossed ‘take.PV.GER’, but for the sake of simplicity, we adhere to a single gloss.

d. In **purpose** clauses following *bo ~ boo* ‘for’ (see also §6.3.1).

- (65) *Doi' ka-ni'i bo ping-ili pakuli'.*
 money D-DEM1 for AV.GER-buy medicine
 ‘This money is for buying medicine.’ (conv)
- (66) *Wuwu' ka-ya'a bo panga-rakop urang.*
 fish.trap D-DEM3 for AV.GER-catch shrimp
 ‘That fish trap is used for catching shrimp.’ (conv)
- (67) ... *bo pam-[p]ajeko tano'*
 for AV.GER-plough ground
 ‘... to plough the ground’ (conv)
- (68) *Raaya'a liu-liu nan-sarak motu-mo-tu'a na kampung*
 3P immediately AV.R-search RED-INTR.I-old LOC village
boo pingi-limbang wurung Balantak.
 for AV.GER-translate talk B.
 ‘Immediately, they looked for elders in the village to translate from Balantak.’ (t58)

e. In **purpose or intent** clauses following *kada'* 'so that' (see also §10.3.7):

(69) *Paraluu-na ka-ni'i kada' pingi-rio'-i anak men na lalom.*
 purpose-3S D-DEM1 so.that AV.GER-small-CAUS child REL LOC inside
 'The purpose of that (action) is to shrink the size of the baby in the womb.' (t52)

(70) *Paraluu-na pakuli' i-ya'a, kada' pam-[p]akuli' pae*
 purpose-3S medicine D-DEM3 so.that AV.GER-treat.with.medicine rice
men na alang.
 REL LOC granary
 'The purpose of this medicine is to treat the rice in the granary.' (t53)

f. As **second** verb in paratactic or coordinate verbal construction. This is apparently only used in informal oral style.

(71) *Rae' pan-sarak i yaku' pakuli'-na.*
 go AV.GER-search PA 1S medicine-3S.
 'I went looking for the medicine.' (t3)

For the purposes of written discourse, this example is unacceptable. Our language helpers changed it into the corresponding realis form with an initial subject: *Yaku' rae' nan-sarak pakuli'-na* 'I go AV.R-search medicine-3s'.

g. In a **direct result** clause situated in the past:

(72) *Yaku' ning-inum wala'on men ma-rere, pa-nggeo.*
 1S AV.I-drink boiled.water REL INTR.I-dirty, INTR.GER-sick
 'I drank dirty water, and so I got sick.' (conv)

(73) *Uga' ia talangi-mo i Kodo', pan-dawo' i Ree'a*
 then PV untie-PERF PA monkey INTR.GER-fall PA tortoise
i-ndo'o na dasar.
 D-DEM.ADV7 LOC floor
 'Then the monkey untied him, and so the tortoise fell down on the floor.' (t31)

5.4.4 Stem formers

We end this section on the three modes by mentioning one more complication, which is the issue of stem formers, that is, a *p*-form which appears to be a gerund, but is not. A number of intransitive verbs with initial *m* (such as *ma-*, *mo-* and *ming-*) change this *m* to *p* when they are made transitive. This is an automatic change that happens especially when causative affixes are added, but also with directional *-i* and applicative *-kon*. An example is *ma-lawu* 'to go down', of which the realis agent voice causative form is *nam-[p]a-lawu-kon* 'to bring down, lower' (patient voice realis *ni-pa-lawu-kon*), where the causative is marked by *-kon*. In these cases, *pa-* appears to be a gerund form, but functionally, these forms are not gerunds, as they do not perform any of the functions listed above. In fact, they freely combine with realis and irrealis mode, as seen in the forms given above, whereas a real gerund is in complementary distribution with realis and irrealis mode. If *pa-* in *ni-pa-lawu-kon* is a real gerund prefix, then we have the unlikely combination of irrealis mode and gerund mode in one verb form. We, therefore, analyse the *p*-forms in these derivations as stem-formers (glossed as SF). Functionally, they can be thought of as semantically empty elements at an intermediate stage of derivation, a necessary step between the root and the causative or the applicative. Another example is the directional verb *mom-[p]o-te'e-i* 'to defecate

on s.t.’, based on the verb *mo-te'e* ‘to defecate’. The addition of the directional suffix *-i* causes the *mo-* prefix to appear as *po-* in the derived form. Other examples of stem formers appear in §5.6.³

5.5 Derived stative and intransitive verbs

Morphologically, Balantak is a very rich language, as shown in the following sections, where a variety of verbal derivations is treated. In each of these cases, the resulting verb is stative or intransitive. For each category, a list is given, showing the derivation and its base, as well as some clausal examples.

5.5.1 Verbal possession *-on* and *-an*

There are two suffixes, *-on* and *-an*, which derive stative verbs from noun bases. Both have the meaning ‘to have N’. Whether a certain noun gets *-on* or *-an* appears to be largely lexically determined. The following lists are illustrative. Notice that some of the derivations have highly specific meanings.

a. With *-on*. This suffix should not be confused with the homophonous patient voice irrealis suffix *-on*, which is used on transitive verbs (§5.4.2 and §7.4.4).

<i>anak-on</i>	‘have a child/children’	<i>anak</i>	‘child’
<i>apu-on</i>	‘be angry’	<i>apu</i>	‘fire’
<i>bau'-on</i>	‘have pigs’	<i>bau'</i>	‘pig’
<i>bela-on</i>	‘be wounded’	<i>bela</i>	‘wound’
<i>bombong-on</i>	‘have walls, be walled in’	<i>bombong</i>	‘wall’
<i>kompong-on</i>	‘be pregnant’	<i>kompong</i>	‘belly’
<i>kupang-on</i>	‘have wealth, wealthy’	<i>kupang</i>	‘money’
<i>lili'-on</i>	‘have an earthquake’	<i>lili'</i>	‘earthquake’
<i>tibuk-on</i>	‘be smoky, give off smoke’	<i>tibuk</i>	‘smoke’
<i>unap-on</i>	‘have scabies’	<i>unap</i>	‘scabies’
<i>watu-on</i>	‘be stony, rocky’	<i>watu</i>	‘stone, rock’
<i>wewer-on</i>	‘be talkative’	<i>wewer</i>	‘lip’

b. With *-an*.

<i>adat-an</i>	‘be civilized, well-mannered’	<i>adat</i>	‘custom, tradition’
<i>angga'-an</i>	‘be valuable’	<i>angga'</i>	‘price’
<i>bokukum-an</i>	‘have a shirt’	<i>bokukum</i>	‘shirt’
<i>boroki'-an</i>	‘have a wife, be married’	<i>boroki'</i>	‘wife’
<i>dale'-an</i>	‘be successful’	<i>dale'</i>	‘success’
<i>gala-an</i>	‘have vegetables’	<i>gala</i>	‘vegetables’
<i>imaan-an</i>	‘be faithful, believing’	<i>imaan</i>	‘faith’
<i>janggo'-an</i>	‘have a beard’	<i>janggo'</i>	‘beard’
<i>langkai'-an</i>	‘have a husband, be married’	<i>langkai'</i>	‘husband’
<i>laung-an</i>	‘loud, noisy’	<i>laung</i>	‘noise, sound’

In the following two cases, no nominal root exists, but a corresponding verb does:

<i>baur-an</i>	‘be mixed with, containing’	<i>mam-baur-i</i>	‘mix together with’
<i>gaga-an</i>	‘be quarrelsome’	<i>mang-gaga-i</i>	‘disagree, oppose’

³For a different analysis, in which all gerunds are treated as stem formers, see Quick (2007).

- (74) *Ai kai sianta anak-on.*
 EMP.ART 1PE NEG child-HAVE
 ‘We don’t have children.’ (conv)
- (75) *Ale’-ku bau’-on biai’ tuu’.*
 garden-1S pig-HAVE many very.
 ‘My garden had very many pigs.’ (t11)
- (76) *Ai Sakeus sian-po boroki’-an.*
 EMP.ART S. NEG-IMPF wife-HAVE
 ‘Sakeus isn’t married yet.’ (dict)

Most of the nouns typically go with either *-an* or *-on*. For instance, in our database we have twenty examples of *kupang-on* ‘have money’, and none of *kupang-an*. When pressed, native speakers agree that a number of nouns can take both, including *kupang-an* ~ *kupang-on*. Whether or not there is always a difference in meaning is not completely clear, although some pairs were presented as being different. In those cases, the form with *-on* indicates a larger number or a bigger token of the nominal referent. On the basis of *gala* ‘vegetables’, for instance, the following verbs can be formed: *gala-an* ‘have vegetables’ (the unmarked form), as well as the marked form *gala-on* ‘have many vegetables’. Similarly, *janggo’-an* means ‘have a beard’, while the marked *janggo’-on* means ‘have a big beard’. *Bela-on* is the unmarked form for ‘be wounded’ (having one or more wounds), while the marked *bela-an* could be used if there was only a single wound. Another (elicited) contrastive pair is the following:

- (77) a) *sian-po bokukum-an*
 NEG-IMPF shirt-HAVE
 ‘he/she doesn’t have a shirt yet’ (unmarked, used for people)
- b) *sian-po bokukum-on*
 NEG-IMPF shirt-HAVE
 ‘it doesn’t have shirts yet’ (marked, could be said of an empty wardrobe)

5.5.2 Verbalizer *ba-*

The verbalizer *ba-* (and its allomorph *ba’-* before vowel-initial roots) derives intransitive verbs from noun roots, although occasionally the root does not occur as a separate word, as with *ba-tundun*. The resulting verb always refers to an activity, never to a state. The realis of these verbs has the optional prefix *no-*. In a few cases, there is free variation between *ba-* and intransitive *mo-* (see §5.2).

<i>ba’-ala-alai</i>	‘to fly a kite’ (also: <i>mo’-ala-alai</i>)	<i>ala-alai</i>	‘kite’
<i>ba-gandang</i>	‘to play the drum’	<i>gandang</i>	‘drum’
<i>ba-guru</i>	1. ‘to teach’	<i>guru</i>	‘teacher’
	2. ‘to be an apprentice, understudy (esp. with a shaman)’		
<i>ba-kampul</i>	‘to catch birds with tree sap’	<i>kampul</i>	‘tree sap’
<i>ba-limang</i>	‘to work’	<i>limang</i>	‘work’
<i>ba-pajeko</i>	‘to plough’	<i>pajeko</i>	‘plough’
<i>ba-pasar</i>	‘to sell wares, trade’	<i>pasar</i>	‘market’
<i>ba-peka</i>	‘to fish with hook, angle’	<i>peka</i>	‘fish hook’
<i>ba-sukuur</i>	‘to give thanks’	<i>sukuur</i>	‘thanks, praise’
<i>ba-tundun</i>	‘to speak’	<i>*tundun</i>	

In other cases, *ba*-verbs contrast with transitive verb formed from the same root.

<i>ba'-ili</i>	'to shop, go shopping'	<i>ming-ili</i>	'to buy' (tr)
<i>ba'-inum</i>	'to drink'	<i>ming-inum</i>	'to drink' (tr)
<i>ba-tatapi</i>	'to wash clothes'	<i>man-tatapi</i>	'to wash' (tr)

Ba-verbs are typically intransitive, optionally take *no-* in the realis, as in (80), while the root can be used in the gerund mode (which is the bare root), as in (81), though this seems to be relatively rare.

- (78) *Ai Susi mae' ba'-ili na toko'.*
 EMP.ART S. go INTR-buy LOC shop
 'Susi went shopping at the store.' (dict)
- (79) *Men pake-on-ku ba-pajeko ru-rua' sapi'.*
 REL use-PV.I-1S INTR-plough RED-two cow
 'I use two cows to plough.' (conv)
- (80) *Daa-mo no-ba'-inum wiwi'na a sawe'...*
 finish-PERF R-INTR-drink all ART guest
 'When all the guests have finished drinking....' (t56)
- (81) *Alaka' limang i-tu'u na ale'-ku.*
 please work D-DEM4 LOC garden-1s
 'Please work in my garden over there.' (conv)

5.5.3 Adversative *ko-*

There are three cases of derived statives and intransitives involving the prefixed *ko-* (and its allomorph *ko'-* before vowel-initial roots). These are adversative *ko-* (this section), affective *ko-* (§5.5.4) and the accidental circumfix *ko-...ian* (§5.5.5). It seems likely that these formations are historically related.

When the adversative (ADVS) prefix *ko-* is attached to transitive verbs, the resulting stative verb refers to an adversative state that arose unexpectedly from the activity referred to by the verb. This resultant state is always negative or detrimental, as most of the verbs with which this prefix occurs refer to disintegration (breaking, tearing, bursting, splitting etc.) or to difficult or awkward physical or emotional states. It is possible that some of these derivations also have a process meaning, blurring the distinction between stative and intransitive verbs.

<i>ko'-ampang</i>	'blocked, obstructed'	<i>mang-ampang</i>	'to block, obstruct'
<i>ko'-ampit</i>	'squeezed, squashed'	<i>mang-ampit</i>	'to squeeze, squash'
<i>ko-bengkar</i>	'split'	<i>mem-bengkar</i>	'to split'
<i>ko-berak</i>	'torn'	<i>mem-berak</i>	'to tear, rip'
<i>ko-bombang</i>	'disturbed, startled'	<i>mom-bombang</i>	'to disturb'
<i>ko-karis</i>	'scratched, grazed'	<i>mang-karis</i>	'to scrape, scratch'
<i>ko-pantas</i>	'severed, broken'	<i>mam-[p]antas</i>	'to sever, break'
<i>ko-pato'</i>	'broken, snapped'	<i>mam-[p]ato'</i>	'to break, snap'
<i>ko-popok</i>	'split, broken'	<i>mom-popok</i>	'to split, halve'
<i>ko-pudat</i>	'burst, erupt'	<i>mum-[p]udat</i>	'to break, smash, burst'
<i>ko-runtun</i>	'collapsed, demolished'	<i>mungu-runtun(i)</i>	'to collapse, tear down'
<i>ko-sail</i>	'sliced, lacerated, cut'	<i>man-sail</i>	'to slice, cut, carve'
<i>ko-tunu</i>	'unexpectedly burned'	<i>mun-tunu</i>	'to burn'

The realis of these verbs is formed with either the prefix *no-* or the infix *-in-*. The realis of a verb like *ko-pudat* ‘burst, erupt’ is therefore either *no-ko-pudat* or *k<in>o-pudat*, with no difference in meaning. Examples in clauses:

- (82) *Yaku' k<in>o'-ampang na tanga'-na salan.*
 1S R-ADVS-block LOC middle-3S road
 ‘I was obstructed on the road.’ (dict)
- (83) *Pore-pore, dako' ko'-ampit.*
 RED-good lest ADVS-squeeze
 ‘Be careful you won’t get squeezed.’ (conv)
- (84) *Lima-ngku no-ko-sail na piso'.*
 hand-1S R-ADVS-slice LOC knife
 ‘I cut my hand on the knife.’ (dict)
- (85) *Baan-na sipeda-ngku ko-pudat.*
 tyre-3S bicycle-1S ADVS-burst
 ‘The tyre on my bike has burst.’ (dict)
- (86) *Kalu sarat ko-karis, dongan pakuli'-on*
 if foot ADVS-scrape quick treat.with.medicine-PV.I
 ‘If one’s foot is scraped, one should put some medicine on it right away.’ (dict)

5.5.4 Affective ko-

A second usage of the prefix *ko-*, clearly related to the adversative meaning, is on (mostly) stative verbs. The resulting intransitive verb refers to the effect or affect that the root has on people, usually a negative effect (‘fatal’, ‘causing hunger’ etc.), but in some instances, also positive. The subject of the verb is usually an inanimate entity. This prefix could be called a ‘detransitive causative’, but because the notion of a causative is typically linked to a valency-change resulting in transitive verbs, we call this the ‘affective’ *ko-* (AFF). Notice that when the base is a stative verb with *ma-*, the affective prefix is *ka-* rather than *ko-*, as in the last three examples below.

<i>ko-biit</i>	‘nauseating, loathsome’	<i>*biit</i>	
<i>ko-kana'</i>	‘fitting, pleasing’	<i>kana'</i>	‘right, true, fit’
<i>ko-limbo</i>	‘forgettable’	<i>limbo</i>	‘to forget’
<i>ko-lingu'</i>	‘pitiful, arousing sympathy’	<i>lingu'</i>	‘love, mercy’
<i>ko-lolu</i>	‘causing hunger’	<i>mo-lolu</i>	‘hungry’
<i>ko-pate</i>	‘causing death, fatal’	<i>pate</i>	‘die, dead’
<i>ko-pore</i>	‘giving a good impression’	<i>pore</i>	‘good’
<i>ko-re'es</i>	‘boring’	<i>re'es</i>	‘fed up with, bored’
<i>ko-rengket</i>	‘causing an itch’	<i>rengket</i>	‘itchy’
<i>ko-samba'</i>	‘amazing’	<i>samba'</i>	‘amazed’
<i>ko-silaka'</i>	‘dangerous’	<i>silaka'</i>	‘unfortunate’
<i>ko-tu'a</i>	‘causing aging’	<i>mo-tu'a</i>	‘old’
<i>ka-polos</i>	‘causing pain’	<i>ma-polos</i>	‘painful’
<i>ka-repa</i>	‘causing difficulties’	<i>ma-repa</i>	‘hard, difficult’
<i>ka-takut</i>	‘frightening’	<i>ma-takut</i>	‘afraid’

Examples in clauses:

- (87) *Alia mang-kaan ka-nono', ko-pate!*
 DONT AV.I-eat D-DEM2 AFF-die
 'Don't eat that, it will kill you!' (Lit. '... it causes death'.) (elic)
- (88) *Wawau-na ko-samba' tuu'.*
 do-3S AFF-amazed very
 'What he did was truly amazing.' (dict)

The person who is 'affected' by the stative verb can be expressed by means of a prepositional phrase with *na*, or a possessive suffix on the *ko*-derivation, as in the following examples:

- (89) *Kalu minti-daa-daa, sian ko-pore na mian.*
 if PRETENSE.I-RED-ok NEG AFF-good LOC person
 'If you're proud, you do not create a good impression on people.' (dict)
- (90) *Gau'-na mian i-ya'a ko-pore-ngku.*
 behaviour-3S person D-DEM3 AFF-good-1S
 'That person's behaviour makes a good impression on me.' (conv)
- (91) *Nooro'o men kuu tundun a daa ko-kana'-ku.*
 DEM8 REL 2P speak ATT ATT AFF-right-1S
 'What you said there really suits me.' (conv)

5.5.5 Accidental ko...-ian

The affix combination *ko...-ian* derives intransitive verbs on the basis of transitive verbs and refers to unintended accidental results. The resulting state just happened by itself, without any human involvement or intention. If the base already ends in the vowel *i*, the suffix is simply *-an*. This affix combination is glossed as ADVS...ACCD.

<i>ko-bali'-ian</i>	'changed'	<i>mam-bali'i</i>	'to change'
<i>ko-bongkati-an</i>	'opened by itself'	<i>mom-bongkati</i>	'to open'
<i>ko-dalai-an</i>	'ignored, neglected'	<i>man-dalai</i>	'to ignore'
<i>ko-dapa'-i-an</i>	'touched by stinging hairs'	<i>man-dapa'-i</i>	'to remove stinging hairs'
<i>ko-lalin-ian</i>	'infected, contaminated'	<i>manga-lalin</i>	'to infect'
		<i>l <um> alin</i>	'contagious'
<i>ko'-ompori-an</i>	'closed by itself'	<i>mong-ompori</i>	'to close'
<i>ko-tunu-ian</i>	'burnt by itself'	<i>mun-tunu</i>	'to burn'
<i>ko-timbun-ian</i>	'buried/covered by itself'	<i>min-timbun</i>	'to bury, cover'

The realis of these verbs is formed with the prefix *no-* or the infix *<in>*. Some examples in clauses:

- (92) *Soop-an men yaku' ompori no-ko-bongkati-an-mo.*
 enter-NOM REL 1S close R-ADVS-close-ACCD-PERF
 'The door that I had closed has opened by itself.' (dict)
- (93) *Mali' ma-gentung a anak i-ya'a, ko-dalai-an.*
 as.a.result INTR.I-thin ART child D-DEM3 ADVS-neglect-ACCD
 'That child is neglected and as a result, he is thin.' (conv)
- (94) *Ma-ka'amat dako' ko-lalin-ian na panakit men ko-silaka'.*
 INTR.I-good lest ADVS-infect-ACCD LOC disease REL AFF-unfortunate
 'Be careful so you won't contract a dangerous disease.' (dict)

5.5.6 Reciprocal kinship *moto-*

The prefix *moto-* (and its allomorph *moto'-* before vowel-initial roots) is used on kinship nouns to create stative reciprocal verbs. It is used for people who stand in an identical or reciprocal relationship towards each other: spouses, parents and children, siblings, cousins, in-laws, co-spouses, step-kin, as well as friends. This process is not productive. For further information on Balantak kinship terms, see R. Busenitz (1993).

It is, theoretically, possible to break up *moto-* into an intransitive prefix *mo-* and a kinship prefix *to-*, but because the combination appears to be very fixed, we choose to treat it as a unit.

<i>moto'-anak</i>	'be related as child and parent'	<i>anak</i>	'child'
<i>moto'-andalan</i>	'be related as co-siblings-in-law'	<i>andalan</i>	'co-sibling-in-law'
<i>moto-baabo'</i>	'be related as uncle and nephew or niece'	<i>baabo'</i>	'uncle'
<i>moto-bela'</i>	'be friends of e.o.'	<i>bela'</i>	'friend'
<i>moto-boroki'</i>	'be related as wife and husband'	<i>boroki'</i>	'wife'
<i>moto-dawok</i>	'be related as siblings-in-law'	<i>dawok</i>	'sibling-in-law'
<i>moto-kantangan</i>	'be family of e.o., be related'	<i>kantangan</i>	'family relation'
<i>moto-langkai'</i>	'be related as husband and wife'	<i>langkai'</i>	'husband'
<i>moto-minti'i</i>	'be related as parent and child'	<i>minti'i</i>	'parent'
<i>moto-molue</i>	'be co-wives'	<i>molue</i>	'co-wife, concubine'
<i>moto-monian</i>	'be related as parent-in-law to child-in-law'	<i>monian</i>	'child-in-law, parent-in-law'
<i>moto-naung</i>	'be related as aunt and nephew or niece'	<i>naung</i>	'aunt'
<i>moto-pensan</i>	'be related as cousins'	<i>topensan</i>	'cousin' ⁴
<i>moto-samba</i>	'be spouses of e.o.'	<i>samba</i>	'spouse'
<i>moto-silaabo</i>	'be related as step-parent and step-child'	<i>silabo</i>	'step-child, step-parent'
<i>moto-sina</i>	'be related as mother and child'	<i>sina</i>	'mother'
<i>moto-tamaan</i>	'be friends of e.o.'	<i>tamaan</i>	'friend'
<i>moto-tumpu</i>	'be related as grandparent and grandchild'	<i>tumpu</i>	'grandchild'
<i>moto'-utus</i>	'be siblings of e.o.'	<i>utus</i>	'sibling'

Examples in clauses:

- (95) *Kai paat kai moto'-utus.*
 1PE four 1PE REC.KIN-sibling
 'The four of us are siblings.' (dict)

- (96) *Raaya'a moto-samba, taasi' moto'-utus.*
 3P REC.KIN-spouse, NEG REC.KIN-sibling
 'They are a married couple, not siblings.' (dict)

- (97) *Raaya'a tongko' moto-silaabo, kasee daa poo-ka'amat.*
 3P only REC.KIN-step.relative but ATT REC-good
 'They only have a step-parent step-child relationship, but they get along well.' (dict)

⁴The form *motopensan* 'be related as cousins' is unusual in that the root is *topensan* 'cousin', not *pensan*, which means 'once', though the words are clearly related (cf. Indonesian *sepupu satu kali*). It is possible that a form such as *motopensan* was original (with a simple intransitive prefix *mo-*) and was subsequently reanalysed as *moto-pensan*, providing the impetus for other reciprocal formations with *moto-*.

- (98) *I kai dauga' moto-kantangan.*
 PA 1PE still REC.KIN-family
 'We still have a family relationship (even though it is distant).' (t44)

We do not have any examples of realis forms on this derivation in our corpus, presumably because kinship relationships are timeless and never completed. The elicited realis form *noto-bela'* 'be friends of e.o.' was acceptable to our helpers, though. On the same root, we do have one example of a gerund form with *poto-*, used as a nominalization:

- (99) *Supu i-ya'a, ko-pantas a poto-bela'-na Bau tii Bokoti'.*
 since D-DEM3 ADVS-broken ART REC.KIN.GER-friend-3S pig with.PA rat
 'Since then, the friendship between Pig and Rat has been broken.' (t19)

5.5.7 Multiple subject *poto-*

The prefix *poto-* is used on intransitive roots and also derives intransitive verbs. It indicates multiple subjects (and/or multiple occurrences of the same state), and seems to be limited to positional verbs, such as standing, sitting, and hanging.

<i>poto-deede'</i>	'be scattered about'	<i>deede'</i>	'to scatter'
<i>poto-dongo</i>	'just stay at home'	<i>d <um> odongo</i>	'to live, stay'
<i>poto-kerā'</i>	'be scattered about'	<i>kerā'</i>	'to scatter'
<i>poto-kerer</i>	'stand (of many items)'	<i>k <um> ekerer</i>	'to stand'
<i>poto-loe</i>	'hang (of many items)'	<i>loe</i>	'to hang'
<i>poto-loole</i>	'hang (of many items)'	<i>loole</i>	'to hang'
<i>poto'-oruang</i>	'sit (of many items)'	<i>um-oruang</i>	'to sit'
<i>poto-penek</i>	'go up (of many items)'	<i>penek</i>	'to go up'
	(also <i>poto-poto-penek</i>)		
<i>poto-pera</i>	'wait (of many items)'	<i>pera</i>	'to wait'
<i>poto-tokol</i>	'lie (of many items)'	<i>tokol</i>	'to lie down, sleep'

This morpheme is not productive and cannot be used on other intransitive verbs such as *mae'* 'go' (**poto-mae'*) or *taka* 'arrive' (**poto-taka*). Interestingly, it does not participate in any mode. Although *poto-* seems to be a gerund, there are no corresponding forms **moto-kerer* or **noto-kerer*.

Examples in clauses:

- (100) *I raaya'a poto-kerer mo-bebe' koi surudadu.*
 PA 3P MULT-stand INTR.I-row like soldier
 'They (all) stood in a row like soldiers.' (dict)
- (101) *Taka na sa'angu' lawe-an, yaku' taka-i mian poto-tokol.*
 arrive LOC one rest-LOC 1S arrive-DIR person MULT-lie.down
 'When I came to a resting place, I found people lying there.' (t1)

5.5.8 Purposeful action *minti-*; pretense *minti-*

The prefix *minti-* (and its allomorph *minti'-* before vowel-initial roots) is non-productive and forms intransitive verb forms, usually on the basis of stative verbs. The realis form is *ninti-* and the gerund *pinti-*. The meaning is something like 'do something on purpose', especially consciously exposing oneself to the elements or hurting oneself. In quite a few cases, the resulting action appears to be somewhat unpleasant, or at least culturally unusual, though the most frequent formation, *minti-male* 'to take a rest',

is clearly an exception to that statement. In a few cases, the semantic relationship is idiosyncratic and in one known case, the root does not exist.

<i>minti'-ilio</i>	'to wait till day'	<i>ilio</i>	'day'
<i>minti'-karas</i>	'to stay in the hot sun'	<i>ma-karas</i>	'scorching hot'
<i>minti'-koot</i>	'to tie o.s.'	<i>mong-koot</i>	'tie, tie up'
<i>minti'-male</i>	'to take a rest'	<i>ma-male</i>	'tired, weary'
<i>minti'-malom</i>	'to wait till night'	<i>malom</i>	'night, dark'
<i>minti'-memel</i>	'to become cold on purpose'	<i>memel</i>	'cold'
<i>minti'-moong</i>	'to take shelter'	<i>mo-moong</i>	'shady'
<i>minti'-ngoro</i>	'to wash o.s. in the rain'	<i>*ngoro</i>	
<i>minti'-reenek</i>	'to walk/play in the drizzle'	<i>reenek</i>	'drizzle'
<i>minti'-tako'</i>	'to stay behind on purpose'	<i>man-tako'</i>	'leave behind'
<i>minti'-tuong</i>	'to throw o.s. in s.t. deep'	<i>mun-tuong</i>	'drop'
<i>minti'-tunu'</i>	'throw o.s. in the fire'	<i>mun-tunu'</i>	'burn, roast'
<i>minti'-usan</i>	'walk in the rain'	<i>usan</i>	'rain'

Examples in clauses:

- (102) *Kita minti-male kutung.*
 1PI PURP.I-rest first
 'Let's rest first.' (dict)
- (103) *Alia minti-karas, rae' i-nde'e na koong.*
 DONT PURP.I-scorching.hot go D-DEM.ADV5 LOC shade
 'Don't stay in the hot sun, go over there to the shade.' (dict)
- (104) *Ia man-sarak tempat men pore pinti-moong-an.*
 3S AV.I-search place REL good PURP.GER-shelter-LV
 'He is looking for a good place to take shelter.' (dict)
- (105) *Biai' mian minti-usan um-ule'kon ra'a-mari bangkal.*
 many person PURP.I-rain INTR-return DEM6-VEN garden
 'Many people walk home from the garden in the rain.' (dict)

A second meaning of *minti-*, this time followed by reduplication, is pretense action. Again, this is an unproductive derivation on the basis of some nouns and stative verbs. When the base is a stative verb in *ma-*, it takes the stem form with *pa-* as the base.

<i>minti-ana-anak</i>	'to pretend to be a child'	<i>anak</i>	'child'
<i>minti-daa-daa</i>	'be proud, act arrogantly'	<i>daa</i>	'yes; ok'
<i>minti-guru-guru</i>	'to pretend to be a teacher'	<i>guru</i>	'teacher'
<i>minti-nabi-nabi</i>	'to pretend to be a prophet'	<i>nabi</i>	'prophet'
<i>minti-pa'a-pa'-agama</i>	'to pretend to be pious'	<i>ma'-agama</i>	'pious'
<i>minti-palo-pa-loos</i>	'to pretend to be honest'	<i>ma-loos</i>	'honest'
<i>minti-pangge-pa-nggeo</i>	'to pretend to be sick'	<i>ma-nggeo</i>	'sick'
<i>minti-pate-pate</i>	'to pretend to be dead'	<i>pate</i>	'die, dead'

Clausal example:

- (106) *Ai koo Kuda alaka' tokol ka' pinti-pate-pate.*
 EMP.ART 2S horse please lie.down and PRETENSE.GER-RED-dead
 'You horse, lie down and pretend to be dead.' (t35)

5.5.9 Reciprocal *poo-*

The reciprocal prefix *poo-* (and its allomorph *poo'-* before vowel-initial roots) creates intransitive verbs denoting reciprocal action: the verb applies to both the agent and one or more other parties, whether they are stated in the clause or not. The base is often a transitive verb, but it can also be a stative verb or even a noun in a few cases.

This derivation shows both formal and semantic irregularities. In a number of cases, the base of the *poo-* derivation is reduplicated (e.g., *alayo'* 'high' and *simbat* 'answer'). With other verbs, the suffix *-i* has to be present (as with *kutu* 'louse'). Semantically, the notion of reciprocal action is most clearly seen on transitive bases. On stative and nominal bases, the meaning is often idiosyncratic, but in each case, there is a link between two comparable entities which are together involved in the state or event.

<i>poo'-a'-alayo'</i>	'unequal in height'	<i>alayo'</i>	'high'
<i>poo'-a'-ampudu'</i>	'uneven in length'	<i>ampudu'</i>	'short'
<i>poo'-ampuni</i>	'to forgive e.o.'	<i>mang-ampuni</i>	'to forgive'
<i>poo'-arop</i>	'to come face to face'	<i>mang-arop</i>	'to face (a direction)'
		<i>mang-arop-i</i>	'to face (a person)'
<i>poo-baur</i>	'to associate with'	<i>mam-baur</i>	'to mix together'
<i>poo-beel</i>	'be next to'	<i>bee-beel</i>	'near' (* <i>beel</i>)
<i>poo-gagai</i>	'to quarrel, argue'	<i>mang-gagai</i>	'to disagree, oppose'
<i>poo-gogos-i</i>	'be coiled around e.o.'	<i>ming-gogos</i>	'to circle, go around'
		<i>mong-gogos-i</i>	'to tie around'
<i>poo-ko'-uus-i</i>	'to love e.o.'	<i>mo'-uus</i>	'to want, like'
<i>poo-kutu-i</i>	'to search e.o. for lice'	<i>kutu</i>	'louse'
<i>poo-leelo'</i>	'to call to e.o.'	<i>menge-leelo'</i>	'to call'
<i>poo-lolo'</i>	'to walk together'	<i>mongo-lolo'</i>	'to follow, copy'
<i>poo'-oloa</i>	'far from e.o.'	<i>oloa</i>	'far'
<i>poo-patuk</i>	'facing, across from'	<i>patuk</i>	'direction'
<i>poo-rensa</i>	'separated, divorced'	<i>menge-rensa</i>	'separate'
<i>poo-ro-ro'up</i>	'to meet face to face'	<i>ro'up</i>	'face'
<i>poo-sa-sala'</i>	'different, divergent'	<i>sala'</i>	'wrong'
<i>poo-si-simbat</i>	'to quarrel, dispute'	<i>min-simbat</i>	'to answer'
<i>poo-siwul</i>	'to remind e.o.'	<i>min-siwul</i>	'to remind'
<i>poo-tagis</i>	'to rub against e.o.'	<i>man-tagis</i>	'to scrape'
<i>poo-ta-taka-i</i>	'to meet e.o., gather'	<i>taka</i>	'to arrive'
<i>poo-tuong</i>	'to meet, meet e.o.'	<i>mun-tuong-i</i>	'to meet, find'
<i>poo'-udul-i</i>	'to abuse/swear at e.o.'	<i>mung-udul-i</i>	'to abuse, curse'
<i>poo'-umpak</i>	'connected, continued'	<i>mung-umpak</i>	'to connect, join'
<i>poo-wawa</i>	'to match, agree with'	<i>manga-wawa</i>	'to carry'

Examples in clauses follow below. Notice that an extra oblique argument is always introduced with the preposition *tia* ~ *tii* 'with'. In realis contexts, reciprocal verbs optionally take the realis prefix *no-*. There is no gerund form.

- (107) *Yaku' sianta mo-moko poo'-arop tii ia.*
 1S NEG INTR.I-able REC-face with.PA 3S
 'I'm unable to come face to face with him.' (dict)

- (108) *Sina-ni Leah no'-um-oruang poo-beel tii Jan.*
 mother-3S.PA L. R-INTR-sit REC-near with.PA J.
 'Leah's mother sat beside Jan.' (dict)

- (109) *Kai sian mo'-uus poo-baur tia mian men ma-mangan.*
 1PE NEG INTR.I-like REC-mix with person REL AV.I-steal
 'We don't like to associate with people who steal.' (dict)
- (110) *Nggeo-na poo-wawa tia panakit-na.*
 sick-3S REC-carry with illness-3S
 'His symptoms match the disease.' (conv)
- (111) *Laigan-mai poo-patuk tia bendar.*
 house-1PE REC-direction with main.road
 'Our house faces the main road.' (elic)
- (112) *No-mae'-mo i yaku, kai no-poo-leelo'-mo.*
 R-go-PERF PA 1S 1PE R-REC-call-PERF.
 'I went out and we called to each other.' (t1)

With full reduplication, the prefix *poo-* is often reduced to *po-*, as with *po-banti-bantil-kon* 'tell each other'.

5.5.10 Reciprocal *bari-*

Another reciprocal prefix on the basis of transitive verbs is *bari-*, which appears to be mainly used for animals fighting each other. It is not productive and there are very few examples in our corpus. Other participants do not need to be overtly mentioned, but they are always there in the wider context.

<i>bari-bobot</i>	'to wrestle'	<i>*bobot</i>	
<i>bari-kakat</i>	'to bite e.o.'	<i>mang-kakat</i>	'to bite'
<i>bari-ngangang</i>	'to growl towards e.o.'	<i>mo-manga-ngangang</i>	'to growl at'
<i>bari-taga</i>	'to fight, wrestle'	<i>*taga</i>	
<i>bari-tanduk</i>	'to butt e.o.'	<i>man-tanduk</i>	'butt'
<i>bari-turu</i>	'to fight'	<i>*turu</i>	

- (113) *Siok-na bukuan bari-turu kasee sinampang ma-nguru'.*
 chicken-3S often REC-fight but always INTR.I-defeated
 'His chickens fight a lot, but are always defeated.' (dict)

5.6 Valency-increasing morphology

Several affixes have the effect of adding an extra argument to the verb, thereby increasing the valency of the verb. These affixes include several causative affixes, applicative *-kon*, directional *-i*, and benefactive *-ii*. The sections on these valency-increasing morphemes contain many complex clausal examples and sometimes involve a discussion of grammatical and syntactic properties that properly belongs to the clause. However, for the sake of keeping the discussion on verbal morphology in one place, we have decided to combine the various aspects, admittedly complex, in this chapter.

5.6.1 Causatives

In a causative construction, an extra argument is added to the predicate. Since the original predicate is usually a monovalent intransitive or stative verb, the resulting verb is a bivalent transitive verb. The extra argument in the clause is referred to as the causer, while the old subject of the intransitive or stative verb is the causee.

There are at least four basic ways of forming causatives in Balantak, and the rules appear to be lexically specific and somewhat idiosyncratic. These four morphological processes are as follows:

- a. prefix *po-* (and variant *popo-*);
- b. prefix *pa-*;
- c. suffix *-i*;
- d. suffix *-kon*;

As is obvious from the lists below, there is considerable variation in the expression of causation. We have not been able to find a clear correlation between the choice of the causative affix and the verb class or the meaning of the base.

The meaning of the causative ranges from direct causation to indirect causation, including ordering or helping the causee do the action referred to by the verb. For example, on the basis of the intransitive verb *um-oruang* 'sit', the causative verb *mom-po'-oruang* 'cause to sit' is formed, but its meaning actually encompasses 'cause s.o. to sit', 'make s.o. sit', 'order s.o. to sit', 'assist s.o. so that he/she can sit' etc. This range of meanings is not reflected in the list of meanings below.

In each case, the causative is given with the agent voice realis prefix *mVng-*. Notice that following this prefix, the *p* of *po-* and *pa-* is deleted in certain cases, as indicated by [ɸ].

a. Prefix *po-* (and variant *popo-*)

The base is usually a stative or an intransitive verb, either unmarked or with the infix <um>. When the causative prefix *po-* (or its allomorph *po'* before vowel-initial roots) or its variant *popo-* is present, the infix is dropped.

<i>mom-po-buruki'</i>	'to make angry'	<i>buruki'</i>	'angry'
<i>mom-po-lakit</i>	'to make get on board'	<i>l<um>akit</i>	'to board'
(also <i>mom-[ɸ]o-lakit</i>)			
<i>mom-po'-oruang</i>	'to cause to sit'	<i>um-oruang</i>	'to sit'
<i>mom-popo-rae'</i>	'to cause to go'	<i>rae'</i>	'to go'
<i>mom-popo-rara'</i>	'to cause to bleed'	<i>r<um>ara'</i>	'to bleed'
<i>mom-po-re'es</i>	'to make bored'	<i>re'es</i>	'bored, satisfied'
(also <i>mom-popo-re'es</i>)			
<i>mom-popo-ringkat</i>	'to cause to get up/leave'	<i>ringkat</i>	'to stand, stand up'
		<i>r<um>ingkat</i>	'to leave'
<i>mom-po-samba'</i>	'to make amazed'	<i>samba'</i>	'amazed'
(also <i>mom-popo-samba'</i>)			
<i>mom-po-sikola</i>	'to send to school'	<i>sikola</i>	'to go to school, study'
<i>mom-po-tende'</i>	'to make run'	<i>t<um>etende'</i>	'to run'
(also <i>mom-popo-tende'</i>)			
<i>mom-po-wiri</i>	'cause to weep'	<i>wiri</i>	'to weep, cry'
(also <i>mom-popo-wiri</i>)			

In one case, the suffix *-i* is obligatorily present:

<i>mom-[ɸ]o-tuo'-i</i>	'to revive, resurrect'	<i>tuo'</i>	'to live, grow'
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b. Prefix *pa-*

The prefix *pa-* is also found on stative and intransitive bases, most of them unmarked. In one case, a suffix *-i* is an obligatory part of the causative formation.

<i>mam-[ɸ]a-kaan</i>	'to feed'	<i>k<um>aan</i>	'to eat'
<i>mam-[ɸ]a-kabus</i>	'to finish'	<i>kabus</i>	'finished'
<i>mam-[ɸ]a-kana'</i>	'to fasten'	<i>kana'</i>	'right, true'
<i>mam-[ɸ]a-rios</i>	'to turn'	<i>rios</i>	'to turn around'
<i>mam-[ɸ]a-tokol</i>	'to put to sleep'	<i>tokol</i>	'to lie down, sleep'
<i>mam-[ɸ]a-telengan</i>	'to turn face upward'	<i>telengan</i>	'to lie face up'
<i>mam-pa-pate-i</i>	'to kill'	<i>pate</i>	'to die, be dead'

In one case, a stem former *pa-* emerges in combination with the causative:

<i>mam-pa-pa-kamaa'</i>	'to shame'	<i>ma-kamaa'</i>	'ashamed, shy'
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c. Suffix *-i*

The causative suffix *-i* is mostly found on stative verbs, either unmarked or with the prefix *ma-*. (The directional suffix *-i* is discussed in §5.6.3.)

<i>mam-balaki'-i</i>	'to enlarge'	<i>balaki'</i>	'big, large'
<i>mam-bambal-i</i>	'to widen'	<i>bambal</i>	'wide'
(also: <i>mam-bambal-kon</i>)			
<i>mam-[p]anas-i</i>	'to heat up'	<i>ma-panas</i>	'hot'
<i>manga-naam-i</i>	'to tame (an animal)'	<i>ma-naam</i>	'tame'
<i>mang-kadang-i</i>	'to harden (material)'	<i>ma-kadang</i>	'hard'
(cf. <i>mang-kadang-kon</i> 'to harden (one's body)')			
<i>man-sasom-i</i>	'to sharpen'	<i>ma-sasom</i>	'sharp'
<i>mem-benteng-i</i>	'to make satisfied'	<i>benteng</i>	'satisfied, full'
<i>me-nggeo-i</i> ⁵	'to make ill'	<i>ma-nggeo</i>	'ill, sick'
<i>ming-itom-i</i>	'to blacken'	<i>mo'-itom</i>	'black'
<i>mom-[p]ore-i</i>	'to repair, improve'	<i>pore</i>	'good'
(also <i>mom-pore-pore-i</i>)			
<i>mongo-loos-i</i>	'to straighten'	<i>loos</i>	'straight'

One form shows an unexplained reduplication:

<i>man-ta-takut-i</i>	'to frighten, scare'	<i>ma-takut</i>	'afraid'
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As can be seen, most of the bases lose the intransitive prefix *mo-* or *ma-*, but they are retained as *po-* and *pa-* in the following two cases:

<i>mom-[p]o-loop-i</i>	'to bathe, give a bath'	<i>mo-loop</i>	'to take a bath'
<i>mam-pa-polos-i</i>	'to hurt'	<i>ma-polos</i>	'painful'

We analyse this as stem formation. When certain intransitives in *ma-*, *mo-* or *ming-* are involved in causative or applicative derivations, derived stems in *pa-*, *po-* or *ping-* surface. These look like gerunds, but they don't function like gerunds. The stems are simply necessary for the correct derivation. Alternatively, *po-/pa-* in these two verbs could be analysed as the causative *po-/pa-* in combination with the suffix *-i*, creating a causative circumfix *pa-...-i* or *po-...-i*. However, given the fact that with the addition of *-kon* and *-i*, several intransitive prefixes have a stem former in *p* (see §5.6.2 and §5.6.3), it is more likely that these are not causative prefixes, but stem formations of the intransitive verbs.

d. Suffix *-kon*

The causative suffix *-kon* is mainly found on intransitive bases:

<i>mom-beel-kon</i>	'to bring close to'	<i>bee-beel</i>	'close'
<i>man-taka-kon</i>	'to tell, report'	<i>taka</i>	'to arrive'
<i>mon-soop-kon</i>	'to enter, bring in'	<i>min-soop</i>	'to go in'
<i>mum-buear-kon</i>	'to cause to overflow'	<i>mim-buear</i>	'to overflow'
<i>mung-uar-kon</i>	'to remove, take away'	<i>um-uar</i>	'to go out'
<i>manga-wangon-kon</i>	'to raise'	<i>wangon</i>	'to get up'

In the following three cases, the intransitive prefix *ma-* is retained as the stem former *pa-*:

<i>mam-[p]a-lawu-kon</i>	'to bring down'	<i>ma-lawu ~ ma-lau</i>	'to go down'
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⁵This form is irregular; we would expect **menge-nggeo-i*, with the allomorph *menge-* before initial *ng*.

<i>mam-[p̚]a-ndawo'-kon</i>	'to drop'	<i>ma-ndawo'</i>	'to fall'
<i>mam-[p̚]a-sawe'-kon</i>	'to raise'	<i>ma-sawe'</i>	'go up'

Since causative verbs are transitive, all the voice and mode categories can apply to them, as well as reciprocal formation. The following illustrates the different possibilities of the causative verb *mam-pa-pate-i* 'kill' on the basis of *pate* 'die, dead'.

AV	<i>mam-pa-pate-i</i>	'kill(s)'	(agent voice irrealis)
	<i>nam-pa-pate-i</i>	'killed'	(agent voice realis)
	<i>pam-pa-pate-i</i>	'killing'	(agent voice gerund)
PV	<i>pa-pate-i-on</i>	'is killed'	(patient voice irrealis)
	<i>ni-pa-pate-i</i>	'was killed'	(patient voice realis)
	<i>pa-pate-i</i>	'being killed'	(patient voice gerund)
LV	<i>mam-pa-pate-i-an</i>	'(where) is killed'	(locative voice irrealis)
	<i>nam-pa-pate-i-an</i>	'(where) was killed'	(locative voice realis)
	<i>pam-pa-pate-i-an</i>	'(where) being killed'	(locative voice gerund)
REC	<i>poo-pa-pate-i</i>	'kill each other'	(reciprocal)

The following examples illustrate causative verbs in clauses, the first two in agent voice, the next four in patient voice, and finally three agent voice gerunds in (120), (121) and (122). In all these cases, every causative morpheme is glossed as CAUS, including double morphemes in circumfixes such as *pa...-i*.

- (114) *Ia mae' na Luwuk mam-balaki'-i poto-na.*
 3S go LOC L. AV.I-big-CAUS photo-3S
 'He went to Luwuk to enlarge his photo.' (dict)
- (115) *Kai man-taka-kon lele pore.*
 1PE AV.I-arrive-CAUS news good
 'We are telling good news.' (conv)
- (116) *Uar-kon-on a popurun.*
 go.out-CAUS-PV.I ART sago.flour
 'The sago flour is removed.' (t7)
- (117) *Akal-kon-on-ta-mo ka' pa-pate-i-on i ia.*
 trick-APPL-PV.I-1PI-PERF and CAUS-die-CAUS-PV.I PA 3S
 'Let us trick and kill him.' (t35)
- (118) *Ni-soop-kon-mo a oto-ngku.*
 PV.R-enter-CAUS-PERF ART car-1S
 'My car was put inside.' (conv)
- (119) *Ni-pa-sawe'-kon-mo a angga'-na.*
 PV.R-SF-go.up-CAUS-PERF ART price-3S
 'The price has been raised.' (elic)
- (120) *Koi upa boo pom-[p̚]o-tuo'-i?*
 like what for AV.GER-CAUS-live-CAUS
 'What could be done to bring it back to life?' (t32)
- (121) ... *sambayang boo pom-popo-ringkat i kai.*
 pray for AV.GER-CAUSE-leave PA 1PE
 '... a prayer to send us on our way' (Lit. '... to cause us to leave.') (t76)

- (122) *Ia daa biai' doi'-na bo pom-po-sikola-na anak-na.*
 3S ATT many money-3S for AV.GER-CAUSE-school-3S child-3S
 'He has a lot of money to send his child to school' (dict)

5.6.2 Applicative -kon

In §5.6.1, the causative function of *-kon* was mentioned. However, the verbal suffix *-kon* is primarily a so-called applicative suffix (APPL), that is, a suffix which adds an extra argument (which is not a patient) to the verb structure. The semantic role of this added argument depends on the verb and is, to a large extent, lexically specific. The suffix *-kon* is roughly comparable to Indonesian *-kan*, though there are important differences: the semantic role of the noun phrase following *-kan* in Indonesian is usually benefactive, recipient, or instrument (as well as causative), while in Balantak the noun phrase following *-kon* covers a wider range of semantic roles, including recipient, accompaniment, cause/reason, instrument, benefactive, and purpose. Also, the grammatical role of the noun phrase introduced by *-kon* is different. In both Indonesian and Balantak, the resulting verb can have two objects: the new 'applied' object, which is semantically the non-patient (benefactive, recipient etc.), and the original object, which is semantically the patient. When both objects are present in agent voice (which is very rare in Balantak), the applied object precedes the secondary object. Interestingly, unlike Indonesian, the applied object does not appear to be a canonical object in Balantak, as it does not participate in the voice alternations. Only the original object (the patient) can become the subject in a patient voice clause.

Since there are many complications in this particular area of Balantak grammar (both syntactically and semantically), it is not easy to come up with general statements and the following discussion must be viewed as a rough and preliminary outline.

The following list shows a number of verbs with *-kon* and their verbal bases. With the exception of *-kon* on stative bases, all the *-kon* derivations show transitive morphology. The stative verbs are unusual in that they retain their intransitive morphology and do not become transitive verbs.

On the basis of **stative** verbs:

<i>benteng-kon</i>	'full of s.t.'	<i>benteng</i>	'satisfied'
<i>lapus-kon</i>	'to die of s.t.'	<i>lapus</i>	'to die'
<i>ma-takut-kon</i>	'afraid of s.t.'	<i>ma-takut</i>	'afraid'

On the basis of **intransitive** verbs:

<i>mim-bisara-kon</i>	'to speak about s.t.'	<i>ba-bisara</i>	'to speak'
<i>mon-dodongo-kon</i>	'to give birth to s.o.'	<i>d <um> odongo</i>	'to give birth'
<i>mongo-lopon-kon</i>	'to climb with s.o.'	<i>l <um> opon</i>	'to climb'
<i>mun-tumpang-kon</i>	'to walk with s.t.'	<i>t <um> umpang</i>	'to walk'

On the basis of simple **transitive** verbs:

<i>mang-ala-kon</i>	'to get s.t. for/from s.o.'	<i>mang-ala</i>	'to get'
<i>mom-bobok-kon</i>	'to pound s.t. for s.o.'	<i>mom-bobok</i>	'to pound'
<i>mong-koot-kon</i>	'to tie s.t. for/to s.o.'	<i>mong-koot</i>	'to tie'

On the basis of a **complex transitive** verb (causative):

<i>mom-[p]o-loop-i-kon</i>	'to bathe s.o. with s.t.'	<i>mom-[p]o-loop-i</i>	'to bathe s.o.'
		<i>mo-loop</i>	'to bathe' (intr)

The following clauses illustrate the various semantic functions that can be distinguished for *-kon*. Which particular function is activated is usually lexically specific, although several cases have been found where more than one interpretation is possible. Following the free translation, the basic verb without *-kon* is given in parentheses.

a. Recipient (the person to whom something is given, pointed out, or to whom an act of speaking is addressed):

- (123) *I raaya'a mam-bantil-kon minti'i-na wiwine...*
 PA 3P AV.I-tell-APPL parent-3S woman
 'They tell the parents of the woman...' (t56) (*mam-bantil* 'to tell s.t.')
- (124) *Siso'-kon-on-ku i koo a laigan-na.*
 point-APPL-PV.I-1S PA 2S ART house-3S
 'I will show you his house.' (t35m) (*min-siso'* 'to point at, indicate')

Notice that *a laigan-na* (the patient, and the 'original' object) is the subject of this PV clause.

b. Accompaniment (an item or person which is taken along; this seems to be limited to intransitive verbs of motion):

- (125) *Tetende'-kon-o < o > n i ia!*
 run-APPL-PV.I-2S PA 3S
 'Run with him!' (t35; a command to a horse to run with a tiger tied to him.) (*t < um > etende'* 'to run')
- (126) *Ma-repa a mongo-lopon-kon anak.*
 INTR.I-hard ART AV.I-climb-APPL child
 'It's hard to climb a mountain carrying/taking along a child.' (t1-m)
 (*l < um > opon* 'to climb' [intr])

c. Cause or reason (a noun phrase or a whole clause):

- (127) *Yaku' ma-takut-kon ule.*
 1S INTR.I-afraid-APPL snake
 'I'm afraid of snakes.' (t1) (*ma-takut* 'afraid')
- (128) *Yaku' tongko' benteng-kon nintelen umba'a.*
 1S only satisfied-APPL sago just.now
 'I'm only full from eating sago just now.' (conv) (*benteng* 'satisfied, full')
- (129) *Tempo-tempo isian wiwine mam-paiwawa men lapus-kon*
 RED-time EXIST woman INTR.I-pregnant REL die-APPL

sian moko dodongo.
 NEG able.I give.birth
 'Sometimes there is a pregnant woman who dies because she is unable to give birth.' (t52)
 (*lapus* 'to die')

d. Instrument:

- (130) *Anak-na sian-po mo-moko mun-tumpang-kon sapato.*
 child-3S NEG-IMPF INTR.I-able AV.I-walk-APPL shoe
 'His child is not yet able to walk with shoes.' (dict) (*t < um > umpang* 'to walk')

- (131) *Nuur men baras ka-ni'i po-loop-i-kon-on au'*
 coconut REL rotten D-DEM1 SF-bathe-CAUS-APPL-PV.I dog

men kerekes-on.

REL scabies-HAVE

'These rotten coconuts are used to bathe dogs that have scabies.' (t51) (*mom-[p]o-loop-i* 'to bathe' [tr]; *mo-loop* 'to bathe' [intr])

e. Theme (the content of verbs of speech and possibly some others):

- (132) *Tio dongan bisara-kon-on.*
 must quick speak-APPL-PV.I
 'It has to be quickly discussed.' (t56) (*ba-bisara* 'to speak')

f. Purpose (a noun phrase or a clause):

- (133) *Kai mong-oruang-kon ba-tundun*
 1PE AV.I-sit-APPL INTR-talk
 'We'll sit down to have a chat.' (conv) (*um-oruang* 'to sit')

- (134) *Kai oruang-kon ka' ni-bantil-i.*
 1PE sit-APPL and PV.R-report-APPL
 'They told us to sit down (for a specific reason) and we were given advice.' (conv) (*um-oruang* 'to sit')

- (135) *Manga-wawa sunsuli' i-ya'a, tio wawau-kon-on bo*
 AV.I-carry coffin D-DEM3 must make-APPL-PV.I for
uer-an.
 carry.together.on.shoulders-NOM
 'To carry that traditional coffin, a bier must be made for it.' (t54)
 (*manga-wawau* 'to make')

g. Benefactive (the person for whose benefit the action is performed):

- (136) *Bobok-kon yaku' kuang-na kau ka-nono'.*
 pound-APPL 1S skin-3S tree D-DEM2
 'Pound that tree bark for me.' (conv) (*mom-bobok* 'to pound')

- (137) *Koot-kon i yaku' a doos-ku.*
 tie-APPL PA 1S ART box-1S
 'Please tie up my box for me.' (conv) (*mong-koot* 'to tie')

The verbs *bobok-kon* in (136) and *koot-kon* in (137) are patient voice gerunds (which are morphologically unmarked, see table 5.4 in §5.4.3), used in imperative clauses. Notice that the use of the article *a* in (137) shows 'my box' to be the subject. It is unclear why the expected articles *i* and *a* are missing in (136); possibly the example is from another dialect.

The benefactive meaning of *-kon* is actually fairly rare. With most verbs, the benefactive is expressed by means of the suffix *-ii*, as outlined in §5.6.4. However, a benefactive reading is often present when there is a possessor noun in the object following *-kon*, as below in (138c), where *gala-ni Goris* 'Goris's vegetables' is a single object NP. We will refer to this as the 'benefactive possessive'. Compare the following examples:

- (138) a) *Sina-ngku man-taring gala boni Goris.*
 mother-1S AV.I-cook vegetables for.PA G.
 ‘My mother is cooking vegetables for Goris.’ (dict-m)
- b) *Ni-taring-mo a gala.*
 PV.R-cook-PERF ART vegetables.
 ‘The vegetables have been cooked.’ (elic)
- c) *Sina-ngku man-taring-kon gala-ni Goris.*
 mother-1S AV.I-cook-APPL vegetables-3S.PA G.
 ‘My mother is cooking vegetables for Goris.’ (Lit. ‘...cooking Goris’s vegetables.’) (elic)
- d) *Ni-taring-kon-mo a gala-ni Goris.*
 PV.R-cook-APPL-PERF ART vegetables-3S.PA G.
 ‘The vegetables have been cooked for Goris.’ (elic)
- e) **Sina-ngku man-taring-kon gala (boni Goris).*
 mother-1S AV.I-cook-APPL vegetables for.PA G.
 (For: ‘My mother is cooking vegetables (for Goris).’)

Examples (138a) and (138b) are simple cases of the transitive verb *taring* ‘cook’ in agent and patient voice, respectively. The addition of *-kon* to the verb does not license a new object, but instead requires the patient to be made definite by means of a possessor, which is interpreted as a benefactive. This is illustrated in (138c) for agent voice, and in (138d) for patient voice. Contrary to what is possible with Indonesian *-kan*, a simple indefinite object following *-kon* cannot create a benefactive reading. This is even true when there is an overt benefactive in a prepositional phrase, as shown in (138e).

The use of the benefactive possessive in objects is found on more transitive verbs, including those in (139) and (140). It seems to be quite a unique feature of Balantak and is rather different from Indonesian.

- (139) *Yaku' man-sarak-kon doi'-na utus-ku men no-penta'.*
 1S AV.I-search-APPL money-3S sibling-1S REL R-lost
 ‘I’m looking for my brother’s lost money.’ (elic) (*man-sarak* ‘search’)
- (140) *Ia mon-dodongo-i-kon utus-na men itiu'-na.*
 3S AV.I-live-DIR-APPL sibling-3S REL small-3S
 ‘He looks after his youngest brother.’ (dict)
 (*d <um> odongo* 1. ‘to live’ 2. ‘to give birth’ [intr]; **mon-dodongo*; *mon-dodongo-kon* ‘to give birth to s.o.’; *mon-dodongo-i* ‘to look after, guard, take care of.’)
- (141) *Ai Andrias palus mae' mingi-limba'-kon oto-na mian.*
 EMP.ART A. absent go AV.I-move-APPL car-3S person
 ‘Andrias is not here, he’s gone to move someone’s car (for him/her)’ (dict)
 (*ba-limba'* ‘to move’ [intr]; *mingi-limba'* ‘to move s.t./s.o.’)

h. Miscellaneous. In some cases, the meaning appears to be quite idiosyncratic, as with the following two verbs:

- *ringkat* ‘to stand, stand up’
- r <um> ingkat* ‘to leave, depart’
- mingi-ringkat-kon* 1. ‘to leave without paying attention to s.t.’
 2. ‘to stand up and take s.t.’

- (142) **mingi-ringkat-kon** *usan*
 AV.I-stand-APPL rain
 ‘leave without minding the rain’ (elic)
- (143) **mingi-ringkat-kon** *upa-na mian*
 AV.I-stand-APPL what-3S peron
 ‘stand up and take people’s things’ (conv)
- *t <um> umpang* ‘to walk’
- mun-tumpang-kon* 1. ‘to walk with s.o.’ (illustrated in (26))
 2. ‘to walk out (on one’s spouse) and marry s.o. else’
- (144) *Wiwine i-ya’a mun-tumpang-kon langkai’-na.*
 woman D-DEM3 AV.I-walk-APPL husband-3S
 ‘That lady walked out on her husband and married another man.’ (dict)

There are a number of other points to consider when dealing with *-kon*:

- With a number of seemingly transitive verbs, the transitive **base does not occur** without *-kon*,
mam-babas-kon ‘to throw things around’ (**mam-babas*)
mam-baluk-kon ‘to sell’ (**mam-baluk, mo-baluk* ‘to sell’ [intr])
man-tarop-kon ‘to serve’ (**man-tarop, mo-tarop* ‘to serve’ [intr])
mun-dudul-kon ‘to push’ (**mun-dudul*)
mon-toong-kon ‘to tie’ (**mon-toong*)
mongo-roo-kon ‘to give’ (**mongo-roo*)
- With a number of verbs **no additional argument** is added, but there is a shift in meaning:
k <um> ekerer ‘to stand’ (intr)
meng-kekerer-kon ‘to defend o.s.’ (intr)
mam-balo’ ‘to throw s.t.’
mam-balo’-kon ‘to throw s.t. away’
mang-ala ‘to take/get s.t.’
mang-ala-kon 1. ‘to take s.t. (for s.o.)’
 2. ‘to take s.t. (for a purpose)’

The various forms and meanings of *ala* ‘take’ are illustrated below:

- (145) a) **Ni’-ala-mo** *a doi’-na.*
 PV.R-take-PERF ART money-3S
 ‘His money was taken. / They took his money.’ (conv)
- b) **Ni’-ala-kon-mo** *a doi’-ni Bob.*
 PV.R-take-APPL-PERF ART money-3S.PA B.
 ‘Bob’s money was taken for him.’ (elic)
- (146) *Koo-si a mang-ala-kon doi’-ku.*
 2S-SEQ ART AV.I-get-APPL money-1S
 ‘You are the one who will get money for me.’ (dict)
- (147) *Sang-kaliangan panga-naa’-an towuni’, ala-kon-on-mo timbo’.*
 one-kind GER-store-LV placenta take-APPL-PV.I-PERF bamboo
 ‘One way of storing the placenta is to get bamboo (for it).’ (t52)

The unmarked benefactive on the basis of *ala* is *mang-ala-ii* (see §5.6.4).

- With certain transitive verbs, the addition of *-kon* **rearranges the nominal arguments**. This can be compared to English examples such as ‘smear paint on the wall’ versus ‘smear the wall with paint’. We give three examples.

ming-isii ‘fill’ (container in O, contents in PP with *tia*)
ming-isii-kon ‘fill, put’ (contents in O, container in PP with *na*)

- (148) a) *Ia ming-isii karung-na tia bi'ot.*
 3S AV.I-fill bag-3S with candle.vegetable
 ‘She is filling her bag with candle vegetables.’ (dict-m)
- b) *Ia ming-isii-kon bi'ot na karung-na.*
 3S AV.I-fill candle.vegetable⁶ LOC bag-3S
 ‘She is filling/putting the candle vegetables in her bag.’ (dict-m)
- (149) *Sarataa memel a likison, ku-isii-kon-mo na botor.*
 when cold ART coconut.oil 1S-fill-APPL-PERF LOC botol
 ‘When the coconut oil is cold, I put it in a bottle.’ (t8)

Example (150) shows a locative gerund on *isii-kon*, again with the patient (the contents) as the object:

- (150) ... *soko'-na nuur rua' towol, kada' boo ping-isii-kon-an*
 shell-3S coconut two half so.that for GER-fill-APPL-LV

towuni' i-ya'a.
 placenta D-DEM3
 ‘...two empty coconut shells for putting the placenta in.’ (t52)

The second example is *bobok* ‘hit’

mom-bobok ‘hit’ (patient in O)
mom-bobok-kon ‘hit’ (instrument in O, location in PP)

- (151) *Pulisi malia' mom-bobok rangkum-na mian men ma-mangan.*
 police often AV.I-hit finger-3S person REL INTR.I-steal
 ‘Police often strike the fingers of thieves.’ (dict)
- (152) *Ia mom-bobok-kon lima-na na meja.*
 3S AV.I-hit-APPL hand-3S LOC table
 ‘He hit (with) his hand on the table.’ (dict)

In (151), the object of the verb is the patient (the thing that gets beaten, in this case the fingers), and the verb is the simple transitive *mom-bobok*. In (152), on the other hand, the verb has *-kon*, which indicates that the following object is not a patient, but rather, the instrument (at least with this verb).

The third verb is *baluk* ‘sell’, which is somewhat unusual:

mo-baluk ‘sell’ (intransitive, only indefinite objects possible)
 **mam-baluk*
mam-baluk-kon ‘sell (item sold in O)’

⁶The precise identification of *bi'ot* (Indonesian *sayur lilin*, lit. ‘candle vegetable’) is not clear.

- (153) *Pulisi nanga-rakop mian men mo-baluk narkotika.*
 police AV.R-catch person REL INTR.I-sell narcotics
 ‘The police captured a man selling narcotics.’ (dict)
- (154) ... *mian men mam-baluk-kon ka-kaan.*
 person REL AV.I-sell-APPL RED-food
 ‘... people who sell food.’ (elic)
- (155) *Susum men baluk-kon-on-na sian-mo laku.*
 fish REL sell-APPL-PV.I-3S NEG-PERF in.demand
 ‘The fish she is selling are no longer in demand.’ (elic)
- (156) *Raaya'a mungu-ruuti tempat men pam-baluk-kon-an karcis.*
 3P AV.I-crowd place REL GER-sell-APPL-LV ticket
 ‘They all crowded around the ticket office’. (Lit ‘... place where tickets are sold.’) (conv)

Example (153) shows the intransitive verb *mo-baluk* with a non-canonical object (an object that cannot be made a subject in patient voice). A real object is seen in (154), following the transitive verb *mam-baluk-kon* in agent voice; the same verb appears in irrealis patient voice in (155) and in gerund locative voice in (156).

We end this section with a detailed look at the verb *koot* ‘tie, tie up’ and its applicative derivation. The suffixed form *koot-kon* either means ‘tie for’ (with benefactive possessive) or ‘tie to’ (locative), as shown in the following (elicited) examples:

- (157) a) *Yaku' mong-koot doos.*
 1s AV.I-tie box
 ‘I tie up the box.’
- b) *Yaku' mong-koot-kon doos-ni Hoi.*
 1s AV.I-tie-APPL box-3S.PA H.
 ‘I tie up Hoi’s box (for him).’
- c) **Yaku' mong-koot-kon doos.*
 1s AV.I-tie-APPL box
 (‘I tie up the box [for someone].’)
- d) *Ni-koot-kon-mo a doos-ni Hoi.*
 PV.R-tie-APPL ART box-3S.PA H.
 ‘Hoi’s box was tied up for him.’

Example (157a) is a simple transitive clause; (157b) has an applicative *-kon* with a benefactive possessive in the patient. The benefactive reading is triggered by the presence of a possessor, which is an essential part of the clause. Without a possessor, the clause is incomplete and ungrammatical, as is shown in (157c). Example (157d) is the realis patient voice counterpart of (157b), showing that the box is the subject, as marked by the post-predicate article *a*.

The following three examples illustrate *koot-kon* with a locative reading ‘tie to s.t.’. Notice that the rope is the primary object:

- (158) *Yaku' mong-koot-kon lui' na soripi'-na laigan.*
 1s AV.I-tie-APPL rope LOC side-3s house
 ‘I tie the rope to the side of the house.’ (elic)

- (159) *Mang-ala kutung lui' i kita, koot-kon-on na toure'-em.*
 AV.I-take first rope PA 1PI tie-APPL-PV.I LOC neck-2S
 'Let us first get a rope and tie it to your neck.' (t35)
- (160) *Ni-koot-kon-mo a lui'.*
 PV.R-tie-APPL-PERF ART rope
 'The rope was tied (by someone to something).' (elic)

The final (elicited) example shows both possible readings:

- (161) *Koot-kon tama-ngku a doos ka-ni'i.*
 tie-APPL father-1S ART box D-DEM1
 a) 'Tie this box up for my father.'
 b) 'Tie this box to my father.'

The location is either coded as a prepositional phrase, as in (158) and (159), or as a secondary object, as in (161).

Much more remains to be researched about applicative *-kon* in Balantak. Some of the more interesting findings are the variety of semantic roles, including the benefactive possessive, and the fact that applied objects following *-kon* are non-canonical objects which are not 'promotable' to become subjects in patient voice.

5.6.3 Directional *-i*

Like *-kon*, the suffix *-i* is an applicative affix, which adds a new argument to the stative, intransitive, or transitive base. The resulting verb is a transitive verb that participates in the voice alternations. Notice that the causative use of *-i* is dealt with in §5.6.1, the verbalising use of *-i* in §5.7.1. All the meanings of *-i* are summarized in §12.4.3.

In terms of its meaning, the following cases can be distinguished for directional *-i* (DIR).

a. The action or state denoted by the base is **directed towards a person or location**. The base is usually stative or intransitive.

<i>mam-[p̚]a-lau-i</i>	'to go down to get s.t.'	<i>ma-la(w)u</i>	'to go down'
<i>man-daga-i</i>	'to guard, watch, look after'	<i>ba-daga</i>	'to guard' (intr)
<i>manga-wawa-i</i>	'to bring/carry s.t. to s.o.'	<i>manga-wawa</i>	'to bring, carry'
<i>mom-borek-i</i>	'to lie to s.o.'	<i>mim-borek</i>	'to tell a lie'
<i>mom-[p̚]o-te'e-i</i>	'to defecate on s.t.'	<i>mo-te'e</i>	'to defecate'
<i>mom-[p̚]o-tidi'-i</i>	'to urinate on s.t.'	<i>mo-tidi'</i>	'to urinate'
<i>mum-burar-i</i>	'to keep a night vigil for s.o. deceased'	<i>mo-burar</i>	'to stay awake'
<i>mum-buruki'-i</i>	'to be angry at s.o., scold s.o.'	<i>buruki'</i>	'angry'

It should be noted again that the *po-* or *pa-*, which appears in forms such as *ma-[p̚]a-lau-i* 'to go down to get s.t.', is not the causative *po-/pa-*, nor a gerund. Instead, it is a stem former (SF), as it can combine with realis and irrealis mode (as in agent voice irrealis *ma-[p̚]a-lau-i*, or patient voice irrealis *pa-lau-i-on*). See the final section of §5.4.4 for a fuller discussion of stem formers.

Below are clausal examples with *-i*; the first example of each pair shows the intransitive verb in its basic form, the second example its transitive counterpart with the directional *-i*.

- (162) a) *Alia mim-borek!*
 DONT INTR.I-lie
 'Don't lie!' (conv)

- b) *Alia mom-borek-i minti'i-im!*
 DONT AV.I-lie-DIR parent-2S
 'Don't lie to your parents!' (dict-m)
- (163) a) *Kalu sian ba-daga pore-pore...*
 if NEG INTR-guard RED-good
 'If one doesn't watch carefully...' (t56)
- b) *Koi se' ia pande man-daga-i anak.*
 like ATT 3S clever TR.I-guard-DIR child
 'For example, it (a cat) is able to guard children.' (t32)
- (164) a) *Ia dauga' mo-te'e.*
 3S still INTR.I-defecate
 'He is still relieving himself.' (t16)
- b) *Bokuku <u> m ia po-te'e-i-mo au'.*
 shirt-2S 3S SF-defecate-DIR-PERF dog
 'A dog has done its business on your shirt' (elic)
- (165) a) *Gause usan kita tio manga-wawa payung.*
 because rain 1PI must AV.I-bring umbrella
 'Because of the rain we need to carry an umbrella.' (dict)
- b) *Aume wawa-i-on ka-kaan na ale'?*
 who bring-DIR-PV.I RED-eat LOC garden
 'Who will/should be brought food in the garden?' (conv)

Notice that in (165b), the directional noun phrase *aume* 'who' is the subject. Unfortunately, we do not have enough information about the exact syntactic status of primary and secondary objects with directional *-i* on transitive verbs such as *wawa*.

b. With a number of transitive bases, there are **specific and idiosyncratic meanings**:

<i>mam-baur-i</i>	'to mix with, get involved in'	<i>mam-baur</i>	'to mix'
<i>mang-asok-i</i>	'to plant (a field)'	<i>mang-asok</i>	'to plant (a crop)'
<i>mang-ator-i</i>	'to throw away, discard'	<i>mang-ator</i>	'to accompany'
<i>mem-berak-i</i>	'to remove/tear out a part'	<i>mem-berak</i>	'to tear, rip'
<i>mim-bibit-i</i>	'to attach/make a carrying strap/rope on s.t.'	<i>mim-bibit</i>	'to carry in the hand'
<i>mom-bobok-i</i>	'to beat up, hit repeatedly'	<i>mom-bobok</i>	'to hit, beat'
<i>mom-bolos-i</i>	'to replace'	<i>mom-bolos</i>	'to borrow'

Illustrated in clauses:

- (166) a) *Ia kae-kae' mam-baur gula tia tarigu.*
 3S in.the.process AV.I-mix sugar with flour
 'He is in the process of mixing the sugar in with the flour.' (dict)
- b) *Ai kuu sobii mam-baur-i urusan-ku.*
 EMP.ART 2P let.it.be AV.I-mix-DIR affairs-1S
 'You shouldn't get involved in my affairs.' (dict)

(167) a) ... *mian mom-bolos piring, mian mom-bolos kadera...*
 person AV.I-borrow plate person AV.I-borrow chair
 ‘... people borrow plates, people borrow chairs...’ (t13)

b) ... *kasi ning-ili bensin soosodo nom-bolos-i bensin*
 then AV.R-buy petrol again AV.R-replace-DIR petrol

men ni'ili na Taugi.

REL PV.R-buy LOC T.

‘...and then, (they) bought petrol again to replace the petrol that was bought in Taugi.’

(t68)

c. With some transitive verbs, there is a clear semantic contrast between the derivations with *-i* and with *-kon*. Again, it should be stressed that it is hard or impossible to formulate general statements regarding these suffixes, as the resulting meaning and the syntactic configuration seem, to a large extent, to be lexically specific, as shown by the following three cases. (O is object, O₁ is the primary object, the semantic goal, direction, recipient etc.; O₂ is the secondary object, the semantic patient. The default constituent order is S V O₁ O₂).

mo-baluk ‘sell’ (intransitive, only indefinite objects possible)

mam-baluk-kon ‘sell (item sold in O)

mam-baluk-i ‘sell (buyer in O₁, item sold in O₂)

(168) *Mian men mam-baluk-kon ka-kaan...*
 person REL AV.I-sell-APPL RED-eat
 ‘People who sell food...’ (t1)

(169) *Yaku' mam-baluk-i i kuu oto.*
 1S AV.I-sell-DIR PA 2P car
 ‘I want to sell you a car.’ (dict)

mam-bantil-kon ‘inform, tell’ (recipient in PP, content in O or in clause)

mam-bantil-i 1. ‘invite’ (recipient in O)

2. ‘advise, instruct, admonish, reprimand’ (recipient in O)

(170) *Kodi' bantil-kon na tama-am se' yaku' no-mae'-mo ulukon.*
 later tell-APPL LOC father-2S ATT 1S R-go-PERF ahead
 ‘Tell your father later that I’ve gone ahead.’ (dict)

(171) *Boo wawa moto-samba uga', bantil-kon-on-na minti-minti'i.*
 FUT load REC.KIN.I-spouse also tell-APPL-PV.I-3S RED-parent
 ‘The elders also inform (the couple) about their duties as husband and wife.’
 (Lit. ‘The future load/duty of the spouses also, it is told by the elders.’) (t56)

(172) *Guru mam-bantil-i anak men nakal i-ya'a.*
 teacher AV.R-tell-DIR child REL naughty D-DEM3
 ‘The teacher is admonishing the naughty child.’ (dict)

(173) *Ukum na moro'one uga', tio bantil-i-on.*
 spokesperson LOC man also must tell-DIR-PV.I
 ‘The spokespeople on the man’s side must also be invited.’ (t56)

mo-tarop ‘serve food or drinks’ (intransitive, no object possible)

man-tarop-kon ‘serve (O = food, guests in PP with *na* ‘locative’)

man-tarop-i ‘serve (O₁ = guests, food as O₂ or in PP with *tia* ‘with’)

- (174) *Daa toropot-mo a wala'on, kasi tarop-kon-on.*
 finish ready-PERF ART boiled.water then serve-APPL-PV.I
 'When the hot drinks are ready, then they are served.' (t56)
- (175) ... *kasi ni-tarop-kon a wala'on i-ya'a na sawe'.*
 then PV.R-serve-APPL ART boiled.water D-DEM3 LOC guest
 '... then the hot drinks were served to the guests.' (t56)
- (176) *Tempo man-tarop-i suo' men u'uru i-ya'a tia wala'on...*
 time AV.I-serve-DIR family REL new D-DEM3 with boiled.water
 'When they serve the bride and groom (lit. the new family) a hot drink...' (t56)
- (177) *Suo' u'uru uga', tarop-i-on panganon tia toop.*
 family new also serve-DIR-PV.I betelnut with cigarette
 'The bride and groom are also served betelnut and cigarettes.' (t56)

In (176), the recipients ('the bride and groom') are the O_1 . The patient ('a hot drink') is presented in a prepositional phrase. Example (177) is a patient voice clause, and it is clear that the recipients are the subject, while the patient (two coordinated nouns) is still an object (O_2), not a PP. This shows that following *-i*, an O_1 can become a subject in ditransitive verbs. This is apparently not true for *-kon*, as was shown in §5.6.2.

Finally, it is worth pointing out that the final *i* of several transitive verbs is not the suffix *-i*, but simply part of the trisyllabic root. Examples include *mum-bulusi* 'pour hot water on s.t. (e.g., to make tea or coffee); make food from sago' (compare the non-existent forms **mum-bulus* and **mum-bulus-kon*), as well as *mum-buse'i* 'chase away' (**mum-buse*, **mum-buse-kon*).

5.6.4 Benefactive *-ii*

The last one of the applicative suffixes is benefactive *-ii*. This appears to be limited to transitive bases and creates a ditransitive verb. In each case, the noun phrase following the derived verb refers to the person who benefits from the action or in whose favour the action is done. This is the primary object O_1 . The patient (if present) follows as a secondary object O_2 . Syntactically, the benefactive noun phrase O_1 is a full object, as it can become the subject in a patient voice construction. (Strictly speaking, patient voice is a misnomer here, as the semantic function of the noun phrase is benefactive).

<i>mang-ala-ii</i>	'to get/take s.t. for s.o.'	<i>mang-ala</i>	'to get, take'
<i>manga-wawau-ii</i>	'to make s.t. for s.o.'	<i>manga-wawau</i>	'to make'
<i>man-sarak-ii</i>	'to search for s.t. for s.o.'	<i>man-sarak</i>	'to search'
<i>man-taring-ii</i>	'to cook s.t. for s.o.'	<i>man-taring</i>	'to cook'
<i>mingi-limba'-ii</i>	'to move s.t. for s.o.'	<i>mingi-limba'</i>	'to move'
<i>mom-bolos-ii</i>	'to lend s.t. to s.o.'	<i>mom-bolos</i>	'to borrow'
<i>mon-dolo'-ii</i>	'to get s.t. for s.o.'	<i>mon-dolo'</i>	'to get, fetch'

When the root already ends in *i*, the suffix is not *-ii*, but simply *-i*:

<i>menge-lego'i-i</i>	'to look at for s.o.'	<i>menge-lego'i</i>	'to look at, check, visit'
<i>ming-ili-i</i>	'to buy s.t. for s.o.'	<i>ming-ili</i>	'to buy'

In one case, there appears to be free variation between *-i* and *-ii*:

mam-baluk-i ~ *mam-baluk-ii* 'to sell to'

Example of benefactive *-ii* on the verb *wawau*:

- (178) *Alia paraa manga-wawau-ii tama-ngku wala'on.*
 DONT as.far.as AV.I-make-BEN father-1S boiled.water
 'It really isn't necessary to make a hot drink for my father.' (dict-m)

The following variations illustrate clearly that the benefactive noun phrase ['my father' in (178)] is a real object, which is accessible to becoming the subject in a patient voice, as shown in (179a) and, with variant word order, in (179b) and (179c). In the latter two cases, the post-predicate benefactive subject is introduced by the article *a*. The patient ('the hot drink') remains a non-canonical secondary object which cannot be promoted to subject, as shown in (179d) and (179e).

- (179) a) *Tama-ngku ni-wawau-ii-mo wala'on.*
 father-1S PV.R-make-BEN-PERF boiled.water
 'My father has already been made a hot drink.'
- b) *Ni-wawau-ii-mo a tama-ngku wala'on.*
 PV.R-make-BEN-PERF ART father-1S boiled.water
 'My father has already been made a hot drink.'
- c) *Ni-wawau-ii-mo wala'on a tama-ngku*
 PV.R-make-BEN-PERF boiled.water ART father-1S
 'My father has already been made a hot drink.'
- d) **Wala'on ni-wawau-ii-mo tama-ngku.*
 boiled.water PV.R-make-BEN-PERF father-1S
 (not interpretable)
- e) **Ni-wawau-ii-mo tama-ngku a wala'on.*
 PV.R-make-BEN-PERF father-1S ART boiled.water
 (not interpretable)
- f) **Wala'on ni-wawau-ii-mo a tama-ngku.*
 boiled.water PV.R-make-BEN-PERF ART father-1S
 (not interpretable)

Some other clausal examples, on the verb *ala* 'take, get' follow, with the grammatical functions bracketed off (O_1 = primary object; O_2 = secondary object; NSUB-AG = non-subject agent):

- (180) *Sando nang-ala-ii [mian men na sarigan] O_1 [rombung] O_2 .*
 midwife AV.R-take-BEN person REL LOC childbirth trad.medicine
 'The midwife got traditional medicine for the person who was in labour.' (t52)

- (181) *Daa koi-ya'a uga', ala-ii-on-na-mo [sando] $_{NSUB-AG}$*
 AFF like-DEM3 also take-BEN-PV.I-3S-PERF midwife

[rombung-na sarigan] O_2 [a sina-na anak.] S
 trad.medicine-3S childbirth ART mother-3S child
 'After that, the midwife gets traditional childbirth medicine for the mother of the child.'
 (t52)

Example (181) is quite complex, as we have three separate noun phrases following the verb, which is, in irrealis patient voice, indicated by *-on*. The first noun phrase is the non-subject agent ('the midwife'). If present, such a full non-subject agent has to follow the verb in irrealis PV and is co-referential with the possessive suffix *-na* on the verb. The second noun phrase is the patient ('traditional childbirth medicine'), which is the secondary object in this clause. The final noun phrase is the

benefactive ('the mother of the child'), which is actually the subject of the clause. As it appears following the predicate, it is marked with the article *a* (see §4.3.4 for more discussion).

A few more examples of benefactive *-ii*:

- (182) *Yaku' mon-dolo'-ii sina-mai weer.*
 1S AV.I-fetch-BEN mother-1PE water
 'I will get water for our mother.' (conv)
- (183) *Tuong-ii yaku' sa'angu!*
 drop-BEN 1S one
 'Drop one down for me!' (t16)
- (184) *Ni-taring-ii-mo a utus-ku.*
 PV.R-cook-BEN-PERF ART sibling-1S
 'Someone cooked food for my brother.' (conv)
- (185) *Yaku' menge-lego'i-i Uo' susum ku-aa-ro'o.*
 1S AV.I-look.at-BEN U. fish LOC-ALL-DEM7
 'I want to have a look at those fish for Uo'.' (Uo' is ill, so she can't come.) (t29)
- (186) *Ai Andreas palus, mae' mingi-limba'-ii utus-na weer.*
 EMP.ART A. absent go AV.I-move-BEN sibling-3S water
 'Andreas is not here, he has gone to move water for his brother.' (His brother's house is flooded.) (conv)
- (187) *Sanggiran mian man-sarak-ii boloak...*
 other person AV.I-search-BEN torch
 'Other people were looking for a torch...' (t68) (The benefactive is left implicit. In this case, it happened for the benefit of everyone involved, as they were trying to repair a broken car.)
- (188) *I Siti ia ili-i tama-na buso' mosoni.*
 PA S. PV buy-BEN father-3S bracelet gold
 'Father bought Siti a gold bracelet.' (dict)

It appears likely that benefactive *-ii* arose out of directional *-i* followed by the personal article *i* preceding pronouns and proper names. In other words, *man-sarak-i i N* 'search for s.t. for N' was reanalysed as *man-sarak-ii N* and this was later generalized to other noun phrases that normally do not take the personal article.

Finally, we have not investigated the interplay of all the valency-increasing morphology, e.g., possible combinations of causatives and benefactives, or applicatives and directionals. This remains an area for future research, though one (elicited) example which combines a directional and a benefactive gives a clue about the level of complexity:

- (189) *Lopon-i-i-on-ku-si*
 climb-DIR-BEN-PV.I-1S-SEQ
 'Later I will climb (the mountain) to get it for you.' (elic)

5.7 Other verbal morphology

In this section, we discuss a variety of verbal affixes that do not fit into the previous categories discussed in this chapter. These morphemes have very little in common semantically; they simply are all found on derived verbs.

5.7.1 Verbalizer -i

When the suffix *-i* is added to nouns, it can create transitive verbs with the meaning ‘to give X to s.t., to remove X from s.t., to act as X towards s.o.’ (and possibly more). This is not a productive formation.

<i>mam-bangkal-i</i>	‘to clear weeds’	<i>bangkal</i>	‘old garden’
<i>mem-bela-i</i>	‘to wound s.o.’	<i>bela</i>	‘wound’ (n)
<i>mom-bolian-i</i>	‘to perform a shamanistic ceremony on s.t. or s.o.’	<i>bolian</i>	‘shaman’
<i>mom-bolo'-i</i>	‘to make a hole’	<i>bolo'</i>	‘hole’
<i>mum-bunut-i</i>	‘to remove the husk’	<i>bunut</i>	‘coconut husk’
<i>mungu-nuur-i</i>	‘to give coconut milk to’	<i>nuur</i>	‘coconut’

- (190) *Alia mem-bela-i ayop-na mian!*
 DONT AV.I-wound-VBR animal-3S person
 ‘Don’t wound someone else’s animals.’ (dict)

- (191) *Bolian kae-kae' mom-bolian-i mian ma-nggeo*
 shaman in.the.process AV.I-shaman-VBR person INTR.I-sick
kada' ma-lesi'.
 so.that INTR.I-healthy
 ‘The shaman is performing a ceremony for the sick person so that he will get well.’ (dict)

5.7.2 Requestive miki- ~ moki-

The requestive prefix *miki-* or *moki-* (and their allomorphs *miki'-* and *moki'-* before vowel-initial roots) is added to transitive bases. The resulting verb is also transitive and has the meaning ‘ask/request Y to do the action of the verb to X’, in which Y is the recipient of the request, expressed in a prepositional phrase with *na*, while X is the patient of the verb, expressed as the grammatical object. When no object is present, it is understood that the action is to be done for the benefit of the subject, as in (195). In such cases, the English passive is a natural translation equivalent. The realis forms are *niki-* and *noki-*, and the gerund forms *poki-* and *piki-*. Few patient voice examples have been recorded of this formation. The addition of *-kon* signals a benefactive possessive (see §5.6.2), as in (194). When the subject is first person, as in (194), this verb can function as a polite mitigated imperative. The meaning ‘I ask that X be done’ should be taken by the hearer to mean ‘please do X for me’. We have one example of a patient voice with *moki-*, example (200), in which *poki-* is the stem former.

The *moki-* form is probably older, with *miki-* having arisen due to vowel harmony. In the light of this, *moki-* could be split up into *mo-ki*, with *mo-* a verbalising prefix and *ki-* the real requestive prefix. Because of the existence of the variant *miki-* and its fixed character, we treat the prefix as a unit.

<i>miki-dolo'</i>	‘to ask to get/fetch’	<i>mon-dolo'</i>	‘to get, fetch’
<i>miki'-ili-i</i>	‘to ask to buy for o.s.’	<i>mĩng-ili</i>	‘to buy’
<i>miki-po-loop-i</i>	‘to ask to bathe’	<i>mom-[p]o-loop-i</i>	‘to bathe’
<i>moki-bantil-kon</i>	‘to ask to tell’	<i>mam-bantil-kon</i>	‘to tell, inform’
<i>moki-pakuli'</i>	‘to ask to treat’	<i>mam-[p]akuli'</i>	‘to treat with medicine’
<i>moki-tulung</i>	‘to ask to help’	<i>mun-tulung</i>	‘to help’

- (192) *Ai Herkaunus miki-dolo' anak-na na utus-na.*
 EMP.ART H. REQ.I-fetch child-3S LOC sibling-3S
 ‘Herkaunus asked his brother to fetch his son.’ (conv)

- (193) *Anak i-ya'a tongko' ngunung-ngunung miki'-ili-i badu'.*
 child D-DEM3 only RED-fuss REQ.I-buy-BEN shirt
 'That child is always fussing for new clothes.' (Lit. '... fussing asking to be bought a shirt.')
 (dict)
- (194) *Yaku' moki'-ili-kon bolusukon-ku.*
 1S REQ.I-buy-APPL durian-1S
 'I ask that durians be bought for me.' (= 'Please buy me some durians.') (elic)
- (195) *Mian ma-barang moki-pakuli' na mantirii.*
 person INTR.I-sick REQ.I-treat.with.medicine LOC medical.worker
 'The sick person asked the medical worker to treat him/her.' (elic)
- (196) *Kai moki-tulung na ko'omuu, Tumpu.*
 1PE REQ.I-help LOC 2P.OBL Lord
 'We ask you to help us, Lord.' (conv)
- (197) *Kai moki-wawau-ii sa'angu' surat...*
 1PE REQ.I-make-BEN one letter
 'We ask that a letter be written for us...' (= 'Please write a letter for us...') (t58)
- (198) *Poki-bubut-kon na mian a sulai-im!*
 REQ.GER-pull.out-APPL LOC person ART splinter-2S
 'Ask someone to pull that splinter out for you!' (elic)
- (199) *I raaya'a moki-sambayang-kon na ko'omuu anak-na men ma-nggeo.*
 PA 3P REQ.I-pray-APPL LOC 2P.OBL child-3S REL INTR.I-ill
 'They ask you to pray for their sick child.' (elic)
- (200) *Poki-sambayang-kon-on-na i raaya'a a anak-na men ma-nggeo.*
 REQ.SF-pray-APPL-PV.I-3S PA 3P ART child-3S REL INTR.I-ill
 'They ask that their sick child be prayed for.' (dict-m)

5.7.3 Attemptive pi-

The prefix *pi-* is added to transitive verbs and has the meaning 'try/attempt to do the activity of the verb.' The resulting verb is transitive and is marked by the voice/mode affixes. On the basis of the transitive root *piüle'* 'to see', for instance, the attemptive form is *pi-piüle'* 'to try to see', with agent voice forms *mim-[p̥]i-piüle'* (irrealis) and *nim-[p̥]i-piüle'* (realis), and patient voice forms *pi-piüle'-on* (irrealis) and *ni-pi-piüle'* (realis). In the list below, the attemptive (ATTP) forms and their bases are given first in their base form, followed by the agent voice irrealis forms on a second line, given for both the attemptive derivation and for the transitive base.

<i>pi-daga-i</i>	'to try to watch'	<i>daga-i</i>	'to watch'
<i>mim-[p̥]i-daga-i</i>		<i>man-daga-i</i>	
<i>pi-kaan</i>	'to try to eat'	<i>k < um > aan</i>	'to eat' (intr)
<i>mim-[p̥]i-kaan</i>		<i>mang-kaan</i>	
<i>pi-piüle'</i>	'to try to see'	<i>piüle'</i>	'to see'
<i>mim-[p̥]i-piüle'</i>		<i>mim-[p̥]iüle'</i>	
<i>pi-pool</i>	'to try to hit'	<i>pool</i>	'to hit'
<i>mim-[p̥]i-pool</i>		<i>mom-[p̥]ool</i>	
<i>pi-pupu</i>	'to try to pick'	<i>pupu</i>	'to pick'
<i>mim-[p̥]i-pupu</i>		<i>mum-pupu</i>	

<i>pi-pure'</i>	'to try to break'	<i>pure'</i>	'to break'
<i>mim-[p̥]i-pure'</i>		<i>mum-[p̥]ure'</i>	
<i>pi-soop-kon</i>	'to try to enter s.t.'	<i>soop-kon</i>	'to enter s.t.'
<i>mim-[p̥]i-soop-kon</i>		<i>mon-soop-kon</i>	
<i>pi-topongi</i>	'to try to do s.t.'	<i>topongi</i>	'to try s.t.'
<i>mim-[p̥]i-topongi</i>		<i>mon-topongi</i>	

Clausal examples:

- (201) *I raaya'a mim-[p̥]i-pure' loka, kasee sian ia pa'ala.*
 PA 3P AV.I-ATTP-break banana but NEG 3S able
 'They tried to break off a banana (from the stalk), but they were unable.' (conv)
- (202) *Pi-daga-i-on-ku.*
 ATTP-watch-DIR-PV.I-1S
 'I will try to watch over him/her/it.' (t49)
- (203) *Pi-pool a au' ka-nono', too mang-kakat.*
 ATTP-hit ART dog D-DEM2 maybe AV.I-bite
 'Try to hit that dog to see whether it bites.' (conv)
- (204) *Pi-topongi kutung!*
 ATTP-try first
 'Try to do it first!' (conv)

This derivation is not available on intransitive bases. On the basis of the intransitive verb *l<um>angu* 'swim', for instance, none of the following derivations are grammatical: **pi-langu*, **pi-l<um>angu*, **mim-[p̥]i-langu* etc. Instead, the verb *pi-topongi* 'try' should be used, followed by the main action verb: *pi-topongi l<um>angu* 'Try to swim!'

Gerunds of the expected form *pim-[p̥]i-piile'* 'trying to see', do not occur in our corpus. However, in addition to *pi-kaan!* 'try to eat it', the following forms are also acceptable: *pi-pi-kaan* and the more refined *pim-[p̥]i-kaan* (= *pimikaan*). Possibly, these represent a now obsolete gerund formation.

5.7.4 Non-volitional tong-

The non-volitional (NVOL) prefix *tong-* (and its allomorphs *tom-*, *ton-* and *to-*; see §2.8.3) derive intransitive verbs on the basis of transitive verbs, though a number of bases appear to be intransitive. The resulting derivation refers to a state or an event that happened without human volition, usually (but not always), suddenly, and with accidental overtones. It is comparable to Indonesian *ter-*.

<i>tom-babas</i>	'to fall'	<i>mam-babas-kon</i>	'to throw down'
<i>tom-pangkil</i>	'be accidentally hit'	<i>mam-[p̥]angkil</i>	'to hit on the side'
<i>tom-pudal</i>	'to burst out, pop out'	<i>mum-[p̥]udal-i</i>	'to pop s.t. out (by squeezing)'
<i>ton-deer</i>	'widely spread'	<i>men-deer</i>	'to spread'
<i>ton-dupa'</i>	'collided, crashed'	<i>mun-dupa'-i</i>	'to collide, crash'
<i>tong-gogos</i>	'tied around, circled'	<i>ming-gogos</i>	'to circle, go around'
<i>to-ndoeng</i>	'suspended, hanging'	<i>mongo-ndoeng</i>	'to hang s.t.'
<i>to-nonom</i>	'immersed, buried'	<i>mongo-nonom-kon</i>	'to drown s.t.'
<i>to-rensa</i>	'separated'	<i>menge-rensa</i>	'to separate'
<i>to-rimpa'</i>	'thrown down, fall down'	<i>mingi-rimpa'-kon</i>	'to drop s.t.'
<i>ton-soop</i>	'included, belonging to'	<i>min-soop</i>	'to enter'

The forms listed above are all irrealis forms. Realis forms are optionally made by the prefix *no-* or the infix *<in>*, resulting in forms such as *no-tom-babas* or *t<in>om-babas*, *no-tom-pangkil* or *t<in>om-pangkil* etc. In clauses, there is usually a locative PP specifying the place of the state or event.

Examples in clauses:

- (205) *Lele ka-ni'i ton-deer na kampung-kampung.*
 news D-DEM1 NVOL-spread LOC RED-village
 'This news is widely spread amongst the villages.' (dict)
- (206) *Oto-na t<in>on-dupa' na kau-na nuur.*
 car-3S R-NVOL-collide LOC tree-3S coconut
 'The car had crashed into a coconut tree.' (dict)
- (207) *Ala-alai-ngku k<in>o-pantas to-ndoeng na kau.*
 kite-1S R-ADVS-snap NVOL-hang LOC tree
 'My kite snapped and is hanging from a tree.' (dict)
- (208) *Duangan to-nonom na tobui.*
 boat NVOL-immersed LOC sea
 'The boat was immersed under the sea.' (dict)

5.7.5 Accidental too-

The accidental (ACCD) prefix *too-* (and its allomorph *too'* before vowel-initial roots) is possibly related to the non-volitional prefix *tong-*. In terms of meaning, they are somewhat similar: in both cases the resultant verb stresses the non-volitional or accidental character of the action. The prefix *too-* is different, however, in that the derived verb is fully transitive (and hence, takes voice/mode prefixes) and that it is completely productive. The irrealis form is *mon-too-*, the realis form is *non-too-* and the gerund is *pon-too-*.

<i>mon-too'-ala</i>	'to accidentally take'	<i>mang-ala</i>	'to take'
<i>mon-too-bunut-i</i>	'to accidentally husk'	<i>mum-bunut-i</i>	'to husk'
<i>mon-too-ko-limbo'-i</i>	'to accidentally forget'	<i>mong-ko-limbo'-i</i>	'to forget'
<i>mon-too-pee'i</i>	'to accidentally step on'	<i>mem-[p]ee'i</i>	'to step on'
<i>mon-too-piile'</i>	'to accidentally see'	<i>mim-[p]iile'</i>	'to see'
<i>mon-too-pin-soop</i>	'to accidentally enter'	<i>min-soop</i>	'to enter'
<i>mon-too-sundak-i</i>	'to accidentally bump against'	<i>mun-sundak-i</i>	'to bump against'

Notice that with intransitive verbs such as *min-soop* 'to enter', the stem formation *pin-soop* is the basis for the derivation *mon-too-pin-soop*.

Examples in clauses:

- (209) *Pore-pore, dako' mon-too-ala na mian.*
 RED-good lest AV.I-ACCD-take LOC person
 'Be careful that you don't accidentally take people's things.' (conv)
- (210) *Alia pon-too-bunut-i kuu ka' mom-popok.*
 DONT AV.GER-ACCD-husk-VBR 2P and AV.I-split
 'Don't accidentally husk and split (other people's coconuts).' (t39)
- (211) ... *ka ia pa-sawe' ia pon-too-pee'i Sarum.*
 and 3S INTR.GER-go.up PV AV.GER-ACCD-step.on Big.Needle
 '... and then he went up and accidentally stepped on Big Needle.' (t17-m)

- (212) *Kalu too-piile'-on-ku, koo tio um-uar!*
 if ACCD-see-PV.I-1S 2S must INTR-go.out
 'If I happen to see (you), you must come out (of your hiding place).' (elic)
- (213) *Yaku' ni-too-piile'-mo.*
 1S PV.R-ACCD-see-PERF
 'I have been caught sight of.' (elic)
- (214) *Koi i-ni'i a ka-parasaya'-an-na minti-minti'i tia mian*
 like D-DEM1 ART NOM-believe-LOC-3S RED-parent with person
- biai' kalu mon-too-kolimbo'-i pakakas.*
 many if AV.I-ACCD-forget-DIR tools
 'This is what the ancestors and everybody believes (you should do), when you have accidentally forgotten (to bring) tools.' (t50)

5.7.6 Multiple agent bara-

This unproductive prefix is used on a small sample of verbs and nouns; with some of these, its presence indicates that the activity is done in a group. With other bases, the meaning is unpredictable.

<i>bara-kaan</i>	'to eat together (at a party)'	<i>k <um> aan</i>	'to eat'
<i>bara-wawau</i>	'to make/do (together)'	<i>wawau</i>	'to make, do'
<i>bara-ngunung</i>	'to complain (in a subdued way)'	<i>*ngunung</i>	
		<i>ngunu-ngunung</i>	'to mumble'
<i>bara-tokon</i>	'to struggle to walk with a stick'	<i>tokon</i>	'walking stick'
<i>bara-nanang</i>	'to grumble, complain'	<i>nanang</i>	'to complain'
<i>bara-guru</i>	'to learn'	<i>guru</i>	'teacher'

- (215) *mae' bara-guru nampe'*
 go INTR-teacher black.magic
 'to study black magic with a teacher' (dict)

5.7.7 Random action mangkai- ~ mingkai-

The random action prefix *mangkai-* ~ *mingkai-* is an unproductive formation; in several cases the base does not exist. The presence of this prefix usually signals that the action is done at random, especially in random places, that is, without proper planning or careful thinking. Other verbs have idiosyncratic meanings. No realis forms have been found, and only one gerund, illustrated in (218).

<i>mangkai-balo'</i>	'to throw randomly'	<i>mam-balo'</i>	'to throw'
<i>mangkai-lekut</i>	'winding (of a road)'	<i>lekut</i>	'bend in road'
<i>mangkai-raapan</i>	'to speak randomly'	<i>*raapan, *raap</i>	
<i>mangkai-rimpa'</i>	'to fall to the ground in convulsions'	<i>to-rimpa'</i>	'to throw down, fall down'
<i>mangkai-sodut</i>	'to do s.t. randomly'	<i>*sodut</i>	
<i>mangkai-sondur</i>	'to have convulsions (of chickens)'	<i>*sondur</i>	
<i>mangkai-tende'</i>	'to run around randomly'	<i>t <um> etende'</i>	'to run'
<i>mangkai-tokol</i>	'to lie down randomly'	<i>(mo-)tokol</i>	'to lie down, sleep'
<i>mangkai-tulus</i>	'to have convulsions (of chickens)'	<i>*tulus</i>	
<i>mingkai-solo'</i>	'to crawl randomly'	<i>solo'</i>	'to crawl'

- (216) *Alia mangkai-raapan, dako' i koo po-sala'-on.*
 DONT RANDOM-speak lest PA 2S CAUS-wrong-PV.I
 'Don't just say anything that comes to mind, so that you won't be criticized.' (conv)
- (217) *Kalu isian anak men mangkai-balo' na ale' men kae-kae'*
 if exist child REL RANDOM-throw LOC garden REL in.the.process
padak-on...
 harvest-PV.I
 'If there is a child who randomly throws things in a field that is being harvested....' (t53)
- (218) *Ku-rae' pingkai-solo' na intu-na nuur.*
 1S-go RANDOM.GER-crawl LOC under-3S coconut
 'I went and crawled randomly (through the underbrush) under the coconut trees.' (t3)

The gerund in (218) is an example of a gerund used as a second verb (see §5.4.3).

5.7.8 Distributive *poo-*

The apparently productive prefix *poo-* (and its allomorph *poo'* before vowel-initial roots) is used on verbal bases (both transitive and intransitive) to give a distributive (DISTR) meaning 'to each do X', with emphasis on the individual participation of all the referents. Realis and irrealis forms are common (*mom-poo-* and *nom-poo-*) but gerunds have not been found, and neither have patient voice forms.

<i>mom-poo-kaan</i>	'to each eat'	<i>k < um > aan</i>	'to eat'
<i>mom-poo-loos-i</i>	'to each straighten'	<i>loos</i>	'straight'
<i>mom-poo-rae'</i>	'to each go'	<i>rae'</i>	'to go'
<i>mom-poo'-ule'kon</i>	'to each return'	<i>ule'kon</i>	'to return'

- (219) *Kai na-lawu-mo ka' nom-poo-kaan kukis.*
 1PE R-go.down-PERF and R-DISTR-eat biscuit
 'We went out (of the car) and we each ate a biscuit.' (t67)
- (220) *Noko daa k < um > aan, kai nom-poo-rae'-mo.*
 after.R finish INTR-eat 1PE R-DISTR-go-PERF
 'After we had eaten, we all went away.' (t56m)
- (221) *Nom-poo'-ule'kon-mo na dodongo-an-na i raaya'a sanda-sanda'.*
 R-DISTR-return-PERF LOC live-LOC-3S PA 3P RED-each
 'Everybody returned to his own place.' (t56)
- (222) *Kita mom-poo-loos-i oe-nta.*
 1PI AV.I-DISTR-straight-CAUS rattan-1PI
 'We will each straighten our rattan stalks.' (elic)

5.7.9 Less-than-ideal *poo-...-ikon*

The strange circumfix *poo-...-ikon* is used on transitive bases and signals that the action is carried out under less than ideal circumstances or done without special effort (Indonesian *ala kadarnya*), glossed as NOT.IDEAL...APPL. It appears to be productive, although we have only a limited number of examples. The resulting verb is transitive, and is accessible to all the voice-mode morphology (*mom-poo-...-ikon* etc.), though with a number of verbs, only the patient voice was deemed acceptable. In that case, the agent

voice is indicated in brackets below. When the verb stem already ends in *i* (as with *tatapi* ‘wash’) the circumfix is *poo-...-kon*. Notice that in the last example, the initial *p* is irregularly deleted.

<i>mom-poo-barut-ikon</i>	‘to look for fallen durians as best as one can’	<i>mam-barut</i>	‘to look for fallen durians’
<i>(mom-poo-tatapi-kon)</i>	‘to wash as best as one can’	<i>man-tatapi</i>	‘to wash’
<i>mom-poo-totobo'-i-kon</i>	‘to repair as best as one can’	<i>mon-totobo'-i</i>	‘to repair’
		<i>mon-totobo'</i>	‘to care, raise’
<i>mom-[p]oo-tulung-ikon</i>	‘to just help a bit’	<i>mun-tulung</i>	‘to help’

- (223) ... ***mom-poo-barut-i-kon*** *intu-na* *bolusukon*.
 I-NOT.IDEAL-look.for.durian-APPL under-3S durian
 ‘... (they were) just looking for fallen fruits under the durian trees (in less than ideal
 circumstances, e.g., because it was dark, the grass was tall etc.)’ (t2)

- (224) *Bokuku* <u> *m* *tongko'* ***ni-poo-tatapi-kon***.
 shirt-2S only PV.R-NOT.IDEAL-wash-APPL
 ‘Your shirt has only been washed a bit.’ (There was not enough water and no soap.) (elic)

5.7.10 Enclitics -mo, -po and -si

There are three enclitics at the very end of the verb, which should also be briefly mentioned. These morphemes differ from regular suffixes in that they can be attached to virtually every word class, not just to verbs.

a. The perfective clitic *-mo* indicates completed or perfective action. Since tense-aspect is dealt with in detail in §9.6, only one example is presented here. For the interplay between realis, irrealis and *-mo*, see §9.6.2.

- (225) *Yaku'* ***no-limbo'-mo***.
 1S R-forget-PERF
 ‘I have/had forgotten.’ (dict)

b. The clitic *-po* means ‘since’ or ‘even’, depending on the context. It will be glossed according to its meaning. Its temporal use (‘since’) is discussed in §10.3.1; its focal use (‘even’) in §9.5.3.

- (226) *Ia* *uar-mo* ***ma'ulop-po***.
 3S go.out-PERF morning-SINCE
 ‘He has been out since morning.’ (dict)

- (227) ***Mong-koyong-po*** *alia!*
 AV.I-touch-EVEN DONT
 ‘Don’t even touch it!’ (dict)

c. The future clitic *-si* indicates that something will happen at a later time. For more discussion see §9.6.1.

- (228) ***Tuuk-si*** *kodi'* *na* *laigan-mai*.
 stop.by-SEQ later LOC house-1PE
 ‘Stop by later on at our house.’ (dict)

5.7.11 Reduplication

In this section, we list the main meanings of reduplication; the formal side of which has been discussed in §2.9. For a brief summary of reduplication, see §12.5.

a. **Continuous action.** On intransitive and transitive verbs, reduplication signals a continuous action or a continuous state. This is by far the most common meaning of reduplication.

- (229) *Ai Kuda tende-tende' turuus.*
 EMP.ART horse RED-run continuously
 'Horse kept running.' (t35)
- (230) ... *ninti-koot-mo i Kodo' i-nda'a somo loe-loe.*
 PURP.R-tie-PERF PA monkey D-DEM.ADV6 remain RED-hang
 'Monkey tied himself up and remained hanging there.' (t31)
- (231) *Rae-rae' i yaku' wawa-wawa oe.*
 RED-go PA 1S RED-carry rattan
 'I kept going, carrying the rattan.' (t1)
- (232) *Ko-biai'-an-na tongko' toko-tokol ka' lundeng.*
 NOM-many-LOC-3S only RED-lie and weak
 'Most of them (i.e., pregnant women) just lie in bed and feel weak.' (t52)

Notice that with intransitive verbs, any morphology is lost in reduplication. The regular intransitive verb *t <um> etende'* 'to run', for instance, is reduplicated as *tende-tende'*, as in (229).

This usage of reduplication is fairly common in temporal adverbial clauses marking simultaneous or consecutive events.

- (233) *Rae-rae'-mo i yaku', mae' na tanga'-na bangkal.*
 RED-go-PERF PA 1S come LOC middle-3S former.garden
 'Going on, I came to the middle of a former garden.' (t2)
- (234) *Sala-salan i yaku', rumpak liu'.*
 RED-walk PA 1S arrive ravine
 'As I was walking, I came to a ravine.' (t1)
- (235) *Ringka-ringkat i ia, ia piile' sasa' ka-ni'i no-tokol-mo*
 RED-leave PA 3S PV see cat D-DEM1 R-lie.down-PERF
na intu-na undang-an.
 LOC under-3S swing-loc
 'When she was about to leave, she saw the cat lying down under the cradle.' (t32)
- (236) *Nau-nau' no-burut bela a bintana' ka-ni'i, damo pate.*
 RED-long R-covered.with wound ART python D-DEM1 suddenly die
 'After a while, the python was covered with wounds and suddenly died.' (t32)

With reciprocal verbs, the meaning seems to be to do regularly or habitually, as in the following examples:

- (237) *Ai kita sida uga poo-banti-bantil-i...*
 EMP.ART 1PI can also REC-RED-tell-DIR
 ‘We can also regularly admonish each other....’ (t78)
- (238) *Kita tio daa poo-poro-porongor-i.*
 1PI must AFF REC-RED-hear-DIR
 ‘We must all continually/regularly listen to each other.’ (t78)

b. Intensification. On stative verbs reduplication signals an intensified quality. This is especially the case when such verbs are used adverbially.

- (239) a) *Taka i-ntu'u kai ni-tarima pore.*
 arrive D-DEM.ADV4 1PE PV.R-receive good
 ‘When we got there, we were well received.’ (t67m)
- b) *Taka i-ntu'u kai ni-tarima pore-pore.*
 arrive D-DEM.ADV4 1PE PV.R-receive RED-good
 ‘When we got there, we were very well received.’ (t67)
- (240) *No-bisara-mo boo-boolak.*
 R-speak-PERF RED-loud
 ‘He spoke very loudly.’ (t35)
- (241) *Yaku' nong-korowi-mo bente-benteng.*
 1S INTR.R-breakfast-PERF RED-satisfied
 ‘I had breakfast till I was very full.’ (t1)

c. Adverbial use.

- (242) *Ukat-on-mo a bokukum ka' bulangkes-on ya'asi ka'*
 take.off-PV.I-PERF ART shirt and inside.out-PV then and

pisok-on bula-bulangkes.
 wear-PV.I RED-inside.out
 ‘Take off the shirt, turn it inside out and then wear it inside out.’ (t1)

In this example, reduplication does not mark intensification; the non-reduplicated form *bulangkes* is ungrammatical here.

d. Approaching a state. This usage is not so common, as another type of reduplication (CVV reduplication with infixation) covers this meaning: *bee-beenteng* ‘almost full’ (see §2.9.2). However, a few examples have been found of reduplicated stative verbs in predicate position.

- (243) *No-boro-boroki'-mo sina-na.*
 R-RED-old-PERF mother-3S
 ‘His mother is already getting old (though she is not yet really old; from *boroki* ‘wife’; ‘old (of women)’).’ (elic)
- (244) *No-pore-pore-mo laigan-na.*
 R-RED-good-PERF house-3S
 ‘His house is OK.’ (Lit. ‘... is already close to being good’, a polite way of saying it has improved, but still not unequivocally nice.) (elic)

5.8 Affix ordering

The order of affixes within the verb is displayed below. Because there are major differences between intransitive verbs and transitive verbs in agent voice and patient voice, we give separate tables for each of these three categories. For the sake of convenience, locative voice is taken together with agent voice.

Table 5.5. Affix order in intransitive verbs

-2	-1	0	+1	+2
	INTR <i>ma-/na-/pa-</i> INTR <i>mo-/no-/po-</i> INTR <i>ming-/ning-/ping-</i> REC.KIN <i>moto-/noto-/poto-</i> PURP <i>minti-/ninti-/pinti-</i> PRETENSE <i>minti-/ninti-/pinti-</i>	ROOT	HAVE <i>-an /-on</i> ADVS <i>-ian</i>	PERF <i>-mo</i> SEQ <i>-sí</i> SINCE/EVEN <i>-po</i>
REALIS <i>no-</i>	INTR <i>ba-</i> INTR <i>um- (+ -um-)</i> AFF <i>ko-</i> ADVS <i>ko-(...-ian)</i> REC <i>poo-</i> DISTR <i>poo-</i> NVOL <i>tong-</i> REC <i>bari-</i> PLUR <i>poto-</i>			

Comments on table 5.5.

- 1) Some low-frequency affixes are not included (e.g., multiple agent *bara-*, random action *mangkai-*)
- 2) The top cell in prefix column -1 shows irrealis forms in *m-*, realis forms in *n-* and gerunds in *p-*.
- 3) Reduplication is not displayed, as it can be based on the root, or a root plus a prefix.
- 4) The possessive suffixes with affective *ko-* are not shown, as this possibility is limited to a single prefix.
- 5) Infixes are hard to display in a chart like this. The infix *<um>* is listed in prefix column -1 (which is correct for its allomorph before vowels), but of course it is realised as an infix in the root. The realis infix *<in>* (which only occurs with *ko-* and *tong-*) is not shown either.
- 6) We have no examples in our corpus of realis *no-* with the prefixes *bara-*, *bari-* and *poto-*. Apparently *no-* cannot co-occur with *poto-*.

Table 5.6. Affix order in transitive verbs (agent voice and locative voice)

-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
AV.I <i>mVng-</i>	ATT <i>pi-</i> ACCD <i>too-</i>	CAUS <i>pa-/po-</i>	SF <i>po-</i> / <i>pa-</i> / <i>ping-</i>	ROOT	DIR <i>-i</i> VBR <i>-i</i> BEN <i>-ii</i>	CAUS <i>-kon</i> APPL <i>-kon</i>	LOC <i>-an</i>	PERF <i>-mo</i> SEQ <i>-si</i> SINCE /EVEN <i>-po</i>
AV.R <i>nVng-</i>	REQ <i>miki-</i> / <i>niki-</i> / <i>piki-</i>							
AV.G <i>pVng-</i>								
1s <i>ku-</i>								

Comments on table 5.6.

1) Prefix columns -3 and -2 have not been found to co-occur in our corpus, but their co-occurrence is possible, as there seem to be no semantic constraints against such combinations. The following forms were tested and deemed acceptable: *mim-[p]i-pa-kaan* ‘to try to feed’ (attemptive and causative); *miki-pa-kaan* ‘ask to be fed’ (requestive and causative); *mon-too-pa-tokol* ‘accidentally put to sleep’ (accidental and causative).

2) The agent voice prefixes in column -4 do not co-occur with the requestive prefix in column -3.

3) It is conceivable that the causative variant *popo-* (not listed here, but see §5.6.1) is historically a combination of causative *po-* and the stem former *po-*.

Table 5.7. Affix order in transitive verbs (patient voice)

-4	-3	-2	-2	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
PV.R <i>ni-</i>	ATT <i>pi-</i> ACCD <i>too-</i>	CAUS <i>pa-/po-</i>	SF <i>po-</i> / <i>pa-</i> / <i>ping-</i>	ROOT	DIR <i>-i</i> VBR <i>-i</i> BEN <i>-ii</i>	CAUS <i>-kon</i> APPL <i>-kon</i>	PV.I <i>-on</i>	POSS <i>-ku</i> etc.	PERF <i>-mo</i> SEQ <i>-si</i> SINCE /EVEN <i>-po</i>

Comments on table 5.7

1) The two patient voice affixes (realis *ni-* in -4 and irrealis *-on* in +3) never co-occur.

2) In column +4 the suffix *-ku* represents the whole possessive set marking agents on irrealis patient voice (see §4.1).

3) We do not have an example in our corpus of all five suffixes, but the following made-up examples were considered grammatical (roots bolded) *po-loop-i-kon-on-ku-mo* ‘I am about to bathe (him/her) with it’ and *daga-i-kon-on-na-si* ‘he will guard (him/her) later (for someone)’.

5.9 Sample derivations

In this final section, we present two sample paradigms, one for the root *limba* ‘to move’, the other for the bound root **loop* ‘to bathe’. Only a few possibilities are displayed, focussing on voice, mode and applicatives.

a. Some derivational possibilities of the root *limba'* 'move'• **Intransitive**

<i>ba-limba'</i>	'to move'	(irrealis)
<i>no-ba-limba'</i>		(realis)
<i>limba'</i>		(gerund)

• **Transitive**

<i>mingi-limba'</i>	'to move s.t./s.o'	(agent voice irrealis)
<i>ningi-limba'</i>		(agent voice realis)
<i>pingi-limba'</i>		(agent voice gerund)
<i>ni-limba'</i>	'is/was moved'	(patient voice realis)
<i>limba'-on</i>		(patient voice irrealis)
<i>limba'</i>		(patient voice gerund)
<i>mingi-limba'-an</i>	'where is/was moved'	(locative voice irrealis)
<i>ningi-limba'-an</i>		(locative voice realis)
<i>pingi-limba'-an</i>		(locative voice gerund)

• **Transitive with applicative -kon**

<i>mingi-limba'-kon</i>	'to move s.t./s.o for'	(agent voice irrealis)
<i>ningi-limba'-kon</i>		(agent voice realis)
<i>pingi-limba'-kon</i>		(agent voice gerund)
<i>ni-limba'-kon</i>	'is/was moved for'	(patient voice realis)
<i>limba'-kon-on</i>		(patient voice irrealis)
<i>limba'-kon</i>		(patient voice gerund)

• **Transitive with directional -i**

<i>mingi-limba'-i</i>	'to move s.t./s.o to'	(agent voice irrealis)
<i>ningi-limba'-i</i>		(agent voice realis)
<i>pingi-limba'-i</i>		(agent voice gerund)
<i>ni-limba'-i</i>	'is/was moved to'	(patient voice realis)
<i>limba'-i-on</i>		(patient voice irrealis)
<i>limba'-i</i>		(patient voice gerund)

• **Transitive with benefactive -ii**

<i>mingi-limba'-ii</i>	'to move s.t./s.o for'	(agent voice irrealis)
<i>ningi-limba'-ii</i>		(agent voice realis)
<i>pingi-limba'-ii</i>		(agent voice gerund)
<i>ni-limba'-ii</i>	'is/was moved for'	(patient voice realis)
<i>limba'-ii-on</i>		(patient voice irrealis)
<i>limba'-ii</i>		(patient voice gerund)

b. Some derivational possibilities of **loop* 'to bathe'.• **Intransitive**

<i>mo-loop</i>	'to bathe oneself'	(irrealis)
<i>no-loop</i>		(realis)
<i>po-loop</i>		(gerund)

• **Transitive** (with causative -i and stem former *po-*)

<i>mom-[p̚]o-loop-i</i>	'to bathe s.o.'	(agent voice irrealis)
<i>nom-[p̚]o-loop-i</i>		(agent voice realis)
<i>pom-[p̚]o-loop-i</i>		(agent voice gerund)

<i>ni-po-loop-i</i>	'is/was bathed'	(patient voice realis)
<i>po-loop-i-on</i>		(patient voice irrealis)
<i>po-loop-i</i>		(patient voice gerund)
<i>mom-[p̥]o-loop-i-an</i>	'where is/was bathed'	(locative voice irrealis)
<i>nom-[p̥]o-loop-i-an</i>		(locative voice realis)
<i>pom-[p̥]o-loop-i-an</i>		(locative voice gerund)
• Transitive with applicative -kon		
<i>mom-[p̥]o-loop-i-kon</i>	'bathe s.o. with s.t'	(agent voice irrealis)
<i>nom-[p̥]o-loop-i-kon</i>		(agent voice realis)
<i>pom-[p̥]o-loop-i-kon</i>		(agent voice gerund)
<i>ni-po-loop-i-kon</i>	'is/was bathed with'	(patient voice realis)
<i>po-loop-i-kon-on</i>		(patient voice irrealis)
<i>po-loop-i-kon</i>		(patient voice gerund)

6. The prepositional phrase

The prepositional phrase consists of a preposition followed by a noun phrase. There are four main prepositions in Balantak: *na* ‘general preposition’, *tia* ‘with’, *bo* ‘for’ (and its derivatives *bona*, *bino* and *boni*) and *koi* ‘like, as’. These will be discussed and illustrated in §6.1 – §6.4. Compound prepositions, consisting of the general preposition *na* and a spatial noun with a possessive suffix are discussed in §6.5; coordination of PPs in §6.6. A few minor preposition-like words are treated in §6.7.

6.1 The general preposition *na*

The general preposition *na* is the most commonly used preposition in Balantak, and one with a variety of semantic functions. It is homophonous with the third person singular possessive suffix *-na* and it normally cliticizes to the following noun, but like the Indonesian preposition *di* ‘in, on, at’, it is always written separately. The preposition *na* combines with the person marker *i* into the contracted form *ni* or *nai*, as in (7).

Na is simply glossed as LOC, irrespective of its semantic function in the clause. The appropriate English translation (in, at, on, to, into, from, out of) depends on the semantics of the verb. The following functions can be distinguished.

a. Physical location

- (1) *Bokor-ku ku-aa-le'e na meja.*
cup-1S INVIS-ALL.I-DEM5 LOC table.
‘My cup is there on the table.’ (conv)
- (2) *Sina-ngku man-tatapi pakean na weerkauna.*
mother-1S AV.R-wash clothes LOC river
‘My mother is washing clothes in the river.’ (conv)
- (3) *Sarat-na k<in>o'-usuk na ruri'.*
foot-3S R-ACC-stab LOC thorn
‘A thorn jabbed into his foot.’ (Lit. ‘His foot accidentally stabbed on a thorn.’) (dict)

b. Temporal location

- (4) *Tumbe-na yaku' no-mae' na taun 1996.*
first-3S 1S R-go LOC year 1996
‘I first went in 1996.’ (conv)
- (5) *Ai koo mae'-mo tii yaku' na ilio ka-ni'i.*
EMP.ART 2S go-PERF with.PA 1S LOC day D-DEM1
‘You will come with me today.’ (conv)

c. Direction

- (6) *Tama-ngku no-mae' na tobui.*
father-1S R-go LOC sea
‘My father went to the sea.’ (dict)

- (7) *No-mae'-mo ni Harimau.*
 R-go-PERF loc.PA Tiger
 'He went to Tiger.' (t35)

d. Source or origin

- (8) *I raaya'a no-r[um]jinkat-mo na Luwuk.*
 PA 3P R-INTR-leave-PERF LOC L.
 'They already left from Luwuk.' (t67)
- (9) *Pulisi mung-uar-kon mian na tarungku-an.*
 police AV.R-go.out-APPL person LOC jail-LOC
 'Police let the man out of jail.' (conv)

e. Reason

- (10) *Bee a ma-male-ngku na pungu-lu'at-an sapi'.*
 oh ART ST.I-tired-1S LOC GER-chase-LV cow
 'My goodness, I'm so tired from chasing the cows!' (conv)

The preposition *na* combines with the plural person marker *ari* (see §4.3.3) as *nari*:

- (11) *Taka na Luwuk, yaku' no-tuuk-mo nari Adiin.*
 arrive LOC L. 1S R-drop.in-PERF LOC.PLUR A.
 'Arriving at Luwuk, I dropped in at Adiin's family.' (t4)
- (12) *Yaku' no-t<um>etende'-mo mae' nom-bolos kuren nari Rosi.*
 1S R-INTR-run-PERF go AV.R-borrow pot LOC.PLUR R.
 'I ran (and went) and borrowed cooking pots from Rosi's family.' (t41)
- (13) *Ai kai mae' no-tokol nari kapala kampung men*
 ART 1PE go R-lie.down LOC.PLUR chief village REL
ka-'ita-an.
 D-DEM.ADV1-LOC
 'We went and slept at the house of the former village head.' (t58)

6.2 The preposition *tia* 'with'

The preposition *tia* is used to code accompaniment, instrument, and comparison. It is also used for simple coordination of nouns and noun phrases. When followed by the person marker *i*, *tia* and *i* contract to *tii*. In addition, *tia* combines with the plural person marker *ari* to form *tari* 'with X and his family, with X et al.' This is completely parallel to the forms *na*, *ni* and *nari* discussed in §6.1.

a. Accompaniment

- (14) *Kai no-mae' tia tama-mai mbaa-ra'a na bangkal.*
 1PE R-go with father-1PE ALL.R-DEM6 LOC garden
 'We went with our father up there to the garden.' (conv)
- (15) *Kai no-mae'-mo tii Toni mbaa-ra'a na lapangan.*
 1PE R-go-PERF with.PA T. ALL.R-DEM6 LOC airport
 'We went with Toni up there to the airport.' (t4)

- (16) *Yaku' mae' gareda tia samba-samba-ngku.*
 1S go church with RED-friend-1S
 'I go to church with my friends.' (conv)
- (17) *Kai no-mbaa-le'e Balantak tari Pak Bob nang-ator i Biin.*
 1PE R-ALL.R-DEM5 B. with.PLUR Mr B. AV.R-bring PA B.
 'We went over to Balantak with Bob's group taking Biin.' (t73)
- (18) *Tari ime i kuu no-taka?*
 with.PLUR who PA 2P R-arrive
 'With whom (plural) did you come?' (conv)

b. Instrument

- (19) *Ia nang-ampit olipan tia kau.*
 3S AV.R-squash centipede with wood
 'He squashed the centipede with a piece of wood.' (dict)
- (20) ... *kasi ni'-isii tia bensin paat liter.*
 then PV.R-fill with gas four liter.
 '... then filled it (the car) with four liters of gas.' (t4)
- (21) *Susum mi-noa tia ansang-na.*
 fish INTR.I-breath with gill-3S
 'A fish breathes through its gills.' (dict)
- (22) *Ia men-deret meja tia piso'.*
 3S AV.I-scratch table with knife
 'He is making marks in the table with a knife.' (dict)

c. Comparison

- (23) *Laigan-na balaki' tuu' tia laigan-ku.*
 house-3S big very with house-1S
 'His house is much bigger than mine.' (elic)
- (24) *Tambo-na utus-ku biai'-na tia ingku'.*
 wages-3S sibling-1S many-3S with 1S.OBL
 'My brother's wages are more than mine.' (elic)

d. Nominal coordination:

- (25) *moro'one tia wiwine*
 man with woman
 'men and women' (t56)
- (26) *Raaya'a man-sarak siok tia bembe'.*
 3P AV.I-search chicken with goat
 'They look for chickens and goats.' (t50)
- (27) *Kita ange ari Keke' tii Irene.*
 1PI invite PLUR K. with.PA I.
 'We invited Keke and Irene.' (conv)

Finally, *tia* is also used to coordinate verbal predicates (see §10.2.1), and it is found in the expressions *koop'o tia* and *sianpo tia* ‘before’, where it combines with a negator to form a complex conjunction (see §10.3.1 for details and examples).

6.3 The preposition *bo* ‘for’ and its derivatives

The preposition *bo* (and its realis alternant *binu*) marks purpose or role. The compound derivation *bona* (and its alternant *boni*) marks benefactives. These forms will be discussed in turn.

6.3.1 *bo*

The pronunciation of this preposition varies between *bo* and *boo*. The Balantak language committee has decided to take the form with the single vowel as the standard written form, but the form *boo* is also found in this grammar. In addition to its prepositional usage, *bo* can also precede verbs to mark the future. This usage of *bo* as a future particle, though clearly related to the notion of purpose, is discussed in §9.6.1.

In the following examples, *bo* precedes a noun or a gerund, indicating the purpose or the intended use or role of the object or person mentioned earlier in the clause. Translations include ‘for’, ‘with the purpose of’, ‘to serve as’, and ‘which is used to’.

- (28) *Kai umba'a nang-ala tambatang bo gala.*
 1PE a.bit.ago AV.R-take mushroom for vegetable
 ‘We went to gather mushrooms for vegetables a bit ago.’ (dict)
- (29) *Too daa i koo, Marsion, min-sida waa-ro'o Palu tii*
 maybe ATT PA 2S M. AV.I-can ALL-DEM7 P. with.PA
yaku' bo juru-bahasa-ngku.
 1s for expert-language-1s
 ‘Maybe you, Marsion, can go down to Palu with me as my language expert.’ (t4)
- (30) *Ia mang-gampal-kon palastik bo pum-[p]uari-an-na cingke-na.*
 3S AV.I-spread-APPL plastic for GER-dry.in.the.sun-LV-3S cloves-3S
 ‘He is spreading a sheet of plastic to dry his cloves.’ (dict)
- (31) *Yaku' mam-[p]ake gurinda bo pan-sasom-i bakoko'-ku.*
 1s AV.I-use grindstone for AV.GER-sharp-APPL machete-1s
 ‘I use a grindstone for sharpening my knife.’ (dict)

Apparently *bo* can also followed by an irrealis verb form:

- (32) *Tama-ngku mang-ala peling bo wawau-on kalase.*
 father-1s AV.I-take bamboo for make-PV.I fish.trap
 ‘My father is gathering bamboo to make (lit. to be made) into a fish trap.’ (dict)

Also, *bo* is found before oblique pronouns with a benefactive meaning, a usage which is normally reserved for *bona* (see §6.3.3):

- (33) *Kukis ka-ni'i bo ko'oom.*
 biscuit D-DEM1 for 2S.OBL
 ‘This biscuit is for you.’ (conv)

6.3.2 bino

The preposition *bino* is the realis counterpart of the simple preposition *bo*, showing the infix *-in-* to mark realis. The occurrence of the infix *-in-* on a preposition is unusual, and raises questions about the categorial status of this word. In our text corpus, it is only found in narrative contexts, where it refers to a purpose or a role that was actually realised, as in the following three examples. In the first two examples, the English translation does not make it clear whether or not the purpose was actually realised, but this is explicit in Balantak.

- (34) *No-pa-kangkung-mo i ia, sida-mo ku'-ala bino baakan-ku.*
 R-SF-dry-PERF PA 3S can-PERF 1S-take for.R sarung-1S
 'When it (the pounded tree bark) was dry, I was able to take it and make a sarung for myself.' (lit. '...I take for my sarung.') (t27)
- (35) *Guntu-guntu malom ku-rae' na-ntara' timbo' bino panso-ngku.*
 RED-late afternoon 1S-go AV.R-cut bamboo for.R torch-1S
 'Late in the afternoon I went and cut bamboo to make a torch.' (lit. '...for my torch.') (t2)
- (36) *Boroki' ka-le'e bino sina-ni Iton.*
 woman D-DEM5 for.R mother-3S.PA I.
 'That woman has become Iton's mother.' (lit. 'That woman [is] for Iton's mother.') (conv)

Bino is not only followed by nouns, but also by verbs, as in the following unusual example from a story about collecting rattan.

- (37) *Ya'a-mo a men bo ku-baluk-kon, kada' daa bino*
 DEM3-PERF ART REL FUT 1S-sell-APPL so.that ATT for.R
nan-tausi-ngku doi'.
 AV.R-get-1S money
 'Those were the ones that I would sell, so that I could get some money.' (t1)

In (37), the first *bo* gives the verb a future reference. The form *bino* in (37), however, refers to an unrealised purpose, at least at the point of narration. It is also unusual in that it follows the purpose conjunction *kada'* 'so that', and even more so in that it, in turn, is followed by a realis verb form that has a possessive suffix marking the agent. We do not understand this example well.

Another example of *bino* followed by a verb is (38), taken from the same text:

- (38) *Ka' dauga' isian titiu' bangar li-lima' bino ning-ili-ngku*
 and still EXIST little around RED-five for.R AV.R-buy-1S
ka-kaan-na mian.
 RED-eat-3S person
 'And there were still around five small ones (= rattan stalks), which I used to buy food.' (Lit. '... for my buying of people's food.') (t1)

The following contrastive pair shows that *bino* marks a realised purpose, whereas *bo* (which must be followed by a gerund here) leaves this interpretation open:

- (39) a. *Kai ning-ili bensin bino ning-isii oto.*
 1PE AV.R-buy petrol for.R AV.R-fill car
 'We bought petrol to fill up the car.' (Implied: and we did it fill it up.)

- b. *Kai ning-ili bensin bo ping-isii oto.*
 1PE AV.R-buy petrol for AV.GER-fill car
 ‘We bought petrol to fill up the car.’ (No implication that the filling up took place.) (elic)

6.3.3 *bona* and *boni*

The preposition *bona* is a combination of *bo* and the general preposition *na*. It marks the following noun as the beneficiary of the action. In all the cases found in our corpus, the noun following *bona* refers to human beings. In none of the following examples can *bona* be replaced by *bo* or *binu*. We simply gloss it as ‘for’.

- (40) *Jony mom-bongkat-i soop-an bona sina-na.*
 J. AV.I-open-APPL enter-LOC for mother-3S
 ‘Jony is opening the door for his mother.’ (dict)
- (41) *Ming-ili-kon sipeda bona anak-ku!*
 AV.I-buy-APPL bicycle for child-1S
 ‘Buy a bicycle for my child!’ (dict)
- (42) *Sina-na mon-toropot-i korowi ma'ulop bona anak-na.*
 mother-3S AV.I-ready-APPL breakfast morning for child-3S
 ‘Mother is preparing breakfast for her children.’ (dict)
- (43) *Pamarenta nong-obos-kon pae bona masarakat.*
 government AV.R-divide-APPL rice for populace
 ‘The government distributed rice amongst the people.’ (dict)

When *bona* is followed by the person marker *i*, the resulting contracted form is *boni*:

- (44) *boni Marsion*
 for.PA M.
 ‘for Marsion’ (conv)
- (45) *Kukis ka-ni'i boni Hoi.*
 biscuit D-DEM1 for.PA H.
 ‘These biscuits are for Hoi.’ (conv)

The following list summarizes the description above:

<i>bo</i>	a) purpose or role (in past, present and future contexts)
	b) benefactive (only with oblique pronouns)
	c) future marker
<i>binu</i>	past purpose or role
<i>bona</i>	benefactive (with human nouns)
<i>boni</i>	benefactive (with names)

6.4 The preposition *koi* ‘like, as’

The preposition *koi* ‘as, like’ introduces a comparison.

- (46) *...mung-kurok koi siok anak-on.*
 AV.I-cluck as chicken child-HAVE
 ‘...cluck like a chicken with chicks.’ (t50)

- (47) **Koi** opuu na puus-na tanduk.
 as egg LOC tip-3S horn
 ‘On the verge of disaster.’ (Lit. ‘Like an egg on the tip of a horn’) (dict)
- (48) Yaku' ia saa'-mo i raaya'a **koi** anak-na.
 1S 3S count-PERF PA 3P as child-3S
 ‘They considered me (as) their child.’ (t4)
- (49) I-ya'a-po **koi** tae-nta Balantak.
 D-DEM3-even as word-1PI B.
 ‘This is just as we Balantak people say.’ (t72)
- (50) Bo kapala tio **koi** ka-le'e.
 for village.headman must as D-DEM5
 ‘To be a village headman, one has to be like him.’ (conv)

The preposition *koi* is frequently found in combination with demonstrative pronouns or the question verb *upa* ‘what’, resulting in such forms as *koi kani'i* ‘like this, so’; *koi nooro'o* ‘like that, thus’; *koi ya'a* ‘like this, so’ (this combination is often written as one word *koiya'a*) and *koi upa* ‘like what, how’.

- (51) Kalu a **koi** nooro'o paraluu-muu,...
 if ART like DEM8 need-2P
 ‘If that is your intention....’ (Lit. ‘If your need is like that...’) (t56)

The combination *koi-ni'i* has a specific temporal meaning ‘now, today’, and is again normally written as one word. In combination with numerals and quantifiers, *koi* has a hedging function, adding an element of uncertainty.

- (52) Men balu na kampung-mai tongko' **koi** rua' mian.
 REL widower LOC village-1PE only as two person
 ‘There are only two widowers in our village.’ (dict)
- (53) Ko'-oloa-na **koi** sam-bande' ilio mogintano'.
 NOM-far-3S like one-half day go.by.foot
 ‘The distance is half a day by foot.’ (dict)

Finally, the derivation *koi-koimo* means ‘it makes no difference; it doesn’t matter; it’s just the same’, typically offered as an answer to an alternative question (‘Is it A or B?’), but also used as a modifier, as in (55):

- (54) a) Tempo pan-dawo'-an-na, ilio kabai malom?
 time GER-fall-LV-3S day or night
 ‘What time do they (rambutans) fall, during the day or at night?’
- b) **Koi-koi-mo.**
 RED-as-PERF
 ‘That makes no difference.’ (conv)
- (55) Alia mom-poo-gagai-kon upa men **koi-koi-mo.**
 DONT AV.I-REC-quarrel-APPL what REL RED-as-PERF
 ‘Don’t quarrel over something that is just the same (i.e., your opposing viewpoints are really not that different).’ (dict)

6.5 Compound prepositions

Compound or complex prepositions consist of the general preposition *na* together with a spatial/locative noun (e.g., *wawo* ‘top’). This spatial noun is normally linked to a following noun phrase by means of the 3SG possessive suffix *-na* (e.g., *na wawo-na X* ‘on top of X’), but it can also just be followed by any other possessive suffix (e.g., *na wawo-ngku* ‘on top of me’). Syntactically, these constructions do not differ from possessive constructions (see §4.8), but semantically, they function as prepositions, specifying different shades of meaning of direction or location. With at least one spatial noun, (*tiku-tikum*) *-na* is optional. The following list of compound prepositions shows the forms found, so far (presented with *-na* representing the full range of possessive suffixes):

- | | | |
|------|---------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| (56) | <i>na lalom-na</i> | ‘at the inside of, inside, in’ |
| | <i>na liwa-na</i> | ‘on the outside of, outside’ |
| | <i>na wawo-na</i> | ‘on top of, on, above’ |
| | <i>na intu-na</i> | ‘at the space below, under, beneath’ |
| | <i>na tokurung-na</i> | ‘at the back of, behind’ |
| | <i>na arop-na</i> | ‘in front of, before’ |
| | <i>na tanga'-na</i> | ‘in the middle of’ |
| | <i>na ola'-na</i> | ‘in the space between’ |
| | <i>na tiku-tikum(-na)</i> | ‘around, surrounding’ |

Illustrated in clauses:

- (57) **Na lalom-na laigan buke' tia pakakas.**
 LOC inside-3S house full with stuff
 ‘In the house, it was full of stuff.’ (dict)
- (58) **Isian siok na liwa-na bombang.**
 EXIST chicken LOC outside-3S pen
 ‘There are chickens outside the pen.’ (conv)
- (59) **Waa-ra'a na wawo-na oto.**
 ALL-DEM6 LOC top-3S car
 ‘Up there on the car.’ (dict)
- (60) **Waa-ra'a na wawo-om isian bolusukon.**
 ALL-DEM6 LOC top-2S EXIST durian
 ‘Up there above you, there is a durian.’ (dict)
- (61) **Alia' mae' na intu-na nuur.**
 DONT go LOC under-3S coconut
 ‘Don’t go beneath the coconut trees.’ (conv)
- (62) **Isian oto no-poo-ruup-kon na arop-mai.**
 EXIST car R-REC-collide-APPL LOC front-1PE
 ‘A car crashed in front of us.’ (conv)
- (63) **Ia no-k <um> ekerer na tanga-tanga'-ta.**
 3S R-INTR-stand LOC RED-middle-1PI
 ‘He stood right in the middle of us.’ (conv)

- (64) *Mian taka ka-ya'a liu-liu no-um-oruang na ola'-mai.*
 person arrive D-DEM3 immediately R-INTR-sit LOC between-1PE
 'The guest immediately sat down between us.' (conv)

6.6 PP coordination

Prepositional phrases are coordinated by means of the conjunction *ka'* 'and', which also functions in nominal and clausal coordination (§4.11 and §10.3).

- (65) ... *koot-on-mo na toure'-na, ka' na toure'-em.*
 tie-PV.I-PERF LOC neck-3S and LOC neck-2s
 '... tie it (= the rope) to his neck and to your neck.' (t35)

- (66) *Tanggung pusat boo sito-or-on na Kalasis ka'*
 obligation centre FUT deposit-PV.I LOC regional.church.office and

na Sinode.

LOC synod.office

'The (financial) obligations to the headquarters will be deposited at the regional church office, as well as at the (central) synod office.' (conv)

6.7 Residual cases

We end this chapter by listing a few residual prepositions that occupy more peripheral roles in the system. An important question, already hinted at in §6.3.2 for *mino*, is the categorial status of some of these words. They frequently show distributional oddities and categorial overlap, which makes their status somewhat unique.

The word *torumpak* 'close, near, approaching', for instance, appears to be a spatial noun, as it may optionally be preceded by the general preposition *na*. However, unlike the regular spatial nouns, it cannot take any of the possessive suffixes, and consequently, it is best treated as a unique category, possibly a deverbal preposition. Examples:

- (67) *na torumpak i kai*
 LOC close PA 1PE
 'close to us; approaching us' (conv)

- (68) *Ia taka torumpak Natal.*
 3S come close Christmas
 'He came when Christmas was approaching.' (dict)

Two words which show similar categorial uncertainty are the synonyms *patuk* and *paraas* (variant *maraas*), both meaning 'direction' 'towards', but also 'side'. These words are clearly non-verbal as they cannot take the realis prefix, but neither do they occur in normal nominal constructions, as they never take possessive suffixes. We tentatively classify them as denominal prepositions. Examples of these words in clauses:

- (69) *Mae' patuk bete'-an!*
 go direction rise-LOC
 'Head toward the east!' (dict)

- (70) *Raaya'a mong-osor salan-na jonga patuk soliokok.*
 3P AV.I-fence road-3S deer direction k.o.trap
 'They are making a fence in the deer trail (to direct the deer) towards the trap.' (dict)

- (71) *Na paraas bete'-an isian tandalo.*
 LOC direction rise-LOC EXIST rainbow
 'There is a rainbow in the east.' (dict)
- (72) *Weerkauna wulus maraas tobui.*
 river flow direction sea
 'The river flows out to the sea.' (dict)
- (73) *Sarat-na seseengko' paraas kauri'.*
 foot-3S crippled direction left
 'Her left foot is crippled.' (dict)
- (74) *Minti'i paraas tama, tia uga' minti'i paraas sina...*
 elder direction father with also elder direction mother
 'The elders on the father's side, and also the elders on the mother's side....' (t56)

Notice that in most examples, there is a movement involved, either explicit, as in (69) and (72), or implicit, as in (70), where the intention is to drive the deer towards the trap, as well as in (71), where the intended movement is probably that of the eyes turning eastward. Such a reading is hard to maintain for (73) and (74), where *paraas* simply means 'on the side of' in constructions such as *paraas kauri* 'on the left', *paraas uanan* 'on the right' and *paraas wiwine* 'on the woman's side' (also *paraas na wiwine* with preposition *na*).

A special case is the preposition *saliwana* (variant *saliwakon*) meaning 'except for, besides'. It is related to the complex preposition *na liwa-na* 'at the outside of', containing the bound root *liwa* 'outside'.

- (75) *Saliwana wurung-na ka-ni'i, dauga' isian wurung-na*
 besides talk-3S D-DEM1, still EXIST talk-3S

men sanggiran.
 REL other
 'Besides these calls (of the eagle), there are still other calls.' (t50)
- (76) *Saliwana mian men paraluu-an, alia mian sanggiran min-soop.*
 beside person REL need-HAVE DONT person other INTR.I-enter
 'Others, besides those with important business, should not enter.' (dict)

A few words function both as prepositions and conjunctions. One of them is *pataka* 'until' (e.g., *pataka liila* 'until tomorrow', *pataka koi-ni'i* 'until now'), which as a conjunction can have the meaning 'until' (see §10.3.1) or 'with the result that' (see §10.3.8). It is related to the root *taka* 'arrive'. Another one with dual function is *supu* 'since'. Similar to *pataka* is *sampe* 'until, as far as' (probably borrowed from Indonesian), which is also an intransitive verb meaning 'to reach'.

- (77) *Saa'-on-ku sampe poro-tolu,*
 count-PV.I-1S until TIME-three
 'I will count till three.' (Lit. '... until three times'.) (t35)
- (78) *Ai Kuda tende-tende' turuus sampe na tolodo-na*
 EMP.ART horse RED-run continuously until LOC yard-3S

laigan ni tomundo'.
 house 3S.PI king
 'Horse kept running until (he reached) the yard of the king's house.' (t35)

7. Clause structure

In this chapter, we present an overview of Balantak clause structure. Starting with non-verbal clauses (existential in §7.1 and equative in §7.2), we move to clauses containing a verbal predicate, either intransitive (§7.3) or transitive (§7.4). In the discussion of verbal clauses, special attention is paid to the three voices of Balantak: agent voice (§7.4.1), patient voice (§7.4.2) and locative voice (§7.5). The realis-irrealis-gerund opposition and variations in word order feature prominently in those sections. Two marked constructions are described in §7.6 (narrative *ku-*) and §7.7 (topicalization). The chapter draws to a close with a lengthy section on peripheral elements in the clause (§7.8), including a discussion of various classes of adverbs, as well as attitudinal markers (§7.8.5). It concludes with brief sections on vocatives (§7.9) and interjections (§7.10).

7.1 Existential clauses

Existential clauses state the existence of an entity. Most existential clauses contain the existential word *isian*, ‘to be, to exist,’ followed by the single argument of this clause type. A locative or temporal periphery may (and often does) precede the clause core.

- (1) *Isian toropii kaliangan ule*
 exist several kind snake
 ‘There are several kinds of snakes.’ (t50)
- (2) *Awas, isian au' anak-on.*
 careful exist dog child-HAVE
 ‘Careful! There is dog with puppies.’ (dict)
- (3) *Na kura' i-ya'a isian ayop men bodo' tuu'.*
 LOC forest D-DEM3 EXIST animal REL evil very
 ‘In that forest, there was a very bad animal.’ (t35)
- (4) *Na tumburan-mai isian loka' sam-pu'un.*
 LOC yard-1PE EXIST banana one-tree
 ‘In our yard, there is one banana tree.’ (dict)
- (5) *Tempo koi-ni'i, dauga' isian uga' mian men mo-suo'*
 time like-DEM1 still EXIST also person REL INTR.I-marry
poo-pamarere-kon.
 REC-run.away-APPL
 ‘These days, there are still people who get married by eloping.’ (t56)

Isian is an interesting word. Semantically, it appears to be a verb, and it does indeed take the verbal negator (see below), but unlike any of the intransitive verbs it fails to participate in the realis-irrealis-gerund mode distinction. (Admittedly, our corpus has three rare examples of the realis form *no'-isian*, one of which is found in example (101) in chapter 10.) As an existential verb it, therefore, appears to be in a class of its own. It should also be noted that the single argument (presumably the subject) in an existential clause is never marked with *a*, even though we would expect it there as it follows the predicate (see §4.3.4). This may be related to the fact that this argument always follows the verb, unlike regular subjects which may occur both before and after the verb. In other words, the existential clause type is unusual on two counts: not only is the existential verb not a regular verb, but the apparent subject is not a straightforward subject either.

Negative existentials take the verbal negator *sian* ~ *sianta* ‘not’ (or its derivatives *sian-po* ‘not yet’ and *sian-mo* ‘no more’), though in these clauses the plain existential verb can optionally be left out.

- (6) *Tempo i-ya'a sian-po isian guru.*
 time D-DEM3 NEG-IMPF EXIST teacher
 ‘At that time, there were no teachers yet.’ (dict)
- (7) *Tama-ngku sianta (isian) ka-ni'i.*
 father-1S NEG EXIST D-DEM1
 ‘My father is not here.’ (elic)

The following example also appears to be a negative existential clause (without *isian*), but in this case, the additional argument in the clause (*kai* ‘we’) functions as an external topic, and the clause is best translated using the verb ‘have’:

- (8) *Waktu Japaang ai kai sianta toik bo bokukum.*
 time Japan EMP.ART 1PE NEG cloth for clothes
 ‘At the time of the Japanese (occupation), we didn’t have cloth for clothes.’ (t27)

Finally, there is also a particle *damo*, which seems to function as an existential, mainly (or possibly exclusively) in complement clauses:

- (9) *Ia taka-i damo nde'e na undang-an...*
 3S arrive-DIR EXIST DEM.ADV5 LOC rock-LOC
 ‘She found that (the baby) was (still) there in the cradle...’ (t32)

7.2 Equative clauses

Equative clauses consist of a subject and a predicate, occurring in either order, without any intervening copula. Such a clause establishes an identity between the subject and the predicate, which may consist of a noun phrase, a prepositional phrase, a demonstrative, an oblique pronoun (see §4.1.3), or a numeral. In this section, the predicate is marked off by square brackets.

The order subject-predicate is relatively uncommon in our corpus:

- (10) *Tama-ngku [guru].*
 father-1S teacher
 ‘My father is a teacher.’ (elic)
- (11) *Tama-na mian i-ya'a, [kapala desa].*
 father-3S person D-DEM3 chief village
 ‘His father is the village head leader.’ (elic)
- (12) *Sapi ka-tu'u [ko'omai].*
 cow D-DEM4 1PE.OBL
 ‘That cow is ours.’ (dict)
- (13) *Bangkal-mai [ra'a na buu'na].*
 garden-1PE DEM6 LOC mountain
 ‘Our garden is up on the mountain.’ (dict)

The order predicate-subject appears to be more common, especially when the predicate is a demonstrative or a question word and, hence, in focus. Common nouns that occur as subjects in these

focussed equative clauses take the article *a*, in line with our observation in §4.3.4 about the occurrence of the article *a* as a ‘post-predicate subject marker’.

- (14) [*Koi ka-ni'i*] *a* *paraluu-na*.
like D-DEM1 ART intention-3S
‘This is his intention.’ (t53)
- (15) [*Ni'i-mo*] *a* *rarae'-na tu-tuo'-mai*.
DEM1-PERF ART story-3S RED-live-1PE
‘This is the story of our life.’ (dict)
- (16) [*Ai ime*] *a* *ngaan-na?*
EMP.ART who ART name-3S
‘What is his/her name?’ (conv)
- (17) [*Boni ime*] *a* *susudi* *ka-ni'i?*
for.PA who ART rice.cooked.in.bamboo D-DEM1
‘For whom is this rice cooked in bamboo?’ (dict)

In the following example the predicate is a focussed oblique pronoun (see §4.3.1):

- (18) *Sabole* [*ingku'*] *i-le'e*.
certainly 1S.OBL D-DEM5
‘That is certainly mine.’ (conv)

Reduplicated numerals (including the interrogative numeral *pi-pii*) are also quite frequent as the predicate of an equative clause, usually with subject-predicate word order:

- (19) *Anak-ku* [*to-tolu'*].
child-1S RED-three
‘I have three children.’ (Lit. ‘my children [are] three’) (conv)
- (20) *Siok-mai* [*li-lima'*].
chicken-1PE RED-five
‘We have five chickens.’ (Lit. ‘our chickens [are] five’) (conv)
- (21) *Anak-ku* [*tongko' ru-rua'*], *rua-rua'-na* [*moro'one*].
child-1S only RED-two RED-two-3S man
‘I have only two children (lit. my children [are] only two), both of them are boys.’ (conv)
- (22) *Doi'im* *dauga'* [*pi-pii?*]
money-2S still RED-how.many
‘How much money do you still have?’ (conv)

Focussed numeral predicates with the subject following the predicate are illustrated below, again featuring the post-predicate subject marker *a*.

- (23) *Ko'omuu* [*pi-pii*] *a* *sapi'-muu?*
2P.OBL RED-how.many ART cow-2P
‘As for you, how many cows do you have?’ (conv)
- (24) [*Li-lima'*] *a* *sapi'-mai*.
RED-five ART cow-1PE
‘We have five cows.’ (conv)

Cleft and semi-cleft constructions are also focussed equative clauses, but their structure and function will be discussed in detail in §9.5.

A subtype of the equative clause does contain a verb, namely *sida* ‘become’. (The verb *sida* also means ‘can, may’ and the transitive verb *min-sida* means ‘to know’). In this case there is again identity between the subject and the nominal part of the predicate, but the verb indicates that this is the result of a change.

- (25) ... *ia sida mian kupang-on.*
 3s become person money-HAVE
 ‘... he/she will become a wealthy person.’ (t50)
- (26) *Kalu sian pakuli'-on, ia sida pontiana'.*
 if NEG medicine-PV.I 3S become k.o.evil.spirit
 ‘If (she) is not treated, she becomes a *pontiana*’ evil spirit.’ (t50)

7.3 Intransitive clauses

The core of an intransitive clause is a single stative or intransitive verb, either simple or derived. This verb is usually marked for one of the three modes: realis (prefix *no-*), irrealis (prefix *mo-*), or gerund (prefix *po-*). With certain stative and intransitive verb classes, mode marking is absent, and with some derived stative and intransitive verbs, realis is marked by means of the infix *-in-*. For classes of stative and intransitive verbs, see §5.1 and §5.2, and for details of mode marking see §5.4.

In addition to their verbal core, intransitive clauses also often contain a subject. This subject can either precede or follow the verb and both orders occur with relatively high frequency. We have not carried out a detailed tabulation of word order in all intransitive clauses, but of the six texts in chapter 11, it appears that SV is slightly more common than VS (30 to 25); see §11.8. VS order triggers the presence of the article *i* (with proper nouns and pronouns, see §4.3.1) or the article *a* (with common nouns, see §4.3.4). For reasons of frequency and morphological markedness, we, therefore, tentatively assume that SV is the unmarked order.

Some simple intransitive clauses with SV order follow below, illustrating only realis and irrealis modes. Intransitive verbs in gerund mode are fairly rare, and mostly limited to imperatives, temporal clauses, and result clauses, each of which will be illustrated in the appropriate sections in later chapters.

- (27) *Yaku' no-suri-mo...*
 1s R-wake.up-PERF
 ‘I woke up...’ (t1)
- (28) *Kai no-poo-leelo'-mo.*
 1PE R-REC-call-PERF
 ‘We called out to each other.’ (t1)
- (29) *Ai kai sianta anak-on.*
 EMP.ART 1PE NEG child-HAVE
 ‘We do not have any children.’ (conv)
- (30) *Sa'angu'-mo tempo, ai Kancil no-mae'-mo...*
 one-PERF time EMP.ART mouse.deer R-go-PERF
 ‘One day, Mouse Deer went ...’ (t35)
- (31) *Ai Kuda liu-liu no-wangon ka'...*
 EMP.ART horse immediately R-get.up and
 ‘Horse immediately got up and...’ (t35)

- (32) *Sasa' ka-ni'i no-tokol-mo na intu-na undang-an.*
 cat D-DEM1 R-lie.down-PERF LOC under-3S rock-LOC
 'The cat was sleeping underneath the cradle.' (t32)

It is not easy to identify the pragmatic factors which determine VS order, but the following seem to be among the most prominent and verifiable. In the first place, a VS order backgrounds the subject and highlights the verb (or the verbal predicate). Compare the following contrastive pair, but notice that the contrast is virtually impossible to translate in English.

- (33) a) *Yaku' no-mae'-mo.*
 1S R-go-PERF
 'I went away.' (t2)
- b) *No-mae'-mo i yaku'.*
 R-go-PERF PA 1S
 'I went away.' (elic)

In (33b), the verb is highlighted, while the subject is backgrounded. Notice that the post-predicate personal article *i* appears before the pronoun. VS clauses with pronominal subjects, however, are fairly rare. A pronominal subject is typically found in an SV clause, as illustrated in (33a). Other examples where VS appears to highlight the verb include the following (with subject underlined):

- (34) *No-samba' tuu' i ia.*
 R-surprised very PA 3S
 'He was very surprised.' (t31)
- (35) *Tongko' cukup koi ni'i-mari.*
 only enough like DEM1-VEN
 'This is enough.' (Lit. 'Like up to here is only/just enough.') (conv)
- (36) *Bee ka' nin-sosol a noa-na sina-na anak i-ya'a...*
 oh and INTR.R-regret ART spirit-3S mother child D-DEM3
 'Oh, how the child's mother regretted (what had happened)...' (t32)

Secondly, in addition to verbal foregrounding, VS order is almost exclusively found in temporal subordinate clauses containing an intransitive or a stative verb.

- (37) *Tongko' no-pate a sasa' i-ya'a, ...*
 after R-dead ART cat D-DEM3
 'As soon as the cat was dead, ...' (t32)
- (38) *Noko pinti-male i yaku',...*
 after.R PURP.GER-weak PA 1S
 'After I had taken a rest ...' (t1)
- (39) *Ringka-ringkat i ia, ia piile'...*
 RED-leave PA 3S, 3S see
 'When she was about to leave, she saw that...' (t32)
- (40) *Kalaar a lemba-ngku, manga-wawau-mo waukon.*
 finished ART settling.trough-1S AV.I-make-PERF work.platform
 'After my trough is finished, I make a work platform.' (t7)

- (41) *Daa no-palus-mo i Alakasing no-taka-mo i Kodo' ntu'u-mari.*
 finish R-absent-PERF PA monster R-arrive-PERF PA monkey DEM.ADV4-VEN
 'When the giant monster was gone, the monkey arrived there.' (t31)

In each of these cases, it is ungrammatical to change the word order to SV. It is possible that the occurrence of VS in temporal subordinate clauses is linked to subject backgrounding, as in many (or even most) of the examples the subject is given and known in the context. In each of the preceding examples, the subject was mentioned in the previous sentence.

In spite of these observations, a number of examples with VS order are less easily explainable. In the following example, for instance, 'a big snake' is a brand new subject in the second clause, yet it appears as a post-verbal subject:

- (42) *Palus-na sina-na anak ka-ni'i mae' ba-tatapi,*
 absent-3S mother-3S child D-DEM1 go INTR-wash.clothes

damo taka a bintana' balaki'.
 suddenly arrive ART python big
 'While the mother of the child had gone to wash clothes, suddenly a large python appeared.'
 (t32)

It is possible that the presence of *damo* 'suddenly' triggers the VS order, but this area needs more research.

Since there is only a single argument, intransitive verbs do not participate in the agent voice versus patient voice alternation. However, locative voice is possible on intransitive verbs. This is dealt with in §7.5.

7.4 Transitive clauses

The core of a transitive clause consists of a voice-marked transitive verb. Transitive clauses are either agent voice, patient voice or locative voice, as indicated on the verb. Transitive verbs are additionally marked as either realis, irrealis, or gerund mode. In this section, we have bolded the voice and mode morphology of the relevant verb forms, and for the patient voice clauses, we underline the subject. The emphasis in this section is to describe the features of transitivity, voice and word order on clause level. The basic architecture of transitive clauses is complex but fairly transparent once the morphology is understood. The two big remaining issues are the function of word order variations and the questions of voice selection, as such. These topics are partly taken up in chapter eleven, where a number of features of texts are discussed, although a detailed analysis of both issues will have to wait for now.

7.4.1 Agent voice

Agent voice (AV) transitive clauses have the following distinguishing features:

- the agent is the subject;
- the patient is the object;
- the verb is marked with an AV affix (*nVng-* for realis, *mVng-* irrealis, *pVng-* gerund);
- word order is normally SVO (or agent-verb-patient) but occasionally VOS;
- in many cases, the S may be missing due to ellipsis.

Pragmatically, agent voice is normally used when the agent is more topical than the patient, either because the patient is new or indefinite, or because the agent is locally more topical, even though the patient is definite.

Many examples of AV transitive clauses have already been given, but here follow some more of them. For the distinction between realis, irrealis and gerund mode, as well as further examples of the usages of the various modes, see §5.4.

a. Realis (past completed events)

- (43) *Yaku' ning-inum-mo wala'on.*
 1S AV.R-drink-PERF boiled.water
 'I drank water.' (t1)
- (44) *Sina-mai nang-asok balayon na tokurung-na laigan-mai.*
 mother-1PE AV.R-plant fragrant.pandanus LOC back-3S house-1PE
 'Mother planted fragrant pandanus behind our house.' (dict)

b. Irrealis (future or incomplete events, procedural discourse, general truths)

- (45) *Yaku' kae-kae' mongo-rongor radio.*
 1S in.the.process AV.I-hear radio
 'I am listening to the radio.' (dict)
- (46) *Tumbe-tumbe-na yaku' mang-ala lemba.*
 RED-first-3S 1S AV.I-take settling.trough
 'First of all, I get a settling trough.' (t7)
- (47) *Santuo'-na mian pate malia' uga' man-ta-takut-i mian.*
 spirit-3S person dead often also AV.I-RED-afraid-CAUS person
 'Spirits of dead people also frequently scare people.' (t50)

c. Gerund (imperatives, instruments, purpose clauses, semi-clefts)

- (48) *Ping-ili kutung pae!*
 AV.GER-buy first rice
 'Buy rice first!' (conv)
- (49) *kapur bo pun-tulis*
 chalk for AV.GER-write
 'chalk for writing' (dict)
- (50) *Doi' ka-ni'i bo ping-ili pakuli'.*
 money D-DEM1 for AV.GER-buy medicine
 'This money is for buying medicine.' (conv)
- (51) *... men bo pingi-limbang-kon i kai.*
 REL for AV.GER-translate-APPL PA 1PE
 '... who will translate for us.' (t58)
- (52) *Upa a pang-asok-i bangsa <a>l*
 what ART AV.GER-plant-DIR garden-2S
 'What is your garden planted with?' (conv)
- (53) *... ka' no-poo'-atur bo pang-akal-i-na i Harimau.*
 and R-REC-arrange for AV.GER-trick-DIR-3S PA tiger
 'and (they) made arrangements for him to trick Tiger.' (t43)

- (54) ... *koi upa a pang-arop-i mian biai'*.
 like what ART AV.GER-face-DIR person many
 '... how to face the crowd.' (t56)
- (55) *pakuli' penge-lekas-i lombo'*.
 medicine AV.GER-released-CAUS fat
 'medicine to get rid of fat.' (t52)
- (56) ... *mae' man-sarak rampa bo panga-rampa-i ree'a*.
 go AV.I-search spices for AV.GER-spice-DIR tortoise
 '(the monster) went searching for spices to season the tortoise.' (t31)
- (57) *Mbase isian men boo pungu-nuko rumah tangga-nta*
 actually EXIST REL FUT AV.GER-do.something house stair-1PI
 'There are actually people who will do stuff to our marriage.' (t72)
- (58) *Koi upa boo ping-ili-kon-ku? Gause doi'im sianta sukup.*
 like what for GER-buy-APPL-1S because money-2S NEG enough
 'How could I buy (what you asked) with it (= money)? Because the money you gave (lit. your money) was not enough.' (elic)

(S)VO is not the only possible order in agent voice clauses. Alternatives such as VOS occur, as in the following examples, where the post-predicate subject (underlined) is again marked by *a*. The discourse function of this variation is not yet fully clear.

- (59) ... *se' boo-mo mang-kakat anak a bintana' ka-ni'i*.
 ATT FUT-PERF AV.I-bite child ART python D-DEM1
 '... that the python was about to bite the child.' (t32)
- (60) *Sarataa koi-ya'a, uga' man-sarak-mo bembe' a mian*
 when like-DEM3 also AV.I-search-PERF goat ART person

men ma-barang i-ya'a.
 REL INTR.I-sick D-DEM3
 'After that, the sick person also looks for a goat.' (t50)

7.4.2 Patient voice - agentless realis

The forms for patient voice transitive clauses show considerable more variation than those for agent voice. Not only are the mode marking affixes unrelated (realis prefix *ni-*, irrealis suffix *-on*, zero marking for gerunds), but the realis patient voice also has two distinct structural types, one for agented and one for agentless constructions. These constructions will be described in turn.

The first type of realis patient voice (PV) is agentless and characterized by the following features:

- the patient is the subject;
- the verb is marked with the prefix *ni-* (in some Balantak dialects the infix *-in-* is also found, but this will not be illustrated here);
- the agent is obligatorily absent, though often known from the wider context;
- word order is normally SV, though VS is also common, especially in temporal adverbial clauses (see also §7.3 for the same phenomenon in intransitive clauses).

In this and the following sections, all subjects are underlined.

- (61) *Noko po-loop, yaku' ni-leelo'-mo soosodo.*
 after.R INTR.GER-bathe 1S PV.R-call-PERF again
 'After taking a bath, I was called again.' (t68)
- (62) *Oto sian-po ni-patas-kon gause dauga' waa'.*
 car NEG-IMPF PV.R-across-CAUS because still flood
 'The car had not yet been moved across, because (the river) was still flooding.' (t68)
- (63) *Noko daa ni-koot rua-rua'-na...*
 after.R finish PV.R-tie RED-two-3S
 'When both of them were tied (together)...' (t35)
- (64) *Daa-mo ni'-isii-kon a bensiin men ni'-ili umba'a...*
 finish-PERF PV.R-fill-APPL ART petrol REL PV.R-buy just.now
 'After (we) had put in the petrol that had just been bought...' (t68)

7.4.3 Patient voice - agented realis

The second type of realis patient voice is agented and characterized by the following features:

- the patient is the subject;
- the verb is a bare stem, unmarked for voice or mode;
- the agent is realised in the following ways:
 - when the agent is pronominal, a free pronoun precedes the verb;
 - when the agent is a noun phrase, the free pronoun *ia* precedes the bare verb and the nominal agent follows the verb: *ia* V NP.

The agent is clearly a core argument, as it is obligatory in this clause type (though it can be gapped), but it is neither subject nor object. We will continue to call this argument the non-subject agent, and **bold** it in the example sentences. What is interesting in this clause type is the position of the pronominal non-subject agent, preceding the verb.

Pragmatically, patient voice indicates a high degree of patient topicality. It is especially common in narrative genres when the agents are known, but also in imperatives. Because of its high frequency and different discourse function, agented patient voice does not normally translate well as an English passive (which is essentially an agent-backgrounding operation), and normally an active translation will be the most natural equivalent.

Word order can vary and the subject and agent may or may not be present, resulting in nine different clause configurations, as outlined below, though types g and h do not occur in our corpus. In each case, the verb is a bare stem, not overtly marked for voice or mode. With post-verbal subjects, the article *a* is included in the formula, although it only occurs with common nouns.

Pronominal agent:

a. pre-verbal subject	NP _[subject]	PRO	V	
b. post-verbal subject		PRO	V	<i>a</i> NP _[subject]
c. no subject		PRO	V	

Nominal agent:

d. pre-verbal subject	NP _[subject]	<i>ia</i>	V	NP _[non-subject agent]
e. post-verbal subject		<i>ia</i>	V	NP _[non-subject agent] <i>a</i> NP _[subject]
f. no subject		<i>ia</i>	V	NP _[non-subject agent]

Gapped agent:

g. pre-verbal subject	NP _[subject]		V	
h. post-verbal subject			V	<i>a</i> NP _[subject]
i. no subject			V	

Examples of **type a** (PV with a pronominal agent and a pre-verbal subject; subjects underlined; agents bolded):

- (65) Loka' ka-ni'i **yaku'** ili.
 banana D-DEM1 1S buy
 'I bought these bananas.' (conv)
- (66) ... ree'a sian **ia** piile'.
 tortoise NEG 3S see
 '... (but) the tortoise he didn't see'. (t31)
- (67) Doi'-ku **koo** naa'-mo na baang.
 money-1S 2S save-PERF LOC bank
 'You have put my money in the bank.' (elic)

Examples of **type b** (PV with a pronominal agent and a post-verbal subject):

- (68) **Yaku'** asa'i a bakoko'-ku ka' **yaku'** kolon a basung-ku,
 1S sharpen ART knife-1S and 1S carry.on.back ART basket-1S
 kasi no-mae'.
 then R-go
 'I sharpened my knife, put my basket on my back and went off.' (t27)
- (69) Uga' bintana' sian mune' rokot, **ia** parot-mo a sasa' ka-ni'i...
 also python NEG ATT calm 3S coil-PERF ART cat D-DEM1
 'But, of course, the python did not stay calm either, it coiled itself around the cat and ...'
 (t32)

Notice that these type b examples appear to be plain transitive SVO clauses, as the agent precedes the patient. However, two facts remain unexplained under this analysis: the absence of any morphology on the verb, as well as the presence of the article *a* with the patient, both of which are unambiguous indicators of a PV construction. The AV counterpart of the first clause of (26) is *Yaku' nang-asa'i bakoko'-ku* 'I sharpened my knife', with AV morphology and without the article on the patient (which is the object in AV).

Type b is also common with complement clauses (§10.2), but in these cases the clause does not take the article. There is, thus, very little left to show that this is still PV, apart from the lack of voice-mode morphology on the verb.

- (70) *Kodi-kodi'* **ia** piile' isian susum balaki' tuu'...
 RED-in.a.while 3S see EXIST fish big very
 'After a short while, he saw that there was a very big fish...' (t20)

Examples of **type c** (PV with a pronominal agent, but without an overt subject) is typically used mid-stream in a narrative, when all participants are known, and also with verbs of speaking:

- (71) *Taka* i-ntu'u na laigan-na, **ia** koot-mo ka'...
 arrive D-DEM.ADV4 LOC house-3S 3S tie-PERF and
 'When he (= the giant monster) arrived there at his house, he tied him (= the tortoise) up and...' (t31)
- (72) **Ia** bantil-kon i Ona ni Toni, tae-na...
 3S tell-APPL PA O. LOC.PA T word-3S
 'Ona told Toni, he said...' (Lit. '(It) was told by Ona to Toni, his word...') (t4)

Type d (PV with a nominal agent [bolded] and a preverbal subject [underlined]):

- (73) Yaku' **ia** posuu'-mo **i** **tanta** **Leida** **mae'** **mom-bolos** **motor...**
 1S 3S order-PERF PA aunt L. go AV.I-borrow motorbike
 'I was told by aunt Leida to go borrow a motorbike...' (t4)

- (74) Mbaka' i Gaja **daa** **sian-mo** **ia** **kaan** **i** **Harimau.**
 so.then PA elephant ATT NEG-PERF 3S eat PA tiger
 'As a result, Elephant was not eaten by Tiger.' (t43)

Type e (a nominal agent with a post-verbal subject):

- (75) Tongko' no-pate a sasa' i-ya'a, **ia** **lego'i** **sina-na** **anak** **i-ya'a**
 after R-dead ART cat D-DEM3 3S check mother-3S child D-DEM3

a anak-na.
 ART child-3S

'When the cat was dead, the mother of the child checked up on her child.' (t32)

Examples of **type f**, a nominal agent without an overt subject:

- (76) Uga' **ia** **talangi-mo** **i** **Kodo'.**
 then 3S untie-PERF PA monkey
 'Then Monkey untied him (= Tortoise).' (t31)

- (77) Somo **ia** **lua** **i** **bau'** **alinta.**
 remain 3S vomit PA pig pity
 'So Pig had to spit him out, the poor (Rat).' (t19)

- (78) Ma'ulo-ulop **ia** **lego'i-mo** **raaya'a** **soo-soodo.**
 RED-morning 3S check-PERF 3P RED-again
 'The next morning, they checked it (= the banana tree) again.' (t16)

Notice that in (78), the personal pronoun *raaya'a* appears in the position of a nominal constituent. This is indicative of its origin as a plural demonstrative (see §8.3) and further evidence that *raaya'a* is, strictly speaking, not a personal pronoun (see also §4.1.1). If it really was a personal pronoun, it would have appeared before the verb, as in type a, b, or c illustrated above.

Types g and **h** apparently do not occur in our corpus and **type i** (no subject and no agent, simply a bare verb) is relatively uncommon. It is only found in a sequence of events when all the participants are known and where it follows another PV clause type. In the following multi-clausal example, the bolded verbs represent this clause type. Notice that both verbs are transitive verbs, but appear without any verb morphology, as they are PV verbs where both agent and patient (subject) are retrievable from the immediate context.

- (79) ... ia ala a sa'angu, **tuong,** **telepas-an,** ia ala bau, **kaan.**
 3S take ART one drop light.sound-HAVE 3S take pig eat
 '(Rat) took one (of the hanging rice cakes), dropped it, it fell with a light sound, pig took it and ate it.' (t19)

(The first clause (with *ala*) and the fourth (also with *ala*) represent type b and type f respectively.)

We end this section with a few observations on the importance of the marking of the post-verbal subject and on the status of *ia*.

The difference between a post-verbal agent and a post-verbal subject is clear from the following elicited contrastive set (where the contrast is best seen using an English passive translation):

- (80) a) *Ia leelo' tama-ngku.*
 3s call father-1s
 '(I/you/we/he/she/it/they) was/were called by my father.'
- b) *Ia leelo' a tama-ngku.*
 3s call ART father-1s
 'My father was called by him/her.'
- c) *Tama-ngku ia leelo'.*
 father-1s 3s call
 'My father was called by him/her.'

All three clauses are patient voice, but in (80a), *tama-ngku* functions as the non-subject agent. The only available position for that grammatical function is immediately after the verb in a PV. In (80b), on the other hand, *tama-ngku* functions as the subject, and because it is found post-verbally, the article *a* is obligatory, which in this case is a useful disambiguation mechanism. An alternative to (80b) is (80c), in which the subject occurs in its more normal preverbal position, without *a*. The AV equivalent of (80a) is *Tama-ngku nenge-leelo' i ia* (father-1s AV.R-call PA 3s) 'my father called him/her/it.'

A question may arise about the interpretation of *ia* in these agented PV constructions. Is *ia* maybe a passive marker, or at least, an indicator of patient voice? Is it possibly being grammaticalized as a passive prefix? We do not think so, as *ia* retains its singular meaning in these constructions and does not shade into a general marker of patient voice. Native speakers are consistent in writing it as a separate word and identifying it with the pronoun. Also, *ia* can only co-occur with third person agents (singular or plural), but it cannot co-occur with first or second person pronouns. This co-occurrence of *ia* with nominal agents is reminiscent of the combination of the 3sg possessive suffix *-na* with nominal possessors (see §4.8). Finally, *ia* can be absent in certain environments, as illustrated in (79). From these observations it seems clear that *ia* is still a 3rd person pronoun. Compare the following elicited examples (with agents bolded):

- (81) a) *Doi'-ku ia naa'-mo na baang.*
 money-1s 3s save-PERF LOC bank
 'He put my money in the bank.'
- b) *Doi'-ku ia naa'-mo tama-ngku na baang.*
 money-1s 3s save-PERF father-1s LOC bank
 'My father put my money in the bank.'
- c) **Doi'-ku ia naa'-mo yaku' na baang.*
 money-1s 3s save-PERF 1s LOC bank
 (For 'I put my money in the bank.')
- d) *Doi'-ku yaku' naa'-mo na baang.*
 money-1s 1s save-PERF LOC bank
 'I put my money in the bank.'
- e) *Doi'-ku ni-naa'-mo na baang.*
 money-1s PV.R-save-PERF LOC bank
 'My money was put in the bank.'

Example (81a) is a PV with a pronominal agent; (b) with a nominal agent ('my father'), with *ia* and *tama-ngku* being co-referential. Example (c) is ungrammatical, as *ia* and *yaku'* fail to agree in person; instead (d) should be used to express the idea. Example (e), finally, illustrates an agentless PV. As in most cases involving *ni-*, this does not imply that no agent was involved. Rather, this construction leaves

the nature of the agent entirely open; the action could have been carried out by the speaker, but also by someone else (singular or plural).

7.4.4 Patient voice - irrealis

Irrealis patient voice (PV) is characterized by the following features:

- the patient is the subject (underlined in the examples);
- the verb is marked with the suffix *-on* (a portmanteau suffix indicating both patient voice and realis mode);
- the agent is realised in one of the following ways:
 - as a pronominal suffix (following *-on*)
 - as a possessive noun phrase (in combination with the 3sg suffix *-na*)
 - as zero, but clearly implied and normally recoverable from the context;
- word order is normally subject - verb - non-subject agent (or patient - verb -agent);
- frequently, agents and patients are understood from the context and, therefore, omitted.

As with agented realis PV, this results in nine clause type configurations, illustrated below with nominal agents **bolded** and subjects underlined:

Pronominal agent:

a. pre-verbal subject	NP _[subject]	V- <i>on</i> -POSS	
b. post-verbal subject		V- <i>on</i> -POSS	a NP _[subject]
c. no subject		V- <i>on</i> -POSS	

Nominal agent:

d. pre-verbal subject	NP _[subject]	V- <i>on-na</i>	NP _[non-subject agent]
e. post-verbal subject		V- <i>on-na</i>	NP _[non-subject agent] a NP _[subject]
f. no subject		V- <i>on-na</i>	NP _[non-subject agent]

No agent:

g. pre-verbal subject	NP _[subject]	V- <i>on</i>	
h. post-verbal subject		V- <i>on</i>	a NP _[subject]
i. no subject		V- <i>on</i>	

Type a (pronominal agent, pre-verbal subject):

- (82) Men ma-dengkul ala-on-ku...
- REL INTR.I-crooked take-PV.I-1S
- 'The crooked ones I take...' (t1)

Type b (pronominal agent, post-verbal subject):

- (83) Daa tarima-on-na-mo a lapi'-na konondok-na, kasi ia...
- finish receive-PV.I-3S-PERF ART restitution-3S bride.price-3S then 3S
- 'When he has received the restitution for the bride price, then he...' (t56)

Type c (pronominal agent, no subject):

- (84) Ingu', penek-on-ku-mo.
- 1S.OBL climb-PV.I-1S-PERF
- 'As for mine (= my banana tree), I'm ready to climb it.' (t16)

Type d (nominal agent, pre-verbal subject):

- (85) *Ai yaku' kodi' kaan-on-na-mo i Harimau!*
 EMP.ART 1S in.a.while eat-PV.I-3S-PERF PA tiger
 'In a while, I will be eaten by Tiger!' (t43)

Type e (nominal agent, post-verbal subject):

- (86) ... *ka' kaan-on-na bokoti' a pae men ni-naa' na alang i-ya'a.*
 and eat-PV.I-3S mouse ART rice REL PV.R-store LOC granary D-DEM3
 '... and the rice that has been stored in the granary is eaten by mice.' (t53)

Type f (nominal agent, no subject):

- (87) *Kalu sian dongan bisara-kon-on-na ukum tia motu-motu'a...*
 if NEG quickly speak-APPL-PV.I-3S judge with RED-elder
 'If this (a marriage issue) is not quickly discussed by the judge and the elders...' (t56)

Type g (no agent, pre-verbal subject):

- (88) *Biasana sasa' ka-ni'i mali' ngaan-i-on ma-tondong...*
 usually cat D-DEM1 as.a.result name-DIR-PV.I INTR.I-tame
 'The reason that these cats are called tame is that usually...' (t32)

Type h (no agent, post-verbal subject):

- (89) *Kolong-on-mo a rombia'.*
 cut.in.two-PV.I-PERF ART sago.palm
 '(I) cut the sago tree in two.' (t7)
- (90) *Mian men no-lapus-mo, malia' piile'-on a santuo'-na*
 person REL R-die-PERF often see-PV.I ART spirit-3S
um-uar malom
 INTR-go.out night
 'People who have died, frequently their spirits are seen going out at night.' (t50)

Type i (no agent, no subject) has only been found in imperatives:

- (91) *Ai yaku! Ai yaku! Amo' kaan-on!*
 EMP.ART 1S EMP.ART 1S DONT eat-PV.I
 'It's me! It's me. Don't eat (me)!' (t19)

This can be compared with Indonesian *Jangan dimakan!* 'Don't eat it!' (Lit. 'Don't [let it] be eaten!')

7.4.5 Patient voice - gerunds

The form of a patient voice gerund is a bare stem of the transitive verb (that is, a root with possible derivational affixes) and can be somewhat hard to recognize. Such gerunds are typically used in imperative constructions and as result clauses. Patient voice gerunds are fairly rare and only a few have been found in our corpus, possibly because conversational discourse is underrepresented.

- (92) *Rae' ili!*
 go buy
 'Go and buy it!' (conv)
- (93) *Ala Sion ka' dolo' a sina-na.*
 please S. and fetch ART mother-3S
 'Sion, go and get her mother.' (t11)

In both examples, the transitive verbs *ili* 'buy' and *dolo'* 'fetch' occur in their root form, while the post-predicate subject 'her mother', in (93), makes it clear that we are dealing with patient voice. The lack of realis or irrealis morphology on the verb shows it to be a gerund.

7.5 Locative voice

Locative voice (LV) takes the noun phrase having the semantic role of location or time and makes this the subject of the clause. Clauses with LV are not as common as AV and PV, but realis LV is fairly common in relative clauses. Interestingly, LV occurs in both transitive as well as intransitive clauses, made possible by the fact that both of these verbal clause types can have locative or temporal arguments. LV is morphologically marked by a circumfix: for transitives, a combination of the AV prefixes (which in this case, simply mark mode) and the suffix *-an*, and for the intransitive verb, one of the intransitive prefixes and the suffix *-an*. See §5.3 for the morphology of the locative voice.

Verb forms in locative voice such as *no-taka-an-ku* 'where/when I arrived' and *ning-ili-an-ku* 'where/when I bought it', show an interesting combination of nominal and verbal features. We take the view that they are primarily verbal for two reasons. First, the realis prefixes found with locative voice only occur on verbs. Second, the applicative and directional suffixes *-kon* and *-i*, which can be found in locative voice, are again, only found on verbs. But there are also apparent nominal features. First, the agent in a locative voice is expressed as a possessive suffix. This, however, is not surprising, as the same is the case with irrealis PV forms such as *penek-on-ku* (see (84) in §7.4.4). Second, the article *a* can precede a locative which then functions as a subject, as in example (97). Since this article normally only precedes post-predicate subjects, it seems to indicate that the following word is a noun. We will argue below that such cases are best treated as instances of semi-clefts with a gapped noun.

7.5.1 LV in intransitive clauses

Table 7.1 shows locative voice for the five classes of intransitive verbs established in chapter 5. The distinguishing feature of LV is the suffix *-an*, in combination with the intransitive prefixes. A possessive suffix, if present, marks the agent. In the case of a nominal agent, this is indicated by the combination of 3sg *-na* and a full noun phrase, as it is with irrealis patient voice (§7.4.4).

Table 7.1. Locative voice and mode on intransitive verbs

		realis	irrealis	gerund	gloss
unmarked	simple	<i>(no)-taka</i>	<i>taka</i>	<i>taka</i>	'arrive'
	LV	<i>no-taka-an</i>	<i>(taka-an)</i>	<i>taka-an</i>	
-um-	simple	<i>(no-)l<um>iu</i>	<i>l<um>iu</i>	<i>liu</i>	'pass'
	LV	<i>no-l<um>iu-an</i>	<i>(l<um>iu-an)</i>	<i>liu-an</i>	
ma-	simple	<i>na-lawu</i>	<i>ma-lawu</i>	<i>pa-lawu</i>	'go down'
	LV	<i>na-lawu-an</i>	<i>(ma-lawu-an)</i>	<i>pa-lawu-an</i>	
mo-	simple	<i>no-guas</i>	<i>mo-guas</i>	<i>po-guas</i>	'play'
	LV	<i>no-guas-an</i>	<i>(mo-guas-an)</i>	<i>po-guas-an</i>	
min-	simple	<i>nin-soop</i>	<i>min-soop</i>	<i>pin-soop</i>	'enter'
	LV	<i>nin-soop-an</i>	<i>(min-soop-an)</i>	<i>pin-soop-an</i>	

Notice that for the first row of each verb form, we do not use the term ‘agent voice’, but instead label it as ‘simple’. The designation ‘agent voice’ is inappropriate for intransitive verbs, as it seems to imply a contrast with patient voice, which is impossible on intransitive verbs. The morphology in this putative ‘intransitive agent voice’ is also quite dissimilar from agent voice morphology on transitive verbs. We take the position that intransitive verbs only display a contrast between an unmarked simple stem and locative voice, in which case, the morphology (the suffix *-an*) is the same as with transitive verbs in locative voice. Forms in parentheses in table 7.1 are rare.

LV will now be illustrated for realis, irrealis, and gerund modes, respectively. It will be noted that LV with intransitive verbs is especially common in relative clauses, including clefts and semi-clefts. The relevant verb form has been bolded.

a. Realis intransitive LV

- (94) *Badunggal ilio men **no-taka-an-ku**, tanggal men **no-ngamea'-an-ku**.*
 exactly day REL R-arrive-LV-1S date REL R-born-LV-1S
 ‘The day when I arrived (in Palu) was exactly the date when I was born.’ (t67)

- (95) *Tempo i-ya'a men **nin-soop-an-ku**, ai kai singka-singkat*
 time D-DEM3 REL INTR.R-enter-LV-1S EMP.ART 1PE RED-together
tii Marsion.
 with.PA M.
 ‘At the time I entered, we were together with Marsion.’ (t13)

- (96) *Ka-ni'i babas-na tempat men **no-to-rimpa'-an-na**.*
 D-DEM1 trace-3S place REL R-NVOL-drop-LV-3S
 ‘This is the impression left of where he fell (to the ground).’ (dict)

The following three examples illustrate locative voice in semi-cleft clauses, as indicated by the presence of the article *a* (see §4.3.4 and especially §9.5 for a discussion of clefts and semi-clefts). In each case, a head noun meaning ‘time’ or ‘place’ has been gapped, giving the verb form the appearance of a nominalization preceded by the article *a*. However, the presence of the intransitive realis prefix *no-* clearly marks these words as verbs.

- (97) *Sianta na-nau' a **no'-usan-an-na**, kai nongo-rongor-mo...*
 NEG INTR.R-long ART R-rain-LV-3S 1PE AV.R-hear-PERF
 ‘It had not been raining long, when we heard...’ (Lit. ‘The [time] when it had rained was not long...’) (t67)
- (98) *Siso'-kon-on-ku i koo a **no-pate-an-na**.*
 point-APPL-PV.I-1S PA 2S ART R-die-LV-3S
 ‘I will show you (the place) where he died.’ (t35)
- (99) *Oloa-mo a **no-l <um> opon-an**, oto men ia wawa Tama-ni Zuzan*
 far-PERF ART R-INTR-climb-LV car REL 3S bring father-3S.PI Z.
no-taan-mo.
 R-stop-PERF
 ‘When (we) had climbed far, the car that Susan’s father was driving stopped.’ (Lit. ‘The (place/extent) where we had climbed was far, ...’) (t68)

b. Irrealis intransitive LV

Irrealis locative voice is relatively rare in our corpus. The following examples illustrate LV in a relative and in a cleft clause; in both cases, an oblique locative argument is promoted to subject. The verbal bases are *l<um>akit* ‘board, get in, get on’ and *t<um>ambu* ‘fetch water’, both intransitive verbs of the *-um*-class (see §5.2).

- (100) *Kapal men bo l<um>akit-an-mai sian-po sida r<um>ingkat.*
 plane REL for INTR-board-LV-1PE NEG-IMPF can INTR-leave
 ‘The plane which we were to board could not yet leave.’ (t67)

- (101) *Lobong ni aume a t<um>ambu'-an-muu?*
 well 3S.PA who ART INTR-fetch.water-LV-2P
 ‘Whose well do you get water from?’ (Lit. ‘Whose well [is the place] where you fetch water?’) (conv)

c. Gerund intransitive LV

Gerund intransitive LV (marked by zero or by replative *p-* in combination with *-an*) mainly occurs in purpose clauses (following *bo ~ boo*) and relative clauses.

- (102) *Na ilio poo-rensa-an...*
 LOC day REC-separate-LV
 ‘On the day (they) get divorced....’ (t56)
- (103) *Ia man-sarak tempat men pore pinti-moong-an.*
 3S AV.I-search place REL good PURP.GER-shady-LV
 ‘He is looking for a good place to take shelter.’ (conv)
- (104) *Ilio upa bo poo-ta-taka-i-an?*
 day what for REC-RED-arrive-APPL-LV
 ‘What day is the gathering?’ (t56)
- (105) *Taka na tempo men poo-bisara-i-an...*
 arrive LOC time REL REC-speak-APPL-LV
 ‘When (we) came to the time for discussion...’ (t56)
- (106) *Ma'ulop-na-mo yaku' no-mae'-mo tu'u-mari na terminal Balantak*
 morning-3S-PERF 1S R-go-PERF DEM4-VEN loc bus.terminal B.

mae' man-sarak oto boo lakit-an-ku mule'kon.
 go AV.I-search car for board-LV-1S return
 ‘The next morning I went to the Balantak bus terminal, to find a car which I could board to return home.’ (t66)

Notice that the verb from *lakit-an-ku* in (106) is a gerund; the corresponding irrealis form of this verb in (100) is *no-l<um>akit-an-mai*, with the infix *-um-*. Gerunds of intransitive verbs never take the infix *-um-*, as shown in table 7.1.

7.5.2 LV in transitive clauses

The morphology of all the modes and voices of transitive verbs is summarized in table 7.2, illustrated on the verbal root *ili* ‘buy’ (repeated from chapter 3). Forms in parentheses are rare.

Table 7.2.. Voice and mode with transitive verbs

	realis	irrealis	gerund
agent voice	<i>ning-ili</i>	<i>ming-ili</i>	<i>ping-ili</i>
patient voice	<i>ni'-ili</i> / PRO <i>ili</i>	<i>ili-on</i>	(<i>ili</i>)
locative voice	<i>ning-ili-an</i>	(<i>ming-ili-an</i>)	<i>ping-ili-an</i>

As with intransitive verbs, locative voice takes the location or the time of the event as its starting point and makes the NP with this semantic role the subject of the clause, just as agent voice takes the agent, and patient voice takes the patient argument and makes that the subject.

The following simple elicited example set shows the voice contrast in four relative clauses, illustrated on realis forms only. The predication in each clause has three arguments: the agent ('the person'), the patient ('the rice'), and the location ('the market'). The three clauses exemplify the choice of agent, patient, and location as the subject of the relative clause. An additional locative voice with temporal meaning is also given. Note that in locative voice verb forms, the prefixes *mVng-*, *nVng-* and *pVng-* will not be glossed AV.R AV.I and AV.GER, but simply R, I or GER, since they no longer indicate agent voice.

agent voice:

- (107) *Mian men ning-ili pae na pasar...*
 person REL AV.R-buy rice LOC market
 'The person who bought rice at the market...'

patient voice:

- (108) *Pae men ia ili na pasar...*
 rice REL 3S buy LOC market
 'The rice that she bought at the market...'

locative voice (with locative meaning):

- (109) *Pasar men ning-ili-an-na pae...*
 market REL R-buy-LV-3S rice
 'The market where she bought rice...'

locative voice (with temporal meaning):

- (110) *Ilio men ning-ili-an-na pae...*
 day REL R-buy-LV-3S rice
 'The day that she bought rice...'

The remainder of this section will illustrate locative voice in realis, irrealis, and gerund mode. The examples will become increasingly complex, as applicative *-kon* (§5.6.2) and directional *-i* (§5.6.3) can also be added to the verbal mix. In certain complex cases, the verbal base is, therefore, also given.

a. Realis transitive LV

Realis LV seems to be most common in relative clauses, clefts, and semi-clefts.

- (111) *Ntu'u na pasar a ning-ili-an-ku gala.*
 DEM.ADV4 LOC market ART R-buy-LV-1S vegetables
 'There at the market is where I bought vegetables.' (conv)

- (112) *Toko ning-ili-kon-an-ku HP ni Hoi sianta oloa.*
shop R-buy-APPL-LV-1S mobile 3S.PA H. NEG far
'The shop where I bought a mobile phone for Hoi is not far.' (elic)
- (113) *Na-nau' a non-totobo'i-an, sia-sian-na-po i-sida.*
INTR.R-long ART R-repair-LV RED-NEG-3S-IMPF NEG.INTR.R-can
'For a long time. they tried to repair (the car), but it still wouldn't go.' (Lit. 'The (time) when they repaired it was long....') (t68)
- (114) *Gause Lumpo'nyo sian-po na-nau' a nam-[p]a-lawu-kon-an*
because L. NEG-IMPF INTR.R-long ART R-SF-go.down-CAUS-LV

ka-'ita na kota.
D-DEM.ADV1 LOC town
'Because it had not been long since (the government) moved (the village of) Lumpo'nyo down here to town.' (t58)

[*ma-lawu* 'go down', *mam-[p]a-lawu-kon* 'lower, bring down', cf. §5.6.1 d]

b. Irrealis transitive LV

The tripartite system with nine cells, as outlined in table 7.2, suggests the category of an irrealis LV. No examples occur in the natural texts that were collected, but made-up forms were acceptable and interpretable to native speakers and, hence, they have been included in parentheses in the chart. To illustrate this category, we can only offer an elicited example, which is grammatical, although our language helpers pointed out that the LV gerund *ping-ili-an-ku* is the preferred verb form here.

- (115) *Maana ming-ili-an-ku gula kodi'?*
where I-buy-LV-1S sugar in.a.while
'Where shall I buy sugar in a while?' (elic)

c. Gerund transitive LV

In contrast with realis LV, gerund LV is relatively common. These forms may have very few verbal features and, in some cases, appear to function as locative nominalizations, as in (116). However, some of the other functions of the gerund are also available in locative voice, including purpose clauses and semi-clefts.

- (116) *Taka na ping-ili-an oli, raaya'a koo-koo'-na-po no-mule'kon*
arrive LOC GER-buy-LV oil 3P RED-NEG-3S-IMPF R-return
'When (we) arrived (back) from the place where (we) had bought oil, they still had not yet returned.' (t68)
- (117) *Tano' men karambatu sian sida pang-asok-an pae.*
soil REL rocky NEG can GER-plant-LV rice
'Rocky soil cannot (be used) for growing rice.' (dict)
- (118) *Ni ime a pung-ule'kon-an lean ka-ni'?*
LOC.PA who ART GER-return-LV plate D-DEM1
'To whose place should these plates be returned?' (dict)
- (119) *Kai nan-sarak-mo laigan-na mian boo pan-taring-an-mai supermii.*
1PE AV.R-search-PERF house-3S person for GER-cook-LV-1PE noodles
'We looked for someone's house where we could cook the noodles.' (t68)

The following example shows a gerund locative voice with applicative *-kon* in a semi-cleft construction:

- (120) *Na laigan-mo ka-ni'i a bo pim-bisara-kon-an-ta posuo'-an.*
 LOC house-PERF D-DEM1 ART for GER-speak-APPL-LV-1PI marry-NOM
 'Let this be the house where we will discuss the wedding.' (t56-m)
 [*ba-bisara* 'speak (intr)', *mim-bisara-kon* 'speak about, discuss']

Finally, we present some locative gerunds with the directional suffix and causative suffix *-i*, one in a semi-cleft and three in purpose clauses:

- (121) *Ipi a pang-asok-i-an-muu?*
 when ART GER-plant-DIR-LV-2P
 'When is it (= the time) that you will plant it (= the garden)? (conv)
 [*mang-asok* 'plant (a crop)', *mang-asok-i* 'plant (a field)']
- (122) *Ilio upa bo poo-ta-taka-i-an?*
 day what for REC-RED-arrive-DIR-LV
 'When is the day that (people) will gather?' (t56)
 [*taka* 'arrive', *poo-ta-taka-i* 'meet e.o., gather'; cf. §5.5.9.]
- (123) ... *kada' boo pongo-moong-i-an runtup men daa kangkung-mo*
 so.that for GER-shady-CAUS-LV rice.stem REL finish dry-PERF
ni-puari.
 PV.R-dry.in.the.sun
 '... so that (they) can store (or: so that it can be a storing place for) the rice stems which are dry from having been dried in the sun.' (t53)
 (*mo-moong* 'shady', *mongo-moong-i* 'store in a dark place')
- (124) *Noko daa i-ya'a, taka-mo tempo-na men bo pam-ba-limba'-i-an.*
 after.R finish D-DEM3 arrive-PERF time-3S REL for GER-INTR-move-DIR-LV
 'After that, the time for moving (into the house) had come.' (t13)
 (*ba-limba'* 'move' (intr); *mingi-limba'* 'move, shift s.t.', *mam-ba-limba'i* 'move into a house')

7.6 Narrative clauses with *ku-*

In three first-person narrative texts in our corpus, we find a preponderance of clause types where the agent of both intransitive and transitive clauses is marked with the first person singular prefix *ku-* (or its allomorph *ku'-* before vowel initial bases). We analyse this *ku-* as a proclitic, as it appears to function like a free pronoun and is sometimes written separately. Somewhat surprisingly, *ku-* is the only pronominal preclitic in the language (see §4.1.4), a situation which is reminiscent of Kaili (Barr 1988ab) and Pendau (Quick 2008). Clauses with *ku-* are typically used in a conversational style of narration, limited to oral discourse. In written materials, these constructions tend to be frowned upon, as these preclitics are considered 'poor style' and, hence, inappropriate for written discourse.

The following three examples are all taken from the first paragraph of a recorded text in which the author tells of his experiences collecting durians at night.

- (125) *Guntu-guntumalom ku-rae' nan-tara' timbo' bino panso-ngku.*
 RED-late.afternoon 1S-go AV.R-cut bamboo for.R torch-1S
 'Late in the afternoon, I went and cut bamboo to make a torch.' (lit. '...for my torch.') (t2)

- (126) *Noko daa ku-tara', ku'-onsong-mo...*
 after.R finish 1s-cut 1s-plug-PERF
 'After I cut (some bamboo), I plugged (the opening)...' (t2)
- (127) *Noko daa ku'-anui a onsong-na, ka' ku'-isii tia mina'tana.*
 after.R finish 1s-remove ART plug-3s and 1s-fill with kerosene
 'After I removed the plug, I filled it (= the bamboo) with kerosene.' (t2)

These examples show *ku-* in a realis context with an intransitive verb (*ku-rae'* 'I went'), as well as various realis agented verbs (*ku-tara'* 'I cut'), all in patient voice. In each case, a careful editor of the written text would replace *ku-* with *yaku'*.

Further on in the story, the author sometimes uses *ku-* with agent voice gerunds (*pVng*-formations), as in the following example:

- (128) *Daa noko tambun, ku-pun-duup apu ka' ku-pang-ala panga'...*
 finish after.R gather 1s-AV.GER-blow fire and 1s-AV.GER-get branch
 'After (I) had gathered (some durians), I made a fire and got some branches...' (t2)

Our language helpers commented that instead of *ku-pang-ala* 'I got, I took' the following constructions are also grammatical: *yaku' nang-ala* (plain realis agent voice, the preferred option here for a written discourse), *yaku' pang-ala* (gerund agent voice, presumably because of its position in a coordinate construction; see §5.4.3f.), or even *ku-nang-ala* (realis agent voice with *ku-*). Of the latter construction, we have no examples in our corpus.

The following example, from another oral story by the same author, gives proclitic *ku-* following the preposition *bo*, an environment where we normally expect a gerund (see §6.3.1). Notice that the verb *rumpak* in the second and third clause is not marked for any agent.

- (129) *Sala-salan i yaku', rumpak liu', rumpak buu'na alayo'*
 RED-walk PA 1s meet ravine meet mountain high

bo ku-lopon-i.
 for 1s-climb-DIR
 'As I was walking along, I came to a ravine and I came to a high mountain for me to climb.'
 (t1)

We have very few examples of preclitic *ku-* in an irrealis context, but the following is one, taken from a procedural text (where all verb forms are in irrealis, see §5.4.2i.) on how to make coconut oil.

- (130) *Sarataa memel a likison ku'-isii-kon-mo na botor.*
 when cold ART coconut.oil 1s-fill-APPL-PERF LOC bottle.
 'When the coconut oil is cold, I put it in a bottle.' (t8)

In summary, *ku-* is probably a 'weak pronoun', a cliticized variant of the full pronoun *yaku'*, its usage limited to conversational narrative, and occurring with a variety of verbal forms (intransitive, transitive, realis, irrealis, gerund, agent voice, patient voice). As such, it does not indicate a special type of grammatical relation and is simply a phonological variant of *yaku'*. What is surprising is the loss of the final glottal stop in the proclitic form, except before vowels. It is possible that the original form was *ku'*- and that the glottal before consonants was lost by analogy with other prefixes, where a glottal is inserted before stem-initial vowels.

7.7 Marked topic constructions

Balantak has two special marked topic constructions: in one, a possessor is topicalized and fronted, and another states the material of which an object is made.

In the first type, the possessor is fronted and a resumptive possessive suffix *-na* on the head noun of the subject refers back to the topic. As may be expected, these fronted possessor topics occur in a wide variety of clauses. The following examples show fronted topic noun phrases (bolded) in an intransitive clause, a patient voice clause and an equative clause.

- (131) **Lemo'** **suit** *ma-karang* *tuu'* *a* *weer-na*.
 citrus.fruit lime INTR.I-sour very ART water-3S
 'Lime juice is very sour.' (Lit. 'Lime, its water [is] very sour.') (dict)

- (132) **Sapi'-na** *ni-sowir* *a* *tilinga-na* *bo* *oos*.
 cow-3S PV.R-slice ART ear-3S for mark
 'His cow's ear was cut as a mark.' (Lit. 'His cow, its ear was sliced as a mark.') (dict)

- (133) **Weer-na** *somo* *toro* *rua'* *dapa* *a* *ko'-alalom-na*.
 water-3S left up.to two fathom ART NOM-deep-3S
 'The remaining water is only two fathoms deep.' (dict)

Notice that the topic is not identical to the subject. In all three examples, the post-verbal subject is introduced by the article *a*, but the clause-initial topic is the possessor.

The second marked topic construction is similar, but in this case, there is no possessive relationship and no possessive suffix. Instead, these clauses involve factitive ('making') verbs such as *wawau* 'make' and *sida-kon* 'cause to become, create, make', both of which have three arguments: an optional agent, the material, and the resulting object. In each case, the resulting object is presented as the clause-external topic, while the material is the fronted predicate, followed by a patient voice verb that is preceded by *a*. This remarkable clause type is best analysed as a topic-comment structure, with the clause core (the comment) displaying a semi-cleft construction. The following three examples illustrate factitive clauses. Apparently, there is no other way of expressing a factitive proposition in Balantak.

- (134) *Lemari* *ka-ni'i*, *oe* *a* *ni-wawau*.
 cupboard D-DEM1 rattan ART PV.R-make
 'This cupboard is made of rattan.' (dict)

- (135) *Sinsim-na*, *perak* *a* *ni-wawau*.
 ring-3S silver ART PV.R-make
 'His ring is made of silver.' (elic)

- (136) *Manusia-po*, *tano'* *a* *ni-sida-kon*.
 man-EVEN earth ART PV.R-become-CAUS
 'Even man was made from earth.' (t77)

7.8 Peripheral elements

This section describes various elements that are outside the clause core, including information about the time, location and manner of the state of affairs referred to in the clause core, as well as various kinds of adverbs and attitudinal markers.

7.8.1 Temporal periphery

The temporal periphery grounds the clause in time and answers the question ‘when?’, ‘how often?’ or ‘how long?’ It can be filled by a variety of words and phrases, as well as clauses, but the latter will be discussed in §10.3.1. Although most of the temporal terms are native Balantak words, a fair number of words are loans from Indonesian, including *tempo* ‘time’ (ultimately from Portuguese) and *jaam* ‘hour’.

Noun phrases:

<i>bangar pii rondom</i>	‘after a few days/nights’ (<i>bangar</i> ‘about’)
<i>ilio koi-ni’i</i>	‘this day, today’
<i>ilio malom</i>	‘day and night’
<i>jaam sompulo’</i>	‘ten o’clock’ (lit. ‘hour ten’)
<i>jaam sitenga lima</i>	‘half past four’ (lit. ‘hour half five’)
<i>sam-bitu’on</i>	‘one month’
<i>sanda’ ilio</i>	‘every day’
<i>sa’angu’ tempo</i>	‘once (upon a time), one day’
<i>tanga’-iloa’</i>	‘(at) midday’ (but cf. <i>ilio</i> ‘day’)
<i>tanga’-na rondom</i>	‘(in) the middle of the night’
<i>taun ni’i-mari</i>	‘next year’
<i>tempo m(b)aripi(an)</i>	‘(in) earlier times, long ago’
<i>tempo i-ya’a</i>	‘at that time’
<i>tolu’ taun</i>	‘(for) three years’

Derived numeral adverbs (see §4.5.3):

<i>ri-pua-n</i>	‘two days ago’
<i>ri-tulu-n</i>	‘three days ago’
<i>ri-pato-n</i>	‘four days ago’
<i>i-pua-n</i>	‘the day after tomorrow’
<i>i-tulu-n</i>	‘the third day after today’
<i>i-pato-n</i>	‘the fourth day after today’
<i>pin-dua-n</i>	‘twice’
<i>piri-tolu ~ poro-tolu</i>	‘three times’
<i>piri-paat ~ para-paat</i>	‘four times’

Prepositional phrases (see chapter 6):

<i>na bulan Desember</i>	‘in December’
<i>na tanggal sompulo’ walu’</i>	‘on the 18 th ’
<i>supu i-ya’a</i>	‘since then’

Temporal adverbs:

<i>baasi ~ baasi’</i>	‘just recently’
<i>bukuan</i>	‘often, frequently’
<i>damo</i>	‘suddenly’
<i>guntumalom</i>	‘late afternoon’ (cf. <i>malom</i> ‘night’)
<i>ka’ita-ita</i>	‘recently’ (cf. <i>ka’ita</i> ‘here’)
<i>kodi’</i>	‘in a while, in a short time, momentarily’
<i>koi-ni’i</i>	‘now, these days’ (<i>ni’i</i> ‘this’)
<i>komburi’na</i>	‘afterwards; in the end’
<i>liila</i>	‘tomorrow’
<i>liu-liu</i>	‘immediately’ (cf. <i>liu</i> ‘go past’)
<i>malia’</i>	‘often, frequently’

<i>maripian</i>	'before, earlier'
<i>ma'ulop</i>	'in the morning'
<i>olukon</i>	'first, ahead'
<i>pensan</i>	'once'
<i>(r)imputu'</i>	'last night'
<i>(r)imberi'</i>	'yesterday'
<i>(r)imberi' malom</i>	'the evening before yesterday; two nights ago'
<i>ripiina</i>	'in the past'
<i>saapo</i>	'this evening'
<i>sinampang</i>	'always'
<i>tumbe-tumbe-na</i>	'first of all'
<i>umba'a</i>	'a bit ago, just now'

Some of the words listed here are possibly nouns (or have a nominal history), but since they are never modified by articles, demonstratives, or possessive pronouns, and neither function as subjects or objects, we treat them as adverbs.

Some of these temporal adverbs can be modified by a degree adverb such as *tuu'* 'very', by reduplication, or by the clitic *-si* 'later':

<i>bukuan tuu'</i>	'very often'
<i>ma'ulo-ulop tuu'</i>	'very early in the morning'
<i>pensan-pensan</i>	'once in a while'
<i>pensan-si</i>	'another time, some other time'
<i>kodi'-si</i>	'a short time from now'
<i>kodi-kodi'</i>	'after a short time'
<i>kodi-kodi' titiu'</i>	'only (for) a very short time'
<i>tempo-tempo</i>	'sometimes'

The usual position for a temporal periphery is clause-initial, especially in cases when an event is located at a particular point in time, rather than when a statement is made about its frequency:

- (137) *Liila kita mae' l<um>ako'.*
tomorrow 1PI go INTR-hunt
'Tomorrow we will go hunting.' (dict)
- (138) *Maripian sian-po biai' tuu' a mian.*
in.the.past NEG-IMPF many very ART person
'In ancient times, there were not yet very many people.' (dict)
- (139) *Liu-liu i kancil no-l<um>umpat...*
immediately PA mouse.deer R-INTR-jump
'Immediately, mouse deer jumped up...' (t43)
- (140) *Na tanggal 24 maa-malom yaku' no-mae'-mo.*
LOC date 24 RED-evening 1S R-go-PERF
'On the 24th in the evening, I left.' (t4)
- (141) *Jaam-mo sompulo', ee yaku' suri a kompong-ku ma-polos-mo*
hour-PERF ten hey 1S feel ART belly-1S INTR.I-hurt-PERF
'At ten o'clock, I felt that, hey, my belly was hurting.' (t11)
- (142) *Tanga'-na-mo rondom koo'-po no-lahir a anak.*
middle-3S-PERF night NEG-IMPF R-born ART child
'By midnight, the baby was still not yet born.' (t11)

However, temporal peripheries also occur clause-finally, especially those relating to frequency. Several adverbs are also found clause-medially, though the exact conditions under which this is possible have not been investigated.

- (143) *Lele i-ya'a dompa na ko'omai rimberi'.*
news D-DEM3 reach LOC OBL.1PE yesterday
'The news reached us yesterday.' (dict)
- (144) *Yaku' kursus wurung Ingeris pinduan sa-minggu.*
1s course talk English twice one-week
'I have English classes twice a week.' (conv)
- (145) *Roona-na pae tio sinampang paresa-on...*
leaf-3s rice must always check-PV.I
'The rice leaves must always be checked....' (t53)
- (146) *Wiwine men na sarigan, tio bukuan ming-inum rombung.*
woman REL LOC labour must often AV.I-drink traditional.medicine
'A woman in labour must frequently drink traditional medicine...'' (t52)

7.8.2 Locative periphery

The locative periphery is normally filled by a locative adverb (for details, see chapter 8), a prepositional phrase introduced by *na* (see §6.1) or a combination. The locative periphery most commonly follows verbs of movement, but in the case of existential verbs (and possibly some other environments), it occurs clause-initially.

- (147) *Taka i-ntu'u maa-maalom-mo.*
arrive D-DEM.ADV4 RED-evening-PERF
'When we arrived there, it was already evening.' (t67)
- (148) *Ai ia no-tuuk-mo na laigan...*
EMP.ART 3S R-stop.by-PERF LOC house
'He stopped by (our) house...'' (t68)
- (149) *Ai koo Sarum rae' ka-nde'e na palampang.*
EMP.ART 2S big.needle go D-DEM.ADV5 LOC ladder
'You, Big Needle, go to the ladder over there!' (t17)
- (150) *Na ola'-na Luwuk tia Poso isian kau memea' a roona-na,*
LOC between-3s L. with P. exist tree red ART leaf-3s
'Between Luwuk and Poso there were trees with red leaves.' (t67)

7.8.3 Manner periphery

The manner of an action is normally indicated by means of a stative verb that follows the main verb and acts adverbially. In most cases in our corpus, these stative verbs are reduplicated and, hence, also seem to signify intensification, though with some stative verbs (such as *boolak* 'loud' and *pore* 'good'), unreduplicated bases are also allowed.

- (151) *Ia ka' mo-robu boolak tuu'...*
3s if INTR.I-speak loud very
'If it (the owl) hoots very loudly...'' (t50)

- (152) *No-bisara-mo boo-boolak.*
 R-speak-PERF RED-loud
 'He spoke very loudly.' (elic)
- (153) ... *kada' anak daa ton-dongo pore.*
 so.that child ATT NVOL-born good
 '... so that the child will be born well.' (t52)
- (154) *Taka i-ntu'u, kai ni-tarima pore-pore.*
 arrive D-DEM.ADV4 1PE PV.R-receive RED-good
 'When we got there, we were very well received.' (t67)
- (155) *Yaku' nong-korowi-mo bente-benteng.*
 1S INTR.R-breakfast-PERF RED-full
 'I had breakfast till I was very full.' (t1)
- (156) *Ukat-on-mo a bokukum ka' bulangkes-on ya'a-si ka'*
 take.off-PV.I-PERF ART shirt and turn.inside.out-PV.I DEM3-FUT and
pisok-on bula-bulangkes.
 wear-PV.I RED-inside.out
 '(You must) take off the shirt, turn it inside out, and then wear it inside out.' (t1)

In (154), the simple base *pore* 'good' is also grammatical, but in (155) and (156), only the reduplicated forms are acceptable. Notice that in (156), *bulangkes* is first a transitive verb 'turn inside out' (with patient voice), then a reduplicated stative verb '(turned) inside out', used adverbially.

7.8.4 Other adverbs

As in most languages, Balantak has quite an array of indeclinable words which have a modifying function at phrasal, clausal or sentential level. The following adverbial categories can be distinguished, primarily on the basis of their meaning, with one or two illustrative examples for each member of the category.

a. Temporal adverbs (see §7.8.1).

b. Locative adverbs (see chapter 8).

c. Negators (see §9.1).

d. Degree adverbs

tuu' 'very'
titiu' 'a bit, slightly, somewhat' (also a quantifier 'little', cf. §4.7)

- (157) ... *gause salan ma-rondor uga' ka' ba'-idek tuu'.*
 because road INTR.I-slippery also and INTR-bad very
 '... because the road was also slippery and very bad.' (t68)
- (158) ... *som-pulo' lima a men moo-moola' titiu'.*
 one-ten five ART REL RED-big little
 '... fifteen (rattan stalks) that were somewhat large.' (t1)

e. Focussing adverbs

Most of the focussing adverbs (possibly all of them) can modify noun phrases as well as verbs or clauses.

<i>daamo</i>	‘just, only’ (also an attitudinal marker, see §7.8.5)
<i>dauga'(-na)</i>	‘still, again’
<i>somo</i>	‘still left, remaining’ (also a sentence adverb ‘be forced to’, see below)
<i>soosodo</i>	‘again’ (also <i>soodo</i>)
<i>tongko'</i>	‘only, just’
<i>toro</i>	‘about, approximately, up to, as many as’ (always with a noun phrase containing a numeral)
<i>uga'</i>	‘also’

- (159) *Ruruk-i antok-na daamo, alia mang-ala lombo'-na.*
 pick-DIR meat-3S just DONT AV.I-take fat-3S
 ‘Choose just the meat, do not take the fat.’ (dict)
- (160) *Susum men baluk-kon-on-na sian-po ni-botak, dauga' sam-bunta.*
 fish REL sell-APPL-PV.I-3S NEG-IMPF PV.R-split still one-piece
 ‘The fish she is selling have not been cut up; they are still whole.’ (dict)
- (161) *Somo tolu' minggu ia mule'kon-mo.*
 left three week 3S return-PERF
 ‘There are still three weeks remaining before he returns.’ (dict)
- (162) *Noko daa kai no-l<um>akit-mo soosodo, ...*
 after.R finish 1PE R-INTR-board-PERF again
 ‘After that, we boarded (the car) again and...’ (t67)
- (163) *Taka terminal, oto men mae' na Balantak tongko' sa'angu'.*
 arrive bus.terminal car REL go LOC B. only one
 ‘When (I) got to the bus terminal, there was only one car going to Balantak.’ (t68)
- (164) *Toro som-pulo' mian a men pandaa'-on-ku.*
 about one-ten person ART REL work.together-PV.I-1S
 ‘There are about ten people to work together with me.’ (t53)
- (165) *Nau-nau' raaya'a man-sarak siok toro tolu'...*
 RED-long 3P AV.I-search chicken up.to three
 ‘Eventually, they look for as many as three chickens...’ (t50)
- (166) *Oto uga' no-l<um>akit-mo na rakit, ka' ai kai uga'.*
 car also R-INTR-board-PERF LOC raft and EMP.ART 1PE also
 ‘The car also boarded the raft, and we did too.’ (t68)

f. Sentence adverbs

Sentence adverbs (or disjuncts), give the speaker’s subjective evaluation or point of view about the state of affairs. Most of them revolve around notions of deontic and epistemic mood. A tentative division can be made between these sentence adverbs with a deontic meaning regarding the degree of certainty of an event (‘maybe’, ‘certainly’) and particles which can be labelled ‘attitudinal markers’, discussed in §7.8.5.

The position of these adverbs in the clause varies, and more research is needed to ascertain the exact meaning and position of each one of them.

<i>bagia</i>	'it would have been better, should have' (synonym <i>mbulo</i>)
<i>dogi'</i>	'apparently, it seems'
<i>kabai</i>	'maybe, probably' (cf. <i>kabai se</i> 'or')
<i>koise</i>	'it seems, it appears as if' (also <i>koi-koi</i> ; cf. <i>koi</i> 'as, like')
<i>mbulo'</i>	'it would have been better' (synonym <i>bagia</i>)
<i>pore-na</i>	'it is advisable, it is best, (one) should' (<i>pore</i> 'good')
<i>sabole</i>	'certainly, definitely'
<i>somo</i>	'be forced to, have no choice but, have to' (also a focussing adverb 'still left, remaining')
<i>sulano</i>	'hopefully, may it be'
<i>tio</i>	'must' (often <i>tio daa</i> or <i>toi daa</i> with the attitudinal particle <i>daa</i> , see §7.8.5)
<i>too</i>	'maybe'
<i>too daa</i>	'hopefully'

- (167) *Bagia i kita ning-ili-mo susum rimberi*.
better PA 1PI AV.R-buy-PERF fish yesterday
'It would have been better, if we had bought fish yesterday.' (dict)
- (168) *Dogi' ai ia sianta mo'-uus mae*.
apparently EMP.ART 3S NEG INTR.I-want go
'Apparently, he doesn't want to go.' (dict)
- (169) *Tama ni Verona na-male-mo kabai*.
father 3S.PI V. INTR.R-tired-PERF maybe
'Verona's father was maybe tired.' (t67)
- (170) *Na pintung koise isian meena*.
LOC dark it.seems EXIST ghost
'In dark places, it seems (or: it feels) as if there are ghosts.' (dict)
- (171) *Pore-na alia waa-tu'u*.
good-3S DONT ALL.I-DEM4
'You shouldn't go there.' (conv)
- (172) *Muu oloa a po-robu-an-na, sabole rongor-on*.
although far ART GER-speak-LV-3S certainly hear-PV.I
'Even though its cry (= of the owl) is far away, it can definitely be heard' (t50)
- (173) *Gause pirit kita somo mo-tingkar*.
because dark 1PI forced INTR.I-torch
'Because it is dark, we are forced to use a torch.' (dict)
- (174) *Anak ka-ni'i alinta, somo sian sida mo-sa'angu' dodongo-an*.
child D-DEM1 pity forced NEG can INTR.I-one live-NOM
'This poor child is forced to grow up without a permanent home.' (Lit. 'This child poor thing is forced not to be able to have one living place.') (t50)
- (175) *Sulano barakaati-on-na Tumpu na salan*.
hopefully bless-PV.I-3S Lord LOC road
'May the Lord bless you in your travels.' (dict)
- (176) *Sa'angu' moro'one kalu boo mo-suo', ia tio ba-panganon*.
one man if FUT INTR.I-marry 3S must INTR-marriage.proposal
'If a man wants to marry, he must organize the marriage proposal ceremony.' (t56)

(177) *Moto'-utus tio daa poo-ko-lingu'-kon liu-liu.*
 REC.I-sibling must ATT REC-AFF-love-APPL continually
 'Siblings must always love each other.' (dict)

(178) *Too daa sian usan kodi' malom.*
 maybe ATT NEG rain in.a.while night
 'Hopefully, it will not rain tonight.' (dict)

7.8.5 Attitudinal markers

Attitudinal markers (or mood particles) indicate the speaker's attitude towards the proposition expressed in the clause, or towards the hearer. The line between sentence adverbs (§7.8.4f.) and attitudinal markers is admittedly thin, but the items listed below all have a very subjective element that is mostly lacking from sentence adverbs and often difficult to translate. They will be listed and then discussed in turn.

a. <i>alaka'</i>	softening imperatives
b. <i>alinta</i> ~ <i>walinta</i>	pity, empathy
c. <i>daa</i>	delight, happiness
d. <i>mase</i> ~ <i>mbase</i>	mild correction
e. <i>mbaa</i>	disappointment
f. <i>mune'</i>	expected information
g. <i>se'</i>	surprise

a. The marker *alaka'* is often added to imperatives, in order to soften or mitigate the command. It presents the command as a suggestion or as an opportunity to do something, sometimes even as a permission to do something, not as a forceful command that has to be obeyed. Translations may vary between 'please', 'go ahead and...' 'why don't you...'. It is possible that *alaka'* is related to the verbal root *ala* 'take' and the conjunction *ka'* 'and', but any historical semantic connection is now so opaque that we prefer to treat *alaka'* as a single morpheme. See §9.3 for some further examples.

(179) *Alaka' tumbur na weer kasi po-loop.*
 please jump.into LOC water then INTR.GER-bathe
 'Go ahead and jump in the water and bathe.' (dict)

b. The attitudinal particle *alinta* (variant *walinta*) signals the speaker's feelings of pity or empathy towards a participant in the story (cf. Indonesian *kasihan*).

(180) ... *ka' ia parot bintana', pate alinta.*
 and 3S coil python die pity
 '... and it (= the monster) was strangled by the python and died, the poor thing.' (t17)

(181) *Mian ma-barang ka-ni'i alinta man-sarak-mo mian soo-soodo.*
 person INTR.I-sick D-DEM1 pity AV.I-search-PERF person RED-again
 'The poor sick person has to look for someone again (to help him).' (t50)

c. The attitudinal marker *daa* (glossed as ATT) is one of the many meanings of the elusive multipurpose word *daa* in Balantak.¹ The addition of the attitudinal marker *daa* to a clause indicates some element of delight, happiness, or thankfulness towards the state of affairs expressed in the proposition, often hard to translate. This emotion can be genuine, as in the first two examples, or done in a mocking way, as in (184).

- (182) *No'-untung tuu', daa no-biai'-mo a intom-ku!*
 R-lucky very ATT R-many-PERF ART meat-1S
 '(I am very lucky, I've got lots of nice meat now.' (conv)
- (183) *Yaku' ia ruup-kon piit see daa sianta paraa na-polos.*
 1S 3S collide-APPL bicycle but ATT NEG as.far.as INTR.R-hurt
 'I was hit by a bicycle, but fortunately I wasn't hurt.' (dict)
- (184) *Tae-ni Kodo' "Epe i koo ka-nono', daa ia koot-mo mian."*
 word-3S.PA monkey haha PA 2S D-DEM2 ATT 3S tie.up-PERF person
 'The monkey said, "Ha-ha, there you are, nicely tied up by someone.'" (t31)

Because of this positive meaning element, *daa* is frequently attached to the purpose marker *kada'* 'so that' (§10.3.7) and the sentence adverb *tio* 'must, ought' (§7.8.4f.).

d. The attitudinal particle *mase* (variant *mbase*) signals that the speaker makes a mild correction to the hearer's understanding or knowledge of a situation, often with the clear implication to change his or her behaviour or expectations. It can be translated as 'please realise that', 'but you should be aware that', or simply as the gloss 'actually'.

- (185) *Buku ka-ni'i mbase na mian.*
 book D-DEM1 actually LOC person
 'Please realize this book belongs to someone else (so be careful with it).' (dict)
- (186) *Wiwine i-ya'a mase no-suo'-mo.*
 woman D-DEM3 actually R-marry-PERF
 'Understand that the woman is already married (so please don't mess with her).' (dict)

¹For the sake of completeness, we briefly list all the meanings of *daa* here (as well as *daa-mo* and *no-daa*), including word class, gloss and the sections where this word is discussed or illustrated. The word *damo* is also included here, as it appears very likely that this is related to *daa*. The vowel in *damo* can optionally be lengthened, and native authors write both *damo* and *daamo*. Determining which meaning of *daa* is meant by an author can be difficult.

Table 7.3. Meanings of *daa*

			meaning	word class	gloss	reference
1.	a	<i>daa</i>	'yes'	(pro-sentence)	yes	§9.2.1
	b	<i>daa</i>	'okay, all right'	(pro-sentence)	OK	-
2.	a	<i>daa</i>	'finish'	intransitive verb	finish	§10.3.1
	b	<i>no-daa</i>	'finished'	intransitive verb	INTR.R-finish	§10.3.1
	c	<i>daa-mo</i>	'already'	intransitive verb	finish-PERF	-
	d	<i>daa</i>	'after'	deverbal conjunction	finish	§10.3.1
3.		<i>daa</i>	(untranslatable)	attitudinal marker	ATT	§7.8.5
4.		<i>daa-mo</i>	'just, only'	focussing adverb	only	§7.8.4
5.		<i>daa</i>	'and also'	conjunction	and.also	-
6.		<i>damo</i>	'suddenly'	temporal adverb	suddenly	§7.8.1
7.		<i>damo</i>	'there is'	existential	there.is	§7.1

(187) *Ia mase taasi' tongko' pipinga' kasee pintok.*
 3S actually NEG just hard.of.hearing but slow.to.understand
 'Be aware that he is not just hard of hearing, but slow to understand.' (dict)

(188) *Ai yaku' mbase kosian sikola-ngku.*
 EMP.ART 1S actually NEG school-1S
 'Please realise that I haven't been to school (so don't ask me to do this).' (conv)

e. The attitudinal particle *mbaa* signals the speaker's or the narrator's sense of disappointment or dissatisfaction at an event or state which is considered undesired or unfortunate. It is comparable to the German particle *leider* 'alas' and can be translated with the sentence adverb 'unfortunately' or the interjections 'oh no', 'good grief', 'oh bother', though *mbaa* itself is not an interjection.²

(189) *Yaku' mbaa liila mae'-mo.*
 1S ATT tomorrow go-PERF
 'Oh no, I already have to go tomorrow.' (conv)

(190) *Kasee olan ku-suri mbaa daa ko-rupu a untup-ku!*
 but suddenly 1S-feel ATT already ADVS-loose ART front.teeth-1S
 'But suddenly I felt that, good grief, my front teeth had come loose!' (t3)

(191) *Ola-olan ku-wangon, inseleng a ilio, mbaa daa*
 RED-suddenly 1S-get.up peer.at ART sun ATT finish

no-kotangkar-mo!
 R-mid.high-PERF

'Suddenly I woke up, I looked at the sun and, oh no, it was already mid-morning!' (t3)

f. The attitudinal particle *mune'* confirms known facts or statements, used as a basis for further action. By adding *mune'*, the speaker presents the proposition as something which is completely expected and should be or have been clear to the hearer. It focuses on the shared information and can be translated as 'of course', 'naturally', 'indeed', 'don't we agree that', although these English words barely capture the flavour. The word *mune'* should not be confused with the conjunctions *muu*, *mau* and *maune'*, all of which mean 'although' (§10.3.6).

(192) *Uga' bintana' sian mune' rokot, ia parot-mo a sasa' ka-ni'i...*
 also python NEG ATT calm 3S coil-PERF ART cat D-DEM1
 'But of course, the python did not stay calm either, it coiled himself around the cat and ...'
 (t32)

(193) *Umba'a mune' itiu' a upa yaku' koot, see koi-ni'i no-balaki'-mo.*
 a.bit.ago ATT little ART what 1S tie but like-DEM1 R-big-PERF
 'What I tied up a short time ago was small, wasn't it, but now it is big!' (The monster's puzzled response when he sees a monkey hanging from the rafters instead of the tortoise he had tied up.) (t31)

(194) ... *na-takut i raaya'a mune' ka' ia pundu' i bintana' a awu.*
 INTR.R-afraid PA 3P ATT and 3S grab PA python ART ash
 '... they were afraid, of course, and so the python took the ash.' (t37)

²There is also an attitudinal particle *mba'a* found in lines 17, 20, and 31 of text 1 of the Appendix, but it is unclear whether this is a variant of *mbaa*, or (more likely given the context) a separate particle.

g. The attitudinal particle *se'* conveys a sense of surprise or wonder on the part of the speaker. It is frequently found in questions, but it also occurs in statements and exclamations. It is almost impossible to translate in English, but an interjection like 'well, wow' or a descriptive adjective or adverb may convey some of the flavour. The particle *se'* is frequently found with complement-taking verbs (see §10.2.2).

- (195) *Se' ime a nang-ala?*
 ATT who ART AV.R-take
 'Who could have taken it? (We thought it was safe here).' (dict)
- (196) *Kadai se' koi-ya'a?*
 why ATT like-DEM3
 'Why should it be like this? (I'm surprised this happened).' (conv)
- (197) *Inta se' aana a no-mae'-an-na.*
 not.know ATT where ART R-go-LV-3S
 'I have no idea where he could have gone.' (dict)
- (198) *Ma'-amat tuu' a burit-na, pore uga' se'.*
 INTR.I-good very ART pattern-3S good also ATT
 'The pattern is very good, it is remarkably well done.' (t37)
- (199) *Susum ka-ya'a se' balaki' tuu'!*
 fish D-DEM3 ATT big very
 'Wow, look at the size of that fish!' (dict)

A final attitudinal particle is *haa* (variant *aa*), which appears to either reinforce or introduce a conclusion and is sometimes found in combination with *daa*. Its translation equivalents include 'well, okay then, indeed', but its exact semantics is a matter for further research.

7.9 Vocatives

Strictly speaking, vocatives are outside the clause and fall outside the scope of a chapter on clause structure. However, this seems to be a convenient place to discuss them. Vocatives are normally found in commands, requests, or exclamations. Typical vocative nouns are proper names, kinship terms (e.g., *utus* 'sibling', *ina* 'grandma', *tai* 'grandpa') and a few generic words referring to people such as *bela* 'friend', *atu* 'lad'. The vocatives for 'father' and 'mother' are *papa* and *mama*, distinct from the terms of reference *tama* 'father' and *tina* 'mother'.

Vocatives which are preceded by the full pronoun *koo* 'you' (plus article) seem to be quite common in stories:

- (200) *Ai koo Wani', rae' ka-ndo'o na soop-an!*
 EMP.ART 2S bee go D-DEM.ADV7 LOC enter-NOM
 'You, Bee, go up to the door!' (t17)
- (201) *Too daa i koo Marsion, min-sida waa-ro'o Palu tii yaku'...*
 maybe ATT PA 2S M. INTR.I-can ALL-DEM7 P. with.PA 1S
 'Maybe you, Marsion, can go down to Palu with me...' (t4)
- (202) *Kadai i koo Gaja se' wiri'?*
 why PA 2S elephant ATT cry
 'Why are you crying, Elephant, I wonder?' (t43)

Vocatives may appear at the beginning of a clause, though we also have several examples where they are found as the second element of a clause, as illustrated twice above and once below:

- (203) *Ala Sion ka' dolo' a sina-na!*
 please S. and fetch ART mother-3S
 'Sion, please go and get her mother!' (t11)

When calling someone from a distance, the vocative is pronounced with a louder voice, on a higher pitch and with the final vowel of the vocative lengthened: *inaa!* 'Grandma!' *mamaa!* 'Mother!', *Niuus!* 'Nius!'

7.10 Interjections

Interjections are short words which express the speaker's emotion, usually pronounced with a distinctive intonation. Below is a non-exhaustive list of the most common interjections, together with a rough approximation of the accompanying emotion.

<i>aba-aba</i>	regret
<i>astaga</i>	surprise, amazement (a loan from Indonesian)
<i>babaa'i</i>	disgust
<i>bee</i>	surprise, shock
<i>da'apa'</i>	agreement
<i>dolunting</i>	surprise, amazement
<i>doluong</i>	surprise, shock
<i>ebee</i>	1) regret 2) amazement
<i>epe</i>	taunt, ridicule (see example (26))
<i>i koo</i>	surprise (lit. 'you')
<i>ige'</i>	distaste, repugnance
<i>iina</i>	fear
<i>inde</i>	sorry, empathy
<i>kampanang</i>	surprise, complaint, empathy
<i>para-paraamo</i>	disgust, disappointment
<i>taup</i>	disgust, ridicule

Examples in clauses:

- (204) *Aba-aba! no-kadai se' koi ka-ni'i?*
 oh R-why ATT like D-DEM1
 'Oh! Why did this happen?' (Lit. 'Oh, why like this?') (dict)
- (205) *Indo', da'apa', yaku' no-limbo'-mo.*
 yes right 1S R-forget-PERF
 'Yes, you're right; I had forgotten.' (dict)
- (206) *Bee, to-rumpak-mo tanga'-iloa', sia-sian-na-po nan-tausi.*
 oh NVOL-meet-PERF mid-day RED-NEG-3S-IMPF AV.R-find
 'My goodness, it has gotten to be midday and I still haven't found any!' (t3)
- (207) *Para-paraamo! Ia sian nan-tarai yaku'.*
 too.bad 3S NEG AV.R-give 1S
 'What a shame! He wouldn't give it to me.' (dict)

8. Spatial deixis

Spatial deixis in Balantak is remarkably complex. Not only are there seven distinctive demonstrative roots, but in addition, various derivational possibilities exist for these roots, which together create a plethora of forms – altogether some 250, not counting variants. In an earlier publication, Busenitz and Busenitz (1992) outline the most prominent features of spatial deixis in Balantak. This chapter draws heavily on that article, but also presents additional data and some corrections, especially in the area of semantics. Data for this chapter is drawn from textual material, conversations, the dictionary database, as well as a number of focussed elicitation sessions that involved objects and people in a controlled environment.

Balantak spatial deixis makes reference to the well-known parameters of relative distance (near speaker, near hearer, away from speaker and hearer), but also uses other parameters, including height and laterality. In addition, various derivational affixes can be added to refine and expand the basic meanings with notions of visibility, plurality, tense, less definiteness and movement to and away from speaker.

Even though we believe the following analysis to cover the basics, we would like to point out that some of the finer semantic details of Balantak spatial deixis are still not fully understood. We lack a recorded context for several examples which arose during conversations and we also ended up with various elicited forms out of context. This is only to be expected with such a rich system, the study of which could easily fill a separate monograph.

In §8.1, we discuss the seven basic demonstratives, focussing first on the forms, then on the semantic parameters distinguishing the seven sets. In §8.2 – §8.9, various derivational possibilities are explored, including affixation, reduplication and compounding. A number of additional forms are listed in §8.10. In §8.11, we briefly discuss the extensions of spatial deixis into temporal deixis.

8.1 Basic set

8.1.1 Forms

Table 8.1. Basic demonstrative forms

	pronominal			adverbial		
		<i>i-</i>	<i>ka-</i>		<i>i-</i>	<i>ka-</i>
DEM1	<i>ni'i</i>	<i>i-ni'i</i>	<i>ka-ni'i</i>	<i>ita</i>	<i>i'-ita</i>	<i>ka'-ita</i>
DEM2	<i>nono'</i>	<i>i-nono'</i>	<i>ka-nono'</i>	<i>no'o</i>	<i>i-no'o</i>	<i>ka-no'o</i>
DEM3	<i>ya'a</i>	<i>i-ya'a</i>	<i>ka-ya'a</i>	<i>mba'a</i>	<i>i-mba'a</i>	<i>ka-mba'a</i>
DEM4	<i>tu'u</i>	<i>i-tu'u</i>	<i>ka-tu'u</i>	<i>ntu'u</i>	<i>i-ntu'u</i>	<i>ka-ntu'u</i>
DEM5	<i>le'e</i>	<i>i-le'e</i>	<i>ka-le'e</i>	<i>nde'e</i>	<i>i-nde'e</i>	<i>ka-nde'e</i>
DEM6	<i>ra'a</i>	<i>i-ra'a</i>	<i>ka-ra'a</i>	<i>nda'a</i>	<i>i-nda'a</i>	<i>ka-nda'a</i>
DEM7	<i>ro'o</i>	<i>i-ro'o</i>	<i>ka-ro'o</i>	<i>ndo'o</i>	<i>i-ndo'o</i>	<i>ka-ndo'o</i>

The seven basic forms occur both pronominally and adverbially. The pronominal forms typically function as noun phrases (like English ‘this’ and ‘that’), while the adverbial forms typically function as adverbial phrases (like English ‘here’ and ‘there’). These labels are used somewhat loosely, as the pronominal forms do, in fact, also occur adnominally, that is, as attributive modifiers (similar to English ‘I bought this’ and ‘this house’). Also, with compound demonstratives, the adverbial bases have acquired a past tense meaning. However, for most of the chapter, the labels are a convenient characterization. The various demonstratives will simply be glossed as DEM1 (*ni'i*), DEM2 (*nono'*) or DEM.ADV1 (*ita*), DEM.ADV2 (*no'o*) and so on.

The seven demonstrative bases show striking phonological similarities. With one exception (DEM2 *nono'*), the pronominal forms all have the shape CV₁V₁ and, with two exceptions (DEM.ADV1 *ita* and DEM.ADV2 *no'o*), the adverbial forms have the shape C₁C₂V₁V₁, where C₁ is a homorganic nasal. Roots with prenasalized consonants are rare in the language, and as pointed out in §2.4, DEM.ADV4 *ntu'u* is the only root in the language that starts with a *nt* cluster.

Most of the pronominal and adverbial forms are obviously related (e.g., *tu'u* and *ntu'u*), with the clear exception of DEM1 and DEM.ADV1 (*ni'i* and *ita*). The connection between DEM2 *nono'* and DEM.ADV2 *no'o* is tenuous. Possibly, there is a root **no'*, and reduplication and expansion by analogy have created the existing forms. For the other forms, such as *le'e* and *nde'e*, *ra'a* and *nda'a*, it appears that a nasal has been added to the adverbial forms, with concomitant changes such as assimilation and *r,l > d*. The relationship between DEM3 *ya'a* and DEM.ADV3 *mba'a* is puzzling.

Both sets can be (and usually are) preceded by a morpheme *i-* or *ka-*, which does not seem to have any independent meaning. This morpheme will simply be glossed as D (for deictic marker). The conditions under which *i-*, *ka-* or the simple form is chosen are still not clear; the forms appear to be essentially interchangeable, though *ka-* and *i-* are much more frequent than the bare forms, but in attributive position, the forms with *i-* do not occur. The bare form is most common in clause-initial position, functioning as a predicate, though the other two forms are acceptable there, as well. The Lamala dialect of Balantak uses a variant *kai-*, presumably a combination of *ka-* and *i-*, but since most of our data was collected in the main Balantak dialect, forms with *kai-* will not be illustrated.

8.1.2 Semantic parameters

There are several dimensions which differentiate the demonstratives.

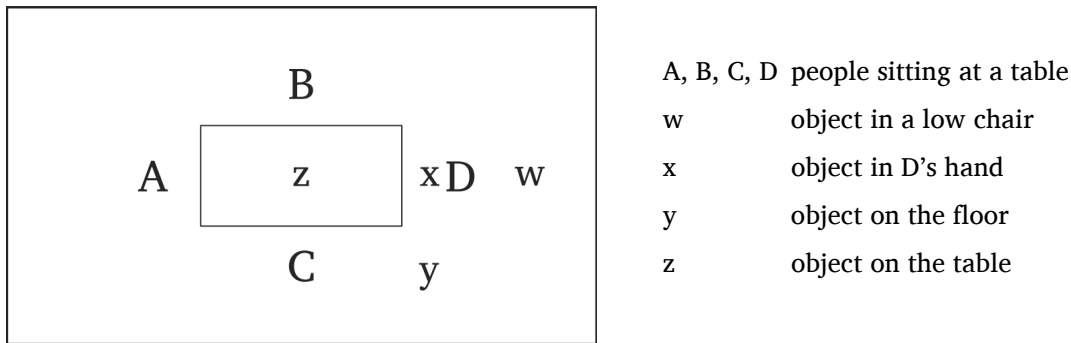
- Distance. The system is a combination of a person-oriented system and an absolute system. It differentiates three proximal and four distal forms. The proximal forms are DEM1 *ni'i* 'near speaker', DEM2 *nono'* 'near addressee' and DEM3 *ya'a* 'neither closer to speaker nor closer to addressee, but relatively close to both'. The other four demonstratives are all farther removed from the interlocutors, though 'distance' is of course a relative concept. DEM4 *tu'u* is the unmarked distal form, 'neither near speaker nor near addressee, and not specified for height or laterality.'
- Laterality. DEM5 *le'e* means 'not close to speaker and hearer and to the speaker's side'.
- Height. The distal demonstratives DEM6 and DEM7 are distinguished by height: DEM6 *ra'a* is used for locations higher than the speaker, but also to the front of him/her at the same level, while DEM7 *ro'o* refers to locations lower than the speaker.

Other semantic parameters that will emerge in the discussion are plurality, vagueness, visibility, movement to and from speaker, as well as tense.

The governing factors for a specific demonstrative form a complex interplay between the position of the object in relation to the speaker, as well as the position of the addressee during the utterance. This is best illustrated by using actual examples taken from a controlled elicitation session in which these issues were explored in some detail.

In figure 8.1, four people (A, B, C and D) are positioned around a table all facing each other. D is holding an object X in his hand. Object Z is on the table in the middle, object Y on the floor, and object W in a low chair.

Figure 8.1. Table with people and objects



When asking about the nature of object X, person D will ask the others *Upa ka-ni'i?* (what D-DEM1) 'What is this?', using a DEM1 since he himself is holding the object. It is closer to him than it is to anyone else. When person A, B or C asks D what object X is, they will say *Upa ka-nono?* (what D-DEM2) 'What is that?' using a DEM2 form, since the object is closer to the addressee (D) than it is to any of the speakers. This clearly shows the person-oriented distance parameter, obviously related to 1st and 2nd person. Instead of *ka-ni'i* and *ka-nono'*, the forms *i-ni'i* and *i-nono'* are also acceptable.

When C asks B about object X, he will say *Upa ka-le'e?* (what D-DEM5), since X is located to his side. The same is true when B asks C about X. However, when A asks B or C about X, he will say *Upa ka-ra'a?* (what D-DEM6) 'What is that?' since the object is in front of (and not lower than) the speaker. The question *Upa ka-ra'a?* (what D-DEM6) is used for objects that are at the same level or higher than the speaker, and not to the side. An object in a bookcase in front of the speaker and the addressee, roughly at eye height, will also generate *ra'a*.

When asking about object Z, located in the middle of the table, each one will say *Upa ka-ya'a?* (what D-DEM3) 'What is that?' to each of the addressees, since the object is in the direct environment of both speaker and addressee(s), relatively close, and about equidistant from all.

When asking about object Y (a toy dog) on the floor a few feet away from the table, any of the speakers seated at the table will say *Upa i-ro'o* (what D-DEM7) 'What is that?' since the object is located lower than the speakers and not close to the addressees. The sideways position of Y does not seem to play a role.

When asking about object W located in an empty armchair behind D, A will ask D *Upa i-ro'o?* (what D-DEM7) because the object is (somewhat) lower than the speaker and not close to the addressee.

DEM4 *tu'u* did not come up spontaneously during this session. When asked under what circumstances *Upa ka-tu'u* (what D-DEM4) 'what is that?' would be appropriate, our language helpers replied that this question would be used for an object that is unclear and somewhat hard to identify. Distance itself is not a crucial factor, as it could be something located in the room (e.g., an object in a bookcase), in the garden, or across the road.¹

Other situations were orchestrated to elicit the question 'what is that?', in which some of the parameters appear to be in conflict, especially the parameters of height, laterality, and being close to the addressee.

In general, it appears that height overrides laterality. This means that DEM5 *le'e* is limited to lateral locations at roughly the same eye height as the speaker. Objects that are located sideways but clearly higher or lower than the speaker's eye height take DEM6 or DEM7, just like object Y (the toy dog on the floor) did in the table session.

For example, if there is a clearly visible object high in the bookcase in the room and speaker and addressee are both seated at the table and have to look sideways and up to see this object, speaker will

¹The conclusion in the 1992 article that DEM4 *tu'u* is used for objects in front of the speaker appears too limited. It can be used for that, but the distinguishing feature of DEM4 seems to be its unmarkedness with respect to height and laterality. It is, therefore, typically used for vague or indistinct objects or locations.

ask *Upa i-ra'a?* (what D-DEM6) using DEM6 for level and higher objects, rather than DEM5 *le'e* for lateral objects. Similarly, a situation can occur when person B is standing sideways from speaker A, and holding an object in his hand. Speaker A asks the addressee C (standing next to A) *Upa i-le'e?* (what D-DEM5), using the expected lateral demonstrative. However, when B holds the object high in his hand, the correct question that A will ask C is *Upa i-ra'a?* (what D-DEM6). In both cases, height overrides laterality.

With lower objects located sideways from the speaker, this does not always appear to be true. For instance, speaker and addressee are both seated at opposite ends of a table and there is an object sideways behind the speaker in an empty armchair, roughly at a 120 degree angle and slightly lower than eye level. Speaker asks *Upa i-le'e?* (what D-DEM5), as he has to look sideways. If he decides to turn his body on his chair, he will ask *Upa i-ro'o?* (what D-DEM7), since he no longer has to turn his head to look sideways. It appears that in the choice of demonstratives, laterality is a stronger determining factor for lower objects than it is for higher objects.

The notions of close-to-addressee and height can also be in conflict, but in this case the speaker sometimes has a choice. If there is, for example, an object under the chair of the addressee, visible to the speaker who is seated opposite it, the speaker can ask either *Upa i-nono'?* (what D-DEM2), since the object is closer to the addressee than it is to the speaker, or he can ask *Upa i-ro'o?* (what D-DEM7), since the object is lower than the speaker. However, when the addressee stands in front of a bookcase and the object is just above his head, visible to the speaker, who is sitting a few meters away, the question again is *Upa i-ra'a?* (what D-DEM6). The question *Upa i-nono'?* (what D-DEM2) is not correct in this case, even though the object is closer to the addressee than it is to the speaker. Height appears to override the factor close-to-addressee in this situation, possibly because the addressee is not in physical touch with the object.

Height (and, thus, DEM6 *ra'a*) usually appears to be the strongest factor whenever there is a potential conflict of parameters. For instance, if there is a fairly indistinct object on the ceiling fan overhead, the correct question is *Upa i-ra'a?* (what D-DEM6), rather than *Upa i-tu'u?* (what D-DEM4). Vague objects normally take DEM4 *tu'u*, unless they are higher than the speaker, in which case DEM6 *ra'a* overrides.

The exact circumstances under which *ya'a* is the preferred choice are also complex. When there are several people present and an object is located among them, the correct question is *Upa i-ya'a?* (what D-DEM3). This signals that the object is nearby, but not closer to the speaker than to the addressees. The same question can be used when the speaker holds an object (e.g., a fruit), stretches his arm so that the object is closer to the addressee than the speaker and asks the question 'what is this?' Both *Upa i-ya'a?* (what D-DEM3) and *Upa i-ni'i?* (what D-DEM1) are possible in this situation, though the former suggests a slight emotional distance on the part of the speaker. When the speaker points to an object on the floor close to him, but not close to the addressee, he may also use *Upa i-ya'a?* (what D-DEM3). Its low position does not override closeness here. In other words, DEM3 *ya'a* is an intermediate form that can mean both 'this' and 'that'.

The following chart summarizes the main semantic features of each of the demonstratives (roots listed only):

<i>ni'i</i>	DEM1	'this, close to speaker (held, touched, pointed to, in direct vicinity)'
<i>nono'</i>	DEM2	'that, close to addressee'
<i>ya'a</i>	DEM3	'this/that, neither closer to speaker nor to addressee(s), equidistant among a group of people engaged in conversation'
<i>tu'u</i>	DEM4	'that, not close to either speaker or hearer, somewhat vague or indistinct'
<i>le'e</i>	DEM5	'that, sideways from the speaker (and at the same height)'
<i>ra'a</i>	DEM6	'that, to the front and/or higher than the speaker'
<i>ro'o</i>	DEM7	'that, lower than the speaker'

Figure 8.2. Distal forms and field of vision

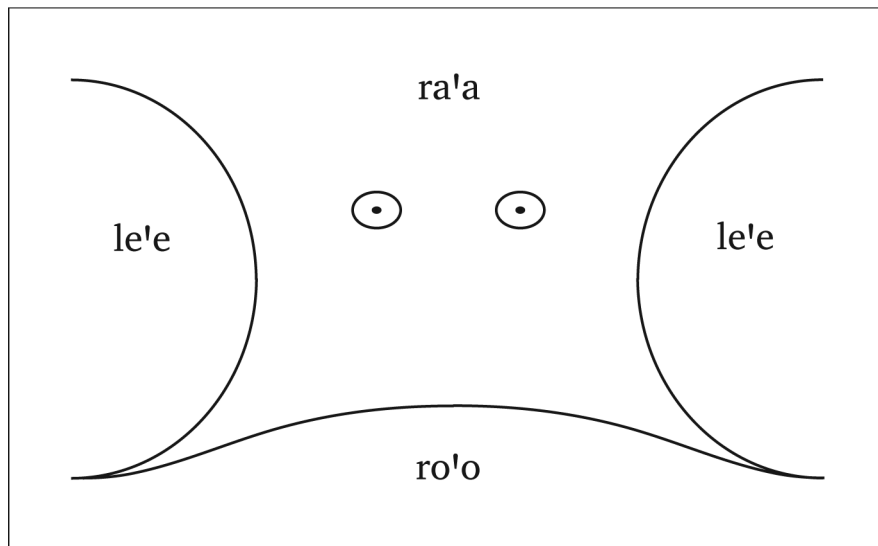


Figure 8.2 attempts to show how the three marked distal forms each occupy a section in the field of vision of a Balantak person looking straight ahead. The straight rectangular lines symbolically represent the limits of one's vision. Notice that DEM5 *le'e* occupies only part of the periphery, only at (roughly) the same eye level as the speaker. Both at the top and at the bottom, it is overridden by DEM6 *ra'a* and DEM7 *ro'o*, as illustrated above. DEM6 *ra'a* refers to the area on a level with and higher than the speaker, and the area it occupies is, therefore, larger than DEM7 *ro'o*. The unmarked distal DEM4 *tu'u* does not participate in this schema, and neither do the person-oriented proximal forms.

In the following sections we will illustrate the pronominal and adverbial demonstratives in actual examples, as much as possible supplying the context, though for a fair number of examples, this is not possible. It will be noticed that in many cases, the demonstratives are not meant to exclude other objects (as in most of the examples above), but rather they give additional spatial information, as in (3).

Dem 1 *ni'i* and *ita*

- (1) *Kau ka-ni'i ma-kadang tuu'.*
 wood D-DEM1 INTR.I-hard very
 'This wood (that I am holding) is very hard.' (conv)
- (2) *Pii-pii a sewa-na bo mam-bala tolo do ka-ni'i?*
 RED-how.much ART cost-3S for AV.I-fence yard D-DEM1
 'How much is it to fence in this yard (in which we are standing)?' (dict)
- (3) *Dunia ka-ni'i ia sida-kon Alaata'ala.*
 world D-DEM1 3S become-CAUS God
 'This world (in which we all live) was created by God.' (dict)

Adverbial usage:

- (4) *Kita minti-male-mo ka'-ita.*
 1PI PURP.I-tired-PERF D-DEM.ADV1
 'Let's rest here.' (conv)

- (5) *Kai tuuk i'-ita na ko'omu*
 1PE stop.by D-DEM.ADV1 LOC OBL.2S
 'We will stop by here at your place.' (conv)
- (6) *Ai yaku' ka'-ita na bunakan.*
 EMP.ART 1S D-DEM.ADV LOC kitchen.ashes
 '(The egg said) I (will lie) here in the ashes in the kitchen (to trick the monster).' (t17)

Dem 2 *nono'* and *no'o*

- (7) *Ka-nono' alia ming-ili.*
 D-DEM2 DONT AV.I-buy
 'Don't buy that (= the thing you're holding).' (conv)

Adverbial usage:

- (8) *Alia k <um> ekerer ka-no'o!*
 DONT INTR-stand D-DEM.ADV2
 'Don't stand there!' (conv)
- (9) *Pe-pera-i yaku' ka-no'o!*
 RED-wait-DIR 1S D-DEM.ADV2
 'Wait for me there (where you are)!' (dict)

An interesting contrast emerged between the regular adverbial demonstrative and an adverbial usage of the pronominal demonstrative, the former having the meaning 'there (but no longer visible)', as in the following (elicited) question-answer pair. We will see a similar meaning component with the prefix *ku-* (§8.7).

- (10) a) *Aana nom-[p]okela-a <wa> n*
 where R-put-LV-2S
 'Where did you put (it)?'
- b) *I-no'o.*
 D-DEM.ADV2
 'There (near you, but it's no longer there).'
- c) *I-nono'.*
 D-DEM2
 'There (near you, as you can see).'

Dem 3 *ya'a* and *mba'a*

We have few examples of *ya'a* in our corpus in a direct spatial sense. Most of them have anaphoric reference, as this seems to be the most appropriate demonstrative to refer back to given entities.

- (11) *Oto i-ya'a ma'-agor tuu'.*
 car D-DEM3 INTR.I-fast very
 'This car (not far from both of us) is very fast.' (dict)
- (12) *Ee ii' d <um> odongo-mo a anak ka-ya'a.*
 hey ha INTR-give.birth-PERF ART child D-DEM3
 'Well well, this child here is about to give birth!' (Spoken by the mother of the woman in labour on arrival in the house.) (t11)

Adverbial:

- (13) *Ka'itaan minti'i-mai d<um>odongo ka-mba'a.*
 formerly elders-1PE INTR-live D-DEM.ADV3
 'Formerly our parents lived here (in this general area near where we are now).' (dict)

Dem 4 *tu'u* and *ntu'u*

These demonstratives rarely seem to be used in a direct spatial sense. We only have examples of adverbial *ntu'u* in our corpus, none of pronominal *tu'u*. It appears that the primary function of DEM4 is anaphoric, referring back to places mentioned before. Because of its unmarked nature, without reference to laterality and height, *tu'u* is the obvious choice when the speaker refers to a fairly non-specific 'there'.

- (14) ... *na laigan-na ari Verona. Taka i-ntu'u maa-maalom-mo.*
 OBL house-3S PLUR V. arrive D-DEM.ADV4 RED-evening-PERF
 '... (we went) to the house of Verona's family. When we got there it was almost dark.' (t68)
- (15) *Tempo-na i-ya'a ari sina-ni Sion ntu'u na ko'omai.*
 time-3S D-DEM3 PLUR mother-3S.PI S. DEM.ADV4 LOC OBL.1PE
 'At that time, Sion's mother's family was staying there with us.' (t11)

Dem 5 *le'e* and *nde'e*

The demonstrative *le'e* appears to be primarily used in a direct spatial way. In each of the following examples (the context for most of which is unfortunately not available), the meaning element of 'to the side, sideways' (from the speaker) is clearly there. The double demonstrative in (19) is interesting, where the second one gives a further specification (though it is unclear why the second form is pronominal and not adverbial).

- (16) *Piile' i-le'e men bo langkai'im, le'e daa ule!*
 see D-DEM5 REL for husband-2S DEM5 ATT snake
 'See that one who will be your husband, it is a snake!' (t39)
- (17) *Piile'! Isian kodo' loe-loe na panga' ka-le'e.*
 look EXIST monkey RED-hang LOC branch D-DEM5
 'Look! There is a monkey hanging from that branch.' (dict)
- (18) *Upa barang-na mian ka-le'e?*
 what sick-3S person D-DEM5
 'What is the illness of that person?' (dict)
- (19) *Aana ke-kela-an-na? No'o! Le'e!*
 where RED-put-NOM-3S DEM.ADV2 DEM5
 'Where did she put it?' 'There near you! There on the side!' (conv)

Adverbial usage:

- (20) *Alia minti-karas, rae' i-nde'e na koong.*
 DONT PURP.I-scorching.hot go D-DEM.ADV5 LOC shade
 'Don't stay in the hot sun, go over there (sideways) to the shade.' (dict)
- (21) *Ia taka-i damo nde'e na undang-an...*
 3S arrive-DIR EXIST DEM.ADV5 LOC rock-LOC
 'She found that (the baby) was (still) there in the cradle.' (t32)

Dem 6 *ra'a* and *nda'a*

- (22) *Bulan ka-ra'a mo-ruar tuu'.*
 moon D-DEM6 INTR.I-bright very
 'The moon up there is really bright.' (dict)
- (23) *Tae-na sina-na "Ra'a mbaa sa'angu' manusia na ba-peka-an*
 word-3S mother-3S DEM6 ATT one man LOC INTR-fish-NOM
laki-lakit na duangan."
 RED-board LOC boat
 'His (= the young dolphin's) mother said, "Up there (unfortunately) is a person fishing aboard a boat.'" (t12)

Adverbial usage:

- (24) *Kita poo-ta-taka-i-si i-nda'a.*
 1PI REC-RED-arrive-DIR-SEQ D-DEM.ADV6
 'We will meet up there later.' (dict)
- (25) ... *ninti-koot-mo i Kodo' i-nda'a somo loe-loe.*
 PURP.R-tie-PERF PA monkey D-DEM.ADV6 remain RED-hang
 'Monkey tied himself up there and remained hanging.' (t31)
- (26) *Ai koo Bintana', rae' ka-nda'a na tambin.*
 EMP.ART 2S python go D-DEM.ADV6 LOC bedroom
 'You python, go up to the bedroom.' (t17)

Dem 7 *ro'o* and *ndo'o*

Pronominal (with adverbial usage):

- (27) *Raaya'a no-d<um>odongo-mo ro'o na Davao.*
 3P R-INTR-live-PERF DEM7 LOC D.
 'They are living down in Davao now.' (dict)

Adverbial usage:

- (28) *Mbaana a bo dodongo-a<a>n, ka'-ita kabai ka-ndo'o?*
 where ART for live-NOM-2S D-DEM.ADV1 or D-DEM.ADV7
 'Where will you live, here or down there?' (dict)
- (29) *Kodi-kodi' ia too-piile' se' daa isian Ree'a i-ndo'o*
 RED-in.a.while 3S NVOL-see ATT ATT EXIST tortoise D-DEM.ADV7
na loiya'.
 LOC ginger
 'After a while, he happened to see that there was a tortoise down there among his ginger plants.' (t31)
- (30) *Ko'ona i raaya'a men ni-tarop-kon i-ndo'o: roti, keju...*
 OBL.3S PA 3P REL PV.R-serve-APPL D-DEM.ADV7 bread cheese
 'As for them/theirs (= the Americans), what they got served (down) there was bread, cheese' (t67)

8.2 Perfective *-mo*

The addition of the perfective suffix *-mo* to demonstrative bases has three rather distinct semantic effects.

In the first place, *-mo* creates a focussed demonstrative that normally precedes the rest of the clause subject, either as a predicate in an equative clause or as a focussed locative in a verbal clause. Most of the examples have an anaphoric function, though spatial meanings are also possible.

- (31) *Rp 95.000, ni'i-mo a saa' wiwi'na kalu ko-limba' na doi'.*
 Rp 95.000 DEM1-PERF ART amount all if AFF-move LOC money
 'Rp 95.000; this is the total amount (of the dowry) when it is converted into money.' (t56)

- (32) *Masigi' ya'a-mo a laigan ba-sambayang-an-na mian Isilaam.*
 mosque DEM3-PERF ART house INTR-pray-NOM-3S person Islam
 'A mosque, that is the place where Muslims pray.' (dict)

- (33) *Oloa-mo a nun-tuus-an-mai, ntu'u-mo i raaya'a*
 far-PERF ART R-follow.after-LV-1PE DEM.ADV4-PERF PA 3P

poto'-oruang na tano'.
 MULT-sit LOC earth

'When we had followed them a long ways, there they were, all sitting on the ground.' (t68)

A second function of *-mo* is to indicate perfective or completed action (often translatable as 'already'). This is especially common with allative and venitive derivations, which will be illustrated in subsequent sections.

A third function of *-mo* on demonstratives is to mitigate a command or to signal resignation to a situation, best translated as 'just' (cf. also §9.3).

- (34) *Tae-nai Ree'a "Ka' koi-ya'a no'o-mo i koo,*
 word-3S.PA tortoise and like-DEM3 DEM.ADV2-PERF PA 2S

yaku' dauga' mo-te'e.
 1S still INTR.I-defecate

'The tortoise said, "In that case, you just stay there (where you are), while I relieve myself."' (t16)

- (35) *Io ansee ai yaku' ka'-ita-mo mem-pe-pera-i.*
 ok in.that.case EMP.ART 1S D-DEM.ADV1-PERF AV.I-RED-wait-DIR
 'Okay, in that case I will just wait here.' (t19)

8.3 Plural *raa-*

The plural prefix *raa-* can be added to the demonstrative roots to create either a plural referent or to refer to a wider or less definite area. DEM2 *ka-no'o* means 'there (near you)', while *ka-raa-no'o* means 'there (somewhere near you)', 'in the vicinity near you'.

Table 8.2. Plural demonstrative forms

	pronominal			adverbial	
	<i>ka-raa-</i>	<i>i-raa-</i>	<i>i-raa- + -mo</i>	<i>ka-raa-</i>	<i>raa- + -mo</i>
DEM1	<i>ka-raa-ni'i</i>	<i>i-raa-ni'i</i>	<i>i-raa-ni'i-mo</i>	<i>ka-raa'-ita</i>	<i>raa'-ita-mo</i>
DEM2	<i>ka-raa-nono'</i>	<i>i-raa-nono'</i>	<i>i-raa-nono'-mo</i>	<i>ka-raa-no'o</i>	<i>raa-no'o-mo</i>
DEM3	<i>ka-raa-ya'a</i>	<i>i-raa-ya'a</i>	<i>i-raa-ya'a-mo</i>	<i>ka-raa-mba'a</i>	<i>raa-mba'a-mo</i>
DEM4	<i>ka-raa-tu'u</i>	<i>i-raa-tu'u</i>	<i>i-raa-tu'u-mo</i>	<i>ka-raa-ntu'u</i>	<i>raa-ntu'u-mo</i>
DEM5	<i>ka-raa-le'e</i>	<i>i-raa-le'e</i>	<i>i-raa-le'e-mo</i>	<i>ka-raa-nde'e</i>	<i>raa-nde'e-mo</i>
DEM6	<i>ka-raa-ra'a</i>	<i>i-raa-ra'a</i>	<i>i-raa-ra'a-mo</i>	<i>ka-raa-nda'a</i>	<i>raa-nda'a-mo</i>
DEM7	<i>ka-raa-ro'o</i>	<i>i-raa-ro'o</i>	<i>i-raa-ro'o-mo</i>	<i>ka-raa-ndo'o</i>	<i>raa-ndo'o-mo</i>

For the plural pronominal demonstratives, the deictic markers *i-* and *ka-* are always present, bare forms such as **raa-ni'i* do not occur. Both can occur with the predicate marker *-mo* (and *i-* frequently does), though the forms *ka-raa-...-mo* are not shown in the table. The adverbial demonstratives normally only take *ka-*; we were told that forms with *i-* such as *i-raa'-ita* are possible, but these have not been recorded in texts or in conversations. When the perfective marker *-mo* is added, *ka-* and *i-* are normally absent. Again, the combination *kai-* is found in the Lamala dialect.

This prefix, which is glossed as PLUR, has a variant *ra-*: *ka-raa-ni'i* ~ *ka-ra-ni'i* though the forms with *raa-* appear to be more common.

There is one exception to the rule that the pronominal demonstratives always take *i-* or *ka-*, and this is the personal pronoun *raaya'a* 'they' (§4.1.1), clearly related to and derived from DEM3 *i-raa-ya'a*. In this case, the marker *i* is either present or absent, though normally present when *raaya'a* occurs post-verbally. Because of its different distribution and its patterning with the other pronouns, *i* in *i raaya'a* 'they' appears to be the personal article *i* (§4.3.1), distinct from the deictic marker *i* and written as a separate word. On the other hand, *raaya'a* 'they' is treated as a single morpheme and glossed as '3P'.

Examples of DEM1:

- (36) *Mae' maana i kuu ka-raa-ni'i?*
 go where PA 2P D-PLUR-DEM1
 'Where are you all (who are here with me) going?' (conv)
- (37) *I-raa-ni'i mbaa waya'-na.*
 D-PLUR-DEM1 ATT result-3S
 'And these things, sigh, are the result.' (conv)
- (38) *Oruang ka-raa'-ita!*
 sit D-PLUR-DEM.ADV1
 'Sit down somewhere around here.' (There are a few seats the addressee(s) can choose from; addressee can be singular or plural.) (conv)

Examples of DEM2:

- (39) *Ala-mo a kitap ka-raa-nono', boo ko'omuu.*
 take-PERF ART book D-PLUR-DEM2 for OBL.2P
 'Take those books (near you), they are for you.' (conv)

- (40) *Kau-muu men kuu wawa pokela i-raa-no'o na liwa-na*
 wood-2P REL 2P bring put D-PLUR-DEM.ADV2 LOC outside-3S

laigan.

house

'The wood that you brought, put it there (in the area where you are) on the outside of the house.' (dict)

Examples of DEM3:

- (41) *Ime a tombono bembe' ka-raa-ya'a?*
 who ART owner sheep D-PLUR-DEM3
 'Who is the owner of these sheep (close to use)?' (dict)
- (42) *Raa-ya'a-mo a upa men sarak-on-ku.*
 PLUR-DEM3-PERF ART what REL seek-pv.i-1S
 'Those are the things I'm looking for.' (dict)
- (43) *Oruang-mo ka-raa-mba'a, alia tongko' waa-le'e-le'e-mari.*
 sit-PERF D-PLUR-DEM.ADV3 DONT just ALL-RED-DEM5-VEN
 'Sit down (somewhere near us), don't just keep going back and forth.' (conv)

An example of DEM4:

- (44) *Po-bangkal-an-mai sian-mo sakat oloa, mau tongko'*
 GER-garden-LV-1PE NEG-PERF no.need far although just
- ka-raa-ntu'u kai daa.*
 D-PLUR-DEM.ADV4 1PE ok
 'There is no need for our gardens to be far away; even if they are just over there (referring to a vague area in front), that's fine with us.' (dict)

An example of DEM5:

- (45) *Boo dodongo-an daa sambumo, mau ka-raa-nde'e*
 for live-NOM ok no.matter.which although D-PLUR-DEM.ADV5
- kabai se' ka-raa-mba'a, yaku' daa.*
 or ATT D-PLUR-DEM.ADV3 1S ok
 'It doesn't matter where (we) live, whether over there (on the side) or around here, I'm okay either way.' (dict)

An example of DEM6:

- (46) *Kai taka-i, raaya'a dauga'-na ka-raa-nda'a poto-pera.*
 1PE arrive-DIR 3P still-3S D-PLUR-DEM.ADV6 MULT-wait
 'When we arrived, they were all still waiting up there.' (t68)

- (47) **Ka-raa-nda'a** na ale'-muu isian ayop ma-lela' nin-soop.
 D-PLUR-DEM.ADV6 LOC garden-2P EXIST animal INTR.I-wild INTR.I-enter
 'Somewhere up there in your garden, a wild animal got in.' (example [11] of the deixis article)²

An example of DEM7:

- (48) **Kuu mbulo raa-ndo'o-mo,** sobiimo ka' ro'o-mari na ale'.
 2P better PLUR-DEM.ADV7-PERF just.leave and DEM7-VEN LOC garden
 'It's better if you just stay down there; it's not necessary to come up here to the garden.'
 (dict)

8.4 Extensional suffix -a

Table 8.3. Extensional demonstrative forms

	pronominal			adverbial	
	-a	i...-a	ka-raa...-a	i...-a	ka-raa...-a
DEM1	ni'i-a	i-ni'i-a	ka-raa-ni'i-a	i'-ita-a	ka-raa'-ita-a
DEM2	nono'-a	i-nono'-a	-	i-no'o-a	-
DEM3	ya'a-a	i-ya'a-a	ka-raa-ya'a-a	i-mba'a-a	ka-raa-mba'a-a
DEM4	tu'u-a	i-tu'u-a	ka-raa-tu'u-a	i-ntu'u-a	ka-raa-ntu'u-a
DEM5	le'e-a	i-le'e-a	ka-raa-le'e-a	i-nde'e-a	ka-raa-nde'e-a
DEM6	ra'a-a	i-ra'a-a	ka-raa-ra'a-a	i-nda'a-a	ka-raa-nda'a-a
DEM7	ro'o-a	i-ro'o-a	ka-raa-ro'o-a	i-ndo'o-a	ka-raa-ndo'o-a

The extensional suffix -a occurs with all demonstrative forms (both pronominal and adverbial) and serves to extend the distance from the speaker (or from the listener) beyond that which is signalled by the unmarked forms. The DEM5 adverbial *i-nde'e* 'there (to the side)' does not indicate distance as such, but the use of the extensional form *i-nde'e-a* indicates that the speaker adds the feature 'further away' to the basic meaning. Similarly, *ni'i-a* 'this' extends the distance between the speaker and the hearer. Of course, distances are relative, and much depends on the objects and locations involved, as well as the speaker's perspective and the cultural expectations of the people involved.

Combinations with the plural prefix *raa-* also occur, as indicated in the table, though they are ungrammatical with DEM2. Our corpus does not contain many examples of this extensional suffix, and the following examples are partly taken from Busenitz and Busenitz (1992).

- (49) **I yaku' ni'i-a** sanaang, isian bo ka-kaan-ku.
 PA 1S DEM1-EXT happy EXIST for NOM-eat-1S
 'I'm happy here, I've got things to eat.' (Lit. '... there is for my food.' Spoken while the snail is sitting in a tree, talking to a crocodile waiting at the bottom.) (t22)
- (50) **Ni'i-a** na Dolom aa daa pore a weer-na.
 DEM1-EXT LOC D. ATT ATT good ART water-3S
 'Here in Dolom the water is (fortunately) good.' (conv)

²The ultimate sources of six examples taken from the (1992) deixis article are, unfortunately, no longer retrievable.

- (51) *Pe-pera-i yaku' i-no'o-a, oro'-on-ku-si.*
 RED-wait-DIR 1S D-DEM.ADV2-EXT pick.up-PV.I-1S-SEQ
 'Wait for me over there; I'll pick you up later.' (This implies quite a distance between speaker and hearer, e.g., in a conversation across a river or a telephone conversation.) (conv)
- (52) *Taka i-nde'e-a sianta bo na-nau' tuu'...*
 arrive D-DEM.ADV5-EXT NEG for INTR.R-long very
 'Arriving there (far to the side), it was not very long before...' (t68)
- (53) *Yaku' maripi isian no'-ale' ka-raa-nda'a-a na lipu'.*
 1S formerly EXIST INTR.R-garden D-PLUR-DEM.ADV6-EXT LOC interior
 'In the past, I used to garden in those places way up there in the interior.' (dict)
- (54) *Sapi' tio daa dolo'-on ro'o-a na Poyang.*
 cow must ATT fetch-PV.I ADV7-EXT LOC P.
 'The cow must be fetched way down in Poyang.' (t13)

8.5 Venitive and approximal suffix *-mari*

Table 8.4. Venitive demonstrative forms

	incomplete	complete
DEM1	<i>(ka-)ni'i-mari</i>	<i>(ka'-)ita-mari</i>
DEM2	-	-
DEM3	<i>(ka-)ya'a-mari</i>	<i>(ka-)mba'a-mari</i>
DEM4	<i>(ka-)tu'u-mari</i>	<i>ntu'u-mari</i>
DEM5	<i>(ka-)le'e-mari</i>	<i>nde'e-mari</i>
DEM6	<i>(ka-)ra'a-mari</i>	<i>nda'a-mari</i>
DEM7	<i>(ka-)ro'o-mari</i>	<i>ndo'o-mari</i>

The suffix *-mari* may be affixed to all demonstrative forms, except for DEM2. Forms such as *no'o-mari* and *nono'-mari* are not acceptable in the Dolom dialect of Balantak, but are fine in the Lamala dialect. The form *nooro'o* discussed in §8.10.1, appears to fill this gap.

Semantically, *-mari* can give either a venitive or an approximal meaning. In the first place, it can indicate a venitive movement, that is, a movement 'hither'. In a conversation, this will normally be a movement towards the speaker from the point signalled by the basic demonstrative, but in a narrative, this is usually a movement towards the narrative point of orientation, as in (57) below. The form *ro'o-mari*, for instance, means 'from there (below) to here'. The difference between the pronominal and adverbial forms has been transformed from a categorial into a temporal opposition. The pronominal forms signal incompleted action (irrealis), while the adverbial forms designate completed action (realis). We lack, however, a clear contrastive pair illustrating the difference, and also retain the glossing conventions used so far.

Examples illustrating the venitive meaning:

- (55) *Usan ka-ni'i-mari dodoa.*
 rain D-DEM1-VEN intense
 'The rain that is coming this way is very hard.' (dict)
- (56) *Kada' daa ia taka tu'u-mari.*
 so.that ATT 3S arrive DEM4-VEN
 'So that he will come over here (from somewhere there).' (t35)

- (57) *Daa no-palus-mo i Alakasing no-taka-mo i Kodo'*
 finish R-absent-PERF PA monster R-arrive-PERF PA monkey
ntu'u-mari...
 DEM.ADV4-VEN
 'When the Giant Monster had gone, Monkey arrived there and...' (t31)
- (58) *Yaku' rongor isian mian gora' ra'a-mari.*
 1s hear EXIST person noisy DEM6-VEN
 'I hear there are noisy people coming (this way) from up there.' (dict)
- (59) *Biai' mian ming-usan mule'kon ra'a-mari (na) bangkal.*
 many person INTR.I-rain return DEM6-VEN LOC garden
 'Many people (often) walk (down) home from the garden in the rain.' (dict)
- (60) *Sianta paraa na-nau' daa nda'a-mari-mo a taksi.*
 NEG as.far.as INTR.R-long ATT DEM.ADV6-VEN-PERF ART taxi
 'Before long, a taxi arrived (from up there).' (conv)
- (61) *Maripi a no-taka-an-na utus-muu ndo'o-mari Jakarta?*
 when ART R-arrive-LV-3S brother-2P DEM.ADV7-VEN J.
 'When did your brother arrive here from (down in) Jakarta?' (dict)

Notice that the pronominal forms *tu'u-mari* in (56) and *ra'a-mari* in (58) have an incompleated aspectual reading (future or present), whereas, the adverbial forms *ntu'u-mari*, *nda'a-mari*, and *ndo'o-mari* have a completed meaning. With these derived demonstratives, an additional locative phrase does not need to be introduced by the preposition *na*, as illustrated in (59) and (61).

Further to example (61), it is interesting to note that many locations are considered *ro'o* 'down', when spoken about in the mountainous villages in the interior of the Balantak area. These include Balantak Staap (on the east coast), Palu (provincial capital on the west coast of Central Sulawesi), Manado (to the north, provincial capital of North Sulawesi) and Jakarta, but also countries such as America or the Netherlands. For each of these places, one would say in the Balantak area that a person has come *ro'o-mari* 'here from down there'. In contrast, a person who has arrived from Luwuk (the regency capital on the south coast of the peninsula, due west of Balantak) has come *ra'a-mari* 'here from up there.' The system behind the choice of these demonstratives is not yet fully understood.

The second meaning of *-mari* is 'approximal'. It means that the location designated by the demonstrative is approximate and somewhat indefinite, roughly translatable as 'somewhere around here' or 'somewhere over there'. This meaning seems to overlap, to some extent, with that of the plural prefix, and the exact contrast is not completely clear.

- (62) *Ni'i-mari a buku-muu.*
 DEM1-APPROX ART book-2P
 'Your books are somewhere around here.' (conv)
- (63) *Ita-mari a no-penta'-an-na sinsim-ku ripuan.*
 DEM.ADV1-APPROX ART R-lose-LV-3S ring-1s day.before.yesterday
 'It is somewhere around here that I lost my ring the day before yesterday.' (dict)
- (64) *Men mo-bosi' ka-ya'a-mari too bokoti' pate.*
 REL INTR.I-smell D-DEM3-APPROX maybe mouse dead
 'Maybe the bad smell around here could be (caused by) a dead mouse.' (dict)

An example from the Lamala dialect:

- (65) *Upa i-nono'-mari na lalom-na botutu'-muu, kakai?*
 what D-DEM2-APPROX LOC inside-3S small.bag-2P grandfather
 'What do you have there in your small sack, grandfather?' (dict)

In the Dolom dialect, this particular demonstrative form is unacceptable; instead a separate form *i-nooro'o* is used with the same meaning (see §8.10.1 for more discussion of this demonstrative). It is not quite clear why the approximate form occurs in (65), as the location is actually very precisely identified. It is possible that the meaning is not approximal, but venitive (with benefactive overtones): 'What do you have there in your small sack (which will come to me), grandfather?' A similar example, again from the Lamala dialect, is the following, in which the venitive form is used with a verb of speech:

- (66) *Men kuu tundun ka-nono'-mari daa kana' tuu'.*
 REL 2P tell D-DEM2-VEN ATT true very
 'What you told me was really true.' (dict)

8.6 Allative prefixes *waa-* and *mbaa-*

Table 8.5. Allative demonstrative forms

	incomplete	complete
DEM4	<i>waa-tu'u</i>	<i>mbaa-tu'u</i>
DEM5	<i>waa-le'e</i>	<i>mbaa-le'e</i>
DEM6	<i>waa-ra'a</i>	<i>mbaa-ra'a</i>
DEM7	<i>waa-ro'o</i>	<i>mbaa-ro'o</i>

The allative (or 'thither') prefixes are in opposition to the venitive suffix *-mari*. They mark a movement away from the speaker and addressee, and can only be used with the distal demonstratives. As with the venitive suffix, there is a temporal contrast within the allative forms, here signalled by different prefixes: *waa-* 'non-past allative' and *mbaa-* 'past allative'. In many of the examples, a verb of motion is lacking, and it could be argued that the allative demonstratives are actually verbs (showing a temporal opposition comparable to realis and irrealis), but we lack conclusive evidence at this point. They can certainly function like verbs and take verbal prefixes (see §8.10.5). Examples:

- (67) *Uga' yaku' no-wangon-mo ka' mbaa-tu'u weer mae'*
 then 1S R-get.up-PERF and ALL.R-DEM4 water go
nong-oso'i lima-ngku tia sarat-ku.
 AV.R-wash hand-1S with foot-1S
 'Then I got up, went to the water and washed my hands and my feet.' (t66?-m)
- (68) *Waa-ra'a na ale'.*
 ALL.I-DEM6 LOC garden
 'Up to the garden.' (Reply to the question 'Where are you going?') (conv)
- (69) *Tama-ngku waa-ra'a Luwuk mam-baluk-kon kulibang.*
 father-1S ALL.I-DEM6 L. AV.I-sell-APPL copra
 'My father is going (up) to Luwuk to sell copra.' (dict)

- (70) ... *ka' sanggiran waa-ra'a-mo na tanga'-na salan.*
 and other ALL.I-DEM6-PERF LOC middle-3S road
 '... and others were already halfway.' (t1)
- (71) *Daa no-palus-mo i Alakasing no-taka-mo i Kodo' ntu'u-mari,*
 finish R-absent-PERF PA monster R-arrive-PERF PA monkey DEM.ADV4-VEN
ia pasawe' mbaa-ra'a na laigan ka' neng-epe-i i Ree'a.
 3S go.up ALL.R-DEM6 LOC house and AV.R-mock-DIR PA tortoise
 'When the Monster had gone, Monkey arrived there, went up into the house, and started
 mocking Tortoise.' (t31)
- (72) *Too daa i koo min-sida waa-ro'o Palu tii yaku'.*
 maybe ATT PA 2S INTR.I-able ALL.I-DEM7 P. with.PA 1S
 'Maybe you can go (down) to Palu with me.' (Spoken in Dolom.) (t4)
- (73) *Ia rae'-i-mo waa-ro'o ka' ia pundu' uga' i-ro'o*
 3S go-DIR-PERF ALL.I-DEM7 and 3S grab then D-DEM7
i Ree'a ka' ia wawa mbaa-tu'u na laigan-na.
 PA tortoise and 3S bring ALL.R-DEM4 LOC house-3S
 'He (= the monster) went down for him, grabbed the tortoise (down there), and took him
 away to his house.' (t31)
- (74) *Waa-ro'o Kiloma a salan-ta kabai waa-ro'o Tongke?*
 ALL.I-DEM7 K. ART road-1PI or ALL.I-DEM7 T.
 'Are we taking the way down to Kiloma or the way down to Tongke?' (conv)

Notice that in (73), the first clause has a non-past form, presumably because at the point of narration, the action is still incomplete and the tortoise has not been caught (see also §4.4.2 for a similar phenomenon with irrealis). The second allative form *mbaa-tu'u* marks an unspecified location, away from where the action had taken place in the last episode. It does not mark movement away from the speaker at this point, but movement from the point of narration.

8.7 Non-visible prefix *ku-*

Table 8.6. Non-visible demonstrative forms

	present	non-present
DEM4	<i>ku-aa-tu'u</i>	<i>ku-mbaa-tu'u</i>
DEM5	<i>ku-aa-le'e</i>	<i>ku-mbaa-le'e</i>
DEM6	<i>ku-aa-ra'a</i>	<i>ku-mbaa-ra'a</i>
DEM7	<i>ku-aa-ro'o</i>	<i>ku-mbaa-ro'o</i>

The prefix *ku-* always combines with the allative prefixes and adds the semantic element of non-visibility to the distal demonstratives. Since the proximal demonstratives are defined as within sight or reach of the speaker or addressee, it makes sense that these prefix combinations are limited to the distal set.

It appears that the prefix *ku-* is affixed to the allative forms *waa-* and *mbaa-*, with loss of *w* resulting in *ku-aa-* (see §2.10). Semantically, however, the connection is tenuous, as in many of the examples no movement is indicated, though it is possible that a movement in the past is implied. Both the present *ku-aa-* and the non-present *ku-mbaa-* refer to objects that are out of view for both speaker and listener, but the difference is that the non-present forms add the meaning component that the object is no longer in

the location specified, or is not there yet. This is illustrated in the following dialogue (which actually happened) in which speaker and addressee were taking a break in the yard of the house in which they were staying, standing near a motorbike. A man had recently come into the house on some business. The following brief dialogue ensued.

- (75) a) *Motor ni ime ka-ya'a?*
 motorbike 3S.PI who D-DEM3
 'Whose motorbike is this?'
 b) *Na langkai' ku-aa-le'e.*
 LOC man INVIS-ALL.I-DEM5
 'It belongs to that man over there (to the side, out of sight).' (conv)

The use of *ku-aa-le'e* indicates that the referent was located sideways from the speaker, that he was out of view, and that the speaker believed he was still in that location. If he had said *ku-mbaa-le'e*, it would have referred to the same person in the same location, with the additional understanding that the person was no longer there. (If the person had been in view, the speaker would have used *na langkai' ka-ro'o*, but the use of *ro'o* rather than *le'e* is somewhat puzzling.)

Another contrastive pair:

- (76) a) *Ala-kon a kaset-ku ku-aa-ra'a!*
 take-APPL ART tape-1S INVIS-ALL.I-DEM6
 'Get the cassette tapes there for me (somewhere level or higher in front of me, but out of view for me).' (conv)
 b) **Ala-kon a kaset-ku ku-mbaa-ra'a!*
 take-APPL ART tape-1S INVIS-ALL.R-DEM6
 'Get the cassette tapes there for me (somewhere level or higher in front of me, out of view for me, and no longer there).'

Example (76b) is ungrammatical (or at least bizarre), because it means that at some point the cassettes were somewhere level or higher in front of the speaker and out of view for the speaker, but it also clearly states that they are no longer there in that location. Hence, the request to get them does not make sense.

In both (75) and (76), it can be argued that there is a motion component to the demonstratives, as these objects were clearly put in those positions in the first place, but this issue remains to be further explored. The notion of invisibility also encompasses vagueness or haziness because of distance, not necessarily complete invisibility. The addition of this feature does not imply that all the other distal demonstratives are necessarily always visible. The opposition is not binary (plus or minus visible); rather, the opposition is between objects unmarked for invisibility (either visible or invisible) and objects marked for invisibility. In other words, a demonstrative such as *ka-ra'a* 'down there' may refer to a visible or invisible location, but *ku-aa-ra'a* is necessarily invisible.

It seems that these 'invisible' demonstratives typically occur in dialogue and only have an exophoric use; that is, they only refer to locations in the extra-linguistic environment, not to locations mentioned earlier in the text. This is probably due to their threefold deictic anchoring in the speech situation: location (with dimensions of height and laterality), visibility, and time (present vs non-present).

Other examples:

- (77) a) *Maana no-mae'-an-muu?*
 where R-go-LV-2P
 'Where did you go?'

- b) ***Ku-mbaa-le'e*** *nang-ala* *tustel*.
 INVIS-ALL.R-DEM5 AV.R-take camera
 'Over there (to the side) to pick up the camera.' (conv)
- (78) *Ai* *harimau* ***ku-aa-tu'u*** *talalo-mo* *tuu'* *bodo'*.
 EMP.ART tiger INVIS-ALL.I-DEM4 too-PERF very evil
 'Tiger over there (invisible to us) is too evil.' (t35)
- (79) *Isian* *kuda* *pate* ***ku-aa-tu'u***.
 EXIST horse dead INVIS-ALL.I-DEM4
 'There is a dead horse over there (invisible to us).' (t35)
- (80) ***Ku-aa-ra'a*** *na* *laigan-mai* *a* *utus-muu*
 INVIS-ALL.I-DEM6 LOC house-1PE ART sibling-2P

mem-pe-pera-i *i* *kuu*.
 AV.I-RED-wait-DIR PA 2P
 'Up there at our house (invisible to us), your sibling is waiting for you, Sir.' (dict)
- (81) *Isian* *sasa'* ***ku-mbaa-ro'o*** *rimputu'* *no-bari-kakat*.
 EXIST cat INVIS-ALL.R-DEM7 last.night R-REC-bite
 'There were cats down there last night fighting.' (example [27] of the deixis article)

In each case, the use of the non-past form indicates that the referent is still in that position. Use of the corresponding past form *ku-mbaa-tu'u* in (78) would imply that the tiger had left. Similarly, the announcement in (80) only makes sense if the speaker is sure that the sibling is still there, while in (81), the speaker can be fairly sure that at the moment of speaking, the fighting cats were no longer in the same position.

One example shows the non-present form with a future reference:

- (82) *Pe-pera-i-on-mai-si* ***ku-mbaa-le'e***
 RED-wait-DIR-PV.I-1PE-SEQ INVIS-ALL.R-DEM5
 'We will wait (for you) over there.' (conv)

The interesting fact here is that *ku-mbaa-le'e* has future reference. The present form *ku-aa-le'e* is unacceptable in this context. It appears that the temporal alignment in these demonstratives differs slightly from that of verbs and that of the allative demonstratives. With verbs, realis is used for past and present, while irrealis marks future. With allative demonstratives the contrast is between past and non-past. In the case of the non-visible demonstratives, we are dealing with a present versus non-present distinction, such that referents which are no longer in a location or not yet in a location are marked the same way, distinct from referents that are there at the moment of speaking. That would explain (82), but further examples are needed to corroborate this hypothesis.

8.8 Reduplicated demonstratives

Table 8.7. Reduplicated demonstrative forms

	1	2	3	4	5
DEM1	<i>nii-nii'i</i>	<i>ii'-ita</i>	<i>ni'i-ni'i-mo</i>	-	-
DEM2	<i>nono-nono'</i>	<i>noo-no'o</i>	<i>nono-nono'-mo</i>	-	-
DEM3	<i>yaa-yaa'a</i>	<i>(m)baa-mbaa'a</i>	<i>ya'a-ya'a-mo</i>	-	-
DEM4	<i>tuu-tuu'u</i>	<i>(n)tuu-ntuu'u</i>	<i>tu'u-tu'u-mo</i>	<i>tu'u-tu'u-mari</i>	<i>ntu'u-tu'u-mari</i>
DEM5	<i>lee-lee'e</i>	<i>(n)dee-ndee'e</i>	<i>le'e-le'e-mo</i>	<i>le'e-le'e-mari</i>	<i>nde'e-le'e-mari</i>
DEM6	<i>raa-raa'a</i>	<i>(n)daa-ndaa'a</i>	<i>ra'a-ra'a-mo</i>	<i>ra'a-ra'a-mari</i>	<i>nda'a-ra'a-mari</i>
DEM7	<i>roo-roo'o</i>	<i>(n)doo-ndoo'o</i>	<i>ro'o-ro'o-mo</i>	<i>ro'o-ro'o-mari</i>	<i>ndo'o-ro'o-mari</i>

Reduplicated demonstratives show a bewildering variety of forms, some of which are laid out in table 8.7. At least five sets can be distinguished formally, but the exact semantic characterization is hampered by a lack of adequate example material.

Formally, there is both lengthening and reduplication, as well as considerable free variation. On the basis of DEM1 *ni'i*, for instance, the first root vowel is first lengthened to *nii'i*, then the first two syllables are reduplicated, resulting in *nii-nii'i* 'a little bit this way'. The forms in set 2 are based on the demonstrative adverbs and have an optional initial nasal in the reduplicant. The forms in sets 4 and 5 with the venitive suffix *-mari* display extensive free variation. In addition to a form such as *le'e-le'e-mari*, there are the variants *lee-le'e-mari* (with loss of glottal stop in the reduplicant), as well as *lee-lee-mari*, where the glottal is lost in the root, as well. For set 5, we recorded, in addition to *ntu'u-tu'u-mari*, the variant *ntu-tu'u-mari*; and for *ndo'o-ro'o-mari*, the variant *i-ndo-ro'o-mari*. Strictly speaking, set 5 is not a reduplication, but compounding of the pronominal and adverbial demonstratives. However, it seems convenient to treat these forms together here.

The essential meaning aspect that reduplication brings is the notion of a slight shift of position in the direction indicated, away from the speaker (or the point of narration), or, in case the venitive suffix *-mari* is present, towards the speaker. Set 3 is semantically unique (see below). Unfortunately, we have few examples of the reduplicated forms in our corpus: only one of set 5, and none at all of set 1. Many of the forms in table 8.7 were elicited, as we had various isolated instances of reduplicated demonstratives and were keen to ascertain whether other forms also existed. We were assured these are all possible forms, and that they are perfectly grammatical and understandable.

Set 2 demonstratives show the primary meaning of a slight shift of position, both in imperatives and in declaratives. They appear particularly common in imperatives as a means to soften the request. The movement requested is 'just a little bit'. The lengthened root vowel is not indicated in the interlinear gloss.

- (83) *Tuu-ntuu'u soodo!*
 RED-DEM.ADV4 again
 'Move a little bit over there again.' (In a series of commands for someone to take a certain position.) (conv)
- (84) *Ndee-ndee'e, alia po-geet.*
 RED-DEM.ADV5 DONT REC-crowd
 'Move a bit sideways, let's not be crowded.' (example [35] of the deixis article)

- (85) *See ndaa-ndaa'a suri-on-ku daa ma-lalap-mo*
 but RED-DEM.ADV6 feel-PV.I-1S finish INTR.I-decline-PERF
a polos-na men koi umba'a-an.
 ART hurt-3S REL like just.now-NOM
 'But a bit higher up, I felt that the pain (in my tooth) had decreased compared to before.'
 (t3)
- (86) *Tongko' ndoo-ndoo'o, ia no-kunda'-mo no-mae'.*
 after RED-DEM.ADV7 3S R-not.want-PERF R-go
 'After she had gone down a bit, she no longer wanted to go.' (conv)

Set 3 reduplicated demonstratives (with *-mo*) have the limiting meaning 'just/only this/that location (and nowhere else)'. In both examples, a prepositional phrase follows, but it is unclear whether this is a necessary part of the construction.

- (87) *Men na-mangan doi'-ku ni'i-ni'i-mo i kai mian na Dolom.*
 REL AV.R-steal money-1S RED-DEM1-PERF PA 1PE person LOC D.
 'As for the people who stole my money, it is just us, people from Dolom.' (dict)
- (88) *Raaya'a no-poo-po-suo'-i le'e-le'e-mo na Talima.*
 3P R-REC-SF-marry-DIR RED-DEM5-PERF LOC T.
 'People in Talima only marry each other (i.e., they never marry people from outside the village).' (Lit. 'People marry-each-other only-there in Talima.') (conv)

Set 4, reduplicated demonstratives with the venitive suffix *-mari*, indicate a slight movement from some specific place toward the speaker. All our examples are from imperative clauses.

- (89) *Tu'u-tu'u-mari kada' sianta poo'-oloa.*
 RED-DEM4-VEN so.that NEG REC-far
 'Come a bit this way so that (we) are not far apart.' (conv)
- (90) *Le'e-le'e-mari kutung kada' koyong-on-ku a kompo <o>ng.*
 RED-DEM5-VEN first so.that touch-PV.I-1S ART belly-2S
 'Move a bit sideways towards me, so that I can massage your belly.' (A request by a midwife visiting a woman in labour lying on her bed). (t11-m)
- (91) *Raa-ra'a-mari a kekerer-an-muu dako' ma-karas.*
 RED-DEM6-VEN ART stand-NOM-2P lest INTR.I-scorching.hot
 'Come a little way down here so you won't be so hot.' (conv)

Set 5 is used in the same way as set 4, but with past reference:

- (92) *Kai nde'e-le'e-mari poto-tende' ma'-agor tuu'.*
 1PE RED.R-DEM5-VEN MULT-run INTR.I-fast very
 'We came running over here (from a bit to the side) very fast.' (conv)

8.9 Compound demonstratives

The spatial deixis system in Balantak reaches its zenith with the compilation of compound demonstrative forms. In this area alone, over two hundred forms are possible, each with its own unique shade of meaning. Compound demonstratives indicate either a movement from A to B or the range of an area from A to B, specified for both its beginning (A), its end point (B), as well as its tense (past or non-past).

An example is *ka-nono'-waa-ro'o* 'a (non-past) movement or area from somewhere near the addressee to further away down.'

The overall formation of compound demonstratives is presented in table 8.8.

Table 8.8. Compound demonstrative formation

D	beginning	tense	end point
<i>ka-</i>	<i>ni'i ~ ni</i>	<i>-waa ~ yaa</i>	<i>-tu'u</i>
<i>i-</i>	<i>nono'</i>	<i>-mbaa</i>	<i>-le'e</i>
	<i>ya'a ~ ya</i>		<i>-ra'a</i>
	<i>tu'u ~ tu</i>		<i>-ro'o</i>
	<i>le'e ~ le</i>		
	<i>ra'a ~ ra</i>		
	<i>ro'o ~ ro</i>		
	<i>ita</i>		
	<i>no'o</i>		
	<i>mba'a</i>		
	<i>ntu'u</i>		
	<i>nde'e</i>		
	<i>nda'a</i>		
	<i>ndo'o</i>		

The first element in a compound demonstrative is the deictic marker (D). Of the two fillers in this slot, *ka-* is by far the most frequent; we have only one example of *i-*. The second element marks the beginning of the movement or the area, and is either a pronominal demonstrative (such as *ni'i*), or an adverbial demonstrative (such as *ita*). Each pronominal form has a short form, consisting of the first CV of the full root (*ni* for *ni'i*, etc.). DEM2 *nono'* does not participate in this shortening process, presumably because it is phonologically divergent from the rest of the set. The demonstrative may also undergo similar shortening, though there might be a slight difference in meaning in that the long forms have a more definite or specific beginning point, and the short forms a less definite one. We do not have textual examples to corroborate this.

The choice between the pronominal and the adverbial form correlates with non-past and past tense (as is the case with the allative prefixes, see §8.6), though this can also be expressed by the element in the third column. This third element marks tense, but only with pronominal forms: *-waa* indicates non-past (present or future) and *-mbaa* marks past tense. After *ni'i*, *-waa* has the variant *-yaa* or *-aa*, so that the forms *ka-ni'i-waa-*, *ka-ni'i-yaa-* and *ka-ni'i-aa-* all occur, as well as the shortened forms *ka-ni-waa-*, *ka-ni-yaa-*, and *ka-ni-aa-*. Following an adverbial demonstrative, *-waa* and *-mbaa* carry the same meaning, since in this case, the adverbial already indicates past tense.

The fourth element designates the target of the movement or the end point of an area. Notice that only distal forms occur in this slot. This is surprising, as there does not seem to be a compelling reason why one should not be able to say 'from up there to close to you'. We were told, however, that these forms do not exist.

The total number of potential forms (ignoring variants) is 224 (2 x 14 x 2 x 4) and consequently, we only illustrate a sample. Tables 8.9 and 8.10 give three sample paradigms each, with a total of forty-two forms. Table 8.9 takes DEM4 *tu'u* as the end point. The first data column lists the various pronominal demonstratives for the beginning point, resulting in the meanings 'from A to somewhere there' (with a non-past meaning). The second column builds on adverbial demonstratives and has a past reference. The third column is almost identical to the second, except that *-waa* has been replaced with *-mbaa*, without change in meaning. Table 8.10 is similar, but is built on DEM6 *ra'a* as the end point, resulting in the meanings 'from A to somewhere there higher up'.

Table 8.9. Compound demonstratives with *tu'u*

	non-past	past	past
DEM1	<i>ka-ni'i-waa-tu'u ~ ka-ni'i-yaa-tu'u</i>	<i>ka'-ita-waa-tu'u</i>	<i>ka'-ita-mbaa-tu'u</i>
DEM2	<i>ka-nono'-waa-tu'u</i>	<i>ka-no'o-waa-tu'u</i>	<i>ka-no'o-mbaa-tu'u</i>
DEM3	<i>ka-ya'a-waa-tu'u</i>	<i>ka-mba'a-waa-tu'u</i>	<i>ka-mba'a-mbaa-tu'u</i>
DEM4	<i>ka-tu'u-waa-tu'u</i>	<i>ka-ntu'u-waa-tu'u</i>	<i>ka-ntu'u-mbaa-tu'u</i>
DEM5	<i>ka-le'e-waa-tu'u</i>	<i>ka-nde'e-waa-tu'u</i>	<i>ka-nde'e-mbaa-tu'u</i>
DEM6	<i>ka-ra'a-waa-tu'u</i>	<i>ka-nda'a-waa-tu'u</i>	<i>ka-nda'a-mbaa-tu'u</i>
DEM7	<i>ka-ro'o-waa-tu'u</i>	<i>ka-ndo'o-waa-tu'u</i>	<i>ka-ndo'o-mbaa-tu'u</i>

Table 8.10. Compound demonstratives with *ra'a*

	non-past	past	past
DEM1	<i>ka-ni'i-waa-ra'a ~ ka-ni'i-yaa-ra'a</i>	<i>ka'-ita-waa-ra'a</i>	<i>ka'-ita-mbaa-ra'a</i>
DEM2	<i>ka-nono'-waa-ra'a</i>	<i>ka-no'o-waa-ra'a</i>	<i>ka-no'o-mbaa-ra'a</i>
DEM3	<i>ka-ya'a-waa-ra'a</i>	<i>ka-mba'a-waa-ra'a</i>	<i>ka-mba'a-mbaa-ra'a</i>
DEM4	<i>ka-tu'u-waa-ra'a</i>	<i>ka-ntu'u-waa-ra'a</i>	<i>ka-ntu'u-mbaa-ra'a</i>
DEM5	<i>ka-le'e-waa-ra'a</i>	<i>ka-nde'e-waa-ra'a</i>	<i>ka-nde'e-mbaa-ra'a</i>
DEM6	<i>ka-ra'a-waa-ra'a</i>	<i>ka-nda'a-waa-ra'a</i>	<i>ka-nda'a-mbaa-ra'a</i>
DEM7	<i>ka-ro'o-waa-ra'a</i>	<i>ka-ndo'o-waa-ra'a</i>	<i>ka-ndo'o-mbaa-ra'a</i>

Obviously, we have not attempted to elicit all possible forms (and some may well turn out to be marginal, such as *ka-nda'a-mbaa-ra'a*), but a number of these compound demonstratives occur in our text corpus or have been overheard in conversations. Unfortunately, the exact context for most of these utterances has not been retained.

- (93) ***Ka-ni'i-yaa-tu'u*** *a nuur-na minti'i-mai.*
 D-DEM1-ALL.I-DEM4 ART coconut-3S elder-1PE
 'Our parents' (field with) coconut trees is from here to there.' (dict)
- (94) ***Ka-ni'i-yaa-ra'a*** *na ale'-mai ba'-idek-mo a salan.*
 D-DEM1-ALL-DEM6 LOC garden-1PE INTR-bad-PERF ART road
 'The path from here up to our garden is bad.' (conv)
- (95) ***Ka-nono'-waa-tu'u*** *tutu'-on-muu.*
 D-DEM2-ALL.I-DEM4 follow-PV.I-2P
 '(The path) you will follow is from there (close to you) to there.' (elic)
- (96) ***Ka-no'o-waa-ra'a*** *no-s<um>alan-an-mai imberi'.*
 D-DEM.ADV2-ALL-DEM6 R-INTR-walk-LV-1PE yesterday
 'From there (near you) to up there is where we walked yesterday.' (conv)

Instead of *ka-no'o-waa-ra'a* in (96), the form *ka-no'o-mbaa-ra'a* with *-mbaa* instead of *-waa* is also acceptable. As mentioned above, there is no meaning distinction in this case, as the adverbial form *no'o* already indicates past tense.

- (97) *Tae-nai Seesee', "Amo'-po, yaku' dauga' ka-ya-waa-tu'u*
 word-3S.PA snail DONT-IMPF 1S still D-DEM3-ALL-DEM4
kutung s <um> asayo."
 first INTR-stroll
 'The snail said, "Wait a bit, I still want to go (from here to) there to take a stroll.'" (t22)
- (98) *Anak ka-ya-waa-ra'a tongko' mo-renga-rengak.*
 child D-DEM3-ALL-DEM6 only INTR.I-RED-rowdy
 'These children (starting here to up there) are only being rowdy.' (dict)
- (99) *Yaku' kosian-po laan ming-inti'i i-ro'o-waa-le'e paraloos-an-na mian.*
 1S NEG-IMPF very AV.I-know D-DEM7-ALL-DEM5 straight.cut-NOM-3S person
 'I didn't really know yet where people (had made) a shortcut from down here to there on the side.' (t1)
- (100) *Ka-nda'a-mbaa-tu'u a no-s <um> alan-an-na bokoti' mae' nam-[p]arere.*
 D-DEM.ADV6-ALL.R-DEM4 ART R-INTR-walk-LV-3S mouse go INTR.R-run.away
 'The rat walked from somewhere up there to the front, (then) he left and ran away.' (Lit. 'The place that the rat walked [was] from....') (example [29] of the deixis article)

A final example, found in the deictic article referred to earlier, was deemed problematic by our language helpers:

- (101) *Umba'a yaku' s <um> asayo ka-ya-mbaa-ro'o nari Deen.*
 a.bit.ago 1S INTR-stroll D-DEM3-ALL.R-DEM7 LOC.PLUR D.
 'A short time ago, I took a walk from here down to Dan's place.' (example [31] of the deixis article)

The demonstrative *ka-ya-mbaa-ro'o* in (101) should be replaced by *ka-mba'a-waa-ro'o* or *ku-mbaa-ro'o*. Apparently, the past context requires an adverbial demonstrative *mba'a*, rather than the corresponding pronominal *ya* (short for *ya'a*). We assume this sentence originated from a different dialect where the adverbial demonstratives do not (yet) have a temporal meaning.

Other compound forms that were overheard, formed on the spot, or checked for existence (but for which a context is lacking) include *ka'-ita-waa-le'e* 'from here to there on the side', *ka-ni'i-mbaa-tu'u* '(went) from here to there', and *ka-nda'a-waa-tu'u* 'from somewhere down to there'.

8.10 Miscellaneous forms

In addition to the regular seven demonstrative bases and the various derivations, there are a few other forms, some of which are as yet incompletely understood. One is a unique second person form *nooro'o* (§8.10.1); others involve unusual derivations and various verbal forms.

8.10.1 *nooro'o*

The demonstrative *nooro'o* means 'that (close to addressee, but invisible)' and appears to be a unique second person demonstrative adverbial. It is semantically unrelated to DEM7 *ro'o* and, since there are no corresponding forms (**noora'a*, **noole'e*, **noo'ita* etc.), it is best analysed as a single morpheme, rather than as containing a prefix *noo-*. We will gloss it as DEM8, but semantically, it fills the empty DEM2 slot for venitive demonstratives (see §8.5).

The distinction between the regular 2nd person demonstrative *kanono'* and *nooro'o* is the absence of visibility to the speaker, in the case of *nooro'o*. In addition, *nooro'o* can also indicate the general direction toward the addressee or in his/her general vicinity, not as specifically close to the addressee as *kano'o*.

Which of the two readings is chosen depends on the extralinguistic context. The following pair is illustrative:

- (102) a) *Daat i yaku' ka-no'o.*
 pull PA 1S D-DEM2
 'Pull me over there (to a position near you).' (elic)
- b) *Daat i yaku' nooro'o.*
 pull PA 1S DEM8
 'Pull me over there (1. to a position near you which I can't see, or 2. in your general direction).' (t20)

The first reading of example (102b) implies that the addressee is not visible to the speaker, because he is, for instance, in another room, or (in the text from which the original was taken) at the bottom of a well. Other examples:

- (103) *Oo Seese'e, ba'-upa i koo nooro'o?*
 o snail INTR-what PA 2S DEM8
 'O snail, what are you doing over there?' (Spoken by a crocodile who is waiting at the foot of a tree; the snail is in the tree and probably invisible to the crocodile.) (t20)
- (104) *Pe-pera-i yaku', daa nooro'o-mo.*
 RED-wait-DIR 1S finish DEM8-PERF
 'Wait for me, I'm already on my way to where you are.' (Spoken on the phone.) (conv)
- (105) *Nooro'o gula men rimberi' no-kabus-mo.*
 DEM8 sugar REL yesterday R-finished-PERF
 'That sugar (near you) which (was bought/given) yesterday is already gone.' (conv)
- (106) *Nooro'o takala'-am dauga'-na ma-polos suri-o <o>n?*
 DEM8 head-2S still-3S INTR.I-pain feel-PV.I-2S
 'Does your head still hurt?' (The head was probably invisible to the speaker.) (example [13] of the deixis article)

The exact conditions under which *nooro'o* is the preferred demonstrative choice for second person are not perfectly understood, especially when visibility is not an issue. *Nooro'o* is also quite commonly used to refer back to what a previous speaker has said.

8.10.2 waa-le'e-le'e-mari

The unusual form *waa-le'e-le'e-mari* means 'this way and that way, to and fro, here and there, on all sides' and signals a continuous movement across the eyes from the speaker, or from the narrative point of view. This form, which has variants *wa-le'e-le'e-mari* and *waa-le-le'e-mari*, appears to be unique, as there are no known examples of similar formations on any of the other distal demonstrative bases.

- (107) *Kai nan-tatak-mo oe waa-le'e-le'e-mari.*
 1PE AV.R-cut-PERF rattan ALL-RED-DEM5-VEN
 'We cut rattan on all sides.' (t1)

- (108) *Balambang men nin-soop na lalom-na laigan i-ya'a,*
butterfly REL INTR.R-enter LOC inside-3S house D-DEM3

l <um> ayang wa-le'e-le'e-mari.
INTR-fly ALL-RED-DEM5-VEN

'When a butterfly has entered the home, it will fly to and fro.' (t50)

8.10.3 waa-...-na

The distal demonstratives can be affixed with *waa-* and *-na* (e.g., *waa-ro'o-na*, *waa-le'e-na*), which will be simply glossed as ALL and 3S. There are two distinct meanings to this formation. The first meaning is '(go) back to the location (which was mentioned before)'. This can be a real return, as in the first two examples, or a return in a narrative sense, as in (111).

- (109) *Ai kita dauga'na mae' waa-ro'o-na mae' mom-bolosi surat.*
EMP.ART 1PI still-3S go ALL-DEM7-3S go AV.I-replace letter
'We still need to go back down there to replace the letter.' (t58)

- (110) *Ai koo Marsion mule'kon-mo waa-ro'o-na Dolom.*
EMP.ART 2S M return-PERF ALL-DEM7-3S D.
'You, Marsion, go back (down) to Dolom.' (t58)

- (111) *Ai yaku' sian-po non-too-pee'-kon sarat-ku na sam-botak-na*
EMP.ART 1S NEG-IMPF AV.R-ACC-step.on-APPL foot-1S LOC one-side-3S

Bunta patuk waa-le'e-na.
B. direction ALL-DEM5-3S

'I had never put a foot in the place there (that we talked about) on the other side of Bunta.' (t68)

A second meaning of the combination *waa-* with *-na* on distal demonstratives is 'all the way', 'completely', as in the following two examples:

- (112) *...ka' purus-on waa-ra'a-na kada' um-uar wiwi'na a woo'-na.*
and pull-PV.I ALL-DEM6-3S so.that INTR-go.out all ART fruit-3S
'... and pull (upwards) all the way (with hands sliding along the branch), so that all the fruits come off.' (t51)

- (113) *Rurus-kon a sarua <a>r waa-ro'o-na!*
pull.down-APPL ART trousers-2S ALL-DEM7-3S
'Pull your pants down all the way!' (conv)

8.10.4 koi i-nde'e-na

The complex form *koi i-nde'e-na* appears to contain the preposition *koi* 'like' (see §6.4), but semantically, it functions as an adverbial demonstrative 'there', without any comparison involved. We are not quite sure how this particular demonstrative phrase functions, but were told that it refers to a place that is not the main focus of the story. This appears to be valid for the only two textual examples we have, though in each case, the particular location has also been mentioned before.

- (114) *Ola-olan ia too-piile' koi i-nde'e-na, isian Bintana' balaki'...*
RED-suddenly 3S ACC-see like D-DEM.ADV5-3S EXIST python big
'Suddenly she happened to look there, and there was a big python...' (t32)

- (115) ... *ka' nin-sapit koi i-nde'e-na na tolo.*
 and INTR.R-hide like D-DEM.ADV5-3S LOC yard
 '... and he hid there in the yard.' (t17)

8.10.5 Verbal forms

The allative forms can function as verbs, in which case, they occur with the realis prefix *no-* and the perfective suffix *-mo*, as in the following examples:

- (116) *Yaku' no-mbaa-tu'u-mo na laigan men no-tokol-an-na i raaya'a...*
 1S R-ALL.R-DEM4-PERF LOC house REL R-sleep-LV-3S PA 3P
 'I went to the house where they were sleeping...' (t68)
- (117) *Noko daa ia siso'-kon mian, Tama ni Verona no-mbaa-le'e-mo*
 after.R finish 3S point-APPL person father 3S.PA V. r-all.r-dem5-perf
 'After a man had showed it (= the house of the village chief) to him, Verona's father went there.' (t68)

An example of a verbal form with the suffix *-na* signalling a return to a previously mentioned location (see §8.10.3):

- (118) *Noko daa k<um>aan, kai no-mbaa-tu'u-na-mo na laigan-na...*
 after.R finish INTR-eat 1PE R-ALL.R-DEM4-3S-PERF LOC house-3S
 'When we had eaten, we went back to the house...' (t67)

During one conversation the following verbal form came up, as an alternative to *waa-tu'u-mo* found in text 17:

- (119) *Kodi' waa-tu'u-i-on-ku na Marso Jaya*
 in.a.while ALL-DEM4-VBR-PV.I-1S LOC M. J.
 'In a while, I have to go to Marso Jaya (name of a shop)...' (conv)

This is a transitive verb built on a demonstrative base, with the allative prefix *waa-* and the verbalising suffix *-i*, in patient voice, with the agent marked with a possessive suffix. Other verbal demonstratives (elicited) are: *waa-ro'o-i-on-mai* (ALL-DEM7-VBR-PV.I-1PE) 'we will go down', *waa-le'e-i-on-na* (ALL-DEM5-VBR-PV.I-3S) 'he/she will go (sideways)', and *waa-ra'a-i-o<o>n* (ALL-DEM6-VBR-PV.I-2S) 'you will go up'. Apparently, these forms only occur in patient voice; attempts to draw out agent voice forms were unsuccessful.

Instead of the allative non-past *waa-*, the past *mbaa-* can also be used, although such forms are not common. The following clause was offered as an example:

- (120) *Toko men yaku' mbaa-tu'u-i rimberi' k<in>o-tunu-mo.*
 shop REL 1S ALL.R-DEM4-VBR yesterday R-ADVS-burn-PERF
 'The shop that I went to yesterday is now burnt down.' (elic)

Finally, a causative verb form that emerged during conversation was *nde'e-nde'e-na-kon* (RED-DEM.ADV5-3S-CAUS) 'moved sideways a bit'. We do not have a context for this, neither do we know whether similar forms on the other distal demonstratives are possible. The area of verbal demonstrative derivations is still largely unexplored.

8.11 Temporal usage

We conclude this chapter with a few observations about temporal uses of the demonstratives. The correlation between the coding of the spatial and the temporal dimensions in Balantak deserves a far more thorough analysis than the few random remarks given here, but all we can do is offer a few glimpses of this interesting area of study.

DEM1 *ni'i* is often used in phrases referring to the present, e.g., *ilio ka-ni'i* (day D-DEM1) 'today' and *taun ka-ni'i* (year D-DEM1) 'this year'. As noted above in §8.10.4, the preposition *koi* 'like' occurs with demonstratives, but has lost its comparative meaning, so that *koi-ni'i* simply means 'now' and *taun koi-ni'i* 'this year' is synonymous with *taun ka-ni'i*.

On the basis of DEM.ADV1 *ita* 'here', the following words and phrases with past temporal meanings were recorded:

<i>taun (men) ka'-ita</i>	'last year'	(year REL D-DEM.ADV1)
<i>taun ita-an</i>	'(in) (a) previous year(s)'	(year D-DEM.ADV1-NOM)
<i>men (ka'-)ita-an</i>	'former, previous'	(REL D-DEM.ADV1-NOM)
<i>laigan men ka'-ita</i>	'a house which used to be here'	(house REL D-DEM.ADV1)
<i>laigan men ka'-ita-an</i>	'a former house'	(house REL D-DEM.ADV1-NOM)
<i>ka'-ita-ita</i>	'recently'	(D-RED-DEM.ADV1)

The demonstrative derivation *ni'i-mari* (§8.5), with variant *ni'i-mbari* is used in a temporal sense for future events, e.g., *taun (ka-)ni'i-mari* (year D-DEM1-VEN) 'next year' and *bitu'on (ka-)ni'i-mari* (moon D-DEM1-VEN) 'next month'. Since *-mari* normally indicates a (visible) movement towards the speaker, it appears that the conceptualization of the future is, therefore, of something in front of the speaker coming his or her way.

The temporal adverb *niaara'a* means 'later, in a while, next' and is actually a compound demonstrative *ni'i-waa-ra'a*.

Finally, *waa-ro'o-na* was found in the phrase *supu lima' taun waa-ro'o-na* (extent five year ALL-DEM7-3s) '(children of) five years and under'. The use of *ro'o* 'down' appears to be parallel to the English usage.

We have not found any examples of the other demonstrative bases used in a temporal sense.

This concludes a rich and multifaceted area of Balantak grammar, where the variety of forms is dazzling and the rich semantic nuances overwhelming to the language learner. As Busenitz and Busenitz say (1992:131), "The Balantak lexicon has a large inventory of words having to do with spatial deixis; we weren't in the Balantak area very long before it was clear that this was a prominent feature of the language. As we struggled to understand and use the deictics correctly, different Balantak people would encourage us by telling us that not only is it difficult for outsiders to learn to use them correctly, but even their own children who grow up speaking the language often misuse them for years." We are confident that this second attempt at description brings out those complexities even more and leaves the reader marvelling at the intricacies of human language and the human capacity to master complex systems.

9. Clausal modifications and clausal operators

This chapter describes a number of semantic and pragmatic parameters that modify simple clauses or that take the clause as its scope. These can be grouped under the following four headings.

- **Polarity.** Negation, the expression of polarity, is discussed in §9.1.
- **Speech acts.** In addition to statements (declarative clauses), Balantak also has questions (interrogative clauses, §9.2), commands (imperative clauses, §9.3) and exclamations (exclamatory clauses, §9.4).
- **Focus.** A discussion of marked focus constructions (clefts and semi-clefts) is presented in §9.5.
- **Tense and aspect.** In §9.6, we provide a brief discussion of the future particle *bo* and the perfective suffix *-mo*.

9.1 Negation

Negation in Balantak is expressed in several ways. A primary distinction is made between verbal negation, nominal (or constituent) negation and negation in imperatives. A rather large number of negators are found, especially with verbal negation. These will all be discussed in turn in this section, with the exception of negation in imperatives (marked by *alia* or *amo*), which is discussed under imperative clauses in §9.3.3.

9.1.1 *sian* ~ *sianta*

The most frequent negator in Balantak is *sian* and its variant *sianta* ‘no, not’; they negate verbal declarative clauses. The negator always precedes the verb, which can be existential, stative, intransitive, transitive, in either agent, patient or locative voice, and either realis or irrealis mode.

- (1) *Sian pore a arati-na.*
NEG good ART meaning
‘Its meaning is not good.’ (t50)
- (2) *Ia sian taka.*
3S NEG arrive
‘He has not arrived.’ (conv)
- (3) *Kalu sian bayar-on wiwi'na...*
if NEG pay-PV.I all
‘If everything is not paid...’ (t56)
- (4) *... isian men sianta kolimbo'i-on-ku pataka pate i yaku'.*
EXIST REL NEG forget-PV.I-1S reach die PA 1S
‘... there is something which I will not forget till I die.’ (t67)
- (5) *“Na laigan ku-aa-tu'u isian weer?” “Sianta isian.”*
LOC house INVIS-ALL-DEM4 EXIST water NEG EXIST
‘Is there water in that house?’ ‘There isn’t any.’ (conv)

The suffixes *-mo* or *-po* can be added to the negator *sian* resulting in *sian-mo* ‘no more, no longer’ and *sian-po* ‘not yet’ (with a variant *sian-po'o* in the Lamala dialect). These suffixes are not possible on the basis of the variant *sianta* (**sianta-mo*, **sianta-po*).

- (6) *Yaku' sian-mo na-takut.*
 1S NEG-PERF INTR.R-afraid
 'I was no longer afraid.' (conv)
- (7) *Sian-mo oloa a ari Saam.*
 NEG-PERF far ART PLUR S.
 '(The house of) Sam's family is no longer far away.' (t67)
- (8) *Ai Sakeus sian-po boroki'-an.*
 EMP.ART S. NEG-IMPF woman-HAVE
 'Sakeus isn't married yet.' (dict)

The reduplicated form *sia-sian-na-po* (with an apparent 3sg suffix *-na*) means 'still not yet' and signals an element of surprise or irritation at a situation which has lasted longer than expected.

- (9) *Bee, to-rumpak-mo tanga'-iloa', sia-sian-na-po nan-tausi.*
 oh NVOL-meet-PERF mid-day RED-NEG-3S-IMPF AV.R-find
 'My goodness, it has gotten to be midday and I still haven't found any!' (t3)

Another derivation based on *sian* ~ *sianta* is *ko-sian* ~ *ko-sianta*. The prefix *ko-* adds a light element of unexpectedness or surprise to the negated statement, something that is almost impossible to capture in an English translation. This *ko-*, glossed as UNEXP, is possibly related to the adversative or affective verbal prefix *ko-* (see §4.5.3 and §4.5.4), though *sian* is not a verb and neither does the semantics present a perfect match. Examples:

- (10) *Ai yaku' mbase ko-sian sikola-ngku.*
 EMP.ART 1S ATT UNEXP-NEG school-1S
 'Please realise that I do not have any schooling.' (t4)
- (11) *Kasee ko-sian paraa ma-nau', ia penta-mo.*
 but UNEXP-NEG as.far.as INTR.I-long 3S lose-PERF
 'But before too long, it is lost.' (dict)
- (12) *Ko-sianta isian!*
 UNEXP-NEG EXIST
 'It's not there!' (Said with mild irritation.) (conv)
- (13) *Amo' isian men ko-sian k<um>aan.*
 DONT EXIST REL UNEXP-NEG INTR-eat
 'Let there not be anyone who does not eat.' (t48)

Inherently negative words such as 'nobody' or 'nowhere' do not exist in Balantak. To express these concepts, fronted focussed constructions are used involving *-po* 'even' or *muu* 'although'.

- (14) *Sa'angu'-po mian sianta yaku' piile'.*
 one-EVEN person NEG 1S see
 'I did not see a single person. / I saw nobody.' (elic)
- (15) *Muu maana sianta ku-piile' i ia.*
 though where NEG 1S-see PA 3S
 'I did not see her anywhere.' (elic)

To express the concept 'nothing, not anything' or 'never, not ever', Balantak employs an interesting construction in which the negator is followed by a verb with *Caa*-reduplication. *Caa*-reduplication copies

the first consonant of the verb (if there is one) and supplies the fixed vowel sequence *aa*. The resulting meaning is ‘never did X’, ‘did not do X at all’, ‘did not X anything’. See §2.9.3 for additional verb forms, and §2.8.6 for the occurrence of the glottal in *no'-aa'-ili* in (17). In our corpus, *Caa*-reduplication only occurs with realis verb forms.

- (16) *Iti-itiu'-po ia sianta no-taa-toop.*
 RED-small-SINCE 3S NEG R-RED-smoke
 ‘Since he was young he has never smoked.’ (conv)
- (17) *Yaku' mbaa-ro'o na toko, see sianta no'-aa'-ili.*
 1S ALL.R-DEM7 LOC shop but NEG R-RED-buy
 ‘I went down to the shop, but didn’t buy anything.’ (conv)
- (18) *I raaya'a sian no-saa-soosa' tomundo'.*
 PA 3P NEG R-RED-honour king
 ‘They never honour(ed) the king.’ (conv)

A variant negator *sene'* is also found. This is probably related to *sianta*; it is only used in an informal conversational style, never in written texts.

- (19) “*Sobii*” *tae-na, “sene' ko'-upa-na.”*
 let.it.be word-3S NEG AFF-what-3S
 ‘‘Just leave it’’, he said, ‘‘It doesn’t matter.’’ (conv)

9.1.2 *koo'*

Somewhat surprisingly there is an additional negator *koo'* ‘no, not’ (with derivations *koo'-po* ‘not yet’ and *koo'-mo* ‘no more, no longer’), but it is difficult to pin down the exact difference in meaning between *sian* and *koo'*. We were told that in most situations the two negators are interchangeable, but *koo'* appears to be semantically more marked in that a certain subjective element is present. This element is possibly related to feelings of doubt, resignation, disappointment and/or uncertainty, but we were not quite able to discover in each case what the particular semantic contribution of *koo'* is. An example:

- (20) *Ilio malom-mo, kasee i ia koo'-po no-taka.*
 day night-PERF but PA 3S NEG-IMPF R-arrive
 ‘The night has come, but he has not yet arrived.’ (dict)

In (20), the negator *koo'-po* can be replaced with *sian-po*, with barely any change in meaning. If anything, the use of *koo'-po* indicates that the speaker is possibly aware of reasons for the delay, or is somewhat apprehensive about the outcome of the event, an implication which is not shared by the use of *sian-po*. Another (elicited) contrasting example is (21), where there appears to be a contrast between a degree of hope (with *sian*) and resignation (with *koo'*), though again the semantic distinction is elusive and should not be pressed.

- (21) a) *Kuu no-suo'-mo?*
 2P INTR.R-marry-PERF
 ‘Are you married, Sir?’
- b) *Sian-po.*
 NEG-IMPF
 ‘Not yet (but I [may] have plans).’

- c) **Koo'-po.**
 NEG-IMPF
 'Not yet (and I don't have plans either).'

Other examples with *koo'*:

- (22) **Yaku' koo'-mo mo-moko l<um> opon.**
 1S NEG-PERF INTR.I-able INTR-climb
 'I am no longer able to climb mountains.' (dict)
- (23) **Koo' inti'i-on taka tombono-na laigan, ia daa sianta maso'?**
 NEG know-PV.I arrive owner-3S house 3S ATT NEG angry
 'Who knows (lit. [it] is not known), when the house owner arrives, won't he be angry?'
 (conv)

The idiom *koo' tii koo'* means 'like it or not' (comparable to Indonesian *mau tidak mau*) and the reduplicated form *koo-koo'-na-po* (just like *sia-sian-na-po*) means 'still not yet':

- (24) **Koo' tii koo', kita somo mae'.**
 NEG with NEG 1PI forced go
 'Like it or not, we have to go.' (conv)
- (25) **Koo-koo'-na-po no-taka!**
 RED-NEG-3S-IMPF R-arrive
 '(He/she/they) still has/have not arrived yet!' (conv)

The negators *sian* and *koo'* can be combined in a construction in which they are followed by the conjunction *noko* 'after' and a noun phrase containing the perfective suffix *-mo*. The result is an emphatic inferential statement involving a double negative with the meaning 'it is surely/definitely true that...', 'it must be the case that...'. In all the examples that we have the speaker has formed a conclusion based on the available evidence. The exact function of *noko* in this construction (which appears to have verbal features, see also §10.3.1) is unclear, though there probably is an element of surprise, see also §4.5.3.

- (26) **Sian koo' noko koo-mo a na-mangan doi'-ku.**
 NEG NEG after.R 2S-PERF ART AV.R-steal money-1S
 'It must be you who stole my money.' (conv)
- (27) **Sian koo' noko sasa'-mo ka-ya'a a nam-pa-pate-i**
 NEG NEG after.R cat-PERF D-DEM3 ART AV.R-CAUS-die-CAUS
bintana' ka-le'e.
 python D-DEM5
 'It must have been this cat that killed that python.' (t32)
- (28) **Sian koo' noko ingku'-mo a bokukum-ku.**
 NEG NEG after.R OBL.1S-PERF ART shirt-1S
 'It is definitely my shirt.' (conv)

9.1.3 Negative verbal prefix *i-*

An interesting feature of verbal negation is the occurrence of a prefix *i-*, as in the following example:

- (29) *Ingku' sianta i-sawe' a aso-asok-ku.*
 OBL.1S NEG NEG.INTR.R-go.up ART RED-plant-1S
 'My plants did not do well.' (Lit. 'As for me, my planting did not go up.')

This prefix *i-* is not to be found elsewhere in the language. It only occurs on realis forms of intransitive verbs following a negator and, hence, we gloss it as NEG.INTR.R. It does not indicate person or number, as it can combine with all persons, and in most cases, it can be replaced by *no-*. Other examples:

- (30) *Nang-ka'apu-mo rua-ruar ilio, koo' i-royot a mian.*
 AV.R-cook-PERF RED-light day NEG NEG.INTR.R-sleep ART person
 '(They) cooked till dawn, (and so) people did not sleep.' (t13)
- (31) *Alinta koo' i-sampe taduna sa'angu', kela no-pate i ia.*
 pity NEG NEG.INTR.R-reach point one collapse R-die PA 3S
 'But the poor thing (the dwarf buffalo) did not reach the other end, he collapsed and died.'
 (t22)
- (32) *Koo' i-taka i raaya'a / kuu / kita / kai / yaku'.*
 NEG NEG.INTR.R-arrive PA 3P 2P 1PI 1PE 1S
 'They/you/we/I did not arrive.' (elic)
- (33) *Sianta i-na-nau', ko-pantas.*
 NEG NEG.INTR.R-INTR.R-long ADVS-sever
 'Before long, it broke.' (conv)

Instead of *koo' i-royot* 'did not sleep' in (30), the following forms are also possible: *koo' no-royot* or *sian(ta) i-royot*. Similarly, in (31) and (32), the regular realis forms *no-sampe* and *no-taka* are also acceptable. In (33), however, *i-* is added to a stative verb marked by *na-* for realis; in this case, *i-* is optional, but replacement with *no-* is impossible.

9.1.4 *taasi'*

The negator *taasi'* is used for constituent negation preceding noun phrases. The derived form *taasi'-mo* means 'no longer', but surprisingly *taasi'-po* does not mean 'not yet'. Instead, *taasi'-po* appears to be an emphatic form of *taasi'*, found in contexts where a contrast is implied, as in (37) and (38).

- (34) *...isian mian damo raa-nda'a, kasee taasi' samba-samba-ngku.*
 EXIST person EXIST PLUR-DEM.ADV6 but NEG RED-friend-1S
 '...there were people up there, but (they were) not my friends.' (t3)
- (35) *Alia mang-ala, taasi' ko'oom se'.*
 DONT AV.I-take NEG OBL.2S ATT
 'Don't take that, you know that's not yours.' (dict)
- (36) *Nau-nau' taasi'-mo tongko' siok a men pa'ase'-on-na*
 RED-long NEG-PERF only chicken ART REL request-PV.I-3S

kasee bau'-mo.
 but pig-PERF
 'After a while, what they (the spirits) request is no longer just a chicken, but a pig.' (t50)

- (37) *Taasi'-po i yaku' a men nang-ala siok-muu.*
 NEG-IMPF PA 1S ART REL AV.R-take chicken-2P
 'It wasn't me who took your chicken, Sir.' (conv)
- (38) *Taasi'-po ka-kaan-na men rookon-on, sianta ia mang-kaan.*
 NEG-IMPF NOM-eat-3S REL give-PV.I NEG 3S AV.I-eat
 'If it's not his own food that he is given, he will not eat.' (t32-m)

Taasi' is also the negator used before prepositional phrases:

- (39) *Dodongo-an-na taasi' na Talima A, kasee na Dolom.*
 live-NOM-3S NEG LOC T. A but LOC D.
 'He doesn't live in Talima A, but in Dolom.' (conv)
- (40) *Ripiina isian ka-parasaya'-an-na mian men taasi' na Tumpu.*
 formerly EXIST NOM-believe-NOM-3S person REL NEG LOC Lord
 'In former times, people had beliefs not directed to the Lord.' (dict)

Finally, *taasi'* or *taasi'po* is also the negator when a clear contrast between verbs is presented.

- (41) *Paraluu-ngku taasi'(-po) ming-ili, tongko' mom-bolos.*
 purpose-1S NEG(-IMPF) AV.I-buy only AV.I-borrow
 'My purpose is not to buy, but to borrow.' (conv)
- (42) *Ia tongko' mim-pipiom, taasi' royot.*
 3S only INTR.I-shut.eyes NEG sleep
 'He has only shut his eyes; he is not asleep.' (dict)

9.1.5 Other negative words

There are several other words which have an inherent negative meaning component in them, and though they are not syntactically linked, we present them here to complete the picture of negation in Balantak.

<i>bude' ~ ude'</i>	'not want'	(verb)
<i>inta</i>	'not know, unknown'	(adverb?)
<i>inta-po</i>	'not certain yet'	(adverb?)
<i>kunda</i>	'not want'	(verb)
<i>palus</i>	'be absent, be away'	(verb)
<i>dako'</i>	'lest, so that not'	(conjunction, see §10.3.7)

Illustrative example sentences:

- (43) *Bude' mae' tii kuu.*
 not.want go with.PA 2P
 '(I) don't want to go with you all.' (dict)
- (44) *Inta se' aana a no-mae'-an-na.*
 not.know ATT where ART R-go-LV-3S
 '(I) don't know where he went.' (dict)

- (45) *Kalu ko-sian no-poo-lolo' i raaya'a inta-po ka'*
 if UNEXP-NEG R-REC-follow PA 3P not.know-IMPF and
man-taka Ujung Pandang.
 AV.I-arrive U. P.
 'If (I) had not gone along with them, it is not certain that I would have reached Ujung Pandang.' (t67)
- (46) *Mian i-ya'a kunda-mo mo-laigan na tempat i-ya'a.*
 person D-DEM3 not.want-PERF INTR.I-house LOC place D-DEM3
 'That person no longer wants to build a house at that place.' (t50)
- (47) *Ia palus mae' man-sasap kau bo rombung-na.*
 3s absent go AV.I-remove.bark tree for traditional.medicine-3s
 'He has gone to remove tree bark to make traditional medicine.' (dict)

We end this section by noting two mitigating words: *paraa* and *laan*. *Paraa* can act as a preposition meaning 'as far as, until' in temporal expressions (e.g., *paraa tanga'iloa'* 'until midday'), but its most frequent usage is as a degree adverb following negators '(not) too much, (not) really', as in the following examples. The degree adverb *laan* 'really, very, too' has a similar mitigating effect:

- (48) *Sian paraa na-nau' uga', taka-mo a sawe'.*
 NEG as.far.as INTR.R-long also arrive-PERF ART guest
 'It wasn't very long before the guests arrived.' (t56)
- (49) *Susum ka-ni'i sianta paraa ni'-ili.*
 fish D-DEM1 NEG as.far.as PV.R-buy
 'These fish are not really bought.' (If uttered by a vendor, this statement implies 'I'm just giving these fish away.')
- (50) *Lealaa koi-ni'i sian laan pore.*
 sky like-DEM1 NEG really good
 'The weather today does not look so good.' (dict)
- (51) *Ko-balaki'-na sian laan koi i Nurdin.*
 NOM-big-3S NEG really like PA N.
 'He is not really quite as big as Nurdin.' (Lit. 'His bigness is....') (dict)
- (52) *... pae i-ya'a sian laan mo-lumba'.*
 rice D-DEM3 NEG really INTR.I-fertile
 '... that rice doesn't thrive too well.' (t53)

9.2 Interrogative clauses

9.2.1 Yes-no questions

The difference between a statement and a yes-no question (or polar question) in Balantak is only signalled by means of prosody. There is no change in word order nor any morpheme or particle that indicates a question. Impressionistically, yes-no questions are formed by means of a combination of an overall rising intonation on the clause and a lengthened final syllable (which is not written). We have not carried out any acoustic analysis of these prosodic features and our statements must, therefore, be considered tentative.

Several types of answers are possible for yes-no questions, depending on the nature of the question. Possible answers to requests include words meaning ‘yes’ (*daa*, *io*, *indo*, *ii*), various negators (e.g., *sian* ~ *sianta* ‘no’, *sian-po* ‘not yet’, *koo* ‘no’ *koo-po* ‘not yet’), a polite refusal (*sobii* ‘let it be’), as well as the repetition of the key word, as in the following elicited example, where five positive replies and one polite negative reply are illustrated.

- (53) a) *Sida i yaku' mun-tulungi?*
 can PA 1S AV.I-help
 ‘Can I help (you)?’
- b) *Daa. / Io. / Indo'. / Ii. / Sida.*
 yes yes yes yes can
 ‘Yes, you can.’
- c) *Sobii.*
 let.it.be
 ‘I’m OK.’ ‘There is no need (to help me).’

Of the various words for ‘yes’, *daa* is the most polite one. (See the footnote in §7.8.5 for a list of the various meanings of *daa*.) *Io* ‘yes’ can only be used as an answer to a request or to a suggestion, as in (53) and (54), not as a reply to a real yes-no question, as in (55).

- (54) “*Yaku' mae tii kuu.*” *Tae-na* “*Io.*”
 1S go with.PA 2P word-3S yes
 ‘‘I will go with you, Sir.’’ He said, ‘‘OK.’’ (t17)
- (55) a) *Isian tama-am?*
 EXIST father-2S
 ‘Is your father there?’
- b) *Daa. / Indo'. / Isian. / *Io.*
 yes yes EXIST yes
 ‘Yes he is.’ (conv)

Other examples of question-answer pairs illustrating various possible responses:

- (56) a) *Kuu se' sawe'-an?*
 2P ATT guest-HAVE
 ‘Will you have guests, Madam?’
- b) *Daa.*
 yes
 ‘Yes.’ (conv)
- (57) a) *Rae'-mo a baabo'-na?*
 go-PERF ART uncle-3S
 ‘Has her uncle gone?’
- b) *Daa. / Indo'. / Rae'-mo / Inta.*
 yes yes go-PERF not.know
 ‘Yes.’ ‘Yes.’ ‘Yes, she’s gone.’ ‘I don’t know.’ (conv)

- (58) a) *Na-lesi'-mo* *a* *ana <a> k?*
 INTR.R-healthy-PERF ART child-2S
 'Is your child well again?'
 b) *Ii, na-lesi'-mo.*
 yes INTR.R-healthy-PERF.
 'Yes, she is well.' (conv)
- (59) a) *Pakea <a> n* *birisii-mo?*
 clothes-2S clean-PERF
 'Are your clothes clean?'
 b) *Sian-po.* / *Koo'-po.* / *Daa-mo.*
 NEG-IMPF NEG-IMPF finish-PERF
 'Not yet.' 'Not yet.' 'Yes, they are.' (elic)
- (60) a) *Isian marisa?*
 EXIST pepper
 'Do you have peppers?' (Lit. 'Is there pepper?')
 b) *Marisa, babang, bi'ot* *isian.*
 pepper onion candle.vegetable EXIST
 'Yes, I have peppers, onions, and candle vegetables.' (conv)
- (61) a) *Mai, isian paraluu?*
 come EXIST need
 'Come in, is there something you need (to say)?'
 b) *Isian torotiu'.*
 EXIST little.
 'Yes, there is a small matter.' (conv)

9.2.2 Content questions

Content questions ask for specific information. The following nine question words occur in Balantak (variants, synonyms, and derivations will be listed later): *ime* 'who', *upa* 'what', *ipi* 'when (future)', *maripi* 'when (past)', *aana* and *maana* 'where', *kadai* 'why', *pipii* 'how many' and *sangupa* 'how much'. Content question words typically occur clause-initially, or at least in the first phrase of the clause. Each question word will be discussed in turn.

a. *ime* 'who'

The word *ime* 'who' has various dialectal variants, including *imee*, *aime*, *ume*, *umee*, and *aume*. It asks for the identity of a person (or a person's name) and is used in the meaning 'which (person)' both pronominally (replacing a full noun phrase), as well as attributively (modifying a noun).

- (62) *Ime a ngaan-na?*
 who ART name-3S
 'What is his/her name?' (conv)
- (63) *Ime a bo ming-inton-kon taas-na?*
 who ART FUT AV.I-hold-APPL bag-3S
 'Who will hold her bag for her?' (dict)

- (64) *Ni ime a ning-ili-an-muu?*
 LOC.PA who ART R-buy-LV-2P
 ‘Whom did you buy it from?’ (Lit. ‘At whom was [the place] where you bought it?’) (conv)
- (65) *Lobong n-ari ime a t<um>ambu'-an-muu?*
 well 3S-PLUR who ART INTR-get.water-LV-2P
 ‘At whose well do you draw water?’ (dict)
- (66) *Pastoor ime a men bo mingi-nika' i raaya'a?*
 priest who ART REL FUT AV.I-marry PA 3P
 ‘Which priest will marry them?’ (dict)

b. *upa* ‘what’

The question word *upa* ‘what’ can function pronominally and, like *ime*, is frequently found in clefts and semi-clefts (see §9.5). Attributively, it means ‘which’ or ‘what kind of’.

- (67) *Upa a ngaan-na kampung ka-ni'i?*
 what ART name-3S village D-DEM1
 ‘What is the name of this village?’ (conv)
- (68) *Upa a wawau-on-muu?*
 what ART do-PV.I-2P
 ‘What are you making, Madam?’ (conv)
- (69) *Upa a limang-on-na tama-am sanda' ilio?*
 what ART work-PV.I-3S father-2S every day
 ‘What work does your father do each day?’ (conv)
- (70) *Boo upa a bomban? Boo pam-[p]aur-ku.*
 for what ART k.o.rattan¹ for AV.GER-sew.thatch.roof-1S
 ‘What is the *bomban* plant for?’ ‘For me to use in sewing thatch roofing.’ (conv)
- (71) *Opuu-na upa a ka-nono? Ka-ni'i opuu-na mamua'.*
 egg-3S what ART D-DEM2 D-DEM1 egg-3S maleo
 ‘What kind of egg is that (you are holding)?’ ‘This is the egg of a maleo bird.’ (conv)

On the basis of *upa* ‘what’, a few derivations and phrases are possible. These include the intransitive verb *ba'-upa* ‘do what’, the irrealis patient voice form *upa-on* ‘what will be done with/to’ (also ‘why’), *mongupa* ‘what gender; what kind or type (e.g., of colour)’ (glossed as a single morpheme, since there is no prefix *mong-* before vowels), *ko'-upa-na* ‘what is the effect or result’ (often with a negator in the meaning ‘there will not be any effect; it doesn’t matter; that’s fine’, cf. Indonesian *tidak apa-apa*), as well as *koi upa* ‘like what, how’. These forms are illustrated in the following clauses. (The additional derivations *sangupa* ‘how much’ and *nongku'upa* ‘why’ are treated below.)

- (72) *“Ba'-upa i koo?” “Sian.”*
 INTR-what PA 2S NEG
 ‘“What are you doing?” “Nothing special.”’ (Lit. ‘No’.) (conv)

¹The *bomban* is a slender round plant (probably a *Donax* species), similar to rattan, except that it does not have sections. Depending on the size, it can be split three or four times. With the pith cut out, the outer hard skin is used for sewing palm leaves for roofing.

- (73) “*Boo upa-on?*” “*Boo kambur-on-ku na ale'-mai.*”
 FUT what-PV.I FUT scatter-PV.I-1S LOC garden-1PE
 ‘What will you do (with those seeds)?’ “I will plant (lit. scatter) them in our garden.”
 (conv)
- (74) “*Mongupa a anak-muu men baasi no-ngamea?*” “*Moro'one.*”
 what.kind ART child-2P REL just.now R-born man
 ‘What is the gender of your newborn child, Madam?’ “It’s a boy.” (dict)
- (75) *Muu i-ntu'u-a-si na laigan-ku, sianta ko'-upa-na.*
 though D-DEM4-EXT-SEQ LOC house-1S NEG AFF-what-3S
 ‘Even if (we meet) over there in my house, that’s fine with me.’ (t58)
- (76) *Koi upa a bo panga-wawau karataas?*
 like what ART for AV.GER-make paper
 ‘How does one make paper?’ (conv)
- (77) *Koi upa bo pam-pa-pate-i tipi?*
 like what for AV.GER-CAUS-die-CAUS TV
 ‘How does one turn the television off?’ (Lit. ‘...kill the TV.’) (conv)

It should be pointed out that *upa* is also a regular noun meaning ‘thing, item, property, belonging(s), matter’. The reduplicated form *upa-upa* means ‘things, items’ and (in combination with a negator) ‘anything’.

- (78) *Mung-ule'-i upa-am?*
 AV.I-back-DIR thing-2S
 ‘Shall I return your belongings?’ (dict)
- (79) *Ia bukuan tuu' mam-babas-kon upa-upa men na*
 3S often very AV.I-throw.down-APPL RED-thing REL LOC

lalom-na laigan.
 inside-3S house
 ‘He often starts throwing things around in the house.’ (dict)
- (80) *Kai sa-nondom na tobui kasee sian noko sue upa-upa.*
 1PE one-night LOC sea but NEG able.R catch RED-thing
 ‘We spent the whole night out at sea but didn’t catch anything.’ (dict)

c. *ipi* ‘when (future)’

The question word *ipi* ‘when’ always refers to a future event or state. It is either followed by a verb form in the locative voice in a semi-cleft construction (see §9.5), or by the conjunction *ka'* and a non-locative voice.

- (81) *Ipi a taka-an-na i raaya'a?*
 when ART arrive-LV-3S PA 3P
 ‘When will they come?’ (dict)
- (82) *Ipi a pang-ala-an-muu sawe'?*
 when ART GER-take-LV-2P worker
 ‘When is your time for getting the workers?’ (conv)

- (83) *Ipi ka' mam-bangkal-i ale'?*
 when and AV.I-weed-VBR garden
 'When will (you) weed the garden?' (conv)
- (84) *Ipi ka' kita poo-tuung soo-soodo?*
 when and 1PI REC-meet RED-again
 'When will we meet again?' (dict)

The following example (from an expository text about marriage customs) shows *ipi* in an attributive position to the noun *tempo* 'time'.

- (85) ... *tio uga' sangada-kon-on-na i raaya'a a tempo-na*
 must also together-CAUS-PV.I-3S PA 3P ART time-3S
- too ipi.*
 maybe when
 '... and they must also agree on the time when (the wedding will be held).' (t56)

d. *maripi* 'when (past)'

The contrast between *ipi* 'when (future)' and *maripi* 'when (past)' (variant *mbaripi*) is illustrated in the following pair:

- (86) a. *Ipi a mae'-a <a>n?*
 when ART go-LV-2S
 'When will you go?'
- a. *Maripi a no-mae'-a <a>n?*
 when ART R-go-LV-2S
 'When did you go?'
- (87) *Mbaripi a no-taka-an-na utus-muu ndo'o-mari Jakarta?*
 when ART R-arrive-LV-3S brother-2P DEM.ADV7-VEN J.
 'When did your brother arrive here from (down in) Jakarta?' (dict)

In declarative clauses, *m(b)aripi* means 'in the past', 'in ancient times', and is synonymous with the phrase *tempo maripi(an)*.

e. *aana* and *maana* 'where'

There are two words for 'where' in Balantak, differing in a subtle way. The first one, *aana*, always refers to a stative location, while *maana* (with variant *mbaana*) refers to an explicit or implicit movement. Both words are glossed 'where' and the following examples are illustrative.

- (88) *Aana kaku <u>s?*
 where toilet-2S
 'Where is your toilet?' (conv)
- (89) *Mae' maana i koo? Ku-aa-tu'u.*
 go where PA 2S INVIS-ALL-DEM4.
 'Where are you going?' 'Over there.'

- (90) a) **Aana** *ke-kela-an-na?*
 where RED-put-LV-3S
 ‘Where is its place?’ (Meaning ‘where is it normally located?’)
- b) **Maana** *ke-kela-an-na?*
 where RED-put-LV-3S
 ‘Where is its place?’ (Meaning ‘where was it put’ or ‘where should it be put?’) (elic)
- (91) a) **Aana** *k <um> aan-an-ta kodi?*
 where INTR-eat-LV-1PI in.a.while
 ‘Where is the place where we will eat?’
- b) **Maana** *k <um> aan-an-ta kodi?*
 where INTR-eat-LV-1PI in.a.while
 ‘Where will we go to eat?’ (elic)

There is an amazing variety of synonyms and variant forms for the words for ‘where’ in Balantak. In the Dolom dialect, *aana* has the synonym *riaa*, while *maana* is synonymous with *maria*. A related form is *naria*, meaning ‘from where’. Other Balantak dialects have various other forms, some of which are listed in the dictionary, including *iaa*, *iaana*, *iana*, *riaana*, *riana*, *ariaa*, *ariaana*, *ariana*, *mariaa*, *mariaana*, *mariana*. *Aana* can also modify a noun, in which case it means ‘which’, indicating a choice among possible alternatives, as in (95). Some of these question words can also appear with perfective and realis affixes, as in (96).

- (92) **Maria** *i Hoi? Waa-ra'a na Tomohon.*
 where PA H. ALL-DEM6 LOC T.
 ‘Where has Hoi gone to?’ ‘He has gone up to Tomohon.’ (conv)
- (93) **Riaa-mo** *a utus-muu men itiu'-na?*
 where-PERF ART sibling-2P REL small-3S
 ‘Where is your youngest sibling, Sir?’ (dict)
- (94) **Naria** *i koo? Mbaa-ro'o pasar.*
 from.where PA 2S ALL.R-DEM7 market
 ‘Where have you come from?’ ‘From (down at) the market.’ (conv)
- (95) **Anak aana men pikirawar-o <o> n?**
 child where REL ask-PV.I-2S
 ‘Which child are you asking about?’ (conv)
- (96) **Laigan men ka'-ita no'-aana-mo?**
 house REL D-DEM.ADV1 R-where-PERF
 ‘Where is the house which used to be here?’ (elic)

f. *kadai* ‘why’

Variants and synonyms of *kadai* ‘why’ are *no-kadai* and *nongko'upa* (containing the root *upa* ‘what’), while other dialects have *upa-on*, *no'-upa-on* and *konopai*.

- (97) **Kadai** *i koo Gaja se' wiri?*
 why PA 2S elephant ATT cry
 ‘Why are you crying, Elephant, I wonder?’ (t43)

- (98) **No-kadai** ka' sian maka'ala k-um-ekerer?
 R-why and NEG able.I INTR-stand.up
 'Why are you not able to get up?' (conv)
- (99) **Nongko'upa** a laiga <a>n se' k <in>o-runtun?
 why ART house ATT R-ADVS-collapse
 'Why did your house collapse, I wonder?' (conv)

g. *pii* ~ *pipii* 'how many'

The question word *pii* and its reduplicated form *pi-pii* both mean 'how many' and ask for numbers, amounts, and prices. While *pi-pii* can only be used predicatively, *pii* mainly occurs in attributive position, although the exact distribution is not completely clear.

- (100) **Pii** kuu a moto'-utus?
 how.many 2P ART REC.I-sibling
 'How many siblings do you have, Sir?' (conv)

Instead of (100), a speaker might also say *Utu <u>s pi-pii?* (sibling-2S RED-how.many) or *Utu <u>s pii mian?* (sibling-2s how.many person).

- (101) **Doi'im** dauga' **pi-pii?**
 money-2S still RED-how.many
 'How much money do you still have?' (conv)
- (102) **Pi-pii** a ili-na wawas sa'angu' takalan?
 RED-how.many ART buy-3S rice one liter
 'How much is (lit. what is the price of) one liter of rice?' (conv)
- (103) **Jaam pii** a no-r <um>ingkat-an-na i raaya'a rimputu'?
 hour how.many ART R-INTR-leave-LV-3S PA 3P last.night
 'What time did they leave last night?' (dict)

There are also two phrases with (*pi*)*pii*: both *toro pii* and *bangar pipii* mean 'several' and are used attributively with nouns in statements. The meaning of *toro* and *bangar* is similar: 'about, approximately, around, up to'. The derivation *piri-pii* means 'how many times' (see §4.5.3).

- (104) **Ia** nanga-wawau surat **toro pii.**
 3S AV.R-make letter about how.many
 'He made/wrote several letters.' (conv)
- (105) **Lima-limang-mo** i kai tia kapala kampung ka' langka-langkai'-na
 RED-work-PERF PA 1PE with head village and RED-old.man-3S

Lumpo'nyo bangar pi-pii.
 L. aroundRED-how.many
 'We worked with the village chief and several old men from Lumpo'nyo.' (t58)

h. *sangupa* 'how much'

The final question word is *sangupa* (also containing the root *upa* 'what', possibly in combination with the numeral *sang-* 'one', see §4.5.1). This word is only used for asking the price of an item which is bought or sold. While (*pi*)*pii* is used for asking any number (including prices), *sangupa* is limited to prices.

- (106) *Sangupa a ili-na?*
 how.much ART buy-3S
 ‘How much does it cost? / How much is the price?’ (conv)

The expression *sian(ta) sangupa* (NEG how.much) means ‘of little value’, ‘a small matter’.

- (107) ... *kalu piile'-on a na-ndawo'-an-ku, sianta paraa sangupa...*
 if see-PV.I ART R-fall-LV-1S NEG as.far.as how.much
 ‘... if you look at my failure (to pass the exam, lit. ‘where I fell’), it really wasn’t that much of an issue...’ (t62)

9.3 Imperative clauses

An imperative clause issues a command to the hearer, which can be either a simple positive imperative (§9.3.1), a permissive imperative (§9.3.2), or a prohibitive (a negative imperative, §9.3.3). Various strategies are available in the language to increase the forcefulness or to soften the impact of a command. Additionally, there are adhortatives (§9.3.4), a separate, but related speech act, which signals that the speaker would like the speaker and the hearer(s) to do something together.

9.3.1 Positive imperatives

With intransitive verbs, the verb form in a positive imperative is either irrealis or gerund, as illustrated in the following pair. The gerund is a more forceful and more direct way of commanding the hearer and, therefore, considered less polite.

- (108) a) *Mai min-soop!*
 come INTR.I-enter
 ‘Please come in!’ (conv)
- b) *Pin-soop!*
 INTR.GER-enter
 ‘Enter!’ (elic)

The contrast between gerund and irrealis is of course only available for those intransitive verb classes which have distinctive mode morphology. Unmarked intransitive verbs such as *taka* ‘arrive’ and *mae* ‘go’ simply use the root in an imperative clause. (See table 5.2 in §5.2 for the various forms of intransitive verb classes.) Realis verb forms are never found in imperative clauses.

With transitive verbs, a fourfold contrast is possible. Not only are irrealis and gerund verb forms available, but there is also the choice between agent voice and patient voice, as illustrated in the following (elicited) contrastive set.

- (109) a) *Ming-ili kutung pae!*
 AV.I-buy first rice
 ‘First, buy some rice!’
- b) *Ping-ili kutung pae!*
 AV.GER-buy first rice
 ‘First, buy some rice!’
- c) *Ili-on kutung a pae!*
 buy-PV.I first ART rice
 ‘First, buy the rice!’

- d) *Ili kutung a pae!*
 buy first ART rice
 ‘First, buy the rice!’

Examples (109a) and (109b) illustrate the opposition between irrealis and gerund in agent voice, with the gerund again the more direct and less polite form of the command. Examples (109c) and (109d) illustrate patient voice imperatives, with the post-verbal subject *pae* (the semantic patient) marked by the article *a* (see §4.3.4 for more discussion). Since patient voice is typically used for known or definite patients, we translate *a pae* as ‘the rice’, though *a* in itself does not indicate definiteness. Notice that the gerund patient voice *ili* is a bare root (see table 5.3 in §5.3). It could also have been glossed ‘buy.PV.GER’, but for the sake of simplicity, we adhere to a single gloss.

Examples of intransitive and transitive (agent voice) irrealis verb forms are provided below. Notice that vocatives and second person pronouns are quite common in imperatives.

- (110) *Ai koo Bembe', ke-kerer ka-no'o bee-beel i yaku'.*
 EMP.ART 2S goat RED-stand D-DEM.ADV2 RED-near PA 1S.
 ‘You goat, stand there near me.’ (t43)
- (111) *Kuu no'o-mo mo-guas na tolo!*
 2P DEM.ADV2-PERF INTR.I-play LOC yard
 ‘You (kids), play there in the yard!’ (conv)
- (112) *Koo Ree'a mong-kolon basung.*
 2S tortoise AV.I-carry basket
 ‘You tortoise, you carry the basket.’ (t31)

Here are two examples of an imperative in gerund verb forms (intransitives and transitive agent voice), though they are fairly rare in our corpus:

- (113) *Pi-ngu'u sampo kada' kabus a dompilak.*
 INTR.GER-wash.hair shampoo so.that gone ART dandruff
 ‘Wash your hair with shampoo, in order to get rid of dandruff.’ (dict)
- (114) *Kalu ming-ili pae, pan-sarak men daa sian pu'un-on.*
 if AV.I-buy rice AV.GER-search REL ATT NEG hull-HAVE
 ‘When buying rice, look for the kind that doesn’t still have hulls in it.’ (dict)

Some examples of imperatives in patient voice, either irrealis (with suffix *-on*, rather frequent) or gerunds (bare roots) follow below. As noted above, patient voice is the preferred choice when the patient is known or definite. With pronominal patients, as in (117) and (120), patient voice imperatives are the only choice. Again, the irrealis has a softening effect on the command compared to the gerund.

- (115) *Pa-kaan-on a au!*
 CAUS-eat-PV.I ART dog
 ‘Please feed the dog!’ (conv)
- (116) *Ompor-i-on a soop-an.*
 shut-DIR-PV.I ART enter-NOM
 ‘Please close the door.’ (conv)
- (117) *Tarai-on i yaku' tombos.*
 give-PV.I PA 1S roseapple
 ‘Please give me some roseapples.’ (dict)

- (118) *Boiti a piso'-muu dako' atak-on.*
 sharpen ART knife-2P lest rust-HAVE
 'Sharpen your knife, sir, so it won't go rusty.' (dict)
- (119) *Rae' donga-dongan leelo' a sina-am!*
 go RED-quick call ART mother-2S
 'Go quickly and call your mother' (conv)
- (120) *Tae-ni Ree'a, "Ansee, talangi i yaku!"*
 word-3S.PA tortoise in.that.case untie PA 1S
 'The tortoise said, "In that case, untie me."' (t31)

There are various ways to modify the degree of directness or politeness of an imperative. The addition of the perfective suffix *-mo* to an imperative verb form, for example, can have a double function. If the verb is spoken with an initial high pitch followed by a falling intonation, it creates more urgency or pressure on the part of the speaker: *Rae'-mo!* (spoken with high falling intonation) 'Go!' indicates an urgent and forceful command on the part of the speaker. However, when the intonation is level, *-mo* signals a mitigated command or a resignation to the situation that can be translated with 'just'. Examples are *Rae'-mo* (go-PERF) 'Just go (there is no need to stay here, and/or I'm not able to stop you anyway)' and *Oruang-mo i koo* (sit-PERF PA 2S) 'Just sit down (there is no need to remain standing, don't worry about which seat to choose)'. These nuances are subtle and often difficult to adequately convey in translation.

In addition to *-mo*, there is also the attitudinal particle *alaka'* (see §7.8.6). This creates a special form of the imperative, also mitigating the command, but presenting it as a suggestion or as an opportunity to do something, or even as a polite invitation. The imperative is no longer a forceful command that has to be obeyed. It can be translated as 'Go ahead and...', 'You should....', or 'Why don't you....', though *alaka'* is simply glossed as 'please'. It is possible that *alaka'* is historically a combination of the verbal root *ala* 'take' and the conjunction *ka'* 'and', but any semantic connection is now so opaque that we prefer to treat *alaka'* as a single morpheme. *Alaka'* is always followed by a gerund form of the verb; it cannot precede a realis or an irrealis verb form.

- (121) *Ai koo Kuda, alaka' tokol, ka' pinti-pate-pate.*
 EMP.ART 2S horse please lie.down and PRETENSE.GER-RED-dead
 'You horse, lie down and pretend to be dead.' (t35)
- (122) *Alaka' kolongi a panga'-na kau ka-le'e.*
 please cut ART branch-3S tree D-DEM5
 'Why don't you go ahead and cut the branches of that tree.' (dict)
- (123) *Alaka' pim-pa-telengan i koo.*
 please INTR.GER-?-lie.face.up² PA 2S
 'Go ahead and lie face up.' (t37)

A final modifying word is *mai* 'come'. Its main function is in adhortative clauses (§9.3.4), but in imperative clauses, it serves an encouraging or reassuring function. A command with *mai* usually involves an action that will be directed towards the speaker (e.g., entering a house, boarding a boat), but not necessarily so. The speaker reassures the addressee that it's fine to proceed with the action and that there is no reason to hesitate or be anxious.

²The root of this word is *telengan* '(lie) face up', as in *royot tele-telengan* 'lie face up', but in most derivations a morpheme *pa-* emerges, e.g., the intransitive verb *mim-pa-telengan* 'lie face up' and the causative verb (in patient voice) *ni-pa-telengan-kon* 'was put to lie down face up'. Since *pa-* itself does not appear to have any independent meaning and its distribution is different from a stem former (which do not occur in intransitive verbs), we gloss it with a question mark.

- (124) **Mai** *um-oruang ka'-ita na lalom-na laigan.*
 come INTR-sit D-DEM.ADV1 LOC inside-3S house
 'Please come and sit here inside the house.' (dict)
- (125) **Mai**, *lakit-mo ka'-ita tii yaku'.*
 come board-PERF D-DEM.ADV1 with.PA 1S
 'Come, board (the bus) here with me.' (conv)

The following elicited contrastive set shows various combinations of imperatives and attitudinal markers, with an attempt to convey some of those attitudes in the English translation and the added comments.

- (126) a) *Oruang ka'-ita.*
 sit D-DEM.ADV1
 'Sit down here.' (Unmarked, but a rather direct command.)
- b) *Oruang-mo ka'-ita.*
 sit-PERF D-DEM.ADV1
 'Just sit down here.' (A softened command: there are other chairs, but just take this one, it doesn't matter. Cf. Dutch *Ga hier maar zitten hoor.*)
- c) *Alaka' oruang ka'-ita.*
 please sit D-DEM.ADV1
 'Why don't you sit down here.' (A polite invitation.)
- d) *Alaka' oruang-mo ka'-ita.*
 please sit-PERF D-DEM.ADV1
 'Why don't you just sit down here.' (A polite invitation to make a choice among possible seats.)
- e) **Mai** *oruang ka'-ita.*
 come sit D-DEM.ADV1
 'Please sit down here.' (An encouraging command: there is no need to hesitate or be anxious.)
- f) **Mai-mo** *oruang ka'-ita.*
 come-PERF sit D-DEM.ADV1
 'Please just sit down here.' (An encouraging softened command: there is no need to hesitate and the choice of chair doesn't really matter).

9.3.2 Permissive imperatives

A special type of imperative, which we will call the permissive imperative, involves the combination of the adverb *sobii* and a permissive suffix *-a* (variant *-aa*). By itself, *sobii* means 'just let it be; it doesn't matter; don't worry about it; never mind' (similar to Indonesian *biar*) and it can be used as a polite negative answer to a request or a question, as in (53) in §9.2.1, repeated here as (127) or as an initial sentence fragment, as in (128).

- (127) a) *Sida i yaku' mun-tulungi?*
 can PA 1S AV.I-help
 'Can I help?'

- b) *Sobii*.
 let.it.be
 'I'm OK (there is no need to help me).'

- (128) *Sobii mau i koo sian no-taka.*
 let.it.be though PA 2S NEG R-arrive
 'It did not matter that you didn't come.' (dict)

In permissive imperative clauses, *sobii* is followed by the conjunction *bi* 'until' and a bare root of a transitive verb (gerund irrealis), to which is added the permissive suffix *-a* (variant *-aa*) The construction means 'just let him/her do something; do not prevent him/her from doing it.'

- (129) *Sobii bi ili-a.*
 let.it.be until buy-PERM
 'Just let him/her buy it.' (elic)

- (130) *Sobii bi kaan-a.*
 let.it.be until eat-PERM
 'Just let someone eat it. / Just let it be eaten.' (elic)

- (131) *Sobii bi ala-a-mo, gause yaku' daa ning-ili-mo.*
 let.it.be until take-PERM-PERF because 1S finish AV.R-buy-PERF
 'Just let him/her take it, because I bought (another one).' (dict)

Apparently, the permissive suffix does not occur with intransitive verbs. Constructions such as **Sobii bi taka-a* (let.it.be until arrive-PERM) 'Just let him/her come' are ungrammatical. We also have two examples of permissive *-a* without *sobii*:

- (132) *Yaku' penek-a?*
 1S climb-PERM
 'Do I have permission to climb it?' (t16)
- (133) *Yaku' ala-a i-ya'a?*
 1S take-PERM D-DEM3
 'Do I have permission to take this?' (conv)
- (134) *Sida kaan-on-aa?*
 can eat-PV.I-PERM
 'Do (we) have permission to eat (this)?' (elic)

The full range of constructions and meanings of *-a* is open to further investigation.

9.3.3 Prohibitives

The prohibitive (negative imperative) makes use of special negators: *alia* or *amo'*, both meaning 'do not'. Of these two, *alia* is the unmarked one and most frequently used; *amo'* is found with weaker and polite prohibitions ('please do not'), sometimes even bordering on suggestions ('it is best if you do not'). *Alia* also occurs in exclamatory clauses (§9.4) and *amo'* is found in negative purpose clauses (§10.3.7). Both negators are followed by either irrealis or gerund verb forms, never by a realis.

- (135) *Alia tabingal!*
 DONT naughty
 'Don't be naughty!' (dict)

- (136) *Kuu baabo' ka' sian mo-moko manga-wawa oe, alia*
 2P uncle and NEG INTR.I-able AV.I-carry rattan DONT
mam-[p]akisaa dako' repo'.
 INTR.I-force lest paralyzed
 'You older men, if you are not able to carry rattan, don't force yourselves lest you get injured.' (t1)
- (137) *Amo' oso'i-on!*
 DONT wash-PV.I
 'Please don't wash it.' (conv)
- (138) *Tae-na, "Atu, amo' ma-takut."*
 word-3S lad DONT INTR.I-afraid
 'She said, "Don't be afraid, lad." (t36)

A second person singular pronoun can be present in an emphatic prohibitive in the form of the enclitic *-ko*, always attached to a gerund. This is the only place in the language where this enclitic occurs (see §4.1). The second person plural pronoun *kuu* does not have a corresponding clitic form.

- (139) *Alia pin-soop-ko!*
 DONT INTR.GER-enter-2S
 'Don't you enter!' (conv)
- (140) *Alia pan-sabak-ko!*
 DONT INTR.GER-bite-2S
 'Don't you bite (me)!' (t19)
- (141) *Alia pang-ala-ko ka-nono!*
 DONT AV.GER-take-2S D-DEM2
 'Don't you take that!' (conv)

It is impossible for this enclitic to attach to positive imperatives. The imperative **pin-soop-ko* 'you enter!' is ungrammatical. Instead, the full pronoun should be used: *pin-soop i koo* (INTR.GER-enter PA 2S) 'you enter!'

Interestingly, agent voice forms with pronominal patients are acceptable in the prohibitive, but not in the positive imperative, where a patient voice is obligatory, as noted in §9.3.1. The following examples illustrate this voice contrast in positive and negative imperatives (with elicited, and admittedly, somewhat artificial data).

- (142) a) *Alia ming-ili i yaku'.*
 DONT AV.I-buy PA 1S
 'Don't buy me.' (As for instance spoken by a slave at the slave market.)
- b) **Ming-ili i yaku'.*
 AV.I-buy PA 1S
 'Buy me.'
- c) *Ili i yaku'.*
 buy PA 1S
 'Buy me'

Several derived forms exist which are formed on the basis of *alia*. These include *alia-mo* meaning 'do not' (with perfective suffix *-mo* marking a weaker prohibitive) or 'do not any more', *alia-momo'* 'do not

any longer' or 'do not ever again', and *alia-po* ~ *alia-popo'* 'do not yet' or 'do not right now' (compare Indonesian *jangan dulu*). In addition, there is the form *amo'-po* 'do not yet' or 'wait a bit'. The forms with *-momo'* and *-popo'* appear to be stacked formations, but they are simply glossed as PERF and IMPF.

- (143) *Tokol-mo i kuu, alia-mo siasa!*
 lie.down-PERF PA 2P DONT-PERF restless
 'Lie down all of you, don't be so restless!' (dict)
- (144) *Alia-mo me-menek na kau!*
 DONT-PERF INTR.I-climb LOC tree
 'Don't climb trees any more!' (conv)
- (145) *Alia-momo' man-sarak mian sambana.*
 DONT-PERF AV.I-search person other
 'Don't look any longer for another person.' (dict)
- (146) *Tae-ni Ree'a, "Alia-popo' kutung koi-ya'a..."*
 word-3S.PA tortoise DONT-IMPF first like-DEM3
 'The tortoise said, "Let's wait a bit.'" (Lit. '[Let us] not yet first [do] like that.')
- (147) *Tae-nai Seese', "Amo'-po, yaku' dauga' ka-ya-waa-tu'u kutung s <um> asayo"*
 word-3S.PA snail DONT-IMPF 1S still D-DEM3-ALL-DEM4 first INTR-stroll
 'The snail said, "Wait a bit, I still want to go (from here to) there first to take a stroll.'" (t22)

The word *paraa* has a mitigating effect on all negators (see also § 9.1.5), including *alia*. The combination *alia paraa* means 'it really is not necessary that...' or 'please don't take the trouble to go as far as...'.

- (148) *Alia paraa manga-wawau-ii i yaku' wala'on.*
 DONT as.far.as AV.I-make-BEN PA 1S boiled.water
 'It really is not necessary to make tea for me.' (dict)

9.3.4 Adhortatives

The adhortative mode (expressing the notion 'let us') is expressed by means of an irrealis verb form in combination with the first person inclusive pronoun *kita*, which may precede or follow the verb. The hortative particle *mai* 'come', also found with imperatives, may precede the clause.

- (149) *Kita r <um> ingkat-mo.*
 1PI INTR-leave-PERF
 'Let's leave.' (conv)
- (150) *Mang-ala kutung lui' i kita.*
 AV.I-take first rope PA 1PI
 'Let's first get some rope.' (t35)
- (151) *Mai kita mae' mang-ala bobuno' ra'a-a na bangkal.*
 come 1PI go AV.I-take langsung DEM6-EXT LOC old.garden
 'Come let's go and get langsung fruits up there at the old garden.' (conv)

- (152) *Mai balulang, kita poo-pi-topongi-mo.*
 come dwarf.buffalo 1PI REC-ATTP-try-PERF
 ‘Come on, dwarf buffalo, let’s compete with each other.’ (Lit. ‘... let’s try to try/test each other.’) (t22)

Examples of adhortative clauses with patient voice:

- (153) *Akal-kon-on-ta-mo ka' pa-pate-i-on i ia.*
 trick-CAUS-PV.I-1PI-PERF and CAUS-die-CAUS-PV.I PA 3S
 ‘Let’s trick him and kill him.’ (t35)
- (154) *Koo-mo a olukon; haa koi-ni'i tumbei-on-ta-mo ansee.*
 2S-PERF ART go.first ok like-DEM1 begin-PV.I-1PI-PERF in.that.case
 ‘You will go first; okay now, let’s begin, then.’ (t37)

The negator in adhortative clauses is *alia* (or one of its derivatives):

- (155) *Kita alia-po mae' ilio koi-ni'i.*
 1PI DONT-IMPF go day like-DEM1
 ‘Let’s not yet go today.’ (dict)

9.4 Exclamatory clauses

Exclamatory clauses are nominalizations of verbal clauses. In most cases the verb is nominalized by means of the 3sg possessive suffix *-na*, but occasionally, other persons are found, as well. This clause type typically expresses an intense feeling, and hence, clause-initial interjections are common and possibly, obligatory. An interjection which is only found with exclamatory clauses is the negator *alia* ‘do not’ (see §9.3.3), sometimes repeated for emphasis.

- (156) *Ee, balaki'-na susu <u>m!*
 oh big-3S fish-2S
 ‘Wow, you’ve got a really big fish!’ (Lit. ‘Oh, the bigness of your fish.’) (conv)
- (157) *Alia a lolu-na!*
 DONT ART hungry-3S
 ‘How hungry I was!’ (Lit. ‘Don’t the hunger.’) (t1)
- (158) *Alia alia i koo, a pore-na!*
 DONT DONT PA 2S ART good-3S
 ‘How beautiful she is!’ (conv)

In (157), there is no explicit person indicated, though from the context, it is obvious that the speaker is referring to himself. Alternatives to *a lolu-na* in this example, are *a mo-lolu-na* (retaining the intransitive prefix) and *a mo-lolu-ngku* ‘my hunger’ (with 1sg *-ngku*). In (158), *i koo* ‘you’ functions as an interjection (see §7.10), not as a vocative. Other examples:

- (159) *...alia a ma-ngilu'-na!*
 DONT ART INTR.I-painful-3S
 ‘...what a terrible toothache I had!’ (t3)
- (160) *Alia alia a guas-na langkai' ka-ya'a; guas-on tuu'.*
 DONT DONT ART play-3S man D-DEM3 play-HAVE very
 ‘Goodness, that guy loves joking around; he’s really funny!’ (conv)

- (161) *Ebee, a pore-na laigan-na!*
 oh ART good-3S house-3S
 ‘Wow, what a nice house he’s got!’ (conv)
- (162) *Bee a ma-male-ngku na pungu-lu/at-an sapi.*
 oh ART INTR.I-tired-1S LOC GER-chase-LV cow
 ‘Good grief, I’m exhausted from chasing the cows!’ (dict)

It should be noted that the use of the article *a* in exclamatory clauses is not fully understood. It is occasionally absent, but it remains to be worked out how its presence relates to the otherwise robust generalization that the article *a* only occurs with post-predicate subjects.

9.5 Focus constructions

There are two marked pragmatic constructions in Balantak: clefts and semi-clefts.

9.5.1 Clefts

A cleft construction in Balantak is defined as an equative clause in which a nominal predicate is followed by a nominal subject that consists of a relative clause introduced by *a men* (see §10.1 for a full discussion of relative clauses). It is comparable to English cleft constructions such as, ‘It was John who did it’, or ‘John was the one who did it’, which are the cleft counterparts of the unmarked transitive clause ‘John did it’. English, of course, uses a form of the copula ‘to be’, while Balantak simply juxtaposes the predicate and the subject. The second part of the clause, the subject, consists of the article *a* followed by a relative clause introduced by *men*. In this relative clause, there is, however, no overt head noun; no nominal element occurs between *a* and *men*. Hence, these are, technically, headless relative clauses. This appears to contradict our earlier statement that *a* is always followed by a common noun (see §4.3.4). However, under a hypothesis which posits an empty head noun, this analysis can be maintained.

The discourse function of this construction is to focus on the predicate. In other words, it highlights one particular referent, often to the exclusion of other potential referents. In the example above, the point is that it was John, not someone else, who did it. In each case, the subject presents known information in the context.

Cleft constructions are common with question words (which are inherently focussed, see also §9.2.2), summarising statements (often involving a demonstrative), noun phrases with the focus particle *-po* ‘even’, and contrastive focus. In the following examples, the post-predicate subject is underlined.

- (163) *Ai ime a men mae?*
 EMP.ART who ART REL go
 ‘Who is going?’ (Lit. ‘Who [is] [the one] that goes?’) (conv)
- (164) *Panakit upa a men nang-kana' i ia?*
 disease what ART REL AV.R-hit PA 3S
 ‘What kind of sickness has beset him?’ (dict)
- (165) *Koi ya'a a men malia' wawau-on-na minti'i.*
 like DEM3 ART REL often do-PV.I-3S elder
 ‘That is what is frequently done by the older people.’ (t50)
- (166) *Koi ni'i a men ngaan-on-na mian liu wulan.*
 like DEM1 ART REL name-PV.I-3S person pass moon
 ‘This is what is called being overdue (having missed a period).’ (t52)

- (167) *Sianta sa'angu'-i-po mian a men barani mon-topongi.*
 NEG one-?³-even person ART REL dare AV.I-try
 'There is not a single person who is brave enough to try (and get water from that taboo place).' (t50)

- (168) *Na aturan men dele, moro'one a men ma-sawe'*
 LOC regulation REL normal man ART REL INTR.I-guest

na laigan-na wiwine.
 LOC house-3s woman
 'Under normal circumstances, it is the man who visits the woman's house (and not the other way round).' (t56)

9.5.2 Semi-clefts

A semi-cleft differs from a regular cleft in that the relativizer *men* is absent. The predicate is, again, the first constituent in the clause, followed by the subject, which is a headless relative clause introduced by the article *a*. As there is no relativizer, *a* is directly followed by a verb. In order to 'rescue' our rule in §4.3.4 that *a* is always followed by a common noun, we have to postulate an (admittedly somewhat abstract) analysis which posits both an empty head as well as the absence of *men*.

The discourse function of semi-clefts is, apparently, similar to regular clefts, though the focus appears to be somewhat less strong. In each case, *men* can be added without a noticeable shift in meaning, as in (169b), but *a* needs to be present, with or without *men*, as shown by the ungrammatical constructions (169c) and (169d). Example (169e) shows the same clause in the order subject-predicate, in which case there is no *a*. As is the case with clefts, semi-clefts are common with question words and contrastive focus, especially on pronouns.

- (169) a) *Pi-pii takalan a ala-on-muu?*
 RED-how.many liter ART take-PV.I-2P
 'How many liters will you take?' (conv)
- b) *Pi-pii takalan a men ala-on-muu?*
 RED-how.many liter ART REL take-PV.I-2P
 'How many liters will you take?' (elic)
- c) **Pi-pii takalan ala-on-muu?*
 RED-how.many liter take-PV.I-2P
- d) **Pi-pii takalan men ala-on-muu?*
 RED-how.many liter REL take-PV.I-2P
- e) *Men ala-on-muu, pi-pii takalan?*
 REL take-PV.I-2P RED-how.many liter
 'What you will take, how many liters it is?' (elic)
- (170) *Pii kuu a moto'-utus?*
 how.many 2P ART REC.I-sibling
 'How many siblings do you have?' (conv)

³The meaning of *-i* in this word is unclear.

- (171) ... *raaya'a a mam-bayar.*
 3P ART AV.I-pay
 '... they were the ones who paid.' (t67)
- (172) *Ai ime a ning-ili-kon piit-na?*
 EMP.ART who ART AV.R-buy-APPL bicycle-3S
 'Who bought him a bicycle?' (conv)
- (173) *Kasee yaku' a nan-tanggung alayong.*
 but 1S ART AV.R-responsible charcoal
 'But I am the one who provided the charcoal.' (conv)
- (174) *Yaku'-si a manga-wawa pandoli'.*
 1S-SEQ ART AV.I-carry crowbar
 'I am the one who will carry the crowbar.' (t31)
- (175) *Biai'-mo a no-bisara umba'a.*
 many-PERF ART R-speak just.now
 'Many have already spoken just now.' (t72)
- (176) ... *taasi'-mo tongko' siok a pan-tarai diim-na nuur i-ya'a.*
 NEG-PERF only chicken ART AV.GER-give spirit-3S coconut D-DEM3
 '... it is no longer just a chicken which is given to the spirit of the coconut tree.' (t50)

9.5.3 Focus particles *muu* and *-po*

In addition to cleft and semi-cleft constructions, Balantak has two focus morphemes. The particle *muu* (variant *mau*) and the enclitic *-po* both mean 'even'. They focus on a particular referent or a particular activity within an (undefined) larger set or referents or activities, with strong implications of unexpectedness.

- (177) *Sapu' ka-ni'i, muu wurung-na uga' parasaya-on-na mian.*
 bird D-DEM1 even talk-its also believe-PV.I-3S person
 'As for this bird, even its call people believe in (= attach significance to).' (t50)
- (178) *Kalu koi nono', mau mian men no-taka-mo tia mian*
 if like DEM2 even person REL R-arrive-PERF with person

men sian-po, tio daa obos-i-on intom.
 REL NEG-IMPF must ATT divide-DIR-PV.I meat
 'If that is the case, meat must even be distributed to people who have arrived and to those who have not yet arrived.' (t56)
- (179) *Sa'angu'-po sukup-mo.*
 one-EVEN enough-PERF
 'Even just one is enough.' (dict)
- (180) *Mong-koyong-po alia!*
 AV.I-touch-EVEN DONT
 'Don't even touch it!' (dict)

- (181) *Kalu tongko' buruki', lulusan-po ming-oloa na ko'onta.*
 if only angry friend-EVEN INTR.I-far LOC 1PL.OBL
 'If we are always (only) angry, even friends will keep away from us.' (dict)

9.6 Tense and aspect: *bo* and *-mo*

The grammatical expression of time (past, present, future) involves several components in the grammar of Balantak. Various adverbs, adverbial phrases (§7.8.1 and §7.8.4) and temporal adverbial clauses (§10.3.1) can give important lexical signals about the location of a state or event in time, as can demonstrative derivations (§8.6 and §8.9). The principal mechanism, however, by which tense is coded grammatically, is the opposition between realis and irrealis in the verbal morphology. In §5.4, the main realizations and functions of realis and irrealis were listed, and since realis and irrealis verb forms are illustrated in virtually every section of this grammar, we will not give further examples here. Aspect is coded by means of reduplication (§5.7.11), as well as by various adverbs. In the remainder of this section, we focus on two elements relating to tense and aspect that have not been discussed elsewhere: the future particle *bo* and the perfective suffix *-mo*.

9.6.1 Future particle *bo*

In addition to irrealis, there is another way to grammatically mark the future, the particle *bo*. Presumably, because the irrealis is relatively vague about time (as it can refer to either the present or the future), this strategy helps the speaker to be more precise. The particle *bo* (variant *boo*) is, normally, a preposition with a benefactive or purpose meaning 'for' (see §6.3), but its other main function is that of a future marker before verbs.

- (182) *Ia sabole bo taka ilio ka-ni'i.*
 3S definitely FUT arrive day D-DEM1
 'He will definitely come today.' (dict)
- (183) *Yaku' ka-ni'i boo tarai-on-na mian gula-gula ka' sapato.*
 1S D-DEM1 FUT give-PV.I-3S person sweets and shoe
 'People will give me sweets and shoes.' (t31)

It seems fair to assume that a grammaticalization has taken place from the meaning 'for' to a future marker. This process may have happened by way of certain constructions which are semantically somewhat ambiguous. For instance, before nominalized verbs and before nouns in existential and equative clauses, the word 'for' appears to have future implications, as illustrated below. (In these cases, *bo* is glossed as 'for'.)

- (184) *Ridwan mang-ama' roona-na kau bo pakuli'-na bela-na.*
 R. AV.I-chew leaf-3S tree for medicine-3S wound-3S
 'Ridwan is chewing some leaves to make medicine for his wound.' (dict)
- (185) ... *ka' weer men bo inum-on.*
 and water REL for drink-PV.i
 '... and water for drinking' (t67)
- (186) *Ai Aleen a bo ketua-na mian men mom-bolos piring.*
 EMP.ART A. ART for chairman-3S person REL AV.I-borrow plate
 'Aleen will be the chairman of the people borrowing plates.' (t13)

- (187) *Daa sanaang, isian bo ka-kaan-ku, mang-kaan bobuno'.*
 ATT happy EXIST for NOM-eat-1S AV.I-eat lansium
 '(I) am happy, there is food for me, I can eat lansium fruits.' (t20)

In (184), there is a clear purpose involved, but in (186), purpose shades into a (future) role. In (187), we see *bo* in an existential clause; the implication is that the speaker (a snail in a tree) has not eaten yet, but that there is food waiting for him. The phrase *bo ka-kaan-ku* could be translated as 'my future food'. The link between purpose and future markers is reported in several other languages, see among others Heine and Kuteva (2003).

9.6.2 Perfective -mo

The perfective suffix *-mo* adds an aspectual meaning component to the clause. With a realis verb form, it indicates that the action is done, completed, finished; and with stative verbs that a change has occurred, and the subject is still in that state at the moment of speaking. In those cases, its meaning is clearly perfect (in the sense of a past event/state with present relevance).

- (188) *Pakean-ku no-birisii-mo.*
 clothes-1S R-clean-PERF
 'My clothes are clean (now).' (conv)

The combination of realis and *-mo* is especially common in narratives, where they form the backbone of the story line.

- (189) *Utus-ku balaki'-na ning-intoni-mo lima-ngku ka'...*
 sibling-1S big-3S AV.R-hold-PERF hand-1S and
 'My older brother shook my hand and...' (t67)

The combination of the perfective suffix *-mo* and an irrealis verb form may signal at least two things. One of them is imminent future at the moment of speaking:

- (190) *Ni'i i koo d<um>odongo-mo!*
 DEM1 PA 2S INTR-give.birth-PERF
 'You (here) are about to give birth!' (t11)
- (191) ... *tae-na wiwine, "Daa yaku' mo-suo'-mo."*
 word-3S woman yes 1S INTR.I-marry-PERF
 '...the woman says "Yes, I'm (now) ready to get married."' (t56)

Another function is a completed event in an irrealis context (e.g., a procedural text), as in the following example:

- (192) *Kalu man-tausi-mo boo panganon, kasi tuum-on pore-pore.*
 when AV.I-obtain-PERF for marriage.proposal then wrap-PV.I RED-good
 'When (they) have obtained the marriage proposal gifts, they are properly wrapped up...' (t56)

In combination with the perfective suffix, the future particle *bo* (§9.6.1) occurs in its long form *boo-mo* and means 'almost, nearly' or 'about to', usually in a narrative context, as in the following two examples:

(193) *Tempo-na um-asok-an boo-mo porus.*
 time-3S INTR-plant-NOM FUT-PERF pass
 'The season for planting is nearly over.' (dict)

(194) ... *ia boo-mo d<um>odongo.*
 3S FUT-PERF INTR-give.birth
 '... she is about to give birth.' (t52)

10. Complex sentences

In this chapter, we describe how clauses are combined into sentences. In many language descriptions, a distinction is made between coordination (the joining of independent clauses), and subordination (the joining of clauses where one clause functions as an argument of another clause or as a modifier of a noun phrase). In Balantak, as in some other languages, it appears that this distinction is only of limited use. There appears to be just one clear case of subordination, namely the formation of relative clauses, which are clearly marked as subordinate by the relativizer *men*. Instead of coordination, we distinguish two other strategies for combining clauses: juxtaposition (no conjunction and no intonation break) and conjoining (an overt conjunction and/or an intonation break). In neither case are there unambiguous signs of subordination, such as changes in word order, unique verb forms, or subordinating conjunctions. We prefer not to use coordination, as this term implies that these clauses are independent units, but this doesn't seem to be the case in Balantak. Strict coordination in Balantak appears to be limited to word and phrase level. In summary, syntactically we distinguish three kinds of clause combining: subordination (only for relative clauses), juxtaposition, and conjoining.

Semantically, however, other distinctions are possible, such as complementation (clauses which appear to function as the subject or object argument of another clause), as well as a variety of adverbial clauses, that is, clauses which mark concepts such as time, reason, condition, purpose, and so on, including relationships such as contrast, which are traditionally subsumed under coordination.

This chapter will first describe relative clauses (§10.1), followed by juxtaposition (§10.2) and conjoining (§10.3). For the latter two categories, various semantic subdivisions will be made, partly on the basis of the semantics of the verbs, partly on the basis of conjunctions used, and partly on the semantic relationship between the clauses. As we have said in other chapters, this is not an exhaustive listing of all clause combinations, and neither is it the only possible way to approach the Balantak data.

10.1 Relative clauses

Relative clauses (RCs) are very frequent in Balantak. They have the following characteristics.

- Relative clauses follow the antecedent and are introduced by the relativising particle *men*. Following Dixon (2010), we will refer to the antecedent as the common argument (CA). It is likely that the particle *men* is related to and grammaticalized from the common noun *mian* 'person'. In a few instances, *men* is absent from an RC, as in example (1-1) in chapter 11.
- There is no other special marking for RCs. Verb morphology and word order are the same as for main clauses.
- The following grammatical functions can be relativized: subject and possessor. However, because of the elaborate voice system in Balantak, the subject can be an agent, a patient, or a temporal or locative phrase. Notice that these refer to grammatical functions within the RC, not in the main clause.
- When the CA is the subject of the RC, it is zero marked. When it is a possessor, it is marked by the possessive suffix *-na*.
- The CA can have any grammatical function in the main clause: subject, object, non-subject agent, possessor and oblique. As mentioned above, in the RC only subjects and possessors can be relativized.
- The head of the CA in the main clause is normally a noun, but pronouns, names and possibly possessive suffixes can also function as heads.
- The vast majority of RCs are restrictive, but a few examples of non-restrictive clauses have also been found.

In this section, RCs are put in parentheses and the head of the CA in the main clause is bolded.

10.1.1 Relativized subjects

Examples of subjects as the CA:

- (1) **wawau** [men pore tuu']
do REL good very
'a very good deed' (conv)
- (2) **Biai'** a **mian** [men ba-limang i-nda'a-a].
many ART person REL INTR-work D-DEM.ADV6-EXT
'There are many people who work up there.' (conv)
- (3) ... **sianta isian mian samba-na** [men l<um>akit tii ia].
NEG EXIST person friend-3S REL INTR-board with 3S
'... and there was nobody else who was going with him.' (t68)
- (4) **Ia man-taawan utus-na** [men itiu'-na].
3S AV.R-carry.in.arms sibling-3S REL small-3S
'She carries her youngest brother in her arms.' (dict)
- (5) **Sapi'-na ni-koot tia lui'** [men arutu' tuu'].
cow-3S PV.R-tie with rope REL long very
'His cow was tethered with a very long rope.' (dict)
- (6) **na bolo'-na watu** [men moola']
LOC hole-3S stone REL big
'in the holes of large rocks' (dict)
- (7) **Mian** [men mang-asok rombia']...
person REL AV.I-plant sago.tree
'People who plant sago trees...' (t50)
- (8) ... **ka' ia sabak a bokoti'** [men baasi na-ndawo'].
and 3S bite ART rat REL just.now INTR.R-fall
'and he (the pig) bit the rat, who had just fallen down.' (t19)

In each of these clauses, the CA functions as the subject of the relative clause, which is an intransitive clause or a transitive clause with agent voice, as in (7). Its function in the main clause differs, however. It is a subject in (2) and in (8), as shown by the article *a*, it is an object in (4), an oblique in (5) and a possessor in (6). Notice that in (8), the relative clause is non-restrictive, as there are only two characters in the story, a pig and a rat. The relative clause simply provides additional information about the rat, it does not select one possible rat among many.

In the following clauses, the CA is still the subject of the RC, but all the RCs are transitive clauses, with a patient voice or a locative voice. It is important to realise that in each case, the CA is the subject of the relative clause, which is a grammatical function and not a semantic role. In other words, the grammatical function is subject, but the semantic role is a patient (with patient voice) or a locative or temporal argument (with locative voice). These semantic roles have been 'promoted' to the status of subject by means of voice formation. Compare the following elicited contrastive examples:

- (9) a) **mian** [men nong-koot bembe']
person REL AV.I-tie goat
'the person who tied (up) a goat'

- b) **bembe'** [men ni-koot]
goat REL PV.R-tie
'the goat that was tied'
- c) **bembe'** [men yaku' koot]
goat REL 1s tie
'the goat that I tied'
- d) **bembe'** [men koot-on-ku]
goat REL tie-PV.I-1s
'the goat that I will tie'

In (9a), the noun *bembe'* 'goat' functions as the object in an RC. The CA is *mian* 'person'. In (9bcd), the noun *bembe'* functions as subject of the RC in all three clauses. The agent is either obligatorily absent, as in (9b), which is the agentless patient voice, or present, as in (9c) and (9d), which are agented patient voice constructions. In all four constructions, however, the (bolded) CA is the subject.

Other examples of patient voice in RCs:

- (10) *Ka' sanda' kampung [men liu-on], siso'-kon-on-na.*
and every village REL pass-PV.I point-APPL-PV.I-3S
'He showed me every village that (we) passed.' (t67)
- (11) *Koi-ni'i isian tulisan titiu' [men yaku' pakatu ka-ni'i.]*
like-DEM1 EXIST writing small REL 1s send D-DEM1
'Now here is a little bit of writing that I'm sending.' (t72)
- (12) *boo pan-taring-an-mai supermii [men kai ili boo ka-kaan malom.]*
for GER-cook-LV-1PE noodles REL 1PE buy for NOM-eat night
'... (where) we could cook the noodles which we had bought for the evening meal.' (t68)
- (13) *Kalu tuo'-mo a rakut na ale' [men ni'-asok-i pae iya'a]...*
when grow-PERF ART weeds LOC garden REL PV.R-plant-DIR rice D-DEM3
'When the weeds in a garden that has been planted with rice are grown up...' (t53)

Below follow a few relative clauses with locative voice. As explained in §3.5 and §7.5, in locative voice the locative or temporal argument becomes the subject of the clause, which is then available for relativization. The non-subject agent is expressed as a possessive suffix, or as a noun phrase following *-na* (or *ni* with names).

- (14) *Badunggal ilio [men no-taka-an-ku], tanggal [men no-ngamea'-an-ku].*
exactly day REL R-arrive-LV-1s date REL R-born-LV-1s
'The day when I arrived (in Palu) was exactly the date when I was born.' (t67)
- (15) *Yaku' no-mbaa-tu'u-mo na laigan [men no-tokol-an-na i raaya'a.]*
1s R-ALL.R-DEM4-PERF LOC house REL R-lie-LV-3s PA 3P
'I went to the house where they were staying.' (t68)
- (16) *Sarataa no-taka-mo i raaya'a na tempat [men*
when R-arrive-PERF PA 3P LOC place REL
ninti-pate-pate-an ni Kuda]...
PRETENSE.R-RED-die-LV 3s.PA horse
'When they came to the place where Horse was pretending to be dead...' (t35)

10.1.2 Relativized possessors

The only other grammatical function that can be relativized is the possessor in a noun phrase. In this case, a resumptive possessive suffix *-na* is retained on the possessed noun in the RC. This suffix is bolded in this section.

- (17) *laigan* [men atop-**na** bolo'-an]
 house REL roof-3S hole-HAVE
 'a house of which the roof is leaking' (conv)
- (18) ... *utus-ku* sa'angu' itiu'-**na** [men ai Yusuf a *ngaan-na*].
 sibling-1S one small-3S REL EMP.ART Y. ART name-3S
 '... one of my siblings, the youngest, whose name is Yusuf.' (t67)
- (19) *Tongko'* Tumpu-si uga' a ming-inti'i **mian** [men pore tuu' a *noa-na*.]
 only Lord-SEQ also ART AV.I-know person REL good very ART heart-3S
 'Only the Lord knows the people whose hearts are good.' (t67)

Notice that (18) is another example of a non-restrictive clause.

10.1.3 Headless relative clauses

Headless relative clauses modify a noun which is not overtly present, but which can usually be supplied from the context. Headless relatives frequently appear in existential clauses.

- (20) ... [men *ngaan-on* bintana',] ma'amat tuu' a burit-**na**.
 REL name-PV.I python good very ART paint-3S
 '(the animal) that is called python, its colour patterning is very beautiful.' (t37)
- (21) *Isian* uga' [men *tongko'* mi-mi'-inton ari Justin tii Zuzan.]
 EXIST also REL only INTR.I-ATTP-hold PLUR J. with.PA Z.
 'There were also (some) who just tried to touch Justin and Susan.' (t68)
- (22) *Isian* uga' [men *mo-suo'* a olukon, komburi'-si kasi
 EXIST also REL INTR.I-marry ART ahead later-SEQ then
mon-sorong konondok].
 AV.I-pay bride.price
 'There are also (people) who marry first, and only later pay the bride price.' (t56)

10.1.4 Miscellaneous issues

This section discusses various issues about relative clauses that seem worth mentioning, but that do not form a coherent whole. These relate to types of heads, double embedding, and some unusual usages of *men*.

First of all, heads of the CA have, so far, been common nouns. In addition, we have a few pronominal heads

- (23) *Kai* [men bo mae' i-ya'a] ator-on-na i sina ni Eela'.
 1PE REL FUT go D-DEM3 bring-PV.I-3S PA mother 3S.PA E.
 'Those of us who will go will be brought (there) by Eela's mother.' (t67)

A head containing a 1sg possessive suffix was already given in (18). In the following examples, it appears that the non-restrictive relative clause modifies the pronominal element (bolded) rather than the whole noun, at least semantically.

- (24) *Ngaan-ku* [*men no'-uma-uman ka-ni'i-mari*] *ai Herkanus*.
 name-1S REL INTR.R-RED-story D-DEM1-VEN EMP.ART H.
 'My name is Herkanus and I told this story.' (Lit. 'The name of me who told this story is Herkanus.') (t32)

- (25) *Ai yaku' k <um> ekerer na sengke'-em* [*men toko-tokol*]
 EMP.ART 1S INTR-stand LOC back-2S REL RED-lie.down
ninti-pate-pate, *kada' daa ...*
 PRETENSE.R-RED-die so.that ATT
 'I (goat) will stand on your back (horse), while you are lying down pretending to be dead, so that ... (Lit. '... the back of you who is lying down and pretending to be dead...') (t43)

Cases of relative clauses inside relative clauses (double embedding) are not common, but do occur.

- (26) *Na aturan, kita ka' mung-ule'-i anak, mbaka' tio mam-bayar*
 LOC regulation 1PI and AV.I-return-DIR child then must AV.I-pay
giigii' ongkoos [*men ia pake anak*] [*men kita kokunda-i*].
 all expense REL 3S use child REL 1PI refuse-DIR
 'According to the regulations, if we ask the (unacknowledged) child back, then (we) have to pay for all the expenses incurred by the child that we did not want.' (t56)

- (27) *Paraluu-na rombung* [*men inum-on boo pakuli'-na*]
 purpose-3S traditional.medicine REL drink-PV.I for medicine-3S
anak [*men na lalom*] *koi rua' kaliangan*.
 child REL LOC inside like two sort
 'There are two kinds of purposes for the traditional medication which is drunk to cure (lit. for medicine of) the child which is inside (the womb).' (t52)

The second constituent introduced by *men* in example (27) is, strictly speaking, not a relative clause, as it contains only a prepositional phrase (*na lalom*). One could argue that it is an equative clause with a prepositional predicate (§7.2), but this is harder to maintain in the following cases, where we are dealing with non-clausal attributive phrases introduced by *men*. In these constructions, *men* introduces not so much a relative clause, but rather a 'relative phrase' containing various non-verbal phrases. In each case, it appears that *men* can be left out without any noticeable shift in meaning.

- (28) *Ia bukuan mang-kaan ayop* [*men sanggiran*].
 3S often AV.I-eat animal REL other
 'He often eats other animals.' (t35)
- (29) *No-l <um> akit na kapal* [*men na lealaa*].
 R-INTR-board LOC ship REL LOC sky
 'They boarded an aeroplane.' (Lit. '....a ship which is in the sky.') (t67)
- (30) *Poo-toon-mai* [*men na rimberi'-an*]...
 REC-promise-1PE REL LOC yesterday-NOM
 'Our promise/agreement from yesterday...' (t1)

- (31) *Kuu [men minti-minti'i...]*
 2P REL RED-elder
 'You who are older folks...' (t1)

Similar constructions are possible when a head noun is absent or gapped:

- (32) ... *mian nang-ka'apu-mo [men bo ma'ulop].*
 person AV.R-cook-PERF REL for morning
 'People cooked (food) for the morning.' (t13)

- (33) *kai no-mbaa-tu'u-mo soo-soodo na simbaya'-na, kasee [men sa'angu'-an-mo].*
 1PE R-ALL.R-DEM4-PERF RED-again LOC fellow-3S but REL one-NOM-PERF
 'We went (there) again to a friend of his, but (it was) another one.' (t67)

We end this section by giving a few examples of unusual structures with *men*. In one text, we found an example of *men* in an unusual position:

- (34) ... *gause yaku' ming-kira' men tuo' sidutu.*
 because 1S INTR.I-want REL life eternal
 '... because I want eternal life' (t12)

The word order in the phrase *men tuo' sidutu* is strange. It is either a headless relative and, hence, the meaning is 'I want that (which is) eternal life' or else *men* has been 'moved' to a position before the head noun *tuo'*. The latter possibility is more likely, as a similar construction occurs in the same text, namely *men tuo' koi-ya'a* (REL life like-DEM3) 'such life', which, according to our helpers, is identical with *tuo' men koi-ya'a*.

We also have cases where *men* does not introduce a relative clause, but simply introduces a noun phrase (or phrases) which provides clarification or identification of the head noun. It could be argued that these are non-restrictive relative equative clauses.

- (35) *Isian uga' sando men mang-ala pakuli',*
 EXIST also traditional.healer REL AV.I-take medicine

koi-mo epet [men roona-na kau]...
 like-PERF poultice REL leaf-3S tree

'There are also traditional healers who get medicine such as poultice, consisting of leaves...' (t52)

- (36) *Yaku' no-poo'-inton-i-mo lima tia anak-ku [men ai Saam,*
 1S R-REC-hold-DIR-PERF hand with child-1S REL EMP.ART S.

Ite'], ka' utus-ku.
 I. and brother-1S

'I shook hands with my children, who are (called) Saam and Ite', and (with) my brother.' (t67)

Finally, there is a case where *men* seems to introduce an adverbial clause, though possibly, the temporal noun *tempo* 'time' has been gapped.

(37) *Tempo i-ya'a isian sa'angu' samba-samba-ngku no-taka na*
 time D-DEM3 EXIST one RED-friend-1S R-arrive LOC

motor, men koo'-po yaku' no-mule'kon.
 motorbike REL NEG-IMPF 1S INTR-return

'At that time, there was a friend of mine who arrived on motorbike, (at the time) when I had not yet gone back.' (t68)

The basic characteristics of relative clause formation in Balantak are relatively clear, but a number of details, especially regarding unexpected uses of *men*, need to be investigated in more depth.

10.2 Juxtaposition

10.2.1 Introduction

Juxtaposition involves the simple linking of two or more verbal clauses without any conjunction and without a noticeable intonation break. The two clauses normally have the same subject (which is marked only once) and constitute a single prosodic unit. This is especially common when the first verb is a verb of motion, as in the following example:

(38) *Liu-liu ia no-mae' nan-sarak samba-samba-na*
 immediately 3S R-go AV.R-search RED-friend-3S
 'Immediately, he went and looked for his friends.' (t20)

Notice that both verbs in (38) are realis forms and that the subject *ia* occurs only once. The question may arise whether such examples are actually not better analysed as serial verb constructions. Serial verb constructions are prototypically defined as two or more successive verbs joined together without any connecting words, acting as a single predicate. There is no overt marking of coordination or subordination; the verbs share one or more arguments, have the same tense, aspect and polarity value, and describe what is conceptualized as a single event (Crowley 2002, Aikhenvald 2006).

There are various reasons why we believe a serial verb analysis is not the best analysis of these Balantak sentences. In the first place, the two verbs may differ in mode, as shown in (39), where a realis verb is followed by an irrealis verb form:

(39) ... *kasi no-mae' mo-loop.*
 then R-go INTR.I-bathe
 'then (I) went to have a bath.' (t68)

Secondly, certain elements may intervene between the two verbs, such as a subject noun phrase or a locative phrase, as in (40):

(40) ... *no-mae'-mo na bengkel mon-totobo'i oto-na.*
 R-go-PERF LOC repair.shop AV.I-repair car-3S
 '(He) went to the repair shop to repair his car.' (t68)

Thirdly, the two verbs do not refer to a single event, but for the most part, clearly refer to two distinct activities, as in the three examples given above. Only with certain phasal verbs (such as *tumbei* 'begin') and verbs of ability (such as *sida* 'can, be able'), can it be argued that the two juxtaposed clauses refer to a single event. These three reasons provide enough evidence to reject the analysis as a serial verb construction. Juxtaposed constructions do have certain things in common with serial verb constructions, however. In the first place the subjects are usually identical (though see §10.2.3), and secondly, they agree in voice (if they are transitive) and in polarity. If a negator is present, it precedes the first verb.

Another possible alternative to juxtaposition is to regard these constructions as juxtapositions of just verbal predicates, rather than of verbal clauses. In other words, one subject is followed by two or more verbal predicates, which are linked without conjunction in one intonational unit. However attractive this analysis may be, there are cases where the subject of the two clauses is not identical, even though only one is mentioned. In the following example, for instance, the subject of the stative verb *nau* 'long (of time)' is either an empty 'it', or it is the whole consecutive clause, but it cannot be the pronoun *raaya'a* 'they'. For that reason, we treat these constructions as juxtaposed clauses, with the subject of the first clause being gapped or sentential.

- (41) *Nau-nau'* *raaya'a* ***man-sarak-mo*** *siok* *toro* *tolu'...*
 RED-long 3P AV.I-search-PERF chicken up.to three
 'After a while, they will look for three chickens...' (t50)

Combining verbal predicates is indeed possible, but this is realised by means of the preposition *tia* 'with' (§6.2), resulting in real coordination, though not of clauses. In each case, the verbal predicates form a close semantic unit.

- (42) *Pintanga'* *mi-mangan* ***tia*** *mon-toop,...*
 in.the.middle INTR.I-chew.betelnut with INTR.I-cigarette
 'While (people) are chewing betelnut and smoking,... (t56)
- (43) ... *gause* *malia'* *me-nggeo-i* ***tia*** *mam-pa-polos-i* *mian.*
 because often AV.I-sick-CAUS with AV.I-SF-ill-CAUS person
 '... because (these spirits) often make people sick and unwell.' (t50)

Juxtaposition is not limited to two clauses. Here are two examples of three juxtaposed clauses:

- (44) ***Rame*** *i* *ia* *i-nda'a* ***oru-oruang*** *mang-kaan...*,
 busy/enjoy PA 3S D-DEM.ADV6 RED-sit AV.I-eat
 'While he (the snail) was enjoying himself up there sitting and eating...' (t20)
- (45) ... *sina-no* *anak* *ka-ni'i* ***palus*** *mae'* ***ba-tatapi***.
 mother-3s child D-DEM1 absent go INTR-wash.clothes
 '... the child's mother was away, she had gone to wash clothes.' (t32)

10.2.2 Semantic groupings

As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, the term complementation is used essentially in a semantic sense only. Syntactically, we are dealing with juxtaposition of clauses without any overt sign of subordination: there are no complementizers, there is no change in word order, and no particular verb forms to signal a different status for the putative subordinate clause.

Semantically, the following complement-taking verbs can be distinguished (listed in irrealis active voice, bolded in the example sentences). No attempt is made to be exhaustive and very likely there are additional categories.

a. Physical perception

<i>mim-[p]iile'</i>	'see'
<i>mon-toa'i</i>	'see'
<i>mongo-rongor</i>	'hear'
<i>mun-suri</i>	'feel, notice'

- (46) *Kodi-kodi' ia piile' isian susum balaki' tuu'...*
 RED-in.a.while 3S see EXIST fish big very
 'After a short while he saw that there was a very big fish...' (t20)
- (47) *Ai Harimau ia piile' i raaya'a no-taka-mo.*
 EMP.ART tiger 3S see PA 3P R-arrive-PERF
 'They saw that Tiger had already arrived.' (Lit. 'They saw Tiger, (he) had already arrived.'
 (t35)

In (46) and (47), the verb *piile'* appears in a patient voice construction, which means that the following clause (the patient, what was seen) is strictly speaking the subject. However, these clauses are never marked with the expected post-predicate subject marker *a*, and so they do not appear to function as regular subjects. This is another indication that the term 'complementation' should not be pressed.

- (48) *Yaku' rongor ia sian-po mule'kon.*
 1s hear 3S NEG-IMPF return
 'I heard he has not returned yet.' (dict)
- (49) *...kada' rongor-on ni Kuda se' bee-beel-mo taka i Harimau.*
 so.that hear-PV.I 3S.PA horse ATT RED-near-PERF arrive PA tiger
 '...so that Horse hears that Tiger has almost arrived.' (t35)
- (50) *Sian ia suri se' tobui no-sio.*
 NEG 3S feel ATT sea INTR.R-high.tide
 'He did not notice that the tide was coming up.' (t20)

It might seem that *se'* in (49) and (50) functions as a complementizer 'that', but in fact *se'* is an attitudinal marker (see §7.8.5) which adds an element of surprise, wonder or unexpectedness, and can always be left out.

b. Mental perception and mental states

<i>kunda ~ bude'</i>	'not want'
<i>mam-[p]arasaya</i>	'believe'
<i>ming-inau'</i>	'think, remember'
<i>ming-inti'i</i>	'know'
<i>ming-ipi</i>	'dream'
<i>ming-kira'</i>	'like, want'
<i>mong-kolimbo'i</i>	'forget'
<i>mo'-uus</i>	'want, like'

- (51) *Koi-ni'i sian-po inti'i-on-mai simbat-on a wurung-muu.*
 like-DEM1 NEG-IMPF know-PV.I-1PE answer-PV.I ART talk-2P
 'At the moment, we don't know yet how to reply to what you said.' (t56)
- (52) *Sanggiran mian malia' ming-ipi wese'-na ko-bubut.*
 other person often AV.I-dream tooth-3S ADVS-pull.out
 'Other people often dream that their teeth are pulled out.' (t50)
- (53) *Moro'one i-ya'a sian-po ming-kira' mo-suo'.*
 man D-DEM3 NEG-IMPF INTR.I-want INTR.I-marry
 'That man doesn't want to marry yet.' (t56)

- (54) *Oo too ia kolimbo'i-mo i raaya'a ni-pakatu nde'e-mari.*
 oh maybe 3S forget-PERF PA 3P PV.R-send DEM.ADV5-VEN
 'Oh, maybe they forgot (for it) to be sent here.' (t58-m)

c. Utterance verbs

<i>mam-bantil-kon</i>	'tell, inform'
<i>mim-[p]ikirawar</i>	'ask'
<i>mom-[p]osuu</i>	'tell, order, command'
<i>mun-tundun</i>	'tell, narrate, convey'

- (55) ... *mam-bantil-kon se' kai r<um>ingkat-mo.*
 AV.I-inform-APPL ATT 1PE INTR-leave-PERF
 '...inform that we are about to leave.' (t1)
- (56) ... *mae' mim-[p]ikirawar too daa ia ili-i-mo tiket i yaku'.*
 go AV.I-ask maybe ATT 3S buy-BEN-PERF ticket PA 1S
 '(I) went to ask if he had already bought a ticket for me' (t4)
- (57) ... *ka' ni-pikirawar too pii mian a men boo mae'.*
 and PV.R-ask maybe how.many person ART REL FUT go
 '... and (we) were asked how many people were to go.' (t17)
- (58) ... *ia posuu' men-telepon sa'angu' pagawe-na Merpati...*
 3S order AV.I-phone one officer-3S M.
 '...he told (me) to telephone a Merpati employee... (t4)
- (59) ... *kasee sawe' ka-ni'i sian-po nun-tundun upa men*
 but guest D-DEM1 NEG-IMPV AV.R-tell what REL

paraluu-i-on men tuu-tuu'-na.
 need-VBR-PV.I REL RED-very-3S
 '... but these guests have not yet told what their real intentions are.' (t56)

d. Phasal verbs

<i>beel ~ bee-beel</i>	'almost' (also a stative verb 'near, close')
<i>daa</i>	'finish' (see footnote in §7.8.5 for a list of all the meanings of <i>daa</i>)
<i>ming-imput-i</i>	'continue' (cf. <i>imput</i> 'result')
<i>mon-soo-soodo-i</i>	'continue, do again' (<i>soo-soodo</i> 'again')
<i>mun-tumbe-i</i>	'begin' (cf. <i>tumbe-na</i> 'the beginning')

- (60) *Kalu bee-beel-mo taka i Harimau...*
 if RED-near-PERF arrive PA tiger
 'When Tiger is almost here...' (Lit. '... has almost arrived.') (t43)
- (61) *Raaya'a baasi no-daa nen-ceet laigan-na.*
 3P just.now R-finish AV.R-paint house-3S
 'They've just finished painting their house.' (dict)
- (62) ... *kasi i raaya'a ming-imput-i um-asok.*
 then PA 3P AV.I-continue-VBR INTR-plant
 '... and then they continue planting.' (t53)

(63) *Yaku' sian-mo mon-soo-soodo-i ma-mangan upa-na mian.*
 1S NEG-PERF AV.I-RED-again-VBR AV.I-steal thing-3S person
 'I won't continue stealing other people's things.' (dict)

(64) *Ia mun-tumbe-i ba-limang mo-kaut.*
 3S AV.I-begin-VBR INTR-work INTR.I-sew
 'She began to work sewing.' (dict)

e. Verbs of ability

moko 'can, be able (to do)'
pande 'can, be able'
(min-)sida 1. 'can, be able, know how to' (can also occur in patient voice)
 2. 'can, may, be allowed'
 3. '(actually) happen, be successful in' (cf. Indonesian *jadi*).
 (*Sida* also means 'become' in equative clauses, see §7.2)
man-taan 'endure, hold out'

(65) *Yaku' sian-po mo-moko ba-limang gause ma-barang.*
 1S NEG-IMPF INTR.I-able INTR-work because INTR.I-sick
 'I can't work yet because I'm sick.' (dict)

(66) *Yaku' sianta mo-moko man-taan d <um> odongo na tempat memel.*
 1S NEG INTR.I-able AV.I-endure INTR-live LOC place cold
 'I couldn't endure living in a cold place.' (dict)

(67) *Taas-na sian yaku' poko wawa.*
 bag-3S NEG 1S able.GER bring
 'His bag I wasn't able to bring.' (dict)

(68) *Isian uga' men ko-sian poko-on-na lesi'-on.*
 EXIST also REL UNEXP-NEG able-PV.I-3S heal-PV.I
 'There are also people that cannot be cured by him/her (= the traditional healer)' (t51)

(69) *Koi se' ia pande man-dagai anak.*
 like ATT 3S able AV.I-guard child.
 'For example, it (a good cat) is able to guard children.' (t32)

(70) *Sian sida mongo-lolo' gau' koi men dauga' laandue'.*
 NEG can AV.I-follow behaviour like REL still young.person
 '(You) cannot do the kind of thing you did when you were still a young man.' (t56)

(71) *Ka-nono' sian sida ala-on.*
 D-DEM2 NEG can take-PV.I
 'It is not allowed to be taken. / You can't take that.' (conv)

(72) *Taka i kai i-ntu'u, oto sianpo i-sida ni-totobo'.*
 arrive PA 1PE D-DEM.ADV4 car NEG-IMPF NEG.INTR.R-happen PV.R-repair
 'When we got there, the car had not yet been repaired.' (or: '...the car's being repaired had not yet happened.') (cf. Ind *belum jadi diperbaiki*) (t68)

The verb *moko* 'can, able' has the irrealis forms *moko* or *mo-moko* and the realis forms *noko* or *no-moko*. Patient voice forms also occur: irrealis *poko-on*; realis *ni-poko* and gerund *poko*. All these forms are also used as a verbal conjunction meaning 'after', (see §10.5.1). The following contrastive realis-irrealis

pair with the verb *moko* ‘can, be able’ nicely illustrates the realis-irrealis meaning contrast, with the irrealis simply referring to ability, but realis referring to ability as well as proven experience.

- (73) a) *Yaku' moko tokol suung-ku na ale'*
 1s able.I sleep self-1s LOC garden
 ‘I can sleep alone in the garden.’ (conv)
- b) *Yaku' noko tokol suung-ku na ale'*
 1s able.R sleep self-1s LOC garden
 ‘I can sleep alone in the garden (and I’ve done it).’ (elic)

f. Emotions, physical states and characteristics

<i>beles</i>	‘happy, glad’
<i>kakat</i>	‘diligent, zealous’
<i>ma-male</i>	‘tired’
<i>mo-riri'</i>	‘horrified, nauseated’
<i>rame</i>	‘busy (doing), enjoy doing’
<i>samba'</i>	‘amazed’

- (74) *Ia ma-male ba-limang.*
 3s INTR.I-tired INTR-work
 ‘She is tired of working.’ (conv)

- (75) *Yaku' mo-riri' um-oruang poo-beel tia mian men*
 1s INTR.I-nauseate INTR-sit REC-close with person REL

no-ko-lua-lua' i-ya'a.
 R-ADVS-RED-vomit D-DEM3
 ‘I am nauseated from sitting near that person who is continually vomiting.’ (dict)

- (76) *Ai yaku' no-samba' tuu' nim-[p]iile' weerkauna balaki'.*
 EMP.ART 1s R-amazed very AV.R-see river big
 ‘I was very amazed to see a big river.’ (t68)

g. Others

<i>man-taka-i</i>	‘(arrive and) find out’ (cf. <i>taka</i> ‘arrive’)
<i>mem-pe-pera-i</i>	‘wait’
<i>mun-tulungi</i>	‘help’

- (77) ... *kai taka-i da-mo nda'a doi-ku.*
 1PE arrive-DIR EXIST-PERF DEM.ADV6 money-1s
 ‘... we found out on arrival that my money was there.’ (conv)

- (78) *Pe-pera-i um-ampas a kopi-na kasi inum-on.*
 RED-wait-DIR INTR-settle ART coffee-3s then drink-PV.I
 ‘Wait for the coffee to settle before you drink it.’ (dict)

- (79) *Wawa tu'u-mari kada' daa bo pun-tulungi i koo mang-kaan.*
 bring DEM4-VEN so.that ATT FUT AV.GER-help PA 2s AV.I-eat
 ‘Bring (your friends) here so that they can help you eat (the cows).’ (t20)

10.2.3 Subject complementation

A number of clausal juxtapositions have been found which could be classified as subject complementation. That is, semantically the second clause is the subject of the first clause, as in the following examples with *pore* ‘good’ and *nau* ‘long (of time)’. In these cases, the clausal subject (in parentheses) is marked with the article *a*, strengthening their analysis as clausal subjects.

- (80) *Sianta pore [a mon-totoal-kon mian].*
 NEG good ART AV.I-curse-APPL person
 ‘It’s not good to curse people.’ (dict)

- (81) *Na-nau' [a non-totobo'i-an], sia-sian-na-po i-sida.*
 INTR.R-long ART R-repair-LV RED-NEG-3S-IMPF NEG.INTR.R-can
 ‘For a long time they tried to repair (the car), but it still wouldn’t go.’ (Lit. ‘The (time) when they repaired was long....’) (t68)

This particular construction (with the complement clause in agent or locative voice) is fairly rare, however. More frequently, we find patient voice in subject complement clauses, in which case the article precedes the (post-verbal) subject, not the verb, as in the following examples:

- (82) *Pore toa'i-on a buu'na ka-ra'a.*
 good look-PV.I ART mountain D-DEM6
 ‘It is beautiful to watch those mountains.’ (Lit. ‘That/those mountain(s) is/are good to be looked at.’) (conv)

- (83) *Pore tuu' rongor-on a lagu ni Fance.*
 good very hear-PV.I ART song 3S.PA F.
 ‘Fance’s songs are nice to listen to.’ (dict)

In the following examples, the patient of the complement clause occurs before the first verb of the main clause, a situation that is reminiscent of *tough*-movement in English (compare “It is tough to teach John” with “John is tough to teach”), though Balantak uses patient voice to create a subject which can be “raised”. The resulting construction is very similar to the juxtaposition discussed above in §10.2.2, except that the verbs differ in voice. So far, we have only found a few stative verbs that allow for this possibility.

- (84) *Buu'na kani'i ma-repa lopon-i-on*
 mountain D-DEM1 INTR.I-hard climb-DIR-PV.I
 ‘This mountain is hard to climb.’ (Lit. ‘... to be climbed.’) (conv)

- (85) *Duangan ka-ni'i ma-rawat-mo bouse-on.*
 boat D-DEM1 INTR.I-heavy-PERF row-PV.I
 ‘This boat is hard to row.’ (dict)

10.2.4 Clauses juxtaposed to NPs

A number of clauses are directly juxtaposed to NPs. These appear to be of an appositive nature, in which the clause states the contents of a head noun such as *kabar* ‘news’, *lele* ‘news, report’ or *tempo* ‘time’.

- (86) ... *kai inti'i-mo a kabar se' sianta kapal men Luwuk-Palu.*
 1PE know-PERF ART news ATT NEG ship REL L-P
 ‘... we already knew the news that there was no plane from Luwuk to Palu.’ (t4)

- (87) *Kabai se' isian lele-na mian poo-pa-pate na tano' oloa...*
 or ATT EXIST news-3S person REC-CAUS-die LOC land far
 'Or there is a report of people killing each other in a far-off country...' (t50)
- (88) ... *na tempo mang-kaan pae u'uru.*
 LOC time AV.I-eat rice new
 '... at the time of eating new rice.' (t53)

10.3 Conjoining

Conjoining refers to the process whereby clauses are joined with an overt conjunction and/or with a distinct intonation break, indicated in the orthography with a comma or a full stop. Various semantic relationships are possible between these clauses, as outlined in the following sections.

10.3.1 Temporal

Temporal adverbial clauses are linked to the main clause in essentially three ways.

- The clauses are simply conjoined: there is an intonation break, but there is no conjunction.
- The first clause has an overt conjunction, e.g., *moko* 'when, after'.
- The second clause has an overt conjunction, e.g., *kasi* 'and then'.

These strategies will be discussed in turn, although the second and third strategy do not exclude each other. In addition, there is a clitic *-si* indicating sequentiality, discussed at the end of this subsection.

Semantically, the temporal nature between the events A and B in the two clauses can be presented as normal succession ('he did A, then he did B'; 'before B happened, he did A'), rapid succession ('as soon as A happened, he did B'), a fixed end point ('he did A until B happened'), complete overlap from a certain point in time ('since A happened, he has been doing B'), simultaneous action ('while he did A, B happened'), to mention just a few of the possibilities.

a. Zero marking

A simple intonation break without an overt conjunction marks the temporal relationship.

- (89) *Poto'-oruang i kai, no-taka-mo i ia.*
 MULT-sit PA 1PE R-arrive-PERF PA 3S
 'While all of us were sitting (there), he arrived.' (conv)
- (90) *Taka i-nda'a, tae-na pagawe-na Merpati...*
 arrive D-DEM.ADV6 word-3S officer-3S M.
 'When (we) arrived there, the Merpati employee said...' (t4)
- (91) *Kolongi a takala'-na, sida manusia.*
 cut.off ART head-3s become man
 'When his head was cut off, he (= the dolphin) became a man.' (t12)

b. First clause conjunctions

The following temporal conjunctions may occur in the first clause. Many of these words have other functions in the language which are also listed here. Some of the conjunctions occur in combination, especially with *daa*.

<i>daa</i>	'when, after'	(also a verb 'finish'; see §10.4.1)
<i>koo'-po (tia)</i>	'before'	(NEG-IMPF (with) 'not yet', see §9.1)

<i>moko (daa)</i>	‘when, after’	(realis <i>noko</i> , always followed by a gerund; patient voice <i>poko-on</i> before another patient voice verb; also a verb meaning ‘able’; §10.4.1)
<i>sarataa</i>	‘when, after’	(borrowed from Indonesian <i>serta</i> ‘(together) with, along with’, but changed from a comitative preposition to a temporal conjunction)
<i>sian-po (tia)</i>	‘before’	(NEG-IMPF (with) ‘not yet’ see §9.1)
<i>soro’</i>	‘when, after’	(also a stative verb ‘finished’)
<i>supu</i>	‘since’	(also a noun ‘span and boundary point’ and a preposition ‘since’)
<i>tempo</i>	‘when, while’	(also a borrowed noun ‘time’)
<i>tongko’</i>	‘as soon as’	(only in combination with <i>daa</i> or <i>noko</i> or with both; also a focussing adverb ‘just, only’)

There might be subtle shades of meaning between the various conjunctions translated ‘when, after’, but these have not been investigated. All these conjunctions are illustrated in the following complex sentences:

- (92) *Daa no-palus-mo i Alakasing, no-taka-mo i Kodo’ ntu’u-mari...*
 finish R-absent-PERF PA monster R-arrive-PERF PA monkey DEM.ADV4-VEN
 ‘When the Monster had gone, Monkey arrived there and...’ (t31)
- (93) *Kai no-sambayang, daa no’amin uga’ kai no-k <um> aan-mo.*
 1PE R-pray finish R-amen then 1PE R-INTR-eat-PERF
 ‘We said grace, and when we had said, “amen,” we then had a meal.’ (t67)
- (94) *Koo’-po no-mae’ i kai tii Tuan Bob, kai dauga’-na*
 NEG-IMPF R-go PA 1PE with.PA Mr B 1PE still-3S
no-pegang tangan tii Bosaano Lamala
 R-hold hand with.PA B. L.
 Before Mr. Bob and I left (lit. we with Mr. Bob), we shook hands with the subdistrict leader of Lamala.’ (t4)
- (95) *Noko pang-ka’apu, yaku’ ning-inum-mo wala’on.*
 after.R AV.GER-cook 1S AV.R-drink-PERF boiled.water
 ‘After cooking, I had a hot drink.’ (t1)
- (96) *Moko daa k <um> aan tio mi-mumur.*
 after.I finish INTR-eat must INTR.I-rinse.mouth
 ‘After eating, you must rinse your mouth.’ (dict)
- (97) *Poko-on bunut-i-on, towol-on-mo a nuur.*
 after-PV.I husk-VBR-PV.I split-PV.I-PERF ART coconut
 ‘When the husks have been removed, I split the coconuts.’ (t8)
- (98) *Sarataa no-biai’-mo a siok-na, ia baluk-kon-mo.*
 when R-many-PERF ART chicken-3S 3S sell-APPL-PERF
 ‘When he had many chickens, he sold them.’ (dict)

- (99) *Sian-po tia barituru a siok rowo' i-ya'a,*
 NEG-IMPF with cock.fight ART chicken wild D-DEM3
liu-liu kana' bantal.
 immediately hit trap
 'Before the wild chicken can fight, he is immediately caught in the trap.' (t50)
- (100) *Soro' ba-limang na ingku' ni-yaa-ra'a, kita poo-pandaa'-mo.*
 finished INTR-work LOC OBL.1S DEM1-VEN-DEM6 1PI REC-work.together-PERF
 'After you've worked at my place later, we will work together.' (conv)
- (101) *Ai raaya'a supu no'-isian i kai anak-na, raaya'a ko-sianta*
 EMP.ART 3P since R-exist PA 1PE child-3S 3P UNEXP-NEG
laan ma-lawu na kampung.
 really INTR.I-go.down LOC village
 'They, after they had us kids, they didn't really come down to the village (very often).' (t62-m)
- (102) *Tempo man-sarak k<um>aan, kasi ia um-uar.*
 time AV.I-search INTR-eat then 3S INTR-go.out
 'When it (= this bird) is looking for food, then it comes out (of the ground).' (t50)
- (103) *Tongko' noko po-loop, kai no-k<um>aan-mo.*
 just after.R INTR.GER-bathe 1PE r-INTR-eat-PERF
 'As soon as we had bathed, we had our meal.' (conv)
- (104) *Tongko' daa noko kaan-mo, raaya'a uga' um-asaal-mo*
 just finish after.R eat-PERF 3P then INTR-move.place-PERF
ka' mon-toop.
 and INT.I-cigarette
 'As soon as they have finished eating, they (= the guests) move places and start smoking.'
 (t56)

c. Second clause conjunctions

- | | |
|---------------|--|
| <i>bi</i> | 'until' (variant <i>bai</i>) |
| <i>ka'</i> | 'and' |
| <i>kasi</i> | 'and then, only then' (indicates that the event in the first clause is a precondition for the second event to happen) |
| <i>pataka</i> | 1. 'until' (also a preposition) 2. 'with the result that' (see §10.3.8) (probably a derivation on the root <i>taka</i> 'arrive') |
| <i>sampe</i> | 'until' (possibly borrowed from Indonesian <i>sampai</i> 'until'; also a preposition) |
| <i>uga'</i> | 'and then' (variant <i>ga'</i> ; also a focussing adverb 'also, too') |
- (105) *Onsong-i a botor ka-nono' bi moonot.*
 plug-VBR ART bottle D-DEM2 until leak.proof
 'Plug that bottle until it stops leaking.' (dict)
- (106) *Janggo'-ku boo patalai-on-ku bai alayo'.*
 beard-1S FUT leave-PV.I-1S until long
 'I'm going to let my beard grow long.' (Lit. 'My beard I will leave until long.') (dict)

The conjunction *ka'* 'and' is one of the most frequently used function words in Balantak, since it also functions to coordinate noun phrases (see §4.11) and prepositional phrases (§6.6). As a conjunction in complex sentences, it can indicate consecutive or simultaneous action. Many examples of *ka'* have been presented in previous chapters, but a few are added here.

- (107) *Kai nim-balik-mo ka' nun-tuus i raaya'a.*
 1PE INTR.R-turn.around-PERF and AV.R-follow.after PA 3P
 'We turned around and followed after them.' (t68)

- (108) *Koo Seese'e tio daa sarak-on-ku ka' kaan-on.*
 2S snail must ATT search-PV.I-1S and eat-PV
 'You snail, I will certainly look for you and eat you!' (t20)

It should be mentioned that *ka'* can have other meanings in addition to 'and', including 'because' and 'if', as in the following example:

- (109) *Ka' tongko' suu-suu <wu>ng, sianta kabus-o <o>n.*
 and only RED-self-2S NEG finish-PV.I-2S
 'If you're only by yourself, you will not be able to finish (the cows).' (t20)

Examples of the other conjunctions:

- (110) ... *taka-si a moro'one, kasi um-uar a wiwine,*
 arrive-SEQ ART man then INTR-go.out ART woman
 '... when the men have arrived, only then do the women go out.' (t56)
- (111) *Ia no-ton-serear kasi t <in> ong-karurus.*
 3S R-NVOL-slip and R-NVOL-slide.down
 'He slipped and slid down (the slope)' (dict)
- (112) *Patalai-on-mo a kau i-ya'a pataka ma-kangkung.*
 leave-PV.I-PERF ART wood D-DEM3 until INTR.I-dry
 'Just leave the wood until it is dry.' (conv)
- (113) *Dauga'na-po itiu' pataka no-balaki', anak i-ya'a sianta no-bisara.*
 still-3S-SINCE small until R-big child D-DEM3 NEG R-speak
 'From the time she was small until she grew up, that child has never spoken.' (conv)
- (114) ... *isian men sianta kolimbo'i-on-ku pataka pate i yaku'.*
 EXIST REL NEG forget-PV.I-1S until die PA 1S
 '... there is something which I will not forget till I die.' (t67)
- (115) *Daa-mo poo-toon men boo taka-an, uga' mule'kon-mo*
 finish-PERF REC-promise REL for arrive-NOM then return-PERF
na laigan-na moro'one.
 LOC house-3S man
 'When they have reached an agreement on when to come (again), then they return to the man's house.' (t56)

- (116) *Uga' ia talangi-mo i Kodo', pa-ndawo' i Ree'a i-ndo'o*
 then 3S untie-PERF PA monkey INTR.GER-fall PA tortoise D-DEM.ADV7
na dasar.
 LOC floor
 'Then Monkey untied him, (and) Tortoise fell on the floor.' (t31)

Notice that in (116), *uga'* occurs as the first element of a sentence, not as a second-clause conjunction. This is possible for some of these second-clause conjunctions, because in those cases, there is always a preceding clause in the narrative on which the next one is built.

d. Clitic *-si*

The clitic *-si* (see §5.7.10) indicates sequentiality and can be attached to almost any word class (including verbs, nouns, pronouns, and adverbs). Not everything concerning *-si* is understood, and the following statements are tentative and probably incomplete.

The clitic *-si* is frequently found in temporal adverbial clauses to indicate a stage which is a necessary precondition for the next event, best translated as 'only when' or 'only then'. This can be located either in the future, as in (117), in the past, as in (118), or in a generic present, as in (119). In each case, the first clause combines a temporal and a logical condition to the second clause. An overt temporal adverb *kasi* is often present in the second clause.

- (117) *Doi'-an-si kasi bayar-on.*
 money-HAVE-SEQ then pay-PV.I
 'Only when you have the money, then you pay for it.' (dict)
- (118) *No-taka-si i yaku' kasi ia na-lesi'.*
 R-arrive-SEQ PA 1S then 3S INTR.R-well
 'Only after I arrived, did he get well.' (conv)
- (119) *Rokot-si a tumpuna i-ya'a mo-robu, kasi i raaya'a ming-imputi um-asok.*
 quiet-SEQ ART eagle D-DEM3 INTR.I-talk then PA 3P AV.I-continue INTR-plant
 'Only when the eagle is quiet again, can they continue planting.' (t50)

However, a temporal clause is not a prerequisite for the occurrence of *-si*. It is not uncommon in clauses with only a temporal phrase, in which case, *-si* can be found on the temporal adverb, as in (120) and (121), on the subject pronoun, as in (122), and on the verb, as in (123). In each case, the meaning is that the event will not or did not happen earlier than the stated time, presumably to correct a false assumption.

- (120) *Ma'ulop-si kasi kita l<um> opon.*
 morning-SEQ then 1PI INTR-climb
 'In the morning, we'll make the climb (not earlier).' (dict)
- (121) *Ripuan-si a nang-ala-an-ku.*
 two.days.ago-SEQ ART R-take-LV-1S
 'It was only two days ago that I took it (not earlier).' (conv)
- (122) *Liila yaku'-si a mang-ka'apu.*
 tomorrow 1S-SEQ ART AV.I-cook
 'Tomorrow I will be the one to cook (not today).' (dict)

- (123) *Poo-tu-tuong-si i kita na ilio Rabu.*
 REC-RED-meet-SEQ PA 1PI LOC day Wednesday
 ‘We will meet on Wednesday (and not earlier).’ (dict)

Interestingly, when even a temporal phrase is absent, the meaning of the clitic *-si* usually refers to the future:

- (124) *Koo-si a mang-ala-kon doi'-ku.*
 2S-SEQ ART AV.I-take-APPL money-1S
 ‘You are the one who will get me my money.’ (dict)
- (125) *Muu i-ntu'u-a-si na laigan-ku, sianta ko'-upa-na.*
 though D-DEM4-EXT-SEQ LOC house-1S NEG AFF-what-3S
 ‘Even if (we meet) over there in my house, that’s fine with me.’ (t58)

However, it can also refer to the past and be translated ‘just now’, as in (26). Further research is needed to find out the various nuances of *-si*.

- (126) *Maana-si i kita?*
 where-SEQ PA 1PI
 ‘Where have you just come from, Sir?’ (conv)

10.3.2 Contrastive

Contrast between clauses is signalled by the conjunction *kasee* ‘but’ (or its short form *see*), sometimes in conjunction with *ka* ‘and’.

- (127) *Yaku' rae' nom-bolos, kasee sian ia bolos-ii.*
 1S go AV.R-borrow but NEG 3S borrow-BEN
 ‘I went to borrow (some money), but he did not lend (me).’ (conv)
- (128) *Woo'-na koluang ma'-amat kaan-on kasee ko-membor.*
 fruit-3S pang¹ INTR.I-good eat-PV.I but AFF-have.allergic.reaction
 ‘The fruit of the pang¹ tree is delicious to eat, but it’s poisonous (lit. causes an allergic reaction).’ (dict)
- (129) *Kai no-mae'-mo soo-soodo see dauga' pika'.*
 1PE R-go-PERF RED-again but still dark
 ‘We went on again, but it was still dark.’ (t68)

10.3.3 Alternative

Alternative conjoined clauses are introduced by the conjunction *kabai* ‘or’, sometimes in combination with the attitudinal particle *se'* indicating uncertainty. *Kabai* is also a sentence adverb meaning ‘maybe, probably’ (see §7.8.4 subsection 6).

¹*Pangium edule* (Pangi Family). This tree, which grows in Southeast Asia, has heart-shaped leaves in spirals and can reach a height of 18 meters. Its flowers grow in spikes and are green in color. Its large, brownish, pear-shaped fruits grow in clusters. All parts are poisonous, especially the fruit. (Information from <http://www.survivaliq.com/survival/app-poisonous-plants-pangi.htm>)

- (130) *Daa kabai sian?*
 yes or NEG
 ‘Yes or no?’ (dict)
- (131) ... *malia' poo-totok kabai se' poo-pa-pate-i.*
 often REC-cut or ATT REC-CAUS-die-CAUS
 ‘... (the men) often wound or kill each other.’ (t56)

10.3.4 Reason

Clauses marking reason are typically introduced by the conjunction *gause* (variant *gause'*) ‘because’. Much less frequently used conjunctions are *saba'* (borrowed from Indonesian *sebab*) and *montoo*. The latter has connotations of arrogance, pride, or use of privileged position. The reason clause may precede or follow the result clause; both orders occur with high frequency. The result clause is often introduced by the conjunction *maka'* (variant *mbaka'*), ‘therefore, so, as a result, then’.

- (132) *Gause yaku' na-nggeo rimberi', maka' yaku' sian no-sikola.*
 because 1S INTR.R-sick yesterday therefore 1S NEG R-school
 ‘Because I was sick yesterday, I did not go to school.’ (conv)
- (133) *Kai na-sawe'-mo na kapal Merpati, gause boo-mo l <um> ayang.*
 1PE INTR.R-go.up-PERF LOC plane M. because FUT-PERF INTR-fly
 ‘We boarded the Merpati plane, as it was about to fly off.’ (t67)
- (134) *Mian ma-takut gause isian arati-na kalu kau men lukut-on.*
 person INTR.I-afraid because EXIST meaning-3S if wood REL vine-HAVE
 ‘People are afraid because if (there are) trees with vines on it, there is a meaning to it.’ (t50)
- (135) *Saba' tae-muu ala, mbaka' yaku' ala-mo.*
 because word-2P take therefore 1S take-PERF
 ‘Because you said to get it, Sir, I got it.’ (dict)
- (136) *Montoo daa kupang-on, ia mam-[p]ais mian samba-na.*
 because ATT money-HAVE 3S AV.I-look.down person friend-3S
 ‘Because he is rich, he looks down on other people.’ (dict)

Another way of introducing a reason clause is by means of the applicative suffix *-kon* (see §5.6.2). This is added to the verb in the result clause, which has to directly precede the reason clause.

- (137) *Na-barang-kon k <um> aan biai'.*
 INTR.R-sick-APPL INTR-eat many
 ‘He is sick because he ate (too) much.’ (conv)
- (138) *Tempo-tempo isian wiwine ma-mpaiwawa men lapus-kon sian moko dodongo.*
 RED-time EXIST woman INTR.I-pregnant REL die-APPL NEG able.I give.birth
 ‘Sometimes there is a pregnant woman who dies because she is unable to give birth.’ (t52)

10.3.5 Conditional

Conditional clauses, both real and unreal, are introduced with the conjunction *kalu* ‘if, when’. As with reason clauses, the conditional clause (the protasis) may precede or follow the consequence clause (the apodosis), though an initial protasis is more frequent in our corpus. And similar to result clauses, the apodosis may be introduced by *mbaka'* ~ *maka'*, glossed here as ‘then’.

- (139) *Kalu ba-limang tio pake akal.*
if INTR-work must use mind
'When working, you must use your mind.' (dict)
- (140) *Kalu isian au', sianta poo-tuong ule'.*
if EXIST dog NEG REC-meet snake
'If you have a dog, you don't meet up with snakes.' (t1)
- (141) *Kalu sian bayar-on wiwi'na, mbaka' anak sian sida ule'-i-on-na tama-na.*
if NEG pay-PV.I all then child NEG can return-DIR-PV.I-3S father-3S
'If everything is not paid, then a child can not be taken back by the father.' (t56)
- (142) ... *bo dolo'-on-ku kalu man-tausi-mo i-ya'a pakuli'.*
FUT fetch-PV.I-1S if AV.I-obtain-PERF D-DEM3 medicine
'...I will fetch it (later), if/when I have obtained the medicine.' (t3)

Unreal conditional clauses (contra-factuals) are either introduced by *kalu* or by the conjunction *koise* (a combination of the preposition *koi* 'as, like' and the attitudinal marker *se*; also written as two words).

- (143) *Kalu sianta no'-usan rimberi', kai sida r<um>ingkat.*
if NEG R-rain yesterday 1PE can INTR-leave
'If it hadn't rained yesterday, we could / would have left.' (conv)
- (144) *Koise sianta no'-usan ai kita sida-mo mule'kon na laigan.*
if NEG R-rain EMP.ART 1PI can-PERF return LOC house
'If it hadn't rained, we could/would have made it back to the house.' (dict)

The subject of a conditional clause is not infrequently fronted for topicalization purposes. This gives the impression of a clause-medial conjunction, but we prefer the analysis where the subject is a clause-external topic (though this is not reflected in the English translation).

- (145) *Sa'angu' moro'one kalu boo mo-suo', ia tio ba-panganon.*
one man if FUT INTR.I-marry 3S must INTR-marriage.proposal
'If a man wants to marry, he must organize the marriage proposal ceremony.' (t56)

An alternative to *kalu* is the conjunction *ka'*. This usually means 'and', but in certain contexts it can also have a conditional meaning (see §10.3.1c.). It will be glossed as 'if'.

- (146) ... *ka' parere-i-on-na sina-na, ia mo-tokol na intu-na undang-an.*
if run.away-DIR-PV.I-3S mother-3S 3S INTR.I-lie.down LOC under-3S rock-NOM
'... when (a child) has been left behind by its mother, it (the cat) will lie down under the cradle.' (t32)
- (147) *Sa'angu' tempo kita Seese'e ka' poo-ta-taka-i, sian-mo ampun-a <a>n,*
one time 1PI snail if REC-RED-arrive-DIR NEG-PERF forgive-NOM-2S

koo liu-liu kaan-on-ku.
2S immediately eat-PV.I-1S
'One time, Snail, when you and I meet, grace will have run out for you, (lit. no more [will there be] your forgiveness), I will eat you straightaway.' (t20)

- (148) *Ka' repo' na pong-oe-an i kuu, mbaka' i kai...*
 if paralysed LOC GER-rattan-LV PA 2P then PA 1PE
 'And if you (older folks) get injured at the place for getting rattan, then we (younger folks)...' (t1)

10.3.6 Concessive

Concessive clauses mark contra-expectation and are introduced by the conjunction *muu* 'though, even though'. Variants, some of them dialectal, are *mau*, *maune'*, *muune'* and the combinations *mau mune'* and *mau mule'*. *Muu* is also a focus particle before noun phrases (see §9.5.3). Concessive clauses may precede or follow the main clause. If they precede, the following clause may be introduced with *see* ~ *kasee* 'but'. Subjects are again frequently topicalized.

- (149) *Kai uga' mo-guas, muu na lalom-na takut.*
 1PE also INTR.I-play though LOC inside-3s afraid
 'We joked, although we were (lit. inside) afraid.' (t4)
- (150) *Sapu ka-ni'i, muu bee-beel, ko-sian piile'-on.*
 bird D-DEM1 though RED-near UNEXP-NEG see-PV.I
 'This bird, although it is nearby, is invisible.' (t50)
- (151) *Tama-mai maune' langkai'-mo, see dauga' kakat ba-limang.*
 father-1PE though old-PERF but still diligent INTR-work
 'Although our father is already old, he still works diligently.' (dict)
- (152) *Tempo koi-ni'i, muu isian mian men poo-surung samba-samba-na*
 time like-DEM1 though EXIST person REL REC-rob RED-spouse-3S

kasee ko-sian-mo poo-totok.
 but UNEXP-NEG-PERF REC-cut
 'These days, even though there are people who rob each other's spouses, they no longer wound (and kill) each other.' (t56)

10.3.7 Purpose

Purpose clauses are frequently introduced by the conjunction *kada'* 'so that', sometimes in combination with the attitudinal marker *daa*, which brings in an element of hope and expectation (see §7.8.5), or with the conjunction *bi* ~ *bai* 'until' (see §10.3.1c.).

- (153) *Min-tilik-i kada' poo-rongor.*
 AV.I-ear.wax-VBR so.that ABLE-hear
 'Clean (the wax out of) your ears, so that you can hear better.' (dict)
- (154) ... *uga' rawut-i-on-mo a rakut-na, kada' pae men ni'-asok i-ya'a*
 then weed-DIR-PV.I-PERF ART weed-3S so.that rice REL PV.R-plant D-DEM3

daa sida mo-lumba' a tu-tuo'-na.
 ATT can INTR.I-fertile ART RED-grow-3S
 '... then the weeds are cleared, so that the rice which has been planted can grow well.' (t53)
- (155) ... *laboti-on-mo ka' leelo'-on min-soop, kada' um-oruang.*
 welcome-PV.I-PERF and call-PV.I INTR.I-enter so.that INTR-sit
 '... (the guests) are welcomed and invited to enter (the house), so they can sit down.' (t56)

- (156) *Ai yaku' k<um>ekerer na sengke'-em men toko-tokol ninti-pate-pate,*
 EMP.ART 1S INTR-stand LOC back-2S REL RED-lie PRETENSE.R-RED-die
kada' daa taka i Harimau, sida-on-ku akal-i-on i ia.
 so.that ATT arrive PA tiger can-PV.I-1S trick-VBR-PV.I PA 3S
 'I (Goat) will stand on your back (Horse) while you are lying down pretending to be dead, so that when Tiger arrives, I can trick him.' (t43)

The conjunction *kada'* also occurs following verbs like 'to want' (and possibly others):

- (157) *Ko'-uus-ku kada' anak ma-nggeo ka-ya'a bai dongan ma-lesi'.*
 NOM-want-1S so.that child INTR.I-sick D-DEM3 until quick INTR.I-well
 'I want that sick child to get well soon.' (dict)

Another way of forming a purpose clause is with the preposition *bo ~ boo* followed by a gerund (see also §6.3). In many of those cases, the clause introduced by *boo* follows a noun phrase, which is instrumental in reaching the stated purpose.

- (158) *Tauk-ii-on wala'on boo panga-wawau-ngku kopi.*
 scoop-BEN-PV.I boiled.water for AV.GER-make-1S coffee
 'Dip out some boiled water (for me) so that I can make coffee.' (dict)
- (159) *Indo', tongko' ka-ya'a ti-tiu' boo pam-bayar oto waa-ro'o-na Balantak.*
 yes only D-DEM3 RED-little for AV.GER-pay car ALL-DEM7-3S B.
 'OK, this is just a little (money), so that (you) can pay a car to go back down to Balantak.'
 (t68)
- (160) *Koi upa bo pang-akal-kon-ku kada' bi rae' i-ro'o Buaya.*
 like what for AV.GER-trick-APPL-1S so.that until go D-DEM7 crocodile
 'How can I trick Crocodile down there, so that he will go?' (t20)

Negative purpose clauses can be introduced by *kada' sian* 'so that not', *kada' amo'* 'so that not' (with the negator *amo'* used in prohibitives) or the negative purpose conjunction *dako'* 'lest'.

- (161) *Tio siip-on awu kada' sian pin-soop-i-on-na soom.*
 must insert-PV.I ash so.that NEG SF-enter-DIR-PV.I-3S ant
 '(The placenta) has to be treated with ash so that ants won't get in.' (t52)
- (162) *Paraluu-na i raaya'a kada' balaa' tia mo'uong amo'*
 intention-3S PA 3P so.that misfortune with poor.health DONT
t<um>aka na dodongo-an-na i raaya'a.
 INTR-arrive LOC live-NOM-3S PA 3P
 'Their intention is that misfortune and poor health won't come to their dwellings.' (t50)
- (163) *Maka'amat-si dako' silaka' na salan.*
 careful-SEQ lest accident LOC road
 'Be careful not to have an accident on the road.' (dict)
- (164) *Kalu man-taring gala, oso'i kutung dako' isian aramas.*
 if AV.I-cook vegetables wash first lest EXIST fine.sand
 'When cooking vegetables, wash them first so there isn't any fine sand.' (dict)

10.3.8 Result

A result clause is introduced by the conjunction *mali'* (variant *mbali'*) meaning 'and as a result' or 'so that' (referring to a past event). We gloss it as 'as a result', but its rendering in the English translations may differ.

- (165) *Upa a sala'-na mali' ia ni'-ukum?*
 what ART wrong-3S as.a.result 3S PV.R-punish
 'What is the wrong for which he was punished?' (Lit. 'What [is] his wrong [and] as a result he was punished') (dict)
- (166) *Mun-tundun upa men paraluu-na i raaya'a mbali' no-taka.*
 AV.I-tell what REL intention-3S PA 3P as.a.result R-arrive
 'They (the guests) tell what their intention for coming is.' (Lit. '[They] tell what their intentions [are] so that they arrived.') (t56)
- (167) *Diim ka-ni'i a men nen-deer tia nan-dagai manusia na dunia*
 spirit D-DEM1 ART REL AV.R-spread with AV.R-guard man LOC world
ka-ni'i mali' no-sida biai'.
 D-DEM1 as.a.result R-become many
 '...this spirit is the one that spread and guarded man in this world and, as a result, they have become many.' (t50)

Quite frequently, and somewhat surprisingly, the result clause with *mali'* precedes the reason clause, which may be introduced by *gause* 'because' or simply left without an overt conjunction. In such cases, *mali'* retains its function as a marker of result, but it is best left untranslated in English or else rendered as 'the reason that', referring forward to the next clause marking the reason.

- (168) *Mbali' biai' a mian nam-[p]arere rimberi', isian lili'.*
 as.a.result many ART person INTR.I-flee yesterday EXIST earthquake
 'The reason that many people fled yesterday is because there was an earthquake.' (conv)
- (169) *Ia mali' daa no-moko nom-[p]o-sikola anak-na, gause isian pu'u biai'.*
 3S as.a.result ATT INTR.R-able AV.R-CAUS-school child-3S because EXIST wealth many
 'He was able to put his child through school because he had a lot of wealth.' (dict)
- (170) *Mali' ma-gantung a anak i-ya'a, ko-dalai-an.*
 as.a.result INTR.I-thin ART child D-DEM3 ADVS-neglect-ACCD
 'The reason that child is thin is because he is neglected.' (dict)
- (171) *Biasana sasa' ka-ni'i mali' ngaan-i-on ma-tondong, ia sianta*
 usually cat D-DEM1 as.a.result name-DIR-PV.I INTR.I-tame 3S NEG
ma-mangan bau.
 AV.I-steal stored.food
 'The reason that these cats are called tame is because they usually do not steal stored food.'
 (t32)

- (172) **Mbali'** *ngaan-on* *ko-pate-an,* **gause** *mian* *men* *poo-surung*
 therefore name-PV.I AFF-die-NOM because person REL REC-grab

samba-samba-na *malia'* *poo-totok.*
 RED-spouse-3S often REC-cut

'The reason why it is called fatal is because people who steal each other's spouses often wound (and kill) each other.' (t56)

Notice that *mali'* may occur in a clause-medial position, as in (169) and (171). Whether this is always a case of subject topicalization is not clear. What is not completely clear, either, is the exact difference between *mali'* 'as a result' and *maka'* 'therefore' (discussed in §10.3.4). Both conjunctions are found in reason-result clause combinations, but they do not appear to be completely synonymous.

Other, less usual ways of forming result clauses are with the conjunction *pataka* 'as a result, resulting in' (also a preposition and a conjunction meaning 'until'; see §6.7 and §10.3.1), and *tamban* 'with the (unexpected) result that, to the extent that.' Like *mali'*, *tamban* can also occur in the first of a result-reason sentence. In clauses with stative verbs *tamban* can be translated as 'it is/was so that...', as in (174) and (175).

- (173) ... *too-too* *laigan-na* *mian* *i-ya'a* *sian* *imput-i-on,* **pataka**
 RED-maybe house-3S person D-DEM3 NEG result-VBR-PV.I as.a.result

ko-lalaisi-an *a* *oloon-na.*
 ADVS-destroy-ACCD ART building.material-3S

'...probably that person's house is not continued, resulting in the ruin of the building materials.' (t50)

- (174) *Ia* *maso'* *tuu'* **tamban** *mangkai-pukul.*
 3S angry very as.a.result RANDOM-hit
 'He was so angry that he struck around him randomly.' (dict)

- (175) *Ro'up-na* **tamban** *mang-kurut* *gause* *mun-suri* *ko-memel-an.*
 face-3S as.a.result INTR.I-wrinkled because AV.I-feel ADVS-cold-ACCD
 'He felt so cold that his face was all wrinkled.' (Lit. 'His face as-a-result [was] wrinkled, because [he] felt cold.') (dict)

10.3.9 Conclusive

Conclusive clauses are introduced by the conjunction *dadi* 'so, therefore' (or its Indonesian borrowing *jadi*, from which *dadi* is possibly derived). This conjunction may occur between clauses within a sentence to indicate a logical conclusion, but it is also found at the end of texts to present a concluding summarizing statement. An alternative is the phrase *tongko' koi-ya'a* (only like-DEM3) 'that was it'.

- (176) *Koo* *daa* *na-lesi'-mo,* **dadi** *koi-ni'i* *sida-mo* *mae'.*
 2S ATT INTR.R-well-PERF so like-DEM1 can-PERF go
 'You are well, so now you can go.' (dict)

- (177) **Jadi** *cara* *mo-sakul* *na* *Balantak* *tongko'* *koi* *ya'a.*
 so way INTR.I-pulverize.sago LOC B. just like DEM3
 'That, then, is the way sago is made in Balantak.' (t7)

11. Texts and textual analysis

11.1 Introduction

Now that the major patterns of Balantak phonology, morphology, clause types, and sentence constructions have been described, it seems unnatural to halt the analysis here. After all, people speak and write using combinations of sentences, not sentences in isolation. This chapter aims to take the description of Balantak one step further by looking at larger stretches of discourse.

The way in which we do this is slightly unconventional. Many grammars simply stop at the sentence level and add an appendix to the grammar in which a number of interlinearized texts are presented. Alternatively, when descriptive grammars cover levels beyond the sentence (and not all do), it is customary to discuss a specific discourse feature (for instance, foregrounding or participant reference) by making generalizations and giving a few illustrations, along the lines of our approach in earlier chapters. That is certainly a valid approach, though it usually involves quoting sizable, but still incomplete, chunks of text, while a certain bias in the selection of examples is hard to avoid. Here, we have chosen to use an inductive approach, instead: we present six interlinearized texts with free translation; then, we briefly discuss each of these six texts, looking at a small number of features. The textual features we focus on relate to sentence length, clause types, voice alternations, and word order. In §11.14, we draw a few tentative conclusions based on the observations from these six texts.

We would like to point out that our approach towards these texts is purely linguistic. We realise there is a wide range of methods to study texts, but for the purposes of a descriptive grammar, we are not interested in such notions as rhetorical analysis, issues of text and context, intertextuality, critical discourse analysis, or reader response studies. Rather, our aim is to shed light on how the formal structures described in the earlier chapters are used in connected discourse. Frequency, distribution, and recurring patterns are the objects of our research here.

We are, of course, aware that many discourse topics which could be fruitfully explored remain uncovered in this chapter. These include foregrounding and backgrounding devices, cohesion and thematic unity, participant reference and topic continuity, peak phenomena, paragraph structure, as well as genre studies, conversation analysis, and others. Other specific features of Balantak could also have been studied, such as the occurrence of the gerund, the discourse function of perfective *-mo*, the use of clefts and semi-clefts, attitudinal particles, conjunctions, and possibly others, but for reasons of time and space we have restricted ourselves to just a few topics. Even though its scope is admittedly limited, we do believe that the inclusion of this chapter gives the reader a fuller view of Balantak and a taste of the language as it is used as a means of communication and interaction.

For each text, we start by providing the Balantak text with interlinear glosses and a free translation. This translation attempts to produce reasonable readable English, while at the same time retaining something of the Balantak flavour of the original. Material in parentheses has been added for clarification or to make participants explicit. No attempt is made to translate a patient voice in Balantak with an English passive. In spite of some structural similarities, the two constructions function very differently in discourse.

After each text, the analysis starts with a table providing some statistical data, which is organised as outlined in table 11.1.

Table 11.1. Explanation of textual statistics

a. Sentences	Number of sentences in the text, as indicated by the author, editor or transcriber by the use of full stops.
b. Clauses	Number of clauses. In complex clauses each verb counts as a clause, e.g., <i>mntumbei mansarak</i> 'began to search' is two clauses, in agreement with our analysis in chapter 10. The number of relative clauses (RCs) is given in parentheses.
c. Words	Number of words in the text.
d. Words per sentence	Average number of words per sentence.
e. Intransitive	Number of intransitive clauses, subdivided for presence of a full subject and word order, not distinguished for realis and irrealis.
V	
VS	
SV	
f. Transitive AV	Number of transitive agent voice clauses, subdivided for word order (not distinguished for realis and irrealis).
V	
VO	
SV	
SVO	
VOS	
OVS	
g. Transitive PV	Number of transitive patient-voice clauses (distinguished for four structural types, not for word order).
PV-1 (agentless realis)	marked by <i>ni-V</i>
PV-2 (agented realis)	marked by <i>PRO V (NP)</i>
PV-3 (agentless irrealis)	marked by <i>V-on</i>
PV-4 (agented realis)	marked by <i>V-on + possessive suffix (+ NP)</i>
h. Equative	Number of equative clauses, including clefts.
i. Other	Number of remaining clause types, including existential clauses and sentence fragments.

11.2 Text 1: *Dumodongo*. Giving birth

This text (t11) was told in 1983 by U., a young woman from Dolom. It is a first-person account of how she gave birth.

- (1-1) *Tempo i yaku' no-d<um>odongo kira-kira tanggal sembilan.*
time PA 1S R-INTR-give.birth about date nine
'The time I gave birth was around the ninth day (of the month).'

- (1-2) *Maa-malom yaku' rae' waa-tu'u ale' mun-duup-i; ale'-ku*
 RED-night 1S go ALL.I-DEM4 garden AV.I-blow-DIR garden-1S
bau'-on biai' tuu'.
 pig-HAVE many very
 'When it was almost dark, I went to the garden to light a fire; my garden had very many pigs.'¹
- (1-3) *Daa-mo i-ya'a, yaku' ala ule'kon ntu'u-mari-na.*
 finish-PERF D-DEM3 1S just return DEM.ADV4-VEN-3S
 'After that I just came back here.'
- (1-4) *Malom-mo.*
 night-PERF
 'It was dark now.'
- (1-5) *Nang-ka'apu-mo.*
 AV.R-cook-PERF
 '(I) cooked a meal.'²
- (1-6) *Noko pang-ka'apu, no-k <um> aan-mo.*
 after.R AV.GER-cook R-INTR-eat-PERF
 'After cooking, (I) ate.'
- (1-7) *Noko kaan-mo, no-tokol-mo.*
 after.R eat-PERF R-lie.down-PERF
 'Having eaten, (I) went to bed.'
- (1-8) *Jaam-mo som-pulo', ee yaku' suri a kompong-ku ma-polos-mo.*
 hour-PERF one-ten hey 1S feel ART belly-1S INTR.I-painful-PERF
 'At ten o'clock, I (woke up and) felt that my belly was aching.'
- (1-9) *Tempo-na i-ya'a ari sina-ni Sion ntu'u na ko'omai.*
 time-3S D-DEM3 PLUR mother-3S.PA S. DEM.ADV4 LOC 1PE.OBL
 'At that time, Sion's mother³ and her family were staying with us.'
- (1-10) *Tae-na-i sina-ni Sion, "Mai kutung le'e-mari kada' koyong-on-ku*
 word-3S-PA mother-3S.PA S. come first DEM5-VEN so.that touch-PV.I-1S
a kompo <o>ng."
 ART belly-2S
 'Sion's mother said, "Move sideways towards me so that I can massage your belly.'"

¹Because of the presence of wild pigs near gardens, many people spend the nights in garden huts during the growing season to chase these animals off when they enter their gardens. Sometimes the mere presence of a light in a hut will act as a deterrent.

²No subjects are specified in this sentence and the next two. The author appears to be on her own, although it is possible that other people in the house joined her in these actions.

³*Sinani Sion* 'Sion's mother' is an example of a teknonym, a name for an adult derived from that of their child, especially the eldest child.

- (1-11) *Tae-na-i sina-ni Sion, "Ni'i i koo d<um>odongo-mo.*
word-3S-PA mother-3S.PA S. DEM1 PA 2S INTR-give.birth-PERF
'Sion's mother said, "You here are about to give birth.'
- (1-12) *Ala Sion ka' dolo' a sina-na."*
please S. and fetch ART mother-3s
'Sion, go and get her mother.'"
- (1-13) *Dolo' i mama mbaa-tu'u na ale'; ari mama mon-dodongo-i ale'.*
fetch PA mother ALL.R-DEM4 LOC garden PLUR mother AV.I-live-DIR⁴ garden
'(He) went to get (my) mother in the garden; mother and her family were guarding the garden.'
- (1-14) *Taka i'-ita-a tae-ni mama, "Ee ii' d<um>odongo-mo*
arrive D-DEM.ADV1-EXT word-3S.PA mother hey yes INTR-give.birth-PERF

a anak ka-ya'a.
ART child D-DEM3
'When she arrived here, mother said, "Oh my, that child is about to give birth.'
- (1-15) *Dolo'-on-mo a sina-ni Oton."*
fetch-PV.I-PERF ART mother-3S.PA O.
'Get Oton's mother.'"
- (1-16) *Dolo' a sina-ni Oton, taka ntu'u-mari ia koyong a kompong-ku,*
fetch ART mother-3S.PA O. arrive DEM.ADV4-VEN 3S touch ART belly-1s

ebee ma-polos tuu!
oh INTR.I-painful very
'Someone went to get Oton's mother and when she came she massaged my belly - wow! it really hurt!'
- (1-17) *Tae-na-i sina-ni Oton, "Ai koo d<um>odongo-mo mba'a i-ni'i."*
word-3S-PA mother-3S.PA O. EMP.ART 2S INTR-give.birth-PERF ATT⁵ D-DEM1
'Oton's mother said, "That's it, you are indeed about to give birth.'"
- (1-18) *Ia dodongo-i-mo sina-ni Oton.*
3S live-DIR-PERF mother-3S.PA O.
'Oton's mother took care (of me).'⁶
- (1-19) *Jaam som-pulo' sampe tanga'-na rondom ma-polos a kompong-ku.*
hour one-ten until middle-3s night INTR.I-painful ART belly-1s
'From ten o'clock until the middle of the night, my belly hurt (with labour pains).'

⁴There are two verbs *d<um>odongo* in Balantak. One means 'to live' and the other 'to give birth.' When the directional suffix *-i* is added, the resulting meaning is 'to guard, look after, take care of', here and in (1-18).

⁵It is unclear whether *mba'a* here is the same attitudinal marker as *mbaa* discussed in §7.8.5, said to mark disappointment or dissatisfaction. Also in sentences (1-20) and (1-31). Here, *mbaa* seems to reinforce a conclusion.

⁶Note that there is no subject in this agented patient-voice construction (type f in the terminology of §7.4.3).

- (1-20) *Tae-na-i sina-ni Oton, "Mau ma-polos ka' koi-ya'a*
 word-3S-PA mother-3S.PA O. though INTR.I-painful and like-DEM3
mba'a a mian d <um> odongo.
 ATT ART person INTR-give.birth
 'Oton's mother said, "It may hurt, but that is what it is like for someone to give birth.'
- (1-21) *Wiwi'na mian koi-ya'a."*
 all person like-DEM3
 'It is the same for all women.'" (Lit. 'All people [are] like that.')
- (1-22) *Tanga'-na-mo rondom, koo'-po no-lahir a anak.*
 middle-3S-PERF night NEG-IMPF R-born ART child
 'By the middle of the night, the baby still was not born.'⁷
- (1-23) *Karani' ilio' jaam pa-paat no-lahir-mo a anak.*
 close day hour RED-four R-born-PERF ART child
 'Close to dawn at four o'clock, the baby was born.'
- (1-24) *No-lahir-mo a anak, ia pundu'-mo sina-ni Oton.*
 R-born-PERF ART child 3S seize-PERF mother-3S.PA O.
 'When the baby was born, Oton's mother seized it.'
- (1-25) *Tae-na-i sina-ni Oton, "Ee koo'-po i-ni'i.*
 word-3S-PA mother-3S.PA O. hey NEG-IMPF D-DEM1
 'Oton's mother said, "Oh, this is not yet it.'
- (1-26) *Takala'-na i-ni'i koo'-po."*
 head-3S D-DEM1 NEG-IMPF
 'Its head here is not yet (out).'"
- (1-27) *Somo ni-dudul-kon a kompong mbali' daa no'-um-uar a*
 forced PV.R-push-APPL ART belly as.a.result ATT R-INTR-go.out ART
takala'-na anak.
 head-3s child
 '(She) was forced to push on (my) belly and as a result the baby's head came out.'
- (1-28) *Noko daa i-ya'a, ni'-ala-mo ka' ni-po-loop-i, ka' ni-po-kela*
 after.R finish D-DEM3 PV.R-take-PERF and PV.R-SF-bathe-CAUS and PV.R-SF-put
na bokas-an.
 LOC crib-NOM
 'After that, she took (the baby), it was bathed and put in a crib.'

⁷Instead of *no-lahir* 'was born' (based on the Indonesian loan *lahir*), the native Balantak word *no-ngamea'* could have been used.

- (1-29) *Noko daa ni-pokela na bokas-an, ni'-ala-mo a towuni'-na anak*
 after.R finish PV.R-put LOC crib-LOC PV.R-take-PERF ART placenta-3S child
ka' ni'-oso'i, ni-tana na soko' kasi ni-tanom.
 and PV.R-wash PV.R-put LOC coconut.shell then PV.R-bury
 'After it was placed in a crib, the placenta was taken, washed, put in a coconut shell and then buried.'
- (1-30) *Noko daa ni-tanom ma'-ulo-ulop-mo.*
 after.R finish PV.R-bury INTR.I-RED-morning-PERF
 'After it was buried, it was already early morning.'
- (1-31) *Ka' tongko' koi-ya'a mba'a a tundun-an-na mian d <um> odongo.*
 and only like-DEM3 ATT ART story-LOC-3S person INTR-give.birth
 'That was the story of a person giving birth.'

11.3 Analysis of text 1

Table 11.2. Statistics for text 1

a. Sentences	31
b. Clauses	57 (of which 3 relative clauses)
c. Words	223
d. Words per sentence	7.2
e. Intransitive	27
V	15
VS	7
SV	5
f. Transitive AV	4
V	3
SVO	1
g. Transitive PV	19
PV-1 (agentless realis)	10
PV-2 (agented realis)	7
PV-3 (agentless irrealis)	1
PV-4 (agented irrealis)	1
h. Equative	5
i. Other	2

Features of the text.

- Text 1 is an interesting narrative told by a woman about her first delivery. The whole story takes place during one night and there are eight distinct time references, including the date (1-1), and the various parts of the night, e.g., 'it was dark now' (1-4), 'at ten o'clock' (1-8) etc. Obviously, the woman who told the story remembered this night very well.
- There is some dialogue, especially at critical stages when extra help is needed or when an unexpected complication occurs, as in (1-25). In combination with the various interjections (*ee, ii', ebee*), this creates a lively text. Towards the end, from about (1-28), the tension diminishes, the story winds down and loses the emotional flavour it had earlier. At this point, it becomes almost procedural, as the various activities that normally happen after a delivery are simply

listed. It is interesting that it is during this section that the agentless patient voice (PV, with *ni-*) is the most common verb form.

- Very striking is the proportion of AV (agent voice) versus PV: 4 against 19. Clearly PV is the unmarked choice where there are two participants in an event. The AVs in (1-2b), (1-5), and (1-6) all occur without an object: ‘blow’ (= light a fire), and ‘cook (food)’. The only syntactic object in the whole text is *ale* ‘garden’ in (1-13b), which occurs in an SVO clause that gives background information. (‘Mama and her family were guarding the garden.’). All other potential objects (i.e., semantic patients) are treated as subjects in PV constructions, as for instance in (16c) ‘She massaged my belly.’ This preponderance of PV constructions is in line with the general Western Austronesian tendency to be heavily ‘patient oriented’.
- As noted above, there is an interesting shift to an agentless PV (marked by *ni-*) towards the end of the story. From the time of her arrival up to (1-24), Oton’s mother has been present in agented PV clauses: (1-16), (1-18), (1-24b), all with unmarked verbs, but from (1-27) on the next ten clauses are agentless. It is obvious that Oton’s mother did the pushing in (1-27) and took care of the baby and placenta after the delivery, but all this is left implicit. Once the agent has been established and there is no possibility of confusion, it can be (and often is) suppressed. We have used passives in the free translation of (1-28) and (1-29) to retain the flavour, but since the English passive implies that the agent is either unknown or irrelevant, this is not quite adequate.
- This leads to a number of PV clauses with only a verb, and no mention of either agent or patient. An example is (1-28b) *ni'-ala-mo* (PV.R-take-PERF), which must be translated as ‘she took it (= the baby)’.
- Related to this is the lack of a subject in (1-18), an agented PV. It is obvious who the subject is (the patient ‘I’), but this is again left implicit. This means that the referential density, i.e., the number of explicit references to participants in a text – see Bickel (2003) – appears to be much lower in Balantak than it is in European languages, or even Indonesian.
- Another feature of this text is the large number of intransitive clauses: twenty-seven, compared to twenty-three transitive clauses (either AV or PV). The intransitive clauses are mostly simple V (15 times), with seven cases of VS and only five cases of SV. In three of the SV clauses, there is a pronominal subject: (1-2), (1-11), and (1-17).
- There is some head-tail linkage in (1-5) to (1-7) and in (1-28) to (1-30).
- The six quote introductions are identical in each case: *tae-n(a)i X* ‘X said’ (lit. ‘the word of X’).

11.4 Text 2: *Tundunan mae' na Palu*. An account of going to Palu

This story (t4) was written in March 1982 by MB from Dolom. This is only the first part of a much longer text. It tells of the experiences of one of the language helpers that was invited to the home of the Busenitz family in Palu, the provincial capital of Central Sulawesi, and a long way from the Balantak homeland.

(2-1) *Sa'angu' tempo, yaku' ia leelo' i tuan Bob waa-tu'u na laigan-na.*
 one time 1S 3S call PA sir Bob ALL-DEM4 LOC house-3S
 ‘One time I was called by Mr. Bob over to his house.’

(2-2) *Taka i-ntu'u, ia bantil-kon-mo a paraluu-na na ingku',*
 arrive D-DEM.ADV4 3S tell-APPL-PERF ART need-3S LOC 1S.OBL
 ‘When I arrived there, he told me his intention,’

(2-3) *tae-na, "Too daa i koo, Marsion, min-sida waa-ro'o Palu tii yaku'*
 word-3S maybe ATT PA 2S M. AV.I-can ALL-DEM7 P. with.PA 1S

bo juru-bahasa-ngku.

for expert-language-1s

‘and he said, “Maybe you, Marsion, can go down to Palu with me as my language expert.’

(2-4) *Kasee i yaku' mae'-mo olukon.*
 but PA 1S go-PERF ahead
 'But I will go ahead.'

(2-5) *Bo rae'-a <a>n, kira-kira na paran sala'an-na tanggal 27 Pebruari*
 for go-NOM-2S approximately LOC between wrong?-3S⁸ date 27 February
taka-na tanggal 4 Maret.
 arrive-3S date 4 March
 'Your departure should be approximately between 27 February and 4 March.'

(2-6) *Tongko' alamat-ku a tako'-kon-on-ku i koo."*
 only address-1S ART leave-APPL-PV.I-1S PA 2S
 'I will only leave my address with you.'

(2-7) *Nin-simbat-ku,⁹ tae-ngku,¹⁰ "Ai yaku' mbase ko-sian sikola-ngku,*
 AV.R-answer-1S word-1S EMP.ART 1S ATT UNEXP-NEG school-1S
tongko' pengalaman SMP, alinta.
 only experience junior.high.school pity
 'I answered, "Please realise that I don't have schooling, I only have junior high experience, poor me.'

(2-8) *Kasee ka', tae ni Tuan, sida a koi-ya'a, aa, yaku' mae'."*
 but and word 3S.PA sir can ART like-DEM3 ok 1S go
 'But then, if you say, sir, that it can be like that, okay, I will go.'

(2-9) *Na tanggal 24 maa-maalom, yaku' no-mae'-mo.*
 LOC date 24 RED-night 1S INTR.R-go-PERF
 'On the 24th in the evening, I went.'

(2-10) *Taka na Kiloma, yaku' no-tokol-mo na utus-ku.*
 arrive LOC K. 1S R-lie.down-PERF LOC sibling-1S
 'When I got to Kiloma, I slept at my sibling's place.'

(2-11) *Ma'-ulo-ulop tanggal 25, yaku' no-mae'-mo.*
 INTR.I-RED-morning date 25 1S R-go-PERF
 'Early morning on the 25th, I went (again).'

(2-12) *Taka na Garuga, yaku' poo-tuung-mo i Simpeeng na oto.*
 arrive LOC G. 1S REC-meet-PERF PA S. LOC car¹¹
 'When I arrived at Garuga, I met Simpeeng in the car/bus.'

⁸The phrase *paran sala'an-na* means 'in between', but the individual words have no good translation equivalents. *Sala'an-na* is possibly derived from *sala'* 'wrong'.

⁹This is one of the few unusual occurrences of the possessive with agent voice, see §4.1.2.

¹⁰The glottal with *-ngku'* is unexplained. It is possibly a dialectal variant of *-ngku*.

¹¹The noun *oto* (a borrowing from Dutch *auto* via Indonesian *oto*) means 'car', but can also refer to a public vehicle such as a minibus or a large passenger bus.

- (2-13) *Paraluu-na mae' mon-dolo' i yaku', kasee ka' daa no-poo-tuung-mo,*
intention-3S go AV.I-fetch PA 1S but and finish R-REC-meet-PERF
ia sian-mo no-liu-liu.
3S NEG-PERF R-RED-go.on
'His intention was to go fetch me, but since we had already met, he did not go on.'
- (2-14) *Yaku' no-l <um> akit-mo.*
1S R-INTR-board-PERF
'I boarded (the bus).'
- (2-15) *Tongko' no-taka na Tangeban, yaku' no-tokol-mo rua' nondom gause'*
after R-arrive LOC T. 1S R-lie.down-PERF two night because
isian paraluu-ngku titiu'.
EXIST need-1S little
'When I got to Tangeban, I slept (there) two nights because there was a small matter (that I had to take care of).'
- (2-16) *Ma'ulo-ulop tanggal 26, yaku' no-mae'-mo waa-ra'a Luwuk no-l <um> akit*
INTR.I-RED-morning date 26 1S R-go-PERF ALL-DEM6 L. R-INTR-board
na oto nai Antuyu'.
LOC car 3S.PA A.
'In the early morning of the 26th, I went up to Luwuk riding the bus of (= owned by) Antuyu.'
- (2-17) *Taka na Luwuk, yaku' no-tuuk-mo nari Adiin.*
arrive LOC L. 1S R-drop.in-PERF LOC.PLUR A.
'Arriving at Luwuk, I dropped in at Adiin's family.'
- (2-18) *Tongko' malom-na, yaku' no-mbaa-ro'o-mo na i Pandita Haurisa mae'*
after night-3S 1S R-ALL.R-DEM7-PERF LOC PA pastor H. go
mim-[p]ikirawar too daa ia ili-i-mo tiket i yaku' koi men
AV.I-ask maybe finish 3S buy-BEN-PERF ticket PA 1S like REL
ia bantil-kon i tuan Bob i yaku'.
3S tell-APPL PA sir B. PA 1S
'That evening, I went down to Pastor Haurisa to ask if he had already bought a ticket for me as I had been told by Mr. Bob.'
- (2-19) *Kasee tongko' no-taka i-ndo'o i yaku', na laigan na-i Pandita Haurisa,*
but after R-arrive D-DEM.ADV7 PA 1S LOC house 3S-PA pastor H.
yaku' pikirawar.
1S ask
'But when I arrived down there, at the house of Pastor Haurisa, and I asked (for him).'
- (2-20) *Tae-na anak-na, "Tama-ngku sianta ka-ni'i.*
word-3S child-3S father-1S NEG D-DEM1
'His daughter said, "My father isn't here.'

- (2-21) *Ai ia, waa-ra'a Bombanon mae' rapat Kalasis."*
 EMP.ART 3S ALL-DEM6 B. go meeting church.district
 'He's gone up to Bombanon to attend a church district meeting.'"
- (2-22) *Yaku' pikirawar too maalin.*
 1s ask maybe long/slow
 'I asked whether (he would be there a) long time.'
- (2-23) *Tae-na, "Toro ruang-ilio."*
 word-3s about two-day
 'She replied, "About two days.'"

11.5 Analysis of text 2

Table 11.3. Statistics for text 2

a. Sentences	23
b. Clauses	48 (no relative clauses)
c. Words	209
d. Words per sentence	9.1
e. Intransitive	29
V	15
VS	1
SV	13
f. Transitive AV	4
V	2
VO	1
SV	1
g. Transitive PV	7
PV-1 (agentless realis)	0
PV-2 (agented realis)	6
PV-3 (agentless irrealis)	0
PV-4 (agented irrealis)	1
h. Equative	2
i. Other	6

Features of the text.

- As mentioned above, this text is the beginning of a much larger text, numbering in total over 230 sentences and some 2,190 words. It is a first-person narrative account of a trip, starting with a brief dialogue, in which the author is invited to come to Palu, and also ending with a dialogue. The order is chronological and there are frequent references to dates, times of the day, and locations. The places and people mentioned in the text are simply introduced (*Kiloma, Garuga, Simpeeng*) and no attempt is made to make further clarifications. The author obviously assumed them to be known to his readers.
- In terms of clause types, the large number of intransitive clauses is striking: twenty-nine intransitive versus eleven transitive (AV and PV combined). This is no doubt related to the nature of travelling, as there are quite a few verbs of motion in the text: *mae'* 'go', *taka* 'arrive', *lumakit* 'board (a bus)' *tuuk* 'drop in', as well as verbal demonstratives such as *waa-tu'u* 'go there' and *waa-ro'o* 'go down there' in (2-1) and (2-3).

- When a subject is present in these intransitive clauses (fourteen times out of twenty-nine), it is thirteen times in preverbal position (SV). In each case, this is a pronominal subject (either *yaku'* 'I' or *ia* 'he, she'). Only once is there a VS clause: (2-8b) *sida a koi-ya'a*, 'like that (it) can be', with a demonstrative subject.
- Intransitive clauses that do not contain an overt subject are often simple or reduced clauses that follow a clause in which the subject is specified. This can be seen in (2-16), where *yaku'* 'I' precedes *no-mae'-mo* 'went', but is absent with the following verbs *waa-ra'a* and *no-l<um>akit*, both of which are treated as verbs (and, hence, as clausal heads) under the current analysis. In addition, subjects are lacking from temporal adverbial clauses, as in (2-10), (2-12), (2-15), and (2-17), where in each case the gapped subject of the temporal clause is identical with that of the main clause. This pattern is broken in (2-19), where *yaku'* 'I' occurs in both clauses.
- Another striking feature, compared to the other texts, is the relative paucity of PV constructions, only seven compared to four AV constructions. PV is almost exclusively used when the patient is first person, as in (2-1) and the last two clauses of (2-18). There are no examples of an agentless PV.
- Clauses are combined by juxtaposition and conjoining, and the resulting sentences are—with the exception of (2-18)—structurally not very complex. There are also no clear relative clauses; the final clause, starting with *koi men* in (2-18), appears to introduce a comparison clause.
- The quote introductions show the same pattern as in text 1: *tae-na X* 'X said' (lit. 'the word of X'), but they are sometimes preceded by utterance verbs: *bantil-kon* 'tell' (2-2) and *simbat* 'answer' (2-7). The verb *pikirawar* 'ask' is used with indirect speech in (2-18) and (2-22) and without speech content in (2-19).

11.6 Text 3: *Potobela'na Bau' tia Bokoti'*. The friendship between Pig and Rat

This folktale (t19) was written in 1983 by MB, a young man from Dolom.

(3-1) *Tempo mbaripi Bau' tia Bokoti' moto-bela' tuu'*
 time former pig with rat REC.KIN.I-friend very
 'In former times, Pig and Rat were very good friends.'

(3-2) *Sa'angu' tempo raaya'a no-poo'-ange mae' ma-mangan katupat na*
 one time 3P R-REC-invite go AV.I-steal rice.cake¹² LOC
batangan.
 funeral.ceremony¹³
 'One day they urged each other to go and steal rice cakes at a funeral ceremony.'

(3-3) *Taka na batangan, no-poo-pikirawar-i-mo too ime a men*
 arrive LOC funeral.ceremony R-REC-ask-DIR-PERF maybe who ART REL
mem-[p]enek ka' mang-ala katupat men poto-loole na tambin.
 INTR.I-go.up and AV.I-take rice.cake REL MULT-hang LOC bedroom
 'When they arrived at the funeral ceremony, they asked each other who would go up and take the rice cakes, which were hanging in the bedroom.'

¹²A *katupat* (a loan from Indonesian *ketupat*) is a type of rice cake or rice packet wrapped in woven coconut leaves, usually only eaten on festive occasions.

¹³A *batangan* is the final graveside ceremony for building or erecting a grave stone or housing for the dead, often a festive celebration for several days, held some years after a person has died.

- (3-4) *Tae-na i Bau', "Gause' i yaku' sianta min-sida mem-[p]enek,*
word-3S PA pig because PA 1S NEG AV.I-can INTR.I-go.up

haa somo i koo Bokoti' a mem-[p]enek."
ATT forced PA 2S rat ART INTR.I-go.up

'Pig said, "Because I cannot climb, it has to be you, Rat, who will go up.'

- (3-5) *Tae-na i Bokoti', "Io ansee."*
word-3S PA rat yes in.that.case
'Rat said, "That's fine."

- (3-6) *Tae-na i Bokoti', "Kasee kalu rongor-o <o>n bunukuk-an,*
word-3S PA rat but if hear-PV.I-2S heavy.sound-HAVE

haa alia pan-sabak-ko, kalu telepak-an, aa daa".
ATT DONT AV.GER-bite-2S if light.sound-HAVE ATT yes

'Rat said, "But if you hear (something fall with) a heavy sound, don't bite it; but if it makes a light sound, then it's okay."

- (3-7) *Tae-na i Bau', "Kadai se' koi-ya'a?"*
word-3S PA pig why ATT like-DEM3
'Pig asked, "Why do you say that?" (Lit. 'Why like that?')

- (3-8) *Tae-na i Bokoti', "Mali' koi-ya'a kalu bunukuk-an,*
word-3S PA rat as.a.result like-DEM3 if heavy.sound-HAVE

ai yaku'; kalu telepak-an, a daa katupat."
EMP.ART 1S if light.sound-HAVE ATT yes rice.cake

'Rat answered, "The reason I say that is that if there is a heavy sound, it's me; if it's a light sound, it's a rice cake."

- (3-9) *Tae-na i Bau', "Io ansee. Ai yaku' ka'-ita-mo mem-pe-pera-i."*
word-3S PA pig yes in.that.case EMP.ART 1S D-DEM.ADV1-PERF AV.I-RED-wait-DIR
'Pig said, "That's fine then. I will just wait here."

- (3-10) *Ai Bokoti' nem-[p]enek-mo.*
EMP.ART rat INTR.I-go.up-PERF
'Rat climbed up.'

- (3-11) *Taka i-nda'a na katupat men poto-loe, ia nang-ala-mo;*
arrive D-DEM.ADV6 LOC rice.cake REL MULT-hang 3S AV.R-take-PERF

ia ala a sa'angu', tuong, telepak-an, ia ala Bau', kaan.
3S take ART one drop light.sound-HAVE 3S take pig eat

'When he arrived up there at the hanging rice cakes, he took them; he took one, dropped it, (it fell and) made a light sound, Pig took (it) and ate (it).'

- (3-12) *Tongko' koo-koodi', ia kabeng i Bokoti' a sa'angu', pa-ndawo' i*
just RED-a.while 3S reach.for PA rat ART one INTR.GER-fall PA

ia na tano' ka' no-bunukuk-an.
3S LOC earth and R-heavy.sound-HAVE

'After a while, Rat reached for one (rice cake) and, as a result, he fell to the ground and made a heavy sound.'

- (3-13) *Gause' i Bau' mo-doko' tuu', ka' ia sabak a Bokoti'*
 because PA pig INTR.I-greedy very and 3S bite ART rat
- men baasi na-ndawo' ka' ia po-tii-tiit i Bokoti',*
 REL just.now INTR.R-fall and 3S¹⁴ INTR.GER-RED-squeak PA rat
- tae-na, "Ai yaku! Ai yaku! Amo' kaan-on!"*
 word-3S EMP.ART 1S EMP.ART 1S DONT eat-PV.I
 'Because Pig was very greedy, he bit Rat who had just fallen down, so Rat squeaked and said, "It's me! It's me! Don't eat me!"'
- (3-14) *Somo ia lua' i Bau' alinta.*
 forced 3S vomit PA pig pity
 'So Pig had to spit him out, the poor (Rat).'
- (3-15) *Supu i-ya'a, ko-pantas a poto-bela'-na Bau' tii Bokoti'.*
 since D-DEM3 ADVS-broken ART REC.KIN.GER-friend-3S pig with.PA rat
 'Since then, the friendship between Pig and Rat has been broken.'

11.7 Analysis of text 3

Table 11.4. Statistics for text 3

a. Sentences	15
b. Clauses	45 (of which 3 RCs)
c. Words	171
d. Words per sentence	11.4
e. Intransitive	23
V	16
VS	2
SV	4
?	1
f. Transitive AV	6
VO	2
VS	1
SV	3
g. Transitive PV	9
PV-1 (agentless realis)	0
PV-2 (agented realis)	7
PV-3 (agentless irrealis)	1
PV-4 (agented irrealis)	1
h. Equative	4
i. Other	3

Features of the text.

- This is a traditional folk tale, a brief self-contained etiological narrative, explaining why pigs and rats are no longer friends. Various human traits and emotions such as friendship, cooperation, greed, and pity are ascribed to these two animals. Within this narrative, we find a section of dialogue from (3-4) till (3-9) and a direct quote at the peak of the story in (3-13).

¹⁴The use of *ia* in this clause is puzzling and not understood. The verb *mo-tii-tiit* 'to squeak (of mice)' is intransitive, but the verb *po-tii-tiit* appears to be a gerund in an agented patient voice construction with *ia*.

- The number of words per sentence (11.4) is somewhat higher than in text 1 (7.2) and text 2 (9.1), but this is offset by the fact that the ratio of clauses to sentences is also higher than in the other two texts. This means that the actual length of the clause is roughly similar: 3.8 words per clause, compared to 3.9 for text 1 and 4.4 for text 2.
- There are more intransitive SV clauses than VS clauses (four versus two), though numbers are small, but striking is again the large number of subjectless intransitive clauses (ten). The question mark in the chart relates to the intransitive clause (3-13d) *ka' ia potii-tiit i Bokoti'*, 'Rat squeaked', which is puzzling, as explained in footnote 14. Several of the intransitive clauses contain the verb *mem-[p]enek*, 'go up, climb' which we analyze as a variant of *mim-[p]enek* containing the intransitive prefix *ming-*, rather than the AV irrealis prefix *mVng-*, since this verb is hardly ever followed by an object.
- It is striking that there are only two unambiguous cases of objects in this text, in spite of the constant presence of the two main characters and the props (the rice cakes). Only in (3-2c) and (3-3d), when they are first introduced, do we find the *katupat* 'rice cakes' as objects in VO clauses. The remaining four AV clauses are non-prototypical transitive clauses without objects: *min-sida* 'can' (3-4a) is a juxtaposed verb of ability, while the verbs *mem-peperai* 'wait' in (3-9b) and *nang-ala* 'took' in (3-11c) have no explicit object. The gerund AV *alia pan-sabak-ko* 'don't bite it' in (3-6c) illustrates a gerund in a prohibitive clause followed by a clitic subject pronoun (see §9.3.3). This means that the text does not contain a single transitive SVO clause with both a nominal subject and object.
- The distribution of transitive clauses with PV is quite remarkable. There are no realis PVs in the introduction, the inciting incident, or the initial conversation. Only when we get into the real action of climbing up and stealing the rice cakes in (3-10) do we get PVs. Interestingly, they display a wide variety of agented PV clause types: some have only a single bare verb (e.g., *tuong* 'drop' and *kaan* 'eat' in (3-11), while others have the pronominal agent *ia* + verb + subject, for example (3-13b). Some add a full nominal agent (*ia* + verb + agent + subject), as in (3-12a), and others leave the subject implicit (*ia* + verb + agent), as in (3-14). See also §7.4.3, where these (and other types of agented PVs) are discussed and illustrated. Finding out the conditions which determine the presence or absence of a full agent and a full subject in such agented PV clauses is a fruitful topic for further research in Balantak discourse studies.
- There are no examples of an agentless PV (marked by *ni-*) and only two examples of an irrealis PV, both occurring in quotes: *rongor-o <o>n* 'you will hear' in (3-6a) and the agentless imperative *Amo' kaan-on* 'Don't eat (me)!' in (3-13f).
- The onomatopoeic verbs *bunukukan* 'produce the heavy sound *buk*' and *telepakan* 'produce the light sound *pak*' add colour and humour to the story. See §12.4.2e. for further examples of such onomatopoeic formations.

11.8 Text 4: *Sasa' matondong*. The tame cat

This text (t32) was written in 1983 by H. from the village of Talima A. Sentence (4-12) was added during the editorial stage.

(4-1) *Isian sa'angu' sasa' ma-tondong tuu' tia wulu-na pore gegelombang*
 EXIST one cat INTR.I-tame very with hair-3S good spotted

daa mo-longo'.

and INTR.I-fat

'There was once a very tame cat with nice spotted fur who was fat.'

- (4-2) *Biasana sasa' ka-ni'i mali' ngaan-i-on ma-tondong, ia sianta*
 usually cat D-DEM1 as.a.result name-DIR-PV.I INTR.I-tame 3S NEG
ma-mangan bau.
 AV.I-steal stored.food
 'The reason that these cats are called tame is because they usually do not steal stored food.'
- (4-3) *Taasi'-po ka-kaan men rookon-on, sianta ia mang-kaan, ka' sang-kaliangan*
 NEG-IMPF NOM-eat REL give-PV.I NEG 3S AV.I-eat and one-kind
wawau-na men pore tuu'.
 do-3S REL good very
 'If it's not (its own) food that is given, it will not eat (it), and (there was) another kind of behaviour that was very good.'
- (4-4) *Koi se' ia pande man-daga-i anak, ka' parere-i-on-na sina-na,*
 like ATT 3S clever AV.I-guard-DIR child and run.away-DIR-PV.I-3S mother-3S
ia mo-tokol na intu-na undang-an.
 3S INTR.I-lie.down LOC under-3S rock-LOC
 'For example, it is able to guard children, and when (a child) has been left behind by its mother, it will lie down under the cradle.'
- (4-5) *Kana'-mo pensan, sina-na anak ka-ni'i palus mae' ba-tatapi.*
 right/hit-PERF once mother-3S child D-DEM1 absent go INTR-wash.clothes
 'It once happened that a child's mother was away, she had gone to wash clothes.'
- (4-6) *Ringka-ringkat i ia, ia piile', sasa' ka-ni'i no-tokol-mo na intu-na*
 RED-leave PA 3S, 3S see cat D-DEM1 R-lie.down-PERF LOC under-3S
undang-an.
 rock-LOC
 'When she was about to leave, she saw that the cat was lying underneath the cradle.'
- (4-7) *Palus-na sina-na anak ka-ni'i mae' ba-tatapi, damo taka*
 absent-3S mother-3S child D-DEM1 go INTR-wash.clothes suddenly arrive
a bintana' balaki'.
 ART python big
 'While the mother of the child had gone to wash clothes, suddenly a large python appeared.'
- (4-8) *Tongko' ia piile' sasa' ka-ni'i se' boo-mo mang-kakat anak a bintana'*
 after 3S see cat D-DEM1 ATT FUT-PERF AV.I-bite child ART python
ka-ni'i, liu-liu ia tosik-i sasa' ka' ni-kakat na tokurung-na
 D-DEM1 immediately 3S jump-DIR cat and PV.R-bite LOC back-3S
bintana' ka-ni'i.
 python D-DEM1
 'When the cat saw that the python was about to bite the child, it immediately jumped on it and bit in the python's back.'

- (4-9) *Uga' bintana' sian mune' rokok, ia parot-mo a sasa' ka-ni'i,*
 also python NEG ATT calm 3S coil-PERF ART cat D-DEM1

ka' no-poo'-ala i raaya'a.
 and R-REC-take PA 3P

'But, of course, the python did not stay calm either, it coiled itself around the cat and the two struggled.'

- (4-10) *Parot-on-na bintana', kakat-on-na sasa'.*
 coil-PV.I-3S python bite-PV.I-3S cat

'The python was coiling itself (around the cat), while the cat was biting (the python).'

- (4-11) *Nau-nau' no-burut bela a bintana' ka-ni'i, damo pate.*
 RED-long R-covered.with wound ART python D-DEM1 suddenly die

'After a while, the python was covered with wounds and suddenly died.'

- (4-12) *Ka' sasa' uga' no-pate-mo.*
 and cat also R-die-PERF

'The cat also died.'

- (4-13) *Tongko' no-pate a sasa' i-ya'a, ia lego'i sina-na anak*
 after R-die ART cat D-DEM3 3S check mother-3S child

i-ya'a a anak-na.
 D-DEM3 ART child-3S

'Just after the cat was dead, the mother of the child checked up on her child.'

- (4-14) *Ia taka-i damo nde'e na undang-an, sianta mune' nongko'upa.*
 3S arrive-DIR EXIST DEM.ADV5 LOC rock-LOC NEG ATT why

'She found that (the child) was (still) there in the cradle, and, of course, nothing was wrong.'

- (4-15) *Ola-olan ia too-piile' koi i-nde'e-na, isian bintana' balaki'*
 RED-suddenly 3S ACC-see like D-DEM.ADV5-3S EXIST python big

kasee noko pate-mo.
 but after die-PERF

'Suddenly she happened to look sideways, and there was a big python, but it was already dead.'

- (4-16) *Tae-na noa-na sina-na anak i-ya'a, "Sian koo' noko sasa'-mo*
 word-3S spirit-3S mother-3S child D-DEM3 NEG NEG after cat-PERF

ka-ya'a a nam-pa-pate-i bintana' ka-le'e."
 D-DEM3 ART AV.R-CAUS-die-CAUS python D-DEM5

'The mother of the child said to herself, "It must have been this cat that killed that python.'"

- (4-17) *Bee ka' nin-sosol a noa-na sina-na anak i-ya'a mo-lingu'-kon sasa,*
oh and INTR.R-regret ART spirit-3S mother child D-DEM3 INTR.I-pity-APPL cat

nun-tulung-mo anak-na see daa koi upa boo pom-[p]o-tuo'-i
AV.R-help-PERF child-3S but ATT like what for AV.GER-CAUS-live-CAUS

noko pate-mo.
after die-PERF

'Oh, how the child's mother regretted (what had happened), she felt very sorry for the cat; it had helped her child, but what could be done to bring it back to life? It was dead.'

- (4-18) *Upus.*
finished
'The end.'

- (4-19) *Ngaan-ku men no'-uma-uman ka-ni'i-mari ai Herkanus.*
name-1S REL INTR.R-RED-story D-DEM1-VEN EMP.ART H.
'My name is Herkanus and I told this story.' (Lit. 'The name of me who told this story is Herkanus.')

11.9 Analysis of text 4

Table 11.5. Statistics for text 4

a. Sentences	19
b. Clauses	54 (of which 3 RCs)
c. Words	201
d. Words per sentence	10.6
e. Intransitive	27
V	14
VS	7
SV	6
f. Transitive AV	7
VO	3
SVO	2
VOS	1
OSV	1
g. Transitive PV	13
PV-1 (agentless realis)	1
PV-2 (agented realis)	7
PV-3 (agentless irrealis)	2
PV-4 (agented irrealis)	3
h. Equative	2
i. Other	5

Features of the text.

- This is an oral narrative, recounting a story that the author probably picked up somewhere about a baby who was rescued from a snake attack by a tame cat that died in the event. It may well go back to a real event. It starts with a brief introduction about the nature of tame cats and then

moves into action in (4-5). The climax is found in (4-10), with a nice balanced statement about the two antagonists. The story concludes with the mother's grief about the cat's death, including the plaintive rhetorical question 'What could be done to bring it back to life?' in (4-17). The formal finishing statement *upus* 'That was it' (4-18) marks the end.

- This is the only text where the author appends his own name to the story, in (4-19). This final sentence contains an interesting relative clause discussed in §10.1.4.
- Sentence length in this text is relatively high (10.6 words), resulting from a large number of temporal adverbial clauses and juxtaposed clauses.
- For intransitive clauses, the ratio between VS and SV is almost balanced (seven to six). As explained in §7.3, we assume that SV is the unmarked order, but the occurrence of VS is not always easy to explain. VS appears to be the unmarked order in temporal adverbial clauses such as (4-6a) and (4-13a), while three of the other cases of VS probably involve focus on the predicate, as in (4-9c), (4-11b), and (4-17a). In each case, the subject is a well-known entity in the discourse, but that is not true in (4-7d), where the python makes its first appearance in post-verbal position.
- Compared to text 3, which is very similar in genre, style and length, this text has decidedly more objects in its AV clauses (seven here, compared to only two in text 3). Another striking feature is the variation in word order in these AV clauses. Not only do we find SVO order in (4-2b) and (4-16b)—the latter is actually a semi-cleft—, but also VOS in (4-8b) and OSV in (4-3a). As mentioned in §7.4.1, the discourse function of this variation is not yet understood, partly because relatively few examples have been found in our corpus.
- As can be expected in narrative texts, the number of PVs is much higher than the number of AVs in transitive clauses (thirteen to seven). This includes one agentless realis PV *ni-kakat* 'was bitten' in (4-8d), which is fairly unusual in foregrounded discourse. It follows the much more common agented PVs *ia piile' sasa'* ('was seen by the cat') in (4-8a), and *ia tosik-i sasa'* ('was jumped on by the cat') in (4-8c), and it is possible that the agentless PV was triggered by the presence of two preceding agented PVs. (The intervening AV in (4-8b) is a complement clause which probably has little effect on the whole.)
- Similar to text 3, there is quite a variety of agented PV transitive clause types. Some are simple *ia* + verb structures, such as (4-6b), while others add a full nominal agent (4-8a) or a postverbal subject (4-9b). In one case (4-13b), we even find all elements *ia* + verb + Agent + Subject: *ia lego'i sinana anak iya'a a anakna* (literally: 'the child was checked up on by the mother of the child'). This follows five clauses in which the python and the cat end up killing each other. The story then moves back to the mother, who is here re-introduced after a five-clause absence with the full NP *sinana anak iya'a* 'the mother of the child'. The child itself (*a anakna*) is the post-verbal subject, the perspective from which the clause is presented.
- Of the five irrealis PVs (marked by *-on*), three occur in the introduction where they refer to general statements: (4-2a), (4-3a), and (4-4c). The remaining two are found in the balanced sentence (4-10) *Parot-on-na bintana', kakat-on-na sasa'*, (literally: 'is coiled by the python, is bitten by the cat'), where the irrealis verb forms indicate that the struggle between the python and the cat is portrayed as an ongoing event, not yet completed at the point of narration. Interestingly, these clauses are agented irrealis PV clauses, but without subjects. The English free translation uses past progressive, active voice, supplies the patients, and adds a conjunction: 'The python was coiling itself (around the cat), while the cat was biting (the python)'.

11.10 Text 5: *Molikison*. Making coconut oil

This is an oral procedural text (t8), told in 1983 by RB from the village of Dolom.

- (5-1) *Tumbe-tumbe yaku' man-sarak nuur.*
 RED-begin 1S AV.I-search coconut
 'First of all, I look for coconuts.'¹⁵
- (5-2) *Man-tausi nuur i yaku', mule'kon-mo na laigan, ka' bunut-i-on*
 AV.I-obtain coconut PA 1S return-PERF LOC house and husk-VBR-PV.I
a nuur-ku.
 ART coconut-my
 'When I have found coconuts, I return home and remove the husks of my coconuts.'
- (5-3) *Poko-on bunut-i-on, towol-on-mo a nuur.*
 after-PV.I husk-VBR-PV.I split-PV.I-PERF ART coconut
 'When the husks have been removed, I split the coconuts.'
- (5-4) *Poko-on-ku towol-on, karis-on-mo a nuur.*
 after-PV.I-1S split-PV.I grate-PV.I-PERF ART coconut
 'After I have split them, I grate the coconuts (= I scrape the meat out of the shells).'
- (5-5) *Poko-on karis-on, pao'-on-mo.*
 after-PV.I scrape-PV.I squeeze-PV.I-PERF
 'When it is scraped, I squeeze it' (= I squeeze the milk from the gratings).'
- (5-6) *Poko-on pao'-on, man-sarak-mo tobunan ka' bunsang-on ya'a*
 after-PV.I squeeze-PV.I AV.I-search-PERF large.wok and put.on.fire-PV.I DEM3
tangi'-na nuur men ni-pao'-mo.
 milk-3S coconutREL PV.R-squeeze-PERF
 'When the squeezing is done, I look for a large wok and put the coconut milk which has been squeezed out on the fire.'¹⁶
- (5-7) *Palinsung-on.*
 strain-PV.I
 'The milk is strained' (before it is put in the wok, to remove the dirt).
- (5-8) *Poko-on palinsung-on ka' bunsang-on, taring-on-mo a santan*
 after-PV.I strain-PV.I and put.on.fire-PV.I cook-PV.I-PERF ART coconut.milk
 'After it is strained and put on the fire, the coconut milk is cooked.'
- (5-9) *Dodongo-i-on-mo ka' suuli-on a santan-na men ni-bunsang.*
 live-DIR-PV.I-PERF and add.firewood-PV.I¹⁷ ART coconut.milk-3S REL PV.R-put.on.fire
 'One has to watch (the process) and add firewood (to the fire with the wok in which) the coconut milk has been put.' (Lit. 'It is guarded and the coconut milk which has been put on the fire is added firewood to.')

¹⁵The noun *nuur* 'coconut' can have singular or plural reference. In this text, we have translated it as a plural.

¹⁶The noun phrase *ya'a tangi'na nuur* 'that coconut milk' has a prenominal demonstrative *ya'a*. This is indicative of the oral style of this text. An editor would move the demonstrative to a postnominal position, resulting in the clause *ka' bunsangon a tangi'na nuur iya'a*, with the article *a* preceding the postverbal subject.

¹⁷The verb *suuli* refers to the activity of maintaining a cooking fire by adjusting the firewood and adding wood, if necessary.

- (5-10) *Toro sa'angu' jaam, ia mun-tumbe-i-mo ma-taak a likison.*
 about one hour 3S AV.I-begin-VBR-PERF INTR.I-cooked ART coconut.oil
 'After about an hour, the coconut oil begins to be ready.'
- (5-11) *Sarataa taak a likison, nakat-on-ku-mo ka' piis-on ka'*
 when cooked ART coconut.oil lift-PV.I-1S-PERF and strain-PV.I and
pokela-on na rapur.
 put-PV.I LOC kitchen
 'When the coconut oil is ready, I lift (the wok off the fire), strain it and put it in the kitchen.'
- (5-12) *Pe-pera-i-on memel a likison men ni-nakat, piis-on-mo.*
 RED-wait-DIR-PV.I cold ART coconut.oil REL PV.R-lift strain-PV.I-PERF
 'I wait for the coconut oil which has been taken off (the fire) to cool down, then I strain it.'
- (5-13) *Ala-on a palinsung, ka' piis-on a sedek-na.*
 take-PV.I ART strain and strain-PV.I ART dregs-3S
 'I take the strainer and strain out the dregs.'
- (5-14) *Tom-piis tana-on-mo a likison na loyang.*
 NVOL-strain put-PV.I-PERF ART coconut.oil LOC large.dish
 'When it has been strained, I put the coconut oil in a large dish.'
- (5-15) *Poko-on tana-on pe-pera-i-on memel a likison.*
 after-PV.I put-PV.I RED-wait-DIR-PV.I cold ART coconut.oil
 'When I've put it (in the dish), I wait for the coconut oil to cool down.'
- (5-16) *Sarataa memel a likison, ku'-isii-kon-mo na botor.*
 when cold ART coconut.oil 1S-fill-APPL-PERF LOC bottle.
 'When the coconut oil is cold, I put it in a bottle.'
- (5-17) *Tong-isii-kon na botor, onsong-on-mo a botor ka' naa'-on.*
 NVOL-fill-APPL LOC bottle plug-PV.I-PERF ART bottle and store-PV.I
 'When the bottle has been filled, I put a plug in it and put it away.'
- (5-18) *Tongko' koi-ya'a.*
 only like-DEM3
 'That's it.'

11.11 Analysis of text 5

Table 11.6. Statistics for text 5

a. Sentences	18
b. Clauses	44 (of which 3 RCs)
c. Words	117
d. Words per sentence	6.5
e. Intransitive	8
V	3
VS	5
SV	0
f. Transitive AV	4
SV	1
VO	1
SVO	1
VOS	1
g. Transitive PV	31
PV-1 (agentless realis)	3
PV-2 (agented realis)	1
PV-3 (agentless irrealis)	26
PV-4 (agented irrealis)	1
h. Equative	1
i. Other	0

Features of the text.

- This is a procedural text on how to make coconut oil from coconuts. It has the typical features of procedural texts: materials, utensils, actions in the right sequence, specifications of time, etc., with a minimum of personal or emotional involvement and no dialogue.
- The clauses and sentences of this procedural text are all fairly short. With an average of 6.5 words per sentence, this text is the lowest on the parameter of sentence length. This probably reflects both the genre with its straightforward sequence of actions and the fact that it was told orally, recorded, and later transcribed.
- There is a preponderance of patient voice constructions: 31 PV versus 4 AV. PV is clearly the unmarked form in procedural discourse.
- The AV occurs in three places: at the beginning, when the object *nuur* ‘coconut’ is still indefinite, as in (5-1), and its uptake in (5-2), as well as in (5-6b), when a new object is introduced, *tobunan* ‘a large wok’. Interestingly, the verb in two of the three clauses with AV is the same: *man-sarak* ‘search’. Finally, the verb *mun-tumbei* ‘begin’ in (5-10) is also an AV form, but that is simply the unmarked form of this phasal verb when an intransitive verb follows.
- All verb forms are irrealis, which is common in procedural texts (see §5.4.2). The only realis PV forms (marked by *ni-*) occur in the three relative clauses (5-6d), (5-9c), and (5-12c). In each case, the reference is to a past completed action, which provides the stepping stone for the event portrayed in the main clause.
- The agent is strongly suppressed. After the initial explicit pronominal reference *yaku* ‘I’ in (5-1) and (5-2a), the agent is only mentioned a further three times: in the conjunction *poko-on-ku* ‘after I...’ in (5-4a); *nakat-on-ku-mo* ‘I lift’ in (5-11b), and *ku'-isii-kon-mo* ‘I fill’ in (5-16b). The patient voice constructions in the relative clauses are also agentless. From an English perspective, this is quite extraordinary, as it means that twenty-eight times (with almost all of

the PV verb forms) an agent is missing, which has to be supplied in the translation. We have added 'I' in most instances, though at a few points we have given a passive translation, as in (5-7) and (5-8), in order to give something of the agent-suppressed flavour. At some points, one may even wonder whether the author has shifted to a generic procedural text, but the re-occurrence of the agent in (5-11) and (5-16) makes it clear that we are still dealing with a first-person narrative.

- Many clauses lack a subject. Of all the verbal clauses, nineteen clauses have simple V, while fifteen have VS and only one has SV. In conjunction with the lack of agents, this means that the referential density in this text is very low. An example is *pao'-on-mo* (squeeze-PV.I-PERF) 'I squeeze it' in (5-5b), a simple clause consisting of just one verb without any indication of agent or patient. The only clauses with both a nominal agent and patient are the initial SVO clause (5-1), which establishes the referents, and its uptake (5-2a), which is VOS, where the subject is added as an afterthought.
- There is fairly consistent head-tail linking, as between (5-1) and (5-2a), (5-2c) and (5-3a), (5-3b) and (5-4a), creating strong cohesion in the text. The pattern is broken in (5-9), where other activities are mentioned that have to take place during the time of cooking. In (5-11), the author mentions the straining (*piis-on*), but apparently backtracks in (5-12) and (5-13) to enumerate the activities leading up to the straining. It is possible that this is some kind of self-correction when the author realised he had moved too fast.
- There are few conjunctions, mainly *ka'* 'and', *sarataa* 'when, after' and *poko-on* 'after'. In spite of its patient-voice morphology, we analyze *poko-on* 'after' (and *poko-on-ku* 'after I') as a conjunction, rather than as a PV verb (see §10.3.1b.).

11.12 Text 6: *Kaparasaya'an*. Beliefs

This expository text (t50) was written in 1989 by PN from the village of Talima B. Only a small section of the first part is presented here.

(6-1) *Lipu' Balantak, biai' a diim men parasaya-on-na i raaya'a, koi-mo*
 tribe B. many ART jinn REL believe-PV.I-3S PA 3P like-PERF

Diim-na Nuur, Diim-na Rombia', Diim-na Pae, Diim-na Kupang, Diim-na
 jinn-3S coconut jinn-3S sago.tree jinn-3S rice jinn-3S money jinn-3S

Ndalangon (Tobui), Diim-na Mata-na ilio, Diim-na Tano', Diim-na Bela',
 deep.sea sea jinn-3S eye-3S day jinn-3S earth jinn-3S wild.animal

Diim men nom-[p]odene (nen-deer) manusia (umat).
 jinn REL AV.R-spread AV.R-breed man mankind

'The Balantak people believe in many jinns, such as the jinn of the coconut tree, the jinn of the sago tree, the jinn of rice, the jinn of wealth, the jinn of the ocean (or the sea), the jinn of the sun, the jinn of the earth, the jinn of the wild animals, and the jinn which multiplied (or spread) mankind.'

(6-2) *Gii-gii' diim ka-ni'i, malia' bolian-i-on-na i raaya'a.*
 RED-all jinn D-DEM1 often shaman-VBR-PV.I-3S PA 3P

'People often bring offerings to all these jinns.'

- (6-3) *Kalu sa'angu' mian boo mo-nuur, kabai se' mo'-ale'-kon*
 if one person FUT INTR.I-coconut or ATT INTR.I-garden-APPL
nuur, ia tio mom-bolian-i diim-na nuur kutung.
 coconut 3S must AV.I-shaman-VBR jinn-3S coconut first
 'If someone wants to grow coconuts or make a coconut garden, he must first bring offerings to the jinn of the coconut tree.'
- (6-4) *Tumbe-tumbe mian i-ya'a tio man-sambong siok sa'angu',*
 RED-begin person D-DEM3 must AV.I-designate chicken one
bona diim-na nuur.
 for jinn-3S coconut
 'First of all, that person has to designate a chicken for the jinn of the coconut tree.'
- (6-5) *Siok i-ya'a, po-tuo'-i-on kutung.*
 chicken D-DEM3 CAUS-live-CAUS-PV.I first
 'That chicken must first be raised.'
- (6-6) *Siok men ni-sambong ka-ni'i, ngaan-on soili na diim-na nuur.*
 chicken REL PV.R-designate D-DEM1 name-PV.I offering LOC jinn-3S coconut
 'This chicken which has been designated is called an offering to the spirit of the coconut tree.'
- (6-7) *Nau-nau', kalu mian i-ya'a mongo-rookon-mo siok soili i-ya'a*
 RED-long if person D-DEM3 AV.I-give-PERF chicken offering D-DEM3
na diim-na nuur, uga' bolian-kon-on-mo kasi koyo'-on.
 LOC jinn-3S coconut then shaman-APPL-PV.I-PERF then slaughter-PV.I
 'After a while, when that person is about to give the offering chicken to the spirit of the coconut tree, a ritual ceremony is carried out and it is slaughtered.'
- (6-8) *Kasee koo'-po tia koyo'-on, tio man-sarak siok ru-rua'*
 but NEG-IMPF with slaughter-PV.I must AV.I-search chicken RED-two
boo pun-turangi, kada' sida to-tolu'.
 for AV.GER-add so.that become RED-three
 'But before it is slaughtered, an additional two chickens must be found, to make a total of three.'
- (6-9) *Moko daa koi-ya'a, kasi man-sarak mian men daa ming-inti'i*
 after.I finish like-DEM3 then AV.I-search person REL ATT AV.I-know
mom-bolian-kon.
 AV.I-shaman-APPL
 'When that is done, only then can one look for a person who knows how to perform the rituals.'
- (6-10) *Mian i-ya'a ngaan-on bolian.*
 person D-DEM3 name-PV.I shaman
 'That person is called a shaman.'

- (6-11) *Kalu man-tausi-mo boo bolian, uga' bolian-kon-on-mo a siok*
 if AV.I-obtain-PERF for shaman then shaman-APPL-PV.I-PERF ART chicken

to-tolu' i-ya'a, men pan-tarai diim-na nuur.
 RED-three D-DEM3 REL AV.GER-give jinn-3S coconut

'When a person has been found who can act as a shaman, then the three chickens are offered as a gift to the jinn of the coconut tree.'

- (6-12) *Wawau men koi ka-ni'i, ngaan-on mam-[p]a-kana' (mom-bolian-i)*
 deed REL like D-DEM1 name-PV.I AV.I-CAUS-right AV.I-shaman-VBR

diim-na nuur.
 jinn-3S coconut

'A ritual like this is called appeasing (making offerings to) the jinn of the coconut tree.'

- (6-13) *Nau-nau' uga' too toro rua' kabai se' toro tolu' lu'unu,*
 RED-long also maybe up.to two or ATT up.to three year

bolian-i-on-mo soo-soodo.
 shaman-VBR-PV.I-PERF RED-again

'After a long time, maybe two or three years, offerings are brought again.'

- (6-14) *Mbali' bolian-i-on, too nuur men ni'-asok i-ya'a, sian laan*
 as.a.result shaman-VBR-PV.I maybe coconut REL PV.R-plant D-DEM3 NEG really

mo-lumba' a tu-tuo'-na.
 INTR.I-fertile ART RED-grow-3S

'The reason that (another) offering is made is that maybe the coconuts which have been planted are not doing too well.'

- (6-15) *Toropii lu'unu uga', wawau-on-mo koi-ya'a soo-soodo.*
 several years also make-PV.I-PERF like-DEM3 RED-again

'Several years later, a similar (ritual) is performed again.'

- (6-16) *Kalu nuur men ni'-asok i-ya'a mun-tumbe-i-mo mi-woo', taasi'-mo*
 if coconut REL PV.R-plant D-DEM3 AV.I-begin-VBR-PERF INTR.I-fruit NEG-PERF

tongko' siok a pan-tarai diim-na nuur i-ya'a.
 only chicken ART AV.GER-give jinn-3S coconut D-DEM3

'If the coconuts that have been planted start bearing fruit, it is no longer only a chicken which is given to the jinn of the coconut.'

- (6-17) *Tombono nuur, man-sarak-mo siok toro lima' tia bembe'*
 owner coconut AV.I-search-PERF chicken about five with goat

sa'angu', boo pan-tarai diim-na nuur i-ya'a soo-soodo.
 one for AV.GER-give jinn-3S coconut D-DEM3 RED-again

'The owner of the coconut trees will look for about five chickens and a goat to be given again to the jinn of the coconut tree.'

- (6-18) *Kalu man-tausi-mo siok tia bembe', uga' man-sarak-mo boo bolian,*
if AV.I-obtain-PERF chicken with goat then AV.I-search-PERF for shaman

kasi bolian-kon-on ka' koyo'-on a siok tia bembe', men
then shaman-APPL-PV.I and slaughter-PV.I ART chicken with goat REL

pan-tarai diim-na nuur i-ya'a.
AV.GER-give jinn-3S coconut D-DEM3

'When he has obtained chickens and a goat, he then looks for a shaman, and then the chickens and goat are offered and slaughtered, as a gift to the jinn of the coconut tree.'

- (6-19) *Kalu nuur i-ya'a too ma-roi'-mo tuu', men umur-mo*
if coconut D-DEM3 maybe INTR.I-dense-PERF very REL have.age-PERF

toro tolum-pulo' kabai se' umur-mo toro patam-pulo' lu'unu,
about three-ten or ATT have.age-PERF about four-ten year

men piri-biai'-mo ni-penek ka' ni-tapa', tia doi' ili-na
REL TIME-many-PERF PV.R-climb and PV.R-roast with money price-3S

kulibang biai'-mo uga' a ia dapot tombono, ia uga' mom-bolian-i-mo
copra many-PERF also ART 3S obtain owner 3S then AV.I-shaman-VBR-PERF

diim-na nuur soo-soodo.
jinn-3S coconut RED-again

'If these coconut trees have produced much fruit and have reached an age of maybe thirty or forty years, and have been climbed many times, and (their meat) made into copra (lit. roasted), and (if) the owner has obtained much money by selling the copra, then he will again make an offering to the jinn of the coconut tree.'

- (6-20) *Tombono nuur i-ya'a, man-sarak-mo bembe' tia siok, kasi*
owner coconut D-DEM3 AV.I-search-PERF goat with chicken then

ma-[p]a-kana' (mom-bolian-i) diim-na nuur.
AV.I-CAUS-right AV.I-shaman-VBR jinn-3S coconut

'The owner of the coconut trees will look for a goat and a chicken/chickens and then appease (make offerings to) the jinn of the coconut.'

- (6-21) *Mom-bolian-i diim-na nuur men koi-ya'a, malia' ngaan-on-na i*
AV.I-shaman-VBR jinn-3S coconut REL like-DEM3 often name-PV.I-3S PA

raaya'a, ma-[p]a-lakana diim-na nuur, men non-soori kupang,
3P AV.I-CAUS-right?¹⁸ jinn-3S coconut REL AV.R-provide money

tia non-soori nuur.
with AV.R-provide coconut

'Making such offerings to the jinn of the coconut tree is usually called appeasing the jinn of the coconut tree, who gives wealth and coconuts.'

¹⁸The verb translated 'appease' in this clause is *mamalakana'* (from the root *lakana'*), which is apparently a synonym for the technical term *mamakana'* used in (6-12), from the root *kana'* 'right; hit'. The verbs refer to the fulfillment of the promise made to the spirits.

11.13 Analysis of text 6

Table 11.7. Statistics for text 6

a. Sentences	21
b. Clauses	61 (of which 8 RCs)
c. Words	294
d. Words per sentence	14
e. Intransitive	11
V	6
VS	3
SV	2
f. Transitive AV	24
V	4
SV	1
VO	13
SVO	6
g. Transitive PV	22
PV-1 (agentless realis)	5
PV-2 (agented realis)	1
PV-3 (agentless irrealis)	13
PV-4 (agented irrealis)	3
h. Equative	3
i. Other	1

Features of this text.

- As explained above, this is only a segment of a lengthy expository text of over 9,800 words in total and over thirty pages of running text. It is a detailed account of the various beliefs held by the Balantak people, providing an insider's window on the traditional animistic beliefs and practices of the Balantak people relating to spirits (jinns), ghosts, cries of birds, snakes, butterflies, mysterious trees, earthquakes, sneezing, dreaming, breaking crockery, and much more. The current section follows straight after the introduction (an opening sentence and a list of forty-three topics) and focuses on the various jinns.
- With an average of fourteen words per sentence, this text outcores all the others in terms of sentence length. Many of the sentences are complex, involving various relative and conditional clauses, reaching their climax in (6-19), a complex conditional sentence with a prolonged five-clause protasis. The long list in (6-1) is also remarkable. Clearly, this text was not spoken, but carefully crafted by an author who wanted to be very precise, comprehensive, and explicit. This is also evidenced by the fact that he uses explanatory words in parentheses in several places to shed light on words he may have deemed unfamiliar. In (6-1), he explains *ndalangon* 'deep sea' by *tobui* 'sea', and *nom-[p]odene* 'breed, multiply' by *nen-deer* 'spread'.
- There is a lot of verbal repetition. The key words *nuur* 'coconut', *diim* 'jinn', *bolian* 'shaman' (and its verbal derivations), *tarai*, 'give', *siok* 'chicken' each occur many times and create cohesion. At times, the text is somewhat repetitive.
- This is the only text (of the six) where AV outranks PV (24:21). There are six full SVO clauses, including (6-3c) and (6-4), and the number of objects is also high. This is no doubt related to the fact that many of the patients in this text are indefinite and non-human (chickens, coconuts), and the ones that are human (the shaman) are indefinite. Non-human and indefinite patients tend to trigger agent voice.

- This text also presents some special analytical challenges. There are, for example, four clauses with the verb *ngaan-on* 'it is called' (6-6, 6-10, 6-12, 6-21). These clauses involve a subject and a complement, but the notion of complement as a separate grammatical category has not been explored in this grammar. Also, the gerunds *pan-tarai* 'give' in (6-11), (6-16), (6-17) and (6-18) do not all fit the functions of the gerund as outlined in §5.4.3. Similarly, although the relativiser *men* is used in a straightforward fashion in relative clauses, e.g., in (6-1), (6-9) and (6-14), its occurrence in (6-11), (6-18) and (6-19) is more difficult to account for. In each case, it appears to start a new main clause. Finally, clause (6-19f) (from *tia* up to *tombono*) is hard to parse. It is probably a semi-cleft on the basis of an agented PV, but the presence of *biai* 'many' is a complicating factor.

11.14 Summary and conclusions

The following table shows a compilation of the statistical data, with the totals and the most important averages in the last two columns. The figures for intransitive, AV and PV clauses have been made bold.

Table 11.8. Summary statistics for all texts

	text 1	text 2	text 3	text 4	text 5	text 6	total	average
a. Sentences	31	23	15	19	18	21	127	21
b. Clauses	57	48	45	54	44	61	309	51
(of which relative clauses)	3	-	3	3	3	8	20	3
c. Words	223	209	171	201	117	294	1215	202
d. Words per sentence	7.2	9.1	11.4	10.6	6.5	14.0	-	9.6
e. Intransitive	27	29	23	27	8	11	125	21
V	15	15	16	14	3	6	69	
VS	7	1	2	7	5	3	25	
SV	5	13	4	6	-	2	30	
f. Transitive AV	4	4	6	7	4	24	49	8
V	3	2	-	-	-	4	9	
VO	-	1	2	3	1	13	20	
VS	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	
SV	-	1	3	-	1	1	6	
SVO	1	-	-	2	1	6	10	
VOS	-	-	-	1	1	-	2	
OSV	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	
g. Transitive PV	19	7	9	13	31	22	101	17
PV-1 (agentless realis)	10	-	-	1	3	5	19	
PV-2 (agented realis)	7	6	7	7	1	1	29	
PV-3 (agentless irrealis)	1	-	1	2	26	13	43	
PV-4 (agented irrealis)	1	1	1	3	1	3	10	
h. Equative	5	2	4	2	1	3	17	3
i. Other	2	6	3	5	-	1	17	3

A number of conclusions can be drawn from this summary table.

a. The average sentence length is below ten words. With 6.5 words, text 5 (procedural) is decidedly below this average, while text 6 (expository), with fourteen words per sentence, is considerably above it.

b. The average clause length (1205 words on 309 clauses) is 3.9 words. This may appear very short, but one has to take into account the analytical decision to count a sequence of two verbs as separate clauses. Even so, short clauses are a corollary of the fact that many known participants are not expressed as full noun phrases or free pronouns.

c. Among the 309 clauses, there are twenty unambiguous relative clauses (6.5%).

d. Of the 125 intransitive clauses, SV is slightly more common than VS (30 to 25). However, a bare V (69) is even more common.

e. PV is considerably more frequent than AV. Of the total of 150 transitive clauses, fully two thirds (101) are PV, and only one third (49) is AV. Within PV, irrealis PV (marked by *-on*) and realis have roughly an equal distribution (48 and 53).

f. The agented realis is more common than the agentless realis (29 to 18), but the reverse is true for irrealis, where the agentless form occurs far more frequently (43 to 10). There is a striking genre difference in the use of agentless PVs. Texts 5 and 6 (procedural and expository) have a much larger proportion of agentless PVs, which are relatively rare in the first four narrative texts.

g. Grammatical objects are relatively infrequent. This is no doubt related to the high frequency of PV, where the patient is grammaticalized as a subject. It would be an interesting exercise to tally all the grammatical functions of NPs in these texts (subject, object, non-subject agent, possessor), but that is beyond the scope of this grammar.

h. There are no examples of LV (locative voice) in these texts. This is somewhat surprising, but it does show the relative markedness of this construction. The full versions of text 2 and text 6 do actually contain various examples of LV.

i. The most conspicuous feature of these texts is the low referential density of Balantak. Of the 125 intransitive clauses, sixty-nine (= 55%) do not have an overt subject. Of the forty-nine transitive agent voice clauses, only thirteen (= 26%) have a full subject and object. Of the 101 PV transitive clauses, sixty-two are agentless, and (although this information is not presented in table 11.8), in only forty-one of these PV clauses is a subject present. In each case, the subject, object, or agent is normally retrievable from the context, but it does mean that Balantak is much less explicit in the tracking of participants and props than, say, English. Being explicit is certainly possible, grammatically, but the availability of agent and patient voice, as well as the structurally distinct realis agentless patient voice, provides the speaker or author with the apparatus to balance explicitness and suppression.

12. Summary of morphology

This chapter provides a summary of the morphological processes that occur in Balantak, arranged by type: prefixation, infixation, suffixation, and reduplication. Within the first three divisions, the affixes are presented in alphabetical order, while circumfixes such as *ka...-an* are found under the prefixing part. The purpose of this summary is to give the reader a quick reference tool, which may also be helpful to anyone interested in comparative morphology or in reading Balantak texts. A Balantak text edition will hopefully appear at some point in the future, and a list of all the affixes in the language will very likely be of considerable help in working through its complex morphology.

We have made the following decisions regarding the organization of this chapter.

- Inflectional morphology (essentially the possessive/agentive suffixes) is not listed separately, but is briefly reviewed in §12.1. This includes the twenty-five allomorphs of the second person possessive suffix *-Vm*. Because the 3sg suffix *-na* has various other usages, it has its own section.
- In order to avoid unnecessary clutter, the twenty allomorphs of the agent voice prefixes *mVng-*, *nVng-* and *pVng-* (sixty forms in total) are not given individually. Instead, the twenty allomorphs of the irrealis agent voice prefix *mVng-* are displayed in table 12.3 in §12.2.23, and the reader is expected to be able to derive the correct realis and gerund forms by substituting *m* by *n* (for the realis) or *p* (for the gerund). The obvious corollary of this is that many surface forms which occur in texts and example sentences (such as *nam-*, *nenge-*, *nin-*, *nong-*, *pam-*, *pung-* etc.) do not have their own subsection in this chapter.
- The allomorphs of intransitive *ming-* (and their corresponding irrealis and gerund forms *ning-* and *ping-*), numeral *sang-* ‘one’ and non-volitional *tong-* are not listed separately. See §2.8.3 for the allomorphic rules. That means that the following forms are not listed separately, but should be found under their main form.
 - *mi-*, *mim-*, *min-*: allomorphs of irrealis intransitive *ming-*;
 - *ni-*, *nim-*, *nin-*: allomorphs of realis intransitive *ning-*;
 - *pi-*, *pim-*, *pin-*: allomorphs of gerund intransitive *ping-*;
 - *sa-*, *sam-*, *san-*: allomorphs of the numeral prefix *sang-* ‘one’;
 - *to-*, *tom-*, *ton-*: allomorphs of the non-volitional prefix *tong-*.
- All the prefixes that end in a vowel (which is the vast majority) have an automatic rule of glottal insertion before vowel-initial bases (compare *ni-wawau* ‘made’ with *ni'-ala* ‘taken’). This fact is discussed in §2.8.6. In this chapter, we do not list the prefixes with final glottal as separate allomorphs, even though they appear in examples.
- Because of the importance of the realis-irrealis-gerund mode system in Balantak, prefixes which participate in this trichotomy are listed separately (e.g., *minti-*, *ninti-*, *pinti-*), even though their forms are predictable. The information under the realis and gerund forms is kept very brief.
- Of the prefixed (or proclitic) numeral forms, only *sang-* ‘one’ is listed here, because of its frequency and allomorphy. The other prefixed forms are given in §4.6.2.
- Discussion and examples are kept to a minimum, as much of the information is discussed in greater detail elsewhere. Usually two non-clausal examples suffice, with a cross-reference, except for those morphemes which are not discussed elsewhere. This relates especially to nominalizing morphology (e.g., *-an*), which is only in this chapter treated in some detail.
- We also use this chapter to provide information on morphological processes that are not discussed elsewhere (e.g., the onomatopoeics in §12.4.2e.), as well as various irregularities in form or in meaning. In §12.6, some fossilized morphology is presented.
- The least straightforward aspects of Balantak morphology are the gerund mode (marked by *p-* initial prefixes, see §5.4.3), the locative voice (marked by *-an* in combination with other verbal morphology, see §7.5) and stem formers (*pa-* and *po-*, see §5.4.4). This chapter only deals with the formal side of these matters; the function of gerund and locative voice is discussed in the sections referred to.

- This chapter is far from complete. It is likely that a number of non-productive affixes or affix combinations have accidentally been missed, while the number of listed idiosyncratic meanings has deliberately been kept at a minimum.

12.1 Inflectional morphology

Table 12.1. Inflectional possessive affixes

		possessive
sg	1	-ngku ~ -ku
	2	-Vm
	3	-na
pl	1ex	-mai
	1in	-nta ~ -ta
	2	-muu
	3	-na i raaya'a

Notes on table 12.1.

1. The possessive forms are used for possession and to mark the agent in patient and locative voice verb forms (see §4.1.2).

2. The 1sg possessive form *-ngku* is used following vowels, *-ku* following consonants; the same allomorphic rule applies to 1pl inclusive *-nta* and *-ta* (see §2.8.4).

3. The 2sg possessive form *-Vm* stands for twenty allomorphs, the formative rules of which are outlined in §2.8.7. All the allomorphs are presented in table 12.2 below, where the gloss is the simple noun. The first and second column have identical allomorphs (*-Vm*), but have been separated because of the rather different phonological environment. V_iV_j stands for a sequence of unlike vowels, while V_iV_i represents a sequence of like vowels.

Table 12.2. Allomorphs of 2sg possessive *-Vm*

-Vm final CV _i (V _j)	-Vm final glottal	-wVm final CV _i V _i	< V > final CVC	< wV > final CV _i V _i C
<i>tama</i> <i>tama-am</i> 'father'	<i>waa'</i> <i>waa'-am</i> 'ear infection'	<i>palaa</i> <i>palaa-wam</i> 'palm'	<i>sarat</i> <i>sara < a > t</i> 'foot, leg'	<i>balaan</i> <i>balaa < wa > n</i> 'palm stem'
<i>tambue</i> <i>tambue-em</i> 'green bean'	<i>ale'</i> <i>ale'-em</i> 'garden'	<i>see</i> <i>see-wem</i> 'odor'	<i>wewer</i> <i>wewe < e > r</i> 'lip'	<i>weer</i> <i>wee < we > r</i> 'water'
<i>kopi</i> <i>kopi-im</i> 'coffee'	<i>orii'</i> <i>orii'-im</i> 'pole, post'	<i>kasabii</i> <i>kasabii-wim</i> 'cassava'	<i>witis</i> <i>witi < i > s</i> 'calf (of leg)'	<i>piit</i> <i>pii < wi > t</i> 'bicycle'
<i>tigo</i> <i>tigo-om</i> 'tobacco'	<i>bakoko'</i> <i>bakoko'-om</i> 'machete'	<i>suloo</i> <i>suloo-wom</i> 'heart'	<i>bolusukon</i> <i>bolusuko < o > n</i> 'durian'	<i>roon</i> <i>roo < wo > n</i> 'banana leaf'
<i>apu</i> <i>apu-um</i> 'fire'	<i>bau'</i> <i>bau'-um</i> 'pig'	<i>opuu</i> <i>opuu-wum</i> 'egg'	<i>popurun</i> <i>popuru < u > n</i> 'sago'	<i>tuur</i> <i>tuu < wu > r</i> 'knee'

12.2 Prefixes

12.2.1 aa-

Variant of the allative prefix *waa-* after the invisible prefix *ku-*. Gloss: ALL.I. Example: *ku-aa-le'e* ‘over there (on the side) out of sight (and still there)’. See §8.7.

12.2.2 ba-

a. Verbalizing prefix forming intransitive verbs on the basis of nouns, as well as some transitive roots. Gloss: INTR. See §5.5.2.

<i>ba-gandang</i>	‘play the drum’	<i>gandang</i>	‘drum’
<i>ba'ili</i>	‘shop, go shopping’	<i>ming-ili</i>	‘buy’ (tr)

b. Variant of intransitive *ma-* (§12.2.13):

<i>ma-bantang</i>	~ <i>ba-bantang</i>	‘long’
<i>ma'idek</i>	~ <i>ba'idek</i>	‘bad, ugly’

12.2.3 bara-

Unproductive verbal prefix. Meaning: ‘done in or as a group’ and various idiosyncratic meanings. Gloss: INTR. See §5.7.6.

<i>bara-kaan</i>	‘eat together (at a party)’	<i>k < um > aan</i>	‘eat’
<i>bara-wawau</i>	‘make/do (together)’	<i>wawau</i>	‘make, do’

12.2.4 bari-

Unproductive verbal prefix on transitive verbs. Meaning: ‘fighting each other (of animals only)’. Gloss: REC. See §5.5.10.

<i>bari-kakat</i>	‘bite e.o.’	<i>mang-kakat</i>	‘bite’
<i>bari-tanduk</i>	‘butt e.o.’	<i>man-tanduk</i>	‘butt’

12.2.5 i-

a. Verbal prefix on realis intransitive verbs following a negator. No independent meaning. Gloss: NEG.INTR.R. See §9.1.3

<i>sian i-royot</i>	‘did not sleep’	<i>royot</i>	‘sleep’
<i>koo' i-taka</i>	‘did not arrive’	<i>taka</i>	‘arrive’

b. Deictic element on demonstrative roots (alternates with zero and *ka-*). Gloss D. Examples: *i-ni'i* ‘this’; *i-nda'a* ‘up there’. See §8.1.1.

Note. There is also the personal article *i* preceding pronouns and names (see §4.3.1).

12.2.6 ka-

a. Nominalizing prefix on stative verbs with *ma-* or *ba-* (other stative classes are nominalized by means of *ko-*). Often in combination with *-na* followed by a possessive noun, and sometimes in combination with *-an* (see §12.4.2). Gloss: NOM.

<i>ka'-agor(-na)</i>	'(its) speed'	<i>ma'-agor</i>	'fast, quick'
<i>ka-bantang-an(-na)</i>	'(its) length'	<i>ba-bantang</i>	'long'
<i>ka-loos(-na)</i>	'(its) straightness'	<i>ma-loos</i>	'straight'

b. Deictic element on demonstrative roots (alternates with zero and *i-*). Gloss: D. Examples: *ka-ni'i* 'this'; *ka-ndo'o* 'down there'. See §8.1.1.

c. Affective prefix on a few stative roots that take *ma-*. Gloss AFF (see §5.5.4)

<i>ka-polos</i>	'causing pain'	<i>ma-polos</i>	'painful'
<i>ka-repa</i>	'causing difficulties'	<i>ma-repa</i>	'hard, difficult'

d. Miscellaneous. Either irregular independent meanings or only in combination with other affixes (without independent meaning):

<i>ka-sasar</i>	'crowded, pressed in'	<i>sasar</i>	'push, shove, force one's way'
<i>ma-ka'-amat</i>	'careful, cautious'	<i>amat</i>	'nice, delicious'
<i>mang-ka-takut-i</i>	'frighten'	<i>takut</i>	'afraid'

Note. The element *ka-* also appears in words such as *ka-kaan* 'food' (cf. *k <um> aan* 'eat' [intr]; *mang-kaan* 'eat' [tr]), and *ka-karei* 'broom; sweeper' (cf. *mang-karei* 'sweep'). However, in these cases we are not dealing with a prefix *ka-* but with CV- reduplication (see §12.5).

12.2.7 ka-...-an

a. Nominalizing circumfix on stative verbs in *ma-* or *ba-* (other stative classes are nominalized by means of *ko-*), and other intransitive verbs. Gloss: NOM...NOM.

<i>ka-lapus-an</i>	'death'	<i>lapus</i>	'die, dead'
<i>ka-male-an</i>	'weariness'	<i>ma-male</i>	'tired, weary'
<i>ka-polos-an</i>	'pain'	<i>ma-polos</i>	'painful'
<i>ka-sala'-an</i>	'wrong, fault, sin'	<i>sala'</i>	'wrong'

Also in loanwords, probably influenced by Indonesian *ke-...-an*:

<i>ka'-adil-an</i>	'justice'	<i>adil</i>	'just, fair'
<i>ka-paraluu-an</i>	'need'	<i>paraluu</i>	'need' (v)
<i>ka-parasaya'-an</i>	'belief'	<i>parasaya</i>	'believe'
<i>ka-sanaang-an</i>	'happiness'	<i>sanaang</i>	'happy'
<i>ka-tantu-an</i>	'certainty'	<i>tantu</i>	'certain, sure'

b. With prenasalization (*kaN-...-an*) there are various idiosyncratic meanings:

<i>kam-piile'-an</i>	'visible'	<i>piile'</i>	'see'
<i>kam-porongor-an</i>	'audible'	<i>po-rongor</i>	'hear'
<i>kan-sule'-an</i>	'receiving evil from others as a result of doing evil; revenge'	<i>sule'</i>	'in the wrong order; upside down'
<i>kan-turang-an</i>	'increase'	<i>mun-turang-i</i>	'add, increase'

c. A verbal circumfix on a few stative verbs in *ma-*. Meaning: 'deeply felt and emotionally affected by the base'. See also §12.2.11 for *ko-...-na*.

<i>ka'-idek-an</i>	'feel that s.t. is bad'	<i>ma'-idek</i>	'bad'
<i>ka-male-an</i>	'feel tired'	<i>ma-male</i>	'tired'
<i>ka-nasa-an</i>	'feel (that s.t. is) clear'	<i>ma-nasa</i>	'clear'
<i>ka-polos-an</i>	'feel pain, hurt (all over)'	<i>ma-polos</i>	'painful'

d. Unproductive circumfix on a nominal base:

<i>ka-tano'-an</i>	'land (as opposed to sea)'	<i>tano'</i>	'land'
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12.2.8 ko-

a. Stative prefix on transitive verbs. Meaning: 'adversative state resulting from a unexpected event'. Gloss: ADVS. See §5.5.3.

<i>ko-berak</i>	'torn'	<i>mem-berak</i>	'tear, rip'
<i>ko-tunu</i>	'unexpectedly burnt'	<i>mun-tunu</i>	'burn'

b. Stative prefix on stative verbs. Meaning: 'affective, having the effect of X, causing X'. Gloss: AFF. See §5.5.4.

<i>ko-pate</i>	'causing death, fatal'	<i>pate</i>	'die, dead'
<i>ko-pore</i>	'giving a good impression'	<i>pore</i>	'good'

c. Nominalizing prefix on (unmarked) stative verbs, often in combination with *-na* followed by a possessive noun, and sometimes in combination with *-an*, especially when there is a locative meaning element. Gloss NOM.

<i>ko'-alalom(-na)</i>	'(its) depth'	<i>alalom</i>	'deep'
<i>ko-balaki'(-na)</i>	'(its) size, bigness'	<i>balaki'</i>	'big, large'
<i>ko-bambal(-na)</i>	'(its) width'	<i>bambal</i>	'wide'
<i>ko-bambal-an(-na)</i>	'(its) width'		
<i>ko-biai'(-na)</i>	'(its) quantity, volume'	<i>biai'</i>	'many'
<i>ko-gora'-an</i>	'commotion, disturbance'	<i>gora'</i>	'noisy'
<i>ko'-oloo(-na)</i>	'(its) distance'	<i>oloo</i>	'far'
<i>ko-pore(-na)</i>	'(its) goodness'	<i>pore</i>	'good'
<i>ko-tuo'-an</i>	'life, daily needs'	<i>tuo'</i>	'live'

d. Verbalizing prefix in combination with reduplication and marked by a possessive suffix for the subject: more and more (with stative verbs), keep doing (with intransitive verbs). It is always found in our corpus with the realis infix *-in-*.

<i>k < in > o'-olo-oloo-na</i>	'further and further'	<i>oloo</i>	'far'
<i>k < in > o'-ala-alayo'-na</i>	'higher and higher'	<i>alayo'</i>	'high'
<i>k < in > o-bala-balaki'-na</i>	'bigger and bigger'	<i>balaki'</i>	'big'
<i>k < in > o-royo-royot-ku</i>	'I kept sleeping'	<i>royot</i>	'sleep'
<i>k < in > o-dongo-dongo-ngku-mo</i>	'I kept living (there)'	<i>d < um > odongo</i>	'live'

12.2.9 ko-...-an

Unproductive verbalizing circumfix on a few stative verbs. Meaning: 'have the feeling expressed by the base and/or being emotionally affected by it'.

<i>ko'-alalom-an</i>	'feel the depth'	<i>alalom</i>	'deep'
<i>ko'-alayo'-an</i>	'feel the height, admire'	<i>alayo'</i>	'high'
<i>ko-gora'-an</i>	'affected by the noise'	<i>gora'</i>	'noisy'
<i>ko-pore-an</i>	'feel good'	<i>pore</i>	'good'
<i>ko-samba-an</i>	'feel very amazed'	<i>samba'</i>	'amazed'

12.2.10 ko-...-ian

Intransitive affix combination on the basis of transitive verbs. Meaning: 'unintended accidental result'. Gloss: ADVS...ACCD. See §5.5.5.

<i>ko-bongkati-an</i>	‘opened by itself’	<i>mom-bongkati</i>	‘open’
<i>ko-tunu-ian</i>	‘burnt by itself’	<i>mun-tunu</i>	‘burn’

12.2.11 ko-...-na

Circumfix on numeral bases. Meaning: ‘ordinal number’. Gloss: ORD...3s. See §4.5.2.

<i>ko-rua'-na</i>	‘second’	<i>rua'</i>	‘two’
<i>ko-sompulo'-na</i>	‘tenth’	<i>sompulo'</i>	‘ten’

12.2.12 ku-

a. Prefix on distal demonstrative bases. Meaning: ‘invisible or vaguely visible’. Gloss: INVIS. Examples: *ku-aa-le'e* ‘over there (on the side) out of sight (and still there)’; *ku-mbaa-ra'a* ‘up there (out of sight and no longer there)’. See §8.7.

b. A verbal clitic, replacing the 1sg full pronoun *yaku'*, only in conversational and informal styles. See §7.6.

12.2.13 ma-

Verbal prefix on a class of stative and intransitive roots (realis *na-*, gerund *pa-*). Gloss INTR.I; sometimes in variation with *ba-*. See §5.1 and §5.2. Examples: *ma-kadang* ‘hard’ and *ma-takut* ‘afraid’.

With one root, prenasalization is found: *mang-kopek* ‘deflated, flat (of a tyre or ball)’. The formation *ma-marere* ‘flee, run away’ (or *mam-[p]arere*, root *parere*) is irregular due to the unexpected nasal substitution (expected form **ma-parere*).

12.2.14 mbaa-

Prefix on distal demonstrative bases, possibly resulting in a verb. Meaning: ‘allative (a movement away from the speaker or from a reference point), in the past’. The non-past counterpart is *waa-*. Examples: *mbaa-tu'u* ‘(went) there’; *mbaa-ra'a* ‘(went) up there’ Gloss: ALL.R. See §8.6.

12.2.15 mangkai-

Unproductive verbal prefix on a variety of bases, some of them bound roots. Meaning: ‘random action without proper planning’. Variant: *mingkai-*. Only in irrealis form. Gloss: RANDOM. See §5.7.7.

<i>mangkai-balo'</i>	‘throw randomly’	<i>mam-balo'</i>	‘throw’
<i>mangkai-tende'</i>	‘run around randomly’	<i>t <um> etende'</i>	‘run’

12.2.16 miki-

Variant of *moki-*. See §12.2.21.

12.2.17 mingkai-

Variant of *mangkai-*. See §12.2.15

12.2.18 ming-

a. Verbal prefix marking a class of intransitive verbs, sometimes on nominal bases. Allomorphs: *mim-*, *min-* and *mi-* (see §2.8.3 for details). Realis *ning-*, gerund *ping-*. Gloss INTR.I. See §5.2. Examples: *min-soop* ‘enter’; *mi-woo* ‘bear fruit’ (*woo* ‘fruit’).

The intransitive verb *mem-[p]enek* ‘climb’ (root *penek*) is probably a variant of *mimenek* (*mim-[p]enek*), although the form *mo-menek* also occurs. The transitive form is *mem-[p]enek-i* (PV *penek-i-on*).

b. Allomorph of *mVng-*. The prefixes *ming-*, *mim-* and *min-* can also be allomorphs of the agent voice irrealis prefix *mVng-* (§12.2.23), occurring before roots starting with a homorganic obstruent and the vowel *i*. This is true, for example, for the following verb forms: *ming-kikis* ‘roll up, tuck up’; *mim-bibit* ‘carry in the hand’ and *min-didir* ‘divide up in small portions.’ In each of these cases, the root is a transitive verb and the prefix an allomorph of irrealis AV *mVng-*.

12.2.19 minti-

a. Unproductive intransitive verbal prefix on (mostly) stative verbs. Meaning: ‘do something on purpose’. Realis *ninti-*, gerund *pinti-*. Gloss: PURP. See §5.5.8.

<i>minti-male</i>	‘take a rest’	<i>ma-male</i>	‘tired, weary’
<i>minti-moong</i>	‘take shelter’	<i>mo-moong</i>	‘shady’

b. In combination with reduplication, unproductive intransitive verbal prefix on some stative verbs and a few nouns. Meaning: ‘pretense action’. Realis *ninti-*, gerund *pinti-*. Gloss: PRETENSE. See §5.5.8.

<i>minti-guru-guru</i>	‘pretend to be a teacher’	<i>guru</i>	‘teacher’
<i>minti-pate-pate</i>	‘pretend to be dead’	<i>pate</i>	‘die, dead’

c. Miscellaneous:

<i>minti-daa-daa</i>	‘proud, arrogant’	<i>daa</i>	‘exist’ ¹
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12.2.20 mo-

Irrealis verbal prefix on a class of stative and intransitive bound roots (realis *no-*, gerund *po-*). Gloss INTR.I. See §5.1 and §5.2. Examples: *mo'-itom* ‘black’ and *mo-loop* ‘bathe’.

12.2.21 moki-

Verbal prefix on transitive bases; variant *miki-*. Realis: *noki-* (variant *niki-*), gerund *poki-* (variant *piki-*). Meaning: ‘requestive’. Gloss: REQ. See §5.7.2.

<i>miki-dolo'</i>	‘ask to get/fetch’	<i>mon-dolo'</i>	‘get, fetch’
<i>moki-tulung</i>	‘ask to help’	<i>mun-tulung</i>	‘help’

12.2.22 moto-

Verbal prefix on kinship nouns which creates stative verbs. Realis *noto-*, gerund *poto-*. Meaning: ‘having a reciprocal relationship towards each other’. Gloss: REC.KIN. See §5.5.6.

<i>moto'-anak</i>	‘be related as child and parent’	<i>anak</i>	‘child’
<i>moto-bela'</i>	‘be friends of each other’	<i>bela'</i>	‘friend’

¹See the footnote in §7.8.5 for a complete list of all the meanings of *daa*.

12.2.23 mVng-

Irrealis agent voice prefix with twenty allomorphs, illustrated in table 12.3. The rules involved are vowel harmony, nasal assimilation and vowel epenthesis. See §2.8.1 and §2.8.2 for details, including the retention and deletion of *p* in roots (deletion is marked as [∅]). Gloss: AV.I.

Table 12.3. Irrealis agent voice allomorphs

<i>mVng-</i> before vowels, k, g	<i>mVm-</i> before p, b	<i>mVn-</i> before t, d, s	<i>mVngV-</i> before sonorants
<i>mang-ala</i> 'take, get'	<i>mam-bala</i> 'fence in'	<i>man-taring</i> 'cook'	<i>manga-wawau</i> 'make'
<i>meng-keke</i> 'dig'	<i>mem-pepel</i> 'hammer'	<i>men-deer</i> 'spread'	<i>menge-leelo'</i> 'call, invite'
<i>ming-ili</i> 'buy'	<i>mim-[∅]iile'</i> 'see'	<i>min-sikoop</i> 'shovel'	<i>mingi-nika'</i> 'marry'
<i>mong-gopot</i> 'sort, arrange'	<i>mom-popok</i> 'cut'	<i>mon-sosop</i> 'to suck'	<i>mongo-yoong</i> 'shake'
<i>mung-kukudi</i> 'peel'	<i>mum-buani'</i> 'fish with net'	<i>mun-tunu</i> 'burn'	<i>mungu-rudus</i> 'pick'

There are very few irregularities in this formation. Two have been found, both involving roots with initial nasals: *me-nggeo-i* 'make ill' (from *ma-nggeo* 'ill', root *nggeo* 'illness'; expected **menge-nggeo-i*) and *ma-mangan* 'steal' (root *mangan*, expected **manga-mangan*).

12.2.24 mVng-...-an

Irrealis locative voice circumfix with twenty allomorphs, illustrated (prefix only) in table 12.3 in §12.2.23. Realis: *nVng-...-an*, gerund *pVng-...-an*. Gloss: I-...-IV. Occurrence is rare. See §7.5.

12.2.25 na-

Realis of intransitive *ma-*, see §12.2.13. Gloss INTR.R.

12.2.26 ni-

Realis patient voice on transitive verbs, obligatorily agentless. Its meaning is similar to a passive, but with quite a different discourse function than the English passive. Gloss: PV.R. Examples: *ni'-ala* 'was taken', *ni-posuu* 'was ordered'. See §5.3 and §7.4.2.

Some dialects of Balantak appear to allow the presence of an agent with the *ni-* and *-in-* forms, but we have no textual or conversational examples of this.

12.2.27 niki-

Variant of *noki-*, realis of requestive *moki-*. See §12.2.21.

12.2.28 ning-

- a. Realis of intransitive *ming-*, see §12.2.18. Allomorphs: *nim-*, *nin-* and *ni-* (see §2.8.3). Irrealis *ming-*, gerund *ping-*. Gloss INTR.R.
- b. Allomorph of the agent voice realis prefix *nVng-*, occurring with verbs with initial vowel, *k* or *g* and followed by the vowel *i*: *ning-ili* ‘bought’. See §12.2.33.

12.2.29 ninti-

Realis of purposeful or pretense action *minti-*, see §12.2.19.

12.2.30 no-

- a. Realis of intransitive and stative *mo-* (irrealis *no-*, gerund *po-*); see §12.2.20.
- b. Realis on various derived intransitive verbs, e.g., intransitive *-um-*, adversative *ko-*, reciprocal *poo-* and non-volitional *tong-*; see §5.4.1.

12.2.31 noki-

Realis of requestive *moki-*, see §12.2.21.

12.2.32 noto-

Realis of reciprocal *moto-*, see §12.2.22.

12.2.33 nVng-

Realis of agent voice *mVng-*, see §12.2.23 and table 12.3. The allomorphy (with twenty surface forms) is identical, except for the initial nasal: irrealis *mVng-*, realis *nVng-*, gerund *pVng-*. Gloss: AV.R.

12.2.34 nVng-...-an

Realis locative voice circumfix with twenty allomorphs, illustrated (irrealis with *m* only) in table 12.3 in §12.2.23. Irrealis: *nVng-...-an*, gerund *pVng-...-an*. Gloss: R-...-LV. See §7.5.

12.2.35 pa-

- a. Causative prefix on stative and intransitive bases. Unproductive. Gloss: CAUS. See §5.6.1.

<i>pa-kabus</i>	‘finish’	<i>kabus</i>	‘finished’
<i>pa-pate-i</i>	‘kill’	<i>pate</i>	‘die, dead’

- b. Gerund of stative or intransitive verbs in *ma-* (realis *na-*, gerund *pa-*). Gloss: INTR.GER. See §5.4.3 for the functions of the gerund.

<i>pa-nggeo</i>	‘sick’	<i>ma-nggeo</i>	‘sick’
<i>pa-ndawo’</i>	‘fall’	<i>ma-ndawo’</i>	‘fall’

- c. Stem former of stative and intransitive verbs in *ma-* (an intermediate form of derivation without a distinct meaning). This only occurs with causatives and applicatives with *-kon* and *-i* based on these *ma-* verbs. Gloss: SF. For a discussion of stem formers, see §5.4.4.

<i>ni-pa-lawu-kon</i>	‘brought down’	<i>ma-lawu</i>	‘go down’
<i>mam-[p̚]a-lawu-kon</i>	‘bring down’		
<i>pa-ndawo'-kon-on</i>	‘will be dropped’	<i>ma-ndawo'</i>	‘fall’
<i>mam-[p̚]a-ndawo'-kon</i>	‘cause to fall, drop’		

Also found in combination with the realis prefix *no-*: *no-pa-kangkung-mo* ‘it is already dry’ (from *ma-kangkung* ‘dry’).

d. Miscellaneous:

<i>pa-kaut</i>	‘sewing needle’	<i>mo-kaut</i>	‘sew’ (intr)
<i>pa-limang-on</i>	‘work’ (n)	<i>ba-limang</i>	‘work’ (intr)
<i>pa-taka</i>	‘as far as, reach’	<i>taka</i>	‘arrive’
<i>pa'ala</i>	‘able’ (also <i>paka'ala</i>)	<i>ala</i>	‘take’

12.2.36 para-

Variant of the multiplicative prefix *piri-*. See §12.2.41.

12.2.37 pi-

Verbal prefix on transitive verbs. Meaning: ‘try/attempt to do’. Gloss: ATTP. See §5.7.3.

<i>pi-dagai</i>	‘try to watch’	<i>dagai</i>	‘watch’
<i>pi-piile'</i>	‘try to see’	<i>piile'</i>	‘see’

Two semantically unusual formations are *siso'* ‘point at s.t.’ and *pi-siso'* ‘teach’ (agent voice irrealis *mim-[p̚]i-siso'*), as well as *piile'* ‘see’ and *pi-piile'-kon* ‘show s.t.’ (agent voice irrealis *mim-pi-piile'-kon*). In the last case, *pi-* could simply be a vowel-harmony variant of the causative prefix *po-/pa-* or a CV-reduplication.

12.2.38 piki-

Variant of the gerund *poki-* of the requestive prefix *moki-*. See §12.2.21.

12.2.39 ping-

a. Gerund of the intransitive prefix *ming-*. See §12.2.18.

b. Stem former of the intransitive prefix *ming-*. See §12.2.18 for *ming-* and §5.4.4 for stem formers. Example: *pin-soop-i-on* SF-enter-DIR-PV.I ‘will be entered’ (from *min-soop* ‘enter’ [intr]).

c. Allomorph of the gerund agent voice prefix *pVng-*, occurring with verbs with initial vowel, *k* or *g* and followed by the vowel *i*: *ping-ili* ‘buy!’

12.2.40 pinti-

Gerund of purposeful or pretense action *minti-*, see §12.2.19.

12.2.41 piri-

Adverbial multiplicative prefix on numeral bases ‘three’ to ‘nine’. Meaning: ‘x times’. Variants *para-* and *poro-*. Gloss: TIME. See §4.5.3

<i>piri-tolu</i> ~ <i>poro-tolu</i>	‘three times’
<i>piri-paat</i> ~ <i>para-paat</i>	‘four times’

12.2.42 po-

a. Causative prefix on stative and intransitive bases; variant *popo-*. Unproductive. Gloss: CAUS. See §5.6.1.

<i>po-buruki'</i>	'make angry'	<i>buruki'</i>	'angry'
<i>po'-oruang</i>	'cause to sit'	<i>um-oruang</i>	'sit'
<i>po-sikola</i>	'send to school'	<i>sikola</i>	'go to school, study'

b. Gerund of stative or intransitive verbs in *mo-* (realis *no-*, gerund *po-*). Gloss: INTR.GER. See §5.4.3 for the functions of the gerund.

c. Stem former of stative and intransitive verbs in *mo-*. This only occurs with applicatives with *-kon* and *-i* based on these *mo-*verbs and also with reciprocals. Gloss: SF. For *mo-*, see §12.2.20; for stem formers, see §5.4.3.

<i>no-poo-po-suo'-i</i>	'marry e.o.'	<i>mo-suo'</i>	'marry'
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d. Nominalizing prefix on transitive verbs. Meaning: 'professional agent or instrument'. Note that this *po-* is not an allomorph of gerund agent voice *pVng-*, but a separate formation. Compare *po-gigis* 'tool for rubbing or scraping' with the gerund *ping-gigis* 'rubbing, scraping' and *po-kaut* 'tailor' with the gerund *pang-kaut* 'sewing'. However, some of these *po-*formations can have identical meanings to gerund forms, as well as to CV-reduplications discussed in §12.5. Gloss: NOM.

<i>po-gigis</i>	'tool for rubbing or scraping'	<i>ming-gigis</i>	'rub, scrape' (tr)
<i>po(-po)-kaut</i>	'tailor'	<i>mo-kaut</i>	'sew' (intr)
<i>po-kunsing</i>	'key'	<i>mung-kunsing</i>	'lock' (tr)
<i>po-lako'</i>	'hunter'	<i>l < um > ako'</i>	'hunt'
<i>po-sere'</i>	1. 'gutting knife' 2. 's.o. who guts animals'	<i>mo-sere'</i>	'gut (animals) (intr)
<i>po-tarop</i>	'server (of food)'	<i>mo-tarop</i>	'serve food' (intr)

e. Irregular prefix on *po-rongor* '(able to) hear, listen', variant *poo-rongor* (AV.I *mom-[p]o-rongor*). The forms *mongo-rongor* 'hear, listen to (music, words)' and *mom-[p]o-rongor-i* 'listen to (advice, warning), pay attention to and act accordingly' also exist, but the exact semantic contrast between the first two forms is not completely clear.

12.2.43 poki-

Gerund of the requestive prefix *moki-*; see §12.2.21.

12.2.44 poo-

a. Intransitive prefix on (mostly) transitive bases. Meaning: 'reciprocal'. Gloss: REC. See §5.5.9. Sometimes in combination with reduplication and the suffix *-i*; various idiosyncratic meanings.

<i>poo'-ampuni</i>	'forgive e.o.'	<i>mang-ampuni</i>	'forgive'
<i>poo-kutu-i</i>	'search e.o. for lice'	<i>kutu</i>	'louse'
<i>poo-rensa</i>	'separated, divorced'	<i>menge-rensa</i>	'separate'
<i>poo'-ala</i>	'struggle, wrestle'	<i>mang-ala</i>	'take'

b. Verbal prefix on transitive and intransitive bases. Meaning: 'each do X'. No gerunds and no patient voice forms. Gloss: DISTR. See §5.7.8.

<i>poo-kaan</i>	'each eat'	<i>k < um > aan</i>	'eat'
<i>poo'-ule'kon</i>	'each return'	<i>ule'kon</i>	'return'

c. Variant of *po-*.

12.2.45 poo-...-ikon

Verbal circumfix on transitive bases. Meaning: ‘the action is carried out under less than ideal circumstances, or done without special effort’. Variant *poo-...-kon* when the verb root ends in *i*. Gloss NOT.IDEAL. See §5.7.9.

<i>poo-barut-ikon</i>	‘look for fallen durians as best as one can’	<i>mam-barut</i>	‘look for fallen durians’
<i>poo-tulung-ikon</i>	‘just help a bit’	<i>mun-tulung</i>	‘help’

12.2.46 popo-

Variant of the causative prefix *po-* on a few stative and intransitive bases. Unproductive. Gloss: CAUS. See §5.6.1.

<i>popo-samba'</i> (also <i>po-samba'</i>)	‘make amazed’	<i>samba'</i>	‘amazed’
<i>popo-tende'</i> (also <i>po-tende'</i>)	‘make run’	<i>t < um > etende'</i>	‘run’

12.2.47 poro-

Variant of the multiplicative prefix *piri-*; see §12.2.41.

12.2.48 poto-

a. Intransitive verbal prefix on intransitive roots. Meaning: ‘multiple subjects’. Gloss: MULT. See §5.5.7. Does not participate in realis-irrealis-gerund opposition.

<i>poto-kerer</i>	‘stand (of many items)’	<i>k < um > ekerer</i>	‘stand’
<i>poto'-oruang</i>	‘sit (of many items)’	<i>um-oruang</i>	‘sit’

b. Gerund of reciprocal *moto-*; see §12.2.22.

12.2.49 pVng-

Gerund of agent voice *mVng-*, see §12.2.23. The allomorphy (with twenty surface forms) is presented in table 12.3, but notice the variation in the initial consonant for the three modes: *m* for irrealis, *n* for realis, *p* for gerund. The main functions of the gerund are 1) nominalization; 2) verbal form in temporal adverbial clauses; 3) imperative; 4) verbal form in result or intent clauses. See §5.4.3 for details. Two examples of the nominalizing function:

<i>pang-asok</i>	‘method of planting’	<i>mang-asok</i>	‘plant’
<i>panga-wawau</i>	‘way of making’	<i>manga-wawau</i>	‘make’

12.2.50 pVng-...-an

Gerund locative voice circumfix with twenty allomorphs, illustrated for irrealis in table 12.3. Irrealis *mVng-...-an*; realis: *nVng-...-an*. Gloss: GER-...-LV. See §7.5 for details and clausal examples.

One of the functions of the locative gerund is a nominalizing circumfix on verbal bases, often, but not always, with a locative meaning:

<i>pang-ala-an</i>	‘place for obtaining’	<i>mang-ala</i>	‘take, get’
<i>pun-tumbe-i-an</i>	‘beginning’	<i>mun-tumbe-i</i>	‘begin’

<i>pon-topongi-an-ta</i>	‘our attempt’	<i>mon-topongi</i>	‘try, test’
<i>ping-kira'-an-ku</i>	‘my desire’	<i>ming-kira'</i>	‘like, want’

12.2.51 raa-

Plural prefix on demonstrative roots to create either a plural referent or to refer to a wider or less definite area. See §8.3. Gloss: PLUR. Examples: *i-raa-ni'i* ‘those’; *ka-raa-no'o* ‘there (somewhere near you)’.

12.2.52 sang-

Numeral prefix ‘one’ on measure nouns. Allomorphs: *sam-*, *san-* and *sa-*. See §4.6.2. Examples: *sam-bitu'on* ‘one month’; *sang-kau* ‘one tree’.

12.2.53 tong-

Intransitive prefix on the basis of transitive verbs. Allomorphs *tom-*, *ton-* and *to-*; see §2.8.3. Meaning: ‘non-volitional action’, often with overtones of a sudden and accidental action. Gloss: NVOL. See §5.7.4.

<i>ton-dupa'</i>	‘collided, crashed’	<i>mun-dupa'-i</i>	‘collide, crash’
<i>to-rensa</i>	‘separated’	<i>menge-rensa</i>	‘separate’

12.2.54 too-

Transitive prefix on the basis of transitive verbs (and hence with agent and patient voice morphology). Meaning: ‘accidental action’. Gloss: ACCD. See §5.7.x.

<i>mon-too'-ala</i>	‘accidentally take’	<i>mang-ala</i>	‘take’
<i>mon-too-pee'i</i>	‘accidentally step on’	<i>mem-[p]ee'i</i>	‘step on’

12.2.55 um-

Allomorph of the intransitive infix *-um-* with vowel-initial roots. See §12.3.2.

<i>um-alayo'</i>	‘to rise, get higher’	<i>alayo'</i>	‘high; long’
<i>um-asok</i>	‘to plant’ (intr)	<i>mang-asok</i>	‘plant’ (tr)

12.2.56 waa-

Prefix on distal demonstrative bases. Meaning: ‘allative (a movement away from the speaker or from a reference point), in the present or future’. Allomorph *yaa* after vowel *i* and *aa* after *ku-*. Gloss: ALL.I. See §8.6. Examples: *waa-ra'a* ‘(goes/will go) up there’, *waa-ro'o* ‘(goes/will go) down there’.

12.2.57 yaa-

Variant of the allative prefix *waa-* after high vowels in compound demonstrative derivations. See §8.9. Example: *ka-ni'i-yaa-ra'a* D-DEM1-ALL-DEM6 ‘from here up to there’.

12.3 Infixes

12.3.1 -in-

a. A verbal infix, optionally marking realis mode with a number of derived intransitive prefixes: adversative and affective *ko-* (§5.5.3, §5.5.4) and the non-volitional prefix *tong-* (§5.7.4). Gloss: R.

<i>k <in> o'-ampang</i>	'blocked, obstructed'	<i>ko'-ampang</i>	'blocked'
<i>t <in> ong-karurus</i>	'slide down'	<i>tong-karurus</i>	'slide down'

b. In some Balantak dialects, *-in-* is also a variant of the realis patient voice prefix *ni-*.

c. A fossilized infix in a few nouns.

<i>w <in> awa</i>	'group brought along, member'	<i>wawa</i>	'bring'
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12.3.2 -um-

Infix on a class of intransitive verbs. Allomorph *um-* with vowel-initial bases. Gloss: INTR. See §5.2. Examples of bound roots with *-um-*, with corresponding transitive verbs:

<i>k <um> aan</i>	'eat'	<i>mang-kaan</i>	'eat'
<i>l <um> akit</i>	'board, get in, get on'	<i>manga-lakit-i</i>	'ride on, travel in'

On nouns:

<i>r <um> ara'</i>	'bleed'	<i>rara'</i>	'blood'
<i>um-apu</i>	'angry, upset'	<i>apu</i>	'fire'

12.4 Suffixes

12.4.1 -a

a. Extensional suffix on demonstrative roots. Meaning: 'further away than the base indicates'. Gloss EXT. See §8.4. Example: *i-nde'e-a* 'there (to the side, further away)'.
 b. Permissive suffix on transitive verbal roots; variant *-aa*. Meaning 'let it happen, it is allowed', often in combination with *sobii* and *bi*, but also in questions. Gloss: PERM. See §9.3.2

<i>ili-a</i>	'let him/her/it eat it'
<i>penek-a?</i>	'can I climb it?'

12.4.2 -an

a. Verbal suffix and part of locative voice (with transitive verbs in combination with agent voice morphology: *mVng...an*, *nVng...an*, *pVng...an*), with intransitive verbs in combination with various intransitive prefixes, e.g., *ba-*, *-um-*, *ko-*, *minti-* and/or mode prefixes, etc. Meaning: 'the place/time where/when X happened'. Suffixed with possessive suffixes marking the agent. Gloss: LV. See §7.5, §12.2.24, §12.2.34 and §12.2.50.

<i>ba-buani'-an-na</i>	'(place) where he casts his fishing net'	<i>ba-buani'</i>	'cast a net'
<i>no-taka-an-ku</i>	'(the time) when I arrived'	<i>taka</i>	'arrive'

b. Nominalizing suffix. The distinction between locative voice (discussed above) and locative nominalization is often hard to draw. If the formation with *-an* functions as a predicate (often in relative clauses) and is accompanied by other verbal morphology (mode, various intransitive classes), then we

assume we are dealing with locative voice. If the formation with *-an* functions as a nominal argument (especially subject and oblique), then we treat it as nominalization. In some cases, the meaning is not locative, but an instrument, a result or even a person. Gloss: NOM.

<i>ator-i-an</i>	‘rubbish heap’	<i>mang-ator-i</i>	‘throw away’
<i>ba-buani'-an</i>	‘place for fishing with net’	<i>ba-buani'</i>	‘fish with net’
<i>ba-daga-an</i>	‘guard house, watch post’	<i>ba-daga</i>	‘stand guard’
<i>ba-sarak-an</i>	‘livelihood’	<i>ba-sarak</i>	‘earn a living’
<i>bete'-an</i>	‘east’	<i>bete'</i>	‘rise’
<i>bisara-an</i>	‘talk, speech’	<i>bisara</i>	‘speak’
<i>boit-an</i>	‘whetstone’	<i>mom-boit-i</i>	‘sharpen’
<i>bulus-an</i>	‘bowl used for preparing sago’	<i>mum-bulus-i</i>	‘make food from sago’
<i>bunsang-an</i>	‘stove, place to heat s.t. up’	<i>mum-bunsang</i>	‘heat (over fire or stove)’
<i>busa-an</i>	‘pair of bellows’	<i>busa</i>	‘blow’
<i>dendeng-an</i>	‘wooden or bamboo drum/gong’	<i>men-dendeng</i>	‘knock’
<i>deret-an</i>	‘mark, damage’	<i>men-deret</i>	‘scratch, cut’
<i>dodongo-an</i>	‘home, residence’	<i>d < um > odongo</i>	‘live, stay’
<i>gamut-an</i>	‘thief’	<i>mang-gamut</i>	‘steal’
<i>gigis-an</i>	‘grater’	<i>ming-gigis</i>	‘grate, scrape’
<i>iik-an</i>	‘threshing mat’	<i>ming-iik</i>	‘thresh’
<i>inum-an</i>	‘drink; drinking place’	<i>ming-inum</i>	‘drink’
<i>kantang-an</i>	‘family connection’	<i>mang-kantang</i>	‘join, connect’
<i>kalo'-an</i>	‘shackles, locks’	<i>mang-kalo'</i>	‘shackle’
<i>ke-kela-an</i>	‘place, location’	<i>kela</i>	‘put’
<i>lakit-an</i>	‘transport, vehicle’	<i>l < um > akit</i>	‘board, get in’
<i>langu-an</i>	‘swimming spot; pool’	<i>l < um > angu</i>	‘swim’
<i>lembet-an</i>	‘crossing, place to cross’	<i>l < um > embet</i>	‘cross’
<i>lopon-an</i>	‘steep path, upward grade’	<i>l < um > opon</i>	‘climb a hill’
<i>po'-ale'-an</i>	‘gardening place’	<i>mo'ale'</i>	‘garden’ (v)
<i>rae'-an</i>	‘destination; departure’	<i>rae'</i>	‘go’
<i>sangkil-an</i>	‘seat, sitting place’	<i>sangkil</i>	‘sit’
<i>tete-an</i>	‘narrow log bridge’	<i>t < um > ete</i>	‘cross water over bridge’

c. Intransitive suffix on nominal bases. Meaning: ‘to have X’. Gloss: HAVE. See §5.5.1.

<i>boroki'-an</i>	‘have a wife, be married’	<i>boroki'</i>	‘wife’
<i>janggo'-an</i>	‘have a beard’	<i>janggo'</i>	‘beard’

d. Verbal suffix on numeral bases, in combination with *toro*. Meanings: 1. ‘each have or do x items’; 2. ‘up to, as much as’. Gloss DISTR or up.to. See §4.5.3.

<i>toro tolu'-an</i>	1. ‘each (do) three items’	2. ‘up to three (items)’
<i>toro noom-an</i>	2. ‘each (do) six items’	2. ‘up to six (items)’

e. Intransitive suffix on onomatopoeic bases (words referring to sounds), with various internal modifications, mostly reduplication, infixation of a sonorant and pre-nasalization. The exact meaning of some of these words has not been investigated.

<i>bunukuk-an</i>	‘produce the sound <i>buk</i> (s.t. heavy falling)’
<i>telepak-an</i>	‘produce the sound <i>pak</i> (s.t. light falling)’
<i>penepet-an</i>	‘produce the sound <i>pet</i> (s.t. thin snapping)’
<i>kereok-an</i>	‘produce the sound <i>keok</i> (chickens clucking)’
<i>kuek-an</i>	‘produce the sound <i>kuek</i> (pigs grunting)’
<i>kenengkeng-an</i>	‘produce the sound <i>keng</i> (dogs barking)’
<i>benebek-an</i>	‘produce the sound <i>bek</i> ’
<i>kinikik-an</i>	‘produce the sound <i>kik</i> ’
<i>tinintir-an</i>	‘produce the sound <i>tir</i> ’

benember-an 'produce the sound *ber*'

f. Various temporal, locative and idiosyncratic meanings:

<i>ita-an</i>	'last, previous, former'	<i>ita</i>	'this, here'
<i>sa'angu'-an</i>	'another, the other one'	<i>sa'angu'</i>	'one'
<i>bokas-an</i>	'crib, cradle'	<i>bokas</i>	'food tray'
<i>gareda-an</i>	'church (building)'	<i>gareda</i>	'church'
<i>sikola-an</i>	'school (building)'	<i>sikola</i>	'school'
<i>umba'a-an</i>	'just now'	<i>umba'a</i>	'just now'

12.4.3 -i

a. Causative suffix on some stative verbs. Gloss: CAUS. See §5.6.1.

<i>mam-balaki'-i</i>	'enlarge'	<i>balaki'</i>	'big, large'
<i>ming-itom-i</i>	'blacken'	<i>mo'-itom</i>	'black'
<i>mingi-rio'-i</i>	'shrink'	<i>mo-rio'</i>	'small'

b. Applicative suffix which adds an extra argument to the verbal base. Meaning: 'action or state directed towards a person or location', with various idiosyncratic meanings. Gloss: DIR. See §5.6.3.

<i>mom-borek-i</i>	'lie to s.o.'	<i>mim-borek</i>	'tell a lie'
<i>mum-buruki'-i</i>	'be angry at s.o., scold s.o.'	<i>buruki'</i>	'angry'
<i>mang-asok-i</i>	'plant (a field)'	<i>mang-asok</i>	'plant (a crop)'

c. Verbalizing suffix attached to nouns. Meaning 'give X to s.t., remove X from s.t., act as X towards s.o.' (and possibly more). Unproductive. Gloss: VBR. See §5.7.1.

<i>mom-bolo'-i</i>	'make a hole'	<i>bolo'</i>	'hole'
<i>manga-laigan-i</i>	'make a house for s.o.'	<i>laigan</i>	'house'
<i>mungu-nuur-i</i>	'give coconut milk to'	<i>nuur</i>	'coconut'

d. Variant of the benefactive suffix *-ii* following verbs ending in *i*. See §12.4.5.

12.4.4 -ian

Suffixal part of the unintended-accidental circumfix *ko-...ian*. See §12.2.10.

12.4.5 -ii

Applicative suffix on transitive bases, creating a ditransitive verb. Meaning: 'benefactive, do for the benefit of'. Variant *-i* after verbs ending in *i*. Gloss: BEN. See §5.6.7.

<i>mang-ala-ii</i>	'get/take s.t. for s.o.'	<i>mang-ala</i>	'get, take'
<i>ming-ili-i</i>	'buy s.t. for s.o.'	<i>ming-ili</i>	'buy'

12.4.6 -kon

a. Causative suffix on a few intransitive bases. Gloss: CAUS. See §5.6.1.

<i>mon-soop-kon</i>	'enter, bring in'	<i>min-soop</i>	'go in'
<i>mung-uar-kon</i>	'remove, take away'	<i>um-uar</i>	'go out'

b. Applicative suffix on stative, intransitive and transitive bases. It adds a noun phrase to the predicate with a variety of possible semantic roles, including recipient, accompaniment, cause/reason, instrument, benefactive and purpose. Gloss: APPL. See §5.6.2.

<i>ma-takut-kon</i>	‘be afraid of s.t.’	<i>ma-takut</i>	‘afraid’
<i>mim-bisara-kon</i>	‘speak about s.t.’	<i>ba-bisara</i>	‘speak’
<i>mong-koot-kon</i>	‘tie s.t. for/to s.o.’	<i>mong-koot</i>	‘tie’

c. Verbal suffix introducing a reason clause. See §10.3.4.

d. Various, the last two possibly simply part of the root:

<i>mule'kon</i>	‘return’ (intr); cf. <i>mung-ule'kon</i> ‘return s.t., give back’ (tr)
<i>olukon</i>	‘before, beforehand, first’ (adverb)
<i>waukon</i>	‘small hut used for processing or filtering sago’

12.4.7 -mari

Venitive or approximal suffix on demonstrative roots. Meaning: ‘venitive (movement towards the speaker, ‘hither’) or approximal (somewhere around)’. Gloss VEN or APPROX. See §8.5. Example: *ni'i-mari* 1. ‘this way, towards here’; 2. ‘somewhere around here’.

12.4.8 -mo

a. Verbal suffix marking perfective or completive aspect, also on numerals in number phrases (§4.5.3). Can be translated with ‘already’, but often untranslatable. Gloss: PERF. See § 9.6.2.

<i>no-taka-mo</i>	‘he/they already arrived’	<i>taka</i>	‘arrive’
<i>rua'-mo taun</i>	‘(already) two years’	<i>rua'</i>	‘two’

b. Predicative suffix on nouns, pronouns and verbs in emphatic constructions.

<i>yaku'-mo</i>	‘I am the one’	<i>yaku'</i>	‘I’
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12.4.9 -na

a. Possessive suffix for 3sg: *laigan-na* ‘his/her/its house’. See §12.1 for a list of all possessive suffixes.

b. Agentive suffix for 3sg on patient voice (irrealis) and locative voice verb forms: *ala-on-na* ‘will be taken by him/her/it’; *ning-ili-an-na* ‘(where) he/she/it bought (it)’. See §7.4.4 and §7.5.

c. Nominalizing suffix on verbal bases. Sometimes difficult to distinguish from possession. Also in exclamatory clauses (see §9.4).

<i>bolos-na</i>	‘his replacement’	<i>bolos</i>	‘replace’
<i>mae'-na</i>	‘her going’	<i>mae'</i>	‘go’
<i>pore-na</i>	‘his/her goodness; how good s/he is!’	<i>pore</i>	‘good’
<i>turang-na</i>	‘extra, additional material’	<i>turang</i>	‘add’
<i>ma-ngilu'-na</i>	‘the pain’	<i>ma-ngilu'</i>	‘painful’

d. In combination with reduplicated numerals: *tolu-tolu'-na* ‘all three of them’; see §4.5.3.

e. In combination with *waa-* and a distal demonstrative base, meaning ‘back to a location (which was mentioned before)’: *waa-ro'o-na* ‘(go) back to down there’. See §8.10.3. Also in the complex form *koi i-nde'e-na* ‘there’. See §8.10.4.

f. In certain adverbs, conjunctions and temporal nouns:

<i>dauga'-na</i>	‘still’	<i>dauga'</i>	‘still’
<i>malom-na (i-ya'a)</i>	‘that night’	<i>malom</i>	‘night’
<i>pore-na</i>	‘it is best, it is advisable, (one) should’	<i>pore</i>	‘good’

12.4.10 -napo

An affix combination of the 3sg possessive *-na* and the imperfective *-po* occurring on reduplicated negators with the meaning ‘still not yet’. See §9.1.

<i>sian-sian-napo</i>	‘still not yet’	<i>sian</i>	‘no, not’
<i>koo-koo-napo</i>	‘still not yet’	<i>koo'</i>	‘no, not’

On demonstratives and nouns with the meaning ‘always only X’.

<i>ya'a-ya'a-napo</i>	‘always only that’	<i>ya'a</i>	‘that’ (DEM3)
<i>tu'u-tu'u-napo</i>	‘always only there’	<i>tu'u</i>	‘that, there’ (DEM4)
<i>koo-koo-napo</i>	‘always only you’	<i>koo</i>	‘you’
<i>moro-moro'one-napo</i>	‘always only men’	<i>moro'one</i>	‘man’

12.4.11 -on

a. Patient voice irrealis suffix. Optionally followed by possessive suffixes marking agents. Gloss: PV.I. See §7.4.4.

<i>ala-on</i>	‘is/will be taken’
<i>kaan-on-na</i>	‘is/will be eaten by him/her/it’

b. Intransitive suffix on nominal bases. Meaning: ‘to have X’. Gloss: HAVE. See §5.5.1.

<i>anak-on</i>	‘have a child/children’	<i>anak</i>	‘child’
<i>kupang-on</i>	‘have wealth, be wealthy’	<i>kupang</i>	‘money’

12.4.12 -po

a. Clitic on adverbs and temporal nouns and phrases meaning ‘since, from’, mostly with a temporal, but occasionally with a locative meaning. Gloss: SINCE.

<i>ma'ulop-po</i>	‘since morning’	<i>ma'ulop</i>	‘morning’
<i>jaam ampat-po</i>	‘since four o'clock’	<i>jaam ampat</i>	‘four o'clock’
<i>tumbe-na-po</i>	‘from the beginning’	<i>tumbe-na</i>	‘the beginning’
<i>oloa-po</i>	‘from far’	<i>oloa</i>	‘far’

b. Imperfective suffix on negators (with variant *-popo'*). See §9.1. Gloss: IMPF.

<i>sian-po</i>	‘not yet’	<i>sian</i>	‘no, not’
<i>koo-po</i>	‘not yet’	<i>koo</i>	‘no, not’
<i>taasi-po</i>	‘(certainly) not’	<i>taasi'</i>	‘not’
<i>alia-po ~ alia-popo'</i>	‘do not yet’	<i>alia</i>	‘do not’
<i>amo-po</i>	‘do not yet’	<i>amo'</i>	‘do not’
<i>sobii-po</i>	‘let it be (for the moment)’	<i>sobii</i>	‘let it be’
<i>bude-po</i>	‘not yet want’	<i>bude</i>	‘not want’
<i>inta-po</i>	‘not certain yet’	<i>inta</i>	‘not know’

c. Focus clitic on nouns, pronouns, verbs etc. meaning ‘even’. Gloss: EVEN. See §9.5.3.

<i>mong-koyong-po</i>	‘even touching it’	<i>mong-koyong</i>	‘touch’
<i>sa'angu-po</i>	‘even just one’	<i>sa'angu'</i>	‘one’

12.4.13 -si

a. Sequential clitic *-si* on pronouns, nouns, verbs, adverbs, indicating that something will happen at a later time. Often in a temporal adverbial clause and referring to the future. For more discussion see §5.7.10 and especially §10.3.1d.

<i>pensan-si</i>	‘one time (in the future)’	<i>pensan</i>	‘once’
<i>doi'-an-si</i>	‘later (when you) have money’	<i>doi'-an</i>	‘have money’

b. Clitic on two fixed phrases meaning ‘be careful’.

<i>maka'-amat-si</i>	‘be careful’	<i>maka'-amat</i>	‘careful’
<i>pore-pore-si</i>	‘be careful’	<i>pore</i>	‘good’

12.5 Reduplication

a. CV-reduplication, creating nouns from verbs, usually with the meaning of agent, instrument or manner; see §2.9.1.

<i>to-tobok</i>	‘dagger, spike’	<i>mon-tobok</i>	‘to stab’
<i>ko-koot</i>	‘rope’	<i>mong-koot</i>	‘to tie’

b. CVV-reduplication with V-infixation on the root of stative verbs. Meaning: ‘almost’. See §2.9.2.

<i>maa-maalom</i>	‘almost dark’	<i>malom</i>	‘dark’
<i>mee-meemel</i>	‘almost cold’	<i>memel</i>	‘cold’

c. *Caa*-reduplication on verbs, in combination with a negator. Meaning ‘never did X; did not X at all’. See §2.9.3.

<i>sianta no-raa-rongor</i>	‘never listen’	<i>rongor</i>	‘to hear’
<i>sianta no-taa-toop</i>	‘never smoke’	<i>toop</i>	‘to smoke’

d. Disyllabic reduplication on verbs. Meaning ‘continuous action or state’ ‘intensification’, ‘approaching a state’, as well as adverbial use. See §2.9.1 and §5.7.11.

<i>loe-loe</i>	‘hanging’	<i>loe</i>	‘to hang’
<i>rae-rae'</i>	‘going’	<i>rae'</i>	‘to go’

e. Prosodic word reduplication, mainly on numerals and a few nouns and adverbs:

<i>sa'angu'-sa'angu'</i>	‘only one or two’	<i>sa'angu'</i>	‘one’
<i>pensan-pensan</i>	‘occasionally’	<i>pensan</i>	‘once’

12.6 Fossilized and irregular morphology

The following list details a number of fossilized and irregular affixes that appear in various derivations. These are simply listed without further discussion, and no attempt is made to be exhaustive. Even though Balantak morphology is generally regular and semantically transparent, there are still many surprises, and the list below is just a small sample.

a. Prefix *a-* in *alalom* ‘deep’; cf. *lalom* ‘inside’.

b. The prefix *mara-*, in combination with *pang-* found in *maram-pang-ala* ‘frequently or habitually take’; cf. *mang-ala* ‘take’. Compare also *mara'-amu* ‘warm, hot (of water or body temperature)’ and *ma'-amu* ‘warm, hot (of water or body temperature)’.

c. Prefix *mingko-* (or affix combination *ming-ko-*) in *mingko'-opuu* ‘lay eggs’; cf. *opuu* ‘egg’.

- d. The alternation *mo-dingkalap* ~ *dingkalap-an* ‘sparkling, glittering, flickering’.
- e. Prefix *mong-* in *mong-oe* ‘to collect rattan’, cf. *oe* ‘rattan’. The prefix looks like an agent voice irrealis prefix, but since we are dealing with an intransitive verb on the basis of a noun, it is more likely an irregular variant of *mo-* (§12.2.20).
- f. Prefix *mongko-* (or affix combination *mong-ko-*) in *mongko-kunda-kon* ‘to forbid’; cf. *kunda* ‘not want’.
- g. The prefix *paka-* in *paka-loos* ‘take a shortcut’; cf. *ma-loos* ‘straight’.
- h. The circumfix *ri...-n*, creating numeral adverbs meaning ‘x days ago’. Some of the formations are unique. See also §4.5.3.

<i>ri-tulu-n</i>	‘three days ago’	<i>tolu'</i>	‘three’
<i>ri-pat-on</i>	‘four days ago’	<i>paat</i>	‘four’

Balantak Pictures



Balantak coastline



Coconut grove near Batu Simpang village



Balantak children



School in Sirom village



Talima A village



School kids in Sirom village



Children playing in Batu Simpang village



Playing *cakrau*



Outdoor kitchen



Balantak kitchen



Children at play in Talima A village



Tractor and cart



Grilling fish



A large jackfruit (*nangka*)



Dehusking coconuts



Drying chocolate in Talima A village



Oxcart and coconuts



Shelter for drying coconuts



Lady with *basung*



Mother and daughter



Two girls in Talima



Balantak garden near Dolom village



Dolom village



Cleaning a catch of fish



Canoes on the shoreline

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