

## A PRELIMINARY SKETCH OF THE BOBONGKO LANGUAGE

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Heretofore, our information on the small Bobongko language of Sulawesi has been limited to word lists (Adriani 1900; Wumbu, Kadir et al. 1986; Lauder, Ayatrohaedi, et al. 2000) and information that can be gleaned therefrom. The paper is different. Based on a period of fresh research in the Togian Islands, I provide the first substantial information about Bobongko grammar. After a brief review of the prior literature and a brief discussion of the classification of Bobongko as a Saluan language, in the remainder of the paper I devote my attention to Bobongko phonology and aspects of its morphosyntax. Particular attention is given to how agent, patient, location, instrument and beneficiary roles are encoded in a system which partly does, and partly does not resemble Philippine focus-type languages. A sample Bobongko text is included. Although it has not been possible to give even weight to every area of Bobongko grammar, hopefully this paper will prove to be a significant addition to our growing understanding of Sulawesi languages.

### 1 INTRODUCTION

The Bobongko language is spoken in the Togian Islands of Central Sulawesi, Indonesia (see Map 1). It is estimated there are approximately 1,500 speakers of Bobongko, of whom 1,100 reside in Lembanato village and elsewhere along the shores of Kilat Bay on the north side of Togian Island. Despite the encroachment of surrounding languages, the use of Bobongko in this relatively small language community around Kilat Bay remains strong and is encouraged. In the 1960's, a splinter group left Lembanato to settle near Tumbulawa village on the north side of Batu Daka Island. At present this second group reportedly comprises about one hundred Bobongko families, or four hundred or so additional speakers, though I lack precise information on the strength of Bobongko language use in this second community.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> In 1991 — the latest year for which I could obtain government population figures — there were reportedly 857 people living in Tumbulawa village. I do not have information on what other languages are spoken in Tumbulawa village in addition to Bobongko. The language situation on the Togian Islands is complex, and peoples have mixed to such an extent that it would be hazardous to draw language boundaries. Nevertheless, I offer the following comments about other languages spoken in the Togian Islands with the caveat that they all require verification. Hopefully, however, these notes represent improvements over our previous and often sketchy information about language situation in the Togian Islands.

*Togian.* Generally speaking, the islands of Walea Kodi, Malenge, Togian, Batu Daka, and Talatakoh can be reckoned to the Togian language area. However, the Togian language (or more precisely, the Togian dialect of Pamona) is not equally strong in all areas. The Benteng area of southern Togian Island (Benteng, Labiti and Bungayo villages) was mentioned to me as one place where use of Togian remains particularly strong.

*Saluan.* Probably the entire island of Walea Bahi can be reckoned to the Saluan language area. Saluan speakers are live on Talatakoh Island, namely in Bautu, Kalia and Tumotop, but constitute only a minority in said villages.

*Bajau.* Bajau speakers live on Taupan Island, Taoleh Island and in Kabalutan village on southern Talatakoh Island.

*Gorontalo.* Wherever there is a major port, we were told, there you will find Gorontaloese. Gorontalo is spoken (along with other languages, of course) in Dolong and in Wakai, the two subdistrict capitals of the Togian Islands.

*Bugis.* Both Adriani (1914) and Wumbu, Kadir et al. (1986) reported Bugis as a language of the Togian Islands, but the Bugis appear to be represented only by the odd trader who has set up residence with his family here and there across the archipelago.

*Kaili and standard Pamona.* These immigrant groups are represented in considerably larger numbers than the Bugis, but it was difficult to determine precise areas where these two languages are spoken. The Island of Una-una, we were told, was a mixture of Kaili, Pamona and to a lesser extent Togian peoples. (Kaili speakers living in Ketupat village used *ledo* for 'no' and *ledo ria* 'there is not, there is none', suggesting migration from the large Ledo dialect area in the Palu valley.)

Until now, only three publications have provided information about Bobongko word stock, and virtually nothing about its grammar. Adding somewhat to the confusion, twice in history Bobongko has been misequated with other languages. The material presented herein on Bobongko phonology and grammar is based on a period of fresh research conducted by the author in January 2001, though by way of comparison reference is occasionally made to these other sources.

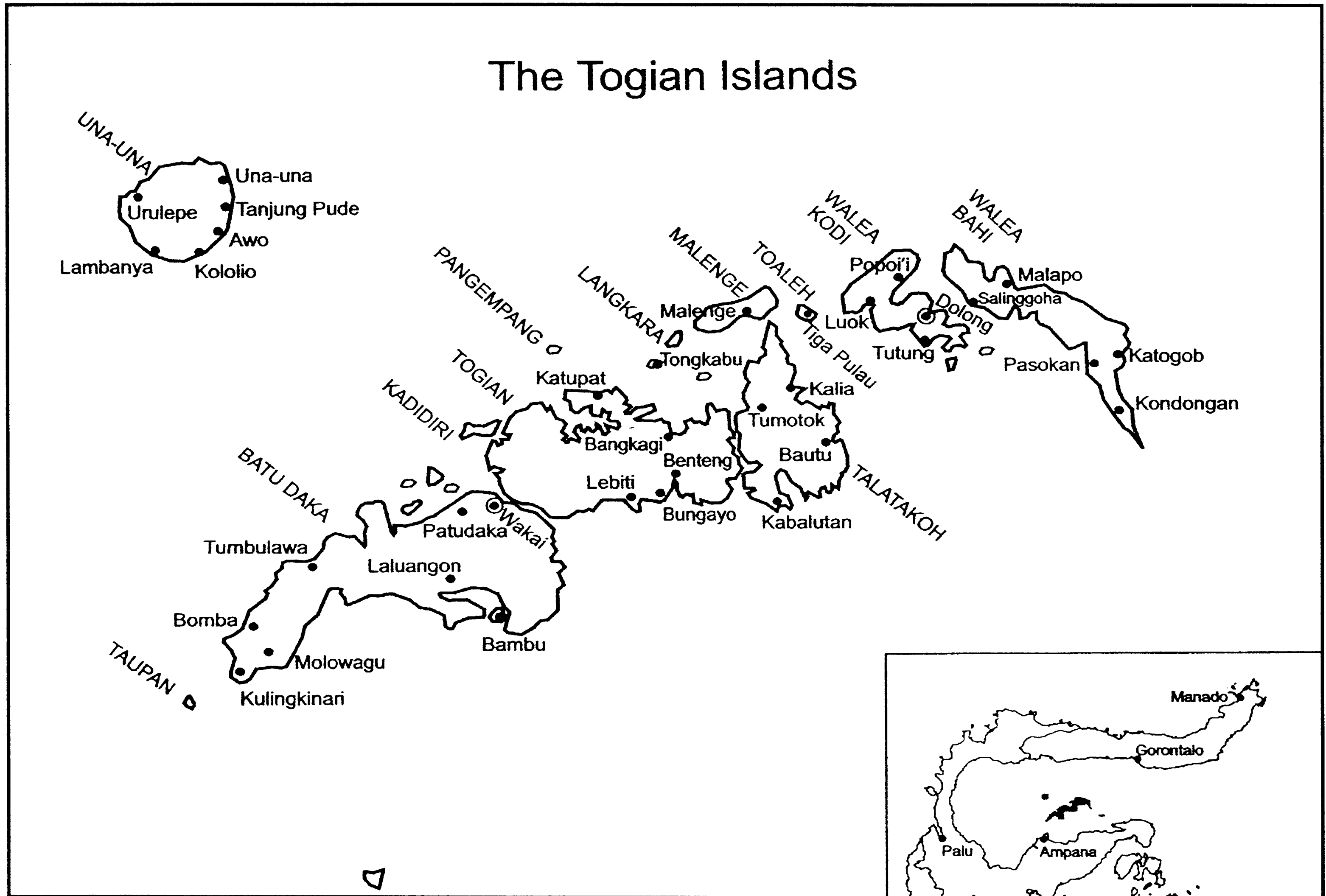
The first to provide solid information about the Bobongko language was the linguist Nicolaus Adriani, who after visiting the Togian Islands the prior year, in 1900 published information on three languages he encountered there: Togian, Bobongko and Bajau. In its day, his article shed a fair amount of light on the language situation. In particular, Adriani was able to show that Bobongko and Togian were not endonyms for the same language, as had generally been supposed up until that time (Riedel 1868; Holle 1898; Brandes 1898). Rather, he argued, Togian — the language of the majority of the islanders — was nothing other than a subdialect of Ampana, which in turn was a dialect of Pamona. Bobongko, on the other hand, he identified as a member of the Saluan language family, but “met welke talen het Bobongko’sch nog meer verwant is, kan ik niet bepalen, daar van het taalgebied ten O. van Tandj. Api mij alleen het Loindangsch bekend is” (with which languages Bobongko is still more closely related, I cannot determine, because of the language area to the east of Tanjung Api only Loindang (= Saluan) is known to me) (Adriani 1900:433–434). Adriani himself collected a list of eight hundred Bobongko words, which he then drew upon to provide succinct descriptions of Bobongko phonology, pronouns, numerals, deictics, interrogatives and, to a certain extent, verb morphology. Adriani’s original wordlist did not survive, but approximately half of it can be reconstructed from his writings. Adriani had also hoped to present a Bobongko text, but he was prevented in this endeavor:

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One of the difficulties in our investigations was distinguishing between a person’s ethnic heritage on the one hand and their linguistic behavior on the other — a distinction which was certainly sometimes overlooked by the people we questioned. Another factor, for which I have almost no good information, is the apparent growing use of a trade Malay throughout the Togian Islands. One respondent, who lived on Una-una Island until age seventeen when had to evacuate in 1981 under threat of eruption of the island’s volcano, told me that he grew up speaking not one of the indigenous languages, but only ‘bahasa Malayu’. Even in Katupat village, the use of words and phrases such as *dorang* for ‘they’, *kita orang tanggung jawab* for ‘we are responsible’, *saya punya bapak* for ‘my father’ and *ada buka nilon* for ‘we’re (busy) opening nylon fishing line’ confirmed to my ears the use of a trade Malay in this village as well. The pronouns of this trade Malay, according to my same Una-una respondent, are as follows. There is no one second person singular form. The terms *ngana*, *om* (or *omo*) and *tanta* are informal, while the terms *anda*, *bapak* and *ibu* are formal.

	Singular	Plural
1st person	<i>Saya</i>	<i>Kitorang</i>
2nd person	<i>ngana / anda</i> (to child) <i>om ~ omo / bapak</i> (to man) <i>tanta / ibu</i> (to woman)	<i>Kamu</i>
3rd person	<i>Dia</i>	<i>Dorang</i>

Assuming that this information is correct, then it appears this trade Malay is different from Manado Malay, North Moluccan Malay and Ambonese Malay. I tentatively dub this previously unreported speech variety as Ampana Malay, since it is spoken not only in the Togian Islands but also in the principal city of Ampana on the mainland. Further investigation must reveal whether this Malay variety has an even wider distribution, for example in other parts of the Tomini Bay area of Sulawesi.



Map 1. The Togian Islands in the Tomini Bay area of Sulawesi.

Het is mij niet gelukt eene vertelling op te teekenen of een stukje taal machtig te worden, waaruit ik zekerheid zou kunnen krijgen omtrent het bestaan van tijdvormen in het Bobongko'sch. De waarschijnlijkheid is er vóór, daar het Loinansch en het Gorontalesch zulke vormen bezitten. Daar de To Bobongko in verkeer met de Togianners de taal dezer laatsten gebruiken en ook mij steeds in het Togiansch antwoordden, bepaalde zich hetgeen ik van hen leeren kon, tot losse woorden. Het volk is in 't algemeen schuw en slechts een paar jonge mannen dorsten dicht bij mij te komen." (I never managed to take down a story or master a bit of language from which I should have been able to ascertain the existence of tense forms in Bobongko. Probably they are to be found there, because Loinan and Gorontalo employ such forms. Because the To Bobongko in traffic with the Togianners use the language of the latter, and also always answered me in Togiansch, that which I could learn from them was restricted to individual words. The people in general are shy, and only a couple of young men dared approach me.) (Adriani 1900:459–460)

In the years following, little else was said concerning the Bobongko language, with other language map makers (Esser 1938; Salzner 1960) uncritically accepting Adriani's conclusions. When Jim Sneddon was compiling his language map of Sulawesi (Sneddon 1983), he again faced the question which Adriani had left unanswered eight decades earlier: Could the closest relation of Bobongko be identified? In error, Sneddon equated Bobongko of the Togiansch Islands with the recently discovered Andio language on the southern coast of the eastern peninsula of Sulawesi (Barr and Barr 1979:36), apparently on two pieces of evidence: (a) the Andio language was also known by the (somewhat derogatory) endonym Bobongko<sup>2</sup> and conversely (b) the negative term in Bobongko as spoken in the Togiansch Islands, given by Adriani (1914:352), was *andioo*. Independently the Barrs had also reached the same conclusion.

It fell to J. Noorduyn (1991) to point out this error. By then, Wumbu, Kadir, et al. (1986) had published 100-word lists of both Andio and Bobongko, by which it could be seen that these were different languages; furthermore, their Bobongko list closely agreed with Adriani's Bobongko data (Noorduyn 1991:99–100, 103). Recently, a 200-word list of Bobongko is to be found among the material compiled by Lauder, Ayatrohaedi, et al. (2000) on languages of Central Sulawesi.

To this day, however, mystery surrounds the negative term *andioo* which Adriani reported for Bobongko in 1914. In 1900 Adriani gave the Bobongko negative terms only as *imba*, *mba* and *imba oo*,<sup>3</sup> compare Wumbu, Kadir, et al. (1986:80) *mba'* and Lauder, Ayatrohaedi, et al. (2000:169) *mba*. The term *andioo* also could not be confirmed by any of my Bobongko respondents, so it remains unknown whence Adriani produced it fourteen years after his original report.

A smaller discrepancy, however, has been cleared up. In 1900 Adriani reported that there were no more than a hundred Bobongko speakers, and wrote that their language was near extinction — yet it still spoken today. Although not vouching for the exact numbers, my own informants agreed with this assessment: a century ago the Bobongko language was in decline. But as a community the Bobongko people around that time decided that, be they the smallest of groups, they were going to maintain their language — just as they have done successfully to the present day.

## 2 CLASSIFICATION

In 1900 Adriani identified Bobongko's closest linguistic neighbor as Saluan, although at the same time he claimed that the two languages differed considerably in their respective word stocks. He supposed that Bobongko differed from Saluan more than Kaili differed from Pamona, and he supported his conjecture

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<sup>2</sup>Although the term 'Bobongko' has derogatory connotations in the Andio-speaking area, it has no such overtones in the Togiansch Islands. My Bobongko respondents, in fact, could suggest no other alternative name for their language.

<sup>3</sup>The Bobongko negative term given by Adriani (1900:430) as *imba'mba* is best considered a typesetting error (for intended *imba, mba*).

*Apreliminary Sketch of the Bobongko Language*

anecdotally by giving thirty-seven core vocabulary items where the two languages differed. For example (Adriani 1900:431):

Bobongko	Saluan	
<i>kereke</i>	<i>lepak</i>	‘armpit’
<i>guos</i>	<i>bese</i>	‘tooth’
<i>bangkang</i>	<i>tahuku</i>	‘skull’
<i>dugu</i>	<i>baso</i>	‘blood’

Conversely, he claimed, Bobongko shared a large number of words in common with Gorontalo, and supported this claim by presenting thirty-five sets of supposed cognates. Furthermore, the possibility of (recent) borrowing between the two languages was excluded because of sound changes which had occurred in Gorontalo (Adriani 1900:433). For example:

Bobongko	Gorontalo	
<i>gorung</i>	<i>hulungo</i>	‘heavens, sky’
<i>dugu</i>	<i>duhu</i>	‘blood’
<i>sanggor</i>	<i>tanggulo</i>	‘skull’
<i>korongan</i>	<i>olongia</i>	‘headman’
<i>daka</i>	<i>da’a</i>	‘big’

These twin arguments leave the reader — especially the reader with no more knowledge of Saluan than Adriani presents — wondering about the basis for his original claim that indeed Bobongko and Saluan are closely related.

Figure 1 gives the results of my own lexicostatistical comparison of Bobongko with thirteen surrounding languages and dialects.<sup>4</sup> Here I attempt to quantify information which Adriani presented impressionistically.

Figure 1. Lexical similarity matrix: Bobongko and surrounding languages

Ponosakan													
75	Mongondow				GORONTALO-MONGONDOW								
54	58	Bolangitang											
58	60	63	Atinggola										
56	60	62	93	Bolango									
39	43	48	54	57	Gorontalo								
25	28	28	30	30	30	Bobongko		SALUAN					
20	20	21	20	19	18	53	Saluan						
22	22	22	21	21	21	44	62	Andio					
23	24	23	20	20	20	39	51	66	Balantak				
17	19	19	18	18	18	35	32	33	32	Ampana		KAILI-	
19	19	17	17	17	18	34	33	35	33	78	Pamona		PAMONA
18	20	19	18	19	18	37	35	36	33	74	84	Tojo	
19	20	19	18	18	18	34	34	35	32	56	58	60	Kaili

<sup>4</sup>I am indebted to Michael Martens for supplying me with word lists for Ampana (also known as Taa), standard Pamona, Tojo and Ledo, the first three all dialects of Pamona, and to Bob Busenitz for Balantak (Sulu’bombong village), Saluan (Sampaka’ village) and Andio word lists. Gorontalo-Mongondow language data used in this comparison were taken from Merrifield and Salea (1996:149–170). A comprehensive treatment of the Balantak dialect situation (including Andio as well as some Saluan-speaking areas) may be found in Busenitz (1991).



It is clear from this matrix that Bobongko, Saluan, Andio and Balantak constitute their own subgroup (hereafter the Saluan language group or Saluan languages), and within that group Bobongko relates most closely with Saluan itself. At the same time, Bobongko scores significantly higher with Gorontalo (thirty percent lexically similar) than do other Saluan languages, whose lexical similarity scores with Gorontalo range from only eighteen to twenty-one percent (similar results obtain with other Gorontalo-Mongondow languages).

A lexicostatistical comparison, of course, can provide only a provisional classification. In a forthcoming paper (Mead in progress b), I hope to demonstrate that what may be concluded from lexicostatistics is further confirmed by a consideration of historical sound change. That is to say, Bobongko, Saluan, Andio and Balantak constitute their own subgrouping, and among these four languages, Bobongko has been heavily influenced lexically by Gorontalo.

### 3 PHONOLOGY

#### 3.1 Phonemes

The phonological inventory of Bobongko consists of the five vowels /i/, /e/, /a/, /o/, and /u/ and the nineteen consonants shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Bobongko Consonant Inventory

	Labial	Apical	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Voiceless Stops	P	T		K	ʔ
Voiced Stops	b	d	dʒ	g	
Nasals	m	n	ɲ	ŋ	
Fricatives	ɸ	s		(h)	
Lateral		l			
Trill		r			
Semivowels	(w)		j		

In our data the fricative /h/ and the semivowel /w/ are limited to recent loan words, compare *harasia* ‘secret’ (< Malay *rahasia*), *mompahang* ‘understand’ (< Malay *paham*), *waktu* ‘time’ (Malay identical), *sawa* ‘wet rice field’ (< Malay *sawah*), and *pongawa* ‘keeper or tamer of wild animals’ (compare Malay *penggawa* ‘commander, leader of a district’).

The bilabial fricative /ɸ/ has three allophones, [β], [ɸ], and [h], which are in free variation (that is, the variants appear not to be conditioned by surrounding phonemes). Of these three allophones, however, the voiceless, fricative articulation [ɸ] is strongly preferred in careful speech and from this perspective is considered the basic allophone. Nevertheless, there remains a certain amount of inelegance in classifying both /ɸ/ and /s/ as fricatives, since these phonemes are not parallel in their distribution (see below). I follow the preference of my Bobongko respondents and use *f* as the orthographic representation for this phoneme; in this respect I differ from Adriani (1900) who chose instead to represent this phoneme orthographically as *w*.

Other orthographic conventions adopted in this paper are as follows: the palatal affricate /dʒ/ is written as *j*, the palatal approximant /j/ is written as *y*, the palatal nasal /ɲ/ is written as *ny*, and the velar nasal /ŋ/ is written as *ng*. Glottal stop, including those that occur morpheme and word finally, are symbolized orthographically by an apostrophe (ʔ). In all other cases phonemic and orthographic representations are identical.

Stress in Bobongko is predictably penultimate, with suffixation precipitating stress movement. Compare the two following word pairs:

<i>duangan</i>	[du'aŋan]	'boat'
<i>duanganto</i>	[dua'ŋanto]	'our boat'
<i>konyuku</i>	[ko'ŋuku]	'fingernail'
<i>konyukuung</i>	[kopu'ku:ŋ]	'your fingernail'

### 3.2 Phonotactics and phoneme distribution

Morpheme internally, the only allowable consonant clusters consist of a nasal and a homorganic stop or the fricative *s*, namely *mp*, *nt*, *ngk*, *mb*, *nd*, *nj*, *ngg* and *ns*. Adriani (1900) in fact considered these sequences to be unit phonemes, a position which is not adopted in this paper. Since nasals occur word and thus syllable finally, there is little to be gained by positing eight additional phonemes when such sequences can be parsed as N.C. For example:

<i>bombang</i>	CVN.CVN	'grass'
<i>ampas</i>	VN.CVC	'mat'
<i>monsongkili'</i>	CVN.CVN.CV.CVC	'carry on one's back'
<i>kanjiling</i>	CVN.CV.CVN	'pinky finger'

In addition, nasal plus homorganic consonant sequences are nearly non-existent in word initial position, although the exhortative particle *mbo'o* 'come on, let's' and the negative particle *mba'* are two exceptions in our data.

The sound sequence which I write as *ns*, in 1900 Adriani transcribed *nc*. This suggests that the phoneme *s* may have once had an affricate allomorph following *n*. A certain amount of instability or variation in pronunciation between [ns] and [ntʃ], likewise involving no phonemic mergers or splits, is also found across dialect areas of Pamona (Michael Martens 2001: pers. comm.).

Some recent loan words contain consonant sequences other than a nasal plus homorganic obstruent, but these have not been investigated systematically. Compare here Bobongko *sattu* 'Saturday' (< Malay *sabtu*) and *merpati* 'dove' (Malay identical). In *anak uluttuong* 'first born child', one would suppose either that *uluttuong* contains two morphemes, or if synchronically mono-morphemic, that the *tt* sequence appears at what was formerly a morpheme boundary.

Consonant sequences other than a nasal plus homorganic obstruent **are** allowable in the language, but (apart from the just mentioned cases) are limited to morpheme boundaries, particularly between a stem and its suffix or a stem and certain enclitics. See below Sections 4.1 and 4.2.1.

With one exception, the fricatives *f* and *h*, the semivowel *w* and the palatal phonemes have not been noted in word final position. The only exception in our data is the verb *lumangoy* 'swim'; in this case penultimate stress assignment on the vowel *a* indicates that that the final vocoid sequence is to be interpreted as a diphthong and not as a sequence of two vowels (compare Adriani who transcribed *lumangoi*).<sup>5</sup> Examples of other consonants in final position are:

<i>p</i> :	<i>dumolop</i> 'dive', <i>unap</i> 'fish scales', <i>takup</i> 'sheath'
<i>t</i> :	<i>bakat</i> 'root', <i>kilit</i> 'skin', <i>mongkarut</i> 'scratch'
<i>k</i> :	<i>burotok</i> 'mosquito', <i>pepek</i> 'frog', <i>soloduk</i> 'choke'
<i>b</i> :	<i>morakob</i> 'catch, take hold of', <i>ungkub</i> 'lid'
<i>d</i> :	<i>lombud</i> 'dolphin', <i>tingkod</i> 'heel', <i>i lafod</i> 'ago, in the past'

<sup>5</sup>This analysis is further confirmed in that the perfective marker *-mo* has the allomorph *-o* following *lumangoy*, viz. *lumangoyo* 'already swam', whereas the non-occurring *\*lumangoimo* would be expected if this verb were indeed vowel-final. See further the description of the *-mo/-o* allomorphy in Section 4.2.1.

<i>g</i> :	<i>dolag</i> ‘day, daytime’, <i>loog</i> ‘ant’, <i>lindug</i> ‘earthquake’
<i>m</i> :	<i>monganyam</i> ‘weave’, <i>onom</i> ‘six’, <i>undam</i> ‘medicine’
<i>n</i> :	<i>gianan</i> ‘house’, <i>jalan</i> ‘path’, <i>bitu’on</i> ‘star’
<i>ng</i> :	<i>ansang</i> ‘gills (of fish)’, <i>biring</i> ‘ear’, <i>gogorong</i> ‘neck’
<i>s</i> :	<i>gu’os</i> ‘gums’, <i>monggeges</i> ‘rub’, <i>ta’is</i> ‘rust’
<i>l</i> :	<i>akol</i> ‘sugar palm’, <i>dotal</i> ‘storm’, <i>mokujul</i> ‘blunt, dull’
<i>r</i> :	<i>marigar</i> ‘healthy’, <i>ngarar</i> ‘palate’, <i>tengker</i> ‘leg’

As is demonstrated by the following minimal pairs, glottal stop contrasts with both null and *k* in word final position.

<i>ue</i>	‘water’	<i>susu</i>	‘breast’	<i>olo</i>	‘what?’
<i>ue’</i>	‘rattan’	<i>susu’</i>	‘k.o. mollusk’	<i>olo’</i>	‘necklace’
<i>bura’</i>	‘foam’	<i>piso’</i>	‘knife’	<i>bolo’</i>	‘hole’
<i>burak</i>	‘tree flower’	<i>pikok</i>	‘blind’	<i>bolok</i>	‘buttocks’

I particularly mention this contrast, because word final glottal stops went unnoticed by both Adriani (1900) and Lauder, Ayatrohaedi, et al. (2000), and were noted only sporadically in Wumbu, Kadir, et al. (1986).

An intriguing question concerns whether glottal stop likewise contrasts with null in word initial position. Unfortunately, I cannot provide a satisfactory answer at this time. Lauder, Ayatrohaedi, et al. (2000) indicate such a contrast in their transcription. However, I was not able to confirm or disprove their data, since the results of their study were unavailable to me at the time I visited the Togian Islands. For my own part, in our data the stems *asi’* ‘also, in addition’ and *ali-ali* ‘younger sibling’ appeared never to be preceded by a glottal stop when following vowel final morphemes, compare *aku asi’* ‘me too’ and *gianan-nu* (<sup>w</sup>)*aliali-um* (house-GEN ygr.sibling-2sG) ‘your younger brother’s house’. As indicated here, *aliali* was sometimes even preceded by a transition glide. Compare the parallel case of *kutu-nu* (’)*asu’* (louse-GEN dog) ‘flea’, in which our respondents articulated a glottal stop between the genitive linker *nu* and the noun following it, *asu*.

A second piece of evidence may come from reduplication. In ordinary stem reduplication, the first two syllables are reduplicated minus any coda of the second syllable. Compare these unambiguous cases:

<i>koledo-ledo’</i>	‘walk with a limp’
<i>manu-manuk</i>	‘bird’
<i>kosungu-sungut</i>	‘sniffle’

Two patterns emerge, however, with stems that are supposedly vowel-initial. On the one hand there are cases of two-syllable reduplication in which no glottal stop occurs between the reduplicating syllables and the stem, such as the above-mentioned *ali-ali* ‘younger sibling’ as well as *ifi-ifi’* ‘all’. On the other hand, there are other cases in which a glottal stop **does** occur, for example *ko’unda-’unda* ‘nodding (one’s head)’ and *usa-’usa’ku* ‘I myself’. One possible explanation for this contrast is that stems belonging to the former category are (underlying) vowel-initial, while stems belonging to the latter category (underlyingly) begin with a glottal stop.

These arguments, however, are not conclusive, and having noted the above cases in this paper I adopt the practice of writing words **as if** there were no contrast between glottal stop and null word initially. This decision was made for practical reasons, and I leave the theoretical question open for further investigation.

All other consonants have been noted in initial position (in our data initial *h*, *w* and *y* are found only in borrowed words).

<i>p</i> :	<i>pa’a</i> ‘thigh’, <i>pae</i> ‘field rice’, <i>peta</i> ‘bird’s nest’
<i>t</i> :	<i>tano’</i> ‘earth’, <i>teeng</i> ‘tea’, <i>tou’</i> ‘sugar cane’



## Apreliminary Sketch of the Bobongko Language

<i>k</i> :	<i>kas</i> o ‘rafter’, <i>kilat</i> ‘lightning’, <i>kutu</i> ‘louse’
<i>b</i> :	<i>bagang</i> ‘molar’, <i>boborong</i> ‘drum’, <i>buku</i> ‘bone’
<i>d</i> :	<i>dafok</i> ‘sibling-in-law’, <i>doluo</i> ‘two’, <i>dula</i> ‘spittle’
<i>j</i> :	<i>janggo</i> ‘beard’, <i>joljik</i> ‘eel’, <i>juku</i> ‘meat’
<i>g</i> :	<i>giup</i> ‘wind’, <i>golau</i> ‘egg’, <i>gumbang</i> ‘water jar’
<i>m</i> :	<i>manuk</i> ‘chicken’, <i>mo’ane</i> ‘male’, <i>mian</i> ‘person’
<i>n</i> :	<i>nana</i> ‘pus’, <i>nipa</i> ‘nipa palm’, <i>nunu</i> ‘banyan tree’
<i>ny</i> :	<i>nya’u</i> ‘feces’
<i>ng</i> :	<i>nganga</i> ‘mouth’, <i>ngek</i> ‘seagull’, <i>ngungur</i> ‘nipple’
<i>f</i> :	<i>fa’e</i> ‘parrot’, <i>fea</i> ‘hulled rice’, <i>fofo</i> ‘uncle’
<i>s</i> :	<i>salo</i> ‘floor’, <i>sirung</i> ‘shoulderblade’, <i>sopun</i> ‘mucus’
<i>h</i> :	<i>harasia</i> ‘secret’
<i>l</i> :	<i>lamin</i> ‘outrigger float’, <i>lipol</i> ‘wall’, <i>loa</i> ‘spider’
<i>r</i> :	<i>remu</i> ‘mud’, <i>ron</i> ‘leaf’, <i>rumere</i> ‘boil’
<i>w</i> :	<i>waktu</i> ‘time’
<i>y</i> :	<i>yayu</i> ‘pestle’, <i>yopo</i> ‘overgrown garden plot’

## 4 MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

In this preliminary sketch, it has not been possible to give even weight to every area of Bobongko grammar. Herein I concentrate on those aspects about which I feel most confident of our information, namely pronouns and possession (Section 4.1), verb morphology (Section 4.2), certain nonverbal clauses (Section 4.3) and deictics (Section 4.4). Even here, though, I sometimes must acknowledge holes in the data.

These limited topics leave much ground uncovered. There is no separate treatment, for example, of noun phrase structure or clausal word order. One reason that I am reluctant to discuss word order is the high proportion of examples which come from elicited material, where somewhat wooden or literal responses are unavoidable. Given the time frame for working in the field, however, it was not possible to proceed in any other way and still cover as much ground. To balance out the presentation, a Bobongko text is included in Section 5. Despite these shortcomings, the following information far surpasses our previous knowledge about the Bobongko language.

### 4.1 Pronouns and Possession

Bobongko independent pronouns and genitive pronominal suffixes are shown in Table 2. There is no third person plural genitive suffix in Bobongko; rather third person plural possession is encoded by *nu ara* (see below).

Table 2. Pronouns and Pronominal Suffixes

	Independent	Genitive
1s	<i>aku</i>	<i>-ku</i>
2s	<i>oko</i>	<i>-um</i>
3s	<i>ia</i>	<i>-nyo</i>
1pn	<i>kita</i>	<i>-to</i>
1px	<i>kami</i>	<i>-mami</i>
2p	<i>komiu</i>	<i>-miu</i>
3p	<i>ara</i>	—

In the first person singular and **only** in the first person singular, Bobongko speakers make use of two additional pronominal forms, the ‘unfocused’ agent prefix *ku-* which appears only in unrealized aspect (discussed in Section 4.2.2), and the ‘unfocused’ patient independent pronoun *iyau*’ (discussed in Section 4.2.6).

Possession in Bobongko is indicated in one of two ways. Either the noun is followed by a genitive pronominal suffix, or it is followed by a noun which is linked to the possessum by the genitive linker *nu*. Examples (1) and (2) illustrate the former, while examples (3) and (4) illustrate the latter.

- (1) *siku-mami*  
elbow-1pxG  
‘our elbows’
- (2) *sangalu-nyo*  
companion-3sG  
‘his/her friend’
- (3) *sangalu-nu*            *aliali-um*  
companion-GEN    younger.sibling-2sG  
‘your younger brother’s friend’
- (4) *kuku-nu*        *sapi’*    *taio’*  
tail-GEN        cow        that.level  
‘that cow’s tail’

In Bobongko there is no third person plural pronominal suffix. The only means to encode a third person plural possessor is to use *nu* followed by the independent pronoun *ara* ‘they’

- (5) *tadulako-nu*    *ara*  
leader-GEN        3p  
‘their leader (in warfare)’

Although Adriani (1900:444) considered the suffix *-nyo* to be a generalized third person pronoun which was unmarked for singular or plural, I consider this analysis to be incorrect, at least for the present-day language. The suffix *-nyo* indicates a third person singular possessor, while the periphrastic construction *nu ara* indicates a third person plural possessor.

The genitive pronouns *-ku* and *-to* have prenasalized variants respectively *-ngku* and *-nto* following vowel-final stems. In addition the pronominal suffixes *-ku*, *-mami* and *-miu* as well as the genitive marker *nu* have various allomorphs depending on the final consonant of the stem. These allomorphs are given in Table 3. Length mark ( : ) indicates doubling of (viz. complete assimilation to) the stem-final consonant.

Table 3. Allomorphs of the Genitive Pronominal Suffixes and the Genitive Linker *nu*.

Stem Coda	<i>-ku</i> 1sG	<i>-um</i> 2sG	<i>-nyo</i> 3sG	<i>-to</i> 1pnG	<i>-mami</i> 1pxG	<i>-miu</i> 2pG	<i>Mu</i> GEN
-V	<i>-ngku</i>			<i>-nto</i>	<i>-mami</i>	<i>-miu</i>	<i>nu</i>
-p -t -k	<i>-u</i>	<i>-um</i> or <i>-ung</i>	<i>-nyo</i>	<i>-to</i>	<i>-ami</i> or <i>-mami</i>	<i>-iu</i> or <i>-miu</i>	<i>.u</i>
-b -d -g							
-s							
-m							
-n -ng	<i>-ku</i>						
-l -r		<i>-u</i>			<i>-(m)ami</i>	<i>-(m)iu</i>	<i>u</i>
-'		<i>-ku</i>			<i>-mami</i>	<i>-miu</i>	

It is not possible to illustrate all of the allomorphs shown in Table 3, although a number of them are illustrated incidentally in the examples and the appended text which follow. Note particularly, though, the homophony that exists between the first person singular suffix and the genitive linker following *-l*, *-r* and stem-final obstruents. In context the two are distinguished, however, in that the genitive linker must be followed by a possessor, while the first person singular suffix stands alone. Compare example (6a) with (6b).

- (6) a. *tingkod-du ara*  
heel-GEN 3p  
'their heel'
- b. *tingkod-du*  
heel-1sG  
'my heel'

Only the pronominal suffixes *-um*, *-nyo* and *-to*, then, have relatively invariant forms. However, in all contexts the suffix *-um* can also be articulated as *-ung*. My own opinion is that Bobongko speakers recognize *-um* as the 'correct' form of this morpheme, but apart from careful speech they almost invariably pronounce it as *ung* (for consistency I mostly write *-um*).<sup>6</sup> Occasionally doubling of the final stem consonant was also noted preceding *-um/-ung*. The provisional analysis adopted here is that such doubling reflects contamination from the *-ku* and/or *nu* paradigms, compare *i-rakop-pung* (RLZD.INV-catch-2sG) 'caught by you' next to *i-rakop-pu* (RLZD.INV-catch-1sG) 'caught by me'. Conversely, *-um* regularly shortens to *-m*

<sup>6</sup>It is possible that a more general drift of velarization of final *-m* is at work in the language. I myself recorded the following forms, only to have my transcription (show on the left) corrected by Bobongko speakers to the form on the right.

<i>undang</i>	<i>undam</i>	'medicine'
<i>onong</i>	<i>onom</i>	'six'
<i>tongkoliling</i>	<i>tongkolilim</i>	'forgotten'
<i>monsolong</i>	<i>monsolomi</i>	'think'
<i>morikoyong</i>	<i>morikoyom</i>	'dark'
<i>pinggang</i>	<i>pinggan</i>	'plate'

Regarding nasal velarization in other languages of Sulawesi, see Sneddon (1993).

following stems ending in *u*, for example *kutu-m* (louse-2sG) ‘your lice’ and *b[in]au-m* (RLZD.INV:do-2sG) ‘done by you’ (also *kutung* and *binaung*).

The genitive linker generally occurs whenever one noun is modified by another noun following it. The following are exemplary of the range of meanings where *nu* occurs.

- |      |                        |                  |
|------|------------------------|------------------|
| (7)  | <i>gianan-nu</i>       | <i>loa'</i>      |
|      | house-GEN              | spider           |
|      | ‘spider web’           |                  |
| (8)  | <i>bine'-u</i>         | <i>pae</i>       |
|      | seedling-GEN           | rice             |
|      | ‘rice seedling’        |                  |
| (9)  | <i>juku'-u</i>         | <i>manuk</i>     |
|      | meat-GEN               | chicken          |
|      | ‘chicken meat’         |                  |
| (10) | <i>mian-nu</i>         | <i>Australia</i> |
|      | person-GEN             | Australia        |
|      | ‘an Australian’        |                  |
| (11) | <i>dolag-guaraba'a</i> |                  |
|      | day-GEN                | Wednesday        |
|      | ‘Wednesday’            |                  |
| (12) | <i>bulu-nu</i>         | <i>mata</i>      |
|      | hair-GEN               | eye              |
|      | ‘eyelashes’            |                  |

Simple juxtaposition of nouns without *nu* or one of its allomorphs is rare. One such example in our data is *kau' apu* ‘firewood’.

## 4.2 Verb Morphology

In a Bobongko verbal clause, the predicate will be associated with one or more arguments. In the following description, I have found it expedient to refer to the following roles: intransitive subject (the single core argument of an intransitive predicate), agent, patient, locative patient, location, instrument and beneficiary. These are the roles which time and again are distinguished morphosyntactically in Bobongko, and by which Bobongko speakers impose linguistic structure in the process of talking about experience. As is developed below, each role can be defined in terms of its encoding possibilities. An agent, for example, is that argument which in active voice has the potential to be realized as a noun phrase or independent pronoun, but which in inverse voice can appear overtly only as a genitive pronoun or a genitive case-marked noun phrase following the verb. These roles, of course, are also not without their semantic correlates — in many cases an agent is an instigator who by his action affects some other entity — but this aspect of Bobongko case roles is assumed rather than investigated in the following presentation.

### 4.2.1 Intransitive Verbs

Intransitive verbs are typically one-argument predicates, though sometimes the intransitive verb also allows an incorporated object or range to be expressed; compare ‘playing tops’ in example (13). The subject may appear as a noun phrase, as an independent pronoun, or be omitted depending on context.

*Apreliminary Sketch of the Bobongko Language*

- (13) *Sangalu-nyo naraik paki' asi'*  
 companion-3sG RLZD:play top also  
 'His friend was playing tops too.'
- (14) *Aku k[um]abut dongataa' mba' ma'efe.*  
 1s UNRZ:run so.that NEG UNRZ:late  
 'I'm running so that I won't be late.'
- (15) *Nako-mo.*  
 RLZD:go-PERF  
 '(He) already left.'

As these examples illustrate, aspect is also usually marked on the (intransitive) verb. The three aspectual categorizes which have been identified I term realized, unrealized and imperative. The following illustrate various classes of intransitive verbs in realized and unrealized aspect and, as data is available, also in the imperative. In this preliminary report, it has not been possible to illustrate the imperative for every verb (for that matter, from a pragmatic perspective some verbs are not compatible with the imperative).

	Unrealized	Realized	Imperative	
(16) a.	<i>marigar</i>	<i>(i)narigar</i>		'healthy'
	<i>mabusik</i>	<i>(i)nabusik</i>		'rotten'
	<i>matakut</i>	<i>(i)natakut</i>		'afraid'
	<i>maboat</i>	<i>(i)naboat</i>		'heavy'
	<i>mara</i>	<i>(i)nara</i>		'ripe'
b.	<i>modu'ol</i>	<i>(i)nodu'ol</i>		'sick'
	<i>molino</i>	<i>(i)nolino</i>		'calm' (of the sea)
	<i>mo'oring</i>	<i>(i)no'oring</i>		'fragrant'
	<i>molalag</i>	<i>(i)nolalag</i>		'yellow'
	<i>modikolom</i>	<i>(i)nodikolom</i>		'black'
	<i>mogete'</i>	<i>(i)nogete'</i>		'skinny'
c.	<i>mokobongol</i>	<i>(i)nokobongol</i>	<i>pokobongol</i>	'be loud, deafening'
	<i>mokosolom</i>	<i>(i)nokosolom</i>		'remember'
	<i>mokolimbung</i>	<i>(i)nokolimbung</i>		'become round'
d.	<i>mimbua'</i>	<i>(i)nimbua'</i>		'bear fruit'
	<i>mingkot</i>	<i>(i)ningkot</i>		'be used up, finished off'
	<i>mindii'</i>	<i>(i)nindii'</i>	<i>pindii'</i>	'bathe oneself'
	<i>mintau'</i>	<i>(i)nintau'</i>	<i>pintau'</i>	'descend'
	<i>mingoap</i>	<i>(i)ningoap</i>	<i>pingoap</i>	'yawn'
e.	<i>male'</i>	<i>(i)nale'</i>		'sleep'
	<i>mate</i>	<i>(i)nate</i>	<i>pate</i>	'die'
	<i>mako</i>	<i>nako</i>		'go'
f.	<i>manimbanat</i>	<i>(i)nanimbanat</i>	<i>panimbanat</i>	'lie down, stretch out'
	<i>maningkampa'</i>	<i>(i)namingkampa'</i>	<i>paningkampa'</i>	'lie prone'
	<i>mani'ingkili'</i>	<i>(i)nani'ingkili'</i>	<i>pani'ingkili'</i>	'lie on one's side'
	<i>mani'impo'</i>	<i>(i)nani'impo'</i>	<i>pani'impo'</i>	'sit with knees to one side'

As can be seen from the verbs of examples (16), in general intransitive verbs have an *m*-initial form in unrealized aspect, which alternates with an *n*-initial form, sometimes preceded by the vowel *i*, in realized



aspect. The initial vowel *i* appears to be optional in many if not most contexts, but it is obligatorily absent when the verb is further followed by the perfective marker *-mo*, thus *inara* or *nara* ‘ripe’, but *naramo* ‘already ripe’ (not *\*inaramo*). The perfective marker itself has the allomorph *-mo* following vowels and glottal stop, but the allomorph *-o* following all other consonants, thus *iningkot* or *ningkot* ‘used up, finished off’ but *ningkoto* ‘already used up’ (not *\*ningkotmo* or *\*iningkoto*).

There are two subclasses of intransitive verbs which depart from this pattern. The first of these subclasses could be termed underived dynamic intransitive stems. Example (17) illustrates some members of this subclass.

	Unrealized	Realized	Imperative	
(17)	<i>gumeleng</i>	<i>ginumeleng</i>		‘laugh’
	<i>kumabut</i>	<i>kinumabut</i>	<i>kabut</i>	‘run’
	<i>sumurang</i>	<i>sinumurang</i>	<i>surang</i>	‘sit’
	<i>jumolo</i>	<i>jinumolo</i>	<i>jolo</i>	‘crawl’
	<i>umaro</i>	<i>(i)numaro</i>	<i>aro</i>	‘shout’
	<i>lumangoy</i>	<i>(i)lumangoy</i>	<i>langoy</i>	‘swim’
	<i>rumere’</i>	<i>(i)rumere’</i>		‘boil’

As may be noted from these forms, underived dynamic stems generally preserve an older state of affairs in which *-um-* occurs in unrealized aspect and *-inum-* occurs in realized aspect. As illustrated by the final two verbs in this set, however, when the stem begins with *l* or *r*, the pattern in realized aspect instead is for the *-um-* form to be prefixed with *i-*. An initial *i* marking realized aspect is usually present, but as with the other verbs described above it must be omitted when the verb is followed by the perfective marker. Compare here *numaromo* ‘already shouted’ (not *\*inumaromo*), *lumangoyo* ‘already swam’ (not *\*ilumangoyo*), and *rumere’mo* ‘already boiled’ (not *\*irumere’mo*). No omission or contraction occurs with the infix *-inum-*, thus *ginumelengo* ‘already laughed’, *kinumabuto* ‘already ran’, *jinumalomo* ‘already crawled’ and the such.

The second subclass of verbs could be termed underived stative intransitive stems. As illustrated in example (18), underived stative intransitives follow a pattern nearly identical to that of underived dynamic intransitives, except minus any occurrence of the infix *-um-*.

	Unrealized	Realized	Imperative	
(18)	<i>daka’</i>	<i>dinaka’</i>		‘big’
	<i>kojojong</i>	<i>kinojojong</i>	(no data)	‘live, reside’
	<i>pande</i>	<i>pinande</i>		‘smart, intelligent’
	<i>lolong</i>	<i>(i)lolong</i>		‘slow, dull’ (of mind)

In all cases for which I have data on imperatives — see examples (16) and (17) above — the imperative represents an unmarked category of the verb. However, unrealized forms can also be used with imperative force, and this strategy is generally considered more polite than using a straight imperative; compare example (19a) with example (19b). As illustrated in example (20), this holds true not only for intransitives but also for the transitive (and other) verbs discussed below.

- (19) a. *Ne’e mokobongol.*  
 don’t UNRZ:deafening  
 ‘(Please) don’t be so loud.’ (polite request)
- b. *Kabut oko.*  
 run 2s  
 ‘Run, you!’ (somewhat coarse request)

*Apreliminary Sketch of the Bobongko Language*

- (20) a. *Mong-inum*                    *ue*      *panas*.  
 UNRZ:ACT-drink      water    hot  
 ‘(Please) drink some hot water.’ (viz. tea, coffee which has just been served)
- b. *Pong-inum*.  
 ACT-drink  
 ‘Drink!’ (somewhat coarse request)

**4.2.2. Ordinary Transitive Verbs**

Basic transitive verbs are two-place predicates, and in context occur in one of two voices, which I term active and inverse voice. In this grammar sketch I concentrate on the formal aspects of voice inflection rather than on the pragmatic and syntactic factors which influence voice selection. Nevertheless, even in our preliminary investigations it is apparent that in main clauses active voice is most appropriate when the patient is low in topicality, while inverse voice is most appropriate with topical patients. Doubtless there are also syntactic triggers such as clefting and relativization of agent or patient which require as particular voice; see among others Quick (this volume) regarding Pendau and Zobel (forthcoming) regarding Buol.<sup>7</sup> Verb morphology associated with active and inverse voices is shown in Table 4.

Table 4. Basic Transitive Verb Morphology	Unrealized	Realized	Imperative
Active	<i>moN-</i> V	<i>noN-</i> V	<i>poN-</i> V
Inverse	<i>o-</i> V	<i>-in-</i> V	V

The nasal coda of *moN-/noN-/poN-* assimilates to a following stop and the fricative *s*. Preceding vowels the nasal coda is realized as *ng*, while preceding *l*, *r* and nasals it has a zero realization (I have no data regarding its realization preceding *j*, *f*, *h*, *w*, or *y*).

- p:*    *mompuri* ‘blow’  
*t:*    *montefa* ‘forbid’  
*k:*    *mongkaan* ‘eat’  
*b:*    *mombibit* ‘lead by the hand’  
*d:*    *mondasok* ‘load’  
*g:*    *monggeges* ‘rub’  
*s:*    *monsalin* ‘plait’  
*ny:* *monyaing* ‘chew’  
*l:*    *moloyog* ‘swallow’  
*r:*    *morongo* ‘hear’  
*a:*    *mongala* ‘take’  
*e:*    *mongepe* ‘feel’  
*i:*    *monginum* ‘drink’

<sup>7</sup>Compare here the following contrastive Bobongko data.

Misa’ gugulang-ku    anu    nong-kaan    lampi’-um,    aliali-ngku                    *nong-kaan*.  
 NEG older.sibling-1sG REL RLZD.ACT-eat banana-2sG younger.sibling-1sG RLZD.ACT-eat  
 ‘It wasn’t my older brother who ate your bananas, it was my younger brother who ate them.’

Misa’ dugian-um    anu    *k[in]jaan-ku*,                    *ungka’ lampi’-um*.  
 NEG durian-2sG REL RLZD.INV:eat-1sG only    banana-2sG  
 ‘It wasn’t your durian that I ate, only your bananas.’

- o: *mongomong* ‘place in one’s mouth’  
 u: *mongunsu* ‘carry on one’s head’

The verb stem *penek* ‘climb’ is exceptional in that the nasal coda not only assimilates to the following *p* but replaces it, thus *momenek*.<sup>8</sup> Conversely the verb stem *tugal* ‘plant’ is odd in that no nasal occurs between the prefix and the stem, thus *motugal*.<sup>9</sup> The following are some examples of transitive verbs in both active and inverse voice.

- (21) *Ne’e-mo*      *mong-ginguli’*      *sumu*    *taio’*  
 don’t-PERF    UNRZ.ACT-say    like    that.level  
 ‘Don’t talk like that anymore.’
- (22) *Aku*      *ungka’*      *nong-kaan*      *lampi’*.  
 1s only    RLZD.ACT-eat      banana  
 ‘I only ate bananas.’
- (23) *Ia*    *gele’*      *mo-lio*                      *kau’*.  
 3s    want    UNRZ.ACT-seek      wood  
 ‘He wants to fetch wood.’
- (24) *Gunsing*    *b[in]joa.*                      *Mosiaa*              *kita*      *minsoop*      *i*      *kantor?*  
 key      RLZD.INV-carry      UNRZ:how?      1pn      UNRZ:enter    at    office  
 ‘(Someone) has taken the key. How will we get in the office?’
- (25) *Sapi’*    *taio’*      *kana’*      *o-kolot*.  
 cow    that    must      UNRZ.INV-slaughter  
 ‘That cow must be slaughtered.’

In inverse voice an overt agent argument must appear in genitive case following the verb (that is, either as a genitive pronoun or else as a noun or noun phrase preceded by the genitive linker *nu*; see Section 4.1). In this respect agents in inverse voice are comparable to non-focused actors in Philippine-type languages.

- (26) *K[in]aan-ku-mo.*  
 LZD.INV:eat-1sG-PERF  
 ‘I already ate (it).’
- (27) *Oko*    *olo*      *anu*      *k[in]aan-um?*  
 2s    what?    REL    RLZD.INV:eat-2sG  
 ‘What did you eat?’
- (28) *...bai*    *i-rakop-pu*                      *polisi*    *kang*              *i*      *Ampana.*  
 but    RLZD.INV-capture-GEN    police    down.there    at    Ampana  
 ‘...but (he) was captured by the police down in Ampana.’

<sup>8</sup>Compare also Bobongko *momekan* ‘fish, angle’ next to *pekan* ‘fishhook’, but in this case it is unclear whether *momekan* is a transitive or intransitive verb. A pattern of nasal replacement with *p*-initial stems is also found in Balantak, but on a much broader scale (see Busenitz 1994:2–4).

<sup>9</sup>There are other cases in which no nasal occurs between the prefix and the stem, including *moburi* ‘write’, *mojanji* ‘promise’, *motalui* ‘buy’ (compare *mompotalui* ‘sell’), *mogege* ‘request’. Again, however, it is presently unclear if these are transitive verbs (as their meanings might suggest), or simply intransitives according to their morphosyntactic properties.

- (29) *Sangkuka mian anu o-tiang-um?*  
 how.many? person REL UNRZ.INV-call-2sG  
 ‘How many people are you inviting?’

An important exception to the pattern described above occurs when the agent is first person singular, and the verb occurs in inverse voice and unrealized aspect. In this case and this case only, the agent is realized not by a genitive suffix, but rather by the agent prefix *ku-*. Furthermore this prefix occurs in the position normally occupied by *o-*, the (otherwise) regular marker of unrealized inverse voice. Example (30) gives the inverse voice paradigm for the verb *kaan* ‘eat’, illustrating that an agent prefix is particular to the first person singular, and occurs only in unrealized aspect. (Further examples below illustrate the use of *ku-* in context.)

	Realized		Unrealized	
(30)	<i>inaan-ku</i>	‘I ate (it)’	<i>ku-kaan</i>	‘I eat (it)’
	<i>kinaan-um</i>	‘you ate (it)’	<i>o-kaan-um</i>	‘you eat (it)’
	<i>kinaan-nyo</i>	‘he ate (it)’	<i>o-kaan-nyo</i>	‘he eats (it)’
	<i>kinaan-to</i>	‘we (incl.) ate (it)’	<i>o-kaan-to</i>	‘we (incl) eat (it)’
	<i>kinaan-nami</i>	‘we (excl) ate (it)’	<i>o-kaan-nami</i>	‘we (excl) eat (it)’
	<i>kinaan-niu</i>	‘you (pl) ate (it)’	<i>o-kaan-niu</i>	‘you (pl) eat (it)’
	<i>kinaan-nu ara</i>	‘they ate (it)’	<i>o-kaan-nu ara</i>	‘they eat (it)’

#### 4.2.3. Locative Patient

Table 5 illustrates the verbal paradigm for verbs with a locative patient. Apart from the presence of the suffix *-i* (or in realized inverse voice the suffix *-an*), verbal morphology is identical to that of ordinary transitive verbs (see Table 4).

Table 5. Transitive Verb Morphology with Locative Patient

	Unrealized	Realized	Imperative
Active	<i>moN- V -i</i>	<i>noN- V -i</i>	<i>poN- V -i</i>
Inverse	<i>o- V -i</i>	<i>-in- V -an</i>	<i>V -i</i>

In some respects the suffix combination *-i/-an* could simply be viewed as an applicative suffix which derives transitive verbs, parallel to Indonesian *-i*. Some transitive verbs in Bobongko can occur either with or without *-i/-an*, that is to say, either with an ordinary patient or with a locative patient. As expected, there is a semantic difference between the two encoding possibilities.

- monsegot* ‘tie up’ (package)  
*monsegoti* ‘tie up’ (chicken, animal, person)  
*molio* ‘seek’ (something)  
*molioi* ‘seek’ (someone)  
*motugal* ‘plant’ (corn, seed, etc.)  
*motugali* ‘plant’ (field)

If we extrapolate from present data, however, it would appear that the majority of transitive verb bases belong to only one category or the other. Some examples of transitive verbs which take only a locative patient are *mompate’i* ‘kill’ (\**mompate*), *mongisii* ‘fill’ (\**mongisi*), *mongkosolomi* ‘remember, be struck by the thought of’ (\**mongkosolom*), *mongkamale’i* ‘sleep on’ (\**mongkamale*) and *mombobali* ‘hit’ (\**mombobal*). Examples (31) through (38) exemplify verbs with locative patients.

- (31) *Mian nom-pate-i sapi'-um nopalai-mo.*  
 person RLZD.ACT-kill-LP cow-2sG RLZD:flee-PERF  
 'The person who killed your cow has already fled.'
- (32) *Ne'e male' itina; kokuonmian mông-kamale'-i itina.*  
 don't UNRZ:sleep there exist person UNRZ.ACT-sleep.on-LP there  
 'Don't sleep there; there's someone (already) sleeping there.'
- (33) *Ampas anu k[in]amale'-an-um taio' maremu.*  
 mat REL RLZD.INV-sleep.on-LP-2sG that.level UNRZ:dirty  
 'That mat you slept on is dirty.'
- (34) *Ka'a-taa' inaut anu t[in]ugal-an-ku bele-nu binte'.*  
 this-that garden REL RLZD.INV:plant-LP-1sG with-GEN corn  
 'This is the field that I planted with corn.'
- (35) *Ungka' i-lafod-an-ku.*  
 only RLZD.INV-pass-LP-1sG  
 'I just went by (it) (all I did was go past it).'
- (36) *N-umpar-an-nu ara i kalapuang, s[in]ampa-nu ara,*  
 RLZD.INV-chase-LP-GEN 3p PN turtle RLZD.INV:get-GEN 3p  
*o-pate-i-nu ara.*  
 UNRZ.INV-kill-LP-GEN 3p  
 They chased Turtle, they caught (her), they were going to kill (her).'
- (37) *Ne'e pate-i kami!*  
 don't kill-LP 1sx  
 'Don't kill us!'
- (38) *Oko ku-bobal-i!*  
 2s UNRZ.INV.1sA-hit-LP  
 'I will hit you!'

#### 4.2.4 Beneficiary

The verbal suffix associated with marking beneficiary in Bobongko is *-akon*. Examples (39) through (41) illustrate its use. The beneficiary may be omitted when known from context, but when it appears overtly it is marked obliquely, that is, as the possessor of the noun stem *bele* (note *bele* + *nu* is sometimes shortened to *benu*). From this and from the fact that stems marked with *-akon* still occur with all their other expected morphology, it would appear that the use of *-akon* alone does not precipitate the inclusion of the beneficiary as a core argument of the predicate; see further Section 4.2.6.

- (39) *Olo anu t[in]utula-kon-nyo bele-um?*  
 what? REL RLZD.INV:say-BEN-3sG for-2sG  
 'What did he say to you?'
- (40) *Turung-i aku mom-boa-kon buku ka'a.*  
 help-LP 1s UNRZ.ACT-carry-BEN book this  
 'Help me carry these books (for me)'



- (41) *Baako' anu t[in]ai-akon-um bele-ngku nobeak-o.*  
 shirt REL RLZD.INV:sew-BEN-2sG for-1sG RLZD:torn-PERF  
 'The shirt which you sewed for me is already torn.'

The stem *be'i* 'give' is idiosyncratically shortened to *be'* when followed by *-akon*.

- (42) *Kapara-um b[in]e'-akon-ku be-nu alialium.*  
 machete-2sG RLZD.INV:give-BEN-1sG for-GEN younger.sibling-2sG  
 'I gave your machete to your younger brother.'
- (43) *Ne'e be'-akon be-nu mian.*  
 don't give-BEN for-GEN person  
 'Don't give (it) to anyone.'

Besides the use of *-akon* to signal the presence of a beneficiary as described above, this suffix also occurs as a fixed element of certain transitive verb stems such as *mombatakon* 'throw away', *mondabu'akon* 'drop', *mombotuakon* 'break (rope)' and *mongkamburakon* 'pour out (as rice from one container to another), sow, scatter (grain)'. These verbs pattern like ordinary transitive predicates with agent and patient arguments, and *bele* is not used.

- (44) *B[in]atakon-nu ara aku.*  
 RLZD.INV:throw.away-GEN 3p 1p  
 'They threw me out.'

That *-akon* should have two separate uses in Bobongko is unsurprising, since a similar functional split has been documented in other Sulawesi languages (Mead 1998:249 ff.).

#### 4. 2.5. Instrument and Location

Instruments are typically treated as oblique arguments. Like beneficiaries, they appear as the possessor of the noun *bele*, but in this case *-akon* does not co-occur on the verb. The presence of an instrument precipitates no change in the form of the verb.

- (45) *Kolot-o sapi' ka'a bele-nu kapara anu malanit ka'a.*  
 slaughter-PERF cow this with-GEN machete REL UNRZ:sharp this  
 'Slaughter the cow with this sharp machete.'
- (46) *B[in]obal-an-ku be-nu kau' bai ia nopalai.*  
 RLZD.INV:hit-LP-1sG with-GEN wood but 3s RLZD:flee  
 'I hit (it) (the rat) with a piece of wood, but it got away.'

The stem *bele* in fact is rather wide ranging in its functions. Besides its use with instrument and beneficiary roles as noted above, I have also noted its use in encoding accompaniment as in (47), purpose as in (48), and causee as in (49).

- (47) *Dadapii aku mai bele-ung.*  
 tomorrow 1s hither with-2sG  
 'Tomorrow I'll come with you.'
- (48) *Samba'an sapi' anu k[in]olot bele-nu nom-baroa'.*  
 one cow . REL RLZD.INV:slaughter for-GEN RLZD.ACT-celebrate  
 'One cow was slaughtered for the feast.'

- (49) *Aku mom-pia foto anu p[in]o-pia-um*  
 1s UNRZ.ACT-see photograph REL RLZD.INV:CAUS-see-2sG  
*bele-ngku nabongi.*  
 for-1sG yesterday

‘I want to see the photograph which you showed to me yesterday.’

Oblique locations — that is, locations which have not been incorporated as locative patients as described above — are introduced by the preposition *i*. The preposition is readily but not always omitted, however, when the preceding word ends in *i*, compare example (53) with example (91) below.

- (50) *I dabuolot i jalan, kokuon ajaran nate.*  
 at middle at road exist horse RLZD:dead  
 ‘There’s a dead horse in the middle of the road.’
- (51) *Aku nale’ i gianan-u alialingu piri-piri.*  
 1s RLZD:sleep at house-GEN younger.sibling-1sG REDP-night  
 ‘I slept at my younger brother’s house last night.’
- (52) *Naikuka oko nontoka iruka i lipu ka’a?*  
 when.past? 2s rlzd:arrive here at village this  
 ‘When did you arrive here at the village?’
- (53) *Aku nontoka kang-ngai Ampana nabongi.*  
 1s RLZD:arrive down.there-hither Ampana yesterday  
 ‘I arrived from Ampana yesterday.’

#### 4.2.6 Other Inverse Constructions

The above notwithstanding, there are also special inverse constructions with allow for a beneficiary, instrument or location to be focused. The morphology associated with these other constructions is given in Table 6. Two things are of note in this table: these forms do not have corresponding active forms, and all involve the use of the prefix *poN-*. In these two respects, these verb forms agree with certain applicative constructions that are found in Pendau; nevertheless, a comparison with Figure 5 in Quick (this volume) reveals there are also significant differences between the two languages.

Table 6. Other Inverse Constructions

	Unrealized	Realized
Instrument focus	<i>poN-</i> V	<i>pinoN-</i> V
Location focus	<i>poN-</i> V <i>-an</i>	<i>pinoN-</i> V <i>-an</i>
Beneficiary focus	(no data)	<i>pinoN-</i> V <i>-akonan</i>

Although the *poN-* which marks these other inverse focus constructions bears some resemblance to the *poN-* which marks active voice, the two prefixes are kept formally distinct in that the realized form of the former is *pinoN-* while the realized form of the latter is *noN-*. Likewise the unrealized form of the inverse focus marker is simply *poN-*, while that of the active voice prefix is *moN-*. In addition, inverse forms are often followed by a genitive pronominal suffix or a noun in genitive case, while this is never true of active forms.

I begin with instrument, since I have the most complete information for the instrument focus inverse construction. Compare the ordinary transitive construction in example (54) (realized verb form *kinolot*)

with the instrument focus construction in (55) (realized verb form *pinongkolot*). (Because of the frame used to elicit these verb forms, many of the following examples have a formulaic sameness about them.)

- (54) *Sapi' ningkot-o k[in]olot.*  
 cow RLZD:finished-PERF RLZD.INV:slaughter  
 'The cow has been slaughtered.'
- (55) *Ka'a-mo kapara anu p[in]ong-kolot-tu.*  
 this-PERF machete REL RLZD.INV:FOC-slaughter-1sG  
 'Here is the machete I slaughtered (it) with.'

Instrument focus is also compatible with the presence of a locative patient. When *poN-* is present at the beginning of the verb stem, however, the locative patient suffix *-an* is no longer used in realized aspect; rather the locative patient suffix *-i* occurs in its stead. Compare the use of *-an* in example (56a) with the use of *-i* in example (56b), even though both verbs occur in realized aspect.

- (56) a. *B[in]obal-an-ku be-nu kau'.*  
 RLZD.INV:hit-LP-1sG with-GEN wood  
 'I hit (it) with (a piece of) wood.'
- b. *Ka'a-mo taa' kau' p[in]om-bobal-i-ngku.*  
 this-PERF that wood RLZD.INV:FOC-hit-LP-1sG  
 'Here is the wood I hit (it) with.'

In unrealized aspect the first person singular agent prefix may be used as usual, compare examples (57) and (58).

- (57) *Ka'a-mo kapara anu ku-pong-kolot sapi' ka'a.*  
 this-PERF machete REL UNRZ.INV.1sA-FOC-slaughter cow this  
 'Here is the machete with which I will slaughter the cow.'
- (58) *Ka'a-mo taa' kau' ku-pom-bobal-i bo ia dangko'*  
 this-PERF that wood UNRZ.INV-FOC-hit-LP and 3s still  
*mintoka mule'.*  
 UNRZ:come again  
 'Here is the wood I will hit (it) with if it still comes again.'

In other persons and numbers, however, the prefix *o-* (the ordinary marker of unrealized aspect) does not occur, compare example (59). In this case there is no overt marker of unrealized aspect; rather, one might say unrealized aspect is indicated simply by the absence of the infix *-in-*.

- (59) *Ka'a kau' anu pom-bobal-i-nyo ara.*  
 this wood REL FOC-hit-LP-3sG 3p  
 'This is the wood he will hit them with.'

The formal differences between patient and instrument inverse constructions are laid out in Table 7, wherein for simplicity I illustrate with only singular agent forms. The first two rows illustrate a verb with an ordinary patient; the second two rows illustrate a verb with a locative patient.

Table 7. Comparison of Patient and Instrument Inverse Constructions

	Unrealized	Realized
Inverse <i>sapi' anu...</i> 'the cow which...'	<i>ku-kolot</i> 'I slaughter' <i>o-kolot-um</i> 'you slaughter' <i>o-kolot-nyo</i> 'he slaughters'	<i>kinolot-tu</i> 'I slaughtered' <i>kinolot-um</i> 'you slaughtered' <i>kinolot-nyo</i> 'he slaughtered'
Inverse Instrument Focus <i>kapara anu...</i> 'the machete w/ which...'	<i>ku-pong-kolot</i> 'I slaughter' <i>pong-kolot-um</i> 'you slaughter' <i>pong-kolot-nyo</i> 'he slaughters'	<i>pinong-kolot-tu</i> 'I slaughtered' <i>pingong-kolot-um</i> 'you slaugh- tered' <i>pinong-kolot-nyo</i> 'he slaughtered'
Inverse <i>sapi' anu...</i> 'the cow which...'	<i>ku-segot-i</i> 'I tie up' <i>o-segot-i-um</i> 'you tie up' <i>o-segot-i-nyo</i> 'he ties up'	<i>sinegot-an-ku</i> 'I tied up' <i>sinegot-an-um</i> 'you tied up' <i>sinegot-an-nyo</i> 'he tied up'
Inverse Instrument Focus <i>randang anu...</i> 'the cord with which...'	<i>ku-pon-segot-i</i> 'I tie up' <i>pon-segot-i-um</i> 'you tie up' <i>pon-segot-i-nyo</i> 'he ties up'	<i>pinon-segot-i-ngku</i> 'I tied up' <i>pinon-segot-i-um</i> 'you tied up' <i>pinon-segot-i-nyo</i> 'he tied up'

Finally, in these alternative inverse constructions, there are two choices for encoding a first person singular patient. Either the regular independent pronoun *aku* may be used, or else the special form *iyau'* may be used. The form *iyau'* could be considered a non-focused patient pronoun.<sup>10</sup> Special forms do not exist for any other persons or numbers, only for the first person singular patient.

- (60) *Ka'a kau' anu pom-bobal-i-nyo iyau'* (or: *aku*).  
 this wood REL FOC-hit-LP-3sG 1sP 1s  
 'This is the wood he will hit me with.'

Compare the unacceptability of *iyau'* to encode patient in an ordinary inverse construction:

- (61) *O-bobal-i-nyo aku (\*iyau')*  
 UNRZ.INV:hit-LP-3sG 1s 1sP  
 'He will hit me.'

Similarly, it is also possible to focus on the location, though I have fewer examples of this construction. Compare the following three examples illustrating the verb *monguna'* 'place, stow'. In example (62c) the location is focused.

- (62) a. *Una-'akon kacamata-ngku.*  
 stow-BEN eyeglasses-1sG  
 'Put my glasses away.'
- b. *N-una'-ku-mo kacamata*  
 RLZD.INV-stow-1sG-PERF eyeglasses  
 'I've put the eyeglasses away.'
- c. *Lamari p[in]ong-una'-an-ku.*  
 cabinet RLZD.INV:FOC-stow-LOC-1sG  
 'The cabinet is where I put them.'

<sup>10</sup>For completeness it would be nice to know how a first person singular patient would be realized in active voice. In main clauses, however, pronominal patients are normally compatible only with inverse voice.

Whereas the locative patient marker *-an* alternates with *-i* (see above Section 4.2.3) it would appear that in location focus constructions the prefix *poN-* is paired with *-an* regardless of aspect, compare example (63).

- (63) *Lamari pong-una'-an-nyo.*  
 cabinet FOC-stow-LOC-3sG  
 'The cabinet is where he will put (them).'

For that matter, the verb *monguna'* can also be constructed with a locative patient. The cabinet of example (63) is a focused location, but the basket of example (64) is constructed as a locative patient; note the differences in verb form

- (64) *Saidi'-je karanji taio' o-'una'-i-nu ara dugian.*  
 directly-near.future basket that.level RLZD.INV-stow-LP-GEN 3p durian  
 'In just a bit they will load the basket with durian.'

A single location focus construction occurs in the appended text, based on the transitive verb *mompobakas* 'release, set free'. By way of comparison I repeat it here in example (65).

- (65) *Lipu-lipu i inde boi mama' p[in]om-pobakas-an-niu iyau'*  
 REDP-village PN mother and father RLZD.INV:FOC-release-LOC-2pG 1sP  
 'The village of Mother and Father is where you have released me.'

It would appear that in Bobongko beneficiaries can also be focused, in which case the verb takes *poN-*, *-akon* and *-an*, but as potential evidence I can produce only a single example, shown in (66).

- (66) *Aliali-um anu p[in]om-be'-akon-an-ku kapara-um.*  
 younger.sibling-2sG REL RLZD.INV:FOC-give-BEN-LOC-1sG machete-2sG  
 'It was your younger brother to whom I gave your machete.'

Compare example (67) in which the beneficiary is not focused.

- (67) *Kapara-um b[in]e'-akon-ku be-nu ali-ali-um.*  
 machete-2sG RLZD.INV:give-BEN-1sG for-GEN younger.sibling-2sG  
 'Your machete I gave to your younger brother.'

### 4.3 Non-verbal Clauses

Having discussed verbal clauses and the various focus constructions associated with Bobongko verbs, I now turn to certain clausal constructions which do not make use of a verbal predicate. Classification and identification in Bobongko are encoded through simple juxtaposition of two nominal constituents. The negator in this construction, equivalent to Malay *bukan*, is *misa'*.

- (68) *Aku mian-nu Amerika.*  
 1s person-GEN Amerika  
 'I am an American.'

- (69) *Taio' misa' gianan-ku.*  
 that.level NEG house-1sG  
 'That is not my house.'

The existential particle in Bobongko is *kokuon*. The negator for existence is *mba'oo*.

- (70) *Kokuon loog.*  
 exist ant  
 'There are ants (here).'



- (71) *Mba'oo kokuon gura'-miu?*  
 NEG exist sugar-2pG  
 'Do you not have any sugar?' (literally, Does your sugar not exist?)

The particle *kokuon* is also used to encode location. The standard negator *mba'* is used to negate location.

- (72) *Ia kokuon iruka.*  
 3s exist here  
 'He is here.'

- (73) *Mian anu ku-kamako-i mba' kokuon i gianan.*  
 person REL UNRZ.INV.1sA-visit-PL NEG exist at home  
 'The person I planned to visit wasn't home.'

Location, however, can also be encoded simply by juxtaposing a nominal element with a prepositional phrase or deictic adverb.

- (74) *Kaide' kukis. Mbo'o kita mong-kaan.*  
 here cookies let's 1pn UNRZ.ACT-eat  
 'Here are some cookies. Let's eat.'

Another, apparently secondary use of *kokuon* is in yes-no interrogatives. In example (75) *kokuon* could still be interpreted as having its existential function, but in example (76) it cannot.

- (75) *Kokuon mian nong-kaan dugian iruka narutu?*  
 exist person RLZD.ACT-eat durian here near.past  
 'Was there someone eating durian here earlier?'

- (76) *Kokuon oko nong-kaan lampi' anu in-una'-ku iruka?*  
 exist 2s RLZD.ACT-eat banana REL RLZD.INV-store-1sG here  
 'Did you eat the bananas I left here?'

#### 4.4 Deictics

Table 8 illustrates deictic forms which occurred in our data, arranged into a semblance of order. An empty square indicates a lack of data, and should not be taken to mean that the form does not occur. I am confident of the distal terms. There appear to be two sets of medial terms, of which the *taa'* series may refer to objects near the hearer.

The table presents deictics in their full forms. The long vowel *aa* of *taa'*, *takaang* and related forms is often shortened to *a*. Likewise, in context the initial *i* of *ikaang*, *ikio'*, *ikita'*, etc. is often omitted.

Table 8. Bobongko Deictics

	Deictic Adverbs	Deictic Adjectives	Deictic Pronouns	Deictic Presentatives
Proximal	<i>iruka'</i> <i>kaide'</i> <i>ika'a</i>	<i>ka'a</i>		<i>ka'amo</i>
Medial		<i>taa'</i>	<i>antaa'</i>	
	<i>itina'</i>	<i>katina'</i>		
Distal higher Level lower	<i>ikita'</i>	<i>taita'</i>	<i>antaita'</i>	<i>taita'mo</i>
	<i>ikio'</i>	<i>taio'</i>	<i>antaio'</i>	<i>taio'mo</i>
	<i>ikaang</i>	<i>takaang</i>	<i>antakaang</i>	<i>takaangmo</i>

Of the three proximal deictic adverbs given in Table 8, *iruka*' indicates a general location 'around here somewhere', often implying that, when a particular object is under consideration, it is present but out of sight. The adverb *kaide*' on the other hand has the opposite import, '(right) here in sight'. How *ika'a* differs from either of these is presently unknown.

As their name implies, deictic adjectives mostly appear as noun modifiers, where they occur last in the noun phrase. Compare the following examples.

- (77) *ajaran taa'*  
horse that  
'that horse'
- (78) *I lipu ka'a*  
at village this  
'in this village'
- (79) *sapi'-um taio'*  
cow-2sG that.level  
'that cow of yours'
- (80) *ampas anu k[in]omale'-an-um taio'*  
mat REL RLZD.INV:sleep.on-LP-2sG that.level  
'that mat which you were sleeping on'

Deictic adjectives can also be used independently, that is they can fill the same positions as do ordinary noun phrases. See example (81) immediately below, as well as example (69) above.

- (81) *Taio' p[in]okopian-ku-mo nabongi sa-mparu.*  
that.level RLZD.INV:repair-1sG-PERF yesterday one-night  
'I fixed that (my fence) the day before yesterday.'

As illustrated in example (82), however, it is also possible for a deictic pronoun to be used in this context. Deictic pronouns are identical to deictic adjectives plus the prefix *an-* (a reduced form of the relative clause marker *anu*). Deictic pronouns have **only** an independent use, and are not used as noun modifiers.

- (82) *Antaio' ku-pokopian-je dadapii.*  
that.one.level UNRZ.INV.1sAG-repair-near.future tomorrow  
'I'll fix that tomorrow.'

Deictic presentatives are used to bring an object present in the speech situation into the hearer's awareness. Next to *ka'amo* also occur the periphrastic constructions *ka'amo taa* and *ka'a taa'* in the same meaning.

- (83) *Ka'a-mo kapara-um.*  
this-PERF machete-2sG  
'Here is your machete.'
- (84) *Ka'a-mo taa' kau' p[in]om-bobal-i-ngku.*  
this-PERF that wood RLZD:FOC-hit-LP-1sG  
'Here is the wood that I hit it with.'

In addition to the above mentioned forms, Bobongko has two other forms which could be considered deictic elements: the interrogative *iaa* and the directional *mai*. As a noun modifier *iaa* usually translates into English as ‘which?’, but in other contexts as ‘where?’<sup>11</sup>

(85) *Lampi’ iaa anu k[in]aan-um narutu?*  
 banana where? REL RLZD.INV:eat-2sG near.past  
 ‘Which bananas did you just eat?’

(86) *Antaa’ iaa o-ala-um?*  
 that.one where? UNRZ.INV-take-2sG  
 ‘Which of those will you take?’

(87) *Iaa kapara-ngku?*  
 where? machete-1sG  
 ‘Where is my machete?’

Bobongko has one directional particle, *mai* (allomorphs *nai* following *n* and *ngai* following *ng*). Although the basic sense of *mai* could be described as ‘hither’, in actuality its uses are broader than this; furthermore there is apparently no corresponding directional particle meaning ‘thither’. In our data, *mai* distributes in one of three positions. On the one hand it appears as a post-verbal satellite, as in examples (88) and (89).

(88) *Dabu’akon-o mai asi.*  
 drop-PERF hither also  
 Drop some here too.

(89) *Jadi nontoka mai ande’ p[in]enek-nyo*  
 so RLZD:come hither monkey RLZD.INV:climb-3sG  
 So Monkey came and climbed it.

It is also found following deictic adverbs where it imparts the sense of ‘from’.

(90) *Binte’ ka’a kita’ mai Australia.*  
 corn this up.there hither Australia  
 ‘This corn is from Australia.’

(91) *Ia nopalai kio’ mai i kampung taio’.*  
 3s RLZD:flee there.level hither at village that.level  
 ‘He fled from that village.’

(92) *Oko nontoka kio’ iaa mai?*  
 2s RLZD:come there.level where? Hither  
 ‘Where did you come from?’

Finally, in a very few cases *mai* appears to be used as an independent verb.

(93) *Mai mom-boa-kon juku’.*  
 hither UNRZ.ACT-carry-BEN meat  
 ‘Come bring some meat (for me).’

<sup>11</sup>For the record, the other content interrogatives of Bobongko are *iree* ‘who?’, *olo* ‘what?’, *sangkuka* ‘how many?’, *naikuka* ‘when? (asking about the past)’, *torikuka* ‘when? (asking about the future)’, *mongkuka* ‘do what?’, *mosiaa* ‘how?’ and *baikade* ‘why?’.

## 5 SAMPLE TEXT: *MONKEY AND TURTLE*

The following text<sup>12</sup> was told by Nurlan Andy Massa, age 43, in Lembanato village in January 2001. Transcription, glossing and free translation are by David Mead. The audio recording from which this text was transcribed has been archived in digital format at the Language and Culture Archives of SIL International, Dallas, Texas.

- (1) *I ande' boi kalapuang nosangalu.*  
 PN monkey and turtle RLZD:be.friends  
 Monkey and Turtle were friends.
- (2) *Jadi no-sangalu ka'a, no-tugal lampi'.*  
 so RLZD:be.friends this RLZD:ACT-plant banana  
 So they being friends, they planted bananas.
- (3) *Bagitu mo-tugal lampi' ka'a,*  
 like.that UNRZ:ACT-plant banana this  
 When they were planting bananas,  
*nako nom-bungko' sama-sama,*  
 RLZD:go RLZD:ACT-dig.up together  
 they went and dug up (a banana plant) together,  
*anu i kalapuang pu'un-nyo,*  
 REL PN turtle trunk-3sG  
 Turtle's was the trunk,  
*anu i ande' tu'-nyo.*  
 REL PN monkey top-3sG  
 Monkey's was the top.
- (4) *Jadi bagitu t[in]ugal,*  
 so like.that RLZD.INV:plant  
 So when it was planted.  
*nimbua' mai,*  
 RLZD:bear.fruit hither  
 it was fruiting out,  
*anu i ande' inate,*  
 REL PN monkey RLZD:die  
 Monkey's died,  
*anu i kalapuang inimbua' k[in]opian sampe inara.*  
 REL PN turtle RLZD:bear.fruit RLZD:good until RLZD:ripe  
 Turtle's fruited well until it was ripe.

<sup>12</sup>Six instances of repaired speech have not been noted in this transcribed version:

Sentence (1). *boi* 'and'. In the glossing this word is treated as monomorphemic, but it could possibly be parsed as *bo* 'and' followed by the personal name marker *i*.

Sentence (3). *anu i* 'that of'. Here and in the following sentence the full form is transcribed. In the original, spoken version our storyteller contracted these two words to /ane/.

Sentence (6). *nara* 'forced, finally, in the end' is possibly nothing other than a special use of the verb *mara* 'ripe'. In *penek-kakon-nai*, the doubling of the final *k* of *penek* is unexplained.

Sentence (10). *koi* 'say', possibly contains the personal name marker *i*. See comment above (sentence 1) regarding *boi*.

Sentence (25). *o-po'ipit* 'squeezed', more specifically, 'squeezed or stuffed into a crack'.

- (5) *Jadi bagitu mong-ala-mo bua'-nyo,*  
 so like.that UNRZ:AF-fetch-PERF fruit-3sG  
 so when she was about to get the fruit,  
*i kalapuang o-penek tingka-tingkayang mba' poko'ala,*  
 PN turtle UNRZ.INV-climb REDP-on.back NEG able  
 Turtle was climbing on her back, she was not able,  
*o-penek ingki-'ingkili' mba' poko'ala,*  
 UNRZ.INV-climb REDP-on.side NEG able  
 she was climbing on her side she was not able,  
*o-penek kampa-kampa' mba' poko'ala.*  
 UNRZ.INV-climb REDP-on.stomach NEG able  
 she was climbing on her stomach she was not able.
- (6) *Nara ia nako non-tiang i ande'.*  
 forced 3s RLZD:go RLZD:ACT-invite PN monkey  
 She was forced to go call Monkey.
- (7) *Kon-nyo, "Ande', penek-kakon-nai pe'e lampi'-ku."*  
 say-3sG monkey climb-BEN-hither INCOMP banana-1sG  
 She said, "Monkey, please climb up for my bananas."
- (8) *Jadi nontoka mai ande' p[in]enek-nyo.*  
 so RLZD:come hither monkey RLZD.INV:climb-3sG  
 So Monkey came and climbed it.
- (9) *Bagitu p[in]enek-nyo,*  
 like.that RLZD.INV:climb-3sG  
 When he had climbed it  
*kon-nyo, "Ne-pe'e, da-ku-tontan-i."*  
 say-3sG don't-INCOMP still-UNRZ.INV.1sA-taste-LP  
 he said, "Patience, I'm still tasting it first."
- (10) *Koi kalapuang, "Dabu'akon-o mai asi."*  
 say turtle drop-PERF hither also  
 Said Turtle, "Drop some hither too."
- (11) *Kon-nyo, "Ne-pe'e, da-o-tontan-i."*  
 say-3sG don't-INCOMP still-UNRZ.INV-taste-LP  
 he said, "Patience, it's still being tasted."
- (12) *Sampe iningkot bua'-u lampi' k[in]aan-nyo terus.*  
 until RLZD.finished fruit-GEN banana RLZD.INV:eat-3sG continually  
 Until the bananas were finished off he ate them continuously.
- (13) *Bagitu, ningkot-o k[in]aan-nyo,*  
 like.that RLZD:finished-PERF RLZD.INV:eat-3sG  
 When he had finished eating them,



*Apreliminary Sketch of the Bobongko Language*

*kon-nyo*, “*Buka payung-ung.*”  
say-3sG open headcloth-3sG  
he said, “Open your headcloth.”

- (14) *Bagitu b[in]uka i kalapuang,*  
like.that RLZD.INV:open PN turtle  
When Turtle had opened her headcloth  
*d[in]abu’akon-nyo mai unka’ nya’u-nyo.*  
RLZD.GF:drop-3sG hither only feces-3sG  
he dropped only his feces.
- (15) *Terpaksa, i kalapuang ka’a, no-lio daya*  
as.a.result PN turtle this RLZD:ACT-seek method  
As a result, Turtle sought some way  
*o-pate-i-nyo i ande’.*  
UNRZ.INV-kill-LP-3sG PN monkey  
to kill Monkey.
- (16) *P[in]ate-an-nyo, n-alap-akon-nyo polau,*  
RLZD.INV:die-LP-3sG RLZD.INV-fetch-BEN-3sG stake  
She killed him, she fetched stakes for him  
*bo ta’je t[in]a’an-an-nyo polau i ande’.*  
and afterward RLZD.INV:set-LP-3sG stake PN monkey  
and then she set them for Monkey.
- (17) *Ningkot t[in]a’an-an-nyo polau,*  
RLZD:finished RLZD.INV:set-LP-3sG stake  
Having finished setting the stakes,  
*i-laya’an-nyo mule’ i ande’ no-menek*  
RLZD.INV-call-LP-3sG again PN monkey RLZD:ACT-climb  
She called Monkey again (and) he climbed.
- (18) *Bagitu no-menek, nanabu’ i ande’.*  
like.that RLZD:ACT-climb RLZD:fall PN monkey  
When he climbed, Monkey fell.
- (19) *Na-nabu’ i ande’,*  
RLZD:fall PN monkey  
(When) Monkey fell,  
*t[in]unu-nyo, b[in]au-nyo bubudon.*  
RLZD.INV:burn-3sG RLZD.INV:make-3sG lime  
she burned him, she made lime.
- (20) *B[in]oa-kon-nyo bele-nu sangalu-nyo, anu to-pomangan.*  
RLZD.INV:bring-BEN-3sG for-GEN companion-3sG REL person-chew.betel  
She brought it for his companions, who were betel chewers.

- (21) *P[in]omangan-nyo, ningkot-o nomangan ara,*  
 RLZD.INV:chew.betel-3sG RLZD:finished-PERF RLZD:chew.betel 3p  
 (When) he had chewed it, (when) they had finished chewing,  
*g[in]eleng-an-nyo i kalapuang.*  
 RLZD.INV:laugh-LP-3sG PN turtle  
 turtle laughed at them.
- (22) *Koi kalapuang,*  
 say turtle  
 Said turtle,  
*“Buku-buku-mo-nu sangalu-miu, k[in]aan-niu.”*  
 REDP-bone-PERF-GEN companion-2pG RLZD.INV:eat-2pG  
 “You ate your companion’s bones.”
- (23) *Jadi terpaksa karena sanga-sangalu-nu ande’ narutu,*  
 so as.a.result because REDP-companion-GEN monkey just.then  
 So as a result, because the monkey’s companions  
*k[in]osolom-an-nyo “Mungkin ungka’*  
 RLZD.INV:remember-LP-3sG perhaps only  
 were struck by the thought, “Perhaps it was only  
*buku-nu sangalu-ngku ka’a k[in]aan-nami,”*  
 bone-GEN companion-1sG this RLZD.INV:eat-1pxG  
 my companion’s bones that we ate,”  
*n-umpar-an-nu ara i kalapuang.*  
 RLZD.INV-chase-LP-GEN 3p PN turtle  
 they chased the turtle.
- (24) *N-umpar-an-nu ara i kalapuang,*  
 RLZD.INV-chase-LP-GEN 3p PN turtle  
 They chased the turtle,  
*s[in]ampa-nu ara, o-pate-i-nu ara.*  
 RLZD.INV:get-GEN 3p UNRZ.INV-kill-LP-GEN 3p  
 they caught her, they were going to kill her.
- (25) *Sadangkan i kalapuang ka’a mo-gele-gele’ ampung,*  
 although PN turtle this UNRZ:ACT-REDP-request forgiveness  
 Although Turtle asked forgiveness,  
*“Ah, mba’,” kon-nu ara,*  
 oh NEG say-GEN 3p  
 “Oh no,” they said,  
*“Pomura-nyo o-boa o-po’ipit.”*  
 better-3sG UNRZ:INV-bring UNRZ.INV-squeeze  
 “It’s better she be brought and squeezed.”
- (26) *“Eh,” kon-nyo, “bo o-po’ipit-tiu,*  
 eh say-3sG and UNRZ.INV-squeeze-2pG  
 “Eh,” she said, “if you squeeze me,

*Apreliminary Sketch of the Bobongko Language*

*aku noko-damping butong-ku ka'a,*  
1s RLZD:APT-flat body-1sG this  
me, this body of mine can become flat

*karena p[in]o'ipit i inde boi mama'.*  
because RLZD.INV:squeeze PN mother and father  
from being squeezed by Mother and Father.”

- (27) “*Ah, o-boa mimenek kita' mai tu'-u kau'*  
oh UNRZ.INV-bring UNRZ:climb up.there hither top-GEN tree  
“Well, we will bring her up to the top of a tree

*bo o-dabu'akon.*”  
and UNRZ.INV-drop  
and drop her.”

- (28) “*Eh, bo o-boa-miu mimenek aku,*  
eh and UNRZ:INV-bring-2pG UNRZ:climb 1s  
“Eh, if you carry me up

*noko-limbung butong-ku ka'a*  
RLZD:APT-round body-1sG this  
this body of mine can become round

*bai b[in]oa i inde boi mama' nimenek.*”  
because RLZD.INV:bring PN mother and father RLZD:climb  
from being carried up by Mother and Father.”

- (29) *Jadi mosiaa, o-bau-akon ia?*  
so how? UNRZ.INV-do-BEN 3s  
So, what was to be done with her?

- (30) *Kon-nu ara, “Pomura-nyo, batak-on- ikio i ue.”*  
say-GEN 3p better-3sG throw.away-PERF there at water  
They said, “Rather, throw her into the water.”

- (31) “*Sadangkan o-batak-on ikio i ue,*” *kon-nyo,*  
although UNRZ:INV-throw over.there at water say-3sG  
“Although you throw me into the water,” she said,

*“aku noko-kudamol kilit-tu.”*  
1s RLZD:APT-thick skin-1sG  
“me, my skin can become thick.”

- (32) *B[in]atak-on-nu ara ikio i ue,*  
RLZD.INV:throw.away-GEN 3p over.there at water  
They threw her into the water

*“Mba', kana batak-on-o.”*  
NEG must throw.away-PERF  
(saying) “No, we must throw her away.”

- (33) *Bagitu b[in]atakon, komingkot-tu ingguli'on-nyo*  
 like.that RLZD.INV:throw.away end-GEN story-3sG  
 When they had thrown her away, the end of her saying was,  
 “*Lipu-lipu i inde boi mama' p[in]om-pobakas-an-niu iyau'.*”  
 REDP-village PN mother and father RLZD.INV:FOC-release-LOC-2pG 1sP  
 “The village of Mother and Father is where you have released me.”
- (34) *Ningkot-o.*  
 RLZD:finished-PERF  
 That's all.

**APPENDIX: List of Abbreviations**

Pronouns:

1s	first person singular
1pn	first person plural inclusive
1px	first person plural exclusive
2s	second person singular
2p	second person plural
3s	third person singular
3p	third person plural
G	genitive (suffix)
A	non-focused agent (prefix)
P	non-focused patient (independent pronoun)

Other:

ACT	active voice
APT	aptative
BEN	beneficiary
CAUS	causative prefix
FOC	focus prefix (instrument, location and beneficiary focus only)
GEN	genitive linker
INCOMP	incompletive marker
INV	inverse voice
LOC	location focus suffix
LP	locative patient suffix
NEG	negator
PERF	perfective
PN	personal name marker
REL	relative clause marker
REDP	reduplication
RLZD	realized aspect
UNRZ	unrealized aspect

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