MARKING FOCUS IN BALANTAK

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Balantak, a language of eastern Central Sulawesi, has a two-way focus system: actor focus and goal focus. Both types are morphologically distinct for realis and irrealis. The actor focus prefixes have a wide range of allomorphs. In realis goal focus a further distinction is made on the basis of the presence or absence of the actor.

1 INTRODUCTION

While the two-focus system found in Balantak is typical of other Central Sulawesi languages like Da'a (Barr 1988) and Uma (Martens 1988), the marking of focus in Balantak is quite different. The actor focus (AF) prefix shows similarities to the Indonesian meng-prefix, but has considerably greater phonological variation. Goal focus (GF) can be marked on the verb by a prefix, infix, or suffix, or by an unmarked verb. Both actor and goal focus are also marked as either realis or irrealis. Focus markings are used only with transitive verbs; intransitive verbs, which are goalless, are AF by default.

2 ACTOR FOCUS

2.1 Overview

The primary function of the AF prefix is to mark the actor as the topic of the clause. It contrasts with GF which marks the goal or object as topic of the clause. The two focus markers are mutually exclusive in a given instance. AF and GF can be roughly compared to active and passive voice in English, or the meng- and di- verbal prefixes in Indonesian. In Balantak, however, the actor does not have to be stated in the clause if it is obvious from context. The same is true for goal and goal focus.

When the AF prefix occurs, it is always the first prefix on the verb. It can be followed by other optional aspect prefixes preceding the verb root. When these aspect prefixes occur, they combine with the root to form a verb base which affects the phonological shape of the AF prefix.

As in Da'a, the AF and GF markings are portmanteau for marking realis and irrealis. The basic irrealis form of the AF prefix is
mVng-; the basic realis form is nVng-. All that distinguishes irrealis from realis is the initial nasal. The following chart summarizes the basic structure of AF-marked verbs. (Note that cooccurrence restrictions among aspect prefixes and cooccurrence restrictions of the aspect prefixes with the goal-related suffixes are not indicated.)

**Chart 1: Verb Structure with Actor Focus Prefix**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AF Prefix</th>
<th>Aspect Prefixes</th>
<th>G-related Suffixes</th>
<th>Compleitive Suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mVng- (AF/I)</td>
<td>pi'- (ATT)</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>-i (LOC)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ki'- (REQ)</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>-mo (COM)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nVng- (AF/R)</td>
<td>pa'-, po'- (CAUS)</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>-kon (BEN)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>poo'- (REC)</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 2.2 Morphophonemic Rules related to the AF Prefix

The following factors affect the actual phonological representation or shape of the AF prefixes, mVng- (AF/I), and nVng- (AF/R), and the shape of the following verb root or base.

1) There is complete identity (harmony) on the part of the AF prefix vowel with the first following verb base vowel. Note these examples:

- ala --> mang-ala 'to get'
- keke --> meng-keke 'to dig'
- ili --> ming-ili 'to buy'
- goop --> mong-goop 'to suck'
- usuk --> mung-usuk 'to stab'

2) A second V, also of complete identity with the first following verb base vowel, is added (epenthesis) to the AF prefix (making it two syllables) when the prefix precedes bases beginning with sonorants (that is, /m,n,ng,r,l,w,y/). It is absent elsewhere. Note these examples:

- nakat --> manga-nakat 'to lift'
- leelo' --> menge-leelo' 'to call'
- rimpung --> mingi-rimpung 'to gather'
woot --> mongo-woot 'to load'
yunggot --> mungu-yunggot 'to shake'

3) The velar nasal /ng/ of the AF prefix occurs before verb bases which are either vowel-initial, velar obstruent-initial, or sonorant-initial (as in the examples above); when it precedes verb bases which begin with alveolar obstruents or the voiced bilabial stop, the velar nasal assimilates to the same point of articulation. Note these examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Input</th>
<th>Output</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tatapi</td>
<td>man-tatapi</td>
<td>'to wash clothes'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daga</td>
<td>man-dagai</td>
<td>'to guard'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sagia</td>
<td>man-sagia</td>
<td>'to plan'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bolos</td>
<td>mom-bolos</td>
<td>'to borrow'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4) a. When the AF prefix precedes a verb root which is /p/-initial, and the second syllable of the root does not begin with /p/, the /p/ is deleted after triggering the assimilation noted in 3) above. Note these examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Input</th>
<th>Output</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pake</td>
<td>mam-ake</td>
<td>'to use'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>penek</td>
<td>mem-enek</td>
<td>'to climb'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>piile'</td>
<td>mim-iile'</td>
<td>'to see'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>posuu'</td>
<td>mum-osuu'</td>
<td>'to send'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pukul</td>
<td>mum-ukul</td>
<td>'to hit'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. However, when the second syllable of the root is also /p/-initial, the initial /p/ is retained. In this case there is only nasal assimilation. Note these examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Input</th>
<th>Output</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pipir</td>
<td>mim-pipir</td>
<td>'to splatter'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pupu</td>
<td>mum-pupu</td>
<td>'to pick'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>popok</td>
<td>mom-popok</td>
<td>'to cut'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

c. When the AF prefix is attached to verb bases beginning with /p/-initial verbal prefixes, the situation is less straightforward. Balantak has four /p/-initial prefixes, viz. pa'- and po'- (both causative), pi'- (attemptive), and poo'- (reciprocal)--in each case the prefix-final glottal is deleted before verb bases beginning with consonants--and their phonological behavior with respect to the AF prefix does not seem to be predictable. Notice the following examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Input</th>
<th>Output</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pa-kana'</td>
<td>mam-a-kana'</td>
<td>'to fasten'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa-pate-i</td>
<td>mam-pa-pate-i</td>
<td>'to kill'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>po-pupu</td>
<td>mom-po-pupu</td>
<td>'to fulfill, finish'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pi-siso'</td>
<td>mim-i-siso'</td>
<td>'to teach'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pi-piile'</td>
<td>mim-i-piile'</td>
<td>'to try to see'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mim-piile'-kon</td>
<td>'to show'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pi-pupu</td>
<td>mim-i-pupu</td>
<td>'to try to pick'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poo-maso'</td>
<td>mom-poo-maso'</td>
<td>'to be respectively angry with s.o.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poo-tundun-ii-kon</td>
<td>mom-oo-tundun-ii-kon</td>
<td>'to discuss'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The question whether this is a rule-governed system needs further investigation.

In summary, we see that BOTH the syllable-initial vowel of the verb root or base AND its initial consonant (when it occurs) combine to condition the phonological shape of the AF prefix. The phonological process of vowel harmony applies in every occurrence of the morpheme; additionally, the processes of vowel epenthesis and nasal assimilation apply in certain phonological environments. This contrasts with Indonesian where only the process of nasal assimilation conditions the meng- prefix.

The following chart shows the allomorphs for the AF prefix, and the environments where they occur. The classes of verb base-initial phonemes are listed across the top (for ease of comparison, /p/ is grouped with /b/), and the five vowels to the right of the chart. Note that these forms are only for irrealis; for realis, change initial /m/ to /n/.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SONORANTS</th>
<th>OBSTRUENTS and VOWELS</th>
<th>Initial / phoneme / / Vowel of /first syl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m, n, ng</td>
<td>p, b</td>
<td>k, g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l, r</td>
<td>t, d, s</td>
<td>a, e, i, o, u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w, y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mango-</td>
<td>mam-</td>
<td>mang-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mem-</td>
<td>men-</td>
<td>meng-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mim-</td>
<td>min-</td>
<td>ming-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mom-</td>
<td>mon-</td>
<td>mong-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mum-</td>
<td>mun-</td>
<td>mung-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.3 Examples and Further Explanation

Following are several example sentences taken from texts; the AF prefix is shown in CAPS.

(1) Yaku' MENCE- rencana -kon -mo MANGA- naa' pae -ngku.
I AF/I- plan -BEN -COM AF/I- store rice -my
'I make plans to store my rice.'

(2) Tanggal tuju yaku' NUNU- mulai -mo limang -on -ku
date seventh I AF/R- begin -COM work -GF/I -I
MINGI- limba' wurung Balantak.
AF/I- move language B.

'On the seventh I began my work of translating Balantak.'

(3) gause i raaya'a NENGE- wewe utok -ku men
   because PI they AF/R- liquefy brain -my REL
   baku.
   stiff

   '... because they invigorated my sluggish brain.'

(4) Yaku' MUNGU- yunggot kau.
   I AF/I- shake tree
   'I shake a tree.'

(5) Yaku' tongko' MANGA- ngaan mian l -um- iu.
   I only AF/I- name people -VRi- pass
   'I only name the people who are passing by.'

The above examples show the occurrence of the second V of the AF prefix when it precedes verb bases beginning with a sonorant. This V does not appear elsewhere. Note the vowel harmony with the V of the initial syllable of the verb. Note also in the examples above that the velar nasal /ng/ always occurs in the disyllabic form of the prefix. When the initial segment of the verb base is not a sonorant, or a vowel or velar obstruent, the nasal /ng/ assimilates to the point of articulation of the following obstruent. Following are some mono-syllabic forms of the AF prefix:

(6) Poko -on asok -i -on, yaku' MAM- bala -mo.
   able -GP/I plant -LOC -GP/I I AF/I- fence -COM
   'When the planting (of the garden) is accomplished, I
   fence (it).' 

(7) Yaku' NEN- tete' -mo au' bino samba=samba -ngku.
   I AF/R- signal -COM dog for companion -my
   'I signaled for dogs to accompany me.'

(8) Yaku' ia posuu'-mo i Tanta Leida mae' MOM- bolos
   I she command -COM PI Aunt L. go AF/I- borrow
   motor na i Pandita Beroa.
   cycle of PI pastor B.

   'I was told by Aunt Leida to go borrow Pastor Beroa's cycle.'
(9) Yaku' tandang -mo pore=pore dako' MUNG- utun anak. I lean up -COM carefully so not AF/I- crush child 'I lean it up carefully so that it won't crush children.'

(10) Ari mama MON- dodongo -i ale'. PL mother AF/I- dwell -LOC garden 'Mother and her companions stay at the garden.'

(11) Yaku' MAM- bantil -kon tarima kasi -ngku ni Arlina I AF/I- inform -BEN thank you -my to A. men NUN- tulung -i i sina ni Verona MANG- ka'apu REL AF/R- help -LOC PI mother of V. AF/I- cook ka' MAN- tatapi -kon pakean -ma. and AF/I- wash -BEN clothes -our 'I express my thanks to Arlina who helped Verona's mother cook and wash our clothes.'

Note in example (9) above that the actor of the actor-focused verb is not stated, but it is clear in the context of the text from which this example was taken. The following examples show how the AF prefix causes the deletion of the initial /p/ of the verb base in (12) and (13), but does not cause it to be deleted when successive syllables begin with /p/, as in (14) and (15). The deleted /p/ is shown in square brackets.

(12) Tae -mai, "Mae' MIM- [p]ikirawar too dauga'na word -our, go AF/I- ask probably still mae' i kuu waaro'o Palu liila." go PI you go down P. tomorrow 'We said, "We came to ask if perhaps you're still going to Palu tomorrow.'"

(13) ... ka' MOM- [p]oo- tundun -ii -kon mian men boo and AF/I- REC- speak -LOC -BEN people REL will pan- tapon -i tamu. NR- greet -LOC guest '... and we discuss together which people will greet the guests.'

(14) Tae -na, "Tiket yaku' -si a MIM- pi- piile' word -his ticket I -later PART AF/I- ATT- see
'He said, "I will show the ticket to the employee later."'

(15) Yaku' NANG- ala -mo peling sang- kolong ka'
     I     AF/R- get -COM peling.bamboo one- half and
     NOM- popor -i.
     AF/R- cut.even -LOC

'I got a half a peling bamboo and cut the end even.'

In summary, we see that the actual shape of the AF prefixes is conditioned by several morphophonemic processes. The primary function of the AF prefix is to mark the actor as topic of the sentence.

3 GOAL FOCUS

3.1 Overview

GF is also marked on the verb to indicate that the goal is the topic of the clause. The goal is usually that which receives the action of the verb. As mentioned earlier, GF and AF markings never occur on the same verb. That the actor is not in focus in GF clauses can be seen by the way it is optionally marked as a pronominal suffix on goal focus irrealis (GP/I) verbs, and, for one type of goal focus realis (GF/R), the actor can not be stated in the clause; it must be determined from context, or remain unknown. 8

The irrealis form of GF is the suffix -on. It follows the goal-related suffixes when they occur, and precedes the optional non-focus actor pronominal suffix. In some instances the GF/I verb can be translated as an English noun (as in (2) above), but the Balantak form is verbal. 9

There are two ways of marking the realis form of GF. In one instance, as noted above, the actor can not be stated in the clause. In the second construction, the actor is obligatorily named; the two constructions are mutually exclusive.

In the first case, GF/R is marked either with the prefix ni'-, or the infix -in-. These two forms appear to be identical in function and are in free variation, i.e. either one can be used with any verb base with identical meaning. However, the prefix form appears to be much more commonly used in daily conversation. The prefix occurs in the same position as the AF prefixes, i.e. preceding aspect prefixes if they occur. The infix -in- occurs following the first consonant of the verb base, or, if the verb base begins with a vowel, then preceding that vowel. 10

While several phonological processes are at work in AF prefixes,
only one process applies to GF affixes, in this case, consonant deletion: when the prefix *ni'*- precedes verb bases beginning with a consonant, the glottal consonant of the prefix is deleted.

The second way to indicate GF/R is with an unmarked verb—the verb has no focus affixes, though it may have the usual verb base affixation. For first and second person actors, a pronoun precedes the verb. For third person actors, the singular pronoun *ia* always precedes the verb, and then, if the actor is further named, the verb is followed by the plural pronoun or a noun phrase.

The following chart summarizes the basic structure of irrealis and realis GF-marked verbs. The top section is for GF/I verbs, and the bottom section is for GF/R verbs. For the first type of GF/R, it should be noted that either the prefix or the infix may occur, but not both on the same verb. The second type of GF/R is indicated on the chart by ⋀.

### Chart 3: Verb Structure with Goal Focus Affixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Focus Prefix</th>
<th>Aspect Prefix</th>
<th>G-relat. Suffix</th>
<th>Focus Suffix</th>
<th>Nonfoc A pro. suf</th>
<th>Comple. suf</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I R (can not be used for GF/I verbs)</td>
<td><em>pi'</em>- (ATT)</td>
<td>V R</td>
<td>-i (LOC)</td>
<td>- on (GF/I)</td>
<td>-ku, 'I'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E A</td>
<td><em>ki'</em>- (REQ)</td>
<td>E 0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R 0</td>
<td><em>pa'</em>- (CAUS)</td>
<td>R 0</td>
<td>-kon (BEN)</td>
<td>(can not be used for GF/R verbs)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L (GF/R)</td>
<td><em>poo'</em>- (REC)</td>
<td>B T</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although the GF affixes show greater variation as to position in the verb, they do not show extensive morphophonological conditioning like the AF prefixes.

### 3.2 Examples and Further Explanation

In the following examples, the GF affix is shown in CAPS. These can not be translated with English passive in all cases; in an attempt to capture the natural focus in Balantak, the goal is also shown in CAPS in the free translation.
3.2.1 Goal Focus Irrealis

(16) Doi' iya'a, kalu sianta pake -ON -ku, taka money that if not use -GF/I -I arrive
indo'o, liuliu rookon -ON -ku i tuan Bob. down.there immediately give -GF/I -I PI Mr. B.

'THAT MONEY, if I don't use IT, when I arrive down there, I'll immediately give IT to Bob.'

(17) Ai koo akon bo dolo' -ON -mai. EMP you(sg) consider for get -GFI -us
'YOU are the one we're considering getting.'

(18) Yaku' ma- takut dako' kodi' ka' ma- nau', I S/I- afraid if not momentarily and S/I- long.time
too sian -mo soop -kon -ON a ngaan -ku. probably not -COM enter -BEN -GF/I PART name -my

'I'm afraid if it's not done soon but takes a long time that probably MY NAME will no longer be entered.'

(19) Suri -ON -ku kosian ko- pate -ngku a feel -GF/I -me not NRp- die -my PART
ko- maso' -i -ON.
NRp- anger -LOC -GF/I

'My feeling is that HIS GETTING MAD AT ME isn't too serious.'

(20) Too sianta inti'i -ON -na wurung Indonesia. probably not know -GF/I -he language I.
'Probably he doesn't know INDONESIAN.'

(21) Tae -na anak -na gaja iya'a, "Ai yaku' word -his child -his elephant that EMPA I
kodi' kaan -on -na -mo i Harimau." momentarily eat -GF/I -he -COM PI tiger

'Said Baby Elephant, "I will be eaten shortly by Tiger."'
3.2.2 Goal Focus Realis (Type 1)

The *ni*- prefix is more commonly used than the -*in-* infix. In the following examples, the -*in-* forms have been elicited.

(22) Ia bulai -mo min- soop i yaku' ka' NI- bulai
she invite -COM VRi- enter PI me and GF/R- invite
um- oruang.
VRi- sit

'She invited me to enter, and I was invited to sit down.'

(23) Daa -mo NI'- apak, yaku' ala a kau papaat
accomplish -COM GF/R- stack I get PART tree four
morio ka' NI- po- tindok.
small and GF/R- CAUS- stand.in.ground

'After they had been gathered, I got FOUR SMALL PIECES
OF WOOD and stuck them into the ground.'

(24) Yaku' ala -kon -mo bakoko' -ku ka' k -IN- olong -i
I get -BEN -COM knife -my and -GF/R- cut -LOC
a paraas tuo' -na.
PART direction live -its

'I got my knife and THE GROWING END was trimmed off.'

(25) Kasi b -IN- otak, kasi b -IN- ense=bense',
then GF/R- spilt.in.half then GF/R- split.evenly
kasi s -IN- ansangi.
then GF/R- trim

'Then IT was split in half, then split evenly more ways,
then trimmed.'

(26) Kai wawa -mo a motor, kasi NI- isiiti tia
we(ex.) took -COM PART cycle then GF/R- fill with
bensiin paat liter.
benze four liter

'We took the cycle, then filled IT with four liters
of gas.'
Note in the examples above with the realis form of GF that the actor does not appear in the same clause as the verb, though it can appear in the same sentence where two clauses are joined by the conjunction ka', 'and/then.'

3.2.3 Goal Focus Realis (Type 2)

In this construction, the verb base is not marked (i.e. affixed) for focus, and is preceded by an independent personal pronoun. This type is often found in, but not limited to, relative clauses. Note the following examples:

(27) Biai' a loka' YAKU' KAAN.
many PART bananas I eat
'I ate many BANANAS.'

(28) Loka' men KOO KAAN sian pore.
bananas REL you(sing.) eat not good
'The BANANAS that you ate were not good.'

(29) Na bangkal -mai karaale'ea biai'
at former.garden our(ex.) those.way.over.there many
a lato' KAI ASOK.
PART beans we(ex.) plant

'In our former gardens way over there we planted lots of BEANS.'

In the examples above, the actors have all been first or second person pronouns. When the actor is a noun or the third person plural pronoun, the independent third person singular pronoun ia is still used before the unmarked verb, which is then followed by a noun phrase or the third person plural pronoun, raaya'a. Note these examples:

(30) Ai Tomundo' no- samba' tuu' nim- [p]iile' isian
EMP king RE- amazed very AF/R- see there.is
Harimau pate IA WAWA kuda -na men IA ATORI.
tiger dead he carry horse -his REL he lead.away

'The king was very amazed to see the DEAD TIGER brought by THE HORSE that he had abandoned.'

(31) Kuda iya'a, IA ULE' -I -MO i Tomundo' ka'
horse that he return -LOC -COM PI king and
NI- totobo' soosoodo.
GF/R- care for again
'THE HORSE was returned to its previous position and cared for by the king.'

(32) Sarataa IA PIILE' i Harimau se' i Kancil
when he saw PI tiger that PI mousedeer
kaekae' mang- kaan i Gaja, ia
in the process of AF/I- eat PI elephant he
no- maso' -mo.
RE- angry -COM
'When tiger saw THAT MOUSEDEER WAS EATING ELEPHANT, he was angry.'

(33) Mbaka' i Gaja daa sian -mo IA KAAN i
so then PI elephant accomplish not -COM he eat PI Harimau.
tiger
'As a result ELEPHANT was not eaten by tiger.'

(34) Noko daa no- poo- atur i raaya'a, ai
after accomplish RE- REC- arrange PI they EMPA
Harimau IA PIILE' i raaya'a no- taka -mo.
tiger he see PI they RE- arrive -COM

'AFTER they had finished making their plans, they saw that TIGER HAD ALREADY ARRIVED.'

It could be argued that in these last examples ia is no longer an independent pronoun, but a passive prefix. Since the origin is clearly a free word and the element is not felt to be a prefix by native speakers, we treat it as a special usage of this pronoun. Yet one can clearly see the possibility of this construction developing into a full passive system.

4 CONCLUSION

We have attempted to explore and illustrate some of the unique
features of focus marking in Balantak. There are interesting similarities to Indonesian, but also very significant differences. Understanding the marking of focus is basic to understanding the Balantak verb and clause.

NOTES

1. The data for this paper were gathered primarily in Dolom village (00° 43' S 132° 22' E), Balantak Sub-district (Kecamatan), Banggai District (Kabupaten), Central Sulawesi, Indonesia, as part of the Balantak Field Program initiated by my wife, Marilyn, and myself in December, 1981, under the auspices of the Cooperative Program between Hasanuddin University and the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

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2. Balantak is an Austronesian language spoken by 20,000-30,000 people, located primarily in the Balantak and Lamala Districts (kecamatan) of Banggai Regency (kabupaten) in Central Sulawesi, Indonesia. It is a member of the Saluan Sub-group (Eastern Group) of Central Sulawesi languages (Barr, Barr and Salombe 1979:4 and 23-27).

   The orthography currently used in writing Balantak follows the revised Indonesian orthography for the five Balantak vowels, /a/, /e/, /i/, /o/, and /u/, but, for consonants, the Balantak glottal stop phoneme is exhaustively indicated by a single apostrophe ('), the symbol used for some occurrences of glottal stop in Indonesian in the old orthography. In Balantak there is a difference between vowel sequences without an intervening glottal /aa/, pronounced as a long vowel [a:], and vowel sequences with intervening glottal /a?a/, [a?a]. The glottal stop is a more productive phoneme in Balantak than in Indonesian.

   Present observation of a minimum amount of Balantak literature in use seems to indicate that those literate in Indonesian shift to the Balantak orthography with little difficulty.

   See Busenitz and Busenitz (1991), for a fuller description of Balantak phonology.
3. I am grateful to Charles Peck, an international linguistic consultant with the Summer Institute of Linguistics, for his many helpful comments regarding the analysis of the data and the writing of this paper. I am additionally grateful to Timothy Friberg and René van den Berg who have also given me significant input. Other colleagues as well have provided stimulating interaction and increased my understanding of Sulawesi languages.

4. In Balantak, realis is usually used for past time, and irrealis for nonpast time, i.e. both present and future. Further analysis is still necessary to determine other usages.

5. This process is very similar to the deletion of /p/, /t/, and /k/ following meng- in Bahasa Indonesia. However, /t/ and /k/ are never deleted in Balantak.

6. This feature of certain /p/'s which assimilate while others do not has also been reported to occur in Sabah, Malaysia (Dr. Charles Peck, personal communication). The /p/ of the Indonesian prefix per- as in memperbaiki, and memperkuat, is never deleted. It may be that some of these Balantak prefixes are in the process of shifting.

7. Besides the irrealis and realis AF prefixes, there is an infrequently used third prefix, pVng- which follows the same morphophonemic rules as the AF prefix. It appears to be atemporal, and frequently occurs with verbs—in dependent clauses. It can also be used for imperative or function as a nominalizer.

8. However, some dialect variation has been reported for this particular feature.

9. The GF/I suffix -on is homophonous with another suffix which functions as an adjectivizer of nouns, which then modify another noun; this second suffix must be distinguished from the GF/I suffix which functions as a verbalizer.

10. Verb bases beginning with a vowel only occur when verb roots beginning with a vowel have reduplication; all base-forming prefixes known to me are consonant-initial.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A     Actor
AF    Actor Focus
AF/I  Actor Focus Irrealis prefix
AF/R  Actor Focus Realis prefix
ATT   Attemptive prefix
BEN   Benefactive suffix
CAUS  Causative prefix
COM   Completive suffix/clitic
EPH   Emphatic article
G     Goal
GF    Goal Focus
GF/I  Goal Focus Irrealis suffix
GF/R  Goal Focus Realis prefix/infix
LOC   Locative suffix
N     Nasal
NR    Nominalizer
NRp   Nominalizer prefix
NRs   Nominalizer suffix
PART  Particle
PI    Person Identifier
PL    Plural
RE    Realis
REC   Reciprocal prefix
RED   Reduplication
REL   Relative marker
REQ   Requestive prefix
S/I   Stative Irrealis prefix
VRi   Verbalizer, intransitive
V     Vowel
=     indicates reduplication