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[1]

While the two-focus system found in Balantak[2] 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.[3] 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.[4] 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

	AF Prefix	Aspect Prefixes	V E R B R O O T	G-related Suffixes	Completive Suffix
I R R E	mVng- (AF/I)	pi'- (ATT) ki'- (REQ)	R O	-i (LOC)	-mo (COM)
R E A L	nVng- (AF/R)	pa'-, po'- (CAUS) poo'- (REC)	O B T	-kon (BEN)	
		V E R B B A S E			

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:

```
tatapi   -->     man-tatapi      `to wash clothes'
daga     -->     man-dagai       `to guard'
sagia    -->     man-sagia       `to plan'
bolos    -->     mom-bolos       `to borrow'
```

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.[5] Note
these examples:

```
pake     -->     mam-ake         `to use'
penek    -->     mem-enek        `to climb'
piile'   -->     mim-iile'       `to see'
posuu'   -->     mom-osuu'       `to send'
pukul    -->     mum-ukul        `to hit'
```

      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:

```
pipir    -->     mim-pipir       `to splatter'
pupu     -->     mum-pupu        `to pick'
popok    -->     mom-popok       `to cut'
```

      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 exam-
ples:

```
pa-kana'      -->   mam-a-kana'         `to fasten'
pa-pate-i     -->   mam-pa-pate-i       `to kill'
po-pupus      -->   mom-po-pupus        `to fulfill, finish'
pi-siso'      -->   mim-i-siso'         `to teach'
pi-piile'     -->   mim-i-piile'        `to try to see'
              -->   mim-pi-piile'-kon   `to show'
pi-pupu       -->   mim-i-pupu          `to try to pick'
poo-maso'     -->   mom-poo-maso'       `to be respectively
                                         angry with s.o.'
poo-tundun-ii-kon --> mom-oo-tundun-ii-kon
                                        `to discuss'
```

3

The question whether this is a rule-governed system needs further investigation.[6]

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/.[7]

Chart 2: Actor Focus Irrealis Allomorphs and their Environments

SONORANTS	OBSTRUENTS	and	VOWELS	Initial / phoneme / ──────── / Vowel of /first syl.
m,n,ng l,r w,y	p,b	t,d,s	k,g a,e,i,o,u	
manga-	mam-	man-	mang-	a
menge-	mem-	men-	meng-	e
mingi-	mim-	min-	ming-	i
mongo-	mom-	mon-	mong-	o
mungu-	mum-	mun-	mung-	u

2.3   Examples and Further Explanation

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

(1) Yaku' MENGE- 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' NUNGU- mulai -mo limang -on   -ku
    date   seventh I   AF/R- begin -COM work   -GF/I -I

4

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      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 -GF/I plant -LOC -GF/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.'
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(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  -mai.
     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
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-kon na pagawe    -na."
-BEN to employee -the
```

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'He said, "I will show the ticket to the employee
later."'
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(15) Yaku' NANG- ala -mo  peling           sang- kolong ka'
     I     AF/R- get -COM peling.bamboo one-  half   and
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     NOM-  popor    -i.
     AF/R- cut.even -LOC
```

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'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 (GF/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)ˋabove), 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 processess are at work in AF prefixes,

only one process applies to GF affixes, in this case, consonant dele-tion: 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 φ.

Chart 3:   Verb Structure with Goal Focus Affixes

	Focus Prefix	Aspect Prefix			G-relat. Suffix	Focus Suffix	Nonfoc A pro. suf	Comple. suf
I R R E A L	(can not be used for GF/I verbs)	pi'- (ATT) ki'- (REQ)	V E R R B	R O O T	-i (LOC)	-on (GF/I)	-ku, 'I' -muu, 'you' etc.	-mo (COM)
R E A L	(1) ni'- (2) φ (GF/R)	pa'- po'- (CAUS) poo'- (REC)	-in- (GF/R)		-kon (BEN)		(can not be used for GF/R verbs)	
		V E R B B A S E						

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 -ħe language I.
     'Probably he doesn't know INDONESIAN.'

(21) Tae -na anak -na gaja   iya'a, "Ai yaku'
     word -his child -his elephang 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 th
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-   isii tia
     we(ex.) took -COM PART cycle then GF/R- fill with

     bensiin paat liter.
     benzine 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

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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

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 (kabupatan) 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.

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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 useages.

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