AN INITIAL DESCRIPTION OF BARANG-BARANG MORPHOLOGY

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An initial description of Barang-barang morphology is presented. Barang-barang is classified as an Austronesian language of the West Malay-Polynesian group, and has been commonly (although probably erroneously) sub-classified as a member of the Muna-Buton group. Other than short word lists and an introductory phonological description, neither Barang-barang nor its nearest linguistic neighbors, Laiyolo and Kalao, have been documented in detail. This initial description of morphology, although limited in scope, marks a significant step forward in our understanding of Barang-barang, and provides data which may help define the position of this language and its linguistic neighbors in relation to the other languages of Sulawesi.

1 INTRODUCTION

The language of Barang-barang\(^1\) is spoken in Barang-barang village, which is located towards the southern tip of the island of Selayar, South Sulawesi, Indonesia. Other names for the language include the endonym, Loê', and its variations as pronounced by outsiders: Lowa, Loa or Loa'. Throughout this paper, we will use the name Barang-barang for consistency with other published references. There are about 200 people currently living in the village, but it is estimated there are up to 500 speakers. Many families from Barang-barang live in Makassar, the capital of South Sulawesi.

The only published work on Barang-barang is a preliminary description of phonology (Laidig and Maingak 1999), and a brief 200-entry word list (Grimes and Grimes 1987). Friberg and Laskowske (1989) conducted a lexicostatistical study of languages in Sulawesi, which included Barang-barang, and their findings showed a sub-group of languages, labeled the Kalao subgroup, made up of Barang-barang, Laiyolo and Kalao. This Kalao sub-group has been commonly sub-classified as part of the Muna-Buton group. This sub-classification, however, has been based largely on geographical rather than linguistic factors. Based on the linguistic data that has been collected to date, there is growing speculation that Barang-barang belongs in a proposed Wolio-Wotu group (see Donohue, in prep.). ap 1 shows the locations of the languages proposed for this group. For further background information regarding the classification of Barang-Barang, see the introduction in Laidig and Maingak (1999).

The people of Barang-barang are all bilingual in Selayarese, commonly referred to as Selayar, which serves as the lingua franca for the whole island. Map 2 shows the position of Barang-barang in the southern

\(^1\)Special thanks go to Barbara and Tim Friberg, René van den Berg, Rick Nivens and David Mead for their helpful advice in this paper. One of the authors (Belding) is particularly grateful to the people in Barang-barang for providing fun language learning experiences, as they spent time sitting on balconies talking with their guests, and to Suayuati Maingak for her generous hospitality during those times. Finally, thanks to Carol Laidig and Dorce for their hospitality and companionship during the months of manuscript preparation.
tip of the island. Note that all of the villages except for Barang-barang and Lembang Mate'ne speak Selayar. In fact, in both of these villages there is currently a shift towards this dominant language, Selayar. In Barang-barang, while the older generation continues to use Barang-barang in most domains, the children of the village use Selayar. Their elementary schooling is in Selayar, and all their friends from neighboring villages speak Selayar. Most of them, while understanding their parents and grandparents, cannot speak Barang-barang. The young adults in the village also have a passive knowledge of the language, but generally feel awkward and inadequate expressing themselves in it. They use Selayar with one another, and feel more comfortable in Indonesian than Barang-barang when speaking to outsiders who are learning their language.

The people in Barang-barang sometimes refer to Selayar as Bisara Bëkkaju, or the language of the birds in the trees. According to the speakers, there is a twofold meaning to this. Originally it had to do with the birds which chirp in the trees, representing the unintelligible language all around them. Later on, however, a connotation developed that the birds in the trees were the ones responsible for eating up the fruit in those trees, in the same way that Selayar was “eating up” their language. In this way, the villagers have captured in that phrase the endangered nature of their own language.  

2 OVERVIEW

Before we start looking individually at the affixes in the language, we will look briefly at some of the preliminary issues. In this section, the phonology of the language is presented as well as the basic structure of sentences, and finally a summary of all the affixes is given.

2.1 Phonology

A preliminary description of Barang-Barang phonology has already been published (Laidig and Maingak 1999). For convenience, a chart of all the phonemes is presented again here. Barang-barang has six vowels /i, e, a, o, u/ displayed in the traditional vowel chart:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>i</td>
<td></td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Barang-barang consonant inventory consists of a total of twenty phonemes. Of these, however, it should be noted that two phonemes, the semivowels /w/ and /y/, are considered to be recent borrowings. But even though these borrowed phonemes have a limited distribution and occur with low frequency, they can be considered an integral part of the current Barang-barang sound system. Note also that word-finally,
only the glottal stop and velar nasal may occur. (See Sneddon 1993 for more on similar phenomena in other Sulawesi languages)

Map 1. Approximate location of Wotu, Laiyolo, Kalao, Kamaru, and Wolio language areas, comprising the putative Wotu-Wolio Group.
Table 2. Consonant Inventory

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless Stops</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiced Stops</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>J</td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ĵ</td>
<td>ĵ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricatives</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flap</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semivowels</td>
<td>W</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that the orthography used in this paper uses a few conventions common to languages in Indonesia. [ŋ] is written “ng” and [n] is written “ny”. [ʔ] is written with a straight apostrophe, and [ə], which is not recognized as a phoneme in many Indonesian languages, is written “e”.

Stress is normally assigned to the penultimate syllable in any word. The major exception to this rule are words which have a paragogic syllable (as labeled in Sneddon 1993). These words are usually borrowings. Because consonants apart from glottal stop and velar nasal are not able to occur word finally, Barang-barang appends an epenthetic syllable at the end of the word, which consists of a vowel and glottal. The vowel is always copied from the final vowel of the stem. This added syllable allows the final consonant of the borrowed word to occupy the position of syllable onset, and hence it may be pronounced. For purposes of stress assignment, however, this paragogic syllable is not taken into consideration.

2.2 Phonological Processes

Here we take a look at some of the phonological processes that apply to the morphemes described in the paper.

2.2.1 Glottal Insertion Rule

Between like vowels, a glottal is consistently inserted. This applies within mono-morphemic words such as the following: so'ong carry on head, ne'e don't, si'i this and pu'u tree. It also applies across morpheme boundaries, as in these examples:

1. la - ali       →  la'ali       he buys
    ku - u'rang - a →  ku'u'rangia  I remember it
    pê - êngku      →  pê'êngku     one who carries
    pê - si - ili' - aka →  pêsi'i'aka totally destroyed

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4 The voiced affricate [dʒ] and the voiceless affricate [tʃ] are denoted as /ʃ/ and /ʃ/, respectively. The alveolar flap is denoted as /ɾ/.

5 A more accurate column heading would be “Dental/Alveolar” or even “Apical”. Similar to many Austronesian languages, Barang-barang /ɾ/ is dental, while /d/ is alveolar.

6 As is common among Austronesian languages in Indonesia, the palatal nasal /ɲ/ has a phonetic glide [ɲ̃].

7 Throughout this paper these orthographic conventions will be used, even when the phonemes are presented within slanted brackets, which usually encase phonetic script. This is simply for consistency and so that the phonemes are more easily recognized within the examples.
Map 2. Barang-barang and Laiyolo language areas, located in the southern portion of Selayar Island (P. Selayar), South Sulawesi, Indonesia.
2.2.2 /a/ ~ /ê/ Alternation

Although /ê/ is a phoneme in the language, with minimal pairs contrasting /ê/ and /a/, (see Laidig and Maingak 1999 for a more detailed description) there are many instances where the two sounds are interchangeable. This is an indication that previously the sounds may have been allophones of one common phoneme.

Rapid speech is one factor in /a/ being pronounced /ê/. For example, in rapid speech the third person prefix la- can be pronounced lê-, or even with no vowel. So it is possible to hear lalonga or lêlonga or even llonga, meaning he sees.

Some instances of alternation appear to be determined by a neighboring vowel. In particular, /ê/ often becomes /a/ when next to another /a/. For example, the singular prefix se- alternates with sa- when attached to the classifier ango. The number six, ana, takes on a suffix -ma when used with classifiers, and this is pronounced ma when followed by ango but mê when followed by liso. It is also common for the suffix -êng to be pronounced -ang when following a final /a/, as in kêtoka’ang the end. Note, however, that this is only a tendency, and there are plenty of exceptions. For example, one exception is the following: 8

2. taêntong
   ta- èntong
   1piS live
   we live

Here, the schwa on the root does not become an /a/. There is however glottal insertion between the /a/ from the prefix and the /ê/ from the root. Usually, glottal insertion occurs between like vowels only.

Occasionally, stress variations change from /ê/ to /a/. This is shown in the following derivations:

3. tojê', métôjê' to plant →tojakêng sprouts
   ngkalê' tired →ngkalakî'i they are tired

One final motivation for the /a/ vs. /ê/ alternation is simply style. In the case of the causative morpheme paka-, native speakers feel that pêkê- is more modern, and specifically unique to their language. In some instances, using paka- instead of pêkê- identifies you as an outsider. This is the pronunciation used in neighboring languages. See Section 6 for more on this.

2.2.3 Hidden Final Consonants

Some roots have “hidden” final consonants; that is, consonants which do not appear on the root forms, but which are observed when the root is affixed. In other languages, similar consonants have been referred to as “thematic”, “suffixed” or “inserted” consonants. It is not clear whether this is a present morphophonemic process or whether these words exemplify certain word forms frozen during the historical development of the language. 9 Consider these examples:

4. pêsua to enter pêsua + i → pêsuaki to enter into s.t.
   puana to give birth puana + êng → puanasêng the womb
   lapêlai he runs lapêlai + i → lapêlaisi he leaves s.t.behind
   ajo sun ajo + i → ajoni to dry s.t.in the sun

8 See the appendix for a list of abbreviations used in this paper.
9 Refer to Sneddon (1993) for more on the development toward open final syllables.
An Initial Description of Barang-barang Morphology

binu  to pull out  binu + i  →  binuti/binui  to pulls.t.out
liu   to pass    liu + i  →  liuti/liuni  to pass by s.t.

Note that in the case of the last example, both liuti and liuni are found in the language, and there seems to be no difference in meaning. This is also the case with binuti and binui. oth occur, with no particular distinction.

In some cases the final consonant of the root is not completely hidden. It appears as a final glottal, and can be seen when the root is suffixed. It is worth noting that in all of these examples, the glottal emerges as a /k/ upon suffixation:

5. jai'  to sew   jai' + êng  →  jaikêng  the sewing
tojê'  to plant  tojê' + êng  →  tojakêng  a sprout
dongko'  ride  dongko' + êng  →  dongkokêng  transportation
ngkalê'  tired  ngkalê + i'i  →  ngkalaki'i  they are tired
sulu'  go out  la + sulu' + i'i + mo  →  lasuluki'imô  they went out

It is worth mentioning here that not all of the affixes in the language will allow these consonants to 'surface'. For example, the first word in the above list, jai' takes a /k/ when suffixed with -êng, as we have seen, however, with the suffix -aka, the glottal does not become a /k/, but remains a glottal, as in pêsi-jai'aka to sew two things at the same time. This is also seen with the root soba' try. Affixed with -i LOC, we see mêsêsobaki, but with the suffix -aka, we see lapêsobaka'aka.

2.2.4 Nasal Ligature

Between numbers and certain classifiers or words used for quantity, there is often a nasal consonant. This nasal ligature is found in many South Sulawesi languages. In Barang-barang, it is not regular, and appears to be more a remnant than a productive process. In fact, it consistently occurs with only three quantity words: ba'a CLASS (a classifier originally meaning head), bula month and bongi night. ote that all begin with voiced bilabial consonant; therefore, the ligature appears always as a bilabial nasal. Here are a few examples showing the nasal ligature:

6. a) ri  talu  mbongi
   ri  talu  [m]bongi
   GP  three  night
   three days ago (lit. three nights ago)

b) pia  mba'a?
pia  [m] ba'a
how_many  CLASS
how many?

c) sêmbula
   sê-  [m] bula
   SG-  month
   one month

Although this nasal is not normally present with the other classifiers, it is seen when using the number six ana with all classifiers. This number appears to idiosyncratically change to anam when followed by a vowel. This could be an instance of a hidden final consonant, as discussed in the previous section, as the Proto-Malayo-Polynesian word for six is reconstructed as *enem. However, this /m/ only surfaces when the number six is followed by classifiers, no other words. This seems to indicate that the /m/ is a ligature only, and not a part of the word itself, however the historical /m/ would explain why this number takes
the ligature with more classifiers than the three mentioned above, which all numbers take. Occasionally the ligature will also include an epenthetic vowel. See the following examples:

7. a) anam  ito
    ana  [m]  ito
    six  person
       six people
b) anama 'angu
    ana  [m̪a]  angu
    six  CLASS
       six things
c) anamè liso
    ana  [mè]  liso
    six  CLASS
       six things

It is worth noting that the number four, apa, also idiosyncratically changes to pata with classifiers:

8. a) pata  liso
    apa  liso
    four  CLASS
b) pata 'angu
    apa  angu
    four  CLASS
   c) pata ito
    apa  ito
    four  person

Again, the change in appearance of the number four could be a case of underlying consonants surfacing, however it is not consistent with the hidden final consonants as discussed above; the change is greater. As with the number six, the variant form (pata) more closely resembles the Proto-Malayo-Polynesian word (in this case *hepat), and this is consistent with a number of Central and Southeast Sulawesi languages.11

In all other cases, the numbers and classifiers occur together with no intermediary nasal. And when the above words are not used quantitatively, they also have no preceding nasal. In this first example, bongi is not used as a classifier, but angu is. Therefore, bongi takes no ligature:

    apa angu bongi la- koleng ri sapo -ku
    four CLASS night 3s- sleep GP house.-1sP
   Four nights he slept at my house.

10 Note that in the case “people”, it is also acceptable to say apa ito four people.
11 It is interesting to note that similar differences between independent and bound forms for the numbers ‘four’ and ‘six’ are observed in several other languages of Sulawesi. The historical process resulting in this alternation has been described by Van den Berg (1991).
2.2.5 Consonant Reduction

Like consonants across a morpheme boundary within a word are reduced to a single consonant. For example, this happens frequently when the 3sP suffix -\(\text{na}\) assimilates to a stem final /ng/ and becomes -\(\text{nga}\). Frequently, then, the double /ng/ is reduced, as in:

10. \(\text{riaf}\) - \(\text{ëng}\) - \(\text{nga}\) \(\rightarrow\) \(\text{riafÎŠ\text{ëng}}\) two days ago
    \(\text{berêng}\) - \(\text{nga}\) \(\rightarrow\) \(\text{berêng}\) his machete

This is also the reason why the 2sP marker -\(\text{mu}\), when following a /ng/ is reduced to -\(\text{u}\). For example,

11. \(\text{durìang}\) - \(\text{mu}\) \(\rightarrow\) \(\text{durìangu}\) your durian

In the production of this word, presumably the nasal first assimilates, rendering -\(\text{ngu}\), and then the consonants are reduced. (See Section 3.1.2.2 for more examples of this.)

2.3 Terminology and Word Order

It is well known that most Sulawesi languages find themselves in the transition ground between focus languages in the Philippines to the north, and the non-focus Malayo-Polynesian languages to the south and east. There is a mix of ergative and nominative languages. Indeed labels such as ‘subject’ and ‘object’ may not be entirely relevant for languages in this region. Sometimes, the semantic role of the argument is much more appropriate for understanding the structure of a sentence. Indeed in Barang-barang, the semantic roles of the arguments play a major role in determining the morphology, and hence in this paper arguments are often labeled accordingly. However, for some basic observations on the structure of this language, sometimes the terms ‘subject’ and ‘object’ are used in this paper. By this we mean those arguments which are indexed by prefixes or suffixes, respectively. As with ‘subjects’ in English, prefixes in Barang-barang index those arguments with semantic roles such as agent or actor. Similarly, suffixes (‘objects’) in Barang-barang index those arguments with roles such as patient:

There are a few major differences between the English type subjects and objects and the Barang-barang subjects and objects, particularly in the area of passive marking. For a discussion of this, the reader is referred to Section 5.1.

A second terminology issue needing mention are the labels for parts of speech. Terms such as Noun, Verb, Adjective, while seemingly basic, need to be defined for each language individually. An in-depth study into the parts of speech in Barang-barang has yet to be carried out. In this paper then, terms such as verbs and nouns are used to label those words which are stereotypically nouns and verbs in many languages. The label ‘adjective’ is somewhat more difficult to define. Some modifiers used in noun phrases, for example, may optionally take the stative marker \(\text{mê}\) whereas others require it. This may be one indication that some roots belong to a class of ‘true adjectives’ while others belong to another class but can be used as modifiers in a noun phrase. As many of the word-class questions remain unanswered, the word ‘adjective’ is used broadly to denote those words whose semantic function is to ‘describe things’.

Let’s take a look briefly at word order in the language. Here it is helpful to use the terms subject and object. The simplest clauses in Barang-barang are those consisting of one word, the verb. Person is marked on the verb through subject prefixes and object suffixes. Hence a full clause may consist of one word only, as in the examples below:

12. a) Lamê\(\text{ëtta}\).
    \(\text{la-}\) mê- etta
    3s- ST- black

    He is becoming black.
b) Kulamungia.
   ku- lamung -i -ea
   1sS- plant -LOC -3sO
   I plant it (a garden).

c) Lapanesia.
   la- pane -i -ea
   3s- hot -LOC -3sO
   He is heating it.

Note, however, that such brief clauses would be given only when the arguments were apparent from the context, such as *What is he doing with that food? He is heating it.*

When arguments are overtly stated, the order of the clause is flexible. Frequently, sentences are verb initial. With intransitives and statives, we normally see VS word order:

13. a) Mënrua bêngkêngku.
   më- nrua bêngkêng -ku
   ST- sick leg -1sP
   My leg hurts.

b) Têngê'ngo' bamba têria.
   tê- ngê'ngo' bamba têria
   ACC- open door that
   The door opened.

c) Lapêrêngkau kiyau têria.
   la- pê- rêngkau kiyau têria
   3s- VRB- bark dog that
   The dog is barking.

The first two sentences do not have any subject prefixing, whereas the third one does. In all instances, the subject NP is after the verb (whether it has the role of experiencer, as in the first two, or agent as in the third).

The following sentences, which have no overt subject NPs, also show verb-initial word order, although it must be remembered that the subject marking is a prefix on the verb. In each of the three following sentences, there is no overt subject NP, but there is an object NP, which follows the verb:

14. a) La'ali sa'ango sapo bau.
   la- ali sê- Ango sapo Bau
   3s- buy SG- CLASS house New
   He bought a new house.

b) Pibero-bero karomami.
   pi- bero bero karo -mami
   1peS- RED- fan self -1piP
   We fan ourselves.

c) Rinunu ito môeliotu mako ri bamba oto.
   ri- nunu ito më- filo -tu mako ri bamba oto
   PAS- lead person ST- blind -that there GP door car
   The blind person was lead to the car door.

In clauses where the actor focus morpheme is prefixed to the verb, almost always the subject (that is, the actor) is first in the clause. For example,
15. Anrimu makanre lokaku.
    anri -mu ma- kanre loka -ku
    young_sibling -2sP AF- eat banana -1sP
    Your younger brother ate my banana.

We see that in this sentence, the verb is marked with the actor focus ma- and the actor which it indexes is indeed at the front of the clause. This would be used to answer a question such as Who ate my banana?

When the subject and object are both overtly stated, it is difficult to establish a typical word order, as there seems to be a lot of variation. This is of course due to topicalization and focus strategies that the language employs. It would certainly be interesting to study the various discourse strategies available to speakers of the language, but that is beyond the scope of this paper. For now, here are four examples giving VSO, O(S)V, VOS and SVO orders, respectively:

16. a) Lapinyunyu kiyau rasana rusa tria.
    la- pi- nyunyu kiyau rasa -na rusa téría
    3s- CAU- smell dog taste -3sP deer that
    That deer smell is smelled by the dog.

b) Pa’dang lapake mępétimbe.
    pa’dang la- pake mê- pê- Timbe
    sword 3s- use ST- VRB- Cut
    He uses a sword to cut (s.t.) down.

c) Lakanre lelea apu.
    la- kanre lelea Apu
    3s- eat all Fire
    Fire consumed (them) all.

d) Ito téría gêsing mępépalui kiyau.
    Ito téría gêsing mê- pê- palu -I kiyau
    person that often ST- VRB- hit -LOC dog
    That person likes hitting dogs.

2.4 List of Affixes

Below is an alphabetical list of the Barang-barang affixes, excluding the person markers. All of these affixes are derivational, except -i PL, which will be discussed in Section 3 along with the person markers. The table includes the abbreviations used in glossing, any allomorphs identified, and a reference to the section which describes the affix in more detail.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Affix</th>
<th>Abbrev</th>
<th>Alternations</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Section</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-aka</td>
<td>TR</td>
<td>-aka-ea → akea</td>
<td>Transitive verb suffix</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-be</td>
<td>QM</td>
<td></td>
<td>Question marker: yes/no questions</td>
<td>12.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be=</td>
<td>INT</td>
<td></td>
<td>Clausal clitic: intention</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-i</td>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>-ki, -ni, -si</td>
<td>Verbal locative suffix</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-i</td>
<td>PL</td>
<td>-i'</td>
<td>Plural subject agreement marker</td>
<td>3.1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ka</td>
<td>BEN</td>
<td></td>
<td>Verbal benefactive suffix</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ka</td>
<td>QM</td>
<td></td>
<td>Question marker: content questions</td>
<td>12.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka=</td>
<td>REA</td>
<td></td>
<td>Clausal clitic: reason or purpose</td>
<td>11.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kē-</td>
<td>VRB</td>
<td>ka-</td>
<td>Verbalizer for nominal bases</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>AF</td>
<td>nga-, m-, ng-</td>
<td>Actor focus verb prefix</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mē-</td>
<td>ST</td>
<td>m-, ng-</td>
<td>Stative prefix</td>
<td>7.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-mo</td>
<td>PERF</td>
<td>-ngo-, mo-ea → -mea</td>
<td>Aspect suffix: perfective</td>
<td>10.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>pa-</td>
<td>CAU</td>
<td></td>
<td>Causative verb prefix</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>paka-</td>
<td>CAU</td>
<td>pēkē-</td>
<td>Causative verb prefix</td>
<td>6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pē-</td>
<td>VRB</td>
<td></td>
<td>Verbalizer</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pēN-</td>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>pē-, pēn-, pēng-</td>
<td>Nominalizing prefix</td>
<td>8.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pīN-</td>
<td>IT</td>
<td>pin-, pil-, ping-</td>
<td>Iterative prefix</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pi-</td>
<td>CAU</td>
<td></td>
<td>Causative verb prefix</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-po</td>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>-po-ea → -pea</td>
<td>Aspect suffix: imperfective</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ri-</td>
<td>PAS</td>
<td></td>
<td>Passive verb prefix</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sē-</td>
<td>SG</td>
<td>s-, sa-</td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>9.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>si-</td>
<td>REC</td>
<td></td>
<td>Reciprocal verb prefix</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tē-</td>
<td>ACC</td>
<td></td>
<td>Verbal prefix: accidental</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-'da</td>
<td>LIM</td>
<td>-da</td>
<td>Aspect suffix: limiter</td>
<td>10.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ēng</td>
<td>CMPR</td>
<td>-ang</td>
<td>Comparative nominal suffix</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ēng</td>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>-ang</td>
<td>Abstract nominalization suffix</td>
<td>8.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3 INFLECTIONAL AFFIXES

3.1 Person Markers

The following table shows free pronouns, genitive suffixes, and verbal pronominal affixes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Free Form</th>
<th>Genitive</th>
<th>Verb prefix</th>
<th>Verb suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>aku</td>
<td>-ku</td>
<td>ku-</td>
<td>-aku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>ko'o</td>
<td>-mu</td>
<td>mu-</td>
<td>-ko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2h</td>
<td>kita</td>
<td>-ka</td>
<td>ta-</td>
<td>-kita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>sia</td>
<td>-na</td>
<td>la-</td>
<td>-ea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pe</td>
<td>kami</td>
<td>-mami</td>
<td>pi-</td>
<td>-kami</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pi</td>
<td>kita</td>
<td>-ka</td>
<td>ta-</td>
<td>-kita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>ko'omiu</td>
<td>-mui/miu</td>
<td>mu-</td>
<td>-ko'omiu/-komiu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>sianai</td>
<td>-na'i</td>
<td>la-</td>
<td>-'ia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As can be seen from the above table, the first person plural inclusive pronoun kita and prefix ta- are used to indicate second person honorific. This is common with a number of languages in the area. Note also that in the second and third persons, singular and plural prefixes are identical. Often, the plural morpheme is used to distinguish the two. See Section 3.2 for this discussion.

3.1.1 Notes on Use

Unmarked verbs are affixed with the person markers indexing their arguments. Subjects are indexed with prefixes, and objects are indexed with suffixes. (See the examples in 12 above.) When the subject does not occur as an overt NP, the subject prefixes are compulsory. When there is an overt subject, however, the subject prefixes become optional. (See the examples in 13 above.) Object suffixes, on the other hand, are compulsory, except in passive constructions.
Barang-barang is a morphologically accusative language, meaning that when a verb has just one argument, it normally occupies the subject position, and is indexed with a prefix. There are, however, a few exceptions to this. First, when the verb takes the passive prefix ri-, suppressing the agent, the one remaining argument stays a suffix. It is not promoted to subject position, becoming a prefix. (See Section 5.1 for more details.)

Second, the verb nyia exist/come, takes a suffix as its only argument. For example,

17. **Nyiea.**
   
   nyia   -ea  
   exist -3sP  
   He comes/he is here.

Perhaps the reason for the suffixed argument is semantic. It could be that the role of arguments in an existential clause such as the above matches better the group of semantic roles typically associated with the object suffixes in the language, like patient and benefactive and so on. Alternately, it could be a remnant of an historically nominative-absolutive system such as is found in many Bungku-Tolaki languages (see David Mead, forthcoming, regarding a parallel case in Kulisu). Further research on related languages might reveal the development of such a construction.\(^{12}\)

Third, the plural argument suffix -i sometimes occurs without any subject prefix. When this happens, the default interpretation is third person. Therefore, the third person plural subject is sometimes marked only with a suffix, which is the usual place for objects to be. (For more on this, see Section 3.2)

Free forms, or free pronouns, can be used in Barang-Barang to indicate verbal arguments. They are, however, often unnecessary to the sentence, as most often the verbs are indexed with person-marking affixes. They are therefore used when introducing new participants, or in focus constructions. For example, as explained in Section 5.2, you cannot have the actor focus morpheme with no overt NP to point to.

Genitive suffixes can be attached to a noun or noun phrase to index another noun related to that nominal. This relationship can be ownership, as in naung-ku my garden or kinship, such as ana-mami our child or having a certain quality, as in pefui-na his cruelty, and so on.

In this last case, that is having a certain quality, when the intensifier měrrēšē is used, there must be genitive marking on the quality intensified. For example:

18. a) Měrrēšē kođina felona.
   měrrēšē kođi -na felo -na  
   very rude -3sp action -3sp  
   His actions were extremely rude.

b) Měrrēšē nralana ufe ngapa tēria.
   měrrēšē nrala -na ufe ngapa tēria  
   very deep 3sp water ocean that
   That ocean is very deep.

These examples could be literally translated as The action's rudeness was extreme or The ocean's deepness is extreme respectively. For comparison, their non-intensified counterparts are shown:

---

\(^{12}\) Note that the word nyia does not have cognates in Barang-barang's closest linguistic neighbors, Kalao or Laiyolo. It has been suggested that there are two possible sources for nyia. First, nyia < ngia < daangia < dang+i a (dang being the existential particle, and -ia a third person suffix). For comparison, note Wolio dangai there is/are. Another possibility is that nyia derives from ni + ia, where ni is a deictic element meaning "be here" (compare Indonesian ini, di sini, etc.). In either case an original 3sg suffix became fused with the original stem.
19. a) Felona mēko’di.
   felo -na mē kole
   action -3sP ST rude
   His actions are rude.

   b) Mēnrala ufe ngapa tēria.
   mē nrala ufe ngapa tēria
   ST deep water ocean that
   The ocean is deep.

3.1.2 Phonological Variation

These next sections provide a description of the observed variation in several of the person affixes.

3.1.2.1 3s Object Suffix

The third person singular object suffix, -ea, alternates with -kea and -a in the following circumstances. When the suffix attaches to a base ending with a glottal, the suffix becomes –kea:

20. ko’bi’ - ea → ko’bi’kea to motion (to) him
    beso’ - ea → beso’kea to throw it
    bungkērē’ - ea → bungkērē’kea to open it
    bale’ - ea → bale’kea to return it

When a base verb ends in a nasal consonant /ng/ the full suffix occurs, as in:

21. minging - ea → lamingingea he wants it
    lamung - ea → lamungea he plants it

When the suffix -ea is added to a stem ending in a vowel, the following happens. Word final /a, o/ is deleted, as in

22. gafe - mo - ea → gafemea to have done it already
    mē - naka - ea → mēnakea to lose it
    longa - ea → longeа to see it

After /e, i, u/, the -ea is reduced to -a. This can be seen in the following words:

23. kanre - ea → kanrea to eat it
    bunu - ea → bunua to kill it
    keni - ea → kenia to hold it

   It is worth noting that the 3sO suffix -ea must be referential. That is, you cannot have an object suffix on the verb if that object is not known. See Section 11.1 for further discussion.

3.1.2.2 /-mu/ 2sP Genitive Suffix

The second person singular genitive suffix -mu alternates with -u when following a nasal. Note that there are no word-final nasals other than /ng/. Examples showing this change are:

24. uriang - mu → duriangu your durian
    inrong - mu → inrongu your mother
    berēng – mu → berēngu your machete

In all other instances, the bilabial nasal remains:
25. kutu - mu → kutumu your lice
    sanga - mu → sangamu your name
    amala' - mu → amala'mu your deeds

See Section 2.2.5 for an explanation of this alternation.

3.1.2.3 /-na/ 3sP Genitive Suffix
After a word-final consonant (either /ng/ or //) the -na becomes -nga. For example,

26. ono' - na → ono'nga stopping of s.t.
    baha' - na → baha'nga his companion
    inrong - na → inronga her mother

In all other instances, the -na remains constant, as shown by these examples:

27. tanga - na → tangana middle of s.t.
    njoro - na → njorona his coconut

3.2 -'i Plural
A final morpheme must be discussed in this section on inflectional affixes, that is the plural marker -'i. This suffix is added to indicate plurality of subject. It is affixed directly after the verb root, before the aspect markers. For example,

28. Lasuluki'imo.
    la- sulu' -'i -mo
    3s- go_out -PL -PERF
    They already were going out.

After root-final consonants, or /e/, the suffix is -'i, as in the above, and the following:

29. Belagafe'i'i.
    be= La- gafe -'i
    INT= 3s- make -PL
    They will make something.

This suffix distinguishes third singular subject from third plural subject, which both use the prefix la-.

The difference can be seen in contrasting the following pairs of sentences:

30. Lakêmeke he coughs → lakêmeke'i'i they cough.
    ladurui kopi he harvests coffee → ladurui'i kopi they harvest coffee.

This suffix can also indicate plural subjects in the second person, with both mu- (familiar) and ta- (honorific). The following two imperatives show this:

31. a) Muêngka'imea.
    mu- êngka -'i -mo -ea
    2s- lift -PL -PERF -3sO
    You guys lift this.

b) Tadurui'imo ênre.
    ta- duru -'i -mo ênre
    2h- pick -PL -PERF up
    You sirs/madams go on and pick (coffee).
Note that the use of **ta-** with the plural suffix can only be interpreted as the honorific second person (**sir/madam.**) It would be ungrammatical to use **ta-** in the sense of first person inclusive plural (**we**), with the plural suffix **-i**, since **ta-we** is already plural. The same applies to the first person exclusive prefix **pi-**:

32. **Piëngka'imea.**  
   
   pi- ĭngka  -i  -mo  -ea  
   1peS  lift  -PL  -PERF  -3sO  
   *We lift it.*

While it is possible to use the plural morpheme with the second person subject markers, as shown above, the default interpretation of this morpheme is third person. Frequently, when speaking in third person plural, the prefix **la-** is left off the verb, leaving the plural marker **-i**, which is interpreted as third person plural. See the following examples:

33. **Kêbulu-bulu'i.**  
   They have feathers.

   **Mako'i.**  
   They go.

   **Rate'imo.**  
   They were already on top.

   **Mêdurui'imo bae.**  
   They are already harvesting rice.

   It is interesting to note, also, that the third person plural possessive suffix **-na'i** can be thought of as consisting of the morpheme **-na** (third singular possessive) plus **-i**, plural. Compare:

34. **buluina**  
   his feathers  
   → **buluina'i**  
   their feathers

   The third person plural object marker **-ia** can also be seen as the plural marker **-i** plus the third person object marker **-ea** (which is **-a** after /i/). The two analyses are presented below:

35. a) **Musai'ia**  
   kênanre.  

   mu- sai  -'ia  kênanre  
   2s  give  -3pO  food  
   You give them food.

   b) **Musai'ia**  
   kênanre.  

   mu- sai  -'i  -ea  kênanre  
   2s  give  -PL  -3O  food  
   You give them food.

4 **TRANSITIVITY / VALENCE**

In this section we look at some verbal affixes which affect the transitivity or valency of the verb. All of the suffixes are valency increasing suffixes. That is, they derive transitive verbs from intransitive ones, or in the case of **-ka** BEN, ditransitive verbs from transitive ones. The difference between the three suffixes has to do with the semantic role of the object, i.e. whether it is a patient, or direct object (**-aka**) or a locative object (**-i**), or a benefactor (**-ka**).

4.1 **-aka Transitive**

This suffix makes a transitive verb from an intransitive one, and the verb takes a definite direct object. When combined with **3sO** marker suffix **-ea**, the two suffixes fuse as **-akea**. Compare the sentences below, which contrast a root without and with the suffix **-aka**:
An Initial Description of Barang-barang Morphology

36. a) Kaseng mèmeka ulo.
   Kaseng mè- meka ulo
   Kaseng ST- afraid snake
   *Kaseng is afraid of snakes.

b) Kaseng lameka'akea ulo tèria.
   Kaseng la- meka -aka -ea ulo tèria
   Kaseng 3s- afraid -TR -3sO snake that
   *Kaseng is afraid of that snake.

c) *Kaseng mèmeka ulo tèria.
   Kaseng mè- meka ulo tèria
   Kaseng ST- afraid snake that
   *Kaseng is afraid of that snake.

In this final sentence it is ungrammatical to have a definite object. With the root meka to be scared there can only be a definite object when it is suffixed with -aka. Notice also that in sentence (a), when the object is not definite, the verb takes the stative morpheme mè-. Because ulo snake is indefinite, it implies there is not one snake in particular, and the sentence therefore has a more general meaning, incorporating all snakes. Kaseng is afraid of all snakes.

Note that many verbs are already inherently transitive. That is, they take an object without the addition of -aka. For example,

37. Sia labeso'kea kèlaratu.
   sia la- beso' -ea kèlarar tu
   3s 3s- pull -3sO rope -that
   He pulls that rope.

Another example of an intransitive root taking -aka is puana give birth. The verb can be used alone (intransitively), as in lapuana she gives birth. It can also be used with an indirect object, as in the following sentence:

38. a) Bembe tèria sèpisa lapuana talu mba'a anana.
   bembe tèria sè- pisa la- puana talu ba'a ana -na
   goat that SG- separate 3s- birth three CLASS child -3sP .
   That goat gave birth to three kids at the same time.

Note that in this sentence, there is an object, namely three kids, and there is no addition of -aka. This is because the object is indefinite. It is not saying which particular kids were born, the point of the sentence is simply that there were three of them at once. If there was a particular (definite) kid that the speaker wanted to point out as being the offspring of some mother goat, then -aka would have to be added to the verb, as in:

b) Bembe tèria lapuana'aka bembe kèkèddi' tèria.
   bembe tèria la- puana -aka bembe kè- kèddi' tèria
   goat that 3s- birth -TR goat VRB- small that
   That goat gave birth to that small goat.

Further, if one wishes to say I was born, there must be -aka on the end of the verb, as in:

39. Aku ripuana'aka ri Mèngkasèrè'.
   aku ri- puana -aka ri Mèngkasèrè'
   1s PAS- birth -TR GP Makassar
   I was born in Makassar.
In other words, when there is a direct object in the sentence, the transitive morpheme -aka must be present. A further derivation from this same root which illustrates this is the word for birthday: ajo puana'aka. The -aka is present, because there is a direct object of puana birth, the patient, the one being born.

We can see then, that the addition of the transitivity marker -aka is compulsory on an intransitive root when there is a definite direct object in the sentence. For transitive roots, the suffix adds emphasis to the patient. It emphasizes the transfer of energy from the agent to the patient. Without the -aka, the emphasis is more on the activity itself. Nother illustration of the optional -aka is found in the following set of sentences:

40. a) Piala   sa'angu   lemo   riafi.
   pi-   ala   sê-   angu   lemo   riafi
   1peS-   take   SG-   CLASS   lemon   yesterday
   We got a lemon yesterday.

   b) Ala'akea!
   ala   -aka   -ea
   take   -TR   -3sO
   Get it!

   c) Alamea!
   ala   -mo   -ea
   take   -PERF   -3sO
   Just get it!

In the first instance, the object of the verb is indefinite, a lemon. Hence there is no -aka present. In the second sentence, the -aka shows that there is a definite direct object which has been summoned. Obviously the hearer will already know what she is supposed to go and get. This is in contrast to the third sentence, without the -aka. Here, the command is merely to go, which is further indicated by the perfective morpheme, -mo. To show the difference, the English translation has added ‘just’. For more on the suffix -aka, see Section 7.5.2.

4.2 -ka Benefactive

The verbal suffix -ka indicates that the object suffix marked on the verb agrees not with the patient, but with the beneficiary of the action of the verb. The patient is expressed through a full noun phrase immediately after the verb:

41. a) Bekudurukako   kutumu.
   be=   ku-   duru   -ka   -ko   kutu   -mu
   INT=   1sS-   pick   -BEN   -2sO   louse   -2sP
   I'll pick out your lice for you.

   Note that when there is a beneficiary in the clause, it must be indexed by an object suffix, and there must also be the benefactive suffix -ka on the verb. It is not possible to express an oblique beneficiary through a prepositional phrase. It is possible, however, to leave out the beneficiary, and state the patient only. For example, compare the following sentences:
b) Bekudurua kutumu.
be= ku- duru -ea kutu -mu
INT= 1s- pick -3sO louse -2sP
I'll pick out your lice.

c) *Bekudurua kutumu ri ko'o.
be= ku- duru -ea kutu -mu ri ko'o
INT= 1s- pick -3sO louse -2sP GP 2s
*I'll pick out your lice for you.

In example (b) above, we see the patient as the object marked on the clause, with no beneficiary. Sentence (c) demonstrates that it is ungrammatical to express a beneficiary with an oblique phrase. Another set of examples illustrating this follows:

42. a) Anaku langajikaku surē'ku.
a= ku la- ngaji -ka -ku surē' -ku
child -1sP 3s- read -BEN -1sO letter -1sP
My son read my letter to me.

b) Anaku langajiea surē'ku.
a= ku la- ngaji -ea surē' -ku
child -1sP 3s- read -3sO letter -1sP
My son read my letter

b) *Anaku langajiea surē'ku ri aku.
a= ku la- ngaji -ea surē' -ku ri aku
child -1sP 3s- read -3sO letter -1sP GP 1s
*My son read my letter to me.

Here again sentence (b) shows the patient being marked directly on the verb. And sentence (c) shows that expressing a benefactive through an oblique is ungrammatical.

Note that it is not only the typical (cross-linguistically) ditransitive verbs which take the benefactive suffix -ka. There is a wide range of verbs which take it, including: sai give (something to), bafa carry (something for), piu'rangī remind (someone of), ngaji read (something to), jai' sew (something for), and duru pick (something off).

4.3 -i Locative
This verb suffix indicates that the object in the clause is a locative object, rather than a patient. Often it is added to intransitive bases to create transitive verbs. For example,

43. lakoleng he sleeps → lakolengu he sleeps on s.t.
lapēkau he scrapes → lapēkau i he scratches somewhere (an itch)
lalonga she sees → alalonga she looks for s.t. (c.f. alalonga to look at s.t.)

The suffix can also be added to adjectives, which then makes them transitive verbs, and the meaning could be something like ‘to put this quality somewhere’. For example:

44. rea sick → lareaia it makes him sick
fale delicious → rifalei s.t. is made to be delicious
There seem to be many allomorphs to -i, namely -ki, -ni, and -si. These may all simply be instances of hidden final consonants. (See Section 2.2.3). Their meaning seems to be consistent with locative, as described above:

45. pēsua to enter → pēsuaki to enter (a place)
lapēlai he runs → lapēlaisi he leaves s.t. behind
latēle'e he urinates → latēle'esi he urinates on s.t.
mēlele contagious → mēleleni to infect (a person)
ajo day/sun → la'ajoni he dries (s.t.) in the sun
pane hot → lapanesia he heats it.

5 FOCUS/VOICE MARKERS

These two morphemes are used in various ways to highlight or suppress different participants in a clause. When either of these occur, the subject agreement prefixes do not occur. We will look at each one individually.

5.1 ri- Passive

Traditional “passives” are known to demote the subject (agent) of a predicate, and promote the object (patient). This thereby decreases the valency of the predicate by one. Barang-Barang passives do indeed demote the subject, but as we will see, the patient does not get promoted to ‘subject’ position. It remains in ‘object’ position.

5.1.1 Demoting the Agent

The passive prefix ri- takes the place of the subject markers at the front of the verb, preventing the agent from being stated. This decreases the valency of the verb by one.

Compare the following sentences:

46. a) Latēle'esiko.
   la- tē- le'e -i -ko
   3s- ACC- urine -LOC -2sO
   He urinated on you.

   b) Ritēle'esiko.
   ri- tē- le'e -i -ko
   PAS- ACC- urine -LOC -2sO
   You were urinated on.

   In this second sentence, the agent marker is not stated. There is simply a patient left, hence the valency has been decreased. It is ungrammatical to include the agent marker on the verb, as the following sentence illustrates.

   c) *Laritēle'esiko.
   la- ri- tē- le'e -i -ko
   3s- PAS- ACC- urine -LOC -2sO
   *He urinated on you.

   The agent may be expressed, however, as an oblique with the preposition ri, as in the following sentences:
An Initial Description of Barang-barang Morphology

47. a) Ritêle'esiko ri anamu.
   ri- tê- le'e -i -ko ri ana -mu
   PAS- ACC- urine -LOC -2sO GP child -2sP
   You were urinated on by your child.

b) Rirabungko ri gurumu.
   ri- rabung -ko ri guru -mu
   PAS- hit -2sO GP teacher -2sP
   You were hit by your teacher.

It is clear, then, that the agent argument is demoted from its status as core argument and becomes an oblique argument if indeed it is stated at all.

5.1.2 Absence of Patient Promotion

Unlike passive strategies in other languages, the patient marker remains a suffix on the verb, that is, in object position. There is no promotion to the position formerly occupied by the agent, in other words, to subject prefix. The following two examples show this:

48. a) *Muritêle'esi.
   mu- ri- tê- le'e -i
   2s- PAS- ACC- urine -LOC
   *You were urinated on.

b) *Larirabung.
   la- ri- rabung
   3s- PAS- hit
   *She was hit.

It is possible, however, to have a full NP, representing the patient, preceding the verb. In this case, the object suffix at the end of the verb is optional. This is shown in the following sentences:

49. a) Sia rirabung.
   Sia ri- rabung
   3s PAS- hit
   She was hit.

b) Sia rirabungea.
   Sia ri- rabung -ea
   3s PAS- hit -3sO
   She was hit.

50. a) Ko'o ritêle'esi.
   ko'o ri- tê- le'e -i
   2s PAS- ACC- urine -LOC
   You were urinated on.

b) Ko'o ritêle'esiko.
   ko'o ri- tê- le'e -i -ko
   2s PAS- ACC- urine -LOC -2sO
   You were urinated on.

In both sets, sentence (a) has no object marking, and sentence (b) does have object marking. All of the sentences are grammatical. The object markers are optional. In other words, it is possible to move the pa-
tient to the front of the verb, and leave off the ‘object’ marking. (In other instances, object agreement is compulsory for definite objects.) We might like to say then, that this is optional, or partial patient promotion. This is still not complete patient promotion however, as the verb does not use the subject agreement markers to agree with the patient.

A note must be included here about whether this morpheme ri- could simply be a dummy subject, rather than a passive marker. In both cases, the subject markers would be replaced. Furthermore, with a dummy subject, the patient also remains in object position. However, the partial patient promotion suggests that it is not simply a dummy subject. Further, there does seem to be another dummy subject in the language, as seen in the phrase lauda it rains. The 3s prefix la- seems to be functioning as a non-referential subject marker here. This is also consistent with dummy subject analyses in other Malayo-Polynesian languages which use a morpheme homophonous with the 3rd person prefix.

5.2 ma- Actor Focus

The Actor Focus morpheme, ma-, may be a remnant of a previously bigger focus system. Van den Berg (1996) suggests, for example, that Proto-Celebic had a focus system of actor and goal focus, with different allomorphs for reals and irrealis. In Barang-barang, ma- clearly retains the function of focusing the actor of a predicate. Consider the following situations where ma- is used:

5.2.1 Relative clauses

In Barang-Barang anu relative clauses, the head noun being modified by the relative clause is usually the object of the verb inside that relative clause. For example:

51. Loka anu kulamung têria ri taung ri ka-na moggemo.
    loka anu ku- lamung têria ri taung ri ka-na mê- ogge -mo
    banana REL 1sS- plant that GP year GP before ST- big -PERF
    The bananas I planted last year are already big.

Here we see clearly that the banana is the object of the verb inside the relative clause, lamung plant. The corresponding simple clause of the above would be:

52. Kulamungia lokatu.
    ku- lamung -'ia loka -tu
    1sS- plant -3pO banana -that
    I planted those bananas.

Notice that in the relative clause, the patient, lokamu your banana, has moved to in front of the relativizer anu, and there is a definite marker, têria that, phrase finally. This is the simple pattern that most relative clauses in the language use when the patient is relativized. It seems, then, that the patient of the unmarked clause is syntactically more accessible than the other arguments. Here is another example following this pattern:

53. Kêfalu anu lakolengitu mérênnêsê'
    kêfalu anu la- koleng -i -tu mê- rënnesê'
    mat REL 3s- sleep -LOC -that ST- dirty
    The mat that he slept on is dirty.

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13 What appear to be relative clauses could in fact be equative clauses with anu being the head noun of a nominalized clause. While this may be the case, it has no bearing on the analysis presented of the role of AF- ma- in such constructions. In this section, it is not intended to describe anu clauses, but merely highlight the role of AF in these constructions.
Again, we see that the head noun, kēfalu mat, is the (locative) object of the verb in the relative clause, kolengi sleep on.

Now, if we wish to construct a relative clause in which the noun being modified does not have the semantic role fitting the position of object in the clause, but instead fits the position of subject, we must use the actor focus morpheme on the verb. In other words, when the verb in the relative clause uses the AF prefix, ma-, it is the subject that is relativized. For example:

54. Ri bēntona Sēssudu anu mapētoto tėria ri
   ri bēnto -na Sēssudu anu ma- pē- toto tėria ri
   GP mountain -3sP Sēssudu REL AF- VRB- stripe that GP
   labuēng bēngkatu nyia bari batu.
   labu -ēng bēnka -tu nyia bari batu
   harbor -NOM boat -that exist many rock
   At Mount Sessude, which is parallel to the anchorage, there are many rocks.

In this example, we see that Mount Sessude is in fact the subject of the intransitive verb pētoto to be parallel. Therefore, in order for the relative clause to be grammatical, the actor focus morpheme must be used.

The use of anu clauses in questions also illustrates this point. Consider the following sentence, which questions the subject of the verb pēkēmekatu scare:

55. Apea anu mapēkēmekatu ri ko'o?
   apea anu ma- paka- meka -tu ri ko'o
   what REL AF CAU- afraid -that GP 2s
   What frightened you?

Here, also, because it is the causer of this causative verb (which occupies subject position) that is questioned, the verb takes the AF marker.

A noun can be modified with a clause even when that clause does not have the relative marking of anu. In these instances also, the AF morpheme is used when that noun is the subject of the relative clause. Compare the following two sentences:

56. a) Nyiabe ito ri si'i pēngane?
   nyia -be ito ri si'i pēngane
   exist -QM person GP here earlier
   Was there a person here earlier?

b) Nyiabe ito makanre loka ri si'i pēngane?
   nyia -be ito ma- kanre loka ri si'i pēngane
   exist -QM person AF- eat banana GP here earlier
   Was there a person eating bananas here earlier?

We can see that the phrase ito makanre loka a person eating bananas can be considered a complex noun phrase. Notice that the modifying verb is marked with the AF morpheme, since ito, the head of the complex noun phrase, is considered the subject of the verb. It is ungrammatical to use the third person marker here, as the following sentence shows:

c) *Nyiabe ito lakanre loka ri si'i pēngane?
   nyia -be ito la- kanre loka ri si'i pēngane
   exist -QM person 3s- eat banana GP here earlier
   *Was there a person eating bananas here earlier?
Another example of this is shown in the following sentence:

57. **Lameka’aakea anana madongko’ kêppéle’ mélaka.**
    la- meka -aka -ea ana -na ma- dongko kêppéle’ mé- laka
    3s- afraid -TR -3sP child -3sP AF- ride ship ST- fly

*He is scared of his child riding in an airplane.*

Here, the complex noun phrase is **anana madongko’ kêppéle’ mélaka**, his child riding in an airplane. Here, as in the previous example, the modifying verb is marked with the AF morpheme, since the head noun, **anana** his child is considered the actor, or subject, of the verb **madongko’** riding. It would be ungrammatical to use the 3rd person marker here, as seen in the following sentence:

58. *Lameka’aakea anana ladongko’ kêppéle’ mélaka.*
    la- meka -aka -ea ana -na la- dongko kêppéle’ mé- laka
    3s- afraid -TR -3sP child -3sP 3s- ride ship ST- fly

*He is scared of his child riding in an airplane.*

If we wanted to construct a complex noun phrase where the head noun was the object of a modifying verb, we could either use the passive morpheme, or simply use the regular person marker. For example, the following two sentences are both grammatical:

59. a) **Lameka’aakea anana riki’ki’kea ri ulo.**
    la- meka -aka -ea ana -na ri- ki’ki’ -ea ri ulo
    3s- afraid -TR -3sO child -3sP PAS- bite -3sO GP snake

b) **Lameka’aakea anana laki’ki’ ulo.**
    la- meka -aka -ea ana -na la- ki’ki’ ulo
    3s- afraid -TR -3sO child -3sP 3s- bite snake

*He is scared of his child being bitten by a snake.*

5.2.2 **Must Have a Stated Referent**

The AF morpheme must point to a referent recently mentioned. In itself, it is not referential. For example, it would be ungrammatical to have a sentence like the following:

60. a) *Makanre loka.
    ma- kanre loka
    AF- eat banana

*Eat banana*

The **ma-** here does not refer to any argument, and hence the sentence is incomplete. A grammatical sentence would be the equivalent:

b) **Lakanre loka.**
    la- kanre loka
    3s- eat banana

*He eats bananas.*

Here we see that the prefix **la-** is referential, and hence the sentence is grammatical. When **ma-** is used, then, there must be a referent that it can refer to. Consider the following sentence:

61. a) *Itu lokaku. Ne’e makanre.
    itu loka -ku ne’e ma- kanre
    that banana -1sP don’t AF- eat

*That’s my banana. Don’t eat (it).*
An Initial Description of Barang-barang Morphology

This sentence is considered ungrammatical, simply because the interpretation would be that the banana is doing the eating. That is the closest argument that can be interpreted as co-referential with the ma-. The ma- cannot refer to the listener, as that person is not overtly stated in the sentence. Compare with the following two grammatical statements:

b) Itu lokaku. Ne'e ngkanrea.
   itu loka  -ku ne'e mu- kanre  -ea
   that banana  -1sP don't  2sS- eat  -3sO
   That's my banana. Don't you eat it.

c) Itu lokaku. Ne'e rikanrea.
   itu loka  -ku ne'e ri- kanre  -ea
   that banana  -1sP don't PAS- eat  -3sO
   That's my banana. Don't let it be eaten.

Both of the above sentences are grammatical. In the first, the agent of the eating is stated, and in the second, the agent is suppressed. When using the actor focus morpheme ma-, there must be an argument present in the sentence to focus on.

6 CAUSATIVE MORPHEMES

In Barang-Barang, there appear to be a number of prefixes which can be added to a verb to make it a causative verb. On the surface, we see paka-, pêke-, pa-, pi-, and pê- all performing the same task. The obvious question to ask is: "What is the difference between these?" Are they phonologically determined through some kind of vowel harmony? Are some of them allomorphs? Are there semantic differences? Are they lexically determined, such as by classes of verbs? Or do they represent sociolinguistic variation? From a brief investigation, the following tendencies were noticed:

paka- and pêke-. Paka- and pêke- can be interchanged for all verbs that take them. They are allomorphs. There is a tendency, however, for native Barang-Barang speakers to use pêke- rather than paka-. Those who use paka- are assumed to be non-native speakers, such as those who have moved in from other language groups. Pêke- is also felt to be more modern than paka-. Pêke- is also preferred with roots that have /e/ in them, particularly in the initial syllable, however this is in no way a solid rule.

pa- and pê-. Pê- is an allomorph of pa. The gemination of the stem-initial consonant that occurs with pa- (described below) does not occur when pê- is used. In some instances, the use of pa- is considered "foreigner talk" compared to the use of pê-. In one instance, the word with pê- as a prefix had a wider usage than the word with pa-. (This was the case for pê-enre' compared with pa-enre', both of which mean to cause to go up. However, pê-enre' could be used in many different circumstances, whereas pa-enre' seemed to be used only for a few specific circumstances.)

pi-. Pi- is much rarer than the others, and cannot be replaced by the other morphemes at all. It could be considered a non-productive morpheme. Possibly it is a remnant of a previous vowel harmony system.

Finally, it has been observed that there are many stems that can take either pêke- or pê-. It may also be, then, that pê- is also a shortened form of pêke-.

In the following sections, examples will be presented showing the use of these morphemes.

6.1 pa- Causative

The prefix pa- occurs fairly frequently in the language. Here are two sets of examples to show how it changes a verb to become causative:
A verb which normally takes just one argument, like enre' go up, can be increased in valency with the addition of pa-. Consider the following pair of sentences. In (a), we see that the verb has a valency of one, and the argument is ta- we (incl):

62. a) Taenre' ri sapo.
   ta- enre' ri sapo
   1piS- go_up GP house
   We (incl) enter the house.

(Note that because the houses in Barang-barang are on stilts, the literal word for enter is ‘go up’.) Now look at (b). We see that once the prefix pa- is added, the valency increases by one, requiring the presence of two arguments:

b) Lapaenre' ali barang.
   la- pa- enre' ali barang -na
   3s- CAU- go_up price thing -3sP
   He raises the price of the goods.

Here there are two arguments, namely la- 3s (he) and ali barang the price of the goods. Clearly it is the price of the goods which has ‘gone up’ as a result of the action by the agent la- he. The semantic roles of the arguments, then, seem to be agent and experiencer.

Consider another set of sentences contrasting the causative and non-causative use of a verbal root. This time we consider a root that is transitive. In the first sentence, we see two arguments:

63. a) Bari buja la'ali.
   bari buja la- ali
   many paper 3s- buy
   He bought a lot of paper.

The agent is la- he, and the patient is bari buja a lot of paper. In the second sentence, once pa- is added, there are three arguments, as reflected in the English translation by the conjunction with:

b) La pa'alia tolek ruappulu rupia.
   la- pa- ali -ea tolek rua pulu rupia
   3s- CAU- buy -3sO cigarette two ten rupiah
   He buys cigarettes with 20 rupiah.

We see the patient is tolek cigarette, the instrument is ruappulu rupia twenty rupiah, and the causer is la- he. Hence there are three core arguments in this clause. It is worth noting here, however, that frequently when transitive bases are marked with a causative morpheme, only two arguments actually occur. This is because often the passive morpheme will be used to suppress the causer, leaving the causative verb with two arguments, as in the following sentence:

64. Ripa'ali juku' dowe' tria.
   ri- pa- ali juku' dowe' tēria
   PAS- CAU- buy fish money that
   That money is used to buy fish.

The verb is still marked with the causative morpheme pa-, but the causer is suppressed by the passive marker ri-, leaving only two arguments: the instrument dowe' tria the money and the patient juku' fish.

One phonological characteristic specific to this causative prefix is the gemination of stem-initial /t/ and /k/. Consider the following derivations:
An Initial Description of Barang-barang Morphology

65. kana true → pakkana to make true/clarify
    kulung n/a → pakkuling to repeat
    tantu certain → pattantu to certify
    tiru trust/rely on → pattirui to hope for/expect
    tuju use (N) → pattuju to exploit

An exception to this is te'e where → pate'e to place something. Contrary to expectation, there are no examples of geminating /p/: pussu ‘hiss’ sound → papussu to let out air from tires. Some other stems require a glottal preceding:

66. guru teacher → pa'guru to teach
    nassa usual/public → pa'nassa to assure/give certainty
    rupa face → pa'rupa to appear

As mentioned previously, pa- can be interchanged with pe-. When the same root word takes pe- instead of pa-, the gemination doesn’t happen. The following synonyms show this alternation:

67. pakkuling ~ pêkuling to repeat
    pakkana ~ pêkana to make true/clarify
    pattantu ~ pêtantu to certify

6.2 paka- Causative

Most commonly, paka- occurs with adjectival bases, but there are a few exceptions. It can also occur with some intransitive verbs, such as tangi cry or lare sleep.14 The common factor with all of the bases, then, is that the roots without pêkê- all have a valency of one. This first example shows the use of paka- with the adjectival base lape good: (Remember that paka- interchanges with pêkê- as described in the introduction to Section 6.)

68. Bêmbarungku kupêkêlape.
    RED- barung -ku ku- paka- lape
    RED- hut -1sP 1sS- CAU- good

I repaired my hut.

Note that this predicate takes two arguments: the patient bêmbarungku my hut and the agent ku- 1s. A non-causative predicate with the same root would be a one-place predicate:

69. Mêlapemo bêmbarungku.
    mê- lape -mo RED- barung -ku
    ST- good -PERF RED- hut -1sP

My hut is good.

We can see, therefore, as is typical of causatives, that the morpheme paka- increases the valency of the predicate by one. It adds a causer.

This next example shows paka- with the verbal base tangi cry:

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14 These ‘verbal’ bases could actually be in the same word-class with the ‘adjectival’ bases. Their occurrence with the causative prefix paka- could be one of the supporting morphological reasons for positing them in the same class. However an in-depth part of speech study has yet to be undertaken, so such conclusions would be premature.
70. Ne'e mupakatangia anamu.
ne'e mu- paka- tangi -ea ana -mu
don't 2sS- CAU- cry -3sO child -3sP
Don't make your child cry!

Again here we have two arguments: anamu your child, who is the experiencer of cry, and mu-you, the causer. The corresponding non-causative predicate using the same base would be:

71. Anamu lapêtangi.
ana -mu la- pê- tangi
child -2sP 3s- VRB- cry
Your child is crying.

Some further examples of derivations with paka- are:

72. lare sleep → pakalare to put to sleep
lifo wrong → pakalifo to confuse
ogge big → pêkêogge to enlarge
sêënsa one → pêkêsênsa to unite
sêsili embarrassed → pêkêsêsili to embarrass
tamo heavy → pakatamoa to weigh down
têrrusu' straight → pakatêrrusu' to continue

6.3 pi- Causative

There seem to be only a few words that use pi- to make a causative. Some identified are:

73. inrang borrow → pi'inrang to loan
iru' drink → pi'iruki to help someone drink
pu'u capita\(^\text{15}\) → pipu'u to use as capital
u'rangia remember → pi'u'rangia remind
utung aim for → piutungia to make important (make s.t. a goal)

Here is a pair of sentences that show again the increase in valency between a verb without the causative marking, and the same base with the causative marking:

74. Ku'u'rangia sangamu.
ku- u'rangí -ea sanga -mu
1sS- remember -3sO name -2sP
I remember your name.

Notice there are two arguments: The agent ku- 1s, and the patient sangamu your name. Compare this with the causative counterpart, which needs a third argument:

75. Bêreiku lapiu'rangikaku sangamu.
bêrei -ku la- pi- u'rangí -ka -ku sanga -mu
spouse -1sP 3s- CAU- remind -BEN -1sO name -2sP
My wife reminded me of your name.

\(^{15}\)Although the gloss of pu'u is given as source, it is hard to assign a single gloss to this word, which can be translated as source, tree, capital, very or extremely. It is equally hard to determine which part of speech it is.
The added argument here is bēreiku my wife, who is the causer. Remember that verbs which have a benefactor as one argument take the suffix -ka BEN and mark the benefactor with a verb suffix.

There is one noted instance where a base can take the causative prefix pi- and the prefix pa- or its allomorph pē-. That base is íru' drink. The difference between péiruki and pi'iruki, which both mean to help someone drink, is that the latter, with the prefix pi- is considered more formal or refined.

7 OTHER VERBAL MARKERS

7.1 kē- Verbalizer for Nouns

This prefix is added on to either nouns or reduplicated verbs to make intransitive verbs. When prefixed to nouns, kē- makes a predicate with the meaning "having N". Consider the following derivations from noun roots:

76. batu rock/seed → kēbatu to have seeds
   bifi edge → kēbifi to have edges
   bombong young leaves → kēbombong to have young leaves
   boro' nasal mucus → kēboro' to have a cold
   dalle' luck, fortune → kēdalle' to be lucky/to be risky
   fake fruit → kēfake to bear fruit
   jēmmeng mud → kējēmmeng to be muddy
   kapi wing → kēkapi to be winged
   kēbobo dirt, grass → kēbobo to be dirty
   kutu louse → kēkutu to have lice
   nassu anger → kēnassu angry
   sea ant → kēsea to have ants all over
   tēnai relative → kētenai pregnant (Euphemism; lit: to have a relative)

kē- also attaches to some verbal roots, but only when they are reduplicated. Below is a list of examples:

77. bēnje to lie → kēbē'bēnje to frequently lie
    do'do' sleepy → kēdē'do'do' to be sleepy often
    meke to cough → kēmēmmeke to be coughing
    tētētta'i to defecate → kētētētta'i to have diarrhea

Here, it seems as though the reduplication indicates a continuous action of the verb root. (For more on the continuous aspect of reduplication, see Section 13.3.1.) This behavior of kē- attaching only to continuous verbs fits in with Givon’s (1984) description of nouns. He describes nouns as being concepts that are more time-stable on a continuum that has nouns at one end, and verbs at the other. In order for verbs to be able to take the prefix kē-, which otherwise takes only nominal stems, they must first be marked as continuous, which increases its time-stability, hence making it more nominal, or closer to the 'noun' end of the continuum. In all cases, as with the first list of derivations with kē-, the derived verbs above are intransitive.

7.2 mē- Stative

This prefix attaches to adjectival bases to make stative verbs. Occasionally, the mē- is shortened to simply m-, as in: mē + ogge big → mogge is big. It seems that when adjectival bases are used as the main predicate in a clause, they must have the stative mē- marking. For example:
78. a) Lamèrea.
   la- mè- rea
   3s- ST- sick
   She is sick.

b) Mèkèddi’ sapona.
   mè- kèddi’ sapa -na
   ST- small house -3sP
   The house is small.

c) Kumèdinging.
   ku- mè- dinging
   1sS- ST- cold
   I’m cold.

You cannot leave out the stative mè- in these instances, unless the base is being used transitively. In that case there would be some sort of transitive marking, such as the locative marker -i. For example, compare the following two sentences that both use the base pane hot as a predicate:

79. a) Lampane.
   la- mè- pane
   3s- ST- hot
   He is hot./He has a fever.

b) Lapanesia.
   la- pane -i -ea
   3s- hot -LOC -3sO
   He heats it.

We can see from the above that the mè- is used when the predicate is intransitive and stative, and that mè- is not used in a transitive clause.

It seems that in some instances, adjectival bases can be used as modifiers in Noun Phrases without the stative morpheme. The following sentence shows this kind of modified noun phrase:

80. Ito filo tèria latènunu mako ri bifi dala.
   ito filo tèria la- tè- nunu mako ri bifi dala
   person blind that 3s- ACC- lead there GP edge road
   The blind person was led to the side of the road there.

We see that filo blind is modifying the head noun ito person and there is no stative marking. There are other instances, however, where this same base, filo blind, is used as a modifier in a noun phrase, and it does take the stative marking. For example:

81. Ito mêfiolo tèria lapèn rèngkai longai tonga.
   ito mê- filo tèria la- pè- rèngkai longa -i tonga
   person ST- blind that 3s- VRB- feel look -LOC stick
   That blind person is feeling around to find his stick.

So we see that with this base filo blind the stative mè- is optional when used as a modifier in a noun phrase. It is considered more complete, however, to use the stative marking. Not all bases can occur alone (without the stative mè-) in noun phrases. For instance, you cannot say:
82. a) *ito rea
   ito rea
   person sick
   *the sick person
It must take the mè-, as in:

b) ito mèrea tèria
   ito mè- rea tèria
   person ST- sick that
   that sick person

It is possible that the adjectival words might divide into two word-classes, or sub-classes. But as yet, an in-depth investigation of word-classes has not been conducted.

One further use for the stative morpheme mè- is in ‘stacking’ adjectives. Just as in Indonesian, only one adjective may directly modify a noun in a noun phrase, so it is in Barang-barang. While in Indonesian additional adjectives are joined with the Indonesian word ‘yang’, in Barang-barang, mè- plays that role. The following list illustrates this. The Indonesian free translations have been included below in double quotes for comparison:

83. a) baju bau
   baju bau
   shirt new
   “baju baru”
   new shirt

b) baju bau mballo
   baju bau mè- ballo
   shirt new ST- good
   “baju baru yang bagus”
   new, good shirt

c) baju bau mballo mogge
   baju bau mè- ballo mè- ogge
   shirt new ST- good ST- big
   “baju baru yang bagus dan besar”
   new, good, big shirt

As can be seen in the above table, each new adjective that is added is simply prefixed with the stative morpheme –mè.

7.3 tè- Accidental

This prefix is used for actions that happen without intention. The argument of the predicate has the semantic role of experiencer, even victim. Many of the verbs which take tè- express negative, or unwanted concepts. For example, consider the root lua come out, with different prefixes:

84. pèlua spill out → tèlua vomit

Clearly, in the first instance, when marked with pè-, although the argument might have the semantic role of experiencer, and hence little to do with instigating the action, the argument is not as adversely affected as in the second instance, which uses the prefix tè-.

Other words with this prefix clearly have a negative overtone, as seen in the following list:
85. têtiobo  to capsize
têsengkê'  to be wrecked
têrungkua  to punish
têbê'burusu'  diarrhea
têsunge'nge'  hiccups
têdo'do'  sleepy
têle'e  to urinate
têbung  to fall
têtêmbêng  tightly bound

7.4 pê- Verbalizer - Intransitive

This morpheme has several functions similar to the Indonesian verbal prefix “ber-”. The verbalizer pê- attaches to noun and verb bases to make intransitive verbs. Its use is described in the following sections.

7.4.1 Use with Noun Bases

When used with noun bases, a few main functions have been identified. In all instances an intransitive verb is created. One meaning is to use the noun, whether that be by wearing it, or traveling by it, or whatever. For example:

86. sêpatu  shoes  →  pêsêpatu  to wear shoes
     oto  car  →  pêoto  to travel by car
     toto'  beak  →  pêotto'  to peck
     ranga  friend  →  pêranga  to accompany

A second function of pê- with noun bases is to have the noun, as in the following examples:

87. rupa  face  →  pêrupa  to look like
     sêênsa  one  →  pêsêênsa  to gather together
     lêlliso  seeds  →  pêlêlliso  to have seeds
     monsong  green  →  pêmonsong  to be green

A third function of the verbalizer pê- with nouns is to produce the noun, as in:

88. kelong  song  →  pêkelong  to sing
     bisara  language  →  pêbisara  to speak

7.4.2 Use with Verbal Bases

The prefix pê- attaches to both transitive and intransitive verbs. In both cases, the resulting derivation is an intransitive verb. They are discussed in the two sections below. The prefix pê- also frequently co-occurs with the reciprocal morpheme si-. For more on this, see Section 7.5.

7.4.2.1 Transitive Bases

When pê- is added to transitive verbs, they become intransitive. The prefix is, therefore, a valency decreasing prefix. For example, the base nasu cook is a transitive verb when used without pê-, as in:

89. a) Lanasu  ufe  ri  komporo'.
     la- nasu  ufe  ri  komporo'
     3s- cook  water  GP  stove
     He cooks water on the stove.
We see that *nasu* is used transitively here, with the object being *ufe water*. If we add the prefix *pê-* to the verb, the object is no longer stated. See sentences (b) and (c) below:

**b) Lapênasumo.**
\[\text{la- pê- nasu -mo}\]
\[3\text{s- VRB- cook -PERF}\]
*He is currently cooking.*

**c) Lapênasu lara sapo.**
\[\text{la- pê- nasu lara sapo}\]
\[3\text{s- VEB- cook inside house}\]
*He cooks inside the house.*

In the above two sentences, there is no object necessary.

The same pattern is observed with the verbal base *tobo' stab*. Used without the prefix *pê-* , it is a transitive verb, as in:

**90. a) Latobo' Serêng têria.**
\[\text{la- tobo' Serêng têria}\]
\[3\text{s- stab Seram that}\]
*He stabs the person from Seram.*

When the prefix *pê-* is added, however, if the object is mentioned, it must be in an oblique phrase, as in the following:

**b) Lapêtobo' mako ri Serêng têria.**
\[\text{la- pê- tobo' mako ri Serêng têria}\]
\[3\text{s- VRB- stab there GP Seram that}\]
*He is stabbing (into) the person from Seram.*

Here, the patient, *Serêng têria* is embedded within a prepositional phrase. It can no longer be the direct object. In fact, if the noun phrase *Serêng têria* were present in the sentence without the words *mako ri*, then the interpretation would be that the person from Seram was the one doing the action. There is only room for one argument in the clause, and hence the person from Seram would be the agent, co-referent with the subject prefix *la-. It would not be the patient of the verb *lapêtobo' stab*.

### 7.4.2.2 Intransitive Bases

Verbs which seem to be inherently intransitive may also take the prefix *pê-* . These verbs are sometimes translated as 'currently doing something'. Compare the following pairs of examples:

**91. a) Lapêbêmbore'i.**
\[\text{la- pê- RED- bore -.I}\]
\[3\text{s- VRB- RED- play -PL}\]
*They are playing.*

**b) Labêmbore'i.**
\[\text{la- RED- bore -.i}\]
\[3\text{s- RED- play -PL}\]
*They played. / They play.*
Some intransitive verbs do not occur without the prefix pê-. For example, lai run:

92. Kupêlai.
   Ku  pê-  lai
   1sS- VRB- run
   I am running.

Although never seen without the prefix pê-, it is clear that the prefix is there, because in its reduplicated form, we see it stand alone: mpêlai-lai running around.

7.5 si- Reciprocal

The verbal prefix si- marks a reciprocal verb. Often this suffix occurs with the intransitive verb prefix pê-before it. This is one indication that reciprocal verbs are less transitive than non-reciprocal verbs, due to the lessened degree of individuation of the object from the subject (Hopper and Thompson 1980). There are two main identified meanings associated with si-:

7.5.1 “Each Other”

The most basic meaning of this morpheme is reciprocal. That is, the subject is plural, and the action of the verb is done by each participant to the other, as in the following examples:

93. a) Tapêsiléllongai  kutu.
    ta-  pê-  si-  RED- longa -i  kutu
    1piS-  VRB-  REC-  RED-  see  -LOC  louse
    We (incl) search for lice on each other.

   b) Sianai mapêsirabungi.
      sianai ma- pê-  si-  rabung -i
      3p  AF-  VRB-  REC-  hit  -LOC
      The are hitting each other.

   c) Tapêsilonga.
      ta-  pê-  si-  longa
      1piS-  VRB-  REC-  see
      We (incl) meet (lit: see each other).

   d) pêsigaga
      pê-  si-  gaga
      VRB-  REC-  resist
to argue (lit: resist each other)

Some derived nouns also use the reciprocal morpheme, as in:

94. a) pêsitandingêng
    pê-  si-  tanding  -êng
    VRB-  REC-  compete  -NOM
    comparison (compete with)

   b) pêsipauêng
    pê-  si-  pau  -êng
    VRB-  REC-  word  -NOM
decision (word with)
7.5.2. "At the Same Time"

In other instances, the prefix si- does not mean that the (plural) subjects do the action to each other. Rather it means that the action happens to both of them at the same time. This is simply a difference in semantic roles. In the reciprocal sense, the arguments are both agents. There are no patients, hence the interpretation is that the subject is also the patient.

In this following sense, the arguments are patients, or experiencers. Therefore, they are not instigating the action, and are therefore not doing something to each other. Consider the following sentences:

95. a) Têllêngô duâ punro’, pêsîtêllêngaka raki’nga.
   tôllêngô mo duâ punro’ pê- si- tôllêng -aka raki’ -na
   sink -PERF also monkey VRB- REC- sink -TR raft -3sP
   Monkey sank too, at the same time his raft was sunk.

   b) pêsírû’aka te’e rotina
   pê- si- irû’ -aka te’e roti -na
   VRB- REC- drink -TR tea bread -3sP
   drink tea while eating bread

We can see clearly that the arguments in the above sentences are not performing an action on one another, but rather are experiencing the same action (as in the first sentence) or are both patients of the verb (in the second sentence). It is important to note the presence of the transitive suffix -aka in both of the above examples. Consider the following two verb phrases, which contrast si- on a verb with and without the transitive suffix -aka:

96. a) pêsílu’a-lua
   pê- si- lua RED
   VRB- REC- come_out RED
   to vomit at the same time

   b) pêsílu’a’aka ufe mênga kênanre
   pê- si- lua -aka ufe mênga kênanre
   VRB- REC- come_out -TR water and food
   to vomit water and food (at the same time)

Note here that the difference between the phrases lies in which argument the morpheme si- refers to. In the first instance, the reciprocal si- refers to the subjects doing the action simultaneously. In the second instance, with the addition of -aka, the si- refers to the object of the verb.

In intransitive verbs, the addition of si- must refer to the agent(s) of the verb, as there are no objects. In these instances, the meaning of ‘At the same time’ can also be seen. For example:

97. Lasitérrusu’ dala ratułangi mênga dala sudirman.
   la- si- tèrrusu’ dala ratułangi mênga dala sudirman
   3s- REC- continue road ratułangi and road sudirman
   Ratułangi Street and Sudirman Street continue into each other (i.e. intersect).

Clearly here, there is not a meaning of ‘reciprocal’ in the traditional sense, as it is impossible for the arguments to be both agents and patients of an intransitive verb. Rather, the two arguments both perform the activity denoted by the verb at the same time.
8 NOMINAL MORPHEMES

8.1 pêN- Nominalizer

This prefix attaches to verbs to create nouns that are related to those verbs. There seems to be two allomorphs of the morpheme, one with a syllable final nasal at the end, and one without. The following table gives examples of root words and their derivations, contrasting those with the nasal, and those without:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>With nasal</th>
<th>Without nasal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ali</td>
<td>to buy</td>
<td>pa'ali buyer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>êngku</td>
<td>to carry</td>
<td>pêngêngku carrier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jai'</td>
<td>to sew</td>
<td>pêjai' tailor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kelong</td>
<td>to sing</td>
<td>pêkelong singer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pipi'</td>
<td>to press</td>
<td>pêpipi' tool for pressing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>so'ong</td>
<td>to carry on the head</td>
<td>pêso'ong person who carries on the head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tarai</td>
<td>to store liquid</td>
<td>pênnarai container for storing liquids</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u'kiri'</td>
<td>to write</td>
<td>pêngu'kiri' writing instrument</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There does seem to be a difference observed in the above table regarding what kind of noun is created by the non-nasal prefix pê- and the nasal prefix pêN-. Mostly, the prefix without the nasal (the rightmost column) derives a noun meaning the actor of the verb. The prefix with the nasal tends to derive instrumental nouns. This is not completely consistent, however, as shown by the root êngku. Both derivations have the same meaning. Further more, pêpipi' is an instrumental noun, yet is derived by the non-nasal prefix.

8.2 -êng Nominal

This suffix creates abstract nouns from a variety of different bases. Consider the following lists of derivations:

98. bafa to carry → bafa'ang burden
    jai' to sew → jaikêng the sewing (i.e. the work to be done)

As can be seen from the above derivations, when the base is a transitive verb the derived noun is the patient of the verb. For intransitive verbs, the derived noun is a locative object, the location where the verbal action takes place, as in the following:

99.  labu to anchor → labuêng port
    êntong to stay → êntongêng place to stay
    dongko' to ride → dongkokêng vehicle
    koleng to sleep → kolengêng bed

When the bases are nouns already, the derived forms are less predictable, as in the following:

100. dolang ocean → dolangêng ocean
     pau word → pê'pauêng story
      riafi yesterday → riafiênga two days ago (lit: its yesterday)

Finally, the question word te'e where becomes the question word which when affixed with -êng, as shown below:
101. te’e where → te’eëng which

8.3 -ëng Comparative

This suffix is affixed to either adjectival or verbal bases to form the comparative. In the first three examples, we see -ëng added to adjectives marked with më-. These have the meaning of ‘more [adjective] than’:

102. a) Aku mërusuëng ka ito têria mako.
aku më- rusu -ëng ka ito têria mako
1s ST- thin -CMPR than person that there
I am thinner than that person.
b) Sapoku moggeëng amponga sapomu.
sapo -ku më- ogge -ëng amponga sapo -mu
house -1sP ST- big -CMPR than house -2sP
My house is bigger than your house.
c) Mélapeëng kubinu lelea buluna jangang ko’o.
më- lape -ëng ku- binu lelea bulu -na jangang ko’o
ST- good -CMPR 1sS- pick all feather -3sP chicken wild
It would be better if I pulled out all of Jungle Chicken’s feathers.

In this final example, we see -ëng added to a regular verb, with the meaning ‘[verb] more than’, in this case ‘to like more than’:

103. Aku kumingingëng kopi kabe te’e.
aku ku- minging -ëng kopi kabe te’e
1s 1sS- want -CMPR coffee than tea
I like coffee more than tea.

It may be worth mentioning that the three different words used for than in the above example sentences (ka, amponga and kabe) are all interchangeable.

9 NUMERIC MORPHEMES

9.1 piN- Iterative

This morpheme is an iterative prefix for numbers, indicating the number of repetitions. As shown in the English translations, as well as meaning ‘x times’, it can also mean ‘the xth time’, the ordinal iterative expression. Note that the final nasal of the prefix assimilates to the place of articulation of the following word. Hence it is piN- before /n/ and /t/ and before liquids, it becomes /l/. Before a vowel, it is ping-.

This phonological variation is shown in the following examples:

104. a) pintalu
    piN- talu
    IT- three
    the third time or three times

b) ping ana
    piN- ana
    IT- six
    the sixth time or six times

c) ping sa’atu
    piN- së- atu
IT-  SG-  hundred
the one hundredth time or one hundred times

d) pillima
piN-  lima
IT-  five
the fifth time or five times

Note that the question word sekia how much when used with the prefix piN- means ‘several times’. The following sentence illustrates this:

105. Pingsëkiamo lapëntutuni ujiëng, mingka
piN-  sèkia -mo la- pë- tutu -i ujiëng mingka
IT-  how much -PERF 3s- VRB- follow -LOC test but
sangning pëta'a'.
sanging pë- ta'a'
always VRB- fail

He has already sat the test several times, but he always fails.

9.1sè- Singular

This morpheme attaches to a classifier or noun to indicate that there is only one of that noun. Occasionally it is shortened to s-, as in sito (sè- + ito), and sometimes the schwa is changed to /a/ when occurring before /a/, as in sa'angu. Some examples are:

106. a) Sito'da akaku.
sè- ito -'da -aka -ku
SG- person -LIM -TR -1sP
I only have one older sibling

b) Lima basse tèria ri tèmbë' lakëdadi sëtèmbë'.
lima basse tèria ri- tèmbë' la- këdadi sè- tèmbë'
five bundle that PAS- bundle 3s- become SG- bundle
Five small bundles are tied together to make one large bundle.

c) Juku' sëmba'a tèria riala sipo rimënaka.
juku' sè- ba'a tèria ri- ala sipo ri- mënaka
fish SG- class that PAS- take just PAS- throw_out
The one extra fish was just thrown away.

10 ASPECT MARKERS

Each of the various observed aspect markers in Barang-barang are described in the following sections.

10.1 -mo Perfective

This suffix used to mark the perfective aspect. This is defined by Comrie (1976) as “seeing the situation as a whole.” In other words, the event marked with -mo is referred to as a whole, rather than paying attention to the internal structure of the situation. Because of this, often events which have already happened or are happening presently are marked with -mo. There is also an emphatic sense to the suffix, and in this sense it appears on actions about to happen, such as imperatives. The following describes four ways -mo is used in the language.
10.1.1 “Already”

The suffix -mo can be used to mean ‘already’, as in the following two examples:

107. a) Tèngajomo ajo, sia amponga lalengka lapuppuulu’ kopi.
   tengaj -mo ajo sia amponga la- leng-ka la- RED- pulu’ kopi
   middle -PERF day 3s just 3s walk 3s RED- pick coffee
   It was already midday before he went to pick coffee.

   b) Saba’ sia ninro lalengka lapuppuulu’ kopina,
      saba’ sia ninro la- lengka la RED- pulu’ kopi -na
      because 3s NEG 3s walk 3s RED- pick coffee -3sP
      lafa barimo matēbung sao tana.
      lafa bari -mo ma- tēbung sao tana
      therefore many -PERF AF- fall down ground
      Because he didn’t go pick his coffee, much of it has already fallen to the ground.

The ‘complete’ nature of -mo can be especially seen when added to ninro no. The morphemes fuse to make nromo, which has the meaning ‘no longer’. This is in contrast with nroppo (with suffix -po), which means not yet. The following sentence shows this use:

108. Sia nromo muni lapēnriu.
     sia ninro -mo muni la- pēnriu
     3s NEG -PERF again 3s bathe
     He is already not bathing anymore. (=he is no longer bathing) (= he is finished bathing)

10.1.2 Emphasis

The presence of -mo adds emphasis to a verb and is frequently used in imperatives:

109. a) Bangungo.
     bangung -mo
     get_up -PERF
     Just get up!

b) Longamea!
   longa -mo -ea
   see -PERF -3sO
   Look!

c) Alamea.
   ala -mo -ea
   take -PERF -3sO
   Get it.

In these commands the -mo is optional, but native speakers would recognize more easily the last two as commands when compared to their non-emphatic counterparts, longea and ala’akea respectively.

Furthermore, sometimes -mo is suffixed to a noun or pronoun to give emphasis, as in:

110. Siamo si’i pisoku
     Sia -mo si’i piso -ku
     3s -PERF this knife -1sP
     This here is my knife.
10.1.3 Narrative Events

In narrative discourse such as the story of “Monkey and Wild Chicken”, the main events are all marked with the perfective -mo. This contrasts with some background information where -po is used (see below). Here is an example of a string of events taken from this story. Notice that all of the verbs describing the events are marked with the perfective -mo.

111. Lamakomo karona punro’ ri jangang ko’o tèria
lak mopokarona -na punro’ ri jangang ko’o tèria
3s- there -PERF self -3sP monkey GP wild chicken that
lakeniakamea karona jangang ko’o.
lakakenikanaka -aka -ea karona -na jangang ko’o
3s- hold -TR -PERF -3sO self -3sP chicken wild

*Monkey came close to Chicken, then took hold of him.*

112. Tenamo punro’ mako ri jangang ko’o, lafa fère numo
tenamopunro’ mako ri jangang ko’o lafa fère -mo
speak -PERF monkeyGP wild chicken then how -PERF
jangang, kudurukakomo kutumu?”
jangangku -duru -ka -ko -mo kutu -mu
chicken1s- pick -BEN -2sO -PERF louse -2sP

*Monkey said to Jungle Chicken, “So how about it, Chicken, should I look for your lice?”*

113. Tenamo jangang ko’o mako punro’, “mèlapemo
tenamojangang ko’o mako punro’ mé- lape -mo
speak -PERF chicken wild there monkeyST- good -PERF
durukakomo sèssi’i kutuku!”
duru -ka -ku -mo sèssi’i kutu -ku
pick -BEN -1sO -PERF no louse -1sP

*Jungle Chicken said to Monkey, “OK, start looking for my lice!”*

10.2 -po Imperfective

The suffix -po marks another aspect, namely imperfective. It indicates that the activity referred to is still occurring up until a point in time, whether it is the time of speaking or the time of the events in a sequential utterance. Consider the following ways in which it is used:

10.2.1 “Until now”

With no further contextual information, the -po suffix has the meaning of ‘still’, i.e. the activity denoted has not yet completed. For example,

114. a) Sia labèmbore gasingpo.
sia la- RED- bore gasing -po
3s 3s- RED- play top -IMP
*He is still playing tops.*

b) Nyiapea.
nyia -po -ea
exist -IMP -3sO
*He is still here.*
Another example of this function of -po is when it is attached to the base ninro no. The two morphemes fuse to make nroppo, which has the meaning of ‘not yet’. For example:

115. Sia lengka lapuppu lu’ kopi, mingka kopina
sia lengka la- RED- pulu’ kopi mingka kopi -na
3s walk 3s- RED- pick coffee but coffee -3sP
nroppo mètu’a
ninro -po mè- tu’a
NEG -IMP ST- old
He went to pick coffee but it wasn’t ripe yet.

10.2.2 “Before this”
In narratives, or any sequential description, the -po is used to contrast an event that will or must happen before the event of the next clause takes place. Usually it is this final clause that is most important. In the first example, we see a description of the fruit on a kerbotu tree:

116. Lanjene’po kalapèsèkola’ ngura.
la- mè- jene’ -po ka= la- pè- sèkola’ ngura
3s- ST- ripe -IMP REA= 3s- VRB- brown light
Once it is ripe, it becomes light brown.

Obviously here, the ripening must occur first, and is hence marked with the -po. Consider another example. In explaining to a young woman with leprosy that he wanted to marry her, a man utters the following:

117. Akupo ku’ufè’ko ane mumining bis a
aku -po ku- ufè’ -ko ane mu- minging bisa
1s -IMP 1sS- medicine -2sO if 2sS- want true
ri aku bekufereiko.
ri aku be= ku- férei -ko
GP 1s INT= 1sS- marry -2sO
I will nurse you first, if you really do love me, so that I can marry you.

We can see that the nursing to health occurs before the time when he will be able to marry her, and hence it is marked with -po. In another instance, we are told how corn is prepared:

118. Lèllukuna rimènaka, pu’u tètre nga ridengka,
RED- luku -na ri- mènaka pu’u tètre’ -na ri- dengka
RED- chaff -3sP PAS- throw_out stalk grain -3sP PAS- pound
làggapo. tèria amponga po’oli rinasu.
lègga -po tèria amponga po’oli ri- nasu
already -IMP that then able PAS- cook
The chaff is thrown away, and the large parts of the kernels are pounded, and once this is done, it is boiled.

In the above description, we can see that the boiling can take place only after the ‘that’ (referring to the previous two activities). So the ‘that’ is marked with the -po. Consider one further example, again from the story of Wild Chicken and Monkey. In an act of revenge for plucking out all his feathers, Chicken devises a plan in his heart to kill Monkey. He thinks the following:
119. **Tanganapo dolangêng kakutotto'kea raki' têria.** 
   tanga -na -po dolang -êng ka= ku- totto' -ea raki' têria
   middle -3sP -IMP ocean -NOM REA= 1sS- peck -3sO raft that
   When we're in the middle of the ocean, I'll start to peck the raft.

Here, we can see that the action of pecking the raft can only occur once they are in the middle of the ocean. Therefore, the 'being in the middle of the ocean' is marked with -po, as it occurs previous to this event which is obviously the most important piece of information in the sentence, namely the pecking.

10.3 -da Limiter
The function of this suffix is to mark something that is contrary to expectation, specifically more limited than the expectation. Its English equivalents would be ‘only’ or ‘just’. The following describes two ways it is used:

10.3.1 *In Declarative Sentences*
In the following sentence we can see that the second clause, marked by -da, points out that the situation is more limited than the hearer's expectation (as mentioned in the first clause):

120. **Sia mèrea ninro bisa; sia mèrea bê'bênjê'da.**
   Sia mè- rea ninro bisa sia mè- rea RED- benje -da
   3s ST- sick NEG true 3s ST- sick RED- play -LIM
   He's not really sick. He's just playing sick.

In this second example, we can see also that the expectation which is created by the first clause is negated in the second, and hence marked with -da:

121. **Maung amana matudu ri sia malengka, sia ninro'da**
   maung ama -na ma- tudu ri sia ma- lengka sia ninro -da
   though father -3sP AF- order GP 3s AF- walk 3s NEG -LIM
   lalengka.
   la- lengka
   3s- walk
   Even though his father ordered him to go, he didn’t go.

10.3.2 *In Time Phrases*
-da can also mark noun phrases which are functioning as time elements in a clause. In these cases, it means ‘just then’, or ‘no longer than that.’ Consider the following two examples:

122. a) **lilena'da**
   lile -na -da
   tomorrow -3sP -LIM
   just the next day

b) **lanten'a'da**
   lante -na -da
   arrive -3sP -LIM
   as soon as he got home
11 CLAUSAL CLITICS

These two clitics appear on clauses which indicate intention or reason (be= or ka= respectively). Both clitics precede clauses and can therefore appear on different types of words, whichever happens to be on the left edge. Note that these two morphemes are not mutually exclusive. They can occur together. When they do, the ka= precedes the be=. For example:

123. kabekulamungsea
    ka=    be=    ku-    lamung    -ea
    INT=  1sS-    plant    -3sO
    so I will plant it

11.1 be= Intention

The clitic be= indicates the intention of doing something. It is a clitic, and can appear on verbs before the person-marking prefixes, as in the following two examples:

124. a) Bekupënriu.
    be=    ku-    pënriu
    INT=  1sS-    bathe
    I'm going to wash.

  b) Bekudurukako    kutumu.
    be=    ku-    duru    -ka    -ko    kutu    -mu
    INT=  1sS-    pick    -BEN    -2sO    loose    -2sP
    I'm going to pick out your lice.

It can also appear attached to free-form pronominals, which precede the verb:

125. Lakëria    besia    kale    riempëng.
    la-    këria    be=    sia    kale    ri-    embëng
    3s-    ask    INT=  3s    body    PAS-    carry
    She's asking in order that she is carried.

Most often, be= appears at the beginning of a clause giving the intention of the previous clause. In the above example, we see that the second clause (her to be carried) is marked with be=, as it gives information about the intention of the act in the first clause (she asks). This next sentence also shows this:

126. Bangung    sëënosa    tugu    bepiu'rangiakea    gau
    bangung    sëënosa    tugu    be=    pi-    u'rangi    -aka    -ea    gau
    build    one    monument    INT=  CAU-    remind    -TR    -3sO    deed
    mélapena'i    ito    ba'ani    tria.
    mê-    lape    -na'i    ito    ba'ani    tèria
    ST-    good    -3pP    person    brave    that
    Build a monument to remind (you) of the good deeds of those brave people.

Obviously, the second clause ‘to remind you of the good deeds’ is given as the intention of the first, and is therefore marked with be=.

It is worth noting here the issue of definiteness and be= clauses. When a clause is marked with this intention marker, definite markers become optional, such as in relative clauses with anu. Recall from Section 5.2.1 that when a patient is relativized and the clause is preceded by anu, relative clauses must have a -tu or tèria that. Consider the following example:
127. a) Berēng anu ripaketu bemabunu ri sapiku
berēng anu ri- pake -tu be= ma- bunu ri sapi -ku
machete REL PAS- use -that INT= AF- kill GP cow -1sP
mētada pu'u.
mē- tada pu'u
ST- sharp very

*The machete which is used to kill my cow is very sharp.

b) *Berēng anu ripake bemabunu ri sapiku
berēng anu ri- pake be= ma- bunu ri sapi -ku
machete REL PAS- use INT= AF- kill GP cow -1sP
mētada pu'u.
mē- tada pu'u
ST- sharp very

*The machete which is used to kill my cow is very sharp.

We can see that the anu relative clause becomes ungrammatical when the -tu is no longer there. When the verb inside the anu clause is marked with be=, however, it is perfectly grammatical to leave out the definite marker, as in the following:

c) Berēng anu beripake mabunu ri sapiku
berēng anu be= ri- pake ma- bunu ri sapi -ku
machete REL INT= PAS- use AF- kill GP cow -1sP
mētada pu'u.
mē- tada pu'u
ST- sharp very

*The machete which is going to be used to kill my cow is very sharp.

In sentence (c), because of the future nature of be=, the implication is that there will be some machete, but there isn’t one yet. That is why it is not definite, where normally it must be definite. Note, however, that it is permissible to mark the machete as definite in the be= clause, if it is certain which particular machete is going to be used.

In a situation where the be- clause indicates an imagined situation, however, it becomes ungrammatical to have definite object marking, since the object is certainly not yet definite. For example, when explaining the battle strategy of pushing rocks down from the cliffs if the enemy should ever try to enter the harbor, the following sentence is stated:

128. a) Batu tëria beringgolu sipo.
batu tëria be= ri- nggolu sipo
rock that INT= PAS- push only

*The rocks are simply pushed.

In this case, it would be ungrammatical to include the patient marking suffix:

b) *ringgolu
ri- nggolu -ea
PAS- push -3sO

*(they) are pushed
An Initial Description of Barang-barang Morphology

If, however, on the other hand, there were children playing with some big rocks currently, and one wanted to say that the rocks were being pushed around by the children, one could say:

c) Batu tèria beringgoluа ri na’ana.
batu tèria be= ri- nggolu -ea ri RED- ana
rock that INT= PAS- push -3sO GP RED- child
The rocks are being pushed by the children.

Here, because presumably the hearer and the speaker are aware of the particular rocks, it is perfectly grammatical to have the object marker on the verb.

11.2 ka= Reason

Like the clitic be= above, ka= attaches to the left-most word in a clause. This proclitic indicates that the clause it marks is the reason or cause of the preceding clause. The following sentences show this clearly. In each case we can translate the morpheme ka= as because:

129. a) Sia mèntu’ malengka kasia mèntu’ pègafe.
sia mèntu’ ma- lengka ka= sia mèntu’ pè- gafe
3s not want AF- walk REA= 3s not want VRB- work
He didn’t want to go because he doesn’t want to work.

b) Aku kumai kabekukèria tulung mako ri ko’o.
aku ku- mai ka= be= ku- kèria tulung mako ri ko’o
1s 1sS- here REA= INT= 1sS- ask help there GP 2s
I have come because I wanted to request help of you.

c) Kèfalu anu lakolengitu mèrènnèsè’.
kèfalu anu la- koleng -i -tu mè- rènnesè
mat REL 3s- sleep -LOC -that ST- dirty
kalatèle’esia
ka= la- tè- le’e -i -ea
REA= 3s- ACC- urine -LOC -3sO
The mat he’s lying on is dirty because he urinated on it.

When the question word pèkia why is used, ka= must be added to the predicate being questioned. For example, look at the following question:

130. a) Pèkia anamu kalatangi?
pèkia ana -mu ka= la- tangi
why child -2sP REA= 3s- cry
Why is your child crying?

It would be ungrammatical to leave out the ka= in that sentence:

b) *Pèkia anamu latangi?
pèkia ana -mu la- tangi
why child -2sP 3s- cry
*Why is your child crying?

All questions with pèkia follow this pattern. Two further examples illustrating this are given below:
131. a) Pëkia kampèsua ri rompo?
pëkia ka= mu- pê- sua ri rompo'
why REA= 2sS- VRB- enter GP jungle
Why are you going to the jungle?

b) Pëkia ka’anrimu lengka ri kolo pêngane?
pëkia ka= anri -mu lengka ri kolo pêngane
why REA= young_sibling 2sP walk GP river earlier
Why did your sibling go to the river earlier?

Note that when ka= is used in these questions, the ka= is no longer clause initial. In each case, the question word pëkia is clause initial, and in one instance, the agent also occurs before ka=.

12 QUESTION MARKERS

There are two question morphemes in Barang-Barang. The first, -be, is accepted as the ‘native’ way to ask a yes or no question and can occur on any element which is being questioned. The second morpheme, -ka, is perceived as a borrowing from Indonesian “kah”, and attaches to question words only to add more emphasis. In each case the -ka is optional. The following sections show the use of each morpheme:

12.1 -be Question Marker

-be is a question marker used for yes/no questions. This suffix can appear on any word that is being questioned in the clause. Here are some examples of -be being used in different places:

132. a) Mumëreabe?
mu- më- rea -be
2sS- ST- sick -QM
Are you sick?

b) Muminingbe?
mu- minging -be
2sS- want -QM
Do you want to?

c) Nyia ulobe ri si’i?
nyia ulo -be ri si’i
exist snake -QM GP here
Are there (any) pythons here?

The above sentence can also be reworded, putting the -be in a different place, for a slightly different emphasis. Compare c) with the following:

d) Nyiabe ulo ri si’i?
nyia -be ulo ri si’i
exist -QM snake GP here
Are there (any) snakes here?

In this second version, the verb nyia exist is questioned. The question, therefore, focuses on the truth of the existence of the snake. The first sentence on the other hand, where -be is attached to ulo snake, questions the snake, and could be used for instance when one wasn’t sure if it was a snake or a spider that scared someone. The difference, then, is simply a matter of scope.
12.2 -ka Question Marker

-ka is a question marker added to question words, both content and yes/no question words, for more emphasis. Note that for all of these sentences, it is perfectly grammatical to leave the -ka out. The addition of -ka seems also quite formal. Here are three examples of questions using the suffix -ka:

a) Apeaka sia malengka mapupulu' kopi?
apea -ka sia ma- lengka ma- RED- pulu' kopi
what -QM 3s AF- walk AF- RED- pick coffee
Did he go pick coffee?

b) Apeaka anrimu nyia ri sapo?
apea -ka anri -mu nyia ri sapo
what -QM young_sibling -2sP exist GP house
Is your sibling at home?

c) Kabepêkiaka?
ka= be= pêkia -ka
REA= INT= why -QM
Why? (what for?)

13 Reduplication

One final morphological process needs to be discussed. Reduplication is widespread in Barang-barang. There is both full reduplication, where the whole word is repeated, and there is one-syllable reduplication, which is phonologically determined. Both are discussed below.

13.1 One-Syllable Reduplication

One syllable is added to the front of the word with the template ‘CVC’. The initial C is always filled by the initial C of the stem. The vowel is always a schwa. The final C of the reduplicated syllable is filled in the following ways:

a) If the stem ends in a nasal, the C will be a nasal with the same point of articulation as the initial consonant.

b) If the stem ends in a glottal, C is filled with a glottal stop.

c) If the stem ends in a vowel, the stem-initial consonant is copied to the C.

While this is fairly consistent, there are also several exceptions to the rules. Below are examples of the different possibilities listed above.

13.1.1 Nasal-final stems

In this set of examples we can see clearly that the root-final nasal influences the reduplication. The initial C of the reduplicated syllable is copied from the root-initial C, and the final C of the reduplicated syllable is a nasal. The nasal takes the same place of articulation as the stem-initial C, which in each case (except for the last example) is voiced:

134. bombêng wave → bêmbombêng big wave
buting sharp end/pea → bêmbuting tower
doleng ankle bone or knee cap → dendoleng both anklebones or kneecaps
jangang chicken → jênjangang bird
jêmmeng mud → jênjêmmeng playing in mud
13.1.2 Glottal-final stems

When a root ends in a glottal, the reduplicated syllable ends in a glottal:

135. pēlagèrē' to talk → pē'pēlagèrē' to chat
    surē' letter → sē'surē' book
    kēdēdi' small → kē'kēdēdi' to be small

13.1.3 Vowel-final stems

In all other situations, in other words when the stem ends in a vowel, and the initial consonant is not part of a cluster, the default reduplication pattern is for both consonants in the syllable to be filled with the stem-initial consonant. This results in a geminate cluster between the reduplicated syllable and the stem:

136. le'e urinate → lēlle'e to repeatedly urinate
    bija family → bèbbija relatives
    sī' this → sēssī'i now
    bīsa true → bèbēbīsana truly
    lōnga look → pēsēlēlōngai to miss each other
    meke to cough → kēmēmmekē to cough repeatedly
    rūa two → rērrua'ia both
    toro to sit → tēttoro to sit around
    pau word → pēppau to say
    pūa grandparent → pēppua ancestors
    take sheet (of paper, etc.) → tēttakēng land
    tāi feces → tēttāi to defecate

13.1.4 Exceptions

There are exceptions to the above rules. In the first list, we see that although the roots all end in vowels, instead of geminating the stem-initial consonant, a glottal stop occupies the final C in the reduplicated syllable:

137. bīfi edge/side → bè'bīfi edge (the place)
    bīfe extend lower lip (to cry) → bè'bīfe extend lower lip (in derision)
    bōli store → bè'bōli store/storage
    pēkia why → pē'pēkia anything (happen)

In this second example, we see that although the stem ends in a nasal, the reduplication takes a glottal stop for the final C:

138. gafe work (V) → gē'gafeēng work (N)

There is one more interesting exception which needs to be mentioned. That is a stem which begins with a nasal-consonant cluster. Although it is common for word-forms in the language to begin with a nasal-consonant cluster, there are not many root words with this initial cluster. Most of the nasal-consonant clusters are in fact derived, with the initial nasal representing either the stative morpheme mē- or the actor focus ma- or the 2sS mu-. But there is one example which clearly shows the reduplication of such an
underived stem. In this situation, as shown below, the initial consonant of the reduplicated syllable is filled not with the nasal, but the non-nasal part of the cluster. The final C from the reduplicated syllable is filled with the nasal:

139. njoro coconut → jënjoro small coconut

It is likely that this is a regular way to form one-syllable reduplication when the base begins with a nasal-consonant cluster, however as we have only one example of such a stem, any such rule suggested would be simply speculation.

13.2 Full-Word Reduplication

Barang-barang also employs full-word reduplication, as shown in the following examples. However it is worth noting that it is not nearly as common as one-syllable reduplication.

140. pua grandparen → pua-pua ancestors
    bake fruit → bake-bake (kaju) different fruits
    apea what → ape-apea anything
    rengka to carry → rengka-rengka to carry around
    ana child → na'ana children
    longa to see → longa-longa looking around
    pau word → pau-pau sentence

Note that some of the above roots also have reduplicated derivations of the one-syllable kind, such as póppua and lêllonga, both of which are illustrated in Section 13.1.3 above.

13.3 Uses of Reduplication

13.3.1 Continuous Aspect

As discussed previously in Section 7.1, one of the identified functions of reduplication is to indicate continuous aspect. Some of the above examples which show the continuous nature of reduplication are repeated here:

141. pêlagéré' to talk → pê'pêlagéré' to chat
    këddi' small → kë'këddi' to be small
    le'e urinate → lêlle'e to repeatedly urinate
    meke to cough → kêmêmmeke to cough repeatedly
    toro to sit → têttoro sit around
    longa to see → longa longa looking around

13.3.2 Noun-Noun Derivations

Some reduplications change the meaning of the base noun without changing the word-class. Consider the following examples:

142. pau word → pau pau sentence
    ana child → na'ana children
    bake fruit → bake bake (kaju) different fruits
    pua grandparent → pua pua ancestors
    bija family → bèbbija relatives
    surë' letter → së'surë' book
    doleng ankle bone → dendoleng both anklebones
13.3.3 Class-Changing Derivations

In some instances, reduplication changes the word-class of the stem. The following list shows this:

143. boli store → bêbolĩ store/storage
    jêmmeng mud → jênjêmmeng playing in mud
    kelong song → kêngkelong to sing
    pau word/say → pêpauêng story
    rentong a ‘ting’ sound → rêñrentong to make a ‘ting’ sound
    ta’i feces → têta’i to defecate

Note that in the above list, some derivations are from nouns to verbs, and others are from verbs to nouns.

13.3.4 Miscellaneous Derivations

Finally, there are some examples where the reduplicated form changes meaning from the base form, unlike any of the above categories:

144. bisa true → sêbebisisana truly
    bênje play → bêbênje playing around (joking)
    bife extend lower lip (to cry) → bêbife extend lower lip (in derision)
    take sheet (of paper, etc.) → têttakêng land
    si’I this → sêssi’I now
    jangang chicken → jênjângang bird
    buting point, peak (N) → bêmbuteng tower
    bombêng wave (N) → bêmbombêng big wave
    rafung early-dawn → rêñrafung in the dawn
    njoro coconut → jênjoro small coconut

14 SAMPLE TEXT

A brief example of a Barang-barang text is presented below. This text was written in reply to a question as to whether the Laiyolo people came from Lambego, an alternate name for the island of Kalao. Recall that the languages of Kalao and Laiyolo and Barang-barang are closely related. This story provides some interesting insights into the history of the region, or at least the oral traditions regarding this history.

01 Ito laiyolotu lapêsua ri Sêlea lapada’i’da
   ito laiyolo -tu la- pê- su ri Sêlea lapada -’i -’da
   person laiyolo -that 3s- VRB- enter GP Selayar together -PL -LIM

ito Loê’ itu.
ito Loê’ itu
person Loa’ that

The Laiyolo people came to Selayar together with the Loa’ people.

02 Têriânamo ito Bêlanra mêsantu lontanta’ bilênga
   têria -na -mo ito Bêlanra mê- sani -tu lontanta’ bilêng -na
   that -3sP -PERF person Dutch ST- know -that writing consider -3sP

Sêlea, siamo itu A.A. Cense pêranga J. Noorduyn ninro
Sêlea sia -mo itu A.A. Cense pê- ranga J. Noorduyn ninro
Selayar 3s -PERF that A.A. Cense VRB- friend J. Noorduyn not
An Initial Description of Barang-barang Morphology

Iša’bea bisara Laiyolotu manga bisara Loē’ tu.
la- sa’ba -ea bisara Laiyolo -tu manga bisara Loē’ itu
3s- discern -3sO language Laiyolo -that with language Loa' that
For that reason the Dutch experts on history and culture of Selayar, namely A.A. Cense and J. Noorduyn, did not differentiate between the Laiyolo and Loa' languages.

03 Sēmbauda ribilēng sē noreferrer° sūna pau Laiyolo.
sēmbau -da ri- bilēng sē’ensa -da pau Laiyolo
like -lim PAS- consider one -lim language Laiyolo
They were counted together as the Laiyolo language.

04 Ito Laiyolo itu ninro ito mēkafa ri Lēmbego.
ito Laiyolo itu ninro ito mē- kafa ri Lēmbego
person Laiyolo that not person ST- from GP Lambego
The Laiyolo people are not people from Lambego.

05 Mingka ito Laiyolo mēnga ito Loē’ mamako ri Lēmbego maēntong.
mingga ito Laiyolo mēnga ito Loē’ ma- makO ri Lēmbego ma- ēntong
but person Laiyolo and person Loa' AF- there GP Lambego AF- live
Rather it was Laiyolo people and Loa' people who went to live on Lambego.

06 Kēkkira ri taung sēnsōfa lima’atu faluppu ruia nyiamo
RED- kira ri taung sē- nsOfu lima atu falu -pulu ruia nyia -mo
RED- about GP year SG- thousand five hundred eight -ten two exist -PERF
ito Laiyolo mēnga ito Loē’ mamako ri Lēmbego maēntong.
ito Laiyolo mēnga ito Loē’ ma- makO ri Lēmbego ma- ēntong
person Laiyolo and person Loa' AF- there GP Lambego AF- live
By about 1582 there were already Laiyolo and Loa' people who had gone to live on Lambego.

07 Pēfei gafena sī’i saba’ Bone mēnga Luhu' sangning
pēfei gafe -na sī’i saba’ Bone mēnga Luhu' sangning
like this work -3sP this because Bone and Luwuk always
pēsimumu.
pē- si- musu
VRB- REC- enemy
It happened in this way because Bone and Luwuk were always fighting each other.

08 Mēlape ri sanina ito Laiyolo mēnga ito Loē’ itu
mē- lape ri sani -na ito Laiyolo mēnga ito Loē’ itu
ST- good GP know -3sP person Laiyolo and person Loa’ that
kafa ri Luhu'.
kafa ri Luhu'
from GP Luwuk
The Laiyolo and Loa’ people were sympathetic to the people from Luwuk.

09 Tantu Laiyolo mēnga Loē’ labantua Luhu'.
tantu Laiyolo mēnga Loē’ la- bantu -a Luhu'
certainly Laiyolo and Loa’ 3sS- help -3sO Luwuk
Certainly Laiyolo and Loa’ would help Luwuk.
10 Fêtèria dua Gowa.
  fêtèria dua Gowa
  in that way also Gowa
  *The same with Gowa.*

11 Ri fattu tèria Sélea ri tambe përentana Pêloresë'.
  ri fattu tèria Sélea ri tambe përenta -na Pêloresë'
  GP time that Selayar GP under government -3sp Flores
  At that time Selayar was governed by Flores.

12 Tarana mëngatoro' Pèrtugisi' ri kana.
  tara -na mëngatoro' Pèrtugisi' ri kana
  way -3sP organize Portuguese GP before
  *That was how the Portuguese organized it from the early days.*

13 Ito Laiyolotu ri fattu tèria opuna ito Loë' sangana Lalaki.
  ito Laiyolo -tu ri fattu tèria opu -na ito Loë' sanga -na Lalaki
  person Laiyolo -that GP time that king -3sp person Loa' name -3sp Lalaki
  *The lailo people at that time had a king from loa' whose name was lalaki.*

14 ri fattu tèria Sélea pësisëmbung Luhu' mënga Gowa
  ri fattu tèria Sélea pë- si- sëmbung Luhu' mënga Gowa
  GP time that Selayar VRB- REC- connect Luwuk and Gowa
  *At that time Selayar was allied with Luwuk and Gowa*

15 Aane matte ito Luhu' mënga ito Gowatu përanga lele
  ane matte ito Luhu' mënga ito Gowa -tu pë- ranga lele
  if die person Luwuk and person Gowa -that VRB- friend all
  mmatte ito Sélea si'.
  ma- matte Ito Sélea si'i
  AF- die person Selayar this
  *If people from Luwuk and Gowa are killed, they will die together with their Selayar friends.*

16 Bodona pau, Sélea përanga Luhu' Gowa, kura sa'angu
  bodo -na pau sèlea pë- ranga Luhu' Gowa kura së- angu
  short -3sP word selayar VRB- companion Luwuk Gowa pot SG- CLASS

  ladulu.
  la- dullu -i
  3s- share -LOC
  *In short, the three of them, Selayar with Luwuk and Gowa, were in one pot together.*

17 Battuanga, së'ënsa tèria sèelemea, sèele'iia ri
  battuangan -na së'ënsa tèria sèele'-mo -ea sèele'- -ia ri
  meaning -3sp one that all -perf -3sO all -3P0 GP
  së'ënsa tèria.
  së'ënsa tèria
  one that
  *That means, one for all, and all for one.*
An Initial Description of Barang-barang Morphology

18 Feimo i'i pèsibokeënga'i mènggauaka fei -mo si'i pè- si- boke -èng -na'i mèng- gau -aka this way -PERF this VRB- REC- tie -NOM -3pP TVP

17 do -TR gau ane nyia pèrallu pu'u. gau ane nyia pèrallu pu'u.
behavior if exist important very

This was how they were allied together to take action if it was very important.

19 Ane bunru' Gowa pèbali pèrtugisi' kafa ri ma'mere ane bunru' Gowa pè- bali pèrtugisi' kafa ri ma'mere if war Gowa VRB- enemy portuguese from GP maumere (pèloresè'), ito Loè' mènga Laiyolo nyia tèria ri Lèmbego pèloresè' ito Loè' mènga Laiyolo nyia tèria ri Lèmbego flores person Loa' and Laiyolo exist that GP Lembego latèngiosia ri Sèlea. la- tèngio -si -ea ri Sèlea 3s- front -LOC -3sO GP Selayar

If there were a war between Gowa and the Portuguese, the Loa' and Laiyolo people in Lambego would face them at Selayar.

20 Nyia dua ito tena ito laiyolotu mèrempe ri nyia dua ito tena ito laiyolo -tu mè- rèmpe ri exist person speak person laiyolo -that ST- ashore GP labùèng ngapa dèlè Sèlatèng. labu -èng ngapa dèlè Sèlatèng harbor -NOM sea side South

There are some who say that the Laiyolo people came ashore at the anchorage on the southern shore.

21 Lapèsa' ri Sèringboho mai ri sèënsa bènto laèntong. la- pè- sua ri Sèringboho mai ri sèënsa bènto la- èntong 3sS- VRB- enter GP Saringboho here GP one mountain 3s- live

They entered at Saringboho and went live on a mountain.

22 Ito Loè' nyia tèria ri Bontobangung pètumbu lapèrentea sianai. Ito Loè' nyia tèria ri Bontobangung pètumbu la- pèrenta -ea sianai person Loa' exist that GP Bontobangung first 3s- govern -3sO 3p

The Loa' people at Bontobangung governed them in the beginning.

23 Ri kana ito loè' bari lengka pèsièrè' karona sulu' ri kana ito loè' bari lengka pè- sièrè' karo -na sulu'
GP before person Loa' many walk VRB- scatter self -3sP outside

ri lipu Loè' lengka gafe kampong sao mai Binangabentèng, ri lipu Loè' lengka gafe kampong sao mai Binangabentèng
GP village Loa' walk make village down here Binangabenteng

17 TVP, the abbreviation used for “Transitive Verb Prefix”, is the label referring to the Barang-barang prefix mèng-, which is borrowed from Indonesian mèng-. The mèng- prefix is not productive in Barang-barang, and therefore has not been included as part of the discussion of affixes in this descriptive analysis.
Bontoborusu' Pa'garangan, Pariangang, Bontobangung, mēnga Buki'.
Bontoborusu' Pa'garangan Pariangang Bontobangung mēnga Buki'
Bontoborusu Pagarangan Pariangang Bontobangung and Buki

In earlier times many Loa' people spread into areas outside of the Loa' village, making villages which became Binangabeneng, Bontoborusu, Pagarangan, Pariangang, Bontobangung, and Buki.

24 Ri si'i dua laëntong'i'.
   ri si'i dua la- ėntong -i
GP this also 3s- live -PL

They lived in these places too.

25 Sianamo ito Loë' tēria makēdadi opuna ri kampong
   Sia -na -Mo ito Loë' tēria ma- kēdadi opu -na ri kampong
3s -3sP -PERF person Loa' that AF- become king -3sP GP village

ripau si'i rate bafo.
   ri- pau si'i rate bafo
PAS- say this top above

These Loa' people became rulers in the villages previously mentioned above.

26 Ten'ai muni ito makafa ri butung ito laiyolotu
   tena -i muni ito ma- kafa ri butung ito laiyolo -tu
speak -PL also person AF- from GP buton person laiyolo -that
sēga'a.
   sē- ga'a
SG- portion

People also say that some of the people from Laiyolo are from Buton.

27 Laulea ito Butung mai ri Sēlea.
   la- ule -ea ito Butung mai ri Sēlea
3s- bring -3sO person Buton to here GP Selayar

They were brought by the Butonese here to Selayar.

28 Kafa ri Luhu' mai ri Butung, ri Butung amponga
   kafa ri Luhu' mai ri Butung ri Butung amponga
from GP Luwuk to here GP Buton GP Buton then

riulea mai Sēlea
   ri- ule -ea mai Sēlea
PAS- bring -3sO to here Selayar

They came from Luwuk to Buton, and from there were brought to Selayar

29 Pēfei si'i tēttulana ito.
   pē- fei si'i tēttula -na ito
VRB- this way this story -3sP person

This is what some people say.

30 Luhu' lamai ri Butung sērēdaduna saba' Luhu' mēnga
   luhu' la- mai ri Butung sērēdadu -na saba' Luhu' mēnga
luwuk 3s- to here GP Buton soldier -3sP because Luwuk and
An Initial Description of Barang-barang Morphology

31 Tèrianamo kaitona Luhu' lamai butung;
tèria -na -mo ka= ito -na Luhu la- mai butung
that -3sP -PERF REA person -3sP Luwuk 3s- to here butun
bepèbungu' kabutung rangana Arù'palakka opuna bone.
bè= pè- bunru' ka= butung ranga -na Arù'palakka opu -na bone
INT VRB- war . REA buton friend -3sP Arupalakka king -3sP bone
This is why the Luwuk people came to Buton; to make war because the Butonese were allies of Arupalakka, ruler of Bone.

32 Lafa tèttulana ito Laiyolotu nyiea ri Sèlea
lafa tèttula -na ito Laiyolo -tu nyia -ea ri Sèlea
therefore story -3sP person Laiyolo -that exist -3sO GP Selayar
kafa ri Butung mèso ena Luhu' pèsvakia Butung
kafa ri Butung mèso -na Luhu' pè- sua -ki -ea Butung
from GP Buton army -3sP Luwuk VRB- enter -LOC -3sO Buton
bepèbungu' pèbali mèso opu Bone.
bè= pè- bunru' pè- bali mèso opu Bone
INT VRB- war VRB- enemy army king Bone
So according to the story, the Laiyolo people were in Selayar having come from Buton as a group from Luwuk to attack the Butonese and make war against the army of the king of Bone.

33 Mèndarè' ri Sèlea laèntong rate ri bènto risangamo
mèndarè' ri Sèlea la- èntong rate ri bènto ri- sanga -mo
land GP Selayar 3s- live top GP mountain PAS- name -PERF
lipu Laiyolo.
lipu Laiyolo
village Laiyolo
They landed on Selayar and lived up in the mountains in the village named Laiyolo.

34 Gowa mènga Sèlea pèssèmbung lele Luhu' ri kana da'ang
Gowa mènga Sèlea pè- sèmbung lele Luhu' ri kana da'ang
Gowa and Selayar VRB- connect all Luwuk GP before without
sèlla'anga.
sèlla -èng -na
flaw -NOM -3sP
The unity of Gowa and Selayar with Luwuk at that time was without flaw.

35 Lafa ito Laiyolotu ninro ito mèkafa ri Lèmbego
lafa ito Laiyolo -tu ninro ito mè- kafa ri Lèmbego
therefore person Laiyolo -that not person ST- from GP Lembeego
mingka ito ri Laiyolo ripèmakò ri Lèmbego.
mingka ito ri Laiyolo ri- pè- mako ri Lèmbego
but person GP Laiyolo PAS- VRB- there GP Lembeego
So it wasn't the Laiyolo people who came from Lembeego, but rather the Laiyolo people who went to Lembeego.
The Laiyolo people landed on Selayar at a harbor they named “Incorrectly Rowed”.

A small part of them settled in Saringbobo; the majority lived in Laiyolo.

Today the kingdom of Luwuk is gone; the area has been divided up.

Tabang was located in what today is South Palopo, in the province of South Sulawesi.

The people that live in the village of Tabang now don’t speak the same language as Laiyolo.
42 Sëmbaumo dua mën̪ga Wotu assala' êntongēnga ri kana
sëmbau -mo dua mën̪ga Wotu assala' êntong -êng -na ri kana
like -PERF also and Wotu origin live -NOM -3sP GP before
ito Loë'.
ito Loë'
person Loa'
It is the same with Wotu, the place of origin of the Loa' people.

43 Nromo sëmbau mën̪ga bisara Wotu sēssi'i.
ninro -mo sëmbau mën̪ga bisara Wotu sēssi'i
not -PERF like with language Wotu now
The Wotu language is not the same today.

44 Tanja' nga Wotu ripēlaisi ri ito laêntongitu
tanja' -nga Wotu ri- pē- lai -si ri ito la- êntong -itu
face -3sP Wotu PAS- VRB- run -LOC GP person 3sS- live -that
sēssi'i ri Loë', amponga ridingkani ito mēkafa ri
sēssi'i ri Loë' amponga ri- dingka -i ito mē- kafa ri
now GP Loa' then PAS- fill -LOC person ST- from GP
bisara mēraeng.
bisara mē- raeng
language ST- other
It seems the Wotu area was left by its inhabitants who are now in Loa', then occupied by
people who spoke another language.

45 Ito Lambegotu assala' kafa ri kēopu̯eng kē'kēddi'
ito Lambego -tu assala' kafa ri kē- opu -êng RED- kēddi'
person Lambego -that origin from GP VRB- king -NOM RED- small
nyiatu ri loë' siamotu itona lipu Sombu mën̪ga
nyia -tu ri loë' sia -mo -tu ito -na lipu Sombu mën̪ga
exist -that GP Loa' 3s -PERF -that person -3sP village Sombu and

ito mēkafa ri kampong Dulêng
ito mē- kafa ri kampong Dulêng
person ST- from GP village Dulang
The people from Lambego originally came from a small area in Loa, namely from the vil-
lages of Sombu and Dulang.

46 Síanamo kafa ri rua kampong anu nyiatu ri Loë',
sia -na -mo kafa ri rua kampong anu nyia -tu ri Loë'
3s -3sP -PERF from GP two village REL exist -that GP Loa'
mēmakoi ri Lēmbergō.
mē- mako -i ri Lēmbergō
ST- there -LOC GP Lembego
These that went to Lambego were from the two villages of Loa'.

47 Ri Lēmbergō sianai laêntong, amponga kamponga'i
ri Lēmbergō sianai la- êntong amponga kampong -na'i
GP Lembego -3p 3sS- live then village -3pP
"They lived in Lambego, and their villages there were also named Sombu by people from Sombu and Duleng by the people from Duleng.

Eventually the language of the Lambego people was called Kalao.

It was the same with the Loa' and Laiyolo languages.

Previously, people speaking Loa' and Laiyolo were referred to as speaking the language of birds.

This is the abbreviated story of how the Laiyolo people came to Selayar."
APPENDIX: LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1pe</td>
<td>1st person plural exclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pl</td>
<td>1st person plural inclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>1st person singular</td>
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<td>3s</td>
<td>3rd person singular or unmarked 3rd person plural</td>
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<td>vowel or verb</td>
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<td>VRB</td>
<td>verbalizer</td>
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REFERENCES


