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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 Malayo-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 lexico-statistical 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

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[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 Bêkkaju**, 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]

2 OVERVIEW

Before we start looking individually at the affixes in the **language**,[3] 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, ə, a, o, u**/ displayed in the traditional vowel chart:

Table 1. Vowel Inventory

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e	ə	o
Low		a	

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,

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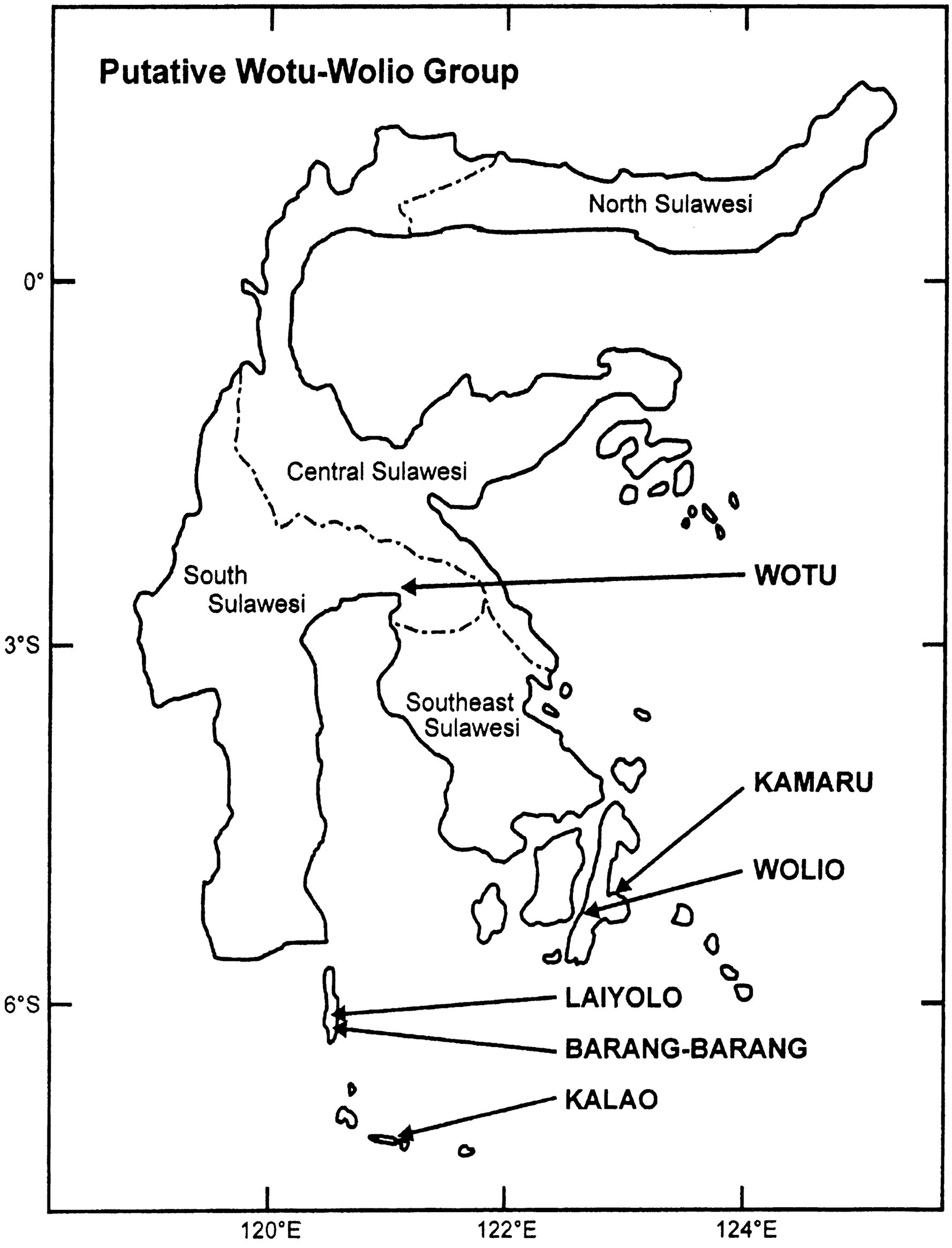
[2]It is hoped that this study will be useful for the understanding and ongoing documentation of the language, as well as for providing a valuable record for the speakers of Barang-barang.

[3]The data used in this study include a collection of texts produced mainly by one of the authors, Sahabu Dg. Maingak, a native speaker of the language, who has been working on documenting Barang-barang for the past decade. His initial involvement was with the late J. Noorduyn in the early 1960s, and texts that they worked on together are also included in the corpus of data used for this analysis. data. During numerous visits to Selayar over the past several years, many other Barang-barang speakers were able to help with this study.

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[4]

	Labial	Alveolar[5]	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Voiceless Stops	P	t	C	k	ʔ
Voiced Stops	B	d	J	g	
Nasals	M	n	ɲ[6]	ŋ	
Fricatives	F	s			h
Lateral		l			
Flap		r			
Semivowels	W		Y		

Note that the orthography used in this paper uses a few conventions common to languages in Indonesia. [ŋ] is written "ng". and [ɲ] 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 "ê"[7]

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 con-sideration.

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'rangi - a	→	**ku'u'rangia**	*I remember it*
	pê - êngku	→	**pê'êngku**	*one who carries*
	pê - si - ili' - aka	→	**pêsi'ili'aka**	*totally destroyed*

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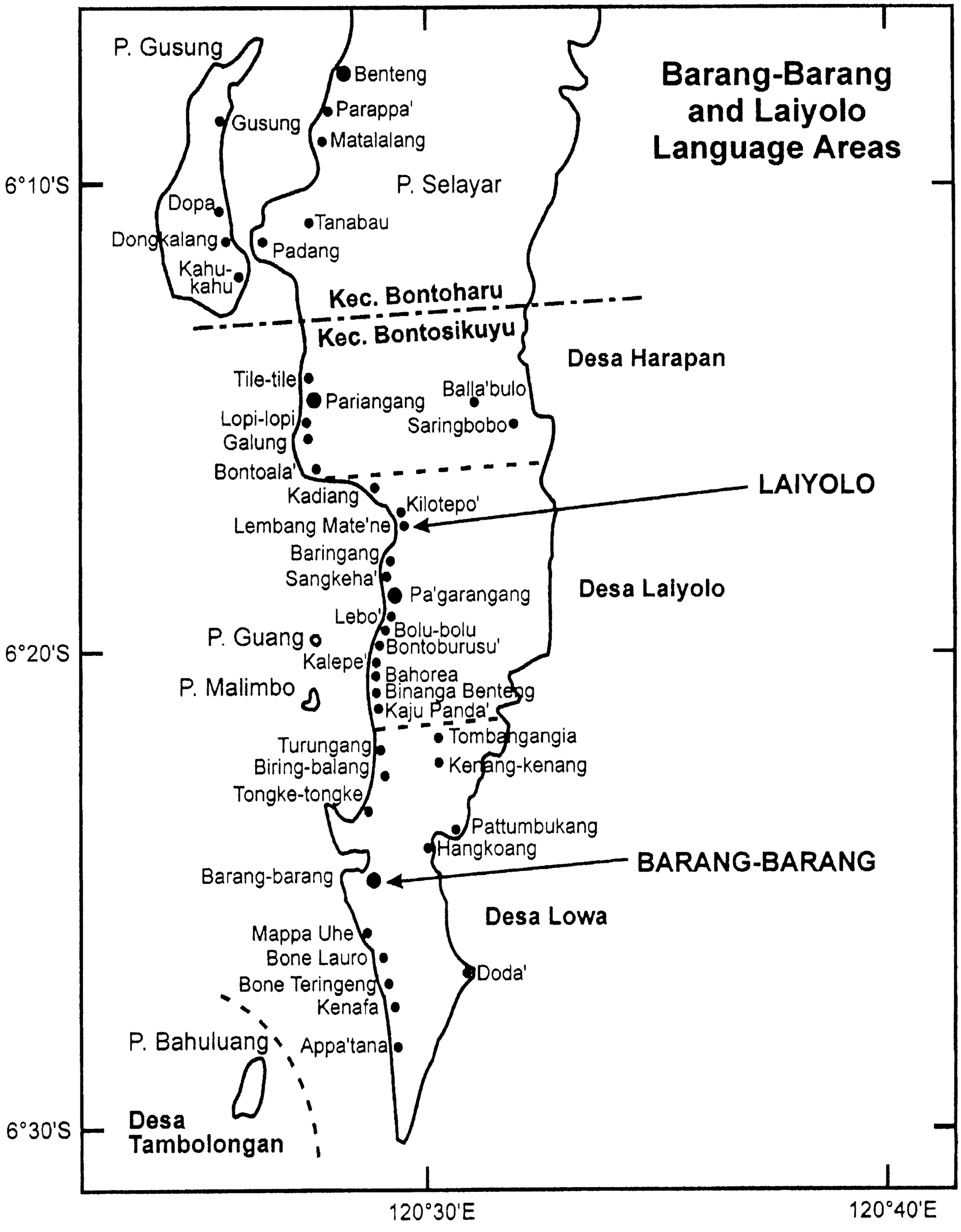
[4]The voiced affricate [dʒ] and the voiceless affricate [tʃ] are denoted as /**j**/ and /**c**/, respectively. The alveolar flap is denoted as /**r**/.

[5]A more accurate column heading would be "Dental/Alveolar" or even "Apical". Similar to many Austronesian languages, Barang-barang /**t**/ is dental, while /**d**/ is alveolar.

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

[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 **sê-** 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. **ta'êntong**
   ta- êntong
   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 motivates change from /ê/ to /a/. This is shown in the following derivations:

3. **tojê', mêtojê'** *to plant* **→tojakêng** *sprouts*
   ngkalê' *tired* **→ngkalaki'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", "suffixal" 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*

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[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.

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'imo**	*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 **lapêsoba'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 [ma] angu
   six CLASS
   six things
   c) anamê **liso**
   ana [mê] 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**[10]
   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:

9. **Pata angu bongi lakoleng ri sapoku.**

apa	angu	bongi	la-	koleng	ri	sapo	-ku
four	CLASS	night	3s-	sleep	GP	house	-1sP

Four nights he slept at my house.

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[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 **-na** assimilates to a stem final /ng/ and becomes **-nga**. Frequently, then, the double /ng/ is reduced, as in:

10. **riafi - êng - nga** → **riafiênga** *two days ago*
    berêng – nga → **berênga** *his machete*

This is also the reason why the 2sP marker -**mu**, when following a /ng/ is reduced to -**u**. For example,

11. **duriang – mu** → **duriangu** *your durian*

In the production of this word, presumably the nasal first assimilates, rendering -**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 **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'etta.**
    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) Mênrua bêngkêngku.**
mê- nrua bêngkêng -ku
ST- sick leg -1sP
My leg hurts.

b) Têngê'ngoa' bamba têria.
tê- ngê'ngoa' 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 mêfilotu mako ri bamba oto.
ri- nunu ito mê- 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)** **Lapinyunyua** **kiyau** **rasana** **rusa** **tria.**
la- pi- nyunyu kiyau rasa -na rusa têria
3s- CAU- smell dog taste -3sP deer that
That deer smell is smelled by the dog.

b) **Pa'dang** **lapake** **mêpêtimbe.**
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** **têria** **gêsing** **mêpêpalui** **kiyau.**
Ito têria 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 3. Common Affixes

Affix	Abbrev	Alternations	Description	Section
-aka	TR	-aka-ea → akea	Transitive verb suffix	4.1
-be	QM		Question marker: yes/no questions	12.1
be=	INT		Clausal clitic: intention	11.1
-i	LOC	-ki, -ni, -si	Verbal locative suffix	4.3
-'i	PL	-i'i	Plural subject agreement marker	3.1.1
-ka	BEN		Verbal benefactive suffix	4.2
-ka	QM		Question marker: content questions	12.2
ka=	REA		Clausal clitic: reason or purpose	11.2

kê-	VRB	ka-	Verbalizer for nominal bases	7.1
ma-	AF	nga-, m-, ng-	Actor focus verb prefix	5.2
mê-	ST	m-, ng-	Stative prefix	7.2
-mo	PERF	-ngo,-mo-ea → -mea	Aspect suffix: perfective	10.1
pa-	CAU		Causative verb prefix	6.1
paka-	CAU	pêkê-	Causative verb prefix	6.2
pê-	VRB		Verbalizer	7.4
pêN-	NOM	pê-, pên-, pêng-	Nominalizing prefix	8.1
piN-	IT	pin-, pil-, ping-	Iterative prefix	9.1
pi-	CAU		Causative verb prefix	6.3
-po	IMP	-po-ea → -pea	Aspect suffix: imperfective	10.2
ri-	PAS		Passive verb prefix	5.1
sê-	SG	s-, sa-	Singular	9.2
si-	REC		Reciprocal verb prefix	7.5
tê-	ACC		Verbal prefix: accidental	7.3
-'da	LIM	-da	Aspect suffix: limiter	10.3
-êng	CMPR	-ang	Comparative nominal suffix	8.3
-êng	NOM	-ang	Abstract nominalization suffix	8.2

3 INFLECTIONAL AFFIXES

3.1 Person Markers

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

Table 4. Pronominal Forms

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

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 -3sO
    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 Kulisusu). 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 **pêfu'ja-na** *his cruelty,* and so on.

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

18. **a)** **Mêrrêsê' ko'dina felona.**
    mêrrêsê' ko'di -na felo -na
    very rude -3sP action -3sP
    His actions were extremely rude.

b) **Mêrrêsê' nralana ufe ngapa têria.**
    mêrrêsê' nrala -na ufe ngapa têria
    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:

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[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**+**ia** (**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** **mêko'di.**
felo -na mê- ko'di
action -3sP ST- rude
His actions are rude.

b) **Mênrala** **ufe** **ngapa** **têria.**
mê- nrala ufe ngapa têria
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*
bungkêrê' - ea → **bungkêrê'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*
mê - naka - ea → **mênakea** *to lose it*
longa - ea → **longea** *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*
berêng – mu → **berêngu** *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'i**, as in the above, and the following:

29. **Belagafei'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* → **lakêmekei'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. ***Piêngka'imea.**

pi-	êngka	-'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-bului'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 / VALENCY

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**:

36. **a)** **Kaseng** **mêmeka** **ulo.**
Kaseng mê- meka ulo
Kaseng ST- afraid snake
Kaseng is afraid of snakes.

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

c) ***Kaseng** **mêmeka** **ulo** **têria.**
Kaseng mê- meka ulo têria
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 **mê-**. 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. K*aseng 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** **kêlaratu.**
sia la- beso' -ea kêlara -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** **têria** **sêpisa** **lapuana** **talu** **mba'a** **anana.**
bembe têria sê- 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** **têria** **lapuana'aka** **bembe** **kêkêddi'** **têria.**
bembe têria la- puana -aka bembe kê- kêddi' têria
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** **Mêngkasêrê'.**
aku ri- puana -aka ri Mêngkasêrê'
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= 1sS- 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= 1sS- 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 surê'ku.**
ana -ku la- ngaji -ka -ku surê' -ku
child -1sP 3s- read -BEN -1sO letter -1sP
My son read my letter to me.

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

c) *Anaku langajiea surê'ku ri aku.
ana -ku la- ngaji -ea surê' -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'rangi** *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* → **lakolengi** *he sleeps on s.t.*
lapêkau *he scrapes* → **lapêkaui** *he scratches somewhere (an itch)*
lalonga *she sees* → **lalongai** *she looks for s.t.* (c.f. **lalongea** *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.	**pêsua**	*to enter*	→	**pêsuaki**	*to enter (a place)*
	lapêlai	*he runs*	→	**lapêlaisi**	*he leaves s.t. behind*
	latêle'e	*he urinates*	→	**latêle'esi**	*he urinates on s.t.*
	mêlele	*contagious*	→	**mêleleni**	*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) Latêle'esiko.**
la- tê- le'e -i -ko
3s- ACC- urine -LOC -2sO
He urinated on you.

b) Ritêle'esiko.
ri- tê- 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) *Laritêle'esiko.
la- ri- tê- 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:

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. n 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. n 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 realis 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,[13] 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 mêrênnêsê'.**
kêfalu anu la- koleng -i -tu mê- rênnesê'
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, **kêfalu** *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 bêntona Sêssudu anu mapêtoto têria ri**
ri bênto -na Sêssudu anu ma- pê- toto têria ri
GP mountain -3sP Sêssudu REL AF- VRB- stripe that GP
labuêng bêngkatu nyia bari batu.
labu -êng bênka -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 **pêtoto** *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 **pêkêmeka** *scare*:

55. **Apea anu mapêkêmekatu 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 pêngane?**
nyia -be ito ri si'i pêngane
exist -QM person GP here earlier
Was there a person here earlier?

b) **Nyiabe ito makanre loka ri si'i pêngane?**
nyia -be ito ma- kanre loka ri si'i pêngane
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 pêngane?**
nyia -be ito la- kanre loka ri si'i pêngane
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'akea anana madongko' kêppêlê' mêlaka.**
la- meka -aka -ea ana -na ma- dongko kêppêlê' mê- 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' kêppêlê' mêlaka**, *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'akea anana ladongko' kêppêlê' mêlaka.**
la- meka -aka -ea ana -na la- dongko kêppêlê' mê- 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 markers. For example, the following two sentences are both grammatical:

59. **a) Lameka'akea 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'akea 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 gramm atical 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).*

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-, pêkê-, 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 **pêkê**- can be interchanged for all verbs that take them. They are allomorphs. There is a tendency, however, for native Barang-Barang speakers to use **pêkê**- 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. **Pêkê**- is also felt to be more modern than **paka**-. **Pêkê**- is also preferred with roots that have /ê/ 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 for only 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 **pêkê**- or **pê**-. It may also be, then, that **pê**- is also a shortened form of **pêkê**-.

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 baranga.**
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 baranga** *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' têria
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:

65.	**kana**	*true*	→	**pakkana**	*to make true/clarify*
	kuling	*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'ea** *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 **pê**-. When the same root word takes **pê**- 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*
sê'ênsa *one* → **pêkêsê'ênsa** *to unite*
sêssili *embarrassed* → **pêkêsêssili** *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*[15] → **pipu'u** *to use as capital*
u'rangi *remember* → **piu'rangi** *remind*
utung *aim for* → **piutungi** *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'rangi -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'rangi -ka -ku sanga -mu
spouse -1sP 3s- CAU- remind -BEN -1sO name -2sP
My wife reminded me of your name.

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[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 **bêreiku** *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 it's allomorph **pê-**. That base is **iru'** *drink*. The difference between **pêiruki** 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 kê- Verbalizer for Nouns

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

76.

batu	*rock/seed*	→	**kêbatu**	*to have seeds*
bifi	*edge*	→	**kêbifi**	*to have edges*
bombong	*young leaves*	→	**kêbombong**	*to have young leaves*
boro'	*nasal mucus*	→	**kêboro'**	*to have a cold*
dalle'	*luck, fortune*	→	**kêdalle'**	*to be lucky/ to be risky*
fake	*fruit*	→	**kêfake**	*to bear fruit*
jêmmeng	*mud*	→	**kêjemmeng**	*to be muddy*
kapi	*wing*	→	**kêkapi**	*to be winged*
kêbobo	*dirt, grass*	→	**kêbobo**	*to be dirty*
kutu	*louse*	→	**kêkutu**	*to have lice*
nassu	*anger*	→	**kênassu**	*angry*
sea	*ant*	→	**kêsea**	*to have ants all over*
tênai	*relative*	→	**kêtenai**	*pregnant (Euphemism; lit: to have a relative)*

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

77.

bênje	*to lie*	→	**kêbê'bênje**	*to frequently lie*
do'do'	*sleepy*	→	**kêdê'do'do'**	*to be sleepy often*
meke	*to cough*	→	**kêmêmmeke**	*to be coughing*
têttta'i	*to defecate*	→	**kêtêtta'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 **kê-** 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 **kê-**, 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 **kê-**, the derived verbs above are intransitive.

7.2 mê- Stative

This prefix attaches to adjectival bases to make stative verbs. Occasionally, the **mê-** is shortened to simply **m-**, as in: **mê** + **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 **mê-** marking. For example:

78. **a) Lamêrea.**
la- mê- rea
3s- ST- sick
She is sick.

b) Mêkêddi' sapona.
mê- kêddi' sapo -na
ST- small house -3sP
The house is small.

c) Kumêdinging.
ku- mê- dinging
1sS- ST- cold
I'm cold.

You cannot leave out the stative **mê-** 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- mê- 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 **mê-** is used when the predicate is intransitive and stative, and that **mê-** 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 têria latênunu mako ri bifi dala.**
ito filo têria la- tê- 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 mêfilo têria lapênrêngkai longai tonga.**
ito mê- filo têria la- pê- rêngkai 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 **mê-** 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 **mê-**) in noun phrases. For instance, you cannot say:

82. **a)** ***ito** **rea**
ito rea
person sick
**the sick person*

It must take the **mê-**, as in:

b) **ito** **mêrea** **têria**
ito mê- rea têria
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 **mê-** 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, **mê-** 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 mê- ballo
shirt new ST- good
"baju baru yang bagus"
new, good shirt

c) **baju** **bau** **mballo** **mogge**
baju bau mê- ballo mê- 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 **–mê**.

7.3 tê- 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 **tê-** express negative, or unwanted concepts. For example, consider the root **lua** *come out*, with different prefixes:

84. **pêlua** *spill out* → **têlua** *vomit*

Clearly, in the first instance, when marked with **pê-**, 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 **tê-**.

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*
tê'bung *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*
totto' *beak* → **pêtotto'** *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*
sê'ênsa *one* → **pêsê'ênsa** *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.
la- pê- nasu -mo
3s- VRB- cook -PERF
He is currently cooking.

c) Lapênasu lara sapo.
la- pê- nasu lara sapo
3s- 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.**
la- tobo' Serêng têria
3s- 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.
la- pê- tobo' mako ri Serêng têria
3s- 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) Lapêbêmborei'i.**
la- pê- RED- bore -'I
3s- VRB- RED- play -PL
They are playing.

b) Labêmborei'i.
la- RED- bore -'i
3s- 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) Tapêsilêllongai 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) Têllêngo dua punro', pêsitêllêngaka raki'nga.**

têllêng	-mo	dua	punro'	pê-	si-	têllêng	-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) pêsiiru'aka te'e rotina

pê-	si-	iru'	-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) pêsilua-lua**

pê-	si-	lua	RED
VRB-	REC-	come_out	RED

to vomit at the same time

b) pêsilua'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. **Lasitêrrusu' dala ratulangi mênga dala sudirman.**

la-	si-	têrrusu'	dala	ratulangi	mênga	dala	sudirman
3s-	REC-	continue	road	ratulangi	and	road	sudirman

Ratulangi 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 5

Root		**With nasal**		**Without nasal**	
ali	*to buy*			**pa'ali**	*buyer*
êngku	*to carry*	**pêngêngku**	*carrier*	**pê'êngku**	*carrier*
jai'	*to sew*	**pênjai'**	*needle or tailor*	**pêjai'**	*tailor*
kelong	*to sing*			**pêkelong**	*singer*
pipi'	*to press*			**pêpipi'**	*tool for pressing*
so'ong	*to carry on the head*			**pêso'ong**	*person who carries on the head*
tarai	*to store liquid*	**pênnarai**	*container for storing liquids*		
u'kiri'	*to write*	**pêngu'kiri'**	*writing instrument*		

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'eêng** *which*

8.3 -êng Comparative

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

102. **a)** **Aku mêrusuêng ka ito têria mako.**
aku mê- rusu -êng ka ito têria mako
1s ST- thin -CMPR than person that there
I am thinner than that person.

b) **Sapoku moggeêng amponga sapomu.**
sapo -ku mê- ogge -êng amponga sapo -mu
house -1sP ST- big -CMPR than house -2sP
My house is bigger than your house.

c) **Mêlapeêng kubinu lelea buluna jangang ko'o.**
mê- lape -êng 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 **-êng** added to a regular verb, with the meaning *'[verb] more than'*, in this case *'to like more than':*

103. **Aku kumingingêng kopi kabe te'e.**
aku ku- minging -êng 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 x^{th} 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- sê- 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. **Pingsêkiamo lapêntutuni ujiêng, mingka**

piN-	sêkia	-mo	la-	pê-	tutu	-i	ujiêng	mingka
IT-	how_much	-PERF	3s-	VRB-	follow	-LOC	test	but

sangnging pêta'a'.

sanging	pê-	ta'a'
always	VRB-	fail

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

9.1sê- 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 (sê- + 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.**

sê-	ito	-'da	-aka	-ku
SG-	person	-LIM	-TR	-1sP

I only have one older sibling

b) Lima basse têria ri têmbê' lakêdadi sêtêmbê'.

lima	basse	têria	ri-	têmbê'	la-	kêdadi	sê- têmbê¿
five	bundle	that	PAS-	bundle	3s-	become	SG- bundle

Five small bundles are tied together to make one large bundle.

c) Juku' sêmba'a têria riala sipo rimênaka.

juku'	sê-	ba'a	têria	ri-	ala	sipo	ri-	mênaka
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)** **Têngajomo ajo, sia amponga lalengka lapuppulu' kopi.**
têngajo -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 lapuppulu' kopina,**
saba' sia ninro la- lengka la RED- pulu' kopi -na
because 3s NEG 3s- walk 3s- RED- pick coffee -3sP
lafa barimo matê'bung sao tana.
lafa bari -mo ma- tê'bung 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 lapênriu.**
sia ninro -mo muni la- pênriu
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 têria**
la- mako -mo karo -na punro' ri jangang ko'o têria
3s- there -PERF self -3sP monkey GP wild chicken that
lakeniakamea karona jangang ko'o.
la- keni -aka -mo -ea karo -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 fêre numo**
tena -mo punro' mako ri jangang ko'o lafa fêrenu -mo
speak -PERF monkey there GP wild chicken then how -PERF
jangang, kudurukakomo kutumu?"
jangang ku- duru -ka -ko -mo kutu -mu
chicken 1sS- 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', "mêlapemo**
tena -mo jangang ko'o mako punro' mê- lape -mo
speak -PERF chicken wild there monkey ST- good -PERF
durukakumo sêssi'i kutuku!"
duru -ka -ku -mo sêssi'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 labêmbore 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 lapuppulu' kopi, mingka kopina**
sia lengka la- RED- pulu' kopi mingka kopi -na
3s walk 3s- RED- pick coffee but coffee -3sP
nroppo mêtu'a
ninro -po mê- 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 kalapêsêkola' ngura.**
la- mê- jene' -po ka= la- pê- sêkola' 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'ufê'ko ane muminging bisa**
aku -po ku- ufê' -ko ane mu- minging bisa
1s -IMP 1sS- medicine -2sO if 2sS- want true
ri aku bekufêreiko.
ri aku be= ku- fêrei -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. **Lêllukuna rimênaka, pu'u têtte'nga ridengka,**
RED- luku -na ri- mênaka pu'u têtte' -na ri- dengka
RED- chaff -3sP PAS- throw_out stalk grain -3sP PAS- pound
lêggapo. têria amponga po'oli rinasu.
lêgga -po têria 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 mêrea ninro bisa; sia mêrea bê'bênje'da.**
Sia mê- rea ninro bisa sia mê- 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) lantena'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. **kabekulamungea**
ka= be= ku- lamung -ea
REA= 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) Bekupênriu.**
be= ku- pênriu
INT= 1sS- bathe
I'm going to wash.

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

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

125. **Lakêria besia kale riembêng.**
la- kêria be= sia kale ri- embêng
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 sê'ênsa tugu bepiu'rangiakea gau**
bangung sê'ênsa tugu be= pi- u'rangi -aka -ea gau
build one monument INT= CAU- remind -TR -3sO deed
mêlapena'i ito ba'ani tria.
mê- lape -na'i ito ba'ani têria
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 **têria** *that*. Consider the following example:

127. **a) Berêng anu ripaketu bemabunu ri sapiku**
berêng anu ri- pake -tu be= ma- bunu ri sapi -ku
machete REL PAS- use -that INT= AF- kill GP cow -1sP
mêtada pu'u.
mê- tada pu'u
ST- sharp very
The machete which is used to kill my cow is very sharp.

b) *Berêng anu ripake bemabunu ri sapiku
berêng anu ri- pake be= ma- bunu ri sapi -ku
machete REL PAS- use INT= AF- kill GP cow -1sP
mêtada pu'u.
mê- 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) Berêng anu beripake mabunu ri sapiku
berêng anu be= ri- pake ma- bunu ri sapi -ku
machete REL INT= PAS- use AF- kill GP cow -1sP
mêtada pu'u.
mê- 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 têria beringgolu sipo.**
batu têria 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) *ringgolua
ri- nggolu -ea
PAS- push -3sO
**(they) are pushed*

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**	**têria**	**beringgolua**				**ri**	**na'ana.**	
	batu	têria	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**	**mêntu'**	**malengka**		**kasia**		**mêntu'**	**pêgafe.**	
	sia	mêntu'	ma-	lengka	ka=	sia	mêntu'	pê-	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**		**kabekukêria**				**tulung**	**mako**	**ri**	**ko'o.**
	aku	ku-	mai	ka=	be=	ku-	kêria	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)	**Kêfalu**	**anu**	**lakolengitu**				**mêrênnêsê'.**	
	kêfalu	anu	la-	koleng	-i	-tu	mê-	rênnesê'
	mat	REL	3s-	sleep	-LOC	-that	ST-	dirty

kalatêle'esia

ka=	la-	tê-	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 **pêkia** *why* is used, **ka**= must be added to the predicate being questioned. For example, look at the following question:

130. a)	**Pêkia**	**anamu**		**kalatangi?**		
	pêkia	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)	***Pêkia**	**anamu**		**latangi?**	
	pêkia	ana	-mu	la-	tangi
	why	child	-2sP	3s-	cry

**Why is your child crying?*

All questions with **pêkia** follow this pattern. Two further examples illustrating this are given below:

131. **a)** **Pêkia kampêsua ri rompo'?**
pêkia ka= mu- pê- sua ri rompo'
why REA= 2sS- VRB- enter GP jungle
Why are you going to the jungle?

b) **Pêkia ka'anrimu lengka ri kolo pêngane?**
pêkia 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 **pêkia** is clause initial, and in one instance, the agent also occurs before **ka**=.[16]

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)** **Mumêreabe?**
mu- mê- rea -be
2sS- ST- sick -QM
Are you sick?

b) **Mumingingbe?**
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**:

133. **a)** **Apeaka sia malengka mapuppulu' 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	*aṇkle bone or knee cap*	→	**dendoleng**	*both anklebones or kneecaps*
jangang	*chicken*	→	**jênjangang**	*bird*
jêmmeng	*mud*	→	**jênjêmmeng**	*playing in mud*

rafung	*early-dawn*	→	**rênrafung**	*in the dawn*
rentong	*a 'ting' sound*	→	**rênrentong**	*to make a 'ting' sound*
kelong	*song*	→	**kêngkelong**	*to sing*

13.1.2 Glottal-final stems

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

135.	**pêlagêrê'**	*to talk*	→	**pê'pêlagêrê'**	*to chat*
	surê'	*letter*	→	**sê'surê'**	*book*
	kêddi'	*small*	→	**kê'kêddi'**	*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*	→	**lêlle'e**	*to repeatedly urinate*
	bija	*family*	→	**bêbbija**	*relatives*
	si'i	*this*	→	**sêssi'i**	*now*
	bisa	*true*	→	**sêbêbbisana**	*truly*
	longa	*look*	→	**pêsilêllongai**	*to miss each other*
	meke	*to cough*	→	**kêmêmmeke**	*to cough repeatedly*
	rua	*two*	→	**rêrrua'ia**	*both*
	toro	*to sit*	→	**têttoro**	*to sit around*
	pau	*word*	→	**pêppau**	*to say*
	pua	*grandparent*	→	**pêppua**	*ancestors*
	take	*sheet (of paper, etc.)*	→	**têttakêng**	*land*
	ta'i	*feces*	→	**têtta'i**	*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.	**bifi**	*edge/side*	→	**bê'bifi**	*edge (the place)*
	bife	*extend lower lip (to cry)*	→	**bê'bife**	*extend lower lip (in derision)*
	boli	*store*	→	**bê'boli**	*store/storage*
	pêkia	*why*	→	**pê'pêkia**	*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)*	→	**gê'gafeêng**	*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 **mê**- 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* → **jênjoro** *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 **pêppua** 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.

pêlagêrê'	*to talk*	→	**pê'pêlagêrê'**	*to chat*
kêddi'	*small*	→	**kê'kêddi'**	*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*	→	**bêbbija**	*relatives*
surê'	*letter*	→	**sê'surê'**	*book*
doleng	*ankle bone*	→	**dendoleng**	*both anklebones*

or knee cap			*or both kneecaps*

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*	→	**bê'boli**	*store/storage*
	jêmmeng	*mud*	→	**jênjêmmeng**	*playing in mud*
	kelong	*song*	→	**kêngkelong**	*to sing*
	pau	*word/say*	→	**pê'pauêng**	*story*
	rentong	*a 'ting' sound*	→	**rênrentong**	*to make a 'ting' sound*
	ta'i	*feces*	→	**têtta'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*	→	**sêbêbbisana**	*truly*
	bênje	*play*	→	**bê'bênje**	*playing around (joking)*
	bife	*extend lower lip (to cry)*	→	**bê'bife**	*extend lower lip (in derision)*
	take	*sheet (of paper, etc.)*	→	**têttakêng**	*land*
	si'I	*this*	→	**sêssi'i**	*now*
	jangang	*chicken*	→	**jênjangang**	*bird*
	buting	*point, peak (N)*	→	**bêmbuting**	*tower*
	bombêng	*wave (N)*	→	**bêmbombêng**	*big wave*
	rafung	*early-dawn*	→	**rênrafung**	*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-	sua	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	**Têrianamo**			**ito**	**Bêlanra**	**mêsanitu**			**lontara'**	**bilênga**	
	têria	-na	-mo	ito	Bêlanra	mê-	sani	-tu	lontara'	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	

	lasa'bea		**bisara**	**Laiyolotu**		**manga**	**bisara**	**Loê'**	**tu.**
	la-	sa'ba -ea	bisara	Laiyolo	-tu	manga	bisara	Loê'	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	**Sêmbauda**		**ribilêng**		**sê'ênsada**		**pau**	**Laiyolo.**
	sêmbau	-da	ri-	bilêng	sê'ênsa	-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**	**mêkafa**		**ri**	**Lêmbego.**
	ito	Laiyolo	itu	ninro	ito	mê-	kafa	ri	Lêmbego
	person	Laiyolo	that	not	person	ST-	from	GP	Lambego

The Laiyolo people are not people from Lambego.

05	**Mingka**	**ito**	**Laiyolo**	**mênga**	**ito**	**Loê'**	**mamako**	**ri**	**Lêmbego**	**maêntong.**
	mingka	ito	Laiyolo	mênga	ito	Loê'	ma-	mako	ri	Lêmbego	ma-	êntong
	but	person	Laiyolo	and	person	Loa'	AF-	there	GP	Lembego	AF-	live

Rather it was Laiyolo people and Loa' people who went to live on Lambego.

06	**Kêkkira**		**ri**	**taung**	**sênsofa**		**lima'atu**		**faluppulu**		**rua**	**nyiamo**
	RED-	kira	ri	taung	sê-	nsofu	lima	atu	falu	-pulu	rua	nyia -mo
	RED-	about	GP	year	SG-	thousand	five	hundred	eight	-ten	two	exist -PERF

ito	**Laiyolo**	**mênga**	**ito**	**Loê'**	**mamako**		**ri**	**Lêmbego**	**maêntong.**	
ito	Laiyolo	mênga	ito	Loê'	ma-	mako	ri	Lêmbego	ma-	êntong
person	Laiyolo	and	person	Loa'	AF-	there	GP	Lembego	AF-	live

By about 1582 there were already Laiyolo and Loa' people who had gone to live on Lambego.

07	**Pêfei**	**gafena**		**si'i**	**saba'**	**Bone**	**mênga**	**Luhu'**	**sangnging**
	pêfei	gafe	-na	si'i	saba'	Bone	mênga	Luhu'	sangnging
	like this	work	-3sP	this	because	Bone	and	Luwuk	always

pêsimusu.		
pê-	si-	musu
VRB-	REC-	enemy

It happened in this way because Bone and Luwuk were always fighting each other.

08	**Mêlape**		**ri**	**sanina**		**ito**	**Laiyolo**	**mênga**	**ito**	**Loê'**	**itu**
	mê-	lape	ri	sani	-na	ito	Laiyolo	mênga	ito	Loê'	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**	**mênga**	**Loê'**	**labantua**		**Luhu'.**
	tantu	Laiyolo	mênga	Loê'	la-	bantu -a	Luhu'
	certainly	Laiyolo	and	Loa'	3sS-	help -3sO	Luwuk

Certainly Laiyolo and Loa' would help Luwuk.

10 **Fêtêria dua** Gowa.
fêtêria dua Gowa
in that way also Gowa
The same with Gowa.

11 **Ri fattu têria Sêlea ri tambe pêrentana Pêloresê'.**
ri fattu têria Sêlea ri tambe pêrenta -na Pêloresê'
GP time that Selayar GP under government -3sp Flores
At that time Selayar was governed by Flores.

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

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

14 **ri fattu têria Sêlea pêsisêmbung Luhu' mênga Gowa**
ri fattu têria Sêlea pê- si- sêmbung Luhu' mênga 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' mênga ito Gowatu pêranga lele**
ane matte ito Luhu' mênga ito Gowa -tu pê- ranga lele
if die person Luwuk and person Gowa -that VRB- friend all

mmatte ito Sêlea si'.
ma- matte Ito Sêlea 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, Sêlea pêranga Luhu' Gowa, kura sa'angu**
bodo -na pau sêlea pê - ranga Luhu' Gowa kura sê- angu
short -3sP word selayar VRB- companion Luwuk Gowa pot SG- CLASS

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

17 **Battuanga, sê'ênsa têria sêlele'mea, sêlele'ia ri**
battuang -na sê'ênsa têria sêlele' -mo -ea sêlele' -ia ri
meaning -3sP one that all -perf -3sO all -3pO GP

sê'ênsa têria.
sê'ênsa têria
one that
That means, one for all, and all for one.

18 **Feimo i'i pêsibokeênga'i mênggauaka**
fei -mo si'i pê- si- boke -êng -na'i mêng- gau -aka
this way -PERF this VRB- REC- tie -NOM -3pP TVP[i17]- do -TR
gau ane nyia pêrallu pu'u.
gau ane nyia pêrallu 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 pêbali pêrtugisi' kafa ri ma'mere**
ane bunru' Gowa pê- bali pêrtugisi' kafa ri ma'mere
if war Gowa VRB- enemy portuguese from GP maumere
(pêloresê'), ito Loê' mênga Laiyolo nyia têria ri Lêmbego
pêloresê' ito Loê' mênga Laiyolo nyia têria ri Lêmbego
flores person Loa' and Laiyolo exist that GP Lembego
latêngiosia ri Sêlea.
la- têngio -si -ea ri Sêlea
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 mêrêmpe ri**
nyia dua ito tena ito laiyolo -tu mê- rêmpe ri
exist person speak person laiyolo -that ST- ashore GP
labuêng ngapa dêlê Sêlatêng.
labu -êng ngapa dêlê Sêlatêng
harbor -NOM sea side South
There are some who say that the Laiyolo people came ashore at the anchorage on the southern shore.

21 **Lapêsua ri Sêringbobo mai ri sê'ênsa bênto laêntong.**
la - pê- sua ri Sêringbobo mai ri sê'ênsa bênto la- êntong
3sS- VRB- enter GP Saringbobo here GP one mountain 3s- live
They entered at Saringbobo and went live on a mountain.

22 **Ito Loê' nyia têria ri Bontobangung pêtumbu lapêrentea sianai.**
Ito Loê' nyia têria ri Bontobangung pêtumbu la- pêrenta -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 loê' bari lengka pêsiêrê' karona sulu'**
ri kana ito loê' bari lengka pê- siêrê' karo -na sulu'
GP before person loa' many walk VRB- scatter self -3sP outside
ri lipu Loê' lengka gafe kampong sao mai Binangabentêng,
ri lipu Loê' lengka gafe kampong sao mai Binangabentêng
GP village Loa' walk make village down here Binangabenteng

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[17]TVP, the abbreviation used for "Transitive Verb Prefix", is the label referring to the Barang-barang prefix ***mêng-***, which is borrowed from Indonesian *meng-*. The ***mêng-*** 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, mênga Buki'.
Bontoborusu' Pa'garangan Pariangang Bontobangung mênga Buki'
Bontoborusu Pagarangan Pariangan Bontobangung and Buki
In earlier times many Loa' people spread into areas outside of the Loa' village, making villages which became Binangabenteng, Bontoborusu, Pagarangan, Pariangan, Bontebangun, and Buki.

24 **Ri si'i dua laêntongi'i.**
ri si'i dua la- êntong -'i
GP this also 3s- live -PL
They lived in these places too.

25 **Sianamo ito Loê' têria makêdadi opuna ri kampong**
Sia -na -Mo ito Loê' têria ma- kêdadi 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 **Tena'i 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
sêga'a.
sê- ga'a
SG- portion
People also say that some of the people from Laiyolo are from Buton.

27 **Laulea ito Butung mai ri Sêlea.**
la- ule -ea ito Butung mai ri Sêlea
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 Sêlea
ri- ule -ea mai Sêlea
PAS- bring -3sO to here Selayar
They came from Luwuk to Buton, and from there were brought to Selayar

29 **Pêfei si'i têttulana ito.**
pê- fei si'i têttula -na ito
VRB- this way this story -3sP person
This is what some people say.

30 **Luhu' lamai ri Butung sêrêdaduna saba' Luhu' mênga**
luhu' la- mai ri Butung sêrêdadu -na saba' Luhu' mênga
luwuk 3s- to here GP Buton soldier -3sP because Luwuk and

ito Butung pêsimusu'i.
ito Butung pê- si- musu -'i
person Buton VRB- REC- enemy -PL
The army from Luwuk came to Buton because Luwuk and the Butonese were enemies.

31 **Têrianamo kaitona Luhu' lamai butung;**
têria -na -mo ka= ito -na Luhu la- mai butung
that -3sP -PERF REA person -3sP Luwuk 3s- to here buton
bepêbunru' kabutung rangana Aru'palakka opuna bone.
be= pê- bunru' ka= butung ranga -na Aru'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 têttulana ito Laiyolotu nyiea ri Sêlea**
lafa têttula -na ito Laiyolo -tu nyia -ea ri Sêlea
therefore story -3sP person Laiyolo -that exist -3sO GP Selayar
kafa ri Butung mêsosena Luhu' pêsuakia Butung
kafa ri Butung mêsose -na Luhu' pê- sua -ki -ea Butung
from GP Buton army -3sP Luwuk VRB- enter -LOC -3so Buton
bepêbunru' pêbali mêsose opu Bone.
be= pê- bunru' pê- bali mêsose 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 **Mêndarê' ri Sêlea laêntong rate ri bênto risangamo**
mêndarê' ri Sêlea la - êntong rate ri bênto ri- sanga -mo
land GP Selayar 3sS- 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 mênga Sêlea pêssêmbung lele Luhu' ri kana da'ang**
Gowa mênga Sêlea pê- sêmbung lele Luhu' ri kana da'ang
Gowa and Selayar VRB- connect all Luwuk GP before without
sêlla'anga.
sêlla -êng -na
flaw -NOM -3sP
The unity of Gowa and Selayar with Luwuk at that time was without flaw.

35 **Lafa ito Laiyolotu ninro ito mêkafa ri Lêmbego**
lafa ito Laiyolo -tu ninro ito mê- kafa ri Lêmbego
therefore person Laiyolo -that not person ST- from GP Lembego
mingka ito ri Laiyolo ripêmako ri Lêmbego.
mingka ito ri Laiyolo ri- pê- mako ri Lêmbego
but person GP Laiyolo PAS- VRB- there GP Lambego
So it wasn't the Laiyolo people who came from Lambego, but rather the Laiyolo people who went to Lambego.

36 **Ito Laiyolotu lalabu ri Sêlea mênga labuênga**
ito Laiyolo -t u la- labu ri Sêlea mênga labu -êng -na
person Laiyolo -that 3sS- harbor GP Selayar and harbor -NOM -3sP
lasangai'a "sala bose".
la- sanga -i -ea sala bose
3s- name -LOC -3sO wrong paddle
The Laiyolo people landed on Selayar at a harbor they named "Incorrectly Rowed".

37 **Sêbageêng kêddi' laêntong ri Sêringbobo sêbageêng**
sê- bage -êng kêddi' la- Êntong ri Sêringbobo sê- bage -êng
SG- divide -NOM small 3sS- live GP Saringbobo SG- divide -NOM
oggena laêntong ri laiyolo.
ogge -na la- êntong ri laiyolo
big -3sP 3sS- live GP laiyolo
A small part of them settled in Saringbobo; the majority lived in Laiyolo.

38 **Ito Laiyolotu tampa' êntongênga lara**
ito Laiyolo -tu tampa' êntong -êng -na lara
person Laiyolo -that location live -NOM -3sp inside
kêkêraengênga Luhu' ri kana pu'u ri Tabang.
kê- kêraeng -êng -na Luhu' ri kana pu'u ri Tabang
VRB- king -NOM -3sP Luwuk GP before very GP Tabang
The Laiyolo people's place of origin in the kingdom of Luwuk was Tabang.

39 **Sêssi'ina ajo kêkêraengêng Luhu' lênnyê' daeratu**
sêssi'i -na ajo kê- kêraeng -êng Luhu' lênnyê' daera -tu
now -3sP day VRB- king -NOM Luwuk vanish region -that
muni lêggamo bêbbage.
muni lêgga -mo RED- bage
also already -PERF RED- divide
Today the kingdom of Luwuk is gone; the area has been divided up.

40 **Sêssi'i tabang** rirumpê' **ri pêlopo sêlatêng, daerana**
sêssi'i tabang ri- rumpê' ri pêlopo sêlatêng daera -na
now tabang PAS- find GP palapo south region -3sP
Sulawesi Sêlatêng.
Sulawesi Sêlatêng
Sulawesi South
Tabang was located in what today is South Palopo, in the province of South Sulawesi.

41 **Ito laêntongi têria kampong Tabang sêssi'ina**
ito la- êntong -i têria kampong Tabang sêssi'i -na
person 3sS- live -LOC that village Tabang now -3sP
pauna ninro sêmbau bisara Laiyolo.
pau -na ninro sêmbau bisara Laiyolo
language -3sP not like language Laiyolo
The people that live in the village of Tabang now don't speak the same language as Laiyolo.

42 **Sêmbaumo dua mênga Wotu assala' êntongênga ri kana**
sêmbau -mo dua mênga Wotu assala' êntong -êng -na ri kana
like -PERF also and Wotu origin live -NOM -3sP GP before
ito Loê'.
ito Loê'
person Loa'
It is the same with Wotu, the place of origin of the Loa' people.

43 **Nromo sêmbau mênga bisara Wotu sêssi'i.**
ninro -mo sêmbau mênga bisara Wotu sêssi'i
not -PERF like with language Wotu now
The Wotu language is not the same today.

44 **Tanja'nga Wotu ripêlaisi ri ito laêntongitu**
tanja' -nga Wotu ri- pê- lai -si ri ito la- êntong -itu
face -3sP Wotu PAS- VRB- run -LOC GP person 3sS- live -that
sêssi'i ri Loê', amponga ridingkani ito mêkafa ri
sêssi'i ri Loê' amponga ri- dingka -i ito mê- kafa ri
now GP Loa' then PAS- fill -LOC person ST- from GP
bisara mêraeng.
bisara mê- 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 kêopuêng kê'kêddi'**
ito Lambego -tu assala' kafa ri kê- opu -êng RED- kêddi'
person Lembego -that origin from GP VRB- king -NOM RED- small
nyiatu ri loê' siamotu itona lipu Sombu mênga
nyia -tu ri loê' sia -mo -tu ito -na lipu Sombu mênga
exist -that GP loa' 3s -PERF -that person -3sP village Sombu and
ito mêkafa ri kampong Dulêng
ito mê- 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 villages of Sombu and Dulang.

46 **Sianamo kafa ri rua kampong anu nyiatu ri Loê',**
sia -na -mo kafa ri rua kampong anu nyia -tu ri Loê'
3s -3sP -PERF from GP two village REL exist -that GP Loa'
mêmakoi ri Lêmbego.
mê- mako -i ri Lêmbego
ST- there -LOC GP Lembego
These that went to Lambego were from the two villages of Loa'.

47 **Ri Lêmbego sianai laêntong, amponga kamponga'i**
ri Lêmbego sianai la- êntong amponga kampong -na'i
GP Lembego 3p 3sS- live then village -3pP

lasanga'ia				**dua**	**Sombu**	**ito**	**mêkafatu**			**ri**	**Sombu,**
la-	sanga	-'i	-ea	dua	Sombu	ito	mê-	kafa	-tu	ri	Sombu
3s-	name	-PL	-3sO	also	Sombu	person	ST-	from	-that	GP	Sombu

mênga	**Dulêng**	**itu**	**mêkafatu**			**ri**	**Dulêng.**
mênga	Dulêng	itu	mê-	kafa	-tu	ri	Dulêng
and	Dulang	that	ST-	from	-that	GP	Dulang

They lived in Lambego, and their villages there were also named Sombu by people from Sombu and Dulang by the people from Dulang.

48

Mêlengong		**mêlengong**		**sao**	**ito**	**Lambegotu**		**bisarana**	
mê-	lengong	mê-	lengong	sao	ito	Lambego	-tu	bisara	-na
ST-	old	ST-	old	down	person	Lembego	-that	language	-3sP

risangamo			**pau**	**Kalao'.**
ri-	sanga	-mo	pau	Kalao'
PAS-	name	-PERF	language	Kalao

Eventually the language of the Lambego people was called Kalao.

49

Sêmbauda		**dua**	**mênga**	**bisara**	**Loê'**	**mênga**	**bisara**	**Laiyolo.**
sêmbau	-da	dua	mênga	bisara	Loê'	mênga	bisara	Laiyolo
like	-LIM	also	with	language	Loa'	and	language	Laiyolo

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

50

Ri	**kana**	**ito**	**mêbisara**		**Loê'**	**mênga**	**Laiyolo**	**rigêllêre'**	
ri	kana	ito	mê-	bisara	Loê'	mênga	Laiyolo	ri-	gêllêre'
GP	before	person	ST-	language	Loa'	and	Laiyolo	PAS-	nickname

bisara	**jênjangang.**	
bisara	RED-	jangang
language	RED-	chicken

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

51

Pêfeimo			**si'i**	**po'dona**		**pê'pauêng**			
pê-	fei	-mo	si'i	po'do	-na	RED-	pau		-êng
VRB-	this way	-PERF	this	short	-3sP	RED-	language		-NOM

pêsuana			**ito**	**Laiyolotu**		**ri**	**Sêlea.**
pê-	sua	-na	ito	Laiyolo	-tu	ri	Sêlea
VRB-	enter	-3sP	person	Laiyolo	-that	GP	Selayar

This is the abbreviated story of how the Laiyolo people came to Selayar.

APPENDIX: LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1pe	1st person plural exclusive
1pi	1st person plural inclusive
1s	1st person singular
2h	2nd person honorific
2p	2nd person plural
2s	2nd person singular informal
3p	3rd person plural
3s	3rd person singular or unmarked 3rd person plural
ACC	accidental
AF	actor focus
BEN	benefactive
BI	*Bahasa* Indonesia
C	consonant
CAU	causative
CLASS	classifier
CMPR	comparative
GP	general preposition
IMP	imperfective
incl	inclusive
IT	iterative
INT	intentional
k.o.	kind of
LIM	limiter
LOC	locative / transitive
N	noun
NP	noun phrase
NOM	nominalizer
O	object marker
P	possessive / genitive
PAS	passive
PERF	perfective
PL	plural
QM	question marker
REA	reason / purpose
REC	reciprocal
RED	reduplication
REL	relative pronoun
S	subject marker
SG	singular
s.o.	someone
s.t.	something
ST	stative
TR	transitive
V	vowel or verb
VRB	verbalizer

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