SPATIAL DEIXIS IN BALANTAK

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0. INTRODUCTION

Balantak is an Austronesian language spoken by 25,000-30,000 people located primarily in the Balantak and Lamala kecamatan 'subdistricts' of the Banggai kabupaten 'district' of Central Sulawesi, Indonesia. A variety of subdialects exist (cf. Busenitz 1991), but the two primary dialects usually referred to are those spoken in each respective subdistrict, Balantak and Lamala.1 Balantak has been classified as a member of the Saluan subgroup (Eastern Group) of Central Sulawesi languages (cf. Barr, Barr, and Salombe 1979:4,23-27).

In this paper2 we give a preliminary outline of the demonstrative system of spatial deictics in Balantak. The Balantak lexicon has a large inventory of words having to do with spatial deixis; we weren't in the Balantak area very long before it was clear that this was a prominent feature of the language. As we struggled to understand and use the deictics correctly, different Balantak people would encourage us by telling us that not only is it difficult for outsiders to learn to use them correctly, but even their own children who grow up speaking the language often misuse them for years.

This description is basically outlined following a structural approach. Alternatively, various other more semantically-based categories could be used to describe the system.3 We feel that the grammatical structure captures both the essence of the emic categories in the mind of the native speaker as well as the way he builds from basic to more complex units. We describe first the base forms of the demonstrative system, and then both simple and complex derivations4 from these base forms.

Our focus is on spatial deixis, specifically the two sets of demonstrative adjectives/pronouns (which correspond roughly to 'this, that' in English), and demonstrative adverbs (which correspond roughly to 'here, there'). We do not discuss related aspects of anaphoric usage or temporal deictics.

The terminology which has been used to describe and refer to spatial deictics can be confusing. Some of this is due, of course, to the fact that the classification of word classes as well as deictic elements is likely to be slightly different for each language, and each analyst chooses the terminology which best seems to fit the system he or she is describing. What we describe here as demonstrative adjectives/pronouns seems to correspond
roughly to what others have called ‘pronominal demonstratives’, ‘deictic demonstratives’, or simply ‘demonstratives’. What we describe as demonstrative adverbs corresponds to what has also been called ‘locative adverbs’, ‘place adverbs’, or simply ‘locationals’ or ‘locatives’. In Balantak the two sets formally parallel each other very closely, so we feel it is appropriate to refer to them together as the demonstrative system, and to the deictic forms, whether adjective/pronouns or adverbs, as demonstratives.

The most common dimension differentiating demonstrative deictics is distance from the speaker (Anderson and Keenan, 1985:289). We will note that the Balantak demonstrative system has a variation of this dimension as well as two additional dimensions. These as well as the subcategories of each dimension are discussed in section 1.0. Simple demonstrative derivations are discussed in section 2.0, and complex demonstrative derivations are discussed in section 3.0. Although the demonstrative system is a closed system, derivations can produce a relatively large inventory of demonstrative words.

1.0 DEMONSTRATIVE BASE FORMS

1.1 Overview. The demonstrative series in Balantak show a seven-way distinction. These are summarized in Chart 1:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PERSON</th>
<th>ADJ/PRO</th>
<th>ADVERBS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>near Sp</td>
<td>ni‘i</td>
<td>ita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>near Adr</td>
<td>nono’</td>
<td>no’o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>away from Sp &amp; Adr</td>
<td>ya’u</td>
<td>mba’a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>front</td>
<td>tu‘u</td>
<td>ntu’u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>side</td>
<td>le’e</td>
<td>nde’e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>higher</td>
<td>ra’a</td>
<td>nda’a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lower</td>
<td>ro’o</td>
<td>ndo’o</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are three dimensions which differentiate demonstratives in this series; the first dimension has three subcategories, the other two each have two subcategories. The first dimension is that of distance from the speaker (Sp), but modified to also include reference to the addressee (Adr) in its second subcategory: nono’ and no’o refer to that which is near the addressee. The third subcategory indicates that which is neither near the speaker nor the addressee, but farther away, in a relative sense, from both of them. Anderson and Keenan (1985:282) refer to this as a ‘person
oriented' system (in contrast to a strictly 'distance oriented' system), and it is clearly analogous to the first, second, and third person of person deictics. In fact, in Balantak the third person plural personal pronoun, raay'ā'a, is the same form as the third subcategory of the person oriented demonstrative adjective/pronoun marked for plural.

The horizontal dimension and the vertical dimension make reference only to the speaker. The two subcategories of the horizontal dimension contrast that which is in front of the speaker with that which is to his side, either right or left; these two subcategories usually refer to that which is, more or less, on the same level as the speaker. The two subcategories of the vertical dimension contrast that which is higher than the speaker with that which is lower than he; generally these two subcategories refer to that which is, more or less, the same direction as the speaker is facing. The speaker, therefore, has the option of choosing from these latter two sets the particular dimension and feature he wishes to highlight. Distance from the speaker is not in focus unless the extension suffix (cf. section 2.4) is used.

Although not exclusively so, the demonstratives with the horizontal or vertical dimension are more commonly used to indicate that which is farther from the speaker in contrast with the person oriented demonstratives which more commonly indicate that which is relatively nearer; we can consider the latter proximal demonstratives and the former two sets distal. (We will note in section 2.0 that one of the motion affixes applies only to distal forms.) It could be argued, perhaps, that the distal forms are also person oriented since they generally indicate that which is farther from the speaker; in this case, the third subcategory of the first set would be considered neutral. However, we feel the picture is clearer if they are viewed as having their own dimensions without reference to the dimension used to distinguish the proximal forms.

Balantak demonstratives, both adjectives/pronouns and adverbs, may optionally be preceded by an expression-initial expansion; this is kaʔ'- in the Lamala dialect, and either kaʔ- or rʔ- in the Balantak dialect. Perhaps the latter two forms are derived from the former. Demonstratives which are clause-initial frequently do not have this expansion. We have not determined any shift in meaning among the three forms, or when the forms are not used.

Balantak prefixes ending in glottal drop the glottal when preceding word bases beginning with a consonant (cf. Busenitz and Busenitz 1990). Since most of our data were collected in the Balantak dialect, we do not show examples of the kaʔ'- form.

1.2 Demonstrative adjectives/pronouns. The demonstrative adjectives/pronouns (DP), as their name suggests, may function either to modify another noun (modify the head of a noun phrase), or as a pronoun (the head of a noun phrase). Note the examples below in which the demonstratives are marked by italics. We have not attempted to capture all of the Balantak nuances in the idiomatic English translation.
1.3 Demonstrative adverbs. The basic demonstrative adverbs (DA) in Balantak are adverbs of location. They have the same dimensions and subcategories as the demonstrative adjectives/pronouns, and, particularly in the distal forms, show considerable phonological similarity; perhaps they are derived from the adjectives/pronouns, but we do not attempt to show that here. Note the base form of demonstrative adverbs:

(5) Kita minti-male -mo ka'-ita.
1pnNO IT/I- tired-COM EX- 1DA
'Let's rest here.'

(6) No'o-mo a pang-asok -on -an loka -ku.
2DA -COM PART NR- plant-GF/I-NRs banana-1sPO
'There by you is the planting place for my bananas.'

(7) Mba'a na upa nom- o- kela-a[waj]n
3DA GP what AF/R-CAUS-put -NRs-2sPO-
pakakas-muu?
stuff -2pPO
'On what place over there did you put your stuff?'