

# The *-Ang* and *-In* Suffixes as Verbal Case Markings in Balinese

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## 1. Introduction

The analysis of *-ang* and *-in* in this study is seen from the perspectives of the affectedness of the patient and the spatial/perceptual distance between the agent and the goal in semantically transitive clause constructions. Gropen et al. (1991: 153-4) remark that, in order to predict the meaning of the syntax of a verb, traditional theories posit that syntactically relevant information about semantic arguments consists of a list of thematic roles like "agent," "theme," and "goal." Throughout the study I will refer to the doer of the verb action as agent, the affected entity as patient, i.e., when the verb is suffixed with *-ang*, and the entity toward which an action is directed as goal, i.e., when the verb is suffixed with *-in*.

Suffixes *-ang* and *-in* in Balinese have some parallelism with the Indonesian suffixes of *-kan* and *-i*, respectively. There is little work on both Balinese and Indonesian suffixes, so that I have to depend very much on my own examples. Hopper and Thompson (1980: 261), in their paper on transitivity, have mentioned about the distinction between *-kan* and *-i* in terms of degree of transitivity. A pair of examples they give is following: a) *Dia meman-as-I air*, and b) *Dia meman-as-KAN air*. Both (a) and (b) mean 'He heated the water.' They suggested that the difference between *-kan* and *-i* is related to the totality as opposed to the partiality of the effect on the patient/object. The verb root in each sentence is *panas* 'heat, hot.' They suggested that with *-i*, it is implied that the action of heating is gentler and more controlled; and, with *-kan*, the action of heating is more drastic, such as boiling water in the kitchen.

While it seems very convincing to say that **-kan** has a high degree of transitivity which signals a total effect of the verb's action on the patient/object, it is not necessarily true that it always has higher transitivity than the **-i** suffix. There are no definite criteria which can account for one to be higher in degree of transitivity than the other. Following Hopper's and Thompson's criteria, it is hard to say which of the following two Indonesian expressions is higher in transitivity: a) ***Dia melempar-kan mangga*** 'S/he threw a mango away,' b) and, ***Dia melempar-i mangga*** 'S/he threw at mangos [on the tree] repeatedly.' The verb root in each sentence is ***lempar*** 'throw at.' With the suffix **-kan** in (a), ***mangga*** 'mango' is the affected patient since it is the entity which is moved away by the agent's activity. In (b), the argument brought in by **-i** is a goal of throwing, and the **-i** indicates that the same activity is done repeatedly. Besides, an instrument is being implied as a means for throwing at the mango. However, Hopper and Thompson mention the characteristics of the two suffixes, which is very important in the study of Balinese **-ang** and **-in**, that "the suffix **-kan** further suggests that the water is placed over the heat, while **-i** suggests rather that the heat is brought to the water, or is kindled while the water is over it." (p. 261). I interpret this to mean that, with **-i** there is a goal toward which an activity is directed.

My attempt in this paper is to show that the difference between **-ang** and **-in** involves plus (+) and minus (-) perceptual distance. In order to determine the functions and meaning of **-ang** and **-in**, I tested two hypotheses. The first hypothesis is that **-ang** is assigned for minus perceptual distance, or in other words to code affectedness of the patient because of the more involved relationship between the agent and the patient; and, the second hypothesis is that **-in** is assigned to code perceptual distance between the agent and the goal.

The plus and minus perceptual distances that the two suffixes code may also convey various semantic functions such as causative, benefactive, and instrument. In order to test

my hypotheses I gathered a corpus of verb samples from different root word classes such as: intransitive verbs, adjectives, modals, prepositions, directions, transitive verbs, and nominals. From the data collected it seems that perceptual distance is the main semantic factor distinguishing the suffixes *-ang* and *-in*.

In order for the reader to be able to follow the argument I provide a list of abbreviations used in this paper.

ABL	= ablative
ALL	= allative
ASS	= associative
AT	= plus agent trigger
BEN	= benefactive
CAUS	= causative
DEF	= definite
INS	= instrument
INT	= intransitive
ITER	= iterative
M	= male
NEG	= negative
PM	= person marker
F	= female
LK	= linker
POS	= possessive
SG	= singular
TR	= transitive
3	= third person
1	= first person
+	= plus
-	= minus

## 2. Intransitive verb roots

When the *-ang* is suffixed to an intransitive verb *teka* 'come' as shown in (1a) it indicates that the agent has some control over the patient so that the patient comes over. The

patient is directly affected by the agent's activity. In this context, *I Putu*, in the example (1a), might have asked his friend to come or whatever he has done that makes his friend come. On the other hand, with the allative *-in* in (1b), *I Putu*'s friend is no longer the affected patient, rather s/he is a goal toward which the agent is moving.

- (1a) *I Putu neka-ang timpal -ne.*  
 PM/M Putu +AT-come-CAUS timpal-3POS  
 'I Putu caused/made his mother (to) come.'

- (1b) *I Putu neka-n-in timpal -ne.*  
 PM/M Putu +AT-come-LK-ALL friend-3POS  
 'I Putu came to his friend.'

Perceptually, the *-ang* allows no distance between the agent and the patient. This is further accounted for by the patient's ability to take a reflexive (see section 9. Reflexives, examples (19a) and (20a)). (2) is another example. As in (1a), with *-ang* in (2a) the patient is affected and made to sleep. The expression with *-in* in (2b), however, gives a sense of immobility in the part of the goal. The agent is perceived as moving toward the goal and sleeps on the item. When the item is animate as in (2b), the agent must not have done it on purpose. That an agent is supposed to act with volition and control gives rise to metaphorical expression with *-in*. Thus, a metaphorical meaning is better known than its prototypical counterpart, as in the second meaning of the expression in (2b).

- (2a) *I Putu mules-ang panak-ne.*  
 PM/M Putu +AT-sleep-CAUS child-3POS  
 'I Putu made/put to his child sleep.'

- (2b) *I Putu mules-in kurenan-ne.*  
 PM/M Putu +AT-sleep-ALL spouse-3POS  
 'I Putu slept on his spouse.'  
 'I Putu had intercourse with his spouse.'

Further examples show that there is a continuum of control over the affected patient, depending on the animacy and force involved between the agent and the patient. Causativity may range from the totality of control of the agent over affected patient as in (3a.i-ii) to little control of the agent over the affected patient, as in (3a.iii). In (3a.i-ii), the agent has total control over the affected patient and the patient either has no control or does not have volition, in which case the causative **-ang** loses its sense of causation. What remains is a sense of union or associativeness between the agent and the patient, with the result that it is the agent that causes him/herself to do the activity, as in (3a.i).

The suffix **-in** in (3b) encodes locative-source from which the agent takes a distance away. To run away from an item, as in (3b), shows a physically real distance between the agent and the source.

- (3a.i) *I Putu malaib-ang pipis.*  
 PM/M Putu +AT-run-ASS money  
 'I Putu ran away, taking money with him.'
- (3a.ii) *Jaran-e malaib-ang I Putu.*  
 Horse-DEF +AT-run-ASS PM/M Putu  
 'The horse ran away with I Putu on its back.'
- (3a.iii) *I Putu malaib-ang jaran.*  
 PM/M Putu +AT-run-CAUS horse  
 'I Putu made the horse run.'  
 [read: I Made rode horse back.']
- (3b) *I Putu malaib-in jaran.*  
 PM/M Putu +AT-run-ABL horse  
 'I Putu ran away from a horse.'

For verbs of emotion, regardless of their roots, the **-ang** seems to be like normal causatives, i.e. the patient is

affected by the agent's activity as to affect the patient emotionally, as in (4a). With **-in** the agent activity of crying in (4b) is directed toward [perhaps, the death of] his child.

- (4a) *I Putu ng-eling-ang panak-ne.*  
PM/M Putu +AT-cry-CAUS child-3POS  
'I Putu made his child cry.'

- (4b) *I Putu ng-eling-in panak-ne.*  
PM/M Putu +AT-cry-ALL child-3POS  
'I Putu cried over [the death of] his child.'

### 3. Adjective roots

Adjectives take **-ang** for causation to express a change of state in the part of the patient as the result of the agent's activity. With **-ang** in (5a), the patient is affected, and undergoes a change of state from not-angry to angry. The argument brought in by **-ang** can be interpreted as being involved in the internal process of its becoming angry so that it can take an intransitive construction, as in (5b). In contrast, because a verb suffixed with **-in** involves greater perceptual distance, the two participants never collapse into one; clauses with **-in** always involve two participants, as seen in (5c) and (5d). With **-in** in (5c), the agent's emotional state of being angry is directed toward the goal. In (5d), the argument of **-in** is not coded overtly but is understood being the speaker. Thus, the **-in** maintains the perceptual distance between two participant arguments of a clause construction.

- (5a) *I Putu ngedeg-ang meme-n-ne.*  
PM/M Putu +AT-angry-CAUS mother-LK-3POS  
'I Putu made his mother angry.'  
'I Putu angered his mother.'

- (5b) (*Basang*) *meme-n-ne ngedeg-ang* (*terus*).  
 belly mother-LK-3POS +AT-angry-CAUS continue  
 'His mother got angrier and angrier.'
- (5c) *Meme-n-ne ngedeg-in I Putu*.  
 mother-LK-3POS +AT-angry-ALL PM/M Putu  
 'His mother was angry with I Putu.'
- (5d) *I Putu ngedeg-in* (*basang*).  
 PM/M Putu +AT-angry-ALL belly  
 'I Putu made me angry.'

Compare (5a-d) and (6a-d). In the causation with *-in* in (6c), the road is already *wide*. The state of the road being wider is perceived as being the goal of doing the action. Thus, a temporal distance can be perceived between the two end points of the states of the road. The argument of *-in* is not internally involved in the action of the verb. Thus, (6d) is ungrammatical.

- (6a) *I Putu nga-linggah-ang jalan*.  
 PM/M Putu +AT-wide-CAUS road  
 'I Putu made the road wide.'
- (6b) *Jalan-e nga-linggah-ang*.  
 road-DEF +AT-wide-CAUS  
 'The road widened.' [A mountain path, for example, is always in the process of widening if more and more people walk through that way].
- (6c) *I Putu nga-linggah-in jalan*.  
 PM/M Putu +AT-wide-CAUS road  
 'I Putu made the road wider.'
- (6d) \**Jalan-e nga-linggah-in*.

Causation which involves emotions or feelings is expressed mostly in the *-in* form, and very often it takes only

one overt argument, leaving out the goal argument which refers to the speaker or a generic one. Hunter (1988: 200-1) gives an example such as *Ida ngae balih.balih-an ane nakut-in* 'he-make-spectacle-RELATIVIZER-frightening = he put on a frightening spectacle.'

There is evidence that perceptual distance is related to animacy. With an adjective root such as *gede* 'big,' the *-in* allows only the inanimate argument to be perceived as a goal item, as in (7a); however, an animate argument is not allowed to be perceived as a goal item; thus, the ungrammaticality of (7b). This is because an animate is perceptually in constant process of becoming. Not only may this process be caused by an external agent, like the change perceptible in the item brought in by *-in*, but an animate is also capable of the internal process, as in (7c). The *-in* does not allow this internal process to work.

- (7a) *I Putu magede-n-in umah-ne.*  
 PM/M Putu +AT-big-LK-CAUS house-3POS  
 'I Putu made his house bigger.'
- (7b) *\*I Putu magede-n-in panakne.*
- (7c) *Panak-ne Ni Sukasti ngede-ang.*  
 Child-3POS PM/F Sukasti +AT-big-CAUS  
 'Ni Sukasti's child got bigger.'

#### 4. Modal roots

A few verbs are based on modals, as in (8). The *-ang* in (8a) does not have its counterpart in *-in*, and its meaning is a simple causation that the agent has some control and volition to let the patient go home. At the same time the patient also has volition and control over him/herself.



- (8a) *Ia nadi-ang timpal-ne mulih.*  
 3SG +AT-MOD-CAUS friend-3POS go.home  
 'S/he allowed his/her friend to go home.'

- (8b) \**Ia nadi-n-in timpal-ne mulih.*

## 5. Prepositional roots

In Balinese, prepositions also verbalize with *-ang* and *-in* as in (9). Causation is encoded by the suffix *-ang* as in example (9a) in which the agent makes the patient walk ahead. The patient still has some control and volition, and is affected so that s/he obeys. The result of the agent's control, or the obedience of the patient, is shown in (9a). The patient still has control of himself and the volition to do what is asked of him.

- (9a) *Ni Putu nga-malu-ang panak-ne ma-jalan.*  
 PM/F Putu +AT-front-CAUS child-3POS INT-road  
 'Ni Putu let her child walk first.'

- (9b) *Ni Putu nga-malu-n-in panak-ne ma-jalan.*  
 PM/F Putu +AT-front-LK-ALL child-3POS INT-road  
 'Ni Putu walked faster so as to take over her child.'

With the *-in* in (9b), the agent is perceived as walking faster than the object. The object is a projection from which the agent measures her pace. In time the agent takes over the entity-goal.

## 7. Direction roots

Directions, such as *kaja* 'north,' *kelod* 'south,' *kangin* 'east,' and *kauh* 'west' verbalize with *-ang* and *-in*. With *-ang*, the agent has total control so as to make the patient move to the west, as in (10a).

- (10a) *Ni Putu ngauh-ang umah-ne.*  
 PM/F Putu +AT-west-CAUS house-3POS  
 'Ni Putu moved her house westward.'

- (10c) *Ni Putu ma-kauh-in umah-ne.*  
 PM/F Putu +AT-west-CAUS/ALL house-3POS  
 'Ni Putu moved her house further west.'

Similar to adjectives with *-in* in (5) and (6), direction word with *-in* also encodes both causation and perceptual distance. In (10b) above, the agent is understood to have the control and volition to make the item which is already in the west further west. Thus, there is a perceived distance between the state being in the west as a starting point of reference and the goal of which another state is to be achieved.

## 7. Transitive verb roots

A transitive verb root *tegen/negen* 'carry on the shoulder' may codes a simple clause construction with an agent, a verb, and a patient. When *-in* or *-ang* is brought in it changes the semantic function of the argument. The argument brought in by *-in* is a causee argument, as in (11a). The agent makes the recipient of the verb action do thing as indicated by the transitive verb root. A distance can be perceived between the agent and the recipient-goal. The suffix *-ang*, on the other hand, takes a benefactive function, i.e. the agent is doing something for the benefactee, as is exemplified in (11b).

- (11a) *I bapa negen-in cang biu.*  
 PM/M father +AT-carry-ALL/CAUS 1SG banana  
 'The father made me carry bananas on the shoulder.'

- (11b) *I bapa negen-ang cang biu.*  
 PM father +AT-carry-BEN 1SG banana  
 'The father carried bananas on the shoulder for me.'

Other transitive verb roots such as *beli/meli* 'buy' in (12) has the function of *-in* changed from the one in (11). In (11a), the *-in* brings in a causee-goal, in (12b) the *-in* brings in a source from which distance may be perceived.

- (12a) *Ni Putu meli-ang meme-n-ne biu.*  
 PM/F Putu +AT-buy-BEN mother-LK-3POS banana  
 'Ni Putu bought a/some banana/s for her mother.'

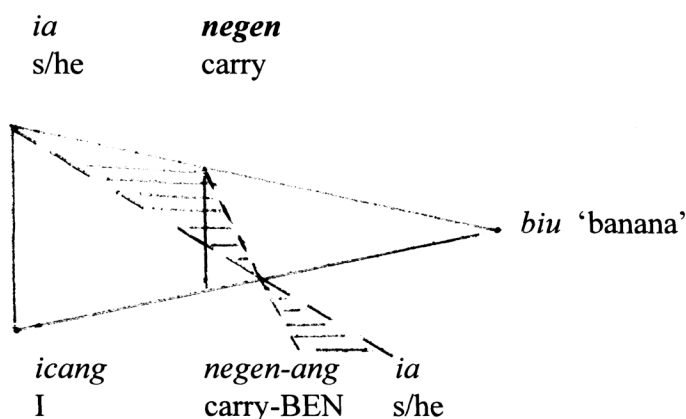
- (12b) *Ni Putu meli-n-in meme-n-ne biu.*  
 PM/F Putu +AT-buy-LK-ABL mother-LK-3POS banana  
 'Ni Putu bought a/some banana/s from her mother.'

The benefactive arguments brought in by *-ang* in (11b) and (12a), give a sense of a goal similar to the dative/causee argument brought in by *-in* in (11a). But, they are really significantly different, in that there is little perceptual distance between the agent and the benefactive. In other words, the benefactive argument is agent-like, meaning that the agent of the benefactive clause construction is doing something in place of the benefactive. Compare the two constructions in (13a) and (13b), which are pragmatically related to one another. The third person *ia* 's/he' who is unable to carry the bananas, as shown in (13a), becomes Benefactive in (13b).

- (13a) *Ia sing nyidaang negen biu-n-e ento.*  
 3POS NEG able +AT-carry banana-LK-DEF that  
 'S/he was not able to carry those bananas.'

- (13b) *Icang negen-ang ia biu-n-e ento.*  
 2SG +AT-carry-BEN 3SG banana-LK-DEF that  
 'I carried those bananas for him/her.'

- (14) An example for the substitution relation in a benefactive construction can be shown in the following diagram.



A transitive verb root like *tulis/nulis* 'write' can naturally code a simple clause construction with an agent, a verb, and a patient. With *-ang*, the argument brought in is an instrument-patient, as in (15a). In this context the instrument, *potlot* 'pencil,' is used for writing - thus, pencil is the affected patient. Furthermore there is no perceptible distance between the agent and the patient. On the other hand, an argument brought in by *-in* is perceived as being immobile, as in (15b). A distance can be perceived here, where the activity is perceptually moving toward the object.

- (15a) *Ni Putu nulis-ang potlot.*  
 PM/F Putu +AT-write-INS pencil  
 'Ni Putu wrote with a pencil.'

- (15b) *Ni Putu nulis-in dluang.*  
 PM/F Putu +AT-write-ALL paper  
 'Ni Putu wrote on a piece of paper.'

Every word seems to carry its own particular meaning that, in turn, affects the analysis of the *-ang* and *-in* suffixes. Another verb root which brings in a similar argument when suffixed with *-in* or *-ang* is *slampar* 'throw at.' The difference between (15) and (16) is that *-in* in *nulis-in* (15b) brings in a goal-argument, and *-in* in *nylampar-in* (16b) brings in a goal-argument with repetitious meaning. This is because the verb root *slampar* 'throw at' is a goal-coding transitive verb by itself. Thus, the *-in* in (15b) takes a temporal distance instead. The perceived distance is between the first throw and the next successive ones. The arguments brought in by *-ang* in both (15a) and (16a) are instrument-patients.

- (16a) *I Saru nylampar-ang kayu.*  
 PM/M Saru +AT-throw.at-INS wood  
 'I Saru threw a piece of wood away.'

- (16b) *I Saru nylampar-in poh.*  
 PM/M Saru +AT-throw.at-ITER mango  
 'I Saru threw at the mangos [ON THE TREE] repeatedly.'

## 8. Nominal roots

Nouns can verbalize into transitive verbs by adding the *-ang* or *-in* suffixes. The patient argument brought in by *-ang* in (17a) defines the general term expressed by the verb root. Thus, *lilin* 'candle' is a specific light used as an instrument for lighting. There is no distance between the agent and the candle. Meanwhile, the argument of *-in* in (17b) tells of a goal toward which the light is directed. The two readings the expression in (17b) bears are interesting for the fact that spatial distance is perceptible in both readings, but with different angles. In the

first reading, the distance is between the agent with the light and the chicken; the goal of having the light is to enable him to see the chicken. The second reading is an extension of the first, the distance is between the chicken and the ground around it; thus, it has a benefactive reading as well. The second reading is inevitable due to the pragmatic function of the word *suluh* 'light.' It enables the eyes to see. Both the agent *bapa* 'father' and the animate item *siap* 'chicken' have eyes that can see because of the same light that the father carries with him. Pragmatic function here means that "we establish links between objects of a different nature for psychological, cultural, or locally pragmatic reasons and that the links thus established allow reference to one object in terms of another appropriately linked to it" (Fauconnier 1994: 13).

(17a) *I bapa nyuluh-ang lilin.*

PM father +AT-light-INS candle  
'The father used a candle for light.'

(17b) *I bapa nyuluh-in siap-ne.*

PM father +AT-light-ALL/BEN chicken-3POS

This has two readings:

- 1) 'The father used light to see the chicken;'
- 2) 'The father used light so that the chicken can see.'

Benefactivity is also encoded by *-in* when the nominal root has something to do with clothing, e.g. *jaler* 'pants.' The patient of *-ang*, such as in (18a), particularizes/defines the general term expressed by the verb root. When the goal-argument of *-in* in (18b) is compared with the patient-argument of *-ang* in (18a), it is obvious that the item brought in by *-in* is just a goal of the agent's activity, perceived as being immobile. It is this perceived movement toward the goal that makes the perceptual distance between the agent and the item brought in by *-in*. While the patient of *-ang* gets affected or moved by the agent's activity. There is no perceived distance between the agent and the patient.

- (18a) *I Putu nyaler-in adi-n-ne.*  
 PM/M Putu +AT-pants-BEN younger.sibling-LK-3POS  
 'I Putu helped his younger sibling put his pants on.'

- (18b) *I Putu nyaler-ang jaler bapa-n-ne.*  
 PM/M Putu +AT-pant-TR pant father-LK-3POS  
 'I Putu wore his father's pants.'

## 9. Reflexives

The perception of a tighter relationship between the agent and the patient with **-ang** may be tested with control of the reflexive. In most cases, as shown in (19a), only the agent in a construction with **-ang** is permitted to control the reflexive. The reflexive patient corefers to the agent. (The word **dogen** 'just' implies that **I Putu** is supposed to come with some one else.) On the other hand, the construction with **-in** in (19b) is not capable of taking a reflexive because there is no unity between the agent and the goal.

- (19a) *I Putu neka-ang awak-ne dogen.*  
 PM/M Putu +AT-come-CAUS self-3POS just  
 'I Putu caused only himself to come.'
- (19b) *\*I Putu neka-n-in awak-ne dogen.*

Another piece of evidence with a reflexive is exemplified in (20). Benefactive is agent-like, in that there is no perceptual distance between the agent and the benefactive. A clause construction with a benefactive argument encoded by **-ang** may take a reflexive which corefers to the agent, as in (20a).

- (20a) *Ia meli-ang awak-ne nasi.*  
 3SG +AT-buy-BEN self-3POS cooked.rice  
 'S/he bought cooked rice for her/himself.'

(20b) \**Ia meli-n-in awak-ne nasi.*

Since the benefactive-reflexive is virtually the agent itself, there is no distance which can be perceived between the two arguments. Contrary to this, a dative/source argument brought in by the *-in* suffix cannot be reflexivized, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (20b). This is because, in this context, no perceptual distance is allowed to occur between the agent and the dative/source reflexive.

## 10. Conclusion

From the discussion above it is obvious that the *-ang* and *-in* work interdependently as to form “a continuum between the grammar and the lexicon” (Lakoff 1987: 465). The two suffixes convey a fine meaning distinction, *-ang* codes a tight relationship between the agent and the patient of a clause construction. The patient can, in fact, be so tightly related to the agent and so affected by the action of the verb, that all perceptual distance between the agent and the patient disappears. In some instances such as in (15a) and (16a) an instrument is very like a patient in that it is being affected by the action of the verb.

The *-in* suffix, on the other hand, consistently reveals a perceptual distance between the agent and the goal. The distance induced may be physically real, as in (3b); or temporal, in which case the distance is not between the agent and the goal; but, rather between one state to another state, as in (6c), or from one action to another action, as in (16b).



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