

SPATIAL DEIXIS IN BALANTAK

Marilyn J. Busenitz and Robert L. Busenitz
Field Linguists

Hasanuddin University and The Summer Institute of Linguistics
Ujung Pandang, Indonesia

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:

Chart 1: Demonstrative Base Forms

	ADJ/PRO		ADVERBS	
P E R S O N	near Sp	ni'i	ita	P R O X I M
	near Adr	nono'	no'o	
	away from Sp & Adr	ya'a	mba'a	
H O R	front	tu'u	ntu'u	D I S T A L
	side	le'e	nde'e	
V E R	higher	ra'a	nda'a	
	lower	ro'o	ndo'o	

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, *raaya'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 *kai'* in the Lamala dialect, and either *ka'* or *i'* 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 *kai'* 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).⁵ 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) Kau *ka-ni'i* ma- kadang tuu'.
wood EX-1DP ST/I-hard very
'This wood is very hard.'
- (2) *Ka-nono'* alia ming-ili.
EX-2DP don't AF/I-buy
'Don't buy that.'
- (3) Piile' *i -le'e* men bo langkai'-im, *le'e* daa
see EX-sDP REL for husband -2sPO sDP AFF
ule.
snake
'Look at the one who is for your husband, that is a snake!'
- (4) Paraluu-na siok *i -ya'a* mam- bantil-kon se'
need -3sPO chicken EX-3DP AF/I-report-BEN that
isian mian *i -ro'o* na intu -na woo'
is person EX-1DP GP under-3sPO betelnut
i-ya'a.
EX-3DP
'The intention of that chicken is to let us know about that person down there underneath the betelnut tree.'

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 below 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[wa]n
3DA GP what AF/R-CAUS-put -NRs-2sPO-
pakakas-muu?
stuff -2pPO
'On what place over there did you put your stuff?'

- (8) Kai rimberi' daa no-tuuk i- nde'e na
 1pxNO yesterday AFF RE-stop.by EX-sDA GP
 laigan-na sina -muu.
 house -3sPO mother-2pPO

'Yesterday we stopped there at the house of your mother.'

2.0 SIMPLE DEMONSTRATIVE DERIVATIONS

2.1 Overview. We discuss in this section various demonstrative affixes. Certain affixes can occur with all demonstratives; others, such as those involving motion, are more restricted. When the optional expression-initial expansion discussed above occurs, it always precedes other prefixes.

2.2 Plurality prefix *raa-*. Plurality is optionally marked on all demonstratives, both adjectives/pronouns and adverbs, with the prefix *raa-*. (As noted previously, the third person oriented demonstrative pronoun marked for plural is identical to the third person plural personal pronoun; however, the personal pronoun is usually preceded by the independent person marker *i*, which should not be confused with the optional expansion of demonstratives.) Note the following examples involving plurality:

- (9) Anak ka-raa-ni'i tongko' poto-tende'.
 child EX-PL- 1DP only VRi- run
 'These children are just running around.'
- (10) Raa-ya'a-mo a upa men sarak-on -Ru.
 PL- 3DP -COM PART what REL seek -GF/I-1sGF
 'Those are what I'm looking for.'
- (11) Ka-raa-nda'a na ale' -muu isian ayop malela'
 EX-PL- hDA GP garden-2pPO exist animal wild
 nin-soop.
 VRi-enter

'In those places up there in your garden a wild animal got in.'

2.3 Invisibility prefix *noo-*. This prefix occurs only with the low demonstrative pronoun, *ro'o*, and is probably a frozen form. It indicates that which is invisible to the addressee, and often to the speaker as well. This prefix should not be confused with the single vowel *no-* prefix of the *mo-/no-*, *irrealis/realis*, pair of prefixes which may also occur with some spatial deictics.

- (12) Noo-ro'o kukis men kuu wawa rimberi' dauga'
 INV-1DP pastry REL 2pNO brought yesterday still
 isian?
 exist

'Do you still have those pastries you brought yesterday?

- (13) *Noo-ro'o takala'-am dauga'na ma- polos*
 INV-1DP head -2sPO still ST/I-pain
suri-o[o]n?
 feel-GF/I-2sGF-
 'Does your head still hurt?'
 (Note: The addressee's head is invisible to himself.)
- (14) *Noo-ro'o men kuu tundun a daa ko- kana'-ku.*
 INV-1DP REL 2pNO say PART AFF NRp-suit -1sPO
 'What you said there is what I like to hear.'

2.4 Extension suffix -a. This suffix occurs with all demonstratives and serves to extend the distance from the speaker beyond that which is indicated for the unmarked forms. It most commonly occurs with distal forms, but may also be used with proximal forms to extend/expand that which is being indicated. Note these examples:

- (15) *Taka i -nde'e-a sianta bo na- nau' tuu'*
 arrive EX-sDA -EXT not for ST/R-long very
ni'i-mo a kapal men bo lakit-an -na i
 1DP -COM PART ship REL for board-NRs-3sPO PI
raaya'a.
 3pNO
 'Arriving way over there it wasn't very long and here was the plane which was the one they were to get on.'
- (16) *Yaku' maripi isian no'-ale' ka-raa-nda'a-a*
 1sNO formerly exist RE- garden EX-PL- hDA -EXT
na lipu'.
 GP interior.
 'At one time I gardened in those places way up there in the interior.'
- (17) *Na bangkal -mai ka-raa-le'e-a biai' a*
 GP former.garden-1pxPO EX-PL- sDP -EXT many PART
lato' kai asok.
 beans 1pxNO plant
 'In our former gardens way over there we planted lots of beans.'
- (18) *Ni'i-a na Dolom a daa pore a weer -na.*
 1DP -EXT GP Dolom PART AFF good PART water-DEF
 'This place here at Dolom has good water.'

2.5 Directional derivations. Our discussion now shifts to a suffix and a pair of prefixes which usually indicate directional motion, but which may also have an extended meaning and function which is very similar to

demonstratives. When indicating motion, the resulting forms can be viewed as adverbs of motion, or serial verbs, or even full verbs when no other verbs are present in the predicate. Directional derivations distinguish nonpast vs. past action.

2.5.1 Hither/approximation suffix *-mari*. This affix is probably related to Indonesian, *mari*, meaning 'come here'. In Balantak, it may be affixed to all demonstratives, and has the primary meaning of indicating movement coming toward the speaker, similar to the archaic English 'hither'. Nonpast action is indicated when the form which is suffixed is a demonstrative **pronoun**; past action is indicated when the demonstrative **adverb** has this suffix. Note the following examples:

- (19) *Tu'u-mari n -i Deen a tuum -a[a]n.*
 FDP -HI GP-PI Deen PART bundle-NRS-2sPO-
 'Here comes your bundle with Deen.'
- (20) *Yaku' rongor isian mian gora' ra'a-mari.*
 1sNO hear is person noisy hDP -HI
 'I hear there are noisy people coming from up there.'
- (21) *Sianta paraa na- nau' daa nda'a-mari-mo a*
 not very ST/R-long AFF hDA -HI -COM PART
taksi.
taxi
 'Before long a taxi came down.'

The suffix also has a secondary sense, particularly when it occurs with **proximal** demonstratives; in this case (which must be determined from context) it means that that which is indicated by the demonstrative is approximate and less definite; it can be roughly translated as 'around here'. Note the following examples:

- (22) *Ni'i-mari a buku-muu.*
 1DP -HI PART book-2pPO
 'This here is your book.'
- (23) *Upa i kuu wawau ita-mari rimberi' na balai*
 what PI 2pNO do 1DA-HI yesterday GP center
desa?
village
 'What did you do yesterday here in the village meeting house?'

2.5.2 Thither prefixes *waa-* and *mbaa-*. These prefixes are primarily used to indicate movement going away from the speaker, similar to the archaic English 'thither'. They only occur preceding the distal forms of the demonstrative adjectives/pronouns; *waa-* indicates nonpast action, while *mbaa-* indicates past action. Chart 2 briefly summarizes the two types of

directional derivations and their strategy for indicating nonpast vs. past action.

Chart 2: Hither and Thither directional derivations

	NONPAST	PAST
HI	dem. pronoun + <i>mari</i>	dem. adverb + <i>mari</i>
TH	<i>waa</i> + distal pronoun	<i>mbaa</i> + distal pronoun

Note the examples below with *waa*- and *mbaa*- prefixes:

- (24) *Waa- ro'o Kiloma a salan-ta kabai waa- ro'o*
 TH/N-1DP Kiloma PART path -1pnPO or TH/N-1DP
Tongke?
Tongke

'Are we taking the way down to Kiloma or the way down to Tongke?'

- (25) *Uga' yaku' no-wangon-mo ka' mbaa-tu'u weer mae'*
 also 1sNO IR-arise -COM and TH/p-fDP water go
nong-oso'i lima-ngku tia sarat-ku.
 AF/I-wash hand-1sPO with feet -1sPO

'I also woke up and went there to the water and washed my hands.'

2.6 Locative prefix *ku*-. This prefix builds on the directional derivation of thither movement (described in section 2.5.2). The derivation indicates a location. The meaning is similar to distal demonstrative adverbs, but the *ku*- form indicates a location in a certain direction, i.e., 'the place going...'. If the reference is to a place where the action has already taken place, the past form is used; otherwise the nonpast is used. Note these examples:

- (26) *Ku- waa- ra'a na laigan-mai a utus -muu*
 LOCp-TH/N-1DP GP house -1pxPO PART sibling-2pPO
mem- pe= pera-i i kuu.
 AF/I-RED-wait-LOC PI 2sNO

'There at our house your sibling is waiting for you.'

- (27) *Isian sasa' ku- mbaa-ro'o rimputu*
 exist cat LOCp-TH/p-1DP last.night
no-barikakat.
 RE-bite/fight

'There were cats down there last night fighting.'

2.7 Summary. Many of these derivations can cooccur; *noo*-, however, would be an exception, and the two types of directional derivations are

mutually exclusive. The plural prefix has not been noted with the directional derivations, but the extension suffix frequently occurs with both directional derivations and basic demonstratives. The demonstrative derivational affixes are summarized in Chart 3:

Chart 3: Demonstrative derivational affixes

AFFIX	OCCURS WITH	FUNCTION/MEANING
<i>kai'-/ka'-/i'-</i>	all dem.	opt. expression-initial expansion
<i>raa'-</i>	all dem.	marks plurality
<i>noo-</i>	only ro'o	indicates invisibility
<i>-a</i>	all dem.	extends distance
<i>-mari</i>	all dem.	1. hither motion 2. approximation
<i>waa-/mbaa-</i>	distal pronouns	thither motion
<i>ku-</i>	thither derivations	indicates location in a certain direction

3.0 COMPLEX DEMONSTRATIVE DERIVATIONS

3.1 Overview. The basic distinction we make between simple and complex demonstrative derivations is that the latter involve two demonstrative base forms (even though one of the forms may be shortened). The possible number of combinations is large. The first two types are expansions of the two types of directional derivations. The third is a special form of the distal demonstrative adverb.

3.2 Forms built on thither derivations. The simple thither derivation meaning movement going away from the speaker involves the affix *waa-* or *mbaa-* and a distal pronoun. There are eight simple forms. The complex derivational form is produced whenever one of the eight forms is preceded by one of the seven demonstrative pronouns (the form does not function as an adjective in this derivation), or by one of the seven demonstrative adverbs. The potential number of forms is quite large ($8 \times 7 \times 2 = 112$); however, some are rarely used, e.g. the second person proximal demonstratives seldom occur in this complex derivation.

The meaning of this complex derivation is to indicate an area beginning at something (pronoun) or someplace (adverb) and proceeding thither in the direction indicated. For example, *kani'iwaatu'u* means 'from this (thing) thither to the front', and *ka'itawaale'e* means 'from here thither to the side'.

The past form is used with reference to activity that is past; the nonpast form is used elsewhere.

Several potential variations should be noted here. The initial demonstrative is frequently shortened to (C)CV, eg. *ni*, *ya*, *ntu*, *nde*, etc.; however, no change of meaning has been noted. Secondly, when the first person demonstrative pronoun *ni'i* (or *ni*) precedes *waa-*, the *w* may optionally shift to *y*. This rule can be summarized as follows: (*w* --> *y/i*). See Chart 4 for a summary of the structure of this complex derivation.

Chart 4: Complex thither derivations

	NONPAST	PAST
Object origin	dem. pronoun + nonp. TH der.	dem. pronoun + past TH der.
Place origin	dem. adverb + nonp. TH der.	dem. adverb + past TH der.

Note the following examples of this complex derivation:

- (28) *Ka-ni -yaa -ra'a na ale' -mai ba'-idek-mo a*
 EX-1DP-TH/N-hDP GP garden-1pxPO VRi-bad -COM PART
salan.
 path

'From here up to our garden the path is bad.'

- (29) *Ka-nda'a-mbaa-tu'u a no-s[um]alan-an -na*
 EX-hDA- TH/p-fDP PART RE-path-VRi--NRs-3sPO
bokoti' mae' nam -arere.
 rat go AF/R-leave

'The rat left going from up there to there.'

- (30) *Anak ka-ya -waa -ra'a tongko' mo-renga=rengak.*
 child EX-3DP-TH/N-hDA only IR-RED- make.noise
 'The children there on up to there are only making noise.'

- (31) *Umba'a yaku' s[um]a- sayo*
 a.bit.ago 1sNO RED-VRi--take.walk
ka-ya- mbaa-ro'o n- ari Deen.
 EX-3DP-TH/p-1DP GP-PL D.

'A short time ago I took a walk from there on down to Dan and his companions.'

3.3 Forms built on hither derivations. The nonpast form of the simple derivation meaning movement toward the speaker, specifically, a distal

demonstrative pronoun + *mari*, is the base for this complex derivation. In this case, it may be preceded by either a distal pronoun or a distal adverb which corresponds to the distal form in the simple derivation. As for the simple derivations, a distal pronoun signals nonpast action while a distal adverb signals past action. The total number of possibilities ($2 \times 4 = 8$) is much lower than that for the complex form of thither derivations. This complex derivation does not seem to be used with proximal forms.

The meaning of this complex derivation is to indicate movement from some specific thing (pronoun) or place (adverb) toward the speaker. Note the following examples:

- (32) *Tu'u-tu'u-mari kada' sianta poo'-oloo.*
 FDP- FDP -HI so.that not REC- far
 'Come this way so we're not far apart.'
- (33) *Ra'a-ra'a-mari a kekerer-an -muu dako'*
 1DP- 1DP -HI PART stand -NRs-2pPO lest
ma- karas.
 ST/I-hot
 'Come stand down here so you're not so hot.'
- (34) *Kai nde'e-le'e-mari poto-tende' ma'- agor tuu'.*
 1pxNO SDA- SDP -HI VSB- run ST/I-fast very
 'We came over here running very fast.'

3.4 Shifted demonstrative adverb. This complex form involves partial reduplication and is based on the distal forms of demonstrative adverbs. In this case, the first vowel of the demonstrative adverb is lengthened, and then the first two syllables of the resulting derived form are reduplicated and precede the derived base form. The initial nasal is optionally deleted. The four possibilities are listed below:

<i>ntu'u</i>	-->	(n) <i>tuuntuu'u</i>
<i>nde'e</i>	-->	(n) <i>deendee'e</i>
<i>nda'a</i>	-->	(n) <i>daandaa'a</i>
<i>ndo'o</i>	-->	(n) <i>doondoo'o</i>

The meaning is to indicate a position which has shifted in the direction indicated. In this case it would always involve a shift away from the vicinity of the speaker. Note the following examples:

- (35) *Ndee-ndee'e, alia poo-geet.*
 RED- SDA don't REC-crowd
 'Move over a bit, let's not be crowded.'
- (36) *Tongko' ndoo-ndoo'o, ia no-kunda' -mo no-mae'.*
 only RED- 1DA 3sNO RE-not.want-COM RE-go
 'Just going down there a bit, he no longer wanted to go.'

4.0 CONCLUSION

Our discussion here has not been exhaustive. We have not discussed the use of the completive suffix *-mo* or the realis/irrealis pair of prefixes, *no-* and *mo-*, which may also occur with some of these deictics. Their relationship to the past vs. nonpast forms of directional demonstratives merits further study.

There is a rich inventory of words in the Balantak lexicon related to spatial deixis. By isolating the base forms and determining the meaning of the bound morphemes which may be affixed to these base forms, we can begin to understand and master this complex system.

ENDNOTES

¹The data for this paper were gathered primarily in Dolom village (00° 43' S 132° 22' E), Balantak subdistrict, Banggai district, Central Sulawesi, as part of the Balantak Field Program initiated by the authors in December, 1981, under the auspices of the Cooperative Program between Hasanuddin University and The Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Numerous individuals have assisted us in the collection of these Balantak data. They include Mersi Biathan, Paulus Naram, Deen Saelong, Yonius Mene'o, and others, and we are indebted to them for their help.

²We are grateful to Charles Peck, Timothy Friberg, René van den Berg and David Andersen for their assistance and insightful comments on this paper.

³See Maryott (1975) and McKenzie (1990) for descriptions of spatial deictic systems in two other Sulawesi languages.

⁴We use the term 'derivation' in the rather loose sense that the meaning of the root word has been altered by the addition of another morpheme; we have not attempted to distinguish 'derivation' and 'inflection' at this point.

⁵David Andersen (personal communication) called to my attention that demonstrative adjectives may also be viewed as appositives to the adjacent noun, in which case they would be considered pronouns in all occurrences.

APPENDIX: LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AFF	Affirmation (<i>daa</i>)
AF/I	Actor focus irrealis prefix (<i>mVng-</i>)
AF/R	Actor focus realis prefix (<i>nVng-</i>)
BEN	Benefactive suffix (<i>-kon</i>)
CAUS	Causative prefix (<i>po'-, pa'-</i>)
COM	Completive suffix/clitic (<i>-mo</i>)
DA	Demonstrative adverb
DEF	Definite article affix (<i>-na</i>)
DP	Demonstrative pronoun
EX	Expansion (<i>kai'-, ka'-, i'-</i>)
EXT	Extension (<i>-a</i>)
f	front (demonstratives)
GF	Goal focus (pronouns)
GF/I	Goal focus irrealis suffix (<i>-on</i>)
GP	General preposition (<i>na</i>)
h	high (demonstratives)
HI	Hither motion (<i>-mari</i>)
INV	Invisibility (<i>noo-</i>)
IR	Irrealis (<i>mo'-</i>)
IT/I	Intentional irrealis (<i>minti'-</i>)
l	lower (demonstratives)
LOC	Locative suffix (<i>-i</i>)
LOCp	Locative prefix (<i>ku-</i>)
n	inclusive (pronouns)
NO	Nominative (pronouns)
NR	Nominalizer (<i>pVng-</i>)
NRp	Nominalizer prefix (<i>ko'-</i>)
NRs	Nominalizer suffix (<i>-an</i>)
p	plural (pronouns)
PART	Particle (<i>a</i>)
PI	Person identifier (<i>i</i>)
PL	Plural (<i>ari, raa-</i>)
PO	Possessive (pronouns)
RE	Realis (<i>no'-</i>)
REC	Reciprocal prefix (<i>poo'-</i>)
RED	Reduplication
REL	Relative marker (<i>men</i>)
s	singular (pronouns)
s	side (demonstratives)
ST/I	Stative irrealis prefix (<i>ma'-</i>)
ST/R	Stative realis prefix (<i>na'-</i>)
TH	Thither motion
TH/N	Thither motion nonpast (<i>waa-</i>)
TH/p	Thither motion past (<i>mbaa-</i>)
VRi	Verbalizer, intransitive (<i>ba'-, nin-, -um-</i>)
VSBR	Verbal subordinator (<i>pVng-</i>)
x	exclusive (pronouns)
=	indicates reduplication
[]	indicates infix
1	First person/near speaker
2	Second person/near addressee
3	Third person/away from speaker and addressee

REFERENCES

- Anderson, Stephen R., and Edward L. Keenan (1985) 'Deixis.' In Timothy Shopen (ed), **Language Typology and Syntactic Description, Vol. III: Grammatical Categories and Lexicon**. Cambridge University Press: 259-308.
- Barr, Donald F., and Sharon G. Barr, with Dr. C. Salombe (1979) **The Languages of Central Sulawesi**. Ujung Pandang: Hasanuddin University and The Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Busenitz, Robert L. (1991) 'A Lexicostatistic and Sociolinguistic Survey of Balantak and Andio.' Ms.
- Busenitz, Robert L. and Marilyn J. Busenitz (1990) 'Balantak Phonology and Morphophonemics.' To appear in NUSA 33.
- McKenzie, Robin (1990) 'Locatives and Directionals in Aralle-Tabulahan.' To appear in NUSA.
- Maryott, Kenneth R. (1975) 'Sangir Elevationals and the Performative Analysis.' In John W.M. Verhaar (ed), **Miscellaneous Studies in Indonesian and Languages of Indonesian, Part I**. NUSA 1:28-50.