

## Clause Combining in Bantik – A close look on the usage of *nu*, the clause introducing element

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### Abstract

This paper aims to present the usage of *nu* the Bantik language. It primarily behave as a complementizer, but can function as a relativizer as well. The various functions of *nu* will be described in detail.

#### 0. Overview of the Bantik Language

- A) The Bantik language is spoken in North Sulawesi, Indonesia
- B) Sangiric micro-group, Philippine language group, West Malayo-Polynesian
- C) Estimated speakers are 10,000 or less. Highly endangered (Noorduyn 1991, Utsumi 2010).
- D) Five vowels /i, e, a, o, u/ and fourteen consonants /p, b, t, d, k, g, s, h, ʔ, m, n, ŋ, r, j/ are found in Bantik.
- E) Three grammatical voices: Actor Voice, Goal Voice, Conveyance Voice.
- F) Three noun markers: *i-*, *si-/su-*, and *ni-/nu-*. Human singular NPs always require one of the markers *i-*, *si-*, or *ni-*. The first one is used when an NP behaves as a subject, and the others are used when an NP behaves as objects of the verb. Human plural NPs and non-human NPs do not require a noun marker when they are in a subject position, but require *su-* and *nu-* when they act as objects.
- G) The basic word order in Bantik is SVO, but in the undergoer voices, VOS word order is also frequent.

#### 1. The functions of the noun marker *ni-/nu-* and the complementizer *nu*

- A) The noun marker *ni-/nu-* has the following functions:
  - 1) attaches to an NP which denotes ACTOR, which is placed after an undergoer voice verb
  - 2) attaches to a core argument NP which denotes INSTRUMENT, CONVEYED THEME (example 2), or THEME. An NP which indicates PATIENT in a causative construction is also marked by *ni-/nu-* (example 3).
  - 3) attaches to an NP which denotes POSSESSER (example 4).

(B) The complementizer *nu* is different from the above noun marker *ni-/nu-*. It always takes the form of *nu*, but never *ni-*, even when the following NP denotes a singular human entity (example 5).

## 2. Complement clauses which are introduced by *nu*

### 2.1 Instances where *nu* introduces a word

*Nu* can serve as complementizer and relativizer, but it sometimes introduces just an NP or an adjective. The environments in which *nu* introduces an NP or an adjective are given below.

- A) Placed after a preposition (*age? nu* ‘with’, *bua nu* ‘from’) (examples 6, 7. Also compare with example 2)
- B) Placed after a motion verb and introduces a LOCATION NP (example 8)
- C) Placed after a verb that denotes mental or emotional activity and introduces a THEME NP (examples 9, 10).
- D) Placed after a verb and introduces an entity that indicates a reason for the event. The entity can be an adjective (example 11) or an NP (example 12).

### 2.2 Complements introduced by *nu*

The element *nu* also introduces a clause. The types of clause which is placed after *nu* are as follows.

- A) A REASON clause (examples 13, 14). The conjunction *ka* which introduces a REASON clause can also appear after *nu* as in example 15. This usage of *nu* might be a shortened form of *nu ka*.
- B) A complement clause of a verb which denotes utterance or a mental activity (examples 16, 17)

## 3. Relative clauses with and without *nu*

A relative clause can directly follow a modified NP, but sometimes *nu* appears between them. It is not known what semantic difference is introduced by the presence of *nu*. For ease of understanding, relative clauses in the below examples are clearly indicated by brackets before and after them.

- A) As is often the case with languages of neighboring area, only subjects can be relativized (examples 18-20), in which case a VP follows ‘a modified NP + *nu*’.
- B) In natural speech, *nu* sometimes appears as a relativizer (example 21), but in many cases, a relative clause directly follows a modified NP (examples 22-25). Example 25 takes the construction ‘a modified NP + relative clause + demonstrative pronoun’ where the last element indicates the end of the larger NP that includes a relative clause.

- C) In the cases in which an NP which denotes time or place is the head of a relative clause, a complete clause of SVO word order appears after *nu* (examples 26-28). In these cases *nu* is obligatory.
4. Interrogative sentences and relative clauses with *nu*.
- A) Interrogative sentences quite often consist of an NP and a relative clause which follows it, in which case it normally follows *nu* (example 29).
- B) Syntactically speaking, it is just a large NP, which consists of a modified NP followed by *nu* and a VP in examples 29b and 30. This type of interrogative sentences are found most frequently with *apa* ‘what’ and *sai* ‘who’ (examples 29b and 30). It looks like that *nu* functions as a copula combining an interrogative and a VP. From other point view, *nu* + VP looks like a headless relative clause. If we take this view, examples 29b and 30 consist of an NP with a relative clause.
- C) Other interrogatives like *sunte* ‘where’ and *nyeden* ‘when’ can also be followed by *nu* which is followed by a clause (examples 31-32). In this case, *nu* seems to behave as a complementizer.
- D) An NP that consists of an interrogative followed by *nu* and VP also appears as a core argument of a sentence (examples 33-34)
5. *Nu* as a marker for a topic
- A) *Nu* is also placed after a topic NP which a speaker wants to talk about, and introduces a VP (examples 35-36). Usually, a completive clitic *te* is placed after the modified NP and before *nu*.
- B) This construction is very similar to what we saw in section 4: the whole sentence consists of a large NP.
- C) This function of *nu* is very similar to a copula which combines topic and comment.
6. Conclusion
- A) The clause introducing element *nu* can introduce an NP or an adjective, a complement clause, or a relative clause.
- B) It also appears in interrogative sentences, in which case the whole sentence can be seen as a large NP which takes the form of ‘NP + *nu* + a clause’.
- C) A similar construction is found when an NP serves as a topic. It seems *nu* functions as a copula combining topic and comment; ‘NP + *nu* + VP’.
- D) In Bantik, a relative clause can be introduced by *nu*, but it can be omitted when a subject NP is relativized. NPs which denote time or place should take *nu* when they are relativized.

- E) The functions of *nu* are diverse. The process of the spread of its usage should be dealt with in future.

#### References

- Noorduyn, J. 1991. *A critical survey of studies on the languages of Sulawesi*. Leiden: KITLV Press.  
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## Example sentences

### 1. The functions of the noun marker *ni-/nu-* and the complementizer *nu*

- (1) *i-sie*            *ni-sere-an*            *ni-pasko*  
 I-3sg            NI-look-AN            NI-Vasco  
 ‘S/he was looked at by Vasco’
- (2) *side*            *ma-mohe?*            *nu-pena*  
 I.3pl            MA-write            NU-pen  
 ‘They write with a pen’
- (3) *i-pasko*            *ma-paki-boaga?*            *ni-stenli*            *si-deki*  
 I-Vasco            MA-PAKI-hit            NI-Stenly            SI-Deki  
 ‘Vasco will make Deki hit stenly’
- (4) *barei*            *ni-pasko pai*            *sene*  
 house            NI-Vasco exist            there  
 ‘Vasco’s house is there’
- (5) *ia?*            *t-um-ahunduj*            *nu*            *i-stenli*            *pona*            *kokonio?=ken*  
 I.1sg            UM-remember            NU            I-Stenlysg            before            little=KEN  
 ‘I remember when Stenly was a child’

### 2. Complement clauses which are introduced by *nu*

#### 2.1 Instances where *nu* introduces a word

- (6) *side*    *ma-mohe?*            *age?*            *nu-pena*  
 I.3pl    MAN-write            with            NU-pen  
 ‘They write with a pen’
- (7) *side*    *si-nai?*    *bua*            *nu-benaj*  
 I.3pl    SI-come from            NU-port  
 ‘They came from port’
- (8) *i-sie*            *m-ako*            *nu-benaj*  
 I-3sg            MA-go            NU-port  
 ‘S/he will go to the port (another name for Manado City)’
- (9) *ia?*            *ma-bahiga*            *nu-japanj*  
 I.1sg    MA-talk            NU-japan  
 ‘I talk about Japan’
- (10) *i-stefi*            *ma-taku?*            *nu*            *ure?*  
 I-Stevy            MA-fear            NU            snake  
 ‘Stevy fears snakes’

- (11) *i-ela na-bayon nu ma-darinding*  
I-ElaNA-wake.up NU MA-cold

‘Ela woke up because of coldness’

- (12) *i-piteres r-um-ojo nu natu?*  
I-Peter UM-get.fat NU egg

‘Peter is getting fat because he eats (many) eggs. (*Lit.* Peter is getting fat because of eggs)’

## 2.2 Complements introduced by *nu*

- (13) *i-pasko si-nai nu ia? na-daduy*  
I-Vasco SI-came NU I.1sg NA-suffer

‘Vasco came because I was sick’

- (14) *i-piteres r-um-ojo nu ma-kan nasa natu?*  
I-Peter UM-get.fat NU MA-eat many egg

‘Peter is getting fat because he eats many eggs’

- (15) *isie na-bayon nu ka side h-im-eka*  
I.3sgNA-wake.up NU because I.3pl IM-noisy

‘S/he woke up because they were noisy’

- (16) *i-jeri man-uri? nu isie ma-nojko? doiti?*  
I-Jerry MAN-say NU I.3sg MA-want money

‘Jerry says that she wants some money’

- (17) *ia? t-um-ahunduy nu isie pona kokonio?=ken*  
I.1sg UM-remember NU I.3sg before little=KEN

‘I remember when he was a child’

## 7. Relative clauses with and without *nu*

- (18)a *i-tou mahuanei ene nu [ni-biha-n ni-rejku doiti?] k-im-aha?=te*  
I-PRO male that NU [NI-give-AN NI-Rengku money] IM-cry=TE

‘That man to whom Rengku gave money cried’

- b *i-tou mahuanei ene ni-biha-n ni-rejku doiti?*  
I-PRO male that NI-give-AN NI-Rengku money

That man was given money by Rengku. (Goal Voice)

- (19)a *\*i-tou mahuanei ene nu [doiti? ni-bihei ni-rejku] k-im-aha?=te*  
I-PRO male that NU [money NI-give NI-Rengku] IM-cry TE

- b *doiti? ni-bihei ni-rejku si-tou mahuanei ene*  
money NI-give NI-Rengku SI-PRO male that

‘The money was given by Rengku to that man’ (Conveyance Voice)

- (20)a *\*i-tou mahuanei ene nu [i-rejku na-mihe doiti?] k-im-aha?=te*  
I-PRO male that NU [I-Rengku NA-give money] IM-cry TE

- b *i-rejku na-mihei doiti? si-tou mahuanei ene*  
 I-Rengku NAN-give money SI-PRO male that  
 Rengku gave money to that man. (Actor Voice)
- (21)a *i-dondo bo i-gimon n-ako=te s-im-uruj*  
 I-Dondo and I-Gimon NA-go=TE {IM-take.shelter}  
*su-hohian [nu pai su-sajkoi]*  
 SU-hut [NU exist SU-field]  
 ‘Dondo and Gimon went to the hut which was in the field to take shelter (from rain)’
- (22)a *side dua [na-kabij] na-ka-bua buraon ma-rimbuŋ*  
 I.3pl two [NA-marry] NA-KA-see gold MA-round  
 ‘The two people who married found round gold (=The married couple found gold in round shape)’ (from *Biou ni-toada? bo i-rumimu?utu?*)
- b *side dua na-kabij*  
 I-PRO two NA-marry  
 ‘The two people married’
- (23)a *i-dondo ma-ka-bua si-gimon [k-um-ikihi? nu ma-darindiŋ]*  
 I-Dondo MA-KA-look SI-Gimon [UM-tremble NU MA-cold]  
 ‘Dondo can see Gimon who trembles because (he is) cold’
- b *i-gimon k-um-ikihi? nu ma-darindiŋ*  
 I-Gimon UM-tremble NU MA-cold  
 ‘Gimon trembles because (he is) cold’
- (24)a *yo side na-turau su-bukidi? [ŋasa ni-hoso-an nu-buro]*  
 and I-PRO NA-live SU-summit [many NI-grow-AN NU-small.bamboo]  
 ‘And the two people lived on the summit which was grown over by many small bamboos(=And the two lived on the summit where many small bamboos grew)’ (from *Biou ni-toada? bo i-rumimu?utu?*)
- b *bukidi? ene ŋasa ni-hoso-an nu-buro*  
 summit that many NI-grow-AN NU-shrub  
 ‘That summit was grown over by many shrubs’
- (25)a *bo ubi [ni-duduru=ne] ene ni-pa-hansa? bo ni-diŋan=ne su-hohian*  
 and taro [NI-pull.out=NI.3sg] that NI-PA-gather and NI-bring=NI.3sg  
 SU-hut  
 ‘And those taros which were pulled out by him were gathered and brought by him to the hut’  
 (from *Kokokuk*)
- (26) *kapasa? su-hibi nu-buran take ene [nu side dua na-hisabu]*  
 once SU-evening NU-moon full.moon that [NU I-3pl two NA-meet]

‘One evening of the full moon (was the time when) they two meet’

- (27) *yo rou ene=te [nu side dua na-kabij su-timbou nu-kantaŋ=ne]*  
 and day that=TE [NU I.3pl two NA-marry SU-top NU-mountain=NE]

‘And that day was when the two married on the top of the mountain’(from *Biou ni-toada? bo i-rumimu?utu?*)

- (28) *side dua na-hisabu su-benaŋ [nu side dua ma-ndea? doiti?]*  
 I.3pl two NA-meet SU-port [NU I.3pl two MAN-look.for money]

‘They two met at the port where they two work for money’

#### 4. Interrogative sentences and relative clauses with *nu*.

- (29)a *i-sai ni-buno=ne*  
 I-who NI-kill=NI.3sg

‘Who was killed by her/him?’

- b *isai [nu ni-buno=ne]*  
 I-who NU NI-kill=NI.3sg

‘Who was killed by her/him? (*lit.* ‘Who is (the one) that was killed by her/him?’)

- (30) *apa=te [nu pa-ŋuri?=ku su-gagudaŋ ŋ=kite? dua]*  
 what=TE [NU PAN-say=NI.1sg SU-parent NU-1plINC two]

‘What I (always) say to my parents? (*Lit.* What is said by me to parents of both of us)’

- (31) *sunte nu ikau ma-sikora*  
 where NU I.2sg MA-school

‘Where is your school?’

- (32) *ŋeden nu ikau n-ako nu-tomohon*  
 When NU I.2sg NA-go NU-Tomohon

‘When are you going to Tomohon?’

- (33) *babaehe? su-beo, isie ma-ka-dea? apa [nu ni-kan n-toumata]*  
 [merit SU-wild.pig] I.3sg MA-KA-get what NU NI-eat NU-people

‘As the merit to the wild pig, he (=wild pig) can get what was eaten by people’

- (34) *ia? ma-tiho? sunte [nu ikau ma-sibi?]*  
 I.1sg MA-know where NU I.2sg MA-like

‘I know which (one) you like (better)’

#### 5 *Nu* as a marker for a topic

- (35) *i-deki=te nu [ma-ŋabi? pun m-baŋo e]*  
 I-Deki=TE NU [MAN-climb trunk NU-coconut E]

‘Deki is the one who will climb up the coconut tree’

- (36) *kapuna=nu=te nu [tutu?-an]*  
 dog=NI-2sg= TE NU [stab-AN]



'Your dog is the one that will be stabbed (to death for its meat)'