Topic-Marking Constructions in Bantik

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Abstract

This paper aims to show how a topic NP is marked syntactically in the Bantik language. Cleft-sentence construction, left-dislocation, and construction with an existential marker will be looked into. All the above constructions can mark an NP which is referred to or activated in the immediately preceding discourse. A cleft construction in Bantik places a contrastive topic NP in the sentence-initial place, which is followed by a linker *nu* that introduces a main clause. Left-dislocation in Bantik is defined as a construction where the left-dislocated NP is referred to again by a pronoun in the main clause. A new entity is often introduced by a topic-introducing construction that employs the existential marker *pai*.

1. Introduction

The Bantik Language[1] is an Austronesian language spoken in North Sulawesi, Indonesia. It is said to belong to the Sangiric subgroup within the Philippine group, Western Malayo-Polynesian (cf. Noorduyn (1991), Sneddon (1984) among others). It is said to be spoken by around 10,000 people in nine villages in the vicinity of Manado, a provincial city of the North Sulawesi, and two more villages around 100 kilometers away from Manado (cf. Noorduyn (1991)). Every speaker of Bantik also speaks Manado dialect of Indonesian. As people born after 1970 mostly use Manado dialect and people born after 1980 basically do not use Bantik, it is clearly in danger of extinction.

Syntactic features of Bantik are similar to those of other Philippine languages, so are the topic-introducing constructions in the following sections, but the comparison between them is beyond the focus of this paper.

The example sentences were taken from elicitation, naturalistic data, and translation of folk tales in Indonesian to Bantik. Naturalistic data consist of folk stories '*Biou ni-timpunuu bo i-boheng* (The tale of a turtle and a monkey)' and '*Batu Madengkei* (Mandengkei Stone)', and naturally occurring conversation '*Memperbaiki Rumah* (Reconstucting a house)', and '*Hidupan* (life)'.

Translated stories are: '*Biou ni-toadaʔ bo i-lummuutu* (The tale of Toada and Lumimuutu)', '*Kokokuk* (The tale of a kokokuk bird)', and '*Burung Taoun dan Burun Ngulngul*' (The tale of Taon Bird and Ngulngul bird).

In the following discussion, several technical terms are used. 'Discourse topic' is used to refer

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[1] The Bantik language has five vowels /i, e, a, o, u/ and fourteen consonants /p, b, t, d, k, g, s, h, j, ɾ, m, n, ŋ, ʔ/. The glottal stop occurs only base-finally with a few exceptions. A word consists of a base, or a base with one or more affixes. The basic word order is SVO while VOS word order frequently occurs when the verb is in an Undergoer Voice. Like many other Philippine type languages, Bantik has more than one Undergoer Voices (at least two) in addition to an Active Voice. For detailed description of Bantik, see Bawole (1993) and Utsumi (2005).

to an entity which is important for the text and repeatedly referred to.

2. A construction for introducing a new entity: existential sentence

      Bantik has a existential marker *pai*.   This marker has three main usages.   First, it is used to denote that something exist, and most often co-occur with a PP which shows location as in example (1).   Second, it is used to show the possession as in example (2).   Third, it is used to denote a resultative state of the following clause as in example (3) and (4).

(1) *su   pandihiʔ nu-ɾaodoʔ   su   bukidiʔ wulur   maatus*
    LOC near   LK-sea   LOC   hill   Wulur   Maatus
    pai   batu   kaɾaŋ.
    EXIST   stone   Karang
    'Near the sea, at the Wulur Maatus Hill, there was a stone (named) Karang.'   (*Biou ni Toadaʔ bo i-Lumimuutu*)

(2) *iaʔ   pai   sinage bua   nu   Bali.*
    SUBJ.1sg   EXIST friend from LK   Bali
    'I have a friend from Bali'. (Elicitation)

(3) *pai   [i-deki   na-idaoʔ=te   su   buha   e]*
     EXIST   SUBJ-Deki   NA-reach=COMP LOC   Buha   DP
    'Deki has arrived at Buha.'

(4) *pai   i-stefi   ma-mokou   ɾakuʔ=ku.*
    EXIST SUBJ-Stevy   AV.NPST-wash   clothes=LK.1sg
    'Stevy is already (started) washing my clothes'

The topic introducing function of *pai* derives from the first usage.   A sentence with *pai* is often found in the first sentence of the text as in example (5) and (6).   The *pai* in example (1) can also be analyzed as having a topic-introducing function.   It is also the first sentence of the tale.

(5) *pona e   pai   i-opoʔ,   aden=ne   i-opoʔ   ɾoŋkoɾo.*
    before DP   exist   SUBJ-old.man   name=LK.3sg   SUBJ-old.man   Rongkoro
    'Once upon a time, there was an old man, whose name was Grandpa Rongkoro.' (*Batu Madengkei*)

(6) *su   ɾou   pona   pai   side   dua   siŋka-tuhaŋ.*
    LOC day   before EXIST SUBJ.3pl   two   one-sibling
    'Days and days ago, there was two brothers.' (*Kokokuk*)

    In contrast, when an entity has already been activated in the previous context, *tou*[2] and *side*[3], which

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show the information status of 'referential[4]' or 'uniquely identifiable[5]', are attached. *Tou* co-occurs with an NP that denotes a singular entity, both human and non-human, whereas *side* does with an NP that denotes plural entities.   (The description of *tou* and *side* is presented in Utsumi 2014).   Example (7) shows that an entity which is salient in the non-linguistic context can be introduced by *tou*.   It also appears in example (9), which follows example (8).   In the first appearance of *korano* 'king' in example (8), there is no marker at all, but when it appears for the second time (example 9), it follows *tou*. Example (10) shows the usage of *side* that is attached to an NP which denotes an entity that is activated by the immediately preceding sentence.

(7) *i-***tou***   pun m-baŋo   ma-raŋkasaʔ   apadeʔ=ku*

  I-PRO   tree LK-coconut   ADJVZ-tall   belong=NI-1sg

  'The tall coconut tree belongs to me' (Elicitation session)

(8) *dadiŋihiʔ=te   i-korano ni-boheŋ*.

  listen=COMP   I-king   LK-monkey

  'Monkey's king listend.'   (*I-timpunu bo i-boheng*: line 54)

(9) *na-maro=te   i-tou   korano   nu-boheŋ   kasiʔ*

  AV.PST-announce=COMP   I-PRO   king   LK-monkey   INT

  pa-dadiŋihiʔ, 'kiteʔ   siŋka-maya-n   ie,   ka-kanioʔ   bo   bagai.'

  CAUS-listen   I.1pl.EXC   one-all-AN   this   RED-small   and   big

  'The king of monkeys announced and let (them) llisten (to him), "We are one people, including small ones and big ones."'   (*I-timpunu bo i-boheng*: line 62)

(10) *manuʔ   si-yopi   ni-tekos-an.*

  chicken   LOC-Yoppy   PST-steal-GV

  isie   na-moagaʔ   si-side   ma-na-nekosoʔ

  SUBJ.3sg   NAN-beat   SI-PRO   MA-RED-steal

  'A chicken at Yopi's house was stolen.   He beat the thieves.'   (Elicitation session)

    In short, the existential sentence with *pai* is used to introduce a new entity in the discourse whereas *tou* and *side* are for 'referential' or 'uniquely identifiable' entity.

3. A Cleft construction

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[3] *Side* is predominantly used as third person plulral pronoun.

[4] The term 'Referential' is used here according to the definition in Hedberg 2013 .   'Referential' satisfies oneof the following two conditions : (i) 'It is mentioned subsequently in the discourse', and (ii) 'it is evident from the context that the speaker intends to refer to some specific entity'.

[5] The definition of the term 'uniquely idenfiable' here is taken from Hedberg 2013.   'Uniquely identifiable' satisfies both of the following two conditions.   (i) 'The referent form contains adequate descriptive/conceptual content to create a unique referent', and (ii) 'a unique referent can be created ia a 'bridging inference' by associating with an already activated referent.'

A cleft construction in Bantik places a contrastive topic[6] NP in the sentence-initial place, which is followed by the linker *nu* that introduces a main clause as shown in example (11). The hot season is contrasted with rainy season, and *ene* 'that', which denotes the hot season is treated as a contrastive topic. This construction, as often is the case with other languages in Philippines and Indonesia, is also used in content question as in example (12). Example (13) has the same construction but the linker *nu* introduces a relative clause.

(11) *duŋkuru*   *nu-ene*   *maŋorou*   *bo*   *suaya*   *nu-rou*

    before   LK-that   hot.season   and   light   LK-day

    ene=te   *nu*   *paŋ-uriʔ* *ma-ihaʔ*

    that=COMP   LK   APP-say ADJVZ-hot

    'Back then, (it was in a) hot season, and the sunshine, that is the one which could be said hot'. (*Biou ni Toadaʔ bo i-Lumimuutu*)

(12) *isai   nu*   *na-mihei*   *doitiʔ*   *si-kau*

    who LK   AV.PST-give   money   OBJ-2sg

    'Who gave you the money?' (Elicitation)

(13) *babaeheʔ*   *su-beo,*   *isie*   *ma-ka-deaʔ*   *apa*   *nu*

    merit   LOC-wild.pig   SUBJ.3pl   AV.NPST-POT-find what   LK

    ni-kan   *n-toumata*

    PST-eat   LK-people

    'As the merit to the wild pig, he (=wild pig) can find what was eaten by people'

When more than two entities are compared and one of them is picked up, the cleft construction is used to mark the 'contrastive topic'. The fronted NP, *anaʔ* in (14), is previously mentioned, and was picked up in those sentences as a topic, being contrasted with *iaʔ* 'I' in the previous sentence. Sentences in example (15) are taken from a free conversation between four people. They are neighbors for a long time and share the knowledge of village people. When they talk about a possible candidate for a folk-story teller, several elderly people occur in their minds. The people who are compared become the contrastive topic of the last two sentences. Words in bracket in the below examples are borrowed ones from Indonesian.

(14) <*ʒadi*>   *iaʔ*   *ie*   *gagudaŋ=te,*

    then   SUBJ.1sg   now   old=COMP

    <*ʒadi*> <*hidop*>=*ku*   *ie,*   *doŋka*   [*anaʔ*]   *nu*   *ma-miahaʔ*   *e*

    then   life=LINK.1sg   this   then   child   LK   AV.NPST-feed   DP

    'Then I got old, so my life is (like) this, then it is my children that support (me).' (*Hidupan, monologue*)

(15)L: *ada*   *isie*   *man-deaʔ*   *ma-biou*   *e,*   *i-maʔ*

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6 I use the term 'contrastive topic' as appears in Lambrecht (1994 : 291).

if	SUBJ.3sg	AV.NPST-find	MA-story	DP	SUBJ-mother

ma-tihoʔ   *ma-biou*   *e.*
AV.NPST-know   AV.NPST-story   DP

'If she is looking for story-telling, (your) mother knows to tell stories.'

T: *i-maʔ*   *aya=te*   *ma-kuaɾi.*
    SUBJ-mother   not=COMP   AV.NPST-able

L: *i-maʔ*   *bun*   *nu*   *<musti>* *ma-tihoʔ*   *e.*
    SUBJ-mother   Bun   LK   musti   AV.NPST-know   DP

    'Mother Bun should know (telling the stories).'

E: *i-maʔ*   *len*   *nu*   *<maksud>=nu*
    SUBJ-mother   Len   LK   goal=LK.2sg

     'Mother Len is what you mean'.

In example (16), the timing of the marriage is a discourse topic. A man and a woman finally got married one day when the condition for the marriage was met, and the NP which denote that day (*ɾou ene* 'that day') becomes the contrastive topic.

(16) *i-toadaʔ*   *bo*   *i-ɾumimuʔutu*   *siŋka-pahi-sabu*   *side*   *dua*
    I-Toada   and   I-Lumimuutu   once-RCP-meet   SUBJ.3pl   two

na-pahi-sasuka   *nu*   *tikin*   *n-side.*
AV.PST-RCP-measure   NU   stick   LK-3pl

'When Toada and Lumimuutu met, they compared their sticks.'

s-in-eɾe-an   *mai*   *n-side*   *tikin*   *aya=te*   *pada.*
PST-see-GV   already   LK-3sg   stick   not=COMP   same

'It seems their sticks are not the same (length) anymore.'

yo   *ɾou*   *ene=te*   *nu*   *side*   *dua*   *na-kabiŋ*
then   day   that=COMP   LK   SUBJ.3sg   two   AV.PST-marry

su   *timbou*   *nu-kantaŋ=ne.*
LOC   top   LK-mountain=LK.3sg

'Then that was the day when the two of them got married at the top of the mountain.'

4. Left-dislocation sentences

Left-dislocation in Bantik is defined as a construction where the left-dislocated NP is referred to again by a pronoun in the main clause. This construction is very commonly found.

A fronted NP, *i-tuadiʔ=ne* is referred to again in the main clause by *=ne* in example (18), which follows example (6), shown again as (17) here. In the previous context, the two brothers were introduced as discourse topics and the elder brother has been explained, so *i- tuadiʔ=ne* in this sentence is clearly a contrastive topic. The left dislocated items are shown in the brackets [ ], and repeated NPs are

bold-faced in the following examples.

(17) *su   rou   pona   nu   ie   pai   side   dua   siŋka-tuhaŋ*
    LOC day   before   EXIST SUBJ.3pl   two   one-sibling
    'Days and days ago, there was two brothers.' (*Kokokuk*)

(18) *[i-tuadiʔ=ne]*   *aden=**ne***   *i-gimon*
    [SUBJ-younger.sibling=LINK=3sg]name=LINK.3sg   SUBJ-Gimon
        'The younger brother, his name was Gimon'   (*Kokokuk*, folk story)

This construction is also used to introduce a discourse topic as in example (19). Here, the topic *manuʔ taonan* is referred to again by a possessive pronoun *ne*. A similar construction is found in (20) and (21) as well.

(19) *su   huaŋ   nu   <dunia>,   ni-ka-deaʔ-en   manuʔ   taonan*
    LOC   in   LK   workd   PST-POT-find-GV bird   Taon
    bo   manuʔ   bayan
    and   bird   Bayan.
    'In the (ancient) world, Taon bird and Bayan bird were found'.
    [manuʔ taonan]   *aoʔ=**ne***   *bagai   bo   bombuɾu=ne   ma-ituŋ*
    [bird   Taon]   body=LK.3sg   big   and   feather=LK.3sg   ADJVZ-black
    'Taon bird, its body was big and its feathers were black' (*Burung Taoun dan Burung Ngulngul*)

(20) *[isie]*   *duŋkuɾu.nu.ene,*   *<mayat>=**ne***   *ni-diŋan   <kulurahan>   siŋkil.*
    SUBJ-3sg   at.the.same.time   body=LK.3sg   PST-take region   Singkil
    'At that time, he, his body was taken to Singkil'. (*Memperbaiki Rumah*)

(21) *bo   [sapi]   anaʔ=**ne***   *e   na-i-pahuʔ   su   p-in-a-ŋikiʔ-an*
    and   cow   child=LK.3sg   DP   AV.PST-NVlt-coil   LOC   PST-APP-tie-GV
    'And the cow, its child was unintendedly coiled to the pole (to which it is tied).'

Example (13), shown below as (22), has also left-dislocated NP. An NP which is repeated can be placed in the end of the clause as in example (23).

(22) *[babaeheʔ   su-beo],   **isie***   *ma-ka-deaʔ   apa   nu*
    merit   LOC-wild.pig   SUBJ.3pl   AV.NPST-POT-find what   LK
    ni-kan   n-toumata
    PST-eat   LK-people
    'As the merit to the wild pig, he (=wild pig) can find what was eaten by people'

(23) *[anaʔ]   kadua=ne,   i-fraŋki   kumaunaŋ,   ma-tuɾau*
    child   second=LK.3sg   SUBJ-Franky   Kumaunang   AV.NPST-live

su	*buha,*	*isie*
LOC	Buha	SUBJ.3sg

'The second child, Franky Kumaunang, lives in Buha, he'.

5. Conclusion

      In this paper, three constructions that show information structure in the Bantik languages were described. The existential construction is often used in the beginning of the text to introduce a new entity. Contrastive-topics are shown by cleft construction, and discourse topics by left-dislocation.

      It seems very uncommon that the entity, which is already referred to by a pronoun, takes left-dislocated construction. It is possible to find cleft construction with a pronoun as a clefted item in elicitation, but it is also hard to find in the naturalistic data. The correlation between the information status of NPs and these constructions should be looked into in the future.

Abbreviations

1sg	first person singular
1pl.EXC	first person plural exclusive
1pl.INC	first person plural inclusive
2sg	second person singular
2pl	second person plural
3sg	third person singular
3pl	third person plural
-AN	suffix *-an* which has a function of nominalization, or of forming derivational verbs
CONT	enclitic *=te* that indicates continuative aspect
COMP	enclitic *=ken* that indicates completive aspect
DP	discourse particle
-GV	suffix attached to verb bases, which indicates goal voice
I-	nominative case marker attached to subject nominals
INT	interjection
POT-	potentive prefix *ka-* which attaches to verb bases
AV.NPST	prefix attached to verb base, indicating non-past tense and Actor Voice
AV.PST-	prefix attached to verb base, indicating past tense and Actor Voice
REL	relativiser *nu*
PRO	pronoun *tou* that forms an NP with a noun, and that functions as an antecedent
LK-	noun marker *ni-/nu-* that denotes genitive or actor in undergoer voice sentences, or linker that connects two NPs

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