

The definite marker in Balinese

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The suffix –é in Balinese

The presence of the definite suffix –é is a distinctive feature of Balinese among the Western Malayo-Polynesian languages spoken in Indonesia.

3GEN=definite marker

Some neighboring languages, such as colloquial Malay and Javanese, also have a similar devices (*-nya* in Malay, *-(n)é* in Javanese), but they are different from Balinese *-é* in that it cannot be formally distinguished from third person possessive pronoun.

Balinese

(1) *uyah-é*

salt-É

'the salt (e.g., on the table).'

(2) *uyah-né*

salt-3GEN

'his/her/its/their salt.'

Balinese

(3) *Jemakang uyah-é!*

take salt-É

‘Take **the** salt (e.g., on the table).’

(4) *Jemakang uyah-né!*

take salt-3GEN

‘Take **his/her/its/their** salt.’

Malay

(5) *Ambilkan garam-nya.*

take salt-3GEN

‘Take the salt (e.g., on the table).’

(6) *Ini garam-nya.*

this salt-3

‘This is his salt.’

Structure of this talk

1. Morpho-phonology and syntax of Balinese definite marker
2. Semantics of “definite marker”
3. Examine more detailed conditions for the definite marking that is observed from narrative text (Elementary school textbooks)

Morpho-phonology

The sound *n* is inserted when the suffix *-é* is attached to the vowel final stem.

jelema 'person' + *-é* → *jelema-n-é* 'the person'

buku 'book' + *-é* → *buku-n-é* 'the book'

caya 'light' + *-é* → *caya-n-é* 'the light'

balé 'building' + *-é* → *balé-n-é* 'the building'

radio 'radio' + *-é* → *radio-n-é* 'the radio'

Cf.

bulan 'moon' + *-é* → *bulan-é* 'the moon'

bét 'bush' + *-é* → *bét-é* 'the bush'

bias 'sand' + *-é* → *bias-é* 'the sand'

bojog 'monkey' + *-é* → *bojog-é* 'the monkey'

Morpho-phonology

In some dialects, such as Tabanan dialect, this *n* sound insertion is not observed.

jelema 'person' + *-é* → *jelema-é* 'the person'

buku 'book' + *-é* → *buku-é* 'the book'

caya 'light' + *-é* → *caya-é* 'the light'

balé 'building' + *-é* → *balé-é* 'the building'

radio 'radio' + *-é* → *radio-é* 'the radio'

Morpho-phonology

A similar rule is observed in the attachment of the suffix *-a* “3PRON.ACT” or “passive.” (Barber 1977: 173)

beli ‘buy’

→ *beli-n-a* ‘he/she/they buy(s)’ or ‘being bought’

aba ‘bring’

→ *aba-n-a* ‘he/she/they bring(s)’ or ‘being brought’

Morpho-syntax

The suffix *-é* is normally attached to the head noun, as illustrated in (10)–(12).

(10) *anak-é luh* ‘the woman’ (an adjective modifier)

(11) *marga-n-é di Bali*

road-INS-É in Bali

‘The roads in Bali’ (a PP modifier)

(12) *jelema-n-é ané maling dompet*

person-INS-É REL steal wallet

‘the man who stole a wallet’ (relative clause)

Morpho-syntax

The only exception is when the head noun is modified by another noun.

(13) *montor jepang-é* 'the Japanese car'

(14) *sebun kedis-é* 'the bird's nest'

Morpho-syntax

A personal pronoun exhibits features similar to a noun in this environment.

(15) *pianak tiang-é* 'my child (child 1SG-É)'

A demonstrative pronoun does not.

(16) *anak-é ento* 'that woman'

Morpho-syntax

-é cannot occur with *-né* '3GEN'

(17) **pianak-né-n-é*

But independent pronouns indicating the third person can occur with *-é*.

(18) *pianak ipun-é*

(19) *oka-n-ida-n-é*

Semantics of “definite marker”

The Balinese marker (and similarly functioned markers of 3 poss origin in colloquial Indonesian and Javanese) are distinct among the Western Malayo-Polynesian languages in that its semantic range is beyond simple demonstrative and/or anaphoric function.

Semantics of Balinese -é

- The referent of the –é attached NP is identifiable to the addressee both linguistically or non-linguistically.
- The function can be divided into the following three categories. (Lyons: 8)
 - I. Situational use
 - II. Anaphoric use
 - III. Associative use

Situational use

The reference of the NP is identified by the extra-linguistic situation that the speaker and the hearer share.

(20) *Jemakang uyah-é!*

take salt-É

‘Take **the** salt (e.g., on the table).’

the referent of *the uyah ‘salt’* is identifiable from the physical situation.

Anaphoric use

(21) *Anak luh jegeng lan anak cenik*
person woman elegant and person small

ajak dadua
with two

macelep ke kamar-é.
enter to room-know

Prajani icang nawang anak-é luh ento.
immediately 1SG know person-É woman that

‘An elegant woman and two children entered the room. I immediately recognized the woman.’

Associative use

(22) *lancang* *musti* *numpang* *taksi* *uli*
1SG need ride taxi from

penambangan.
station

di jalan sopir-é nyambat
at way drive-É tell

ada *kecelakaan* *tunian* *suba.*
exist accident a.while.ago already

'I had to get a taxi from the station. On the way, the driver told me there had been an accident a few hours ago.'

Sumbawa (Bali-Sasak)

Demonstrative

- *ta* nearer the speaker than the addressee
- *nan* nearer the addressee than the speaker
- *ana* distant from both the speaker and the addressee

They refer to an entity at the location of the utterance
(situational use)

In addition to that, *nan* has anaphoric use.

Sumbawa: anaphoric use of *nan* 'that'

(23) *Ada todé singin Ahmad.*

Exist child name Ahmad

Ahmad-nan umir telu tin.

Ahmad-that age three year

'There was a child called Ahmad. Ahmad (*lit.* that Ahmad) was three years' old.'

Sumbawa

The demonstrative *nan* does not have an associative use.

(25)

Ada dengan kaji dokter gigi.

Exist friend 1sg doctor tooth

*Parak ké balé kaji klinik-φ (*klinik-nan)*

Near with house 1sg clinic clinic-that

‘I have a dentist friend, his/the clinic is near to my house.’

Comparison to English

- The semantic range of Balinese definite NP overlaps with that of the English definite NP to a wider extent.
- But in some cases, the equivalent of English definite NP appears in the form of an unmarked (non-definite) NP in Balinese.
- The English definite NP may indicate an entity that is not known at the time of utterance, but the Balinese definite NP may not.

Unique but unknown

(26) **The president of Ghana** is visiting tomorrow.

Presiden Ghana-φ lakar teka mani.

‘President Ghana will come tomorrow.’

Announcing the existence

(27) *Beware of the dog!* 'Quirk et al. (1985))

* *Awas taken cicing-é*
careful with dog-E

Awas! ada cicing.

careful exist dog

'Be careful! There is a dog.'

3. Observation of written text

- We examined a small amount of written text (Elementary school textbook).
- More detailed conditions for the definite marking are found in the observation.

Data

- Sentences in short stories that appear in Balinese textbooks for elementary school students in order to examine the condition for $-é$ marked NP in the written language.

Textbooks

| Series Title ↵ | Year of Publication ↵ | ↵ |
|------------------|-----------------------|---|
| Sari ↵ | 1972 ↵ | ↵ |
| Titi Basa Bali ↵ | 1981 ↵ | ↵ |
| Kusmasari ↵ | 1995 ↵ | ↵ |

Table 1. Book series and their years of publication ↵

List of stories (1)

| | Title | Token/type | Occurrences of -é | Genre | Series title |
|---|--|------------|----------------------|----------|--------------|
| 1 | Masekolah (Going to school) | 207/123 | 6 | essay | Sari |
| 2 | Nyakan (Cooking rice) | 232/126 | 18 | essay | Sari |
| 3 | Katak teken sampi (The frogs and cow) | 255/134 | 9 | folktale | Sari |
| 4 | Gajah Mada (The prime minister of the Majapahit Empire) | 146/89 | 9 | history | Sari |
| 5 | Galungan (One of the Balinese holidays) | 199/113 | 19 | essay | Sari |
| 6 | Puputan Margarana (A battle between Indonesia and Holland) | 317/151 | 31 | history | Sari |

List of stories (2)

| | | | | | |
|----|--|---------|----|----------|-------------------|
| 7 | Kakap Emas (The golden axe, or An honest wood cutter) | 685/293 | 40 | folktale | Sari |
| 8 | Koperasi Sekolah (School Co-op) | 224/117 | 18 | essay | Titi Basa Bali |
| 9 | Lampu Kuning (The yellow light) | 336/161 | 24 | essay | Titi Basa Bali |
| 10 | Blabar (Flood) | 267/154 | 14 | essay | Titi Basa Bali |
| 11 | Nguwangun Bale Banjar (Building a meeting place for the village) | 58/36 | 5 | essay | Kusmasari |
| 12 | Bulan Kuning | 209/107 | 8 | fokltale | Kusmasari |

Observation

- The suffix –é occurs in 201 NPs.
- All three types-situational, anaphoric, and associative-are observed.
- Reflecting the cultural background, terms indicating cultural issues, such as *galungan*, which are familiar to Balinese people, undergo definite marking in their first occurrence in the text.

Formal conditions

- We can see the following points as formal conditions in which the $-é$ marked NP occurs.
 - (a) Co-occurrence with other 'definite' modifiers
 - (b) Co-occurrence with terms indicating positional relations
 - (c) Occurrence in proper nouns
 - (d) Lexically definite nouns

Modifiers

(a) –é always occurs when an NP includes other modifying constituents that make the referent identifiable (59 examples)

- personal pronouns
- a demonstrative in an NP

Modifiers: examples

(x) *manik-é ento* 'that magic stone' (a demonstrative modifier)

(y) *Umah reraman tiang-é* 'My relative's house' (a pronominal modifier)

Positional relation

(b) –é always occurs when the head NP denotes a positional relation of an entity, irrespective of whether the entity is linguistically or non-linguistically indefinable or not. (13 examples)

Positional relation (examples)

Duur batu lémpéh-é

On stone step stone-É

'on the stone step'

selangan punyan jagung-é

between tree corn-É

'between the corn trees'

Proper nouns: Personal names

- (c) Proper nouns exhibit various behaviors in relation to co-occurrence with *-é*.

- (i) Personal names and kinship terms are not marked by *-é*, but rather by the article *I*, which precedes a male personal name (e.g., *I Wayan* ‘Mr. Wayan’) or kinship term (e.g., *I Mémé* ‘Mother’), and *Ni*, which precedes a female name (e.g., *Ni Sari* ‘Ms. Sari’).

Proper nouns: Place names

- (ii) Some compound nouns indicating a place name do not occur with *-é*, while some do. It depends on the head noun.

Proper nouns: Place names

(a) Place names occurring without –é:

Désa Marga ‘the Marga village’

Karajaan Majapait ‘the Majapahit Kingdom’

(b) Place names occurring with –é:

tukad Gangga-n-é ‘the Ganges River’

kota Singaraja-n-é ‘Singaraja City’

Lexical properties

- *natah* 'ground'
- *tegal* 'field'
- *surya* 'sun'
- *bét-bét* 'bush'
- *langit* 'sky'
- *tukad* 'river'
- *bulan* 'moon'
- *angin aris* 'a gentle breeze'
- *pulu* 'rice keeper'
- *lebu* 'gate of the house'

Lexical properties

- Most of these referents are familiar to the authors and expected readers, and therefore, we could consider that –é occurs here because the referents are situationally identifiable.
- However, we should note that the occurrence seems to be determined by the lexical properties of each individual word.

Lexical properties

(37) ‘When everything is cooked, Sari prepares a rice offering,’

lantas mabanten di tugu, di sanggah, di natah-é
then offer in templein family.temple in yard-É

di sémér, di paon, di pulu-n-é tekén di lebuh-é
in well in kitchen in rice keeper and in gate.of.the.house

‘then places the offering at the *tugu* (the family temple), **in the yard**, in the well, in the kitchen, in **the pulu** (place for keeping rice), and at the gate of the house.’

Conclusion

- In this paper, we have seen the semantic conditions in which the Balinese suffix –é occurs.

Conclusion

- From the elicited examples, we saw that –é exhibits similar semantic range to the English definite article, in that it indicates that the referent of the NP is linguistically or non-linguistically identifiable.

Conclusion

- The semantic range that –é marked NP is limited to the “identifiable” referent.
- It does not mark the NP when the addressee does not know or is not aware of the referent at the starting point of the utterance.

Conclusion

- From the written data obtained from elementary school textbooks, we could see that the occurrence or absence of –é is determined, to a great extent, by the properties of the individual lexical noun.

Matur Suksama
Thank you!

