

3 Discourse particles

3.1 Introduction²⁴

3.1.1 What are discourse particles?

Discourse particles are one of the word-classes that were mentioned in section 2.5.1.2. The term ‘discourse particles’ is taken from Goddard (1998). It refers to words that are morphologically invariable, and express a speaker’s immediate ‘here-and-now’ attitudes, thoughts and desires (Goddard 1998: 167). Contrary to interjections, they are fully integrated into the syntax of utterances and cannot constitute utterances by themselves (Ameka 1992: 108). In a language such as English, there are many words that could be called discourse particles, including words such as *well*, *too*, *only*, and *but*, and it may be unclear whether a word should be called a discourse particle or not.

In Manado Malay, on the other hand, it is possible to give a rigid definition of the word class of discourse particles. The discourse particles in Manado Malay can be defined as follows:

1. They occur at the end of a syntactic phrase.²⁵ A syntactic phrase will be defined in this book as is either a maximal projection, such as a noun phrase or a prepositional phrase, or a verb phrase excluding all objects and adjuncts. For example, in the sentence in (3.1), there are three syntactic phrases, corresponding to the subject, the verb, and the object. A discourse particle may thus follow the words *kacili*, *makaŋ*, and/ or *kukis*, but not any other word.

- (3.1) *tu anak kacili so makaŋ samua tu kukis.*
 DET child small ASP eat all the cookies
 ‘The small child has eaten all the cookies.’

²⁴ This chapter is an extension and revision of the paper presented at the *TIN-dag* in Utrecht (2000), which was published as Stoel (2000). I no longer support the claim that *kan* and *to* both mark background information, and that the clause in which the particles appears is related to the previous sentence in case of *kan*, and to the next clause in case of *to*. I also reject the claim that *no*, *sto* and *to* are all focus particles, and in chapter 6 it will be shown that this is in fact true only for *no*.

²⁵ Some discourse particles may also follow a clause-initial conjunction.

2. They cannot occur in isolation.
3. The sentence is well-formed without them, i.e. they are syntactically optional.
4. They never get a focus-marking accent. This is not to say that discourse particles are never accented, but if they are, then this accent is not the regular focus-marking accent, but some other kind of tone. In every sentence in Manado Malay there is an accent that marks the focus, but this accent never falls on a discourse particle. This will be discussed further in chapter 4.

The words that belong to this class do not contribute to the propositional content of a sentence, and are mostly used to express the attitude of the speaker. It thus seems reasonable to call these words ‘discourse particles’.

There are two reasons to devote a whole chapter to this topic. First, discourse particles are used extremely frequently in Manado Malay. Anybody who wants to use Manado Malay for daily conversation must understand their meaning, and many of the examples presented in chapter 2 contained one or more discourse particles.²⁶ Their meaning, however, has not been discussed so far, and in most of these examples they were not translated at all. Since the meaning of these particles is often far from easy to state, it will often require a lengthy discussion and a large number of examples to make their meaning clear, which is another reason to discuss them in a separate chapter.

This chapter will try to describe the meaning of all the discourse particles that occur regularly in Manado Malay as spoken in Manado. Discourse particles that are used only in varieties of Manado Malay that are spoken outside of Manado will not be discussed here.²⁷

3.1.2 Methodology

The examples in this chapter are taken from two sources. The most important source is the corpus of spontaneous conversations that has been described in chapter 1. In addition, I often carried a small notebook during my fieldwork, and whenever I heard a useful sentence, I tried to write it down. This last source was especially useful for those discourse particles that occurred very infrequently in the corpus, such as *ne* (cf. section 3.2.10).

²⁶ I do not have information on the frequency of discourse particles in monologues or written texts, as these were not available to me.

²⁷ An example is the discourse particle *koŋ* (homophonous with the conjunction *koŋ*; cf. chapter 2), which can be used to contradict a statement made by the addressee, as in:

(I guess it isn't a flower?)

buŋa koŋ !

flower PAR

'It (definitely) is a flower!'

This example was heard in the village of Talawaan Bantik, where both Manado Malay and Bantik are used for daily communication, but the use of *koŋ* in this meaning seems not to be limited to Bantik-speaking areas. Examples of other discourse particles can be found in the dictionary of Salea-Warouw (1985).

3.1.3 Frequency

Discourse particles are used extremely frequently in daily conversation. To give an indication of their frequency, a selection of the corpus was made, in which the speakers were all talking for roughly the same amount of time. This selection contained approximately 10,000 words. It consisted of ten (parts of) dialogues. There were twenty speakers altogether, 14 females and 6 males, and every speaker participated in just one dialogue. An overview of the selected dialogues and the number of discourse particles they contain is given in table 3.1.

Table 3.1. Number of discourse particles in ten selected dialogues.

| nr. | gender of speakers | topic | number of words | number of particles | % particles |
|-------|--------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------|---------------------|-------------|
| 1 | F - F | Live at the campus; boyfriends | 600 | 107 | 17.8 |
| 2 | F - F | Gossip | 889 | 143 | 16.1 |
| 3 | F - F | Memories of high school | 1433 | 196 | 13.7 |
| 4 | M - M | Girls | 849 | 95 | 11.2 |
| 5 | F - M | Being broke; gossip | 1063 | 117 | 11.0 |
| 6 | F - F | Boyfriends | 1431 | 152 | 10.6 |
| 7 | F - F | Being a government employee | 495 | 52 | 10.5 |
| 8 | F - F | Guys | 1010 | 89 | 8.8 |
| 9 | F - M | A trip that was cancelled | 1122 | 96 | 8.5 |
| 10 | M - M | A wedding party | 1128 | 90 | 8.0 |
| TOTAL | | | 10020 | 1137 | 11.3 |

Table 3.1 shows that, on average, 11.3% of all the words in spontaneous conversation were discourse particles. The actual number varies between 8.0% and 17.8%, depending on the dialogue (and the speakers). Table 3.2 shows the absolute and relative frequency of each of the discourse particles. It shows that the most frequently used discourse particle is *dan*, followed by *no* and *lel lagi* (their meaning will be discussed in section 3.2). The words *le* and *lagi* were taken together, because their meaning is the same. This is also the case for the words *sto*, *stou*, and *stau*. The frequencies presented in table 3.2 are valid only for spontaneous conversations between friends. For example, the particle *ne*, which is used to form polite requests, hardly ever appears in the dialogues, but in other contexts it is used much more frequently.

Table 3.2. Frequency of each discourse particle in the selected dialogues.

| rank | particle | absolute frequency | relative frequency (%) |
|-------|------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|
| 1 | <i>daŋ</i> | 218 | 19.2 |
| 2 | <i>no</i> | 191 | 16.8 |
| 3 | <i>le, lei, lagi</i> | 114 | 10.0 |
| 4 | <i>jo</i> | 107 | 9.4 |
| 5 | <i>to</i> | 93 | 8.2 |
| 6 | <i>kwa?</i> | 75 | 6.6 |
| 7 | <i>sto, stou, stau</i> | 63 | 5.5 |
| 8 | <i>katu?</i> | 53 | 4.7 |
| 9 | <i>kan</i> | 49 | 4.3 |
| 10 | <i>kata</i> | 44 | 3.9 |
| 11 | <i>e</i> | 37 | 3.3 |
| 12 | <i>kaŋ</i> | 33 | 2.9 |
| 13 | <i>do?</i> | 21 | 1.8 |
| 14 | <i>kote?</i> | 14 | 1.2 |
| 15 | <i>so</i> | 12 | 1.1 |
| 16 | <i>komaŋ</i> | 5 | 0.4 |
| 17 | <i>ke?</i> | 4 | 0.4 |
| 18 | <i>tare?</i> | 2 | 0.2 |
| 19 | <i>te?</i> | 1 | 0.1 |
| 20 | <i>ne</i> | 1 | 0.1 |
| TOTAL | | 1137 | 100.1 * |

*The total relative frequency does not add to 100% due to rounding errors.

3.2 An overview of the discourse particles

This section will present an overview of the twenty discourse particles that are used in Manado Malay as spoken in Manado. The discourse particles will be presented one at a time. Combinations of two particles will be discussed in section 3.3. It has already been said that it is very difficult to make a sensible classification that includes all particles. However, it is possible to categorize a limited number of particles, and this will be attempted in section 3.4.

3.2.1 *no*

The first discourse particle that will be discussed is *no*. It is easy to distinguish it from the conjunction *no*, which always occurs at the beginning of a clause, whereas the discourse particle can be used only after a noun phrase, verb phrase, or prepositional phrase. The discourse particle *no* can typically be translated as ‘definitely’, although it is often more natural not to translate it at all. It indicates that, according to the speaker, something is obvious or inevitable in the given circumstances.

The corpus contains many examples in which *no* is used in clauses that begin with the conjunction *jadi* ‘so, therefore’. However, this section will present only examples without *jadi*, in order to avoid mixing up the meaning of these two words. In the example in (3.2), *no* follows the phrase *tatoki-tatoki samua* ‘we all bumped ourselves repeatedly’, which is thus presented as an inevitable consequence of the fact that the road had many curves. The sentence in (3.3) describes a situation in which the speaker had to find someone to go out with. As *no* follows the phrase *pa ηoni dua* ‘you two’, it is suggested that she had no choice but to ask the hearer and his friend. In the example in (3.4), *no* is primarily a marker of emphasis: this person had definitely a lot of girlfriends, no doubt about that!

(3.2) (We were sitting in the back of the fully packed car.)

| | | | | | | |
|--------------------|-------------|---------------|------------|----------------------|--------------|------------|
| <i>belok-belok</i> | <i>depe</i> | <i>jalan,</i> | <i>kon</i> | <i>tatoki-tatoki</i> | <i>samua</i> | <i>no.</i> |
| have.curves | 3.SG.POSS | road | CONJ | collide | all | PAR |

‘The road had many curves, and we all bumped ourselves repeatedly.’

(3.3) (My friend couldn’t go, but I didn’t want to go alone.)

| | | | | | | | | | |
|----------------|-----------|--------------|-----------|--------------|--------------|-----------|-------------|------------|------------|
| <i>nintau?</i> | <i>mo</i> | <i>pange</i> | <i>pa</i> | <i>sapa,</i> | <i>pange</i> | <i>pa</i> | <i>ηoni</i> | <i>dua</i> | <i>no.</i> |
| not.know | ASP | call | at | who | call | at | 2.PL | two | PAR |

‘As I didn’t know who to call, I called the two of you.’

(3.4) (Do you know this Eke?)

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------|-------------|--------------|-----------|-----------|----------------|-------------|-----------|-------------|-------------|
| <i>pe mar</i> | <i>depe</i> | <i>cewe?</i> | <i>tu</i> | <i>di</i> | <i>tomohon</i> | <i>itu,</i> | <i>pe</i> | <i>bapa</i> | <i>no !</i> |
| INTERJ | 3.SG.POSS | girl | DET | in | Tomohon | DET | INT | many | PAR |

‘My goodness, his girlfriends in Tomohon, there are so many of them!’

no is often used in an answer to a question, as in the three question-answer pairs that are given below. In the example in (3.5) the verb phrase of the question is repeated in the answer. It is followed by *no*, which suggests that it is self-evident that people are reprimanded if they do not go to the office. In the next example in (3.6), the answer *baku-bakuganti* ‘we took turns’ is also followed by *no*, suggesting that taking turns is the only sensible thing to do when driving home. And in the example in (3.7), speaker B hesitates at first, but nevertheless she is sure her answer is correct.

(3.5) (So you didn't go to the office today?)

A: *ɲoni ɲanda? ja dapa mara kalu ɲa? ja pigi?*
 2.PL not ASP AUX angry if not ASP go
 'Aren't you reprimanded if you don't go?'

B: *ja dapa mara no.*
 ASP AUX angry PAR
 'We definitely are.'

(3.6) (Tell me more about your trip home.)

A: *sapa yaŋ bawa oto kamari daŋ?*
 who REL bring car to.here PAR
 'Who drove the car on the way here?'

B: *baku-bakuganti no.*
 take.turns PAR
 'We took turns.'

(3.7) (So she is studying at the university!)

A: *smestər brapa?*
 semester how.many
 'In which semester is she?'

B: *smestər brapa skaraŋ ... ampa, sama deŋ kita no.*
 semester how.many now four same with 1.SG PAR
 'In which semester is she now ... the fourth, just like me.'

no not only indicates that something is obvious or inevitable, but it also expresses focus. This will be discussed at length in chapter 6. *no* always follows the constituent that has the focus, and the word preceding *no* carries a focus accent. In the example in (3.8), *no* does not appear at the end of the sentence, as in the previous examples. Rather, it follows the verb phrase *so lupa* 'have forgotten', which has the focus. The final noun phrase *depe fam itu* 'his family name' has already been mentioned in the previous clause, and is thus not part of the focus domain. A similar example is given in (3.9). In this sentence *no* follows the verb *batelfon* 'call', which has the focus, since the referent of the final phrase has already been mentioned. In the sentence in (3.10) the focus of the second clause is the time adjunct *itu malam itu* 'that night', and again *no* follows upon the focus.

The fact that *no* marks focus only explains its position in the sentence. In all three sentences *no* also expresses that something is obvious or inevitable. In the sentence in (3.8), *no* suggests that it has become clear for the speaker that he has forgotten the name. In the example in (3.9) no appointment had been

made yet, and the use of *no* suggests that it is obvious that the speaker should call first. Finally, in the sentence in (3.10) the use of *no* emphasizes that in that night the inevitable thing finally happened.

- (3.8) (There are so many people named Eke, which one do you mean?)

sapa kwa? depe fam ... kita so lupa no depe
who PAR 3.SG.POSS family.name 1.SG ASP forget PAR 3.SG.POSS

fam itu.
family.name DET
'What is his family name... I have forgotten his family name.'

- (3.9) (So you didn't want to go out with him? But when did he want to go out?)

dia bila? kalu so ada waktu kata, ta batelfon no pa dia.
3.SG say if ASP have time PAR 1.SG call PAR at 3.SG
'He said, if I have time, I should call him.'

- (3.10) (Every time I met my former boyfriend he just walked on.)

ja? pərna dia mo batogór. nanti itu malam itu no
not ever 3.SG ASP address eventually DET night DET PAR

dia batogór.
3.SG address
'Not once did he talk to me. Eventually that night he did.'

3.2.2 *sto*

The discourse particle *sto* is also pronounced as *stou* or *stau*. It indicates that the speaker is not convinced that what he is saying is true, although it can be assumed that it is more or less true. It is thus a good guess rather than a wild speculation, and it can often be translated as 'probably'. *sto* is often used in combination with numerical values and time expressions, since it is often impossible to specify an exact numerical value.

The speaker in (3.11), for example, is not sure about the exact time when he arrived, but he knows that it was around half past two. In the example in (3.12), the speaker tries very hard to remember the date at which he got married, and the use of *stou* suggests that he is not completely confident that he remembered it correctly. In the example in (3.13) the speaker assumes that her boyfriend is cheating on her (as she does on him). She is not sure about it, but it seems a reasonable assumption. Finally, the speaker in (3.14) is guessing what the two pairs of shoes they are talking about have in common, and she assumes that it is just their color.

- (3.11) (Finally we reached the place where they were waiting for us.)

sampe di sana so steja... jam... steja tiga sto.
 arrive in there ASP half hour half three PAR
 'When we arrived there it was already half past ... two, I guess.'

- (3.12) (When did you get married?)

toraj kawej... taon... tujuplapan, bulan... juli stou, kalu nda? sala.
 1.PL married year seventy-eight month July PAR if not wrong
 'We got married in ... seventy-eight, around ... July, if I am not mistaken.'

- (3.13) (I don't feel guilty that I am betraying my boyfriend.)

kita le ja? ja lia, dia le sto ja bahugel di sana.
 1.SG PAR not ASP see 3.SG PAR PAR ASP cheat in there
 'I don't see him regularly, he is probably also cheating on me there.'

- (3.14) (The shoes you saw and her shoes, are they very different or just a little?)

prasaan te? beda skali, cuma depe warna sto sama.
 feeling PAR different very only 3.SG.POSS color PAR same
 'I have the feeling they are very different, only the color might be the same.'

3.2.3 *kwa?*

The discourse particle *kwa?* is used to express a contrast. It is also a marker of emphasis. It frequently occurs in the same clause as the conjunction *mar* 'but', which also expresses a contrast. In the examples below *mar* will not occur, in order to avoid mixing up the meaning of the two words. In most sentences *kwa?* appears after the first constituent, which may be a noun phrase, verb phrase, predicate or conjunction.

The following examples all express a contrast. In the sentence in (3.15) there is a contrast between what the addressee said he would do in Sangir and what he apparently did there. In the example in (3.16) there is a contrast between what has happened, i.e. pouring out too quickly and thus spilling water, and what should have been done, i.e. pouring out slowly without spilling water. The contrast in (3.17) is that between going now and arriving too early on the one hand, and going later and arriving on time on the other hand. The sentence in (3.18) implies a contrast between keeping contact on a daily basis and a relationship that is less close. The example in (3.19) implies a contrast between an exceptional event, which is important enough to be discussed in the newspaper, and an ordinary event. Finally, the example in (3.20) refers to a contrast between a family that is as large as an entire village and a family of average size.

- (3.15) (I met many old friends during my stay in Sangir.)

koŋ ŋana pe karjá daŋ ? cuma pi pasiar daŋ ?
CONJ 2.SG POSS work PAR only go pleasure.trip PAR

bilan kwa? pi karjá.
say PAR go work

‘And what about your work? Did you go there only for fun? You said you went there to work.’

- (3.16) (A friend of the speaker spills some water while pouring out.)

plan-plan kwa?
slow PAR

‘Slowly!’

- (3.17) (Aren’t you going to your course this afternoon?)

mo pigi mar sadiki le. jam tiga kwa? toraŋ mulai.
ASP go but a.little PAR hour three PAR 1.PL start

‘I will go, but in a moment. At three o’clock we will start.’

- (3.18) (My boyfriend and me? Actually we are pretty close.)

tiap hari kwa? dia batelfon di tanpa kos no.
every day PAR 3.SG call in boarding.house PAR

‘Every day he calls me at my boarding house.’

- (3.19) (That night all fourteen of us got possessed by a ghost.)

da maso di manado pos kwa? toŋ pe bərita itu.
ASP enter in Manado Post PAR 1.PL POSS news DET

‘Our story even made it in the Manado Post.’

- (3.20) (His family is very large indeed.)

ana, cucu, cece, cicit, sratus dua pul dlapan.
child grandchild great-grandchild great-great-grandchild hundred twenty-eight

satu dusun kwa?
one village PAR

‘Children, grandchildren, great-grandchildren, great-great-grandchildren, one hundred and twenty-eight altogether. An entire village!’

3.2.4 *daŋ*

The discourse particle *daŋ* appears to be the most frequently used discourse particle (cf. section 3.1.3). It expresses that the clause in which it appears is a further specification of something that has either been said before or is given in the context. A possible translation of *daŋ* is ‘that is’. A number of functions of *daŋ* will be discussed now.

The most important function of *daŋ* is to give additional information about something that has been introduced in the preceding clause or extra-linguistic context. In the two examples given below the clause with *daŋ* describes the consequence of the event that is expressed in the preceding clause. The *daŋ*-clause in (3.21) describes the consequence of driving too fast, while the *daŋ*-clause in (3.21) describes what happens to a man who does not bring a handkerchief.

(3.21) (The driver of our car was drunk.)

koŋ dia babawa oto laju skali, riki amper so mo
CONJ 3.SG bring car fast very reach almost ASP ASP
tabrak-tabrak daŋ.
repeatedly.collide PAR
‘He drove very fast, many times we almost had a crash.’

(3.22) (I felt pity for our lecturer, since it was very hot in the lecture hall.)

mar ja? bawa leŋso dia, babasuar trus daŋ.
but not bring handkerchief 3.SG sweat continue PAR
‘But he didn’t bring a handkerchief, he kept on sweating.’

A second function of *daŋ* is to present the information that a speaker initially could not recall from memory. In the example in (3.23) the speaker is at first unable to find the right word, but eventually she is able to say what she wants to say, i.e. *tana-tana liat* ‘clayey soil’, which is then followed by *daŋ*.

(3.23) (At the fair there were many plants that had just been put in the ground.)

jadi kan masi ba... apa te? tana-tana liat daŋ bagitu.
so PAR still PREFIX what PAR soil clayey PAR like.that
‘So it was still ... uh what ... clayey soil, I mean.’

A speaker may also use *daŋ* to correct what he has said before. This is also a form of additional information, but one in which the old information is replaced altogether. In the example in (3.24) the speaker uses *daŋ* to correct a slip of the tongue. Note also the use of *kwa?* to express a contrast between *siaŋ* ‘around noon’ and *sore* ‘afternoon’.

(3.24) (And then the wedding party started.)

A: *jam ampa siaŋ.*
hour four noon
'At four o'clock noon.'

B: *sore kwa?*
afternoon PAR
'Afternoon!'

A: *sore, io. jam ampa sore daŋ.*
afternoon yes hour four afternoon PAR
'Afternoon, yes. At four o'clock in the afternoon.'

The combination of *cuma* 'only' and *daŋ* is a commonly used expression to express a reason why something that has been mentioned before cannot become true.

(3.25) (She almost got married.)

cuma daŋ depe oraŋ tua nimaŋ?
only PAR 3.SG.POSS parents not.want
'However, her parents didn't agree.'

daŋ is also used to ask for additional information. In this case the speaker gives a further specification of what has been said by the addressee, and then asks whether this is correct or not. Two examples are given below. In each case the *daŋ* clause asks for a confirmation from the addressee.

(3.26) (Is there anyone who said he would like to be your boyfriend?)

A: *ada kata, kita da deŋar.*
there.is PAR 1.SG ASP hear
'There is, I heard.'

B: *o blum tapa laŋsuŋ daŋ?*
INTERJ not.yet ask direct PAR
'Oh, he didn't ask you in person then?'

A: *blum.*
not.yet
'Not yet.'

(3.27) (We weren't engaged for a long time before we got married.)

A: *toraŋ kwa? cuma satu bulan.*
1.PL PAR only one month
'We (were engaged) for only one month.'

B: *ŋanda? lama daŋ depe proses, he.*
not long PAR 3.SG.POSS process INTERJ
'So it didn't take much time altogether?'

A: *o ŋanda?*
INTERJ not
'Oh, not at all.'

A question with *daŋ* is not necessarily a yes-no question, but may also be a question-word question, as is shown by the last clause in (3.28).

(3.28) (It seems that her new boyfriend has a lot of money.)

A: *o bəraŋti so karjá daŋ?*
INTERJ mean ASP work PAR
'Oh, that means he already has a job?'

B: *oi.*
yes
'Yes.'²⁸

A: *karjá di mana daŋ?*
work in where PAR
'So where does he work?'

A *daŋ* clause may also be used as a request, in case the speaker needs something that the addressee can easily give to her. The use of *daŋ* suggests that, in the given context, a request should really be unnecessary, because it is obvious that the addressee should give the requested thing to the speaker. The fact that the speaker utters the request at all can therefore also be regarded as a form of additional information. For example, in (3.29) a student wants to cook water, but she has no matches. It is then natural that her friend would give her matches to her. Another example is given in (3.30). A man enters a disco, and is approached by a woman who asks him for a drink. The *daŋ* clause suggests that this is a natural request in the given context.

²⁸ In popular language it is customary to reverse some words, e.g., *oi* = *io* 'yes', *atik* = *kita* 'I'.

- (3.29) (A student in a boarding house wants to cook water, but she doesn't have any matches left. She then calls another student.)

pinjam maces daŋ.

borrow matches PAR

'Can I borrow your matches?'

- (3.30) (A young woman in the disco approaches a man who has just come in.)

bli akaŋ bir daŋ.

buy APPL beer PAR

'Buy me a beer!'

A final function of *daŋ* is to introduce a new topic. The new topic and the old topic must be members of the same set, and the *daŋ* clause introduces another member of this set. This is again a form of additional information, since the sentence in which *daŋ* appears gives or requests information about another member of the set. In the example in (3.31) the speaker has been talking about herself, and then presents the addressee as the new topic. The members of this particular set are thus the speech participants.

- (3.31) (My boyfriend is a little older than me.)

koŋ ŋana daŋ, ada cowo? le ?

CONJ 2.SG PAR have boyfriend PAR

'And what about you, do you also have a boyfriend?'

3.2.5 *le* and *lagi*

The discourse particle *le* is also pronounced as *lei*, and there is also an alternative form *lagi*, which has the same meaning. These forms have an additive meaning, i.e. they indicate that the person, thing or property referred to is one more item of a certain kind, and it is assumed that there are several other items of this kind as well. Possible translations are 'more' or 'also', but *le* is also often used in exclamations, and then it is an emphasis marker that cannot easily be translated.

The additive meaning of *le* appears clearly in the examples in (3.32) to (3.34). The sentence in (3.32) was used when a bus full of passengers was about to leave and a number of additional passengers arrived on the scene. The sentence in (3.33) is a playful call to reform not just the political system, but also the 'institution' of boyfriends. The example in (3.34) was used when it appeared that a certain man had not only asked the speaker to go out with him, but also the addressee.

- (3.32) (A bus conductor sees that there are some more passengers who want to get on the bus. He tells the driver to wait:)

ada le ! tiga le !

have PAR three PAR

'There are some more (passengers)! Three more!'

- (3.33) (We need *reformasi* ('reformation') in our lives).²⁹

paitua le musti reformasi !

boyfriend PAR must reformation

'Our boyfriends also need reformation!'

- (3.34) (So he has asked you to go out with him? Some time ago he also asked me.)

o dia da pange kaluar le pa nana ?

INTERJ 3.SG ASP call go.out PAR at 2.SG

'Oh, did he also call you to go out with him?'

The example in (3.35) can be interpreted in two ways. Perhaps *le* also has an additive meaning in this sentence, referring to two misfortunes: not only did they have a flat tire, but the others also did not wait for them. Alternatively, *le* may be just a marker of emphasis, as *le* is frequently used in exclamations such as the ones in (3.36) and (3.37). In these sentences *le* does not have the additive meaning that it had in the examples above.

- (3.35) (We had just left when we got a flat tire.)

kon doran panda? tunggu le pa toran.

CONJ 3.PL not wait PAR at 1.PL

'And they didn't even wait for us!'

- (3.36) (Listening to an endless speech at a graduation ceremony.)

pe lama le !

INT long PAR

'This takes a long time!'

- (3.37) (Why is he angry that we are going out with Andi?)

tau? le, cam sto dia.

not.know PAR jealous PAR 3.SG

'I don't know, perhaps he is jealous.'

²⁹ This refers to a popular political slogan at the end of the Suharto era.

The longer form *lagi* may replace *le* in either meaning, i.e. as an additive marker or as a marker of emphasis in exclamations.

(3.38) (My friends don't have time for me, they are all too busy with their girlfriends.)

ja? *ada* *doi* *lagi*, *ja?* *da* *tamán*, *bagimana* *ini* ?
not have money PAR not have friend how now
'No money anymore, no friends, what can I do now?'

3.2.6 *kan*

The discourse particle *kan* expresses that the speaker assumes that what he is saying is already known by the addressee. It may thus be translated as 'as you know'. Even though the addressee is assumed to know the information expressed by a *kan* clause, the clause is not superfluous, because it presents some background knowledge that the addressee should be aware of in order to understand the next clause.

It seems that *kan* is mainly used by speakers who are relatively more influenced by Indonesian. Contrary to most other discourse particles in Manado Malay, *kan* is also used in Indonesian. In Indonesian, *kan* has at least two functions: 1. it marks knowledge that is shared by the speaker and addressee, and 2. it forms tag questions (Wouk 1998). In Manado Malay, on the other hand, two distinct particles are used for these functions, i.e. *kan* for shared knowledge and *kaŋ* for tag questions (cf. section 3.2.8).

In the example in (3.39) the speaker may assume without problem that the addressee knows that the sun is not shining at night. This information is relevant because the task of the speaker was to dry clothes in the sun, and from the fact that at night there is no sun it thus follows that he did not have to work at night. In the example in (3.40) the addressee is assumed to know that the speaker does not own his shop, which in turn implies that it is leased to him. The speaker and addressee in (3.41) are close friends, so the speaker may assume that the addressee knows that his brother lives in Sangir. This in turn made it possible for him to stay there. And speaker B in the example in (3.41) reminds speaker A that a friend of them will come by car, so they will be able to go to the beach.

(3.39) (At daytime I helped the workers to dry the clothes in the sun.)

kalu *malam* *kan* *ŋanda?* *ada* *matahari*, *mo* *jumur*
if night PAR not have sun ASP dry.in.sun

bagimana *le* *ciŋke*.
how PAR clove
'At night there is no sun, how could we dry clothes in the sun?'

- (3.40) (We are only small traders, just look at our shop.)

tampa ini kan bukan toraj puja. tampa ini kontrak deŋ...
 place DET PAR not 1.PL POSS place DET contract with
apa deŋ pemda.
 what with Pemda

'This place is not ours. This place is leased from ... uh ... Pemda.'³⁰

- (3.41) (I had a good time while I stayed in Sangir.)

pas di sana kan ada ta pe kaka le, jadi tinggal
 exactly in there PAR have 1.SG POSS older.sibling PAR so stay
deŋ dia di sana.
 with 3.SG in there

'My older brother is living right there, so I stayed with him there.'

- (3.42) (I like the idea to go to the beach.)

A: *koŋ mo pake sapa pe oto daŋ?*
 CONJ ASP use who POSS car PAR

'And whose car will we use?'

B: *pake... rin kan mo bawa oto.*
 use Rin PAR ASP bring car

'We will use ... Rin will come by car.'

3.2.7 *to*

The discourse particle *to* expresses that the speaker assumes the addressee will agree with him. It can be used to remind the addressee of something that he already knows, something that is evident, something that he could easily think up himself, or something that is in any other way readily acceptable. It thus has a wider use than *kan*, which is used only if the speaker assumes that the addressee already knows something. A possible translation of *to* is 'I assume you agree'.

In the examples in (3.43) to (3.45), the *to* clause presents some background knowledge that the addressee needs to have in order to make sense of the following clause. In (3.43) the addressee needs to know that it was Sunday yesterday, because then it is obvious that the speaker went to church (hence the particle *no*). In the example in (3.44) the addressee needs to know what the speaker is referring to when she asks the addressee how she feels. In both these sentences the addressee is presumed to be aware of the information expressed in the *to* clause. This may be different in case of the example in (3.45). The

³⁰ pemda = *Pemerintah Daerah*, the local government.

addressee may actually be not aware that it rained at the time the speaker went to the restaurant, but it is presumably unproblematic for him to accept this as true.

- (3.43) (What did you do yesterday?)

kalamariŋ to hari minggu, jadi pagi-pagi kita da pi greja no.
yesterday PAR Sunday so morning 1.SG ASP go church PAR
'Yesterday it was Sunday, so in the morning I went to church.'

- (3.44) (How are you doing these days?)

paitua to so 'merit', jadi... bagaimana daŋ ente pe prasa-an?
boyfriend PAR ASP married so how PAR 2.SG POSS feeling
'Your (former) boyfriend has just married, so ... how do you feel?'

- (3.45) (So you have been to the new restaurant? Was it crowded there?)

tu malam-malam pas ujaŋ to, jadi ja? talalu bapa oraŋ.
DET night exactly rain PAR so not too many people
'That night it had just rained, so there weren't too many people.'

The *to* clause in the example in (3.46) presents a reason for going to the Komala store. *to* can be used here, because it is a reason that the addressee could easily have thought up himself. The sentence in (3.47) presents an explanation that again the addressee could have thought up herself.

- (3.46) (I won't buy those shoes, unless they fit me well.)

mar mo lia-lia di komala daŋ, sapa tau so maso to.
but ASP look in Komala PAR who know ASP enter PAR
'But I will have a look at the Komala, who knows they have them in stock.'

- (3.47) (You want to know how she is doing? How do I know? I never see her.)

ŋana bole dapa deŋar to dari oraŋ-oraŋ bacirita.
2.SG may AUX hear PAR from people talk
'You may have heard something from people who were talking (about her).'

to may also be used in questions. The speaker then assumes that the addressee will agree with him, because what he is asking appears to be self-evident.

- (3.48) (I never see my boyfriend, all we can do is making phone calls.)

mar bakirim surat ada to ?
 but send letter there.is PAR
 'But you are writing each other, aren't you?'

It is quite common for *kan* and *to* to appear in the same clause. This is not surprising given the meaning of the two particles. If the speaker assumes that the addressee already knows that what he is saying is true, then he may also assume that the addressee will agree with it. If *kan* and *to* appear in the same clause, then *kan* always precedes *to*, as in the examples in (3.49) and (3.50).

- (3.49) (I am a little afraid of him.)

soalŋa kan doranŋ oranŋ talaut to.
 CONJ PAR 3.PL person Talaud PAR
 'The thing is, they are from Talaud.'

- (3.50) (Indeed, she used to be his girlfriend.)

mar skaranŋ kan dia so lebe suka deŋ daunŋ muda to.
 but now PAR 3.SG ASP more like with leaf young PAR
 'But now he prefers a fresh leaf.'

3.2.8 *kan*

The discourse particle *kan* is probably etymologically related to the negator *bukan*. Its major function is to form tag questions, i.e. to ask the addressee for confirmation. But *kan* can also be used to confirm what the addressee has said. A translation that covers both functions is 'right'.

In the examples in (3.51) to (3.53) *kan* is used to request confirmation from the addressee. In the sentence in (3.51) the speaker asks the addressee whether she agrees with her opinion about a certain man. In the example in (3.52) the speaker asks if what she has heard is true according to the addressee. And the sentence in (3.53) is used to encourage the addressee to tell what happened to her when she went to Tomohon.

- (3.51) (I don't like him so much.)

dapa lia rupa so tua dia itu kan ?
 AUX see seem ASP old 3.SG DET PAR
 'It looks as if he is already old, doesn't it?'

- (3.52) (That poor woman became a ghost, and many of us got possessed by her.)

koŋ jadi tusa? kata dia kaŋ ?
CONJ become cat PAR 3.SG PAR

'It is said that she became a cat, isn't it?'

- (3.53) (Changing the topic of the conversation.)

tu hari kata ŋana da pi tomohon kaŋ ?
DET day PAR 2.SG ASP go Tomohon PAR

'I heard the other day you went to Tomohon, right?'

Although *kaŋ* is primarily used to ask the addressee for confirmation, the speaker does not always give the addressee the opportunity to reply. In fact, there are quite a few examples in the corpus in which the speaker does not allow the addressee to interrupt her, who thus can react only non-verbally, or not at all.

As mentioned above, *kaŋ* is used not only in questions, but also to confirm what has been said by the addressee. Most of these sentences have the form *(o) io kaŋ* '(oh) yes, right'. The function of this sentence is to acknowledge that the addressee is right. Thus speaker B in the example in (3.54) recognizes that what the addressee has said makes sense.

- (3.54) (All the clothes we sell are made in Java.)

A: *pa toraŋ kan di manado sini bulúŋ da fabrik.*
at 1.PL PAR in Manado here not.yet have factory
'Here in Manado we don't have a factory yet.'

B: *o io kaŋ.*
INTERJ yes PAR
'Oh yes, of course.'

Remarkably, *kaŋ* is also used in question-word questions. This is strange, as it makes no sense to ask for information and confirmation at the same time. And indeed this construction is ungrammatical without a proper context. If *kaŋ* is used in a question-word question, then it is a request for help, not for confirmation. It is used especially if the speaker feels that he should know the answer already. A possible translation is 'do you know?' or 'can you help me out?'. In the example in (3.55) the speaker may have had the feeling that he already knew who this girlfriend was. And in the sentence in (3.56) the speaker perhaps knew how much they had paid, but she wanted to ask her friend to be sure.

- (3.55) (I guess he will bring his girlfriend.)

a butúl itu. sapa depe maitua kaŋ ?
INTERJ right DET who 3.SG.POSS girlfriend PAR

'Ah, that's right. Who is his girlfriend, do you know?'

- (3.56) (A group of students has just left a food stall when they are called back, because apparently they didn't pay enough. One of them asks her friend:)

da bayar brapa kaŋ?

ASP pay how.much PAR

'How much did we pay, do you know?'

3.2.9 *jo*

The discourse particle *jo* is used to urge the addressee to do something. It is often used in imperatives, but it also appears in hortatives, yes-no questions, and exclamations. In imperatives and hortatives, *jo* is used to urge the addressee to accept the proposal by the speaker, which is a request to do something. A simple example of an imperative is given in (3.57). The example in (3.58) shows that it is possible to use a second-person pronoun in an imperative. The example in (3.59) is a hortative in which the speaker urges the addressee to go to the telephone office with him. And in the sentence in (3.60) the speaker urges the addressee to let her do something.

- (3.57) (I guess his friend answered the phone, and then he told him:)

badian jo, jaŋ bilaŋ-bilaŋ!

be.silent PAR do.not say

'Be quiet, don't say anything!'

- (3.58) (My boyfriend called me, he said:)

ŋana dataŋ capat-capát jo!

2.SG come quick PAR

'Come quickly!'

- (3.59) (After having been waiting for Mila for a long time, I said:)

toraŋ nae ka atas jo, batelfon pa mila.

1.PL go.up to above PAR call at Mila

'Let's go up (i.e. to the telephone office), and call Mila.'

- (3.60) (I didn't see him for a long time.)

nanti ta pi pa depe ruma jo.

later 1.SG go at 3.SG.POSS house PAR

'Let me go to his house later.'

There are a number of commonly used expressions that consist of a verb followed by *jo*. These are used to urge the addressee to accept the statement that is made by the speaker. Some of these expressions are *biar jo* 'let go, forget it', *bole jo* 'not too bad', *mau? jo* 'I don't want', and *suda jo* 'that's enough'.

- (3.61) (I know that my boyfriend has been cheating on me.)

biar jo, kase trus no dia deŋ can.
let.go PAR AUX continue PAR 3.SG with Can
'So what, let him go on with Can.'

- (3.62) (Speaking about a new restaurant.)

bole jo tu tampa.
may PAR DET place
'The place wasn't too bad.'

jo is also used in yes-no questions, presumably to urge the addressee to answer the question.

- (3.63) (The housekeeper of a boarding house is waiting in vain for one of the students who is wanted on the telephone. She then asks the landlady:)

tutu jo ?
close PAR
'Shall I hang up?'

- (3.64) (So your boyfriend is a student at the economics department.)

koŋ ja bakudapa jo ŋoni ?
CONJ ASP meet PAR 2.PL
'And do you see each other often?'

3.2.10 *ne*

The discourse particle *ne* is used to express a polite request. A speaker can use it to excuse himself or to get the addressee to do something. In some contexts it can be translated as 'please'. In the example in (3.65), the speaker requests the addressee to do something (i.e. wait for him), while in (3.66) the speaker requests the addressee to let him do something (i.e. go home). The agent of the verb is thus the addressee in (3.65) and the speaker in (3.66). In the example in (3.67) the speaker excuses herself for her behavior. Finally, in the example in (3.68) the speaker tries to get the waiter to cancel her order.

- (3.65) (A guest who has just arrived is kindly requested to wait for his host.)

tunggu ne, pa? lama.
wait PAR not long
'Please wait, it won't take long.'

- (3.66) (A visitor asks his host for permission to leave.)

pigi ne.
go PAR
'I would like to go.'

- (3.67) (A girl in a boarding house wants to buy soup at a food cart. She takes a cup that belongs to her friend and says:)

ta pinjam kom ne.
1.SG borrow cup PAR
'Please let me borrow your cup.'

- (3.68) (In a restaurant. A woman who has just ordered a Fanta calls the waiter again.)

pa? usa fanta ne. es jeruk jo.
not need Fanta PAR ice lemon PAR
'Please forget about the Fanta. Make it lemon juice with ice.'

3.2.11 *ke?*

The discourse particle *ke?* expresses that the phrase it is associated with is just one of several possible alternatives. It is used in case the speaker does not know which alternative is true. The example in (3.69) presents a situation in which the addressee was the only person who had been singing. However, there were several other persons who could equally well have been singing at that occasion, as for instance a relative of the addressee.

- (3.69) (So at the birthday party it was only you who was singing all the time?)

so nda? da oraŋ laeŋ so, ŋa pe anak basudara ke?...
ASP not have person other PAR 2.SG POSS relative PAR
'Wasn't there somebody else, like some relative of yours ...'

A commonly used construction in case two alternatives are given is *A ke?, ato B* 'possibly A, or B'. In the example in (3.70), the only thing that the speaker knew was that the addressee had gotten a grant to study abroad, but she did not know for which country. She then gives two of the most likely alternatives.

- (3.70) (I heard you got a grant to study abroad.)

ta pikir ibu so di jerman ke?, ato di kanada.
1.SG think lady ASP in Germany PAR or in Canada
'I thought you were already in Germany, or in Canada.'

Another construction involving *ke?* is *emplas ke? ... (jo)* 'if only ...'. It is used to describe a nonfactual state of affairs, which the speaker considers a better alternative compared with the actual state of affairs.

- (3.71) (We missed the bus, because you weren't ready when it came.)

emplas ke? mandi jo dari tadi !
instead PAR bathe PAR from before
'If only you had bathed before!'

3.2.12 *kata*

The discourse particle *kata* expresses that the speaker is reporting what someone else has said. The form *kata* is not just a discourse particle, but also a word meaning 'word'.³¹ The form *kata* is also known in other dialects of Malay; e.g. in Indonesian it is the root of a verb meaning 'say'. The grammaticalization of verbs reporting speech into quote markers is actually quite common (Klamer 2000).

The particle *kata* is a quotative evidential, i.e. the speaker is quoting someone else in evidence for what he is saying. The person from whom the speaker obtained the information may be left vague, as in case of hearsay, and then *kata* can be translated as 'it is said' or 'people say'. But *kata* can also be used if the identity of this person is known to the addressee, and then it can be translated as 'he/ she/ they said'.

In a subject-predicate sentence *kata* may follow either the subject or the predicate. If the subject is a full noun-phrase (not a pronoun), then *kata* is more likely to follow the subject, as in the example in (3.72). In the sentence in (3.73), on the other hand, the subject is a pronoun, and *kata* follows the predicate.

- (3.72) (Although he is very handsome, he isn't that young anymore.)

depe anak kata so amper sama deŋ toraŋ.
3.SG.POSS child PAR ASP almost same with 1.PL
'His children, he said, are almost as old as we are.'

³¹ It is also the root of the reciprocal form *bakukata* 'to call names, abuse'.

- (3.73) (She came to see you when you were out.)

nanti dia mo babale ulaj kata.
 later 3.SG ASP return again PAR
 'She will come back later, she said.'

The verb phrase *dia bilaj* 'he/she said' always precedes the reported speech, but it is similar in function to the discourse particle *kata*. In fact, the two of them often appear in the same sentence. In the sentence in (3.74), *dia bilaj* marks the beginning of the reported speech, and *kata* its end. It is also possible for *kata* to immediately follow *dia bilaj*, as in the example in (3.75). Notice that this construction can also be used for direct speech.

- (3.74) (I said: where on earth can you do fitness training?)

koŋ dia bilaj bafitnes di got kata.
 CONJ 3.SG say fitness.training in gutter PAR
 'He said he would do his fitness training in the gutter.'

- (3.75) (He is a real womanizer.)

dia bilaj kata, jəl, toŋ dua kaluar, mar cuma toŋ dua.
 3.SG say PAR Jel 1.PL two go.out but only 1.PL two
 'He said: Jel, we two will go out, but only the two of us.'

In all the examples above the identity of the person from whom the speaker obtained the information was known to the addressee. In the example in (3.76), however, *kata* indicates that the speaker heard the information from someone else, but it remains unknown to the addressee from whom she heard it. It is quite possible that the speaker does not even remember from whom she heard it, as is typical of hearsay.

- (3.76) (He is Chinese, so how can he have an Indonesian family name?)

tu sawotoŋ itu kata cuma bli fam.
 DET Sawotong DET PAR only buy family.name
 'Sawotong, they say, is only a name which they bought.'

3.2.13 *kote?*

The discourse particle *kote?* indicates that the information expressed in the clause is derived from the speaker's own sensory experience, including sight, hearing, and touch. It is used when the speaker believes something to be the case, and then finds out that the opposite is true. *kote?* is a sensory evidential, i.e. sensory perception is used in evidence for what the speaker is saying.

In all the examples below the speaker has a belief about a certain event, which is then proved to be false by sensory evidence. This discovery comes as a surprise to the speaker. In the sentence in (3.77), the speaker is looking for a seat on the bus. But then she sees that there is no place to sit anymore. Her belief that she could find a seat thus appears to be wrong. Another example of visual evidence is given in the sentence in (3.78). In this case the driver of the car sees that the traffic jam is longer than he had expected. The sentence in (3.79) presents an example of sensory evidence other than vision. When the speaker enters the house, she realizes that it is indeed cool inside. Thus it appears that she mistakenly doubted the correctness of what her grandmother has said. In the example in (3.80) the speaker believes that something has happened recently, but then he hears that it actually happened a long time ago. In this case the evidence thus comes from hearing.

- (3.77) (A passenger enters a bus to look for a seat.)

fol kote?

full PAR

'It's full!'

- (3.78) (A long traffic jam on the other lane. The driver of our car speculates that the traffic may be stuck until as far away as the traffic light. A few minutes later we pass the traffic light, and to his surprise there is still no end to the traffic jam.)

lewat lampu mera kote?

pass lamp red PAR

'Even beyond the traffic light!'

- (3.79) (It is very hot. A woman tells her granddaughter to go inside the house because it is cooler there. The granddaughter doesn't really believe her, but at last she goes inside.)

dijij kote?

cold PAR

'It's cool!'

- (3.80) (A man has listened to a story about the death of a young man. It then appears that it all happened a few years ago.)

so lama kote? ta kira baru.

ASP long PAR 1.SG think new

'That's a long time already. I thought it was recently.'

kote? is also used following question words, when the speaker tries to recall a name from memory (cf. section 2.3.5.16). The most common expressions are *apa kote?* 'what's-it-called' and *sapa kote?* 'what's-his-name'. In this case *kote?* may be shortened to *te?* (cf. section 3.2.14). Does this mean that this

kote? is not the same word as the one discussed above? Probably not, because recalling a word from memory is somewhat similar to a sudden discovery based on sensory experience.

(3.81) (Everybody thought the Lokon would erupt first.)

mar ... apa kote? lebe dulu ... soputan daŋ.
but what PAR more before Soputan PAR
'But ... what (erupted) first ... the Soputan, I mean.'

3.2.14 *te?*

The discourse particle *te?* is a short form of *kote?* (cf. section 3.2.13). It is used only after a question word, when the speaker is trying to recall a name or other word from memory. In the example in (3.82), the speaker is uncertain how she should express herself, and she is looking for the right words. And in the example in (3.83), the speaker is not sure how to call the person she wants to refer to (the two girls named Yunita in their group were sometimes called 'Yunita 1' and 'Yunita 2').

(3.82) (Talking about shoes.)

depe di atas bagini, apa te?, bukaŋ rupa pa desi.
3.SG.POSS in above like.this what PAR not like at Desi
'The top is like this: what... not like that of Desi.'

(3.83) (We got split up.)

toraŋ tiga so ka atas, koŋ... sapa te? ə... yunita dua so
1.PL three ASP to above CONJ who PAR uh Yunita two ASP
kasana.
to.there
'The three of us had gone up, while .. who .. uh.. Yunita 2 went over there.'

3.2.15 *katu?*

The discourse particle *katu?* is used to dispel any doubts on the part of the addressee. It also adds emphasis. The meaning of *katu?* is thus related to that of *no*, but there is an important difference. *no* is used if the speaker does not have any doubt about his own words, whereas *katu?* is used to convince the addressee not to doubt the words of the speaker. Some speakers also use *katu?* instead of *kote?*, and thus do not distinguish between the two particles.

In the example in (3.84) the speaker supposes that the addressee may have some doubts about the character of the man they are talking about. The speaker uses *katu?* to stress her statement that he is in

fact a good person. In the example in (3.85) the speaker doubts whether she should go out with a certain man. Her friends tries to convince her that she should not do that. In the example in (3.86) the speaker urges the addressee to believe her that her business was not successful. Finally, in the example in (3.87) the speaker feels shocked as she has just heard that her friend is betraying her boyfriend. She wants her friend to have no doubt about how she thinks about that.

(3.84) (I know you were fed up with him.)

mar dia depe oraŋ bae-bae katu?, ja? ja bamara.
but 3.SG 3.SG.POSS person good PAR not ASP angry
'But he is in fact a good guy, he doesn't get angry quickly.'

(3.85) (He asked you if you would like to go out with him.)

jaŋan katu?, kita le dia da paŋge kaluar sandiri.
don't PAR 1.SG PAR 3.SG ASP call go.out alone
'Don't do it, he also asked me to go out with him alone.'

(3.86) (You ask me if our business was succesful? It wasn't.)

so turuŋ to tu dolar, jadi katu? so panda? mo jadi daŋ.
ASP go.down PAR DET dollar so PAR ASP not ASP work.out PAR
'The dollar had lost its value, so it didn't work out.'

(3.87) (You have cheated on your boyfriend!)

adu katu?, ŋana e, pe bərdosa skali!
INTERJ PAR 2.SG PAR INT sinful very
'Oh my, you are really very sinful.'

3.2.16 *so*

The discourse particle *so* must not be confused with the aspect marker *so*, which always precedes a predicate. The particle *so* is used when the speaker feels surprised and wants to know more about what the addressee has told him. It can be used in both question-word questions and yes-no questions. Two examples of the former are given in (3.88) and (3.89), using the question words *kiapa* 'why' and *mana* 'where', respectively. In the example in (3.88), the speaker feels surprised that the addressee did not meet his girlfriend and he wants to know why this was the case. In the example in (3.89), the speaker is desperate to hear more about the man she has fallen in love with.

- (3.88) (Last weekend I didn't see my girlfriend.)

kiapa so ? ada masala apa ŋoni ?

why PAR have problem what 2.PL

'Why? What kind of problem do you have?'

- (3.89) (So you spoke with him?)

he, oraŋ mana so dia ?

INTERJ person where PAR 3.SG

'Hey, where is he from?'

so can be used in a yes-no question when the speaker feels that something is surprising or unexpected, and he wants the addressee to confirm that it is indeed the case. In the example in (3.90), the speaker sees that her friend has lost much weight, so she assumes that she must be ill, and she wants to know if that is true. In the example in (3.91), the speaker can hardly believe that her friend stayed at home all day, so she asks again if she really did not go out. In the example in (3.92), a woman is surprised when she hears that her friend will go to Ternate, as she thought it was not safe to go there.

- (3.90) (Seeing that her friend has got much thinner since she last saw her:)

saki so ?

ill PAR

'Are you ill?'

- (3.91) (How can you stand it, just staying at home all day.)

koŋ ŋana ja? babajalaŋ so tadi malam ?

CONJ 2.SG not go.out PAR last night

'And didn't you go out in the evening?'

- (3.92) (There have been riots in Ternate. A woman tells her friend that she will go there to visit her family.)

ada aman so ?

ASP safe PAR

'Is it safe?'

3.2.17 *tare?*

The discourse particle *tare?* expresses that something unexpected has happened or might happen, which may force the speaker to do something he was not prepared for. It is used in exclamations and statements (unlike the discourse particle *so*, which is used in questions; cf. section 3.2.16). In the example in (3.93) it

suddenly started to rain, which may result in the speaker getting wet. The example in (3.94) describes the inappropriate situation of getting married before having finished college. And the example in (3.95) describes a bright spot in a difficult situation, which resulted in business being not as bad as expected.

- (3.93) (A woman is sitting in the bus when it suddenly starts to rain.)

ja? bawa payuŋ tare?!
not bring umbrella PAR
'I didn't bring my umbrella!'

- (3.94) (Will you get married soon?)

blum klar kulia, so mo kawerŋ tare?!
not.yet finish attend.lectures ASP ASP married PAR
'I didn't finish university yet, how can I get married!'

- (3.95) (These are hard times for people like us, who have just a small shop.)

ini tare? ada sadiki... bole daŋ, pa toraŋ bajual di manado sini.
now PAR have a.little may PAR at 1.PL sell in Manado here
'But now there is a bit of good luck, for us traders here in Manado.'

3.2.18 *do?*

The discourse particle *do?* expresses that something is not as it should be. In most examples *do?* could be translated as 'I am sorry to say that ...', but the register is different, as *do?* is used mostly in short exclamations. In the example in (3.96) someone is singing out of tune, instead of in tune. In the example in (3.97), the driver does not have the Rp. 100 change that he should have had. In the example in (3.98), the speaker claims that what the addressee said was incorrect. And in the example in (3.99), the speaker supposes that there is no place where one could do fitness training, as there should be.

- (3.96) (Listening to somebody who is singing.)

fals do? !
out.of.tune PAR
'It's out of tune!'

- (3.97) (A passenger in a minibus pays with a Rp. 500 banknote, while the fare is Rp. 400. The driver says:)

ja? ada sratus do?
not have hundred PAR
'I don't have one hundred.'

- (3.98) (They say she is living in Ujung Pandang.)

bukaŋ di ujung pandaŋ do?, di salayar.
 not in Ujung Pandang PAR in Selayar
 'Not in Ujung Pandang, in Selayar.'

- (3.99) (He said he wanted to do some fitness training.)

ta bilaŋ adu e, bafitnes di mana do? ?
 1.SG say INTERJ PAR do.fitness.training in where PAR
 'I said, oh my, where could you do fitness training?'

3.2.19 *komaŋ*

The discourse particle *komaŋ* expresses that something happens again and again. An alternative form is *komaliŋ*. In the example in (3.100), the use of *komaŋ* suggests that it was not the first time that a certain lecturer wore socks. The example in (3.101) describes a situation in which the speaker habitually reads the letters of her friends. Finally, the sentence in (3.102) presents an example of the longer form *komaliŋ*.

- (3.100) (This lecturer of ours is a funny guy.)

A: *da pake kos kaki jo dia ?*
 ASP use socks PAR 3.SG
 'Did he wear socks?'

B: *kos kaki ada komaŋ.*
 socks have PAR
 'He wore them again.'

- (3.101) (She got a letter from her friend, quite a lot of pages, and the handwriting was very small.)

biar kita suka komaŋ baca tamáŋ pe surat, mar kalu so
 although 1.SG like PAR read friend POSS letter but if ASP
bagini, ta so nimaŋ? baca.
 like.this 1.SG ASP not.want read
 'Although I like to read my friends' letters, but if they are like that, I don't want to read them.'

- (3.102) (A man comments on his nephew who keeps eating rambutans.)

makaŋ komaliŋ !

eat PAR

'Eating again!'

3.2.20 *e*

The discourse particle *e* is regularly used in exclamations to emphasize what is being said. It must be distinguished from the word *e* that is used as a filler when the speaker is trying to recall a word from memory or thinking how to say something (comparable with *ini* as described in section 2.5.16). *e* often occurs in combination with other discourse particles (cf. section 3.3). The example in (3.103) was used when a woman felt frightened by a dog. The example in (3.104) was used when the speaker felt bored, as she had been waiting for a bus for a long time. The example in (3.105) presents the commonly used exclamation is *adu e*, which expresses that something was totally unexpected.

- (3.103) (A woman passes a tethered dog, who immediately leaps up.)

i, paŋgigi e !

INTERJ someone.who.bites PAR

'Help, he wants to bite me!'

- (3.104) (Having waited for a minibus for a long time.)

pa? ada oto ini e !

not have car now PAR

'There aren't any cars now!'

- (3.105) (So your boyfriend calls you every day?)

adu e, pe setia daŋ dia !

INTERJ PAR INT faithful PAR 3.SG

'Good heavens, how faithful he is!'

3.3 Combinations

In the examples presented so far, there was only a single particle in each phrase, but combinations of particles are actually quite common. The meaning of a particle group is the sum of the meaning of the individual particles. There seems to be few limitations on the co-occurrence of particles, except for the following rule:

le < *jo* < (any other discourse particle) < *kaŋ*, *ne*, *e*

Thus, *le* is always the first particle, followed by *jo*, while *kaŋ*, *ne*, and *e* appear at the end. For most particles, different orders are possible, e.g. there are eight instances of *no katu?* and three instances of *katu? no* in the corpus. However, these numbers are too small to conclude that there is a preferred order.³²

A few examples of the possible combinations of two particles are given in the examples below. The examples in (3.106) and (3.107) show that *le* and *jo* precede the other particles. The particle *katu?* is often combined with *no* to indicate strong emphasis, as in the example in (3.108). The examples in (3.109) and (3.110) show that *kaŋ* and *e* follow other particles.

(3.106) (Ua told me that her cousin is angry at all of us.)

pa ŋana le kata dia da mara.
at 2.SG PAR PAR 3.SG PAR angry
'At you too she is angry, (Ua) said.'

(3.107) (I told him: if you want another girl, that's fine with me.)

biar jo no deŋ kita.
let.go PAR PAR with 1.SG
'Forget about me.'

(3.108) (Is your boyfriend kind to you?)

bae-bae no katu? !
kind PAR PAR
'He certainly is.'

(3.109) (I don't understand her.)

so nda? mo kulia sto kaŋ dia.
ASP not ASP attend.lectures PAR PAR 3.SG
'She probably doesn't want to study anymore, don't you think so?'

(3.110) (Why didn't you go out?)

o tuhay, panas-panas do? e !
INTERJ hot PAR PAR
'Oh my, it was too hot!'

³² An estimate of p , the proportion of combinations of *no* and *katu?* in which *no* precedes *katu?*, is $8/11 \approx 0.73$. An exact binomial test of $H_0: p=0.5$ versus $H_1: p>0.5$ gave a significance probability of 0.113. There is thus insufficient evidence to reject H_0 .

3.4 A preliminary categorization

Some of the discourse particles appear to be related to each other. I will present five categories that cover ten of the twenty discourse particles that were discussed in this chapter. The ten other particles do not fit easily into any category. The following categories will be distinguished here: judgments (*no* and *sto*), evidentials (*kata* and *kote?*), solidarity markers (*kan* and *to*), identity markers (*le* and *kwa?*), and surprise markers (*tare?*, *so*, and again *kote?*). Two of these, i.e. judgments and evidentials, are systems of epistemic modality (Palmer 1986). The three remaining categories do not fit into any meta-category.

3.4.1 Judgments

no and *sto* may be called judgment particles. They express the commitment of the speaker to the truth of the proposition expressed by the clause. *no* indicates that the speaker is certain that this proposition is true, whereas *sto* indicates that he is not certain. It thus seems as if *no* and *sto* are opposites of each other. However, in chapter 6 it will be shown that *no* is a focus particle, while *sto* is not. Another reason that *no* and *sto* are not really opposites is that they may occur together, as in the example in (3.111). The combination *sto no* expresses that there is definitely a good chance that something is the case, which may be translated as ‘very likely’.

(3.111) (Two friends occasionally work as a tourist guide. One of them tells that, some time ago, she refused an offer to show a group of people around. Her friend, who accepted an offer at about the same time, then concludes:)

o bərarti tamu itu sto no yaŋ kita da bawa.
INTERJ mean guest DET PAR PAR REL 1.SG ASP bring

‘Oh, that means it is very likely that these visitors were the ones that I showed around.’

3.4.2 Evidentials

kata and *kote?* are evidential particles. They express the speaker’s assessment of the evidence for the statement being made. *kata* is a quotative, i.e. it indicates that the speaker knows something because somebody else has said it. *kote?*, on the other hand, indicates that the speaker knows something because it is based on personal experience. However, there is also an important difference between the two particles. *kote?* is used when this experience comes as a surprise to the speaker, whereas there is no element of surprise in case of *kata*. Thus, *kote?* is not just an evidential.

3.4.3 Solidarity markers

kan expresses that the speaker assumes that the addressee already knows what he is saying, while *to* expresses that the speaker assumes the addressee will agree with him. Thus, for both particles, the speaker makes some assumption about the state-of-mind of the addressee. This is possible only if the speech participants share some background knowledge, which in turns assumes that they belong to a certain group. The use of *kan* and *to* reconfirms that the speaker and addressee are members of this group.

3.4.4 Identity markers

In some way, *le* and *kwa?* could be considered as opposites. *le* indicates that something is the same, while *kwa?* stresses that something is not the same.

3.4.5 Surprise markers

There are three discourse particles that express surprise. *kote?* is used when the speaker finds out that the opposite of what he had expected is true. *tare?* is used when something unexpected happens, which may force the speaker to do something he was not prepared for. Finally, *so* is used when the speaker feels surprised and wants to know more. Note that *kote?* was also classified as an evidential.

3.5 Conclusion

Discourse particles are an essential part of the daily language. Their frequent usage add savor to the sentences of Manado Malay, and show that a language is more than a tool for expressing propositions. Since many of these particles do not occur in other varieties of Malay, they also serve as in-group markers for the speakers of Manado Malay.