

# CONVERSATIONAL CLITICS IN UMA

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This article analyzes five conversational clitics in Uma, an Austronesian language of Central Sulawesi. These clitics express speaker attitude, and thus are most common in conversation but may also be found in narrative text. Because these clitics express speaker attitude rather than any lexical referent, it is not possible to translate them. They do, however, have a basic frame of meaning, and I have assigned each clitic a name which most clearly expresses its main function: e, resumptive; le, mildly emphatic; e', attentive; pe', assistive; and le', deliberative.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

There are five conversational clitics in Uma (1) which express speaker attitude. They are most common in conversation, but are also found in narrative text. They are all monosyllabic, and come at the end of the clause, preceding only temporal adverbs. That these are clitics is clear from the fact that they take no stress and cannot occur in isolation. It should also be noted that all free-standing words consist of at least two syllables and have penultimate stress. For ease of reading, these clitics are written as separate words in Uma literature, but phonologically they are bound to the preceding word. (2)

The first three of these conversational clitics are very common. They each have a basic meaning, with extended meanings and idiomatic usages. The last two are quite rare. To make things easier to remember, I have assigned to each clitic a name that most adequately expresses its main function. They are: resumptive e, mildly emphatic le, attentive e', assistive pe', and deliberative le'.

## 2. RESUMPTIVE E

The clitic e can be called the resumptive, or topical clitic (abbreviated RS). When a sentence is divided into 'comment' and 'topic', e marks the topic. However, it does not mark just any topic. The topic must be either previously mentioned or obvious from the context. A colloquial translation of e into English is "you know." E marks something that the hearer should already know, whether because that thing has already been talked about, or because it can be inferred from the situation.

### 2.1 E marking aforementioned information

When something has been talked about previously, and the speaker wants to talk about it again, e can be used at the end of the clause. This serves to remind the hearer that this topic has been stated, and is now being resumed. The following examples show this use of e.

1. "Oo, bate ohea-ku-mi ngkai ngata -ku."  
oh, definitely road-my-PFT from village-my

Ngkai Mapahi' E we'i.  
from Mapahi' RS earlier

'"Oh, that is definitely the road from my village." --he [had come] from Mapahi' earlier, YOU KNOW.'

2. Mo- behi luncu, hibalia wadi po- behi-ta  
INT-make l. basket same just NOM-make-our

boba pai' luwu. ... Oti ta-wangu lima  
b. basket and l. finish we-weave five

aku, hi-ntoto -a -mi hilou, apa'  
band at-directly.in.line-NOM-PFT go because

mo- behi luncu-ta E, ta-puhe-i tena  
INT- make l. -we RS we-mark-LOC again

ka-ro- duncu-na.  
DP-two-layer-its

'Making a luncu basket is just the same as making a boba basket and a luwu basket.... After we weave five bands, all in line, because we are making a luncu basket YOU KNOW, we make markers again for the second layer.'

3. Apa' kaju ki'ou' wadi hawo, toe pai' jolia  
because wood pine just CM that why easily

me- hepi' hewa ra'a ki'ou' tonu' ruha E.  
INT-break like branch pine horn deer RS

'Because they were just a pine tree, that is why they are easily broken like pine branches--the antlers of the deer, YOU KNOW.'

Example 1 comes from near the end of a story. At the beginning, the main character, a hunter, is introduced as being from the village of Mapahi'. After many adventures, he finds a path in the jungle which he identifies as a path from his village. At that point, the hearer is reminded that the hunter is from Mapahi', a fact already explained at the beginning of the story. The reader may note that e is not at the very end of the clause, as I said e normally is. This is because in Uma the temporal adverb comes at the very end, after all clitics.

Number 2 is an interesting example. It comes from a procedural text, where one does not usually find e. However, the reader will note that e comes in an aside comment, not as part of the "how-to" discourse. Essentially, the speaker has stopped his explanation to remind the hearer that it is luncu baskets he is talking about. E signals that luncu baskets have previously been mentioned as the topic.

Example 3 explains why a deer's antlers break so easily. At the beginning of creation, the Creator passed out horns to the various animals. When the deer arrived, nothing was left but a pine tree, so he received pine branches as his antlers. All this is told in the story, then the fact that they -- the deer's antlers YOU KNOW -- break so easily is mentioned. Because it has already been stated that the deer's antlers were pine branches, and that they break easily like pine branches, the explicit mention of the deer's antlers again serves as a reminder to the hearer that this is still the topic of conversation.

As stated earlier, e usually precedes the temporal adverb. There are

cases, however, when this is not true. E can come after the temporal adverb if the adverb is an important part of the 'aforementioned information' signaled by e. The following example is a case in point.

4. Ra- piri pai' ra- bini', ra- hilo rawo  
 they-close and they-open they-see CM
- nunu' ntina to ra- hilo ngone E, tomi  
 banyan main which they-see earlier RS house
- ha- ntomi uma ke- kedi'.  
 one-house not REDUP-small

'They closed their eyes and they opened them, they saw that the main banyan tree which they had seen earlier (YOU KNOW) was a big house.'

Notice that in example 4 the clitic e does not precede the temporal adverb ngone 'earlier' as one might expect. This is because e is not part of the verb phrase ra-hilo ngone 'they saw earlier.' Rather, e is grammatically attached to the noun phrase nunu' ntina 'main banyan tree.' The relative clause to ra-hilo ngone 'which they saw earlier' modifies this noun phrase, causing e to be separated from it.

## 2.2 E marking information obvious from the context

When e marks information obvious from the context or situation it is performing the same function as when it marks aforementioned information. The difference is that in one case the information is explicitly stated and in the other it is not. In both cases, the speaker expects the hearer to be aware of the information, but says it again anyway as a reminder.

The following two examples show the use of e to restate a topic that is already known or can be assumed from the situation. They come from a story about a kokolo bird which is so noisy at night that the other birds have come together to discuss the problem.

5. He'e-pi, daa' me- rodo' mpu'u -i kokolo E  
 that-INC because INT-noisy indeed-he k. RS
- ha- mengi-a ntora me- rodo', uma-ta ma'ala  
 one-night-NF always INT-noisy not-we able
- te-po- leta' E.  
 NV-CAUS-sleep RS

'So then, because the kokolo bird, YOU KNOW, is so noisy, noisy all night long, we are not able to get to sleep, YOU KNOW.'

6. Jadi', ngkai ree, ntora geo'-i-mi hawo kokolo.  
 so from there always cry-he-PFT CM k.
- Toe pai' mo- lei-i -mi hana mata-na E.  
 that why INT-red-he-PFT AS eye -his RS

'So, from there, the kokolo bird was always crying. That is why they were red, his eyes, YOU KNOW.'

BOTH these examples demonstrate the use of e to signal known or assumed information. In 5, the birds were all gathered to discuss the problem of kokolo keeping them awake. The fact that they verbalized the problem is a case of stating the obvious -- they all knew already the topic of discussion.

In 6, the kokolo has been caught and tied up. The first sentence of the example explains that he kept on crying. Thus, the logical topic of the comment "it was red" would be "eyes." What else would get red when a bird cries? Even if the eyes were not mentioned, one would understand that it is his eyes which were red. But the eyes are mentioned, with e to indicate that this is really a known topic.

### 3. THE COMBINATION DI E

The combination di e is formed from the clitic di, which marks contrast or contra-expectation (abbreviated CTR), and the resumptive conversational clitic e.

#### 3.1 Di e to show curiosity

Di e is used to express curiosity or wonder, and is used in questions. It is most commonly used following the question words such as who, where, when and what, but is also found at the end of yes-no questions. In content questions, a common pattern is to have di e follow the question word (which we can identify as the 'comment' part of the sentence), and another e follow a second clause which states something previously known (the 'topic' part of the sentence). The following examples demonstrate di e used to show curiosity.

5. Hema rahi-i DI E kabilasa to liu toe lou E?  
 who very-he CTR RS young man who pass that there RS

'Who is that young man who just went by?'

8. Hiapa DI E to ra- hanga' Liku Mpinoraa' E?  
 where CTR RS that they-name pool M. RS

'Where is the place called Mpinoraa' Pool?'

9. Besu'! Hema DI E to mpo-kono kebe' E?  
 ugh who CTR RS that TR- want goat RS

'Ugh! Who wants a goat?'

The first two examples show curiosity. It is more than just asking for information; there is a real sense of curiosity, of wanting to know. Example 9 has a flavor of scorn to it, introduced by the interjection besu'. Also, from the story, one understands that this question does not show curiosity about who wants a goat as, say, a pet, or as food, but shows curiosity and scorn about who would want a goat as a husband! In a different context and without the di e, this question could be a straightforward case of wondering who wants a goat.

Di e can also be used with yes-no questions. The example which follows does not have a topic clause with e, but it could have been there and has simply been omitted.

10 Hanaa' iko mpu'u -mi DI E, dei'?  
 INJ you indeed-PFT CTR RS girl

'Can that really be you, girl?'

If we look at all the questions as topic-comment, then di e marks the comment, that is, the question, and e marks the topic, that is, the thing being asked about. Example 10 could be expanded by making the topic explicit: "Can that really be you, girl, who is standing there?"

### 3.2 Di e with hana

The addition of the assertive clitic hana (AS) changes the force of di e from curiosity to surprise or shock. As e is always the last in the string, the form is di hana e. The flavor of di hana e can best be translated by the English "in the world," as in "what in the world, where in the world," etc.

11. Ngkai lau DI HANA E?  
 from where CTR AS RS

'Where in the world (did you come) from?'

12. Napa DI HANA E to pario tohe'e lou E?  
 what CTR AS RS which ring that there RS

'What in the world is that ringing over there?'

13. Napa DI HANA E to ng-kamu tii' -ku E?  
 what CTR AS RS which TR-touch breast-my RS

'What in the world is that touching my breast?'

Note that these examples follow the same form as di e, with di hana e marking the comment, the question being asked, and e at the end, marking the topic, if it is mentioned. Example 11 is similar to example 10 in that the topic is not stated. One has to assume the topic, as I did in the free translation when I supplied "you" as the topic of the question "from where."

### 3.3 Di and e in sequence

It appears that di e as a unit is used primarily in questions. The sequence di e does occur in other places, but in these cases is best analyzed as di and e functioning separately. There is no curiosity involved, as there would be if di e functioned as a unit. The following two sentences show di and e in sequence, but each with its individual meaning, di, contrast or contra-expectation, and e, resumptive, or aforementioned information.

14. Ka lompe'-na DI E, uma hante iko.  
 DP good -its CTR RS not with you

'In fact, you're lucky I didn't (kill) you too!'

HYP thus AS HYP two-person-NF-your CTR RS

koni -a' pale-ku.  
food -NF hand-my

'How would you have liked that, if it had been both of you (instead of just one) that I killed (you know).'

These two examples come from a story in which a man kills his daughter. After killing her, he returns home and yells at his wife, angry that she had allowed a female child to live in the first place. In 14 he tells her how lucky she is to be alive. The "good thing" is that he did not kill her, too, in contrast to (DI) the bad thing, which could be either that she might have died, or that the daughter is dead. E reminds the wife that she ought to know it is a good thing she is not dead.

Example 15 shows the contrast idea more clearly. Di marks roduaani 'both of you,' in contrast to the "one of you" who actually was killed. Again, e marks the obvious fact that he could have killed both, and the wife knows it.

#### 4. MILDLY EMPHATIC LE

I call le "mildly emphatic" (EM) for convenience of labeling because its most common function is to express mild emphasis. However, this is not its only function. It is also used in replying to questions and to express or elicit agreement.

##### 4.1 Le marking mild emphasis

Le does not express strong emphasis, but rather mild emphasis. It is often found marking a forefronted sentence topic, in which case it can be translated as "as for, concerning," emphasizing that this forefronted topic is what is going to be talked about. Examples 16 and 17 show le marking an emphasized topic.

16. Ana', kita' toi LE, uma hana ta-'incai tuwu'-ta.  
child we this EM not AS we-know life -our

'Child, as for us, our life is uncertain.'

17. Ra- uli' ana' wulehu', 'Ane ta-hilo manusia' LE  
they-say child rat if we-see mankind EM

ta-pe-tibo -i'.  
we-TD-run away-LOC

'The rat children said, "If we do see people, we will run away from them."'

In example 16, the topic "we" is brought to the front of the sentence for emphasis and to point out in advance what the topic is going to be. In example 17, the forefronted topic is actually a conditional clause introduced by ane "if." If this topic pertains, we will do the action of this comment.



Le can mark not only forefronted sentence topics, but also sentence comments. These cannot be considered forefronted, since the comment normally comes first in the Uma sentence. However, le does mark these comments as being somewhat emphasized. Since emphasis in English is carried mainly by intonation, it is hard to find any word or phrase to translate le, but in the following examples, "well" gets across the idea.

18. Na-patehi Mama -a LE, daa' tobine-a kuna  
he-kill Daddy-me EM because female-I AS

uma ria tuju-ku.  
not is use -my

'Well, Daddy killed me, because I am a female and of no use.'

19. Mo- bengi mpu'u pidi LE.  
INT-dark indeed still EM

'Well, it is still very dark.'

#### 4.2 Le marking replies

I call this category 'replying' for lack of a better term. It is a subdivision of le which emphasizes, and is generally used with a fore-fronted topic which answers a question. In other words, a question "What about X?" is asked, and the answer comes, X le, "Well, X, which you asked about...". The speaker is giving a reply to something about which he has been asked.

20. "Ina', ha mo- apa pai' mo- longa' mata-nu e?"  
Mommy, Q INT-what why INT-gouge eye-your RS

Na-'uli' tina -na, "Mata-ku LE, uto', na-longa'  
she-say mother-his eye -my EM boy he-gouge

tongkudo'.  
tongkudo'

"Mother, what happened that your eyes are gouged out?"  
His mother said, "Well, my eyes, boy, were gouged out by a tongkudo' (mythical forest creature)."

The normal word order for this sentence would be Nalonga' tongkudo matakū, 'Gouged out (by) tongkudo' my eyes ' Bringing matakū 'my eyes' up to the front of the sentence serves to bring it into focus. The use of le emphasizes "eyes" a bit, and serves to remind the hearer that the speaker is talking about eyes, which someone has asked her about, rather than, say, eyes as opposed to ears.

21. Na-'uli' wo'o ana' -na, "Hia' na-keni na-po-pai,  
he-say also child-her yet he-carry he-TD-what

Ina'?" Na- 'uli' tina -na, "Ra- 'uli' LE,  
Mommy she-say mother-his they-say EM

na-timamahi rala pohoru."  
he-store in basket

'Her child asked again, "Yet what does he do with them, Mommy?" His mother said, "Well, they say that he stores them in a basket."'

In this case also, the child has asked a question and the mother replies, reporting what is said about what the creature does with eyes.

#### 4.3 Le marking agreement

Another use of le is to show agreement. It is most frequently used to show agreement with what the other person has said, or a state of affairs which, though not mentioned, is on the minds of both speaker and hearer. Less commonly, le is used to elicit agreement. This particular usage tends to occur in the speech of children, when one child speaks and seeks the agreement and support of the group. When agreement is not given, the speaker may then repeat the clitic le alone, with question intonation. There is a pause before le is repeated, as in the following example: Oja'-ta mo-sepa, le?...le? 'We don't want to play ball, right?...right?'

The following sentences demonstrate the use of le to show agreement. The first example, 22, is an idiomatic phrase frequently used in Uma and is always found in this form.

22. Wae -mi hawo LE.  
thus-PFT CM EM

'Okay, let it be that way.' / 'Okay, I agree.'

23. Nau' kebe'-a kuwo LE, meka' ba lue'  
although goat-I CM EM maybe or perhaps  
ria-di to mpo-kono-a.  
is-CTR who TR- like-me

'Although I am a goat (and I agree, I am a goat), just maybe there will be someone who likes me.'

24. Hilou-mo -ko LE.  
go -PFT-you FM

'Go ahead and go.' / 'All right, go.'

25. Ane wae LE, Mama, ku-'ala' ulu ntolu manu'  
if thus EM Daddy I- take first egg chicken  
ha- ntaku ku-keni kuwo.  
one-CLASS I-carry CM

'If it is like that, Daddy (and it is), just let me get one chicken egg to take along.'

The first example is an idiomatic phrase meaning "I agree." It may be said with various different intonations to communicate how you feel about agreeing, though nevertheless, you are agreeing.

Example 23 comes from a story in which a couple has a goat for a son. The goat-son now wants to marry, and his parents try to talk him out of it, seeing that he is a goat and all. But he replies, no, he is aware that he



is a goat, but perhaps some girl will want him anyway. He agrees with his parents' observation that he is a goat and probably no-one will want to marry him, but after all, you never know!

Examples 24 and 25 agree to something previously mentioned in the conversation. In 24, a boy says he is going to go; his parents say, hilou-mo-ko le, 'We agree, you may go.' In 25, the father tells his daughter to come with him into the woods where he is going to kill her. She agrees, 'Well, if it is like that, (and since you have said so it must be true)..." and asks if she may first fetch an egg.

## 5. THE COMBINATION LE E

The combination le e is found in topic-comment sentences. Le marks the comment, e marks the topic. Following normal Uma word order, the sentences come out looking like this: comment LE, topic E.

The basic use of le is to indicate mild emphasis, that of e to signal resumption of an aforementioned topic. When le and e come together in a topic-comment sentence, their individual meanings are not lost. Le causes the comment to become mildly emphatic, e reminds the hearer that this topic is one he already knows about, whether explicitly mentioned beforehand, or just obvious from the context.

In the following examples, underlining in the free translation reflects the mild emphasis signaled by le.

26. Toe -mi LE to ku-pekiri E we'i.  
that-PFT EM which I- think RS earlier

'That is what I was thinking about earlier.'

27. Uma LE leta'-a E.  
not EM sleep-I RS

'I am not asleep.'

28. Ria pidi LE toro ompi' -ku E.  
is stil EM remains relatives-my RS

'There still are some of my relatives left.'

29. Mate mpu'u -ko LE, ane ku-time-ko E.  
die indeed-you EM if I- cut -you RS

'You really will die if I attack you.'

30. Kai'-mi LE tohe'i E.  
we -PFT EM this RS

'It's us (who are here)!'

31. Neo' LE me- 'eka' E!  
don't EM INT-afraid RS

'Don't be afraid!'

In each of the preceding examples, the topic, marked by e, was known,

or had been previously mentioned. Le comes at the very end of the comment, and thus serves a double function of marking the end of the comment and mildly emphasizing that same comment.

Note that example 31 is a negative command, with the le coming after neo', 'don't.' In this case, it actually is the "don't" of "don't be afraid" that is being emphasized. The person spoken to is already afraid, and is being told to stop it. As a matter of fact, le is often used with negative commands when the command is being repeated. Using 31 as our situation, there would be the first command Neo' me'eka', 'Don't be afraid.' The addressee is still visibly afraid, at which point the command is repeated in the form neo' LE me'eka' E, 'Don't (emphatic) be afraid (aforementioned),' as in example 31.

Example 27 also contains a negative, uma, 'not.' The negatives in Uma generally take the clitics which would normally come after the verb. These clitics are pronominal clitics, aspectual clitics, and emotive clitics. Thus, the normal order leta'-a, 'I sleep' has the pronominal clitic -a 'I' following the verb. When this is negated, the pronominal clitic is pulled up to the negative, yielding uma-a leta' 'I do not sleep.' Now, when the negative is to be emphasized, it needs to stand alone, without clitics, so the pronominal clitic -a returns to its original position on the verb, with the resultant sentence Uma LE leta'-a E.

## 6. THE COMBINATION DI LE

The combination di le comes from the contrastive di (CTR) and mildly emphatic le (EM). It is used in two ways: to show surprise, and with imperatives.

### 6.1 Di le to show surprise

Di le carries a feeling of surprise or suddenness. It is quite commonly found on words of sound or action which are prefixed with ha-, as in the following examples. (This ha- is hard to gloss; it seems to be just a prefix used on sound or action words.)

32. Te-potodo' hi kaju to na- po-luna, ha-ridu' DI LE.  
NV-crash to wood which she-TD-base ..-thump CTR EM

'It crashed into the wood which she was using as a base/pillow, and WENT THUMP!'

33. Ha-ngkore DI LE tomi, uma ke- kedi' pai' lompe'.  
..-stand CTR EM house not REDUP-small and good

'UP ROSE a house, not small, and good.'

34. Ka na-'epe-na bangko' toe -i ria-di dike'  
DP he-hear-3s civet cat that-he is -CTR dog

tumai mpo-toa' -ra, ha-dengko'-i DI LE,  
come TR- toward -them ..-jump -he CTR EM

ngkali-towo' mpo-lumu' kowo' e.  
REFX leap TR- hurdle grass RS

'When the civet cat heard that there was a dog coming toward them, UP HE JUMPED, threw himself down and hurdled away across the grass.'

In each of the three examples, the action or sound prefixed by ha- and followed by di le is sudden, and surprising. In 32, the man chopped so hard with his machete that he went all the way through what he was chopping, and hit the wood block underneath with a resounding thump!

In 33, a magic chicken crows and wishes a house into existence for his mistress. And suddenly, up rose a house! Di le follows hangkore 'stand' because it is the appearance of the house that is surprising, not the fact that it is a house that appeared, or that the house is big and good.

Example 34 also has a surprising action. The civet cat had been exhibiting aggressive behavior toward some birds, but fled when he heard dogs coming. While it might not be considered surprising that a cat would leap up in the air and flee upon learning that dogs are coming, it does show a surprising and sudden change in his attitude.

Note that in all of these cases, di le marks a surprising and one-time action of short duration.

## 6.2 Di le with imperatives

Di le is also used with imperatives. I have not found many examples of this usage in the folktales which I studied. It seems to occur with verbs involving some sort of sensory involvement--seeing, hearing, touching, but this may be due merely to insufficient data. There does not seem to be any element of surprise to these commands; perhaps the shared meaning with other uses of di le is the sense of short duration. Look at a few examples.

35. Hilo DI LE to na-hoda hi mali rini raha-na.  
look CTR EM which he-hang on outside wall hut-his

'TAKE A LOOK at what he hung on the outside wall of his hut!'

36. Pe-'epe-i DI LE.  
TD-hear-LOC CTR EM

'LISTEN!'

37. Sepa-i -mi DI LE!  
kick-him-PFT CTR EM

'Go ahead and KICK HIM!'

Examples 35 and 37 both involve short-term actions. Kicking (37) is by its very nature short-term. 'Taking a look' (35) also is a short sort of thing. One can, of course, take a long look, but that does not seem to be the meaning of the command in this case. Example 36 presents a problem for the short-term action analysis. You can't really "take a listen" or even listen for an instant and then quit. But usually one finds Pe'epei di le "listen" directly preceding the statement that one is to listen to, thereby providing something of short duration to be listened to.

### 6.3 Di le with hana

When the assertive clitic hana (AS) is used in combination with di le, the resultant di hana le is more emphatic than just di le by itself. It is not just surprise, but surprise in capital letters!

Di hana le is most commonly found in folktales, when describing a miraculous transformation. It almost exclusively follows nouns. The following examples show the use of di hana le.

38. Ka-ra- bini'-na tohe'e, ra- hilo rawo, nunu'  
DP-they-open -its that they-see CM banyan

ntina to ra- pe-ngka-mou -i tawu -na e  
main which they-TD-AFF- shelter-LOC base-its RS

we'i, tomi bohe-mi DI HANA LE!  
earlier house big -PFT CTR AS EM

'When they opened (their eyes), what should they see but that the main banyan tree that they had taken shelter at the base of earlier was in fact A BIG HOUSE!'

39. Ra- hilo rawo ntolu manu' to me -rengenge'...  
they-see CM egg chicken which INT-shining

Ra- wile- wile, ra- 'inca-mi bulawa DI HANA LE!  
they-inspect-inspect they-know -PFT gold CTR AS EM

'What should they see but a shining chicken egg...They carefully inspected it, and they realized that IT WAS ACTUALLY GOLD!'

40. Ra- hilo rawo, bungki DI HANA LE!  
they-see CM crab CTR AS EM

'What should they see but a CRAB!'

Examples 38 and 39 are clear without any further explanation of the context in which they are found. Example 40 needs a bit of explanation. This comes from a story in which each of seven sisters feels something touching her during the night. They light a lamp, and see "a crab DI HANA LE!" Definitely not what they were expecting!

It is worthwhile to note that di hana le occurs after some sort of verb of perception--see, hear, realize. The verb is usually stated, as in the examples above, but may also be left unstated, implied from the context of the story, as in example 41 following.

41. Ane koni' pae pulu' boku to ra- boku -i  
if rice rice sticky bundle which they-bundle-LOC

ra- ka mepulo ngone, ra- bongka rawo. Bela-di  
them-BEN morning past they-open CM not -CTR

pae pulu' wua' harao DI HANA LE!  
rice sticky fruit harao CTR AS EM

'As for the bundles of sticky rice that they had provided for them that morning, they opened them. It wasn't sticky rice, IT WAS HARAO FRUIT!'

This example has no explicit statement of "they saw," but from the context, that is obviously the verb that belongs there.

## 7. ATTENTIVE E'

E' (AT) is the conversational clitic whose basic function is to call attention to or sharpen what has just been said. It is often used with negative commands to add to the force of the command.

There are cultural restrictions on the use of e'. Generally speaking, a person may use e' in speaking to persons of lower or equal status. Persons of lower status do not say e' to persons of higher status, that is, children would not use it in speaking to their elders, nor would one say it to a nobleman. Only in cases of insubordination or impertinence does one find the "wrong person" saying e'.

### 7.1 E' with commands

The sharpening force of e' is strongest in negative commands. When a mother forbids her child to do something without using e', that is considered just a general command. When she says e' at the end, she expects to be obeyed! In such cases e' can best be translated by the English "y'hear?" or "or else." The following examples show e' in negative commands.

42. Hilo, neo' ni- patehi E'.  
look don't you-kill AT

'Look, don't you kill him, y'hear!'

43. Ee, neo' ulu ka ni- sa- saha E'.  
oh don't first NOM you-REDUP-chop AT

'Oh, don't you chop him up yet, y'hear!'

44. Neo' me- rodo' E', ana'.  
don't INT-noisy AT child

'Don't be noisy, kids (or else)!'

45. Ee', neo' ni- keni kaliliu -i Uma', E'.  
hey don't you-carry continue-him Uncle AT

'Hey, don't carry Uncle any farther, y'hear!'

In each of these cases e' serves to sharpen the intent of the command, giving a flavor of "I've said something to you. Now you'd better follow my command!"

The first word of example 45, while similar in shape to the conversational particle e', is an interjection ee' 'hey', and is a different word from e'.

When used with positive commands, e' serves to rivet the hearer's attention to the command, but lacks the definite force it carries with negative commands. Depending upon the speaker's tone of voice, the command can be quite friendly or decidedly authoritative. In the following two examples, the first is friendly, the second is not. One cannot discern this from the e' itself, but rather from the context of the stories from which the examples are taken.

46. Piri mpu'u mata-ni E', bale.  
close indeed eye -your AT friend

'Close your eyes tightly, friends!'

47. Hilo mpu'u E', maradika, to nu- sapu uma-ko  
look indeed AT nobleman what you-deny not-you

ma- kono doko' mpo-balu' kami. Oi -mi wulehu'  
INT-true want TR- sell us here-PFT rat

bula woko' langa' kami.  
white caught in snare our

'Look here, nobleman, what you denied, saying it was not true that you wanted to sell us. Here is a white rat caught in our trap (proof that you really did want to sell us).'

In example 46, a forest spirit is taking two girls to her house. They can't see the house, so she tells them to close their eyes, and when they open their eyes, there is the house! This is a friendly situation, with no evidence of a threat from the spirit; she just wants the girls to do as she says.

Example 47 is an interesting one, as this is a case of the "wrong people" using e'. A nobleman has assured his slaves that he will not sell them. They do not believe him, and so ask for a sign from the spirits. They set a snare: If they catch a white rat, that will be a magical sign that the nobleman was lying. And indeed, there is a white rat in their snare! Although they are slaves, they are then emboldened to confront their master with his perfidy, commanding him to "look (e')."

## 7.2 E' to draw special attention

E' is also used to draw special attention to something one has just said. An example of this is found in a story in which two girls have been out visiting. They are about to leave, and their hosts, anxious that they not think they would be unwelcome on a subsequent visit, say:

48. Uma kai mo- roe ni- pencuai'. Baa' ta-bawai  
not we INT-angry you-visit In fact we-encourage

da -koi E'.  
CTR-you AT

'We won't be angry if you come to visit. On the contrary, we encourage you.'

In this case, e' draws attention to the fact that they actually are inviting the girls to return.

## 7.3 E' in conventionalized formulas

E' is used in certain set expressions in which it is almost impossible to assign it a definite meaning or function. These expressions can be said without the e', but it is much better form to use it. The two most common

ones are the expressions for thanks and leavetaking.

49. Tarima   kasi   E'  
     receive   love   AT

'Thank you.'

50. Lou-ma -kai   ulu    E'.  
     go -PFT-we   first AT

'Excuse us, we are going to go now.'

#### 7.4 E' as a tag on nouns

The usual position of e' is at the end of the verb phrase, which generally comes at the end of the sentence. There are a few examples, however, in which e' seems to function to draw attention to a forefronted noun.

51. Aku'   kuwo   E',   to    nu- palahii   wengi.  
     I       CM     AT   whom   you-left    yesterday

'Me, I'm the one whom you left behind yesterday.'

52. Kai'   kaiwo   E',   mc- ruhu'   lentora,   mpo-tora   ana' -kai.  
     we       CM     AT   INT-thin   miss       TR- miss   child-our

'We, poor us, we're thin from missing our children so much.'

53. Ana' -ku   kuwo   E',   ma- hae       -mi   mate.  
     child-my   CM     AT   INT-long time-PFT   die

'My child, poor me, has been dead a long time.'

In each of the three examples above, one can detect a flavor of wanting to emphasize or draw attention to the subject, which has been drawn forward from its usual position after the verb. Note that each has a form of the commiserative hawo, which gives the whole sentence a sense of asking for sympathy. Also, each of these sentences came in response to a question or implied question.

More research needs to be done on this particular use of e'. When I checked with several young Uma speakers, they had trouble reading the sentences, substituting e as they read, and suggesting le as the correct word to use there. Whether this was due to lack of context as they read the sentences or whether this use of e is peculiar to the author of the stories, and therefore not normal, is as yet unclear.

#### 8. ASSISTIVE PE'

The conversational clitic pe' (AST) occurs far less frequently than e, le, or e'. It is only used in commands, usually positive ones. Umas often say it is the equivalent of the Indonesian word coba, 'try,' but it is used as a type of "please." For instance the Indonesian command Bawa! means 'Carry (it)!', but the command Coba bawa! means 'Please carry this.' In



Uma, the particle pe' functions similarly.

54.   Abi',     pinyu'   PE'   ha- ngkedi'!   Meka'   hi'a  
      friend   pinch    AST   one-little     maybe   he

      mpu'u -mi   poi'.  
      indeed-PFT   salt

      'Friend, please take a pinch. Maybe it is indeed salt.'

55.   Keni     PE'   tumai     ngkojo     tetu.  
      carry   AST   to here   vegetable   that

      'Carry those vegetables over here.'

Pe' tends to be used among equals, but Uma speakers say that it can be used to talking up to elders or talking down to children, too. The pe' seems to make the command more friendly. A good paraphrase of the second example might be "Say, try and carry those vegetables over here," or "Hey, give me a hand and carry those vegetables here."

## 9.    DELIBERATIVE LE'

The clitic le' (DL) occurs only rarely in Uma. It is used only in instances in which a person is deliberating or wondering about something, whether talking to himself or thinking out loud to others.

56.   Napa   LE'   to     ku-babehi   e?  
      what   DL   that   I- do        RS

      'What am I going to do/What shall I do?'

57.   Hiapa   LE'   ku-tu'u   e?  
      where   DL   I- put     RS

      'Where did I put it?'

As the above examples show, le' occurs after the question word, and is balanced by the resumptive clitic e at the end of the question, a pattern similar to that already seen with the emphatic clitic le. In the above examples, le' conveys the idea of wondering or debating, similar to the English, "Hmm, now...." The first example can be translated "Hmm, now what am I going to do?" The second can be translated "Hmm, now where did I put that thing?"

## 10.   SUMMARY

The study of conversational clitics in Uma can be frustrating in that they do not carry easily translatable meaning. Often, when asked about them, Uma speakers will say that you don't really need to use them, they don't mean anything. However, these clitics do have meaning, giving the framework of the speaker's attitude. Of the five clitics the resumptive e, mildly emphatic le and attentive e' are the most common, the first two also being used in combination with other clitics. The last two particles

discussed, assistive pe' and deliberative le' are relatively rare, but need to be mentioned, as they show still more variations possible in speaker attitude.

## NOTES

1. Uma (sometimes called Pipikoro) belongs to the Kaili-Pamona sub-group of languages, located in the western half of Central Sulawesi, Indonesia. Uma is written with orthographic symbols in this paper. The letter "w" is a bilabial fricative; the apostrophe (') is a glottal stop; the letter "c" is an alveolar affricate (ts); all other letters have their normal phonetic values. Research for this paper was carried out as part of the cooperative agreement between the Summer Institute of Linguistics and Hasanuddin University, Ujung Pandang, South Sulawesi, Indonesia. The author and her husband have carried out research on the Uma language intermittently from September 1980 until the present. Special thanks goes to Dr. Charles Peck, who consulted with me during the writing of this paper. Thanks also goes to Herman Rigo, whose prolific writing supplied much of the raw material for my research, and who has spent countless hours teaching us Uma.

2. These conversational clitics are called tag clitics in Michael Martens (to appear).

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AS	assertive clitic	INJ	interjection
AST	assistive clitic	INT	intransitive prefix
AT	attentive clitic	LOC	locative suffix
BEN	benefactive clitic	NF	noun-forming suffix
CAUS	causative	NOM	nominalizing prefix
CL(AGS)	classifier	NV	non-volitional prefix
CM	commiserative clitic	PFT	perfective clitic
CTR	contrastive clitic	Q	question word
DL	deliberative clitic	REDUP	reduplication
DP	dependent verb form marker	REFX	reflexive prefix
EM	emphatic clitic	RS	resumptive clitic
HYP	hypothetical	TD	transitive derivational prefix
INC	incompletive clitic	TR	transitive prefix

