

THE POOR FELLOW AND THE ASSERTIVE FELLOW

A Study of Two Conjugated Clitics in Uma

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Two clitics found in Uma, an Austronesian language of Central Sulawesi, are worthy of special study. These are the commiserative clitic hawo and the assertive clitic hana. These two clitics are conjugated for person and number--a rarity for clitics. Their functions in Uma syntax and discourse are most fascinating and exemplify the ingenuity of human language. The main sections of this article are data-oriented and investigate the forms and functions of these two clitics. The final section discusses some theoretical issues: what is a clitic? are hawo and hana indeed clitics? and is there a unifying semantic thread among their diverse functions?

1. INTRODUCTION

One distinctive characteristic of Uma, an Austronesian language of Central Sulawesi (n. 1), is its use of verb phrase enclitics. Although Uma has fewer than twenty such enclitics (not counting enclitic pronouns), it uses them productively in a variety of constructions. While many of these enclitics (hereafter: clitics) are also found in related languages, some of them appear to be unique to Uma. Two of these verb phrase clitics unique to Uma are particularly noteworthy because they are conjugated for person and number. They are the commiserative clitic hawo and the assertive clitic hana.

After a brief overview of the structure of the Uma verb phrase (section 2), this paper describes the conjugation of hawo and hana (section 3), their functions (sections 4 and 5), as well as the functions of two very similar clitics (section 6), and then concludes with some more theoretical notes about the nature of clitics and morphology in general (section 7).

2. OVERVIEW OF UMA VERBAL ENCLITICS

Before looking at hawo and hana in particular, we should see how they fit into the overall scheme of clitics in Uma. Chart 1 displays in an informal way the make-up of the Uma verb phrase and the position of the various clitics in that phrase.

CHART 1: Verb Phrase Clitics in Uma

VERB PHRASE NUCLEUS	-CLITICS	TEMPORAL ADVERB
(1) -PRONOUN CLITICS	(2) -ASPECTUAL CLITICS	(3) -EMOTIVE CLITICS
		(4) -TAG CLITICS

THE VERB PHRASE NUCLEUS consists of the verb word itself, which usually consists of a verb root with any derivational affixes or pronominal prefixes. Some examples are: bohe 'big,' mo-lolita (INT-speak) 'to speak,' and ku-pe-ka-bosi (I-TD-AFF-stingy) 'I am stingy with (it).' (n.2) The primary phonological stress of the phrase falls on the penultimate syllable of this nucleus. This verb phrase nucleus can be followed by a series of clitics, here divided for ease of presentation into four classes.

The first class of clitics shown above consists of the PRONOUN clitics (see set I on chart 2.) The second class consists of the ASPECTUAL clitics. These include some clitics that are aspectual in meaning and some that are more adverbial (left and right columns below, respectively):

-mi	perfective (PFT)	-pidi	'still'
-pi	incompletive (INC)	-wadi	'merely'
-di	contrastive (CTR)	-damo	'just'
-ki	benefactive (BEN)	-wa	(meaning uncertain)

For ease of presentation, these aspectual clitics are here lumped together as one class. Actually they comprise several orders of clitics, and there are strict rules governing their co-occurrence. Also, there are rules of vowel harmony and reordering that apply when these aspectual clitics co-occur with the clitic pronouns. Although these rules are not pertinent here, the reader may notice in the examples found in this paper that some clitic pronouns occur after rather than before aspectual clitics, and that some aspectual clitics are spelled with the vowel a or o rather than i.

The third class of clitics in chart 1 consists of the EMOTIVE clitics. These are the topic of this paper. They are the two inflected clitics, commiserative hawo (CM) and assertive hana (AS), as well as two non-inflected ones, called insight tawo (INS) and speculative tano (SPEC). Another possible label for this class of clitics is EVALUATIVE. They report the emotional state or subjective evaluation of the speaker.

The fourth class of clitics in chart 1 is the class of TAGS, so called because their function is similar to tags in English like "huh" or "you know." The most common tag clitics are e, e', le, le', and pe', all of which I gloss simply as "TAG." (n. 3)

After these four classes of clitics comes the final element of the verb phrase in Uma, the TEMPORAL ADVERBS, such as ngone 'earlier,' mpai 'later,' wengi 'yesterday,' etc. These adverbs are not clitics, but possess penultimate stress, as all free-standing words do in Uma.

Phonologically, all of the clitics found in these four classes are stressless. They cannot occur in isolation and they must be spoken as a unit with the preceding word. An Uma speaker will pronounce utterances such as the two below with no pauses between the first and last morphemes. (In these examples each part in the verb phrase is labeled to show where it fits in chart 1, and the syllable receiving the main phrase stress is in ALL CAPS.)

	<u>VERB</u>	(<u>2</u>)	(<u>2</u>)	(<u>3</u>)	(<u>4</u>)
1	...BOhe big	-mi -PFT	-di -CTR	hana AS.3s	le TAG

'...[it] had become really big!'

	<u>VERB</u>	(<u>2</u>)	(<u>1</u>)	(<u>3</u>)	(<u>ADVERB</u>)
2	...me- NUnu' INT-tree.bark	wada merely	ka we	kaiwo CM.1p	ngone earlier

'...we just came hunting for tree bark earlier.'

In this paper the emotive and tag clitics, as well as a few others, are written with no hyphen despite their clitic status. In the following examples the form being illustrated is written in ALL CAPS. (n. 4)

3. THE CONJUGATION OF HAWO AND HANA

Hawo and hana are CONJUGATED CLITICS. The 3s forms are chosen to represent the whole conjugation since they are the most neutral forms. But each of these two clitics actually occurs in seven different forms, one for each of the seven different pronoun distinctions found in Uma.

Hawo and hana are BIMORPHEMIC clitics. In all seven forms of both clitics, the first one or two syllables are a contracted form of the independent pronoun, and the final syllable, wo and na respectively, is the root. (In Uma each vowel counts as a syllable; thus hawo is two syllables, but kaiwo is three.) Chart 2 shows the conjugation of hawo and hana, as well as the four sets of Uma pronouns for comparison.

CHART 2:

Hawo, Hana and Uma Pronoun Sets

	1s	2s	3s	1p	2p	3p	1+2
Set 1: (Enclitic)	-a	-ko	-i	-kai	-koi	-ra	-ta
Set 2: (Actor Prefix)	ku-	nu-	na-	ki-	ni-	ra-	ta-
Set 3: (Possessive)	-ku	-nu	-na	-kai	-ni	-ra	-ta
Set 4: (Independent)	aku'	iko	hi'a	kai'	koi'	hira'	kita'
hawo:	kuwo	kowo	hawo	kaiwo	koiwo	rawo	tawo
hana:	kuna	kona	hana	kaina	koina	rana	tana

The initial syllable(s) of hawo and hana closely resemble the independent pronouns (set 4). This is clear correspondence in all forms, except the 3s, where the correspondence between ha- and hi'a is a bit irregular. (n. 5)

Esser (1964, p. 36) has a chart similar to chart 2, in which he labels hawo and hana interjections, calling hawo 'toenaderend,' meaning 'approaching,' which I surmise has the connotation of rapprochement or friendliness. Concerning hana, he says it "expresses opposition or separation."

4. THE "POOR FELLOW" CLITIC HAWO

The meaning of hawo is elusive. When asked what it means, even the most linguistically astute Uma speakers can only say that it somehow makes the sentence more "soft" or "refined," or sometimes that it indicates that the speaker is humbling himself. These observations center in on the

major function of hawo, that of commiseration. I have labeled hawo the commiserative clitic (glossed CM, followed by an indication of person and number), and I have also nicknamed it the "poor fellow" clitic. Its primary meaning is to elicit pity for someone, to indicate that the listener should feel sorry for someone. (n. 6)

3 Nau' kebe'-a KUWO le, meka' ba lue' ria-di
 although goat -I CM.1s TAG perhaps just maybe is -CTR

to mpo-kono-a.
 who AF- like-me

'Even though I am a goat (KUWO), just perhaps there is someone who will like me.'

4 Neo' kaka- 'ina'-ina'! Kai' KAIWO-e' , mo- ruhu'
 don't REPET-mommy-mommy we CM.1p-TAG INT-skinny

lentora mpo-tora ana' kai.
 longing AP- long.for child our

'Don't you keep saying 'Mommy, Mommy' at us! We (KAIWO) are wasting away with longing, longing for our children.'

5 Wongo ri'ulu, ng.kamu lua' bona wuntu-na ha- mali
 Deaf first AF-hold cane so that end -its one-side

na-kamu HAWO Wero, bona mo- noa' HAWO NA-tuku'.
 he-hold CM.3s Blind so that INT-straight CM.3s he-follow

'Deaf went first holding a cane, so that Blind could hold on (HAWO) to one end of it, so that he could follow straight/accurately (HAWO).'

In example 3, the boy who looked like a goat is expressing hope that someone will want to marry him, "even though (KUWO--poor me) I am a goat." Likewise in example 4, a mother and father who have lost their children are bemoaning their sad state, saying, "we (KAIWO--poor us) are wasting away with longing." In example 5, as three men named Deaf, Blind and Lamé go off to a party, Deaf holds out his walking stick so that Blind (HAWO--poor fellow) can hold on to it so that he can manage to follow along (HAWO--poor fellow). In all three of these examples hawo is used as a "poor fellow" clitic to highlight the pitiful state of the participant.

4.1 Common uses of hawo. Hawo and other emotive clitics (chart 1, clitic class 4), are primarily used in conversational Uma, and only secondarily in narrative or other discourse types. While most of the examples of hawo in this paper are taken from written folk tales and other stories, they are taken from reported conversations within those texts. In the rest of this section we will examine some of the specific functions of hawo in everyday conversation.

4.1.1 In apologizing and excuse-making. When apologizing or making excuses in Uma, hawo is almost obligatory, usually in the 1s kuwo or 1p kaiwo form. In such contexts its "poor fellow" function is fairly obvious; the speaker is trying to ingratiate himself to the person he is apologizing or making excuses to.

6 Uma KUWO ku-'inca-i ka-ria-na koi' pue' -na.
not CM.1s I- know -LOC DP-is -3s you owner-its

'I didn't know (KUWO) that you, the owners [of that pig] existed.'

7 Bale, ra- pali' kai mpai' hi ngata, apa'
friend they-search.for us later in village because

tumai me- nunu' -wada -ka KAIWO ngone.
come INT-tree.bark -just -we CM.1p earlier

'Friend, they will be searching for us in the village soon, because we just came here tree-bark gathering (KAIWO) earlier.'

In example 6 a man hunting wild pigs is suddenly accosted by the owners of the pigs. He says that he did not know (KUWO--"poor me") that the pigs had an owner. The presence of the kuwo in his statement indicates that the man is being apologetic and conciliatory. One could translate the kuwo as "I'm sorry..." or "Poor me...." Likewise in example 7, when two girls are invited to spend the night at the home of some magical forest people, they make a polite excuse by saying that "They will be searching for us in the village soon, because we just came here tree-bark gathering (KAIWO-- please try to understand our predicament!)." (n. 7)

4.1.2 In requests. The first person forms of hawo are also quite common when one is making a request or seeking aid. The function of hawo in such circumstances is similar to that of "please" in English, to make the request polite. In everyday Uma conversations, this usage of hawo in making apologies, excuses and requests is its most common usage, especially of the 1s kuwo and 1p kaiwo forms.

8 Toe pai' tumai-a, bale, bona nu- tulungi-a KUWO,
that reason come -I friend, so.that you-help -me CM.1s

ba beiwa-mi KUWO ohea-nu mpo-pali' KUWO koni'-ku.
just how -PFT CM.1s way -your AF- search CM.1s food -my

Apa' toi -e, neo' mate-a-ma ku-'epe.
because this-TAG almost die -I-PFT I- feel

'That's the reason I have come, friend, so that you can help me (KUWO), however (KUWO) you came to find (KUWO) food for me. Because now, I feel like I'm about to die.'

9 Lawi' nu- 'inca kona mo- lolita, ku-sarumaka -ko
since you-know AS.2s INT-talk I- depend.on-you

mpo-keni -ka KUWO pe-kamaro -ku lou hi Pune
AF- carry-BEN.1s CM.1s NF-betrothal.gift-my go to P.

ku-po-kono-i kuna.
I- TD-like-her AS.1s

'Since you know how to speak [well], I am depending on you to take my betrothal gift for me (KUWO) to Pune whom I like so much.'

10 Pai' -a KUWO tumai, ta-'uli'-mi HAWO, tumai
reason-I CM.1s come we- say -PFT CM.3s come

ng-kamaro ha- dua toronaa-nu, meka'
 AF-betrothal.gift one-person maiden -your maybe

ra- po-kono-i HAWO ana' kai kebe'.
 they-TD-like-him CM.3s child our goat

'The reason I have come (KUWO), let's just come out and say it (HAWO), I've come bringing a betrothal gift to one of your maiden daughters, maybe they will like him (HAWO), our son the goat.'

The nuance of the 1s form kuwo in examples 8 and 9 is similar to "please": ". . . so that you PLEASE help me [poor fellow that I am]," and ". . . I'm depending on you to take my betrothal gift for me PLEASE." In example 10, a father of a young man that looks like a goat is addressing the father of seven unmarried daughters, hoping to find a wife for his son. The kuwo in the first part of his utterance, coupled with the idiom ta-'uli'-mi hawo (we-say-PFT CM.3s) "let's [just stop beating around the bush and] say it," is a standard Uma formula for discreetly broaching the subject when one has come calling to make a request: "The reason I have (KUWO--humbly) come, (HAWO--please permit me) to say it...."

4.1.3 In commands. The softening or polite function of hawo is also used with commands. Hawo makes commands less harsh, more like suggestions. This is quite close to the use of hawo with requests, and often commands softened with hawo are in fact requests.

11 Mai KUWO ahe' -nu.
 come CM.1s sarong-your

'Hand me (KUWO) your sarong.'

12 Bale, neo' KOWO mo- lolita hewa tetu-ko.
 friend don't CM.2s INT-talk like that-you

'Friend, don't (KOWO) talk like that!'

13 Ee, ana', mai -ko KOWO hi parawa. Neo' HAWO
 hey child come-you CM.2s to porch don't CM.3s

hi tana' -e.
 on ground-TAG

'Hey, child, come here (KOWO) to the porch. Don't (HAWO) [sit] there on the ground.'

Example 11 illustrates the most typical way in Uma to casually ask for something. The verb mai has the meaning "to come toward the speaker." When used as an imperative along with kuwo (1s of hawo), as in example 11, the meaning is "Please hand/give such-and-such to me."

In example 12 a girl is pleading with her friend to not speak so harshly. The hawo in her command shows that her attitude is one of pleading or advising, not ordering. Likewise the words of example 13 are not those of a parent snapping at a child, but the words of a concerned villager to a passer-by whom he sees sitting in his yard: "Come sit on the porch (KOWO--you poor fellow)." Note that the second sentence of example 13 contains the 3s form hawo: "Don't (HAWO) sit on the ground," rather than the 2s kowo. The difference may just be stylistic. But perhaps the 3s hawo is more polite, because it conveys the idea that "one (HAWO)

should not sit on the ground" in general rather than that "you (KOWO) should not sit on the ground" at this particular time.

4.1.4 In wishes. When making wishes, it is common to use tawo, the 1+2 form (inclusive "we") of hawo. Since the persons making the wish are usually wishing that their sad state of affairs will improve, the tawo carries the idea of "poor us." Here is a typical example.

14 Nau' ba ke kampa' ha- ma'a kebe'-mi TAWO
 although maybe hypothetical just one-animal goat -PFT CM.1+2

ana' -ta -e, asala ria TAWO ha- dua ana' -ta!
 child-our-TAG as.long.as is CM.1+2 one-person child-our

'Even though it were to be only a goat (TAWO), as long as we could have a child (TAWO)!'

To bring out the nuance of the tawo's, example 14 can be translated "Poor us, if we could only have a child. Even if it were only a goat, as long as we could have a child, poor us!"

4.1.5 In questions. In most questions (other than questions using wo'o hawo, see section 4.4.3) hawo is used for politeness.

15 Ngkai apa -ko KOWO, bale?
 from where-you CM.2s friend

'Where have you been, friend?'

16 Beiwa KOIWO, bale, hilou-ta-wa me- tako -e?
 how CM.2p friend go -us-.. INT-dance-TAG

'How about it, friends, should we go to the dance?'

Example 15 is a polite way to ask someone where he has been. The 2s form kowo perhaps adds a slight emphasis on the "you": "Well, where have you come from, friend?" Example 16 shows hawo used in group deliberations in asking for the opinion of one's companions. (The clitic -wa is rare and I am not yet certain of its meaning.) Note that there is no second person pronoun in the sentence other than the 2p form koiwo. Again there is slight emphasis on the "you," so that beiwa koiwo means: "How about you? What is your opinion?"

4.1.6 With negatives. When hawo is used in a clause containing the negative uma "no/not" or ko'ia "not yet," Umas usually describe the hawo as having a "softening" influence. Most often the 3s base form hawo is used with negatives, even if there are no 3s participants in the clause. Perhaps this is because the hawo is more modifying the negative than the verb, and therefore is less likely to agree with any of the pronominal elements of the verb. The nuance of the combination uma hawo can be approximated by the English "not at all / not after all."

In Uma culture it is typical to put oneself down. For instance, a visitor often will say, "Oh, we have come bothering you and we haven't brought you any gift." A proper cultural response to such statements is

"Uma hawo," (not CM.3s), meaning, "No, that's all right. Think nothing of it." Here are some other illustrations of uma "no/not" plus hawo from natural texts:

17 Ra-po-pai wo'o HAWO ta'i bengka? Pai' napa
3p-TD-what also CM.3s excrement buffalo and what

ra-pe-ka- bosì' -ki? UMA HAWO mingki' ra-'oli.
3p-TD-AFF-stingy-BEN.3s not CM.3s necessary 3p-buy

'What in the world does anyone want with buffalo dung? And why should one be stingy with it? It does not (HAWO) have to be bought.'

18 UMA-ta HAWO ra- po-kono-i, uto'.
not-us CM.3s they-TD-like-LOC boy

'They do not (HAWO) like us, boy.'

19 Bo uma hema koi to kono po-towa'-ni . . . UMA
since not who you REL true NF-guess-you not

koi HAWO hema to ku-po-tobine.
you CM.3s who REL I- TD-woman

'Since none of you were correct in your guess...I will not (HAWO) marry any of you.'

In the last clause of example 17 the meaning of the hawo can only be expressed in English by means of a gentle tone of voice and exaggerated intonation: "[Oh you poor fellow,] it doesn't have to be bought. [Just take it for free]." In example 18, a father is breaking the news to his son that he has failed to find any girl willing to marry him. The hawo serves to soften the unpleasant news. One can only approximate the meaning of the hawo by such English translations as "[Well, it seems] they don't like us, boy," or, "They don't like us [after all], boy." In example 19 a handsome young man had promised to marry whichever woman could guess his riddle. But since none of them could guess, he would "not after all" (uma hawo) marry any of them.

Notice in examples 18 and 19 that the 3s form hawo is used, though none of the participants are 3s (18 has a 3p actor ra- 'they' and a 1+2 goal -ta 'us' and 19 has a 1s actor ku- 'I' and a 2p goal -koi 'you'). This is in accordance with the above-mentioned tendency for the 3s base form to be used with the negative uma.

4.2 Uses of hawo to mark soft contrast. In certain contexts the commiserative clitic hawo seems to lose its "poor fellow" function altogether and takes on a function that I call marking a "soft contrast." In such cases hawo elicits no pity, but merely softly contrasts one participant from others. This "soft contrast" function of hawo is especially clear when it is used in combination with certain adverbs.

4.2.1 To softly contrast participants. Hawo is sometimes used to softly contrast or parallel the activities of two different participants. In this usage, it can be attached either to noun phrases or to verbs.

20 Hilou-ra -mo hi pampa to ra- toa'. Ha-dua
go -they-PFT to garden REL they-head.toward one-person

ng-keni luncu, ha- dua HAWO rota.
 AF-carry tall.basket one-person CM.3s flat.basket

'They went to the garden they were heading toward. One carried a tall basket, one (HAWO) a flat basket.'

21 Bale, iko ngkai ree -ko mai ng-koloti binati '-e
 friend you from there-you distant AF-pick b. -TAG

aku' ngkai ree -a KUWO, bona rehe'e mpai' mai
 I from there-I CM.1s so that there later distant

kahiruaa'-ta
 meeting -our

'Friend, you start picking binati' leaves over there, I [will start] there (KUWO), so that we will meet over there.'

22 Tobine HAWO pue' -na to ra-'uli' mo- pere. Jadi',
 woman CM.3s owner-its REL 3p-said INT-p. So

tomane HAWO mo- kakula, mo- loloio' pai' mo- kahi.
 man CM.3s INT-k. INT-1. and INT-tops

'Women (HAWO) are the owners of [the activity] called playing a pere [a bamboo tuning fork]. So, men (HAWO) play kalula [bamboo percussion instruments], blow on loloio' [whistles made of rice stalks] and play tops.'

In example 20 the activities of two girls are paralleled: one carried a tall basket, the other (HAWO) a flat basket. Likewise in 21 the 1s form kuwo marks the parallel or soft contrast between "you start over there" and "I'll (KUWO) start there." Example 22 is from an expository text about the various types of activities that are done during the rice harvest season. The two hawo's mark the soft contrast between what girls do and what boys do. In examples such as these three above, hawo is not acting as a "poor fellow" clitic, but rather as a "harmonious" clitic. It softly contrasts the activities of two participants who are in a harmonious relationship (compare section 5.1).

4.2.2 With the adverb wo'o. The adverb wo'o usually translates as 'again,' meaning an event happens again, an additional time. But when wo'o is used in combination with commiserative hawo, its meaning changes. Consider the following minimal-pair sentences:

23a Ra- hilo WO'O -mi betue' toe.
 they-see also -PFT star that

'They AGAIN saw the star.'

23b Ra- hilo WO'O -mi RAWO betue' toe.
 they-see also- PFT CM.3p star that

'They ALSO/AS WELL saw the star.'

In example 23a the adverb wo'o indicates an additional event: the people saw the star AGAIN, that is, a second time. In 23b the wo'o coupled

with rawo (3p of hawo) indicates not so much an additional event as additional participants: a different group of people AS WELL saw the star. Thus the hawo has shifted the meaning of the adverb wo'o from EVENT ("again/an additional time") to PARTICIPANT ("someone else as well"). Below are other examples illustrating the use of hawo with wo'o:

24 Wulehu' oma mo- daa- dao' alaana mohu' ngata.
mouse forest INT-REDUP-wander result close village

Wulehu' tomi WO'O HAWO me- hompo ngkai tomi hilou
mouse house also CM.3s INT-descend from house go

m- pali' lone' doko' rg- inu.
AF-search stream want AF- drink

'The forest mouse wandered until he was close to the village. The house mouse ALSO (WO'O HAWO) came down from the house to go find a stream, wanting to drink.'

25 Hewa-pa manusia' biasa -e, mo- kabilasa -i -mi, doko'
like-INC mankind ordinary-TAG INT-young.man-he-PFT want

WO'O-i -mi HAWO mo- tobine-i.
also-he-PFT CM.3s INT-woman -LOC

'Like ordinary people, when he became a young man, he ALSO (WO'O HAWO) wanted to get married.'

26 Makc' wo'o-ra -mo mpo-rata ha-ma'a pue' ue.
walk also-they-PFT AF- find one-animal owner water

RA- tutura WO'O-mi -ki HAWO dala mpo-mako'-ra.
they-recount also-PFT-BEN.3s CM.3s purpose NF- walk -their

'They walked again, finding a crocodile. They recounted to him AS WELL (WO'O HAWO) the purpose of their trip.'

In example 24 the combination of the adverb wo'o and hawo contrast the wandering forest mouse with the house mouse, who was out wandering around ALSO (WO'O HAWO). Example 25 is from the story in which the main character is a child who looks like a goat. When he became a young man, he wanted to get married TOO (WO'O HAWO), just like ordinary people do. In both these examples, the hawo shifts the meaning of the adverb wo'o from "again/another time" to "as well/another participant."

Example 26 is interesting. In this story, a nobleman and a tiger have already walked around and recounted their story to three different entities. Now, they walk AGAIN (a repeated event--notice the wo'o with no hawo in the first sentence) and come upon a crocodile, to whom they recount their story AS WELL (wo'o plus hawo). Although this also is a repeated event, being the fourth time they have told the story, the hawo shows that the author is not highlighting the repetition of the event, but rather the fact that it is being told to a different participant. This explains why the form used in 26 is the 3s hawo, agreeing with the new participant (the singular crocodile), rather than 3p to agree with the man and the tiger.

Usually the participant highlighted by the combination wo'o hawo is an actor performing the same or similar event as a previous actor, as in example 24. Sometimes the participant so highlighted is the undergoer of the same or similar event, as in 25. On rare occasions, the combination wo'o hawo is used to signify a shift of focus from the activity of one participant to that of another. This is the same as its "soft contrast" function seen above (section 4.2.1) but with wo'o.

27 Bula -ra ng-keke, mpe-wulu -i WO'O HAWO lowi toe
 during-their AF-dig AF- feather-LOC also CM.3s 1. that

ntoto -ra mo- keke.
 in.line.with-their INT-dig

'While they [two boys] were digging, the lowi bird also preened itself directly over the place where they were digging.'

It is clear from the story from which this example comes that the bird's activity in example 27 is not a repeated event--it is the first time the bird has preened itself--nor has there been any similar event. Rather, the purpose of the adverb wo'o plus the clitic hawo here seems to be to shift the focus of the story from the activity of the two boys to that of the bird: while they were digging, the lowi was doing something AS WELL.

In summary, the use of hawo with the adverb wo'o shifts the meaning of this adverb from EVENT ("again/another time") to PARTICIPANT ("also/another participant").

4.2.3 With the adverb moto. The clitic hawo functions with another adverb, moto in much the same way that it functions with wo'o. The adverb moto (glossed as 'self') is related to the word woto 'body/self.' One of its basic functions is to make emphatic pronouns or reflexives, for instance, aku' moto (I self) 'I myself,' or Na-kojo' palé-na moto (he-cut hand-his self) 'He cut his own hand.' But moto also has other functions in Uma, one of which is to note contrast. For instance, the difference between the two clauses Rata-i (arrive-he) and Rata moto-i (arrive self-he) 'He arrived,' is that the latter implies a contrast with something in the context: 'he did arrive (--though you may not have known it or contrary to your expectations).' This is similar to the difference between the two English clauses 'He arrived' and 'He did arrive,' the latter also implying a contrast or something contrary to expectation.

When hawo is added to a verb phrase containing moto, the emphasis is shifted slightly. Consider the following minimal-pair sentences:

28a Tilou MOTO-a mpai', Mama.
 come self-I later daddy

'I will come, Daddy.'

28b Tilou MOTO-a KUWO mpai', Mama.
 come self-I CM.1s later daddy

The presence of hawo (here in the 1s form kuwo) in 28b shifts the emphasis of the adverb moto from EVENT to PARTICIPANT. That is, 28a means "I will come, Daddy (though you may not have expected me to)," whereas 28b means "I will come, Daddy (as opposed to someone else coming or as opposed to your coming here)." Other illustrative examples:

29 Ane doko' ng-koni' inomu', lou MOTO KOWO nu- 'ue' pae
 if want AF-eat porridge go self CM.2s you-get rice

rala wilulu, nu- manyu pai' nu- 'omu' MOTO KOWO.
 in rice.bin you-pound and you-cook self CM.2s

'If you want to eat porridge, you go yourself (MOTO KOWO) and get rice from the rice bin, you pound it and you cook it yourself (MOTO KOWO).'

30 Dei', bela aku' to ng- ka- huku'-ko. Tuama -nu to
 girl not me REL AF- AFF-hate -you father -your REL

patula toe MOTO-i HAWO!
 accursed that self-he CM.3s

'Girl, it's not I who hate you. It's that accursed father of yours
 (MOTO HAWO) [who hates you].'

In 29 a woman's parents-in-law become tired of cooking porridge for her, so they tell her to do it. The presence of the 2s form kowo indicates that the adverb moto is contrasting PARTICIPANTS: "You will have to do it (as opposed to us)."

Example 30 shows clearly that the function of hawo with the adverb moto does not convey the commiserating "poor fellow" function seen in Section 4.1. The speaker here is certainly showing no pity for this "accursed father" that hates his daughter. The purpose of the hawo here is only to indicate that the adverb moto is contrasting PARTICIPANTS, not events: "It's that accursed father of yours HIMSELF [not I] who hates you."

In summary, hawo shifts the force of the adverb moto from EVENT ("this event as opposed to another") to PARTICIPANT ("this participant as opposed to another").

4.3 Uses of hawo in narrative discourse. I consider the "poor fellow" function of hawo described in sections 4. and 4.1 above to be its basic function. Everyday Uma conversations are sprinkled liberally with hawo's used in apologies, requests, or other situations in which one must show the proper "poor fellow" relationship between speaker and hearer.

The clitic hawo is, however, found in speech forms other than conversation. When a good Uma story-teller spins a tale, for instance, hawo can take on some new functions, one of which is highlighting a "twist" in the plot."

4.3.1 Highlighting a twist in the plot. Often when a main participant in a story first comes in contact with a new participant or encounters a situation that adds a twist to the plot, this encounter is marked with a hawo. This use of hawo to introduce a twist in the plot is most common with the transitive verbs hilo 'to see, epe 'to hear,' and rata 'to find/come upon.' (n. 8) Consider the following excerpts from the Uma folktale, "The Pondmaker who Married the Angel."

31 (a)Ha- ngkani rata wo'o-mi hi wuhu'-na, (b)na-hilo
 one-time arrive also-PFT at pond -his he-see

HAWO mo- lingkota'.... (c)Ha- ngkani na-pe-sahu -i
 CM.3s INT-murky one-time he-AT-hurry-LOC

hilou. (d)Me- ngka-wuni-i rala gulumpu. (e)Uma ma- hae
 go INT-AFF- hide-he in bushes not INT-long

ria uda ncimaa', (f)pai' na-hilo pino te-bunca rala
 is rain sunny and he-see rainbow NV-ending in

wuhu'-na. (g)Na-hilo HAWO to mo- pani-i' ngkai lolo
 pond -his he-see CM.3s REL INT-wing-LOC from above

raoa ma- na'u hi pino pai' me- hompo rala wuhu'-na.
 air INT-descend on rainbow and INT-land in pond -his

'(a)One time, he arrived again at his pond, (b)he saw (HAWO) that it was murky.... (c)One time he went quickly. (d)He hid in the bushes. (e)Before long there was a sun shower, (f)and he saw a rainbow that ended in his pond. (g)He saw (HAWO) winged creatures from above the air descending on the rainbow and landing in his pond.'

We pick up this story at the point when the man goes to see his pond, of which he is quite proud, and finds it all murky. This is the first twist in the plot: who or what had made his pond murky? His discovery of the murky pond is highlighted with hawo: "(b)he saw (HAWO) that it was murky." Later in the story, we find the man hurrying to his pond to try to catch the culprit. Soon he saw a rainbow, and then (g)"he saw (HAWO) winged creatures," coming down into his pond. These angels are the culprits, and their introduction into the story is again highlighted with a hawo. The verb phrase found twice in the above example, na-hilo hawo "he saw (HAWO)," is a common formula for highlighting the advent of a new twist in the plot. It can be translated "What should he see but...," or "He saw (double take!)...." Note also in clause (f) of example 31 that the first time the pondmaker sees the rainbow is not marked with hawo. Although the rainbow is a necessary prop in the story, it does not in itself represent a new twist in the plot, and so does not warrant a hawo.

As the story develops, the pondmaker decides to hide the wings of one of the prettier angels. When the angels are done bathing and dress to leave:

32 Mala'eka to ha- dua toe -i, oti -i -mi mpo-'unco'
angel REL one-person that-she, done-she-PFT AF- put on

baju -na, na- pali' HAWO pani'-na, uma ria.
shirt-her she-search.for CM.3s wing -her not is

'That one angel, [when] she was done putting on her shirt, she searched for (HAWO) her wings, they weren't there!'

The angel finds herself stranded, her wings gone. Of course the audience already knows that the pondmaker has hidden the wings, but now the angel discovers the news for herself, and this new twist in the plot is highlighted with hawo. As this example illustrates, hawo does not necessarily mark the first mention of a new element in a narrative, but a main participant's first encounter with this element.

Continuing with the story, the angel is forced to stay on earth, marries the pondmaker and has a child by him. One day, while everyone else was out of the house, she went to get some rice from the storage shed:

33 Lou mpu'u -i rala poropo', na- hungka' lou' wanga.
go indeed-she in rice.shed she-lift lid bin

Na- hilo HAWO, "Ohe'e-e -le pani'-ku ra- wuni-e!"
she-see CM.3s there-TAG-TAG wing -my they-hide-TAG

'She indeed went to the rice shed, she lifted the lid to the storage bin. She saw (HAWO). 'Oho, so there's where my wings are hidden!'

Her discovery of the long-hidden wings adds another twist to the plot, again marked with hawo.

When hawo is used to highlight a twist in the plot, is this a distinct function from its "poor fellow" function? And if so, is there any connection between the two functions? I address these questions in the following examples and discussion.

34 Na-hawa -i' -ra -mo ompi'-ompi'-na bona hilou-ra
 he-order-LOC-them-PFT relatives -his so.that go -they

mpo-kowa' bola' -na. Me- mata -ra RAWO mepupulo,
 AF- carry lumber-his INT-awake-they CM.3p early.morning

ra- hilo mo- tobu oe -mi hi berewe-ra.
 they-see INT-piled there-PFT in yard -their

'He gave orders to his relatives to go carry his lumber. They awoke (RAWO) early the next morning, they saw it already piled up there in their yard!'

35 Mo- kore, hilou ng-kahe' hi hologa, na-hilo HAWO
 INT-stand go AF-climb to attic he-see CM.3s

ha- dua ana' tobine bulana mo- dau.
 one-person child female during INT-sew

'[He] stood up, went and climbed up into the attic where he saw (HAWO) a young girl who was sewing.'

36 Lako' han-turu to ma- langu, ra- 'epe RAWO
 just one-sleep REL INT-intoxicated they-hear CM.3p

jii'- jii' mpu'u -mi wulehu' woko' tina'a-ra.
 squeak-squeak indeed-PFT rat caught.by trap -their

'After just a short while (about the length of time a drunk person would sleep), they heard (RAWO) the 'squeak-squeak' indeed of a rat caught in their trap.'

In each of these examples we find a twist in the plot as participants see or hear something surprising. In example 34 a man has given orders to his relatives to go transport all his newly-cut lumber to the village. But when they all got up (RAWO) the next morning, they saw that the lumber was already piled up there in their yard. In 35, a wicked man climbs up into his attic and sees (HAWO) a girl sewing--it is his own daughter whom he had ordered killed long ago. In 36 the participants have set a snare to catch a special rat, and in just a short time they hear (RAWO) that they have indeed caught the rat. Note that in none of these examples can the hawa (or rawo) be described as having a "poor fellow" function. The fellows mentioned in example 34 are not "poor fellows"--in fact they are lucky to have escaped some hard work. And we are certainly not supposed to feel pity for the wicked man in example 35--he is the villain of the story. And in example 36, the men who have caught a rat in their snare are lucky, not "poor fellows". In these examples, the function of the hawa is clearly to introduce a new twist into the story, not to mark "poor fellow".

There may, however, be a semantic connection between the function of hawa to highlight a twist in the plot and its "poor fellow" function. Hawo usually highlights a twist in the plot when a participant encounters something unexpected, something that surprises him. This is why I suggested above that na-hilo hawo (he-see CM.3s) can be translated as "What should he see but..." or "He saw (double take!)...." The participant, be he hero or villain, is temporarily taken aback or off guard. Because of this, he is granted temporary "poor fellow" status.

Another point: notice in the three above examples that it is not the verb phrase to which hawa (or rawo) is attached that hawa is highlighting, but rather the word or phrase following the hawa. In 34, for instance, rawo is PHONOLOGICALLY attached to the clause "they got up (RAWO) the next morning," but its SEMANTIC function is to highlight the following clause,

"they saw the lumber piled up there in their yard." This is almost always the case when hawo is highlighting a twist in the plot: it highlights the word, phrase or clause that occurs after it, not the verb preceding it to which it is phonologically attached. (n. 9) The three above examples can be displayed like this:

<u>Verb with hawo:</u>		<u>Highlighted part of sentence:</u>
34 "They got up (RAWO) early in the morning,	-->	they saw the lumber piled up in the yard."
35 "He saw (HAWO)	-->	a young girl who was sewing."
36 "They heard (RAWO)	-->	the squeak-squeak of a rat indeed caught in their trap."

In each of these examples, the clitic hawo is modifying a verb ("they got up," "he saw" and "they heard"). It is not, however, the verb but rather the phrase or clause following the verb that the hawo is highlighting as a new twist in the plot.

4.3.2 Highlighting a twist in the dialogue. Reported conversations in Uma narratives usually are introduced with a transitive verb like na-'uli' 'he said,' na-pekune' 'he asked,' or ra-tompoi' 'they answered.' In rare instances one of these quote-introducing verbs is modified by a hawo.

37 (a)Na-'uli' ana' to ria bengka -na, "Me- hina -a kuna
he-say child that is buffalo-his INT-desire-I AS.1s

manu' -nu! . . . agina ta- sula'...."
chicken-your better we- trade

(b)Na-'uli' HAWO pue' manu', "Ra- ka- roe -ko mpai'
he-say CM.3s owner chicken they-AFF-angry-you later

totu'a-nu...."
parent-your

(a)'The boy with the buffalo said, 'I desire your chicken!... Why don't we trade....' (b)The owner of the chicken said (HAWO), 'Your parents will get angry at you....'

38 (a)Ra -'uli'-ki, "Ala'-mi manu' kai pai' he'i wo'o doi."
they-say -BEN.3s take-PFT chicken our and here also money

(b)Na-'uli' HAWO, "Uma kuwo mingki' ni- wai'-a doi.
he-say CM.3s not CM.1s necessary you-give-me money

Agina pongkoni'-ku kuwo."
better food -my CM.1s

(a)'They said to him, 'Take our chicken, and here is some money too.'
(b)He said (HAWO), 'You don't (KUWO) have to give me money. It would be better [if you just gave me] food to eat (KUWO).'

When the clitic is used with verbs such as "he said," it usually has a "poor fellow" connotation. But along with this, the hawo also alerts the audience to expect a TWIST IN THE DIALOGUE, that is, to expect the person whose words are thus being introduced to say something other than the normal response. For instance, in example 37, when asked if he wanted to trade his chicken for a buffalo, the boy did not accept or reject the

offer right away. Rather, he hesitantly replied (poor fellow, can you blame him), "Won't your parents get angry at you?" Similarly in 38, when a boy was offered some money, he did not accept it but rather suggested an alternative, saying (the poor fellow), "Oh, you don't have to give me money. Just give me some food." (Note in passing the two ls forms, kuwo, used by the boy himself to emphasize his "poor fellow" status.)

4.3.3 Introducing new background information. Another function of hawo in narrative discourse is to introduce new background information. This function of hawo is most common in clauses beginning with apa' 'because.'

39 Apa' mo- toronaa-i -mi HAWO, bago-na m- penau' mc- dau.
 because INT-maiden -she-PFT CM.3s work-her AF-learn INT-sew

'Because she was already a young woman (HAWO), her work was learning to sew.'

40 Apa' ria HAWO pongko -ra, koni' pai' bau' na-tu'u
 because is CM.3s watchtower-their food and meat he-put

lolo pongko.
 above watchtower

'Because they had a watchtower (HAWO), he put the rice and meat up in the watchtower.'

41 Rata -mi eo to ra-toa', na-'ala' sakaea-na, apa'
 arrive-PFT day REI. 3p-awaited he-take boat -his because

hi wiwi' ue HAWO po'ohaa'-na.
 at edge water CM.3s dwelling-his

'When the awaited day had arrived, he got his boat, because his dwelling-place was at the edge of the river (HAWO).'

Each of the three examples above contains a clause beginning with apa' "because" and containing a hawo. Such clauses are the narrator's way of SLIPPING IN NEW BACKGROUND INFORMATION to the audience. The following expanded translations attempt to bring out this function of the hawo: 39 'Because [--let me slip this new bit of information in here to make the story flow more smoothly] she was already a young woman...'; 40 'Because [--now I haven't mentioned this before, but just let me say] they had a watchtower...'; 41 'So when the awaited day came, he got his boat, because [--as I should explain] he lived at the edge of a river.' The narrator has used hawo to slip in some pertinent background information. The hawo serves almost as an apology--"pardon me for slipping this in here, but you need to know it."

4.3.4 Following bad advice. Another use of hawo in narrative discourse is to highlight an event in which a participant follows the advice or command of someone else to his own detriment. This is clearly a "poor fellow" use of hawo. We, the audience, are aware that the participant is going into a trap or getting the bad end of the deal, but the participant, poor fellow, is not.

42 "Mai -mo -ko, uto', me- hawí' rala sakaea-ta." Hilou
 come-PFT-you boy INT-board in boat -our go

mpu'u -i -mi HAWO.
indeed-he-PFT CM.3s

'"Come here, boy, and get in our boat!" He indeed went (HAWO).'

43 Na- ka- rewa -hi mpu'u -mi HAWO tobine-na hewa to
she-AFF-stuff-LOC indeed-PFT CM.3s wife -his like REL

na-'uli'-ki tomane -na.
he-said -BEN.3s husband-her

'His wife indeed (HAWO) packed up her husband's things, as he had told her to do.'

In example 42 a bunch of jealous older brothers plot their young brother's death. Pretending to be friendly, they invite him to come get in their play boat. He does go (HAWO--poor fellow!), and they overpower him, tie him up and set him adrift. In 43 a man plans to go off into the jungle hunting, and tells his wife to pack up some things for him. She does as he asks (HAWO--poor girl!), and her husband goes off and abandons her for a couple of months. Both of these examples illustrate hawo used to highlight an event in which a participant follows someone's advice and thereby ends up being a "poor fellow."

4.4 Idioms using hawo. Hawo is used in conjunction with a few other clitics in idiomatic ways. The two most common combinations are hawo le and -di hawo. The combination of hawo and the adverb wo'o 'also' is also used idiomatically in rhetorical questions.

4.4.1 The combination hawo le. When hawo is used with the tag clitic le, the resulting combination has the basic function of being agreeable to a suggestion.

44 (a)Na-'uli' rone, "Aku' wo'o-mi kuwo nu- ka'i, bale!"
he-said sparrow I also-PFT CM.1s you-delouse friend

(b)Na-'uli' alo', "Wae -mi HAWO LE."
he-said hornbill thus-PFT CM.3s TAG

(a)'The sparrow said, "You delouse me too now, friend!"

(b)The hornbill said, "All right (HAWO LE)."

45 (a)Na- 'uli' to ana', "Mama, neo' -a ulu nu- patehi.
she-said REL child daddy don't-me first you-kill

Ku-woti' ulu kura pai' kararo ina'...."
I- decorate first pot and rice.basket mommy

(b)Na-'uli' tuama -na, "Hilou-mi HAWO LE, aga neo'
he-said father-her go -PFT CM.3s TAG but dor't

ma- hae!"
INT-long

(a)'The child said, "Don't kill me right away, Daddy. I'll decorate Mommy's cooking pot and rice basket first."

(b) Her father said, "OK, go ahead (HAWO LE). But don't be long!"

The expression wae-mi hawo le (thus-PFT CM.3s TAG) illustrated in example 44 is a common formula used in Uma to agree to a proposition. It can be translated 'All right' or 'OK, I'll agree to that.' One can see the "poor fellow" function of hawo here, because agreeing to something usually requires a soft, humble sort of answer. But in example 45 part (b) the speaker is certainly not giving a soft answer, in spite of the hawo le he uses. The speaker here is intent on killing his own daughter and has begrudgingly agreed to wait a moment while she decorates her mother's kitchen utensils. There is certainly nothing "poor fellow" about this. The combination of hawo and le is merely an idiomatic way of signaling agreement.

4.4.2 The combination -di hawo. The clitic -di is called the contrastive clitic. It is used to signal surprises, mistakes and other things that are contrary to expectation. When -di is followed by hawo, the resulting combination is a polite way to correct mistakes that a person makes accidentally (poor fellow). Note in this example how the speaker uses it to correct his own slip of the tongue.

46 Mai ta-basa fasal tolu ... ayat tolu -DI HAWO.
come we-read chapter three verse three-CTR CM.3s

'Come, let's read chapter three ...[oops I mean] verse three (-DI HAWO).'

4.4.3 The combination wo'o hawo in questions. We have already seen in section 4.2.2 how hawo is used with the adverb wo'o 'also.' In rhetorical questions, this combination wo'o hawo takes on a different function entirely, that of expressing incredulity or surprise.

47 Ra-po-pai WO'O HAWO ta'i bengka?
3p-TD-what also CM.3s dung buffalo

'What [WO'O HAWO] does one want with buffalo dung?'

48 Lunu ngkai apa WO'O HAWO tohe'e-e?
flour from where also CM.3s that -TAG

'Where (WO'O HAWO) is that flour from?'

All questions using wo'o hawo are rhetorical. The use of wo'o hawo in such questions can often be translated by some expression showing incredulity, such as "what in the world?" In example 47, a boy has requested that a noble give him some buffalo dung. The wo'o hawo in the noble's reply shows his surprise: "What IN THE WORLD does one want with buffalo dung?" Similarly in example 48, a woman sees some strange-looking flour near her husband's hut, and with a mixture of surprise and suspicion asks herself, "Where IN THE WORLD is that flour from?"

5. THE ASSERTIVE CLITIC HANA

We turn now to the assertive clitic hana (glossed AS, followed by the

person and number of the form), a clitic that is in some ways the opposite of commiserative hawo. While hawo tends to give a statement a soft, harmonious tone, hana gives it an assertive, bold one.

5.1 The basic function of hana: assertion. The basic function of hana is to ASSERT a statement. Hana causes the element to which it is attached to stick out, to be set off in contrast to something else. In English extra-heavy stress performs much the same function. Compare the Uma clause Hilou-i-mi hana (goes-he-PFT AS.3s) and its English translation 'He already went' (heavy stress on the last word). When hana is attached to the verb phrase, it is the predication that is asserted. In the examples below, the impact of the hana is represented in the English translation by ALL CAPS.

49 Wuu, bohe HANA popada toi, bale!
wow big AS.3s prairie this friend

'Wow, this prairie is BIG, friend!'

50 Ane liku Sihia', mo- laa HANA ngkai rei.
if pool S. INT-far AS.3s from here

'As for Sihia' pool, it is FAR from here.'

51 Ane wae, hilou ku-pali' KUNA.
if thus go I- search.for AS.1s

'If that's the case, I'll go SEARCH for it.'

These three examples illustrate the basic function of hana, to make an assertion. In the above examples, hana is attached to a verb. In many cases, however, hana is encliticized to a noun phrase rather than to a verb. In such cases, hana is used to SET APART or contrast one participant or thing from another.

52 Wulehu' me- 'eka' -mi. Tete' HANA goe' moto, apa'
rat INT-afraid-PFT frog AS.3s glad self because

na-pe-nono -i na-'inca HANA mo- nangu.
he-TD-heart-loc he-know AS.3s INT-swim

'The rat was afraid. The frog (HANA) was actually glad, because he considered the fact that he knew (HANA) how to swim.'

The contrast produced by hana is quite different from the "soft contrast" that hawo sometimes produces. Compare, for instance example 52 above with example 20 in section 4.2. Hawo softly contrasts events or things that are in a harmonious relationship, as in example 20: one girl carried a tall basket, the other girl (HAWO) a flat one. Example 52, however, shows the, "on the other hand" contrast produced by hana: "The rat was afraid. The frog, ON THE OTHER HAND, was actually glad." Hawo conveys a nuance of harmony, while hana conveys opposition or discord.

Compare also example 22 in section 4.2 with 53 below:

53 Jadi', bengka to ra-patehi tohe'e ra-hanga' tolo' woto.
so buffalo REL 3p-kill that 3p-name redeem body

Tinuwu' HANA m- pe-rapi' ka-lompe-a' tuwu' to
 augury AS.3s AF-TD-request NF-good -NF life person

ra-tinuwu-i'.
 3p-augury-LOC

'So, the buffalo that is killed is called a bodily redemption sacrifice. An augury sacrifice (HANA) requests good life [i.e., good fortune] for the one who is being augured for.'

Both example 22 and 53 are from expository texts. Example 22 softly contrasts two things with hawo: "Women (HAWO) do this activity. Men (HAWO) do these activities." Example 53 is from an expository text describing two different kinds of sacrifices. Because these two sacrifices are very different in the eyes of the author, he has contrasted them, not with a hawo but with a hana: The buffalo sacrifice is a redemptive one. The tinuwu' sacrifice ON THE OTHER HAND is to request good fortune.

Even when hana is encliticized to the verb it sometimes has this contrastive function.

54 Bo mate KONA apu -nu, pai' tuwu'-ki HANA apu -na
 since die AS.2s fire-your and live -BEN.3s AS.3s fire-his

manusia', ... iko bengka to na-koni' manusia'.
 man you buffalo REL he-eat man

'Since your fire died (KONA), and man's fire lived for him (HANA), ... you, water buffalo, are the one that will be eaten by man!'

In example 54 the Creator declares the water buffalo to be the loser in a contest, "because your fire died (KONA: on the one hand) and man's fire lived for him (HANA: on the other hand, in contrast to yours)...." The two hana's mark the sharp contrast between the buffalo and the man.

5.2 Hana in the conclusion of folk tales. The Uma people have many folk tales that explain how things got the way they are, for instance, why the ant has a narrow waist, why the crow limps, etc. Quite often the conclusion or moral of such a story is marked by hana, for this is a clause that is being asserted as true. Some examples:

55 Toe HANA pai' mo-langa wuroko'-na korao'-e.
 that AS.3s why INT-long neck -its heron -TAG

'That's (HANA) why the heron has a long neck.'

56 Toe pai' bula -ra RANA to Rampi', apa'
 that why white-they AS.3p people R. because

na-ka- hepi -i' ra'a nunu' ntina to hi rala wula.
 3s-AFF-break.off-LOC branch banyan main REL at in moon

'That's why the Rampi people are white (RANA), because they were under the branch that broke of the big banyan tree that is in the moon.'

5.3 Hana in subordinate clauses. Hana is sometimes found in subordinate clauses, usually in reason clauses.

57 Apa' bohe HANA alo' ... uma muntu' kutu to na-tilo'
because big AS.3s hornbill not only louse that he-peck

hante woto rone na-po-i -'ome -i'.
with body rice.bird he-TD-at-swallow-LOC

'Because the hornbill is big (HANA)...it wasn't just the louse he pecked up, but he swallowed it along with the body of the rice bird.'

58 Ba oha -ra -mo RANA mpo-wili'
maybe tired-they-PFT AS.3p AF- take.care.of

minia -ra, toe pai' ra- 'uli'-ki ...
child.in.law-their that reason they-say -BEN.3s

'Maybe because they were tired (RANA) of taking care of their daughter-in-law, that's why they said to her....'

The first clause of example 57 is a subordinate clause. It is also the first time the narrator has mentioned how big the hornbill is. While syntactically this clause is subordinate, giving the reason for what happened, the hana asserts the truth of the statement, giving it the emphasis of a main clause: "Because the hornbill is big--and by the way he IS BIG...." Likewise in example 58 the purpose of the hana is simply to assert what is said in the subordinate clause: "Maybe because they were TIRED of taking care of their daughter-in-law...."

5.4 Hana in questions. In a question, the clitic combination consisting of the contrastive clitic -di and the tag -e conveys the idea of curiosity (see Martha Martens 1987). But when assertive hana is added to this clitic combination, the resulting combination -di hana -e conveys the idea of surprise or shock. The following three examples use the 3s or 3p forms, hana and rana.

59 Napa-DI HANA to ng-kamu tii' -ku-E!?
what-CTR AS.3s REL AF-grab breast-my-TAG

'What (-DI HANA) is that grabbing my breast (-E)!?'

60 Hema-DI HANA -E toronaa to subo' toe
who -CTR AS.3s-TAG maiden REL pretty that

lau -E!?
indefinite-TAG

'Who (-DI HANA-E) is that pretty maiden over there (-E)!?'

61 Hema-ra -DA RANA tetu-ra tumai -E!?
who -they-CTR AS.3p that-they come.here-TAG

'Who (-DA RANA) are those people coming here (-E)!?'

The three above examples are all questions in which the speaker is shocked or greatly surprised, and the hana along with the two other clitics -di and -e convey this emotion in Uma. Typically the clitics -di and hana follow the question word (comment) and the -e is found attached to the topic, as in examples 59 and 61 above. Occasionally an additional -e is also found with the question word, as in example 60. (Note in example 61 that the clitic -di has the form -da due to vowel harmony with the clitic pronoun -ra 'they'.)

The 2s and 2p forms kona and koina are also used in questions, similar to the 3s and 3p forms hana and rana above. But since they address the second person, the questions so formed often have a more confronting or accosting tone.

62 Ngkai apa -DA -ko KOINA-E!?
from where-CTR-you AS.2p-TAG

'Where (-DA KOINA) have you been (-E)!?'

63 Hina'ee uto'-e!! Napa-DI KONA pai' nu- 'ala' toi -E!?
heavens boy -TAG what-CTR AS.2s reason you-take this-TAG

To- mate HANA le!
person-dead AS.3s TAG

'Heavens, boy! What (-DI KONA) did you take this for (-E)!? This is a corpse!! (HANA)'

64 "Oja' -a KUNA hi humi'!" "Beiwa-m1 KONA ka hi
refuse-I AS.1s at edge how -PFT AS.2s DP in

laintongo'-nu -E, bo kita' ho- hore m- pe-rapai
middle -your-TAG since we(in) kEDUP-each AF-TD-approach

pelengka' wadi ta-po-turu- i -E!?"
prop.root just we-TD-sleep-LOC-TAG

"I refuse (KUNA) [to sleep] on the edge!" "How (KONA) are you going to be in the middle (-E), since we are each going to go up and sleep between different prop roots (-E)!?"

In example 62 the speaker has come upon some people who have been missing in the jungle for several days. His question "Where (-DA...KOINA) have you been!?" is both real and rhetorical; that is, it both seeks information and expresses surprise or reproof. Example 63 is perhaps more rhetorical: an astonished father accosts his son (note the "-di kona...-e") for hiding a corpse in the house. The final example, 64, is a conversation between three girls spending the night in the jungle. One girl is scared and wants to sleep between her two companions. She refuses to sleep on the edge -- note how she asserts this with the 1s form kuna. Her companions, however, retort: "How (KONA) do you intend to be in the middle (-E), since we are each going to sleep between different prop roots (-E)!?" This example lacks the contrastive clitic -di, and so does not express surprise/shock but simple reproof. In each of the three above examples the 2s or 2p form of hana gives a sense of confrontation to the question.

5.5 Idioms using hana. Hana is used in a few idiomatic expressions. Since the meaning of these expressions cannot be analyzed morpheme by morpheme, it is difficult to say just what the function of hana in them is.

65 Mo- apa -i -mi HANA.
INT- what -3s -PFT AS.3s

66 Ta- po- pai KONA!
we- TD- do.what AS.2s

Both examples 65 and 66 are idiomatic expressions that cannot be literally translated. 65 is used to respond to a request and means, "Sure, no problem. I'll be glad to help you out." Example 66 is an expression used to console or excuse someone who has failed to carry out his task due to extenuating circumstances: "Well, that's all right, what else could you/we do?" Note the unusual non-agreement of the 1+2 verb prefix ta- "we (inclusive)" and the 2s form kona.

A third idiomatic phrase using hana is the simple expression Napa kona? (what AS.2s). For example, in response to a husband's question, "What are we going to eat?" a wife may respond "Napa kona?" meaning "Yes, what indeed? [You know there's not a speck of food in the house!]" The napa kona throws the question back into the face of the questioner.

5.6 Unusual instances of agreement. The conjugated clitics, hawo and hana, usually agree in person and number with some pronoun in the clause. But occasionally they agree not with any pronoun in the clause but rather with some participant in the situation. This is especially true of hana. Note in the following examples the form of hana that is used.

67 Leta'-a KONA! Wori' nyala to ku-pekiri!
sleep-I AS.2s many kinds REL I- think

'Asleep, am I (KONA)! [or, more idiomatically: "So, you thought I was asleep, did you?!"] I was thinking about many things!'

68 Ra- ka- roe -ko mpai' totu'a-nu, apa' bengka KONA!
they-AFF-angry-you later parent-your because buffalo AS.2s

'"Your parents will get angry at you, because buffalo (KONA)."' [more idiomatically: "...because that is a buffalo that you are trading off."]

69 Aku'-e, eo Mingku ba eo ntani'-na hibalia wadi KUNA!
I -TAG day Sunday or day other -its same just AS.1s

'As for me, Sunday or other days, they're just the same (KUNA).'

In example 67 above, the 2s kona agrees with the participant being addressed. It has an accosting flavor to it (see the idiomatic translation), as is so often the case with the second person forms of hana. Example 68 illustrates the extreme kind of abbreviation often found in conversation. In this story a boy with a buffalo and a boy with a chicken are talking about trading. The final clause, apa' bengka kona 'because a buffalo KONA' is hard to interpret apart from this context: "because [I assert that] it is a buffalo[that you are wanting to trade off]." In the final example above, 69, the 1s kuna gives the sentence a bold, almost rude tone: "Sunday or other days, they're all the same TO ME!" In each of these examples we see a form of hana that is unusual in its agreement -- or non-agreement -- with the pronouns in the clause.

6. DESCRIPTION OF TAWO AND TANO

The two other emotive clitics are tawo and tano. Phonologically they have a shape similar to hawo and hana (as a matter of fact tawo is homophonous with the 1+2 form of hawo, although there is probably no connection between the two). Structurally they are like hawo and hana in that they fill the same slot in the verb phrase formula. They are also functionally similar to hawo and hana in that they report an emotional or subjective evaluation of the speaker. Unlike hawo and hana, however, tawo and tano are not polymorphic and are not conjugated.

Both tawo and tano are used in circumstances where the speaker suddenly becomes aware of something and makes an evaluation. Tawo is labeled the insight clitic (INS), and tano the speculative (or wondering) clitic (SPEC). To accurately convey the meaning of these clitics, it is often necessary to use extra-heavy stress on a particular word in the English translation (marked by underlining below):

- 70 Tukang kayu-i TAWO tuama -nu.
 expert wood-he INS father-your

'Why, your father must be a carpenter!'

- 71 Aa, mo- rasi' -a TAWO tohe'e lau.
 Ah, INT-lucky -I INS that indefinite

'Ah, I must be lucky today!'

The clitic tawo indicates that the speaker has just gained an INSIGHT or become aware of something from what he is presently observing. An English sentence containing "Why,... must..." is close to the meaning of tawo, such as in 70, "Why, your father must be a carpenter" (said by a man who saw my father planing a board). Example 71 was spoken by a boy out hunting who had just spied some game. The tawo in his statement marks his evaluation of what he has observed: "Well, look at that! I must be lucky today!"

Tano is very similar in meaning to tawo, but shows less certainty on the speaker's part. Like tawo, tano is used when the speaker has a sudden flash of insight from what he is observing. But with tano, the speaker is still unsure about his insight--he is suspicious that such-and-such may be true, or he is speculating that such-and-such is true, but he is not certain.

- 72 Aa, na-koni' mpu'u TANO doo -ku-e!
 Ah, he-eat indeed SPEC companion-my-TAG

'Ah, so maybe he really did eat my companion!'

- 73 Toe TANO koni'-na -e, pai' uma-i ng-keni once wori'
 that SPEC food -his-TAG and not-he AF-carry rice much

ngkai bola' -e!
 from village-TAG

'Oh, so maybe that's his food, which explains why he doesn't carry much rice from town.'

In example 72 the speaker (a tiger) did not at first believe that the goat had really eaten his fellow-tiger. But when he saw blood on the

goat's beard, he began to wonder: "Hmm, it looks like maybe he really did eat my companion!" Likewise in example 73 a woman has finally discovered what she suspects may be the food supply her husband uses when he is out in the jungle. She wonders out loud to herself, "Oh, so maybe that is what he uses for food!"

A few miscellaneous notes about tawo and tano: 1. Because these two clitics are used to express a speaker's reaction to a specific situation, they are found exclusively in dialogue rather than in narratives, descriptions, procedures or other kinds of texts. 2. In some people's speech, both of these clitics have final glottals: tawo' and tano'. 3. And it is possible (though a bit unnatural) to construct a clause in Uma which contains two emotive clitics, namely commiserative hawo and insight tawo.

74 Oo, mate wo'o-mo -ko KOWO TANO, ina'!
Oh, die also-PFT-you CM.2s INS mommy

'Oh, you must have died too, Mommy!'

In spite of this, I think that all four of the emotive clitics are best considered to be members of the same grammatical slot. In the above example, the kowo (2s of hawo) is functioning as an idiomatic unit with the adverb wo'o to create the composite meaning "you as well as someone else" (see section 4.2.2). The tawo, on the other hand, functions to modify the entire clause, or at least the entire comment; it expresses the sudden insight of the speaker: "[I conclude from what I observe that] you have died too, Mommy!" So the two emotive clitics in example 74 are functioning on different levels.

In passing, note in the above examples that the tawo or tano is attached to the COMMENT, thus separating the COMMENT from the TOPIC. For instance:

	<u>COMMENT</u>	<u>TOPIC</u>
70:	He is a carpenter - TAWO	your father
72:	He ate him - TANO	my companion
73:	That is - TANO	his food

7. CONCLUSION

7.1 Are Uma emotive clitics really clitics? As stated in section 2, there are four classes of clitics that can follow the verb in Uma. This paper has examined members of just one class, the emotive clitics. I consider these four emotives, commiserative hawo, assertive hana, insight tawo and speculative tano to be clitics. But in what sense are they clitics, and what is the definition of a clitic?

I do not consider the notion of clitics to be a "theoretical primitive" or a grammatical category somewhere between affixes and words (Zwicky 1985: 285, 290). The term clitic is simply a useful way to describe a phenomenon common in many languages in which a morpheme is affixed to a phrase or clause rather than to a word or root, or when a grammatical word is phonologically bound.

Consider the two conjugated clitics, hawo and hana. They are morphemically complex and in this respect seem more word-like than affix-like. Structurally they fill a slot in the verb phrase that is parallel to the suffix-like morpheme -mi "perfective" on the one hand, and to independent words such as the temporal adverb ngone "earlier" on the other. Phonologically hawo and hana cannot carry stress or occur in isolation; they must lean on a preceding word. I consider hawo and hana clitics because they are PHONOLOGICALLY bound, unstressed, and cannot

occur in isolation, but SYNTACTICALLY they function as constituents of a phrase (see Pike & Pike 1977, p. 113).

I note in passing that hawo and hana meet some of the tests that Zwicky 1985 gives for clitics: they are accentually dependent (Zwicky section 2.2); they are bound and cannot occur in isolation (2.3.1); they are strictly ordered with respect to adjacent morphemes (2.3.4).

It is true that hawo and hana have some word-like properties: they are polymorphemic -- a rarity for clitics -- and they function as the constituents of phrases rather than of words. But this does not mean that they cannot be clitics. Klavans 1985 considers construction with phrases rather than words the touchstone for clitics as opposed to affixes (mentioned in Zwicky 1985, section 2.3.3).

7.2 The primary meaning of hawo and hana. What is the primary meaning of hawo and hana? This question is easier to answer for hana than for hawo. The primary meaning of hana is ASSERTION/CONTRAST. Broadly speaking, when hana is attached to verbs it asserts the truth of a statement. When attached to nouns, it contrasts one thing or participant from another. In all of the constructions in which hana is used, this ASSERTION/-CONTRAST function is fairly obvious.

But how about hawo? Is there some semantic thread that ties together all the various uses that we have observed for it? To me the primary meaning of hawo seems to be commiseration, that is, to elicit pity. This is the meaning apparent in its most common usages, to mark the "poor fellow," to make apologies, excuses, requests, to soften commands, etc. (Section 4:1.) But in other contexts hawo is used to mark a "soft contrast"; and when it is used with the adverb wo'o 'also' or moto 'self,' its function is to mildly emphasize or highlight a participant (section 4.2). And in the context of narrative discourse, one function of hawo is to highlight a twist in the plot. How are these functions related to the primary meaning of commiseration? Maybe there exists some semantic connection that ties together all the various functions of hawo. Personally I believe that there is, although I think that it would require a native Uma speaker -- and a gifted one at that -- to express just what that connection is. (n. 10)

For a long time I was troubled because I could not find a single semantic core that united all the uses of hawo. But in the midst of my trouble I began to realize that this, after all, is the way language works. One clitic, used in a variety of contexts and constructions, takes on a variety of different nuances. What, for instance, is the common semantic thread that ties together the uses of the English word "have" in "I have your book," "I have read it," "I have to go," and "I'll have a taste"? Wierzbicka 1982 (p. 789) summarizes well this propensity of language to put one device to multiple uses:

This, I suggest, is how morphology works: a versatile grammatical exponent can serve a large number of different meanings -- not on its own but in collaboration with other indicators, such as the semantic and syntactic category of the nouns and verbs occurring in a given construction. At the same time, the different meanings served by the same morphological exponent are not disparate -- are not widely and unpredictably different from each other; on the contrary, they are usually very closely related and have a common core, i.e., a partial semantic invariant.

7.3 Summary. This paper has examined the forms and functions of two enclitics found in Uma, commiserative hawo and assertive hana. Of the many enclitic forms that are used in Uma, these two are particularly noteworthy

in that they are conjugated for person and number. The peculiar meanings and functions of these two clitics are also noteworthy; they are a good example of the way languages put one construction to work to perform a variety of functions.

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. Also, in writing examples in this paper I have followed Uma orthographic custom and have written emotive clitics, tag clitics and the two-syllable pronoun clitics (kai and koi) as separate words rather than hyphenating them. 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 his wife have carried out research on the Uma language intermittently since September 1980. Special thanks goes to Dr. Charles Peck, who consulted with me almost daily during the final stages of research and 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 and talking about the meaning of these clitics.

2. The Uma verb phrase and its nucleus are a bit more complicated than the summary given in section 2. There is, for instance, a class of special post-verbal adverbs that are phonologically bound to the verb word and thus are part of the verb phrase nucleus, but this and other complications are not pertinent to the discussion in this paper. Cf. Martens (to appear) "Notes on Uma Verbs" for a further description of the Uma verb phrase on this and other points.

3. Cf. Martha Martens 1987 for a description of these tag clitics. She calls them "conversational clitics."

4. I have striven to use native-authored texts, whether oral or written, rather than elicited data as the basis for my analysis. Nearly all the examples in this paper are from folk tales or expository texts on Uma culture.

5. I have not yet come up with any solid theory about the historical development of these two clitics in Uma. To my knowledge, no forms similar to hawo or hana are found in any of the other Kaili-Pamona languages, other than Moma (also known as Kulawi). They are not found in Kaili (Don Barr, personal communication), in Pamona (also known as Bare'e--Herman Rigo, personal communication) or in Lindu (also known as Tado--Esser 1964:37). Esser also notes that the presence of hawo and hana in Moma is probably due to influence from Uma (1964:37).

Note that the root -na of hana is identical to the 3s possessive -na. This could be a coincidence, or it could reflect the origins of this particular clitic. Perhaps hana developed from an independent pronoun suffixed with 3s -na for emphasis. If this hypothesis is correct, there must have been a construction in proto-language from which Uma descended something like *Rata-im HI'A-NA. (arrive-he-PFT he-3s), meaning, "He arrived, that one." Eventually the hi'a-na became shortened and encliticized to ha-na. In present-day Uma, independent pronouns can be suffixed

with the 3s -na only when they are the complement of a verb such as "to know":

Uma	ku-'inca-i	ka-hi'a-na.	'I didn't know that it
not	I- know -LOC	DP-he -3s	was he.'

I have no other hypothesis on the origin of hana, and none at all on the origin of hawo. Its root, wo, resembles the adverb wo'o "also, again," but I doubt hawo developed from that.

6. Esser 1964:37 once translated hawo as kasian (sic) "what a pity!"

7. Note in example 7 (and in example 2) that the clitic pronoun kai "We" is contracted to -ka before the commiserative clitic kaiwo. This is an obligatory contraction. Note the same phenomenon with the 2p pronoun in example 62 (koi koina = ko koina) (Cf. also Esser 1965, p. 36 footnotes 7, 8, and 9.)

8. This use of hawo to highlight a twist in the plot is stylistic, that is, it is found more in the speech and writing styles of some Umas than in others. Most of the examples in this paper come from the writings of one prolific Uma author, Mr. Herman Rigo of Kantewu. In a collection of narrative texts authored by Mr. Rigo, I calculate that 16% of the 3s hawo forms and 46% of the 3p rawo forms are used to highlight a twist in the plot.

9. Cf. Klavans 1935 for a theoretical discussion of how clitics can phonologically be attached to one element but syntactically belong to another element.

10. Before deciding on the label "commiserative" for hawo, I called it "unassertive," because it is in some ways the opposite of the assertive clitic hana. At one time I also toyed with the idea of labeling hawo the PLAY-DOWN clitic and hana the PLAY-UP clitic. Hawo has the function of playing things down; that is, it indicates that someone is in a humble or pitiable state, or that something is not after all a serious matter. Hana on the other hand, plays things up; that is, it asserts a statement or sets something off in contrast from other things.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AF	actor focus prefix (<u>mpo-</u> , <u>mpe-</u> , <u>ng-</u> , <u>m-</u>)
AFF	affected prefix (<u>ka-</u> , <u>ngka-</u>)
AS	assertive clitic (<u>hana</u> and its conjugated forms)
AT	attemptive prefix (<u>pe-</u>)
BEN	benefactive clitic (<u>-ki</u> , sometimes <u>-ka</u> or <u>-ko</u>)
CM	commiserative clitic (<u>hawo</u> and its conjugated forms)
CTR	contrastive clitic (<u>-di</u> , sometimes <u>-da</u>)
DP	dependent verb marker (<u>ka-</u>)
INC	incompletive clitic (<u>-pi</u> , sometimes <u>-pa</u>)
INS	insight clitic (<u>tawo</u>)
INT	intransitive prefix (<u>mo-</u> , <u>me-</u> , <u>ma-</u>)
LOC	locative suffix (<u>-i</u> , <u>hi</u>)
NF	noun-forming affix (<u>ka--a</u> , <u>po-</u> , <u>mpo-</u>)
NV	non-volitional prefix (<u>te-</u>)
p	plural
PFT	perfective clitic (<u>-mi</u> , sometimes <u>-mo</u> and <u>-ma</u>)
REDUP	reduplication (of entire word or of first syllable)
REL	relative pronoun (<u>to</u>)
REPET	repetitive prefix (<u>kaka-</u>)
s	singular
SPEC	speculative clitic (<u>tano</u>)
TAG	tag clitic (<u>e</u> , <u>e'</u> , <u>le</u> , <u>le'</u>)
TD	transitive derivational prefix (<u>po-</u> , <u>pe-</u> , <u>pa-</u>)
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
1+2	first person inclusive

