#### NEGATION IN SEKO PADANG

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Seko Padang is a language spoken in South and Central Sulawesi by about 5000 speakers. Negation in Seko Padang employs two preclitics, ha= and da=. Ha= is used most frequently to negate verbs and in derived forms provides both the existential and constituent negators. Da= negates verbs in conditional clauses, relative clauses and dependent nominalization constructions. Primarily ha= is used in negating indefinites and quantifiers.

#### 0 INTRODUCTION

Negation in Seko Padang makes use of two negator preclitics: ha= and da=. The first section of this paper presents the unmarked form ha= as well as a number of negators derived from ha=. The second section describes the more restricted usage of marked da= and several da= derivations. Negation of quantifiers and indefinites is presented in the third section.

# 0.1 Background of Seko Padang

With about 5000 speakers, Seko Padang is the largest language group of those in the Seko language family, which is in the South Sulawesi Stock. The other languages in this family are Seko Tengah, Panasuan, Budong-budong and possibly Talondo' (Laskowske and Laskowske 1987, Valkama 1987). The geographic area referred to as Seko Padang is located in South Sulawesi just south of the border with Central Sulawesi near the headwaters of the Karama (Betue) River. About half of the Seko Padang speakers now live in Central Sulawesi.

Previous literature primarily about Seko includes two articles about their culture written in 1920 (A.C. Kruyt, J. Kruyt) and the results of our language survey published in 1987 (Laskowske and Laskowske). Mills (1975) and Grimes and Grimes (1987) included Seko wordlists in their works about Sulawesi languages. Previous researchers had classified Seko as falling within the South Sulawesi Stock (Group) without presenting any evidence to support their claims.

#### 1 THE NEGATOR HA=

 ${\it Ha}=$  is the unmarked, widely used negator in Seko Padang (SP) grammar.  ${\it Ha}=$  is used to negate verbs, as presented in section 1.1. A derived form  ${\it hari}:$  is the SP negative existential and simple negative response to questions (1.2). Derived form  ${\it handei}:$  is the SP constituent negator (1.3).  ${\it Ha}=$  in combination with person markers produces negative commands (1.4).

We are calling ha= and da= clitics because while they are phonologically bound to the words they negate, syntactically they function on a phrase level. There may potentially be other clitics inserted between the negator and the negated word, particularly person marker clitics. They also attach to a variety of constituent types which generally function as verbs, including verbs, adjectives, pronouns and gerunds. As preclitics, these have features of both categories proposed by Dahl -- syntactic negation and morphological negation (1979). Seko Padang exhibits the difficulty Dahl notes in assigning negation in some languages to one or the other of these two categories. At this point, we will call it syntactic negation.

### 1.1 *Ha*= Negating Verbs

Ha= preceding a verb in Seko Padang negates the verb. This occurs with intransitive, transitive, stative verbs and verbalized pronouns.

With intransitive verbs:

- (1)a. Ku= m-anne:. 1 - Intr-eat 'I'm eating.'
- b. Ha= m-anne:=ka'.
  neg-Intr-eat -1
  'I'm not eating.'
- (2)a. U= mu-tole'? 2-Intr-cigarette 'Do you smoke?'
- b. Ha= mu-tole' =ko=do?
  neg-Intr-cigarette- 2-2V
  'Don't you smoke?'

Notice that the ha= negator is accompanied by a change in the person marking of the subject. Seko Padang has several sets of person-marking clitics and the co-occurrence of these varies with positive verbs and with their negative counterparts.

Set A always occurs preverbally. Set A is used to mark the subject of both intransitive and transitive clauses. It also marks an object if the object is fronted to preverbal position ((5) below). Set B always occurs postverbally. It marks the subject in negative intransitive clauses, as seen above. It also marks the object in unmarked transitive clauses and has several other functions.

Neither Set A nor Set B fit neatly into an absolutive-ergative system nor a nominative-accusative system. The other two sets of

person markers in SP are a possessive suffix and a veridical postclitic set. See Appendix B for a list of the sets. Throughout this paper, we have glossed preverbal person markers only as 1, 2 or 3; it should assumed that they are from Set A. Postverbal person markers glossed 1, 2 or 3 if they are from Set B. If a person marker is from the possessive or the veridical set, the number will be followed by the gloss poss or V, respectively, to distinguish it from the Set B person markers.

With transitive verbs:

- (4)a. Ku=isang kona-na. 1 -know name-3poss 'I know his name.'
- b. Ha= ku=isang=i kona-na. neg-1 -know -3 name-3poss 'I don't know his name.'
- (5)a. Ku=na=anu. 1 - 3-bother
- b. Ha= na=anu =ka'. neq- 3-bother-1s 'He bothered me.' 'He didn't bother me.'

Notice that negated transitive verbs retain the Set A subject preclitic, and that the person marker following the verb agrees with the object of the transitive verb, not with the subject as it did with intransitive verbs. The fronted object construction in (5a) is very common in SP.

Negated stative verbs and verbalized pronouns are like intransitives in the person markers they occur with.

Stative verbs:

- (6)a. Ku= ma-lompo:. 1 -Intr-fat 'I'm fat.'
- b. Ha= ma-lompo=ka'. neg-Intr-fat -1 'I'm not fat.'
- (7)a. U=balanto=do. 2- tall -2V 'You're tall.'
- b. Ha= balanto=ko. neq-tall-2 'You're not tall.'
- (8)a. Belo:. good
  - b. ha= belo=i. neg-good-3 '(That's) good.' 'It's not good.'

Verbalized pronouns:

- (9)a. Koi:=ko to ung l-um-ao. I -1V that Rel Intr-go 'It was I that went.'
  - Ha= koi:=ka'=ko to ung l-um-ao. neg- I -1 -1V that Rel Intr-go 'It's not I that went.'
- (10)a. Ku=konai dio ti ung l-um-ao ma i Semarang. 1 -think you that Rel Intr-go go loc Semarang 'I thought it was you that went to Semarang.'

- b. Ha= dio=ko ti ung l-um-ao?
  neg-you- 2 that Rel Intr-go
  'Wasn't it you that went?'
- (11) Ha= dea =i Ina-na Lena ung mang-anne: neg-he/she/it-3 mother-3poss Lena Rel Tr-eat

dempa-mu. dessert-2poss

'It wasn't Lena's mother who ate your dessert.'

Koi, dio and dea are the free-standing pronouns for first, second and third person singular. =ko in (9) is from the veridical set of person markers.

# 1.2 Existential Negator hari:

The negative particle ha= combines with the existential verb ara "to be" and Set B third person marker postclitic =i to form the most commonly used negative word in Seko Padang: hari:. (The form hari: from ha+ara+i is regular; the first vowel in two vowel sequences at morpheme junctures is frequently deleted. The final length is a trace left by the deletion of the root-final a.) Hari: is the Seko Padang negative existential "there isn't" as well as the common negative response to questions.

- (12) Hari: uhai.
  neg.is water
  'There isn't any water.'
- (13) Hari: man-talo Ama-na Liu'.
  neg.is Tr-defeat father-3poss Liu'.
  'There wasn't anyone who defeated Liu's father.'
- (14) Ala: mi-lanto, hari: na=ola:.
  would Intr-go.up neg.is 3 -go.through
  '(She) wanted to go up, but there was no way for her
  to go.'

Hari: is the simple negative answer to a yes-no question:

- (15) Q. Ha= asa'=ko=se?
   neg-tired- 2-pl
   'Aren't you (pl.) tired?'
  - A. Hari:.
    'No.'
- (16) Q. U=one: =do i antee?
   2-there -2V loc here
   'Are you over here (near me)?'

A. Hari:. Ki= one: =ka i antii sambika-na.

No. 1plex-there-1Vplex loc there side -3poss
'No. We're here (near you) on this side.'

Hari: is also a general negative reply to questions asking for information:

- (17) Q. U=ma i aka? 2-go loc what 'Where are you going?'
  - A. Hari:.
    No
    'Nowhere (in particular).'
- (18) Q. Aka ti u=baha?
  what that 2-carry
  'What is that you're carrying?'
  - A. Hari:.
    'Nothing.'
- (19) Q. Aka?
  'What? (was that you said?)'
  - A. Hari:.
    'Nothing.'

In examples (17)-(19), the initiator is indeed asking for information, and the person being questioned is going somewhere, carrying something, or said something, but the negative response is an acceptable way of saying 'Never mind', 'None of your business', or 'I'm not interested in repeating it'.

Seko Padang forms a 'neither...nor' construction by using hari:...hari: ho.

(20) Hari: bau: hari: ho kinanne:. neg.is meat neg.is also rice 'There is neither meat nor rice.'

[kinanne: is derived from kanne: 'eat' and the nominalizing infix -in-and refers to one's food staple.]

Hari: combines with hura: 'anymore' resulting in hari: hura: 'there isn't anymore'. When used with a noun, hari: hura: precedes the noun.

(21) Hari: hura: hea' ma-pasi.
neg.is anymore rice Ajr-hulled
'There isn't anymore milled rice.'

When used with a verb, ha= negates the following verb, the Set B person marker follows the verb and hura: follows the person marker. Occasionally hura: occurs before the person marker, perhaps for emphasis as in (23).

- (22) Ha= karaka=i hura:.
  neg-cry -3 anymore
  'She's not crying anymore.'
- (23) Ha= karaka hura=i.
  neg-cry anymore-3
  'She's not crying anymore.'
- (24) Ha= na=ita=i=da hura: ti rapu Iaho.
  neg- 3-see-3-3V anymore the clan above
  'The Upper Clan doesn't exist anymore.'

 ${\it Ha}=$  in combination with verbs and  $={\it mo}$  completive aspect marker and Set B person markers produces the Seko Padang incompletive verb aspect. Thus, the completion of the action or state is negated, the action has not yet been done or accomplished.

- - b. Ha= mi-lihe=ma'.
    neg-Intr-rest-1Cmp
    'I haven't rested yet.'
- (26)a. Ku=ala=mo. 1-get-Cmp 'I got it already.'
  - b. Ha=ku=ala=mi.
    neg-1-get-3Cmp
    'I haven't gotten it yet.'

When the completive marker combines with the Set B person markers, there is some coalescence of phonemes and the forms ma', mo:, and mi result for first and second person singular, and third person respectively. Notice that the Set B postclitics refer to the subject in the intransitive clause (25b), but to the object in the transitive clause (26b).

When this incompletive aspect is used with the verb ara 'to be', the result is the frozen incompletive form: harami 'not yet'. This is most often used as a response to a question containing the completive aspect =mo.

- (27) Q. U= m-anne:=mo? 2-Intr-eat -Cmp 'Have you eaten?'
  - A. Harami.
    neg.is.3Cmp
    'Not yet.'
- (28) Q. L-um-ao=mo? Intr-go-Cmp 'Has he gone?'

A. Harami. neg.is.3Cmp 'Not yet.'

## 1.3 Constituent Negator: handei:

 ${\it Ha}=$  combines with the third person free pronoun  ${\it dea}$  and third person Set B postclitic =i to become  ${\it handei}:$  'is not he/she/it'. (The n is a transitional nasal stop homorganic to the following stop, the  ${\it a}$  has been deleted but has left a trace in lengthening the final i.)  ${\it Handei}:$  is the SP negator for nouns. Notice the fact that the  ${\it ha}=$  negator is used for both verbs and nouns in Seko Padang, albeit in a derived form for nouns.

There are a number of South Sulawesi languages which at least partly follow this pattern, while many Sulawesi languages have a completely distinct word for constituent negation. Rampi, Tae', Duri, Bambam, Konjo and Bugis languages all have a negator preclitic used with at least some verbs and the same or similar preclitic combined with third person singular marker to form the constituent negator. Uma and Muna have completely different forms for the existential and constituent negators, while Konjo and Bugis have another existential negator, dissimilar to the preclitic noted above, which is not obviously related to the constituent negator. (See Appendix C for a chart of these negators.)

- (29) Handei:=da kannang.
  is.not -3V drum
  'It's not a drum.'
- (30) Husin handei:=ko mantadi-ku.
  Husin is.not -1V sibling-1poss
  'Husin is not my brother.'
- (31) Handei: ung kadetu ni-pu -sua:.
  is.not Rel wicked GF-XIntr-say
  'It's not something slanderous that's being said.'

The postclitics =da and =ko are from the veridical set of person markers. This set affirms the veracity of what is being said, sometimes neutrally, other times emphatically. These postclitics frequently co-occur with handei:, particularly where handei: is negating an incorrect supposition.

#### 1.4 Negative Commands

Ha= combines with Set A person markers to produce prohibitions or negative commands. Ha= combined with the second person marker =du always means 'Don't!'.

- (32) Ha= u=lono'. neg-2-lie 'Don't lie.'
- (33) Hadu u= mi=pate-i =do=se. don't 2- 1-kill-Sc-2V-pl 'Don't kill me!'

The following example compares a negative statement with a negative command.

- (34)a. Ha= mu=tole'=ko=do rake. neg-intr-smoke-2 -2V really 'You really don't smoke.'
  - b. Hadu mu=tole'.
    Don't intr-smoke
    'Don't smoke!'

 ${\it Ha}=$  with the general person marker  ${\it ni}=$  'one' produces the form  ${\it hani}$ . This is generally heard either alone as a simple 'Don't!' or with the second person veridical marker  ${\it do: Hani do!}$  'Don't you (do that)!'. In contrast to the forms above, there is generally not an accompanying verb.

#### 2 THE NEGATOR DA=

Da= is the marked form of Seko Padang negation and functions to negate three different constructions: 1. conditional clauses (2.1), 2. relative clauses or cleft constructions (2.2) and 3. dependent nominalizations (2.3). There are also several negative words derived from da= which will be presented in section 2.4.

### 2.1 In Conditional Clauses

These are generally introduced by the conjunction i 'if, when' or moi 'even if'.

(35) I da= ni-pake =i hura: ti balulang, if neg-GF-employ-3 anymore the water-buffalo

ni-holi=mo.
GF-free-Cmp

'When the water buffalo aren't needed any longer, they are set free.'

- (36) I da= m-anne:=ma', ha= l-um-ao=ma'.
  if neg-Intr-eat -1Cmp neg-Intr-go-1Cmp
  'If I haven't eaten yet, I won't go yet.'
- (37) Ha= belo=i ni-giling ti hea' i da= malo=mi.
  neg-good-3 GF-mill the rice if neg-dry -3Cmp
  'It's not good to mill rice if it's not dry yet.'

Occasionally, people will use ha= in hypothetical constructions. If ha= is used, the i conjunction is almost always replaced by ina. If da= is used, this rarely occurs. The following examples are both grammatical but the second, and without the optional -na, is preferred.

- (38) Ina ha= ku=isang=i ti kona-na, ku=ping-kutik=ing.
  if neg- 1-know- 3 the name-3poss 1-Intr-ask -Caus
  'If I don't know his name, I'll ask.'
- (39) I(na) da=ku=isang=i ti kona-na, ku=ping-kutik=ing.
  if neg- 1-know- 3 the name-3poss 1-Intr-ask -Caus
  'If I don't know his name, I'll ask.'

[At this point in our morphological analysis, we are most satisfied calling the =ing postclitic Causative, recognizing that it has a Benefactive property as well.]

#### 2.2 In Relative Clauses

(40) Hedi ti ung da= mi-lalang.
here the Rel neg-Intr-spicy
'Here's the one that's not spicy.'

While the SP relative conjunction ung is present in the above example, it is not obligatory. The use of da= already marks the relative clause.

- (41) Hedi ti da= mi-lalang.
  here the neg-Intr-spicy
  'Here's the one that's not spicy.'
- (42) Ku=kapelai mene ta Nobed da= d-um-oi' -moi'.
  1-want.to like the Nobed neg-Intr-bathe-redup
  'I want to be like Nobed who never takes a bath.'

(Ta is the definite article used when referring to a person's name.)

Similar to the relative clause is a cleft construction following the question word aka. Aka normally means 'what', but coupled here with da=, the question asks 'what is the reason that you/he/she have-n't...' Sometimes the morpheme pu 'reason' follows aka and this appears to emphasize the rhetorical, scolding nature of the question.

- (43) Aka da =u=l-um-ao sola: ama-mu mi-ase:? what neg-2-Intr-go with father-2poss Intr-wash.up 'Why didn't you go with your dad to wash up?'
- (44) Aka pu da =na=leto =mo Ta Lisna'?
  what reason neg- 3-sleep=Cmp the Lisna'
  'Why hasn't Lisna' slept yet?'
- (45) Aka pu da =na=baha =mi?
  what reason neg- 3-carry-3Cmp
  'Why hasn't he brought it yet?'

Notice that the stative and intransitive negative relative clauses above (40-42) have no accompanying Set B person markers. This contrasts with stative and intransitive verbs in unmarked clauses, negated by ha=. Compare (40) with the following:

(46) Ha= mi-lalang=i ti sinna' te?
neg-Intr-spicy -3 the side.dish this
'These vegetables aren't spicy?'

Intransitive clauses in (43) and (44) also do not have a shift in person markers to Set B, but retain Set A markers. In contrast, the transitive cleft construction (45), negated by =da, has the Set A marker for the subject and the Set B marker for the object, which is the same person marker co-occurrence seen with unmarked transitive verbs, negated by =ha. The occurrences of person markers in these constructions warrants further study.

#### 2.3 In Dependent Nominalization

When a dependent clause contains a negated nominalized verb, da= is used.

- (47) Ara=ko ho tuhu-ku hampo' da= ku=babe-na is -1V also sugar.cane-1poss but neg- 1-make-3poss
  - =ko. -1V

'I do have sugar cane (in my garden), but I didn't make this (sugar).'

- (48) Ni=pa- turo =mo hampo' ha =na=isang=mi, GF-Caus-teach-Cmp but neg- 3-know -3Cmp
  - innang da= pa-isan-na =da.
    truly neg-Intr-know-3poss-3V

'She's been taught but still doesn't know, she's really very stupid.'

(49) Ha =ku=anne:=i=ko saba' da =ku=puinaha-na neg- 1-eat -3-1V because neg- 1-like -3poss

=ko ti sinna' masapi.
-1V the side.dish eel.

'I'm not eating it because I don't like to eat eel.'

Notice the use of the third person possessive suffix -na following the nominalized verb in the dependent clauses above (babe, isan, puinaha). Notice also the Set A preclitic subject occurring between the negator da= and the nominalized verb in (47) and (49) above, where the nominalized verb is a transitive verb. In contrast, (48) involves a stative verb and does not have the interposing subject marker. This corresponds to the use of Set A preclitics in constructions of ha=negated transitive versus stative verbs. But occurrence of Set B preclitics is absent, as it was with the negated relative clauses above.

If the verb is not nominalized, da= is not used for negation but rather ha=. Compare (50), without a nominalized verb, to (49) above.

(50) Ha =ku= anne:=i=ko saba' ha =ku-puinaha=i=ko neg- 1- eat -3-1V because neg- 1- like -3-1V

ti sinna' masapi. the side.dish eel.

'I'm not eating it because I don't like eel.'

# 2.4 Derived Forms dari:, dangara, dadei:

Analogous to the form hari: discussed in 1.2, is the form dari: from da=+ara "to be" + third person marker =i. This negative existential is used in hypothetical constructions.

(51) I dari: uhai i bubung ni=mao mang-oka' if neg.is water loc well one-go Tr-try.to.find

uhai. water

'If there's no water in the well, one has to go look (elsewhere) for water.'

Dangara and dangari have essentially the same derivation as dari:, with the addition of a transitional nasal stop which blocks the loss of an a at the morpheme juncture. These two forms are generally found in negated relative clauses but can also occur in a conditional or hypothetical construction. Further investigation might determine more of a usage distinction between dari: and dangara/dangari than is apparent.

- (52) Tau ung dangara.
   person Rel neg.is
   'A poor, destitute person.' (lit. 'A person who
   doesn't have anything.)
- (53) Ki =mam-pake kaya' ung dangara pang-kapu' -na.

  1plex- Tr-use clothing Rel neg.is Inst-button-3poss
  'We wore clothing that didn't have buttons.'

Following is a mother's command to her child and the child's response, which is hypothetical.

- (54)a. Na=mo: palau sebi: i Ina-na Ramang. go-2Cmp request onions loc mother-3poss Ramang 'Go ask for some onions from Ramang's mother.'
  - b. I dangari de'?
     if neg.is anyway
     'And what if she doesn't have any?'

An alternate response is:

c. I dangara=i?
 if neg.is -3
 'And if she doesn't have any?'

Dadei:. Another derived form is dadei: (from da=+ dea 'he/she/it' +=i 3 person marker). While handei: negates constituents in unmarked constructions, dadei: negates constituents in conditional phrases.

(55) Ala: dadei: hea' madara'...
if neg.it rice fast...
'If it weren't fast-growing rice...'

## 3 NEGATING INDEFINITES AND QUANTIFIERS

Seko Padang expresses negative indefinites by combining the existential negative with either an indefinite pronoun aka 'what' or a general noun like tau 'person'.

- (56) Hari: aka ku=ita.
  neg.is what 1-see
  'I can't see anything.'
- (57) Hara tungka=i aka-aka.
  neg.is very-3 what-redup
  'There's absolutely nothing (there).'
- (58) Hari: =da tau-tau one:.
  neg.is-3V person-redup there
  'There's no one there.'

Note in (57) the Set B third person clitic =i functioning on the verb phrase level in that it is apart from the coalesced form hari: (ha= + ara 'to be' + =i) and follows the adverb tungka instead.

When a negative clause contains a quantifier, it may be that the quantity of the subject is negated or it may be that the action of the quantified subject is negated. If the quantity of the subject is negated:

- (59) Hari: boso: tau ung mai.
  neg.is many person Rel to.here
  'There weren't many people that came (here).'
- (60) Ha= loso' =i ti tau ung lulus.
  neg-finish-3 the person Rel pass
  'Not everyone passed.'
- (61) Ha= pira=i hura: ti ung na=liung to neg-some-3 anymore the Rel 3-pass.by that

na=boling.
3-struck.by.disaster

'There weren't many left that weren't struck by the disaster.'

Example (59) shows use of the negative existential as the verb of the sentence, followed by a quantified subject, while (61) negates a quantifier adjective which is functioning as a stative verb.

If the action is negated:

- (62) Boso: tau dang mai.
  many person neg to.here
  '(There were) many people that didn't come.'
- (63) Nasang(-na) tau ha= lulus=i.
  all (-3poss) person neg-pass -3
  'Noone passed.' (lit., Everyone didn't pass.)
- (64) Nasang-na to hari: ung tongang. all -3poss that neg.is Rel true 'Of all those, none are true.'

#### 4 SUMMARY

Seko Padang grammar uses the preclitic negator ha= in a broad array of constructions, while the negator da= is used in fewer contexts. Both of these preclitics have specific co-occurrences with Set A and Set B person markers. Also, both ha= and da= are productive in several derived negative forms and are used in negating indefinite and quantified nouns.

### APPENDIX A. SUMMARY OF SEKO PADANG NEGATORS

Unmarked:

Existential negator: hari:
Constituent negator: handei:
Negative preclitic: ha=
Incompletive: harami
Prohibitor ('Don't!'): hadu, hani

Marked: (used in conditional clauses, relative clauses and

dependent nominalization)

Existential negator: dari:, dangara, dangari

Constituent negator: dadei: Negative preclitic: da=

### APPENDIX B. SUMMARY CHART OF SEKO PADANG PERSON MARKERS

|                                  | Pronoun                               | Possessive                      | Affix                           | Set                             | A               | Preclitic |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------|-----------|
| 1s<br>2s<br>3s<br>1plex<br>1plin | koi:<br>dio<br>dea<br>kami<br>ki(n)ta | -ku<br>-mu<br>-na<br>-ki<br>-ta |                                 | ku=<br>u=/<br>na=<br>ki=<br>ta= | /du<br>=/r<br>= |           |
|                                  | Set B Post                            | cclitic                         | Veridica                        | l Po                            | st              | clitic    |
| 1s<br>2s<br>3s<br>1plex<br>1plin | =ka'<br>=ko<br>=i/0<br>=kang<br>=ke   |                                 | =ko<br>=do<br>=da<br>=ka<br>=da |                                 |                 |           |

### APPENDIX C. NEGATORS IN SEVERAL SULAWESI LANGUAGES

|         | Existential<br>Negator | Neg Pre-<br>clitic | Constituent 3<br>Negator | s pronoun |
|---------|------------------------|--------------------|--------------------------|-----------|
| SP      | hari                   | ha=                | handei                   | dea       |
| Rampi   | haua'                  | ha=                | haio                     | io        |
| Tae'    | tae'                   | tang=              | tannia                   | (n)ia     |
| Duri    | te'da                  | tang-              | tang(ng)ia               | ia        |
| Bambam  | taa'                   | ta-                | taia                     | ia        |
| Bugis   | de'                    | tang=              | tania                    |           |
| Konjo   | anre'                  | tala=              | tania ~ talia            | ia        |
| Makasar | tena                   |                    | tea                      |           |
| Uma     | uma                    |                    | bela                     |           |
| Muna    | miina                  |                    | suano                    |           |

(Konjo also uses tang= as a neg preclitic in some contexts.)

One can note the relationship between the neg preclitic and the existential verb in SP, Rampi and less directly, Konjo. (It may be that others of the above languages show a similar relationship, but we haven't researched that.)

SP Rampi Konjo Existential verb ara ua' rie'

The Seko Padang and Rampi data is from our research. Data from the other languages is from SIL colleagues here in Sulawesi.

#### SYMBOLS USED

clitic boundary
affix boundary
lengthened vowel
glottal stop

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### LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Ajr Adjectivizer Causative

Cmp Completive aspect

Dist Distributive
GF Goal Focus
Inst Instrument
Intr Intransitive
Loc Locative

Nr Nominalizer
Neg Negator
poss possessive
Redup Reduplication

Rel Relative conjunction

Sc Scope

Tr Transitive Veridical

XIntr Altered Intransitive (altered phonologically upon

addition of derivational affix)

first person (singular)

second person third person

s singular pl plural ex exclusive in inclusive