MAMASA PRONOUN SETS

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The Mamasa language of South Sulawesi may be character-ized as a morphologically ergative language where the erga-tive-absolutive distinction is marked by means of pronominal clitics occurring in the verb phrase. Mamasa is also a split ergative language since there is a certain clause type where a nominative-accusative system is in operation.[1]

1   INTRODUCTION

There is a growing body of literature concerning the languages of Sulawesi. One of the more interesting aspects of the languages of the island is their pronoun sets and the grammatical relations they mark. Typically, the languages in and around South Sulawesi have four pro-noun sets, two of which mark person on the verb. Martens (1988) has argued for an ergative-absolutive interpretation of these two pronoun sets as found in Uma, a language of Central Sulawesi. Friberg (1991) has likewise suggested an ergative-absolutive interpretation of the pronoun sets of several South Sulawesi languages. On the other hand, Himmelmann (1991) writing about Totoli, a Central Sulawesi language, and with reference to Martens' and Friberg's analyses argues against the label "ergative" for such pronoun sets. He prefers the simple designation "person marking language" for those that exhibit such ergative characteristics. He claims that the ergative characteristic of these languages is due to an interaction with the focus prefixes. One of the objections he raises against an ergative analysis is the occurrence of "ergative" prefixes marking other than a transitive actor. In the following discussion I will attempt to address this issue as well as give an overview of each of the four Mamasa pronoun sets.[2]
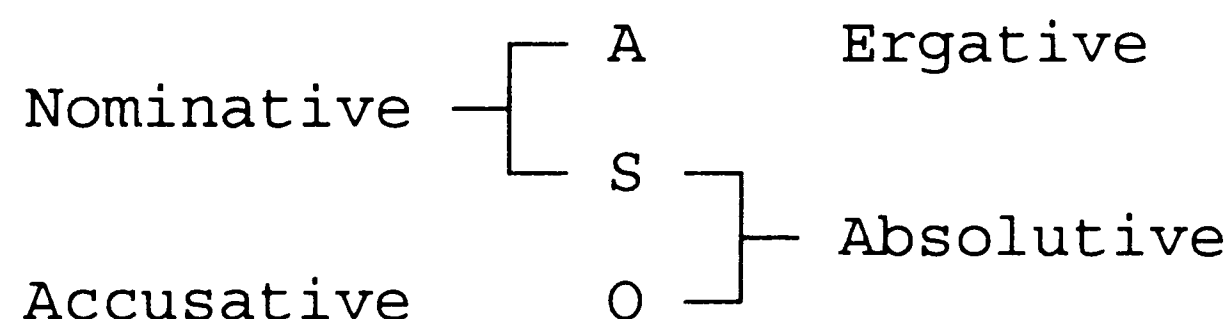

2   DEFINITIONS

In view of the above controversy on the putative ergative charac-ter of Sulawesi person marking, it is perhaps wise to recall a few basic observations on ergativity. Dixon's general definition is well known:

A language is said to show ergative characteristics if intransitive subject is treated in the same manner as transitive object, and differently from transitive subject (Dixon 1979:60).

Thus, in a language that marks this distinction, for example, by means of case inflections on nouns, one case (the absolutive) is associated with intransitive subjects and transitive objects, and the other case (the ergative) is associated with transitive subjects. This is in constrast with the more familiar nominative-accusative system as in chart where S = intranstive subject, A = actor/transitive subject, and O = transitive object:

Chart 1 : Grammatical Relations[3]

```
                        ┌─ A      Ergative
        Nominative ─┤
                        └─ S ─┐
                                  ├─ Absolutive
        Accusative      O ─┘
```

Although Himmelmann (1991:1) would prefer to limit 'ergative' to a nominal case form, this restriction is unusually narrow. Rather it is generally recognized that morphological ergativity can be marked by either case marking on nouns or by pronominal affixes attached to verbs. Dixon (1979:66) writes:

> The form of bound pronominal affixes in the verbal word can be taken as evidence of morphological 'accusativity' or 'ergativity', just like the form of case inflections. If a certain affix cross-references an NP that is in S or O function (with a different affix referring to an NP that is in A function), then the language could be characterized as 'ergative' at this level.

As Comrie (1977:339) points out, this form of morphological ergativity is common:

> There are even some languages that have verb-agreement on an ergative-absolutive basis but have no overt case-marking of noun phrases; in fact, this type is not particularly rare, being found for instance in some of the Northwest Caucasian languages, and quite generally in the Mayan languages of Mexico and Central America.

With these standard conceptions of ergativity in mind, I now turn directly to the discussion of Mamasa pronoun sets.

3 PRONOUN SETS

Like most of the languages of South Sulawesi, Mamasa has four sets of pronouns. Sets 1 and 2 are person marking clitics on the verb, Set 3 contains the possessive suffixes which most often attach to nominals, while Set 4 contains the free pronouns. These forms appear in chart 2 below:

Chart 2 : Mamasa pronoun sets

	Set 1 absolutive enclitics	Set 2 ergative proclitics		Set 3 possessive suffixes	Set 4 free pronouns
Singular					
1	-na'	ku-		-ku	kao
2	-ko	mu-		-mu	iko
3	-i/0 (zero)	na-		-na	ia
Plural					
1dlin	-ki'	ta-		-ta	kita
1plin	-kia'	ta-	-a'	-taa'	kita
1ex	-kan	ki-		-ki	kami
2	-ko-a'	mu-	-a'	-mua'	iko-a'
3	-i/0 (zero)	na-		-na	0 (zero)

Some comments need to be made concerning the above chart. First, the similarity between Set 2 (ergative proclitics) and Set 3 (possessive suffixes) should be noted. This is similar to the situation found in the Mayan languages of Central America where the ergative affixes have the same form as noun prefixes indicating possession.[4]

Secondly, most of the bound person markers were probably historically derived from the free pronouns. Compare, for example, the ergative enclitic -ki' (1.dl.incl) to the corresponding free pronoun *kita*. This is even clearer if the proto-South Sulawesi form for the ergative enclitic (*-kit)[5] is considered. Since Mamasa only has four final consonants *n, ng, k,* and ' (glottal), the *t* of proto-South Sulawesi is reflected as a glottal stop. For a complete discussion of the relationship between the bound forms of the person markers and the free pronouns in South Sulawesi languages see Mills' (1975) dissertation.

Thirdly, the first person dual inclusive forms are often used in place of the first person plural inclusive forms which is the marked set. Perhaps Mamasa had lost the second person plural forms at one time and then compensated with the addition of the the plural marker -a' to create the second person plural forms from the second person singular forms. Finally the plural marker -a' was added to the old first person plural inclusive forms by way of analogy, thus relegating the old first person plural set to first person dual.[6] In addition, the first person dual set is often used as an honorific for both second person singular and plural.

Fourthly, morphophonemic changes take place when the aspectual and absolutive clitics co-occur. The absolutive clitics immediately follow the aspectual clitics -mo (perfective), -pa (imperfective) and -ra (constrast, counter-expectation or surprise) if they are present. This sequencing yields the combinations of chart 3.

Chart 3 : Combined Aspectual and Absolutive Clitic

	1s -na'	1p.e -kan	1p.in -ki'	2s -ko	3s/pl -i
PRF -mo	(-mo-na') -mo'	(-mo-kan) -mokan	(-mo-ki') -miki'	(-mo-ko) -moko	-mo-i (-mi)
IMPF -pa	(-pa-na') -pa'	(-pa-kan) -pakan	(-pa-ki') -piki'	(-pa-ko) -poko	-pa-i (-pi)
CONTR -ra	(-ra-na') -ra'	(-ra-kan) -rakan	(-ra-ki') -riki'	(-ra-ko) roko	(-r-i) -ri

Some examples:[7]

(1) Sule **-mo'**.
     return-PRF/1s
     'I have already returned.'

(2) Um[m]-ande-**poko**   -ka?[8]
     AF   -eat- IMPF/2s-QM
     'Are you still eating?'

(3) ... mane lao-**rakan**   kami   sola
         then go- CNTR/1pl.ex   1pl.ex with

     kaka   -[m]mu.[9]
     older.sibling-2s

     '... then we will go including your older sibling.'

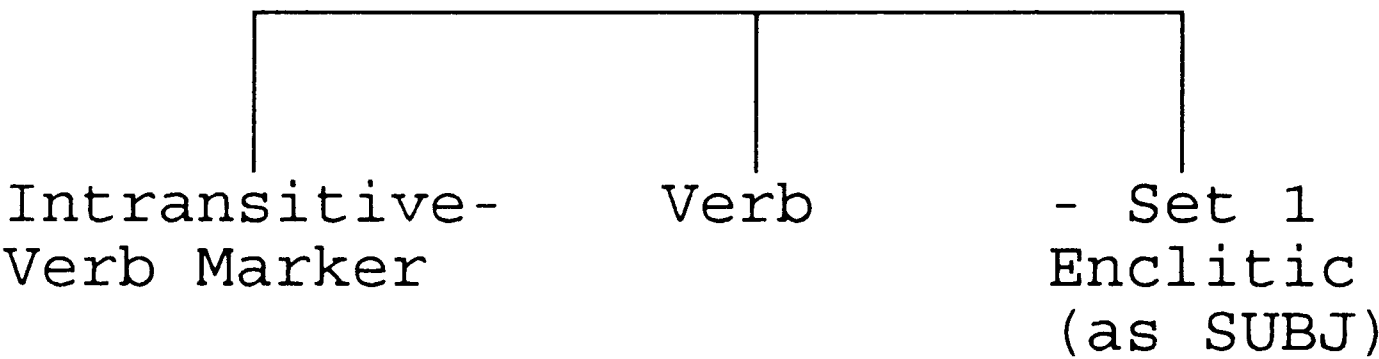## 3.1   Set 1 Enclitics

     Set 1 pronouns occur in four different constructions: 1) marking
the subject in intransitive clauses, 2) marking the object in transi-
tive clauses, 3) marking the agent in antipassive constructions, and
4) marking the undergoer in passive constructions.[10] The first three
of these uses are consistent with the designation *absolutive* in an
ergative-absolutive system. Regarding the fourth usage, the existence
of a passive construction in an ergative-absolutive language is by no
means rare.   In the following sections I will discuss and provide
examples of each of these constructions.

3.1.1   Subject of Intransitive Clauses

Set 1 enclitics are used to indicate the subject in intransitive clauses. These enclitics directly follow an unmodified verb. Besides the pronominal enclitics most intransitive verbs take an intransitive verb marker (see chart 5). These markers are verbalizers, in that they are used to derive intransitive verbs from nouns or bound verbal roots. This basic structure is diagrammed in the following chart:

Chart 4:   Set 1 Enclitics With Intransitive Verbs

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        ┌─────────────────┬────────────┬───────────┐

    Intransitive-      Verb        - Set 1
    Verb Marker                    Enclitic
                                   (as SUBJ)
```

Before listing the intransitive verb markers, I need to mention that there are a small number of intransitive verbs which occur without a verbalizer affixed to the stem, e.g. *lao* 'go' and *torro* 'dwell' as in (4) and (5) below:

(4)   Lao-**kan**   lako kota.
      go   1pl.ex to   town
      'We went to town.'

(5)   Torro-**na'** yao Tanete.
      dwell-1s   in Tanete
      'I live in Tanete.'

Most intransitive verbs, however, do take one of the intransitive markers listed in chart 5.

Chart 5:   Mamasa Intransitive Markers

Affix	Base	Meaning/Usage
ma-	Vsta	to have the characteristic of V
me-	N	to look for/gather/get N
	Vint	no meaning change
ma'-	N	to use/wear/own N
	Vtr	detransitivizer
mang-	Vtr	detransitivizer
ke-/kem-[11]	N	to possess/produce N

meng-	N	to be N like
	Vint	no meaning change
-um-	Vint	no meaning change
si-	Vtr	reciprocal detransitivizer

Some examples of these intransitive markers used with the Set 1 clitics are as follows:

(6) **Ma**- langka'-**ko**.
STA-tall   -2s
'You are tall.'

(7) **Ma**- rea' -**na**'.
STA-afraid-1s
'I'm afraid.'

(8) **Me**- kayu-**na**'.
INT-wood-1s
'I'm gathering wood.'

(9) **Me**- wai -**ko**?
INT-water-2s
'Are you getting water?'

(10) **Me**- tawa -**ko**.
INT-laugh-2s
'You are laughing.'

(11) **Me**- nono'-**kan**.
INT-walk -1pl.ex
'We are walking.'

(12) **Ma**'-songko'-**ko**?
INT-hat   -2s
'Are you wearing a hat?'

(13) **Ma**'-oto-**kan**.
INT-car-1pl.ex
'We are going by car.'

(14) **Ma**'-nasu-**na**'.
INT-cook-1s
'I am cooking'.

(15) **Ma**'-dama-**ko**?
INT-work-2s
'Are you working?'

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(16) Mang[ng]-alli-na'
     INT-    buy -1s
     'I am shopping.'

(17) Mang[ng]-ambo'-ko?
     INT-    sow  -2s
     'Are you sowing?'

(18) Ke- baine-mo'.
     INT-woman-PRF/1s
     'I already have a woman (am married).'

(19) Kem-bua  -mi.
     INT-fruit-PRF/3
     'It has already borne fruit.'

(20) La- men-tedong        -ko?12
     IRR-INT-water.buffalo-2s
     'Do you want to become (dumb) like a water buffalo?'

(21) Men-tau    -mi.
     INT-person-PRF/3
     'He is already human-like.'

(22) Men-teka -na'.
     INT-climb-1s
     'I am climbing.'

(23) Meng-karang-ko.
     INT -work  -2s
     'You are working.'

(24) K-um-ondo(ng)-na'.13
     run-INT-     -1s
     'I am running.'

(25) T-um-angi'-ko?
     cry-INT- -2s
     'Are you crying'?

(26) Si- tammu-ki'.
     REC-meet -1dl.in
     'We meet.'

(27) Si- ala  -0 asu.
     REC-fight-3 dog
     'The dogs fight.'
```

Set 1 clitics can cross-reference a subject noun phrase which follows the verb. This seldom occurs in connected text. When it does there usually is a modifier present, either an aspectual clitic or an adverb.

```
(28) T-um-angi' liu          sia  -mi
     cry-INT    continually really-PRF/3
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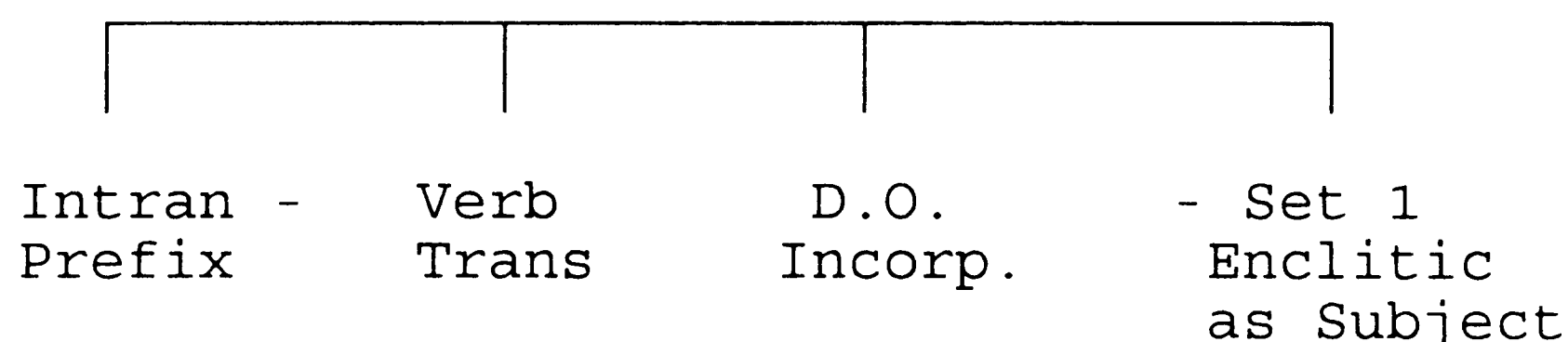
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        ade'14        adi            -[n]na.
        it.is.said younger.sibling-3s
```

'Her younger sibling cried continually.'

(29)   Sae o   -**i** bai ala'.
        come again-3 pig forest/wild
        'The wild pig came again.'

Set 1 clitics as subject markers play a special role in object incorporated constructions. This strategy signals the reduced transitivity associated with such forms. The following configuration is characteristic of this function of Set 1 pronouns.

Chart 6: Set 1 Marking Subject with Object Incorporation

```
        ┌───────────┬───────────┬───────────────┐
        │           │           │               │

    Intran -     Verb        D.O.         - Set 1
    Prefix       Trans       Incorp.        Enclitic
                                            as Subject
```

The following forms are illustrative of Set 1 enclitics with object incorporation:

(30)   Ma'-baluk dara(ng)-**na'**.
        INT-sell   horse   -1s
        'I sell horses.'
        (literally: I horse-sell)

(31)   Man-tanan kawa -**kan**.
        INT-plant coffee-1pl.ex
        'We are planting coffee.'
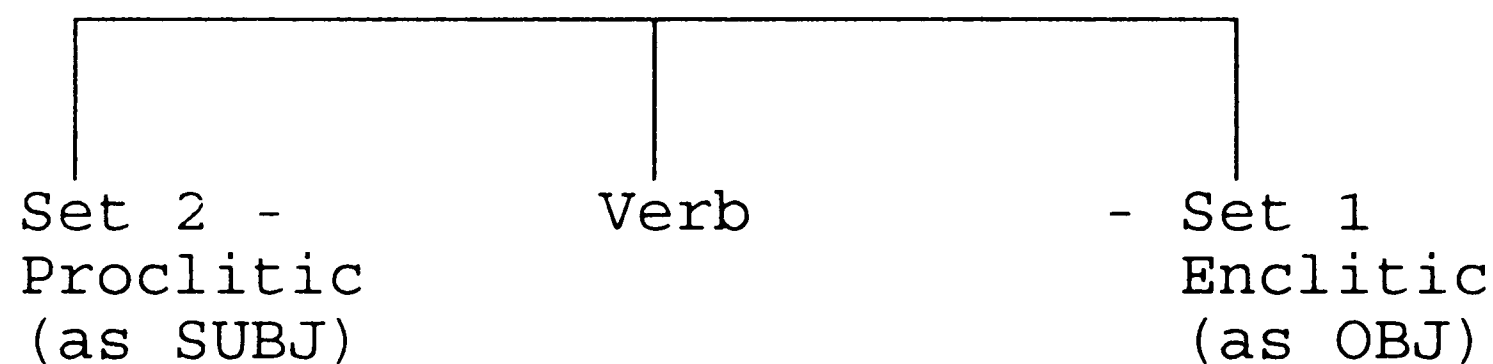   (literally: We are coffee-planting)

(30) could be an answer, for example, to the question "What do you do for a living?" Whereas (31) could be in response to the question/greeting "What are you doing?" In each case, it is the entire predication, not just the object, that is asserted as new information.

3.1.2   Object of Transitive Clauses

The enclitics of Set 1 regularly mark the objects of transitive clauses, functioning in conjuction with the Set 2 proclitics as subjects. Clauses so marked are said to be in "object (or goal) focus" (see Campbell 1989:62, Martens 1988 and Friberg 1991).

Chart 7: Set 1 Marking Object of Transitive Verbs

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          ┌──────────────┬──────────────┐
      Set 2 -         Verb         - Set 1
      Proclitic                    Enclitic
      (as SUBJ)                    (as OBJ)
```

The following examples show Set 1 enclitics functioning as objects of transitive verbs:

(32)   Ku-ita-**ko**.
       1s-see-2s
       'I see you.'

(33)   La- na-riwa-**ko** ambe -mu.
       IRR-3- hold-2s father-2s
       'Your father will hold you.'

The Set 1 pronouns may also cross-reference an object noun phrase. As in the following example:

(34)   Umba -mo -ko ampo   ang-ku-ande-**i**.
       where-PRF-2s grandchild CNS-1s-eat -3
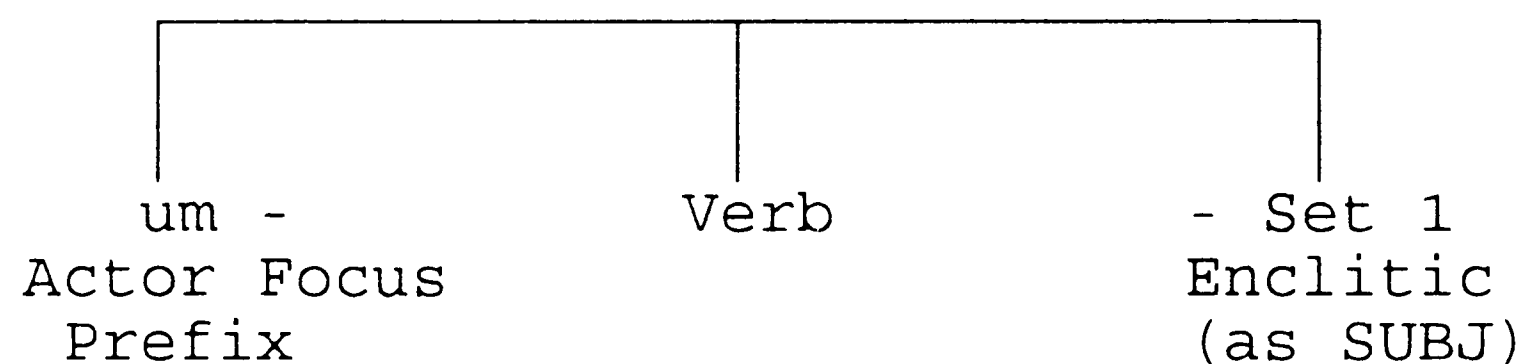
       ate -mu.
       liver-2s

       'Where are you, grandchild? So that I (can) eat your liver.'

I have yet to make a detailed study of when a object noun phrase is cross-referenced versus when it is not.

3.1.3   Agent in Antipassive Constructions

There is one construction in which the absolutive clitics of Set 1 mark the agent of a clause, the *antipassive* construction, which is commonly found in languages of an ergative-absolutive type. The actor focus prefix *um-* also occurs, as seen in the following diagram:

Chart 8: Set 1 Marking Agent in an Antipassive Construction

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          ┌──────────────┬──────────────┐
      um -           Verb         - Set 1
      Actor Focus                  Enclitic
      Prefix                       (as SUBJ)
```

The antipassive construction is used to speak of an underlyingly transitive event in an intransitive manner. Campbell, working in the

73

neighboring language of Pitu Ulunna Salu (PUS), concludes:

> The antipassive is used for special focusing purposes in discourse. This form enables the speaker to speak of a transitive-like activity, mention a specific object and yet refer to the agent as if the agent were the only participant in the activity. The agent is encoded as a subject in an intransitive clause (Campbell 1989:93).

In Mamasa discourse the antipassive is used when the speaker wants to mention an object but yet wants to maintain the "focus" on the agent. Most often the object is indefinite as in the following to examples:

(35) Um[m]-ande-**na'** punti.
      AF-   eat -1s banana
      'I am eating a banana.'

(36) Ul-lambi'-**mi**   ia mesa to' dambu.
      AF-find -PRF/3 3 one tree jambu
      'They found a jambu tree.'

(35) might be an answer to the question: "What are you doing?" An object is mentioned but it is not in focus. (36) follows a series of intransitive sentences in a text. Now the referent does something transitive, but the speaker doesn't want to focus on the object so the antipassive construction is used. This is also the first time that the object *mesa to' dambu* 'a jambu tree' is mentioned in the story, so perhaps the antipassive is also used to introduce new participants and props into a discourse. This is borne out by the following example from the same text as (36).

(37) Pura   -i ade'   dambu-[n]na
      all.gone-3 it.is.said jambu-3

      ul-lambi' o   -**mi**   to' pao.
      AF-find   again-PRF/3 tree mango

      'When the jambus were all gone they found a mango tree.'

Once again the object is being mentioned for the first time in the story.
Although the antipassive is most often used with indefinite objects, occasionally it occurs with definite objects.

(38) Ung-kolo(ng)   -**mi**   ade'
      AF- carry.on.ones.back-PRF/3 it.is.said

      adi   -[n]na.
      younger.sibling-3

      'She carried her younger sibling on her back.'[14]

Although the object *adinna* 'her younger sibling' is definite due to the possive suffix *-na*, its definiteness is not being stressed

rather this is the only way that the younger sibling could be referred to due to the nature of the noun *adi*. Here the object is being re-introduced into the story, but once again it is not in "focus".

It must be noted that not all clauses containing *um-* verbs are necessarily antipassive. Antipassive constructions only occur in independent clauses. um- verbs in dependent clauses also take Set 1 enclitics but they mark the undergoer. Notice the function of the Set 1 enclitics in the following examples:

(39) Windi -ko aka   seka'-na' um[m]-ula' **-ko**.
      behind-2s because pant -1s AF-   follow-2s
      'You get behind me, because I pant (get winded)
      following you.'

(40) Pe-ande tau   la- sae um[m]-ande-**ko-a'**   -i
      TR-eat people IRR-come AF-   eat- 2s-PLURAL-EMP
      'The cannibal is coming to eat you.'

(41) Dengam   -mi   to Talambai un-tamba-i **-kan**
      there.is-PRF/3 REL Talambai AF-call -LOC-1pl.ex
      'There was a person from Talambai (lit. one from Talambai)
      whocalled us.'

In each of the above three examples the *um-* prefix occurs in a dependent clause. In (39) it is found in an adverbial clause, in (41) in a purpose clause, and in (41) in a subject relative clause.

3.1.4   Undergoer in Passive Contructions

The Set 1 enclitics are also used to mark the undergoer in passive constructions. This is obviously because passives behave like derived intransitives, with the old (semantic) undergoer the syntactic subject. The actor is never present in Mamasa passives.

(42) Di- atti-i **-mi**   wai -[n]na.
      PASS-draw-LOC-PRF/3 water-3
      'The water is drawn off.'

(43) Di- tamba-i **-ko**.
      PASS-call -LOC-2s
      'You are being called.'

3.1.5   Position of Absolutive Clitics

The absolutive clitics (or the aspect and absolutive combined forms) move from the verb to any modifiers that are present in the verb phrase. If there is more than one modifier the following order of preference is followed:

Chart 9: Position of Absolutive Clitics

	PRE-VERBAL		POST-VERBAL
NEG-ABS	MODIFIERS-(ABS)	VERB-(ABS)	MODIFIERS-(ABS)
1	2	4	3

The following are examples of the clitics occurring in each of these positions.

Position 1:

(44) Tae'-o   -**pakan**   lao ma'-pasa'.
      NEG- again-IMPF/1p.ex go   INT-market
      'We are not going to the market now.'

Position 2:

(45) Mangka-**ko** ku-pamoloi manappa
      after -2s 1s-help   well

      moka   -ko mu-ben -na' nande-mu.
      refuse-2s 2s-give-1s food -2s

      'After I helped you well you refused to give me
      some of your food (i.e. feed me).'

Position 3:

(46) Na-ande sia   -**mi**.
      3- eat   really-PRF/3
      'They really ate it.'

Position 4:

(47) Le'ba-**mi**.
      leave-PRF/3
      'He already left.'

3.2   Set 2 Proclitics

3.2.1   Actor of Transitive Clauses

Set 2 proclitics usually mark the actor in transitive clauses. They can occur with Set 1 pronouns marking object as discussed above, and as in the examples below:

(48) **Mu**-ita-kan.
2s-see-1p.ex
'You saw us.'

(49) **Na**-ita dambu-[m]mu.
3- see jambu-2
'She sees your jambu.'

3.2.2   Set 2 Proclitics in Consecutive Clauses

As mentioned previously, one of Himmelmann's objections to the label "ergative" being applied to the languages of South Sulawesi was that the so-called "ergative" prefixes were marking things other than transitive actor in certain constructions. It should come as no surprise that there are constructions in a morphologically ergative language that don't fit the ergative pattern.

According to Dixon (1979:64) this is the norm:

> An exhaustive examination of the literature suggests that all languages which have been described as ergative, at the morphological level, are in fact 'split ergative.'

A split ergative language has certain constructions that operate on an ergative-absolutive basis while also having others that operate on a nominative-accusative basis. Comrie concludes that:

> It is rather misleading to speak of ergative languages, as opposed to nominative-accusative languages, since we have seen that it is possible for one phenomenon in a language to be controlled on an ergative-absolute basis while another phenomenon in the same language is controlled on a nominative-accusative basis. Thus one should ask rather to what extent a language is ergative-absolute or nominative-accusative, or, more specifically, which constructions in a particular language operate on the one basis and which on the other (Comrie 1977:350).

In general the usage of Set 1 and Set 2 pronouns fit an ergative-absolutive analysis in Mamasa, but the Set 2 (ergative) proclitics do not mark transitive actor in certain clauses. Therefore, since Mamasa usually displays an ergative-absolutive verb agreement system except in a specific syntactic construction it may be considered a split ergative language. The construction that triggers the split in the verb agreement system is what can be called the consecutive clause construction. The consecutive clause is the second clause in a compound sentence that expresses a consecutive relationship to the preceding clause; that is, the second clause either 1) follows the first clause in time (and-then relationship) or 2) is viewed as the aim of, or purpose for, the first clause (so-that relationship). The consecutive clause is marked with the proclitic *an-* followed by a Set 2 proclitic which in turn is followed by the verb phrase.[16]

A similar situation exist in Bugis, but there is no overt consecutive clause marker. Rather the proclitic person marker carries the

meaning of consecutiveness. About this particular usage of the pro-
clitic person markers Sirk writes:

> When used proclitically before the passive form, the PPMs of
> this series combine three syntactic meanings simultaneously
> pointing to (1) the goal; (2) the bearer of the predicated fea-
> ture, and (3) consecutiveness (and/hence) (Sirk 1983:66).

The following two sections will explore person marking in consec-
utive clauses.

3.2.3   Subject and Actor of Consecutive Clauses

In consecutive clauses Set 2 proclitics are used for marking both
subject and actor. This usage is consistent with a nominative-
accusative system as can be seen in the examples below.

(50)   Mai -mo -ko an- **ta**-   lao.
        here-PRF-2s CNS-1pl.in-go
        'Come here and then we (will) go.'

(51)   Umba -mo -ko ampo   ang-**ku**-ande-i.
        where-PRF-2s grandchild CNS-1s-eat -3

        ate -mu.
        liver-2s

        'Where are you, grandchild? So that I (can) eat your liver.'

In (50) the Set 2 proclitic *ta-* (1pl.in) marks the subject of the
intransitive verb *lao* 'go', but in (51) the Set 2 proclitic *ku-* (1s)
marks the actor of the transitive verb *ande* 'eat'.
Meanwhile, Set 1 enclitics only mark the object of transitive
verbs as seen by the 3s/pl *-i* in (51) above. So Set 1 is now the
accusative set while Set 2 is the nominative set.

3.2.4   Undergoer in Consecutive Clauses with Passive *di-*

What happens in consecutive clauses where the verb is passive?
To be consistent with a nominative-accusative system the undergoer
should be marked by the nominative on a passive verb. This is exactly
what happens in Mamasa. The Set 2 proclitics are used to mark the
undergoer in consecutive clauses having the passive marker *di-*. With
passivised predicates the undergoer takes the surface marking usually
associated with the subject of an intransitive clause, which in con-
secutive clauses, is the Set 2 proclitics.

(52)   Ma- nasu-i, di- soso-i -mi
       STA-cook-3 PASS-peel-LOC-PRF/3

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     an- na-mane di-  gerek-gerek.
     CNS-3- just PASS-slice-REDUP
```

     '(When) it is cooked, it is peeled and then it is sliced.'

(53) Dako' di- pe-ala -i -ko[17]
      later PASS-VL-take-LOC-2s

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      am- mu-di- tarungkun.
      CNS-2s-PASS-imprison
```

      'Later you will be captured and then you will be imprisoned.'

In both of the above examples the referent of the Set 2 proclit-ics in the consecutive clauses is also refered to in a previous clause with the Set 1 enclitics but following an ergative-absolutive system. In (52) the Set 1 enclitic -i (3s/pl) marks the subject of the intran-sitive (stative) verb *manasu* 'state of being cooked', while in (53) the enclitic -ko (2s) marks the undergoer of the transitive verb *pealai* 'capture'

3.2.5   After Temporal Words[18]

Set 2 proclitics mark both the subject and actor following cer-tain temporal words. Once again this is reminiscent of a nominative-accusative system. Notice that the consecutive marker is also re-quired.

(54) Samai'   ang-ku-lao.[19]
      yesterday CNS-1s-go
      'I went yesterday.'

(55) Mane an- na-la- sae inde Mamasa.
      now CNS-3- IRR-come this Mamasa
      'He is just coming to Mamasa now (for the first time).'

(56) Piran am- mu-sae?[20]
      when CNS-2s-come
      'When did you arrive?'

3.2.6   With the Question Word *maaka*

Perhaps related to the above temporal uses is the occurrence of the consecutive marker after the question word *maaka* 'how/what/why'. The meaning of this combination is (assuming a 3rd person pronoun): "what was he/she doing when the action of the main verb took place", or "why was he/she doing the action of the main verb." Some examples of this with intransitive verbs:

(57) Maaka-i inde baine an-**na**-ma- lapu'-mo -e?
      what -3 this womam CNS-3 STA-well -PRF-D
      'What did this woman do when she became well?'

(58) Maaka-i am- **mu**-sae inde Mamasa?
      why- 3 CNS-2s-come here Mamasa
      'Why is it that you came here to Mamasa?'

3.3   Possessive Set (Set 3)

The two major functions of Set 3 pronouns are: 1) to indicate
possession on nominals, and 2) to subordinate a clause.

3.3.1   Possession on Nominals

Set 3 pronouns are suffixes, that is, unlike enclitics they cause
a shift in stress one syllable to the right when added to a word.
These possessive suffixes follow the nominal or any modifiers that are
part of the noun phrase.

(59) kide   -**ku**
      forehead-1s
      'my forehead'

(60) asu-[n]**na**
      dog-3
      'his/her dog'

(61) balle' kamai-[m]**mu**
      can   big -2s
      'your big can'

3.3.2   Nominalized Clauses

Set 3 pronouns can also be suffixed to verbs and their modifiers
resulting in a nominalized dependent clause often having a temporal
relationship with the main clause.

(62) Na-lambi'-**na** ade'   na-anda' -i
      3-find   -3 it.is.said 3- pick.up-LOC

      bakku' -na.
      knapsack-3

      'When she reached him, she picked up his knapsack.'

80

(63) Tappa   **-na** ade'   na-ita,
      immediately-3 it.is.said 3- see

      turun   sia   -mi   yao   mai lolok kayu.
      go.down really-PRF/3 above here tip   tree

      'Immediately, when she saw it, she came down from
      the top of the tree.'

     If the irrealis marker *la-* occurs in the dependent clause, it
brings the meaning 'about to' to the clause.

(64) La- sae -**na** iko ade'   langngan,
      IRR-come-3 2s it.is.said go.up

      na-rampan -an inde anak[k]-e.[21]
      3- release-BEN this child -D

      'You know, when he was about to reach the top, this
      child released (the rope)'.

     If a nominalized clause also contains the prefix *sa-* the clause
refers to a future event as in the following example.

(65) ... sa-   ta-   lambi'-**na** an- ta-   mane torro.
          until-1p.in-find- 3 CNS-1p.in-just dwell
      '... until when we find them, and then we will stop.'

     Although the most common relationship between the nominalized
dependent clause and the main clause is temporal, there are some
examples where there is no temporal element.

(66) Moi   na-kua-an kada asu indo -mu
      even.though 3- say-BEN word dog mother-2s

      innang la- ku-po- muane-**mu**.[22]
      indeed IRR-1s-ACT- man- 2s

      'Even if it was said that your mother is a dog,
      indeed I would marry you.'

(67) Umba susi la- ku-ka- mase-[m]**mu**
      how like IRR-1s-AFF-love-2s

      la'bi-   pa   to-i-o lako to- ma- tua-[m]mu?
      more.than-IMPF D -3-D to   REL-STA-old-2s

      'How about if my love for you is surpassed by my love
      for your parents?'

     In both of the examples above the expected 2s Set 1 clitic -**ko**
has been replaced by the Set 3 possessive suffix -**mu**. This usage is
unusual and rather rare (I have seen only these two examples to date).
The precise function of this structure is still unclear.

3.4   Free Form Set (Set 4)

Since so much of the person marking load is carried by the verb agreement system (Set 1 and Set 2), the free form pronouns play a limited role in Mamasa. They are used primarily in three ways: 1) in equative clauses, 2) to indicate emphasis, and 3) the second singular pronoun *iko* has a special discourse function.

3.4.1   In Equative Clauses

(68)   To   Ambon **ia**.
        person Ambon 3
        'He is Ambonese.'

(69)   Muane **ia** ade'   adi   -[n]na
        male 3 it.is.said younger.sibling-3
        'He is male, the younger sibling.'

3.4.2   Emphasis

When considering the languages of South Sulawesi as a group Mills came to the following conclusion regarding the free forms of personal pronouns:

These are used primarily when emphasis is to be placed on the person involved; thus they are somewhat infrequent in texts, since in ordinary contexts there are short forms affixed to the verb (Mills 1975: 210).

This holds true for Mamasa, particularly when free pronouns occur in conjuction with the corresponding bound form as in the following examples:

(70)   Ben sia   **-pa'**   kao bo'bo'   sakka'-mu.
        give really-IMPF/1s 1s cooked.rice cold- 2s
        'Please give **me** some of your cold rice.'

(71)   ... aka   indo -**ki**   **kami** kodo.
            because mother-1pl.ex 1p.ex ape
        '... because **our** mother is a monkey.'

(72)   Ma- rea'- **kan**   **kami**   lako indo- mu.
        STA-afraid-1p.ex 1pl.ex to   mother 2s
        '**We** are afraid of your mother.'

3.4.3 Special Discourse Usage

The second person singular pronoun **iko** is sometimes used in a story by the narrator to address the listeners directly to alert them that a significant event is about to take place. The meaning that is associated with this usage is something akin to: "you know", "would you believe it", or "are you with me?"

```
(73)   Tae'-ra    iko ade'       ma- sae        sae
       no  -CNTR 2s  it.is.said STA-long.time come

       tongan-mi     ade'           inde pe- ande tau   -e.
       truly -PRF/3 it.is.said this NR- eat  person-D

       'You know it wasn't long before the cannibal arrived.'

(74)   Ti-ramban sia    -ra    iko ade'
       NV-aware   really-CNTR 2s  it.is.said

       na-kilala   -i   kaka            -[n]na kumua ...
       3- remember-LOC older.sibling 3        that

       'You   know  the older sibling really   realized,
       he remembered, that ...'
```

4   CONCLUSIONS

The four pronoun sets of Mamasa play a central role in the syntax of the language. Set 1 and Set 2 constitute an ergative-absolutive verb agreement system. Set 3 is used not only for indicating possession on nominals but also as a means of subordinating a clause, and Set 4 is used in equative clauses as well as for emphasis.

From a study of Set 1 and Set 2 it was concluded that Mamasa is a split-ergative language. The split is syntactically motivated, only occurring in one clause type, that is clauses having the consecutive clause marker an-. In comparison to other split ergative languages this stands out as unusual.

It was also seen that the Mamasa antipassive construction is used to (re-)introduce characters or props into a discourse in a non-focused role.

There are several areas that await further investigation: 1) What are the rules governing the absence of person marking in a clause?, 2) What is the function of nominalized clauses which do not have a temporal element?, and 3) How is the notion of focus utilized in Mamasa discourse?

NOTES

1. The Mamasa language is an Austronesian language on the island of Sulawesi. It is often considered a dialect of Toraja (Sa'dan). Most of the approximately 100,000 speakers of Mamasa live in the eastern part of Kabupaten Polewali-Mamasa, although the language area does extend into the Kabupatens of Tana Toraja and Pinrang. The field work that is the basis for this paper was conducted in the village of Tatale, Desa Tawalian, Kecamatan Mamasa. Research for this paper was carried out under the auspices of the Cooperative Program between Hasanuddin University and the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

2. Previous works on the Mamasa language and culture include: three articles in Dutch by A. Bikker, who was a missionary living in Mamasa during the 1930's; three articles in French by Jeannine Koubi, who did research in the greater Toraja area in the 1970's; a small book in Indonesian by Arianus Mandadung about the Mamasa area and culture; Valkama's survey report on the Toraja subfamily of languages, and my own "Phonology of Mamasa."

3. Chart based on that of Dixon (1979:61).

4. Comrie (1977: 339-340).

5. Mills (1975:222).

6. Muna, the language of an island located off the southeast coast of Sulawesi, has a similar means of marking dual and plural where the plural morpheme -Vmu is added to the dual to make plural (Van den Berg 1989:77).

7. In example sentences the surface form of the combined aspectual and absolutive clitics is listed. Refer back to chart to see the underlying form.

8. Square brackets [ ] in example sentences indicate morphophonemic additions (gemination or insertion). Prefix final nasals geminate before stem initial vowels in Mamasa. For this and other morphophonemic variation see Matti (1991).

9. When a noun ends in /i/, /u/, and sometimes /a/ a nasal is inserted before a possessive suffix. This nasal has the same point of articulation as the suffix initial consonant.

10. In this paper the following terms will be used: 1) **actor**, the surface constituent which refers to the initiator of the predication in a transitive clause, 2) **object**, the surface constituent which refers to the undergoer of a transitive clause, 3) **subject**, the surface argument in an intransitive clause, 4) **agent**, the underlying initiator of events, and 5) **undergoer**, the underlying patient of events.

11. The variant kem- occurs with a few /b/ initial roots.

12. Prefix and clitic final nasals assimilate to the point of articulation of the following consonant. If the following consonant is a continuant (ie. /s/, /r/, or /l/) then the nasal totally assimilates to that continuant. In this case /meng-/ is realized as [men-]. The surface form is indicated in this and other example sentences.

13. Parentheses in example sentences indicates deletions. The velar nasal /ng/ is deleted before non-back consonants.

14. The word *ade'* 'it is said' is used to indicate that the information being asserted in a sentence is second hand information. It occurs in almost every sentence in a folktale. Since its translation yields unnatural English, *ade'* will not be translated in the example sentences of this paper.

15. An alternative analysis would be to consider the person markers that follow the consecutive marker *an-* to be the possessive markers of Set 3. One attraction of this analysis would be that it is in keeping with the use of Set 3 suffixes in nominalized dependent clauses. Also there would be no need to posit a split ergative system. Although this analysis is appealing on two counts and may represent what has happened historically, it appears that the person markers following the proclitic *an-* are to be taken as Set 2 pronouns because of examples like the following:

> ...am- mu-kolong   adi   -[m]mu
> CNS-2s-carry.on.back younger.sibling-2s
>
> **am**- mu-mai -**a'**   -i...
> CNS-2s-here-PLURAL-EMP
>
> '...and then carry your younger sibling on your back
> and then come here...'

Notice that the plural marker -*a'* occurs at the end of the verb and not after the 2s marker *mu-* as would be expected if the person marker was from Set 3 (refer back to Chart 2).

16. One difficulty encountered is that the combination of the consecutive clause marker *an-* and the 3s(ERG) marker *na-* is *anna*, which is homophonic with the multipurpose conjunction *anna*. It seems likely that the conjuction *anna* developed from the combination of the consecutive clause marker and the 3s(ERG) marker, but the element of person marking is no longer present. Some examples:

> Ma- langka' iko anna kau.
> STA-tall   2s CONJ 1s
> 'You are taller than me.'
>
> Pira   kilo   alla'-   na Kariango
> how.many kilometer distance.between-3s Kariango

anna Tatale?
CONJ Tatale

'How many kilometers between Kariango and Tatale?'

17. *pe-* is a verbal prefix that increases the transitivity of a clause by adding the notion of volition. See Campbell (1989:106) for a more complete discussion.

18. Mamasa does not follow the pattern of Bugis in requiring the use of the consecutive clause marker and/or Set 2 pronouns after the negative or the prohibitive. See Sirk (1983:83). For example in Mamasa we have the following:

Tae'-na' lao.
NEG- 1s go.
'I didn't go.'

Dau   lao. or   Dau   iko lao!
don't go   don't you go
Don't go.   Don't you go!

19. It is perhaps interesting to note the following sentence which does not contain the consecutive clause marker and hence still follows an ergative-absolutive pattern:

Lao-na' samai'.
go -1s   yesterday
'I went yesterday.'

20. Also note the following:

Pirang-ko la- sae sule?
when -2s IRR-come return
'When will you come back?'

21. Stem or word final consonants except glottal stop geminate before suffix or clitic initial /i/, /e/, or /o/.

22. The actuative prefix *po-* indicates that the actor is motivating someone/something into action or into a particular condition.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A   -actor/transitive subject
ABS -absolutive
AF   -actor focus
AFF -affected
BEN -benefactive
CAUS -causative
CNTR -contrast/counter-expectation
CONJ -conjuction
CNS -consecutive clause marker
D   -deictic
ERG -ergative
HAB -habitual
IMPF -imperfective
INT -intransitive
IRR -irrealis
LOC -locative
N   -noun
NEG -negative
NR   -nominalizer
NV   -non-volitional
O   -object
PASS -passive
POS -possessive
PRF -perfective
QM   -question marker
REC -reciprocal

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REDUP    -reduplication
S        -intransitive subject
STA      -stative
TR       -transitive
V        -verb
VL       -volition
1        -first person
2        -second person
3        -third person
ex       -exclusive
in       -inclusive
s        -singular
pl       -plural
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