

PERSON MARKING IN THE MAMUJU LANGUAGE

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Like other languages of the South Sulawesi group, Mamuju has four sets of personal pronouns/affixes. Person marking on the verb follows an ergative-absolutive pattern, although there are some deviations, related to the definiteness and certainty of the action. Free pronouns can be affixed by several clitics; they may also head a noun phrase occurring with modifiers. They are used in equative clauses, after prepositions and for emphasis. The possessive set is found on nouns and on verbs in nominalized dependent clauses.

1 INTRODUCTION

The Mamuju language is spoken by approximately 60,000 speakers living in the Mamuju district on the northwest coast of the province of South Sulawesi. They inhabit the narrow coastal plain mainly in the three subdistricts of Mamuju, Kalukku, and Budong-Budong.

The language is under considerable pressure today, due to large scale immigration to the area, rapid development, and a strong influence of the Indonesian language through the media and the educational system. My husband and I lived intermittently in the Mamuju district June 1987 - March 1992, doing research on Mamuju as part of the cooperative program between the Summer Institute of Linguistics and Hasanuddin University in Ujung Pandang.

Apart from an undergraduate thesis by M. Yusuf Djahidin (1987) on its phrase structure, as far as we know, nothing has been written about Mamuju.

The following paper is an attempt to show how person marking works in Mamuju. There are four pronoun types, one free and three bound forms. As is the case with several other languages in Sulawesi, Mamuju basically has an ergative-absolutive system, where ergative functions as the subject of transitive verbs and absolutive functions as the subject of intransitive verbs and as the object of transitive verbs. However, absolutive is also used as the subject of transitive verbs in so-called actor focus. The key to further understanding the use of ergative and absolutive in Mamuju seems to be that any kind of uncertainty or generalization overrides even a present definite object and produces an absolutive construction.

2 PERSON MARKING CHART AND COMMENTS

The chart below is an overview of the personal pronouns and pronominal affixes found in Mamuju. There are four pronoun types, one free and three bound forms. Except for the 1st plural exclusive *ki-*, the bound forms in Mamuju are the same in singular and plural. The free pronouns *yaku'* and *ingko* are exclusively used for singular, and *ingkai'* and *ingkamia'* are exclusively used for plural, but the other ones can be used for either.

PERSON	FREE PRONOUN	ERGATIVE PERSON PREFIX	ABSOLUTIVE PERSON CLITIC	POSSESSIVE
1s	<i>yaku'</i>	<i>ku-</i>	<i>-a'</i>	<i>-ku'</i>
2s hon	<i>ingko</i> <i>ingkita'</i> (<i>tau'</i>)	<i>mu-</i> <i>ni-</i>	<i>-ko</i>	<i>-mu</i> <i>-ta'</i>
3s	<i>ia</i>	<i>na-</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>-na</i>
1pex	<i>ingkai'</i>	<i>ku-</i> (-ii) <i>ki-</i>	<i>(-ii)-a'</i>	<i>-ku'(-ii)</i> <i>-ki'</i>
1pin	<i>ingkita'</i>	<i>ni-</i> (-ii)	<i>-</i>	<i>-ta'(-ii)</i>
2p hon	<i>ingkamia'</i> <i>ingkita'</i> (<i>tau'</i>)	<i>mu-</i> (-ii) <i>ni-</i> (-ii)	<i>(-ii)-ko</i>	<i>-mu(-ii)</i> <i>-ta'(-ii)</i>
3p	<i>ia(-ii)</i>	<i>na-</i> (-ii)	<i>(-ii)</i>	<i>-na(-ii)</i>

Some comments on the chart:

1. Although most people use final glottal on 1st person and 2nd person honorific free pronouns and the corresponding possessives, some people don't or sometimes they do and at other times they don't.

2. The second person singular set of *ingko* and its corresponding forms, which is supposed to be used for people of younger age or lower position, seems to be used more and more for anybody, especially by younger speakers of the language. It is, however, viewed as quite impolite by older speakers. Of the two 2nd person honorific forms, *ingkita'* and *tau'*, *ingkita'* is the more formal one.

3. The free pronoun *tau'* indicates 2nd person, but may also be used for 1st person plural (exclusive and inclusive), as well as, in certain cases, for 1st person singular (i.e. in general statements). In neighbouring languages *tau* means 'person', which may explain its wide use. As can be seen from the chart, 1st person plural inclusive lacks

an absolute bound form. Instead *tau'* is used. Note, however, that *tau'*, although semantically a free pronoun, is different from the other free pronouns in that it can only follow the predicate, never precede it. Moreover, it cannot be used in prepositional phrases with a personal pronoun:

- (1) **su'be di tau'*
 come GP you
 'from you'

It also differs from the regular pronouns in that it cannot be affixed (see 3.2).

4. When looking at the chart, one can see that except for the free pronouns *yaku'*, *ingko*, *ingkai'* and *ingkamia'*, and the affix *ki-* (which seems to be becoming less frequently used among the younger generation), Mamuju does not differentiate between singular and plural. Plurality is understood by the context, or by adding the plural marker *-ii* if plurality is stressed. The plural marker may pluralize the free pronouns, as in examples (48) and (49), the ergative (2), the absolute (3), or the possessive.

In the case of ergative or absolute forms, usually either the plural marker or the corresponding free pronoun (or both), is present if plurality is intended. If nothing indicates plurality, singular is intended. Even with singular, however, the free pronoun is often added. Since the plural suffix is a general plural marker, it is often made explicit by the speaker whether it pluralizes the ergative or the absolute.

- (2) *ku-kua-ii-mo ingkai'*
 1E-say-p-EM we(in)
 'all of us said'
 (pluralizes the ergative)
- (3) *na-sudu-ii-a' ingkai' indo-na Asli su'be di sapo-na*
 3E-order-p-1A we(in) mother-3PO Asli come GP house-3PO
 'Asli's mother ordered us all to come to her house'
 (pluralizes the absolute)

It is further noted that except for the 3rd person set where it is still in common use, the plural marker seems to be decreasingly used in connection with pronoun sets.

5. The plural marker *-ii* also functions as 3rd person absolute clitic. As opposed to the other absolute clitics (illustrated in (5)), however, it precedes the modal clitics (*-mo*, *-do*, *-ki*, *-pa*):

- (4) *me-(l)lampa-ii-do*
 ITR-walk-3pA-PRF
 'they've walked'
- (5) *su'be-do-ko*
 come-PRF-2E
 'you've come'

6. 3rd person singular lacks the absolutive clitic, and the 3rd person plural clitic *-ii* is not always used in everyday speech. In these cases there are three possibilities: a) a noun is used, b) the free pronoun is used, or c) it is unmarked. In the last case, the referent is understood from the context (see 4.2.2-4.).

7. *ia(-ii)* has been mentioned as the 3rd person plural free pronoun, and this is likely the original form. However, today the quantifiers *nasang* or *sangnging*, meaning 'all', generally substitute for the 3rd person plural free pronoun.

8. The possessive *-ta'* (1pin/2hon) may also be used as 1pex possessive to include the hearer, since *-ki'* is considered too exclusive.

- (6) *inne sapo-ta'*
DEM house-1pinPO/2honPO
'this is our(1pin)/your house'

The hearer knows that what is meant, is 'this is my/our(ex) house'. It is the normal Mamuju way of saying 'feel at home!'.

9. The 1st person absolutive clitic, if affixed to the emphatic clitic *-mo*, is realized as *-mo'*. Similarly the perfective clitic *-do* + *-a'* is realized as *-do'*, and the imperfective clitic *-pa* + *-a'* is realized as *-pa'*:

- (7) *malai-mo-*
go.home-EM-1A
'I went home'
- (8) *malai-do-*
go.home-PRF-1A
'I'm already home'
- (9) *me-guru'-pa-*
VR-teacher-IPF-1A
'I still study'

When the 1st person absolutive clitic affixes to a word ending in a final consonant, the final consonant is geminated:

- (10) *tarrus-(s)a'*
continue-1A
'I continue'
- (11) *balukang-ang-(ng)a'*
sell-BEN-1A
'sell it to me'

10. *ni-* may be passive or 1st person plural (inclusive) or 2nd person. In Mamuju the passive prefix fills the same morphological slot as the ergative prefix and one can therefore tentatively say that the passive prefix simply is an ergative prefix with neutral meaning as to person. Both the Seko language (see Laskowske 1991) and Mamuju use *ni-* as a general pronoun or passive form, whereas several neighbouring lan

guages use *di-*, like Indonesian. It is, however, quite likely that *ni-* was the original. Young people today seem to be switching to *di-*, due to Indonesian influence. When *ni-* is used for questions or commands, it is usually best to consider it as 2nd person.

(12) u'de ni-insang
NEG PASS-know
'it's not known/who knows?'

(13) ni-kita-pa
PASS-see-IPF
'it remains to be seen'

(14) ni-ala-mo
2E-take-EM
'(you) take it!'

(15) umba ni-ola?
where 2E-go
'where are you going?'

Note that the intransitive verb *ola* here gets the ergative prefix (see (80) and (81)).

3 FREE PRONOUNS

3.1 Functions

Free pronouns are used in the following constructions:

1. As subject of an equative clause:

(16) yaku' to-Mamunyu
I person-Mamuju
'I am a Mamuju'

(17) ingkamia' guru SMP nasang-ko
you(p) teacher SMP all-2A
'all of you are teachers at SMP'

(18) ingkai' inne to-sugi-a'
we(ex) DEM person-rich-1sA
'we(ex) are rich people'

Note that the 1st person absolutive is added at the end to make the point that the speaker himself is also rich. Otherwise it would have meant that the speaker was part of a group of rich people, although he himself might not have been rich.

- (19) ingkita' solasuung mala'bi'-ku'
 you(hon) brother honour-1sPO
 'you are my brother of honour'

2. As objects of a preposition:

- (20) mam-pi-pi-ingsang-ang di ingkita'
 TR-CAUS-VM-know-BEN GP you(pol)
 '(in order) to cause it to be known by you'
- (21) na-beang-mo-' ammana setto di yaku'
 3E-give-EM-1A advice one GP I
 'he gave a piece of advice to me'
- (22) mane' ni-pen-dodo-ii apa anu na-ingsang su'be di
 then PASS-TRV-request-3pA what which 3E-know come GP

 ia-ii
 he-p

 'then they were asked (to say) what they knew /
 then it was requested from them what they knew'

Note that the ergative *na-ingsang* is not marked for plural, probably because it is clear from the context that plurality is meant.

3. To emphasize the subject of a verbal predicate.

The absolutive/ergative may also be added for emphasis. When the free pronoun is fronted, the subject is even more emphasized; compare (23) and (24). (The word which is being emphasized is written in capital letters in the English translation.)

- (23) yaku' mam-pa-ka-nanang(- (ng) a')
 I TR-CAUS-DEG-cook(-1A)
 'I am the one who is cooking'
- (24) mam-pa-ka-nanang- (ng) a' yaku'
 TR-CAUS-DEG-cook-1A I
 'I am cooking'
- (25) ingko mang-kapia-ko ga'de
 you TR-make-2A cake
 'YOU make a cake (while somebody else does something else)'
- (26) ingkita' banggi ia
 you(hon) decide it
 'YOU decide it'
- (27) ia mang-alli
 he TR-buy
 'HE is the one who buys'

- (28) lumampa-ki ia
go -LIM he
'HE went'
- (29) na mu-apa-ki itte ingko?
FUT 2E-what-QM DEM you
'what will YOU have to do with that?'
- (30) nasang-ki inne ia na mang-ala wai
QUANT-LIM DEM he FUT TR-fetch water
'it is THEY (lit: all he) who are going to fetch water'
- (31) ingkamia'-ki inne na mam-basoi oto
you(p)-LIM DEM FUT TR-wash car
'YOU(p) here are going to wash the car'

4. To emphasize the direct or the indirect pronominal object.

In this case the regular absolutive may optionally be added.

- (32) yaku' na-ba'ji(-a')
me 3E-hit-1A
'he hit ME'
- (33) ingkita'-ki inne ku-akkattai (tau')
you-LIM DEM 1E-mean (you)
'it is YOU whom I mean'
- (34) yaku' mu-beang(-a')
me 2E-give(-1A)
'you give (something) to ME'
- (35) ingko ku-baba-ang(-ko) ga'de
you 1E-bring-BEN-2A cake
'I'm bringing cake for YOU'

5. To emphasize a possessive suffix.

The personal pronoun may either precede or follow the noun, but putting the personal pronoun before the noun emphasizes the possessive even more.

- (36) pa'da ingkita' liutang-ta'
vanish we(in) island-1pinPO
'OUR island is about to vanish'
- (37) di-umba na-enge-i ingkita' angngatang-ta'
GP-where 3E-place-SCP you(hon) country/place-2honPO
'where is YOUR place (of origin) situated?'
- (38) inne sampang-mu ingko
DEM trousers-2PO you
'these are YOUR trousers'

- (39) soa-soa sapo-ki' ingkai'
 RED-empty house-1pexPO we(ex)
 'OUR house is empty'

3.2 Affixation

A limited number of clitics may be affixed to the free pronoun base: (The free pronoun *tau'*, however, is never affixed)

1. The clitic *-mo*, indicating emphasis:

- (40) ingko-mo mang-ala
 you-EM TR-take
 'YOU just take it'

2. The clitic *-ki*, indicating limitation, emphasis, assertion or counterexpectation, translated as 'only/just':

- (41) ampunna' ia-ki mu-pe-baine
 if she-LIM 2SE-ITR-wife
 'if only you take HER as wife'

- (42) ingkita'-ki inne
 you-LIM DEM
 'just YOU'

3. The clitic *-do*, indicating perfectivity:

- (43) ia-do itte
 he-PRF DEM
 'that's already HIM'

- (44) ingkita'-do mang-ala-ii
 we(in)-PRF TR-take-p
 'WE've already taken them'

4. The clitic *-pa*, marking future or imperfective, meaning 'still/yet' or 'later':

- (45) ingkamia'-pa mam-baba
 you(p)-IPF TR-bring
 'YOU(p) bring it later'

5. The absolutive clitics may also be affixed to a personal pronoun as the object or indirect object of the predication: (This is, however, a rather rare construction.)

- (46) yaku'-ii man-jampang-(ng) i
 I-3pA TR-care.for-SCP
 'I took care of them'

- (47) ia-a' mang-alli-ang
 he-1A TR-buy-BEN
 'HE bought it for me'

6. In the same way the plural *-ii* may also be suffixed to a personal pronoun, except to *yaku'* (and *tau'*); however, it does not seem to be widely used.

- (48) ingkai'-ii-ki ma-pa(s)-sikola
 we(in)-p-LIM TR-CAUS -school
 'all of US caused him to go to school'
- (49) ingko-ii-ki mam-pa-ka-nanang
 you-p-LIM TR-CAUS-DEG-cook
 'all of YOU cook'

Note how the ambiguity of *ingko-ii* is ruled out by the verb, since it is unlikely to mean 'you(pl) cook them'.

- (50) ingkita'-ii ma'-jama
 we(in)/you-p VR-work
 'WE all/YOU all work'

7. The prefix *to-*, a reduction from *tomo* 'also/too', may be affixed to a free pronoun. The resulting construction I will call an additive pronoun. The following additive pronouns have been found in Mamuju:

to + yaku'	->	taku'	'I too'
to + ingko	->	tongko	'you(s) too'
to + ingkita'	->	tongkita'	'you(hon) too/we(in) too'
to + ia	->	toia	'he/they too'
to + ingkai'	->	tongkai'	'we(ex) too'
to + ingkamia'	->	tongkamia'	'you(pl) too'

- (51) na tarrus-(s)a' taku'
 FUT continue-1A I.too
 'I'll continue as well'

- (52) domai sala-ki-ko tongko
 come.here other.time-LIM-2A you(s).too
 'come here another time (you too)'

Note when the additive is used with an absolutive as in (51) and (52), it always immediately follows the absolutive. In contrast, the free pronoun, when co-occurring with an absolutive, can either precede the predicate or follow the absolutive (see (23) and (24)).

However, when an additive cooccurs with an ergative, it may occur before or after the verb or before the object:

- (53) diang-mo tongkita' ni-baba
 there.is-EM you.too 2E-bring
 'there is something for you too to bring'

- (54) diang wai ku-tana taku'
 there.is water 1E-boil I.too
 'there is water which I've boiled too'
 (probably emphasizes the object and possibly
 the predicate)
- (55) diang wai taku' ku-tana
 there.is water I.too 1E-boil
 'there is water which I've boiled too'
 (probably emphasizes the object)
- (56) diang taku' wai ku-tana
 there.is I.too water 1E-boil
 'there is water which I've boiled too'
 (probably emphasizes the subject of the predicate)

The additive pronouns can also be used to emphasize a possessive:

- (57) apa itte taku' ampo-ku'
 because DEM I.too grandchild-1PO
 'because this grandchild of mine too'
- (58) tente apa-mo tongkai' ada'-ki'
 that.way because-EM we(ex).too custom-1pexPO
 'that's also how our custom is'

3.3 Pronouns as Head of NP: Modifiers

A personal pronoun can be modified in different ways when it is the head of a NP:

1. By a demonstrative pronoun:

- (59) ingkai' inne
 we(ex) DEM
 'we here'
- (60) ingkamia' ittu
 you(p) DEM
 'you(p) there'
- (61) ia itte jao-e
 he DEM far-FOM
 'that's him over there'

2. By a relative clause:

- (62) ingkamia' ittu, to ma(1)-lembar anjoro,
 you(p) DEM person TR-carry.on.shoulder coconut
 ma-gassing sanna
 SV-strong really

'you(p) there, who carry coconut on the shoulder,
are really strong'

- (63) yaku', melo'-a' mam-boso-boso, ma'-jama jao-a' di pacceko
I, want-1A TR-RED-cut VR-work DIR-1A GP kitchen
'I, who want to cut, work over there in the kitchen'

3. By an appositive NP:

- (64) ingkai' inne, to-Mamunyu, ki-kassei-ii
we(ex) DEM person-Mamuju 1pexE-like-p

mang-kande kalumpang
TR-eat sago.tortilla

'we (all of us), Mamuju people, like to eat sago
tortillas'

- (65) ingkita' inne, to lattu tongang, na dai' me-atti
you here, person diligent really, FUT DIR VR-snail
'you, who are really diligent, are going to look for
snails'

4. By a numeral:

- (66) ingkai' de-dua
we(ex) RED-two
'we(ex) are two'

- (67) ingkai' si-pa-tallu me-onto di sapo
we(ex) REC-CAUS-three ITR-live GP house
'the three of us live in a house'

4 ERGATIVE AND ABSOLUTIVE SETS

In general the pronominal affixes in Mamuju may be demonstrated in this way (see Martens 1988):

	VERB intransitive	A	SUBJECT
		B	-a'
		S	-ko
		O	etc.
		L	
ACTOR	VERB transitive	U	OBJECT
		T	
E	ku-	I	-a'
R	mu-/ni-	V	-ko
G.	etc.	E	etc.

4.1 Ergative Prefixes

The ergative person prefixes mark the subject of a transitive verb with goal focus, even though the goal in Mamuju often is unmarked, since 3rd person singular lacks an absolutive form (see example (72)). It conveys that the object is definite or that the speaker has a definite object in mind.

- (68) ku-ala itte alibe
1E-take DEM medicine
'I take that medicine'
- (69) ni-limas-(s)i lopi
2E-scoop-REP boat
'you (hon) scoop the boat (the speaker has a specific boat in mind)'
- (70) na-sapu-sapu boko'-ku'
3E-RED-stroke back-1sPO
'he stroke my back repeatedly'
- (71) na-beang-mo-' ammana setto di yaku'
3E-give-EM-1A advice one GP I
'he gave ME a piece of advice'
- (72) ku-alli dinne
1E-buy here
'I bought it here'
- (73) ki-pati-pa-tindo-ang injolo' barang tallung allo
1pexE-RED-CAUS-sleep-BEN at.first maybe three days
'we'll think it over for maybe three days at first'
- (74) mane' ku-kapia
just 1E-make
'I just made it'
- (75) na-tappas-pa
3E-clothes.wash-IPF
'he'll wash them (the clothes) later'
- (76) ku-insang-do ingkai'
1E-know-PRF we(ex)
'we(ex) know it'

Similarly the ergative construction is also used in questions when the goal is in focus, i.e. the question word is fronted:

- (77) umba-ki angngatang ni-pen-su'be-i
where-QM country 2E-TRV-come-SCP
'which country do you come from?'

Note that the intransitive verb *su'be* is made transitive by adding the transitivizer *pen-*.

- (78) apa mu-alli?
 what 2E-buy
 'what did you buy?'
- (79) sema na-lalle?
 who 3E-look.for
 'whom does he look for?'
- (80) umba ni-ola
 where 2E-go
 'where do you go?'

Note that here the ergative prefix is used with an intransitive verb. So far this is the only example we have come across. However, the same verb root also exists with a sort of transitive meaning:

- (81) apa ni-ola
 what 2E-go
 'what did you go by?'

When the action refers to the future, both the object and the intention need to be definite, and only then ergative is used. The future *na* in most cases seems to signal a definite action in the future, whereas the verb *melo'* usually does not, see (105):

- (82) na ku-alli oto-na ambe'-na Abdal
 FUT 1E-buy car-3PO father-3PO Abdal
 'I'm going to buy Abdal's father's car'

In (83) the suffix *-do* and in (84) the future *na* makes the intention definite, even though *melo'* is used:

- (83) melo'-do ku-alli oto-na ambe'-na Abdal
 want-PRF 1E-buy car-3PO father-3PO Abdal
 'I already want to buy Abdal's father's car'
- (84) melo' na ku-alli oto-na ambe'-na Abdal
 want FUT 1E-buy car-3PO father-3PO Abdal
 'I want and will buy Abdal's father's car'

4.2 Absolute Clitics

The second set of personal affixes in Mamuju is called absolute person clitics. It should be noted that the person clitics are not true suffixes, but clitics. First, they do not alter the stress of the root word they are attached to, as true suffixes do in Mamuju, and second, they may be attached to almost any word other than proper verbs, like modal auxiliaries, locatives, negatives, nouns (incorporated objects), and adverbs.

4.2.1 Position

The position of absolutive person clitics except for some modifications, follows that of Pitu Ulunna Salu (Campbell 1989:48). In a negative sentence it attaches to the negative. If that is not present, it attaches to the preverbal modifier (usually a modal or an adverb). If that is not present, it attaches to the postverbal modifier (except if the modifier is a temporal word like 'soon', 'a moment', 'before' etc., in which case it attaches to the verb). In other cases it attaches to the verb. In summary the preferred position of the absolutive in the verb phrase is as follows:

		PREVERBAL			POST-VERBAL
NEG-	(ABS)	MOD-	(ABS)	VERB-	(ABS)
	1		2		4
					3

Consider the following examples:

(85) me(1)-lampa-a'
 ITR-walk-1A
 'I walk'

(86) na me(1)-lampa-a' ma-siga
 FUT ITR-walk-1A SV-soon
 'I'll leave soon'

Note that since the post-verbal modifier is a temporal word as mentioned above, the absolutive attaches to the verb. Note also that the absolutive cannot be attached to the future *na*.

(87) me(1)-lampa ma-siga-a'
 ITR-walk SV-fast-1A
 'I walk fast'

Evidently the word *ma-siga* in Mamuju may either function as a temporal word or as a stative verb. In (87) the post-verbal is not a temporal verb but a stative verb, so the absolutive clitic does regularly attach to the post-verbal modifier according to the rule given above.

(88) u'de-a' ma-siga me(1)-lampa
 NEG-1A SV-fast ITR-walk
 'I don't walk fast'

(89) ma-siga-apa-a' me(1)-lampa
 SV-fast-REAS-1A ITR-walk
 'because I walk fast'

(90) u'de-apa-a' me(1)-lampa
 NEG-REAS-1A ITR-walk
 'because I don't walk'

Note that in the last two examples the absolutive clitic attaches

to the reason word *apa*. If the reason word *apa* does not occur clause initially, it attaches itself to the preceding negative or modifier, almost like a suffix. This whole construction in turn, takes the absolutive clitic. The rule formulated above is therefore still valid. The same is the case for the modifying word *kale* 'only, just':

- (91) u'de kale-a' mala ma-tindo
NEG just-1A can VR-sleep
'I just cannot sleep'

It also holds for nouns which are incorporated into the verb:

- (92) men-dodo-a'dampang-(ng)a' di ingkita'
ITR-ask.for-excuse-1A GP you(hon)
'I offer you my apologies' (lit: 'I excuse-ask you')

In the case of a preverbal temporal like *mamanya* 'while', the absolutive can either attach to the temporal or to the verb, or even to both (this is, however, rare):

- (93) mamanya-a' meng-karro di babaang
while-1A ITR-stay GP door
'while I was standing in the door'
- (94) mamanya meng-karro-a' di babaang
while ITR-stay-1A GP door
'while I was standing in the door'
- (95) mamanya-a' itte mam-patudu-a' di bao di Mangkasar
during-1A DEM TR-teach-1A GP LOC GP Makassar
'during that time I was teaching in Makassar'

4.2.2 Functions

1. As subject of intransitive verbs

The absolutive person clitics are used to mark the subject of intransitive verbs. Intransitive verbs may be marked with *me-*, *meN-*, *meC-*, *ma-*, *maN-*, *maC-*, *mo-*, *bu-*, *mu-*, *ti-*, or *-um-*. Most of them, however, are marked with *me-*, *meN-*, or *meC-*.

- (96) me-osa-a' ingkai'
ITR-rest-1A we(ex)
'we(ex) rest'
- (97) me(l)-lingkang-ko ingkamia'
ITR-move-2A you(p)
'you(p) move'
- (98) ti-sollor-ko
NV-slide-2A
'you slide'

- (99) men-sau-ii
 ITR-out-3pA
 'they went out'

2. As subject of transitive verbs

The absolutive person clitics may also be used to mark the subject of transitive verbs in so-called actor focus. The resulting construction can be considered an anti-passive construction. The verb is usually marked with *maC-*, and the object is usually indefinite:

- (100) tarpassa mang-ala-a' po-limas laeng-na
 forced TR-take-1A INST-scoop other-3PO
 'I was forced to take another pail'
 (There isn't another pail there, so the narrator has to look for something he can use as a substitute.)
- (101) tappa man-tandu-a' batang
 suddenly TR-collide-1A stem
 'suddenly I collided with a stem'
- (102) pura ma(s)-sambajang man-tana'-a' wai
 finished TR-pray TR-cook-1A water
 'having finished praying, I cook water'

Let's compare an absolutive statement and an ergative statement where the difference is in the objects. 'English' in (103) is indefinite, and hence the actor is marked with the absolutive. In (104) 'these children' is definite, hence ergative actor marking. Apparently a verb like 'teach' can have two objects, but the semantic patient (what is taught) takes precedence over the recipient (the pupils).

- (103) apa ni-po-gau? mam-patudu-a' inne nakeke
 what 2E-VR-doing? TR-teach-1A DEM children

 basa Anggaris
 language English

 'What are you doing? I'm teaching these children English'
- (104) u'de tau' mako di undangang? pura-pa, ku-pa-tudu
 NEG you go GP invitation? finish-IPF 1E-CAUS-teach

 jolo' inne nakeke
 DEM child first

 'Aren't you going to where we've been invited? Later, I'll teach these children first'

In addition to the definite object (these children) in (104), the speaker has a specific lesson in mind which he wants to finish. The time frame is also specific or limited, i.e. before he goes to the invitation, and thus goal focus with ergative is used.

To summarize the use of ergative and absolutive with a definite

object in Mamuju, the key seems to be that any kind of uncertainty or generalization overrides even a present definite object and produces an absolute construction. Let us take a more detailed look at this:

a. Definite object, but indefinite purpose/intention or imminent action

As was shown in 4.1, when the action refers to the future, both the object and the intention needs to be definite (82). Only then is the ergative used. Thus an indefinite intention overrides a definite object, as in example (105):

- (105) melo'-a' mang-alli oto ma-kudarra itte-e
want-1A TR-buy car SV-green DEM-FOM
'I want to buy that green car'

In example (106) absolute must indicate that there is something indefinite about the action (either unfinished or imminent action).

- (106) mang-alli-a' oto-na ambe'-na Abdal
TR-buy-1A car-3PO father-3PO Abdal
'I'm about to buy Abdal's father's car'

b. Definite object, but some kind of uncertainty

When absolute is used with a definite object, it signifies some kind of uncertainty in the situation:

- (107) su'be-a' mako mang-ala-a' itte alibe
come-1A go TR-take-1A DEM medicine
'I came to take the medicine'

Here there seems to be uncertainty as to whether the medicine really is in its place. The taking has not yet taken place. Consider the following example as well:

- (108) ma(1)-lalle-a' arloji-ku'
TR-look.for-1A watch-1PO
'I'm looking for my watch'

This person is looking for his watch, but he is not sure where he put or lost it, and is therefore also uncertain as to when and where he will find it. Using the ergative in this connection would convey that the person knew where he had put or lost it.

Sometimes the underlying uncertainty shown by using the absolute also signifies politeness:

- (109) melo'-a' mang-ala ga'de-ta'
want-1A TR-take cake-2honPO
'I'd like to take your cake'

It is the speaker's desire to take the cake, but since it is not his cake, he is using the absolute to show uncertainty and politeness rather than the arrogant *melo' ku-ala* However, if the cake had been the speaker's, he could also have used the *melo' ku-ala*

construction.

c. Generalization:

- (110) na ma-[n]appas-a' poo-poo-na Cia
FUT TR-wash-1A RED-nappy-3PO Cia
'I'm going to wash Cia's nappies'

The answer is given in response to: 'What are you going to wash?' The intention is definite (the person is already on her way to the well with the dirty clothes), the object is also definite (Cia's nappies). So why is absolutive still used? The answer is probably that 'Cia's nappies' here is just used as a cover for or generalization for all the other things the person is going to wash. Using ergative here would signify that the nappies, and only those, are going to be washed.

This list is probably not yet exhaustive; further research is needed.

3. As object of transitive verbs

The absolutive person clitics are also, as would be expected, used to mark the object of a transitive verb. The forms are identical to those used as subject of an intransitive verb:

- (111) na-ba'ji-a' 'he/she/they hit me'
(112) na-ba'ji-ko 'he/she/they hit you'
(113) ku-ba'ji 'I hit her/him/(them)'
(114) na-ba'ji-a' ingkai' 'he/she/they hit us(ex)'
(115) na-ba'ji-ko ingkamia' 'he/she/they hit you(p)'
(116) ku-ba'ji-ii 'I hit them'
(117) ki-ba'ji-mo-ko 'we(in) are ready to hit you, OK?'
(118) na-ba'ji-ii-a' 'he/she hit us(ex)/they hit me'
(119) na-sudu-ii-mo mako di Mamuju
3E-order-3pA-EM go GP Mamuju
'he ordered them to go to Mamuju'
(120) ku-pen-dodo-ang-ko
1E-TRV-ask.for-BEN-2A
'I('ll) ask for you'
(121) na-sudu-a' domai indo-ku'
3E-order-1A to.here mother-1PO
'my mother sent me here'

- (122) ku-baba-ang-ko ga'de
 1E-bring-BEN-2A cake
 'I'm bringing cake for you'

Note there is no 1st person inclusive absolutive clitic. Instead, the free pronoun *tau'* is used:

- (123) ku-baba-ang tau' ga'de
 1E-bring-BEN 1pin cake
 'I'm bringing cake for us (in)'

4. The lack of absolutive clitic in 3rd person

As already mentioned in 2.7, the 3rd person singular and sometimes plural lack absolutive clitics. Instead, a free pronoun or a noun is often used:

- (124) sau inne maradika man-sombangi sau na mang-alli
 DIR DEM king TR-sail DIR FUT TR-buy

 poe-poe ammas
 RED-cradle silver

'the king sailed west to buy a silver cradle'

In the first clause a nominal subject is present; *mang-alli* is therefore unmarked in the following clause.

- (125) mala-mo mam-pa-si-sembe' manu'; ma-narang-mo
 can-EM TR-CAUS-REC-compete cock SV-clever-EM

 ma(k)-kana-kana
 TR-RED-talk

'they could make cocks fight; they were good in talking'

The subject of the verbs in these clauses is not indicated. It is understood, however, from the preceding context and hence not marked.

5 POSSESSIVE SUFFIXES

5.1 Nominal Inflection

Possessive suffixes are used for nominal inflection:

- (126) sapo-ku' 'my house'
 (127) kareba-mu 'your news'

- (128) belua'-na 'his/her/their hair'
 (129) lipa-ki' 'our(ex) sarong'
 (130) bala-ta' 'our(in)/your(hon) fence'
 (131) bonde-ta' 'our(in)/your(hon) garden'

5.2 Nominalized Dependent Clauses

1. Signifying the subject of the clause

This construction conveys something that happened simultaneously or in close temporal succession. The meaning is 'as/when' or 'after':

- (132) men-suung-ku' men-tama-ta'
 ITR-go.out-1PO ITR-go.in-2PO
 'as I went out you went in'
 (133) me-dama-ku' ma-cai'-na
 ITR-laugh-1PO SV-angry-3PO
 'when I laughed, he got angry'

The construction may convey subsequent action:

- (134) ia malai-ku' mam-baca-a' sura'
 well come.home-1PO TR-read-1A letter
 'when I came home, I read a letter'

It may also be used on the temporal noun *wattu*:

- (135) wattu-ku' ma-bangking ma-sara
 time-1PO SV-ill SV-serious
 'when I was seriously ill'

2. Signifying the object of the clause

This construction conveys something that happened simultaneously or in close temporal succession. As above, the meaning is 'as/when' or 'after':

- (136) na-rangngo-ku' mang-kana-kana-ang kareba-na indo-na,
 3E-hear-1PO TR-RED-tell-BEN news-3PO mother-3PO
 tappa me-angka-do
 immediately ITR-leave-PRF
 'when he heard me tell the news about his mother,
 he immediately left'
 (137) na-udu-na bau botto' tappa na-timping
 3E-smell-3PO fish spoiled immediately 3E-pinch

pudung-na
nose-3PO

'when he smelt the spoiled fish, he immediately pinched
his nose'

In example (137) the -na must refer to the fish.

- (138) na-kita-mu, tappa mudende
3E-see-2PO immediately run
'As he saw you, he ran immediately'

5.3 Possessives used with a Numeral:

- (139) setto-ku'
one-1PO
'alone'

- (140) de-duang-ku' dini di sapo me-onto
RED-two-1PO here GP house ITR-stay
'we are two together staying in the house'

Note that from three and upwards the classifier has to be included:

- (141) tallu-ki bao-ku' dini
three-LIM CL-1PO here
'we are three people here'

CONVENTIONS

In the examples above a morpheme boundary in the Mamuju text is indicated by a hyphen (-). The English semantic units are also separated by hyphens, but when a unit consists of more than one word, these are separated by a dot. Single letters within brackets mark a doubling of a consonant on a morpheme boundary. Examples: *ma(l)-lem-bar*; *ni-limas-(s)i*.

Single letters within square brackets mark an exchange of a letter. Example: *ma-[n]appas* from the verbal base *tappas* 'wash'. Brackets around morphemes generally denotes optionality:

yaku' mam-pa-ka-nanang(- (ng) a')
I TR-CAUS-DEG-cook(-1A)
'I cook'

The following symbols are used in the text:

-	morpheme boundary in Mamuju
*	ungrammatical
'	glottal stop (in Mamuju examples)

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
A	absolute
BEN	benefactive
CAUS	causative
CL	classifier
DEG	degree
DEM	demonstrative
DIR	directional
E	ergative
ERG	ergative
EM	emphatic clitic (-mo)
ex	exclusive
FOM	focus marker
FUT	future
GP	general preposition
hon	honorific
in	inclusive
INST	instrument
IPF	imperfective clitic (-pa)
ITR	intransitive
LIM	limiting clitic (-ki)
lit	literally
LOC	locative
NV	non-volitional
p	plural
pex	plural exclusive
pin	plural inclusive
PO	possessive
PRF	perfective clitic (-do)
QUANT	quantifier
REAS	reason
REC	reciprocal
RED	reduplication
REP	repetitive
s	singular
SCP	scope
SV	stative verb
TR	transitive
TRV	transitivizer
VM	verbal marker (precise function still obscure)
VR	verbalizer

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