NOTES ON DURI TRANSITIVITY

Susanne Valkama

Summer Institute of Linguistics

This paper describes the affixes in Duri that are related to transitivity. Duri has three classes of verbs i.e. stative, intransitive and transitive. Their distinguishing characteristics are presented in Section One. In Section Two the Stative Verbs are described as either unmarked or prefixed with *ma-* or *bu-*. In Section Three the Basic Intransitive Verbs are discussed. They occur with five prefixes: *ke-*, *keN-*, *meN-*, *me-* and *mang-* and one infix *-um-* to mark the different subclasses. The Derived Intransitive Verbs are presented in Section Four. These intransitives involve the reciprocal *si-*, the non-volitional *ti-*, the passive *di-* and the detransitivizers *mang-* and *pa-*. The Basic Transitive verbs which are discussed in Section Five obligatorily take actor or goal focus. They carry no other overt marking except some verbs which are derived from nouns with the prefix *pu-*.

1   INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Duri Language

1.1.1   Location and Language Family

The Duri language belongs to the Massenrempulu subfamily, Northern South Sulawesi family. This subfamily consists of three languages: Duri, Enrekang-Pattinjo and Maiwa (Valkama 1987:128). Mills (1975:109ff) describes Massenrempulu as transitional between Toraja-Saqdan and Bugis.

Duri is located in the three northernmost subdistricts of the Enrekang district (i.e. Alla, Anggeraja and Baraka). The language is spoken by about 90,000 people and seems to be uniform, without great dialect differences (Valkama 1990:75).

1.1.2   Literature about Duri

Little in depth work has been done on the Duri language. There are two publications about the Massenrempulu languages by the Department of Education in Jakarta (Mursalin *et al*. 1984 and Syarif *et al*. 1982). Several research projects for developing local languages have given written reports published by the Department of Education in Ujung Pandang (Hanafie *et al*. 1981, Junaedie *et al*. 1978 and Pelenkahu *et al*.1978).

The Language Institute in Ujung Pandang has produced a spelling guide (Junaedie *et al*. 1984). All of these presentations have, however, concentrated on the Enrekang language. A short introduction to the Massenrempulu languages is found in Pelenkahu *et al*. (1972). Mills' dissertation (1975) touches on Duri a little bit as does the Language map of Sulawesi (Pelenkahu 1974) and Grimes and Grimes' *Languages of South Sulawesi* (1987). There is also a survey report by Valkama (1987). Some text volumes have been published: Sikki *et al*. (1986), Valkama *et al*. (1989) and Valkama (1990). A transcription of a Buginese lontara and a translation of it in Indonesian by Abdullah *et al*. (1989) gives an interesting view of how the history of Enrekang is perceived. There are some theses both at UNHAS and IKIP, Ujung Pandang, which discuss Duri. I am aware of two, by Angreny (1985) and Dawaru (1981).

Since Duri is closely related to the languages in the Torajan sub-family I have greatly benefitted in my understanding of Duri morphology by reading Campbell's (1989) and Salombe's (1982) presentations of Bambam (also called Pitu Ulunna Salu) and Toraja-Saqdan respectively.

1.2   Aim of Paper

The aim of this paper is to discuss the affixes in Duri which relate to transitivity. The affix system is very rich both grammatically and semantically. Included are basic stative, intransitive and transitive affixes, as well as derivational intransitive prefixes. To complete the picture, the morphologically unmarked subclasses are also presented. Some subsidiary information is given, in passing, on other uses of some of the affixes, though these are not related to transitivity[1].

The main emphasis in the presentation is, as it turns out, the various subclasses of the intransitive verbs. Derived transitives such as causatives, affectives, requestives, locatives and benefactives are not discussed in this paper.

1.3   Duri verb classes

Duri has three classes of verbs i.e. statives, intransitives and transitives. The classes are divided according to how many arguments a verb can take, inflectional marking and derivational morphology. Although grammatical criteria are used to divide Duri verbs into classes, additional semantic information is given under the different subheadings.

The relevant verb classes have the following characteristics:

I STATIVE VERBS

i) Take the verbal affixes *ma-*, *bu-* or are unmarked.

ii) Take only one argument.

iii) Typically take the absolutive set of person enclitics.[2]

iv) Stative bases form causative transitive constructions with *pe-/- i*.

v) Can be intensified by root modification.

vi) Stative bases (without prefix) may modify a preceding noun.

II INTRANSITIVE VERBS

i) Take the verbal affixes *ke-*, *keN-*, *me-*, *meN-*, *-um*, *mang-*, *pa-*, *si-*, *ti-*, *di-* or are unmarked.

ii) Take only one argument.

iii) Typically take the absolutive set of person enclitics.[2]

iv) Form causatives with *pa-*.[3]

III TRANSITIVE VERBS

i) Take either goal focus (unmarked) or actor focus marked with a nasal prefix (N-).

ii) Take two or more arguments.

iii) Goal focus obligatorily takes the ergative set of person proclitics.

The stative and intransitive verbs have in common that they take only one argument (ii) and that they typically take the absolutive set of person enclitics (iii). The distinguishing characteristics of statives and intransitives are that they form causatives differently (iv). Also statives may be intensified with a root modification (v) and may modify preceding nouns (vi) while the intransitives may not.

The intransitive and transitive verbs differ in that intransitives take only one argument (ii) and typically take absolutive person markers (iii) while transitive verbs

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take two or more arguments and obligatory take ergative person marking in goal focus.

There is also an interesting transition stage between intransitive and transitive verbs marked by the prefix *mang-*. Although grammatically intransitive they may optionally take an incorporated indefinite object (see section 4.5).

The intransitive verbs are further broken down into basic and derived intransitives. Included under basic intransitives are verbs formed from bound verb roots, nouns, adverbs and other intransitives. The bases may be complex or simple; in the latter case they are roots.

By derived intransitives I mean intransitive verbs that are derived from transitive verbs. Each verb in that group has a corresponding transitive form. That is also true of the subclass of verbs with reflexive meaning that is discussed under the basic intransitives with *meN-* (3.3.1). That is done to get a good overview of the different uses of an affix while in this case the reflexives strictly speaking belong to the derived transitives.

The different verb classes together with their distinguishing characteristics are summarized in Chart 1. The following parameters are used: *Verbal affix* is the same as verbal subclass marker, which together with the *root/base* form the verb under question. *DO* is direct object and *OInc* object incorporation. *ERG* (ergative proclitic, *ABS S* absolutive enclitic denoting subject) and *ABS O* (absolutive enclitic denoting object) are the different ways of person marking. *CAUS pa-* is causative formed with the prefix *pa-*. *INT* means root intensification. In the column second to the right the names of the different *verb classes* and subclasses are defined. Numbers 1-3 are used for the different verb classes and letters a-o for different subclasses in each verb class.

Further abbreviations used: N- in the verbal affix column means 'nasal', N in the root/base column means 'noun', V is Verb, STV is Stative and Vtr is Verb, transitive. In the Verb class column REC is Reciprocal, NVOL is Nonvolitional, PASS is Passive and DETR Detransitivizer. ACT FOC is Actor Focus and GOAL FOC is Goal Focus.

Chart 1: Duri Verb Classes and Subclasses

Verbal affix	Root/ Base	DO/ OInc	ERG	ABS S	ABS O	CAUS pa-	INT	Verb Class	Example
-	V	-	(+)	+	-	-	+	1a Unmark Stative	*gaja* 'bad'
ma-	V	-	(+)	+	-	-	+	1b Stative with ma-	*malea* 'red'
bu-	(N)	-	(+)	+	-	-	+	1c Stative with bu-	*bunangnguq* 'fragrant'
-	V	-	(+)	+	-	+	-	2a Unmark Intrans	*tuo* 'grow'
ke-	Noun	-	(+)	+	-	+	-	2b Intrans with ke- (me-)	*keanak* 'have a child'
keN- meN-	Noun	-	(+)	+	-	+	-	2c Intrans with keN- meN	*kendaun* 'produce leaves'
meN-	Noun	-	(+)	+	-	+	-	2d Intrans with meN-	*mentau* 'become a man'
meN-	V	-	(+)	+	-	+	-	2e Intrans with meN-	*mentiaq* 'fly'
meN-	Vtr	-	(+)	+	-	+	-	2f Intrans refleks. meN-	*menjioq* 'to wash oneself'
me-	Noun	-	(+)	+	-	+	-	2g Intrans with me-	*mewai* 'fetch water'
me-	V		(+)	+	-	+	-	2h Intrans with me-	*mebali* 'answer'
-um-	N,V	-	(+)	+	-	+	-	2i Intrans with -um-	*cumucu* 'suckle'

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Verbal affix	Root/Base	DO/OInc	ERG	ABS S	ABS O	CAUS pa-	INT	Verb Class	Example
si-	Vtr	-	(+)	+	-	+	-	2j REC si-	*siala* 'to marry'
ti-	Vtr	-	(+)	+	-	+	-	2k NVOL ti-	*tiballu* 'spilled'
di-	Vtr	-	(+)	+	-	-	-	2l PASS di-	*dialli* 'is bought'
pa-	Vtr	-	(+)	+	-	+?	-	2m DETR pa-	*pakengke* 'bite'
mang-	Noun	+	(+)	+	-	+	-	2n Intrans with mang-	*mangngoto* 'go by car'
mang-	Vtr	+	(+	+	-	+	·-	2o DETR mang-	*manggereq* 'slaughter'
-	V	+	+	-	+	-	-	3a Unmark trans GOAL FOC	*bawa* 'bring'
N-	V	+	(+)	-	+	-	-	3b ACT FOC	*mbawa* 'bring'
N-	V	+	-	+	-	-	-	3c Anti-passive	*mbawa* 'bring'
pu-	Noun	+	+	-	+	-	-	3d Trans with pu- GOAL FOC	*pukelong* 'sing (a song)'

The bases of Stative verb class are what are traditionally thought of semantically as adjectives and adverbs, since they could modify the head of the noun phrase or together with the main verb describe a quality of the predication. We will however simply treat them here as one argument verbs.

Usually Stative verbs and Intransitive verbs take absolutive personal enclitics (that feature being marked in the fifth column from the left). Under certain circumstances they take ergative person markers (that feature being marked in the fourth column but put in parentheses since it is governed by clear syntactic rules).

The different subclasses of Basic Intransitives are found in Chart 1 above as 2a-2i. The Derived Intransitives make up the subclasses 2j-2o. The derived intransitive verbs in 2j, 2k and 2m have the same values as the basic intransitives while 2l *di-* 'passive' by definition cannot take a causative prefix. The derived intransitives with *mang-* in 2n and 2o differ from the rest of the intransitives in that they may take an incorporated object.

The basic transitive verbs, 3a, 3b and 3c are goal focus, actor focus and antipassive respectively. This distinction determines whether they take ergative or absolutive person marking and whether the absolutive denotes actor or goal.

Transitive verbs in 3d are derived from nouns. For more information on person marking, see Kari Valkama, "Person marking in Duri" (this volume).

2 STATIVE VERBS

We will first have a closer look at the stative verbs in Duri. The reasons for separating them from other intransitive verbs are the following:

a) Stative verbs can be made more intensive by modifying the root phonologically; for example:

    (1) ma-canik   'sweet'

    (2) ma-can*ning*   'very sweet'   NASAL INTENSIFICATION

    (3) ma-ca*q*nik   'very sweet'   GLOTTAL INSERTION

Intransitive verbs cannot be intensified in this way. This will simplify the analysis of the unmarked verbs. Some of them such as *gajaq* 'bad' will be included under stative verbs since this word can be modified with a nasal intensification *ganjang* 'very bad', while *pole* 'return' will be included under intransitive verbs since it lacks that option.

b) The method of forming causatives from stative verbs is also different from that of intransitives. Stative verbs are causativized by *pe-/-i*, while intransitives take *pa-*, e.g.:

    (4) *pe*-melo-*i*   'repair'   cf.   melo 'good'

    (5) *pa*-torro   'leave behind'   torro 'stay'

c) Both stative verbs and intransitive verbs are used as predicates in clauses but only stative verbs are used as modifiers to a noun with the verb prefix dropped. See the following examples:

    (6) bola *tonggo*   cf.   *ma-tonggo* joq   bola
          house big   STV-big DEM house
          'a big house'   'the house is big'

    (7) lessuna *lea*   *ma-lea*   kuliq-na
          onion   red   STV-red skin-3PO
          'shallot'   'her skin was red'

(8) pea *commoq*   *ma-commoq* tee pea
    child fat   STV-fat   this child
    'a fat child'   'this child is fat'

2.1 Unmarked Stative Verbs

Unmarked stative verbs refer to free roots that occur without any affixation. In Duri they form a closed subclass with some eight members. Below are some unmarked stative verbs and their use in sentences:

biccuq	'small'
bondiq	'short'
panceq	'low'
gajaq	'bad'
bosok	'wet'
baru	'new'
macca	'clever'
melo	'good (delicious)'

(9) *Macca*-mi-ri-kiq-ka   mang-bicara Duri
      clever-CMP-CTR-2h-Q VRi1-speak Duri
      'Are you already fluent in Duri?'

(10) *Biccuq*-naq akuq na   iko
       small-1sg   1sgpn and 2pn
       'I am smaller than you'

There is one case where these stative verbs can take a prefix *ma-*. This is not, however, the ordinary stative prefix *ma-* but a morpheme meaning '(much) more', which occurs with other intransitive verbs as well. Compare the following examples:

(11) *Bosok-[k]i* ia   tee na   ia   tuu
       wet-3   3pn this and 3pn that
       'This is wetter than that'

(12) *Ma-bosok-[k]i* ia   tee na ia   tuu
       more-wet-3   3pn this and 3pn that
       'This is much wetter than that'

2.2 Stative Verbs with *ma-*

Verb roots with *ma-* form the core of the stative class of verbs. They are typically intransitive with only one argument. They can take the absolutive pronoun enclitics. The *ma-*verbs describe states such as emotions, qualities, colours and manners, i.e. the properties of the traditional word classes adjectives and adverbs. Below are some common stative verbs.

A.			B.		
ma-rio	'happy'		*ma-paccing*	'clean'	
ma-doang	'want'		*ma-loqbok*	'hollow'	
ma-laira	'wild'		*ma-lando*	'long'	
ma-lajaq	'afraid'		*ma-lea*	'red'	
ma-galli	'angry'		*ma-mara*	'dry'	
ma-nassa	'sure'		*ma-bandaq*	'heavy'	
ma-sekaq	'in a hurry'		*ma-tonggo*	'big'	
ma-rosso	'bored'		*ma-tande*	'tall,high'	
ma-baqci	'dislike'		*ma-commoq*	'fat'	
ma-tappaq	'faithful'		*ma-kassing*	'good'	
			ma-busa	'white'	
			ma-dosa	'sinful'	
			ma-nasu	'cooked'	
			ma-siriq	'ashamed'	

The stative verbs in group A mainly describe emotions and states of mind. To form transitive verbs from these roots the *ma-* prefix is replaced with the affective prefix *ka-* in association with an added argument, for example:

(13) Ia   tee   ambeq-na   *ma-lajaq*   tongan-mi
     3pn this father-3PO STV-afraid truly-3CMP
     'His father was really afraid'

(14) *Na-ka-lajaq-i*   Amir to   asu.
     3-AFF-afraid-3   Amir DEF dog
     'Amir is afraid of the dog'

In example (14) the ergative prefix *na-* refers to Amir while the absolutive suffix *-i* refers to *asu* 'dog'.

The stative verbs in group B, which signal intrinsic qualities may also take the prefix *ka-* but only in combination with locative *-i*. They form a considerably larger group. In a clause containing a stative verb the only argument is either present as a noun phrase usually following the stative verb or as a personal clitic marker. This argument functions as the subject of the clause. The following are examples in sentences.

(15) Na *ma-siriq*   *gaja-naq* akuq, sanga   jio bola-na
      and STV-ashamed very-1sg   1sgpn because in   house-3PO

      tau
      person

      'And I was very ashamed, because we were in other   people's home'

(16) Den adeq tonna tee   baine   *ma-lando* cucu-[n]na
      is   said   time   this   woman STV-long breast-3PO
      'There is said to be a woman that had long breasts,'

      sanggenna di-sanga-i   *Lando* Cucu
      so that   PASS-name-3 Long   Breast
      so much so that she was actually called "Long Breast"'

Note in (15) that the subject pronoun enclitic -*naq* appears at the end of the verb phrase, which is the norm in Duri. Here the noun phrase is an emphatic free pronoun following the verb phrase.

In (16) the stative verb is found without a person suffix. That is the case when the noun phrase functioning as a subject is fronted in the clause. Notice also the use of the same root *lando* without the stative prefix in the second line modifying the noun.

When a stative verb precedes an action or process verb, it semantically modifies the verb. The stative verb indicates the manner, quality or intensity of the following verb and is often best translated as an adverb. See examples (17) and (18) below.

(17) dikua   na-buda rara-na   mes-sun   na   *ma-diq*   *mate*
      so that   3-much   blood-3PO   VRi2-out   and 3-STV-quickly die

      'in order that much blood will come out, and it quickly dies'

(18) *ma-rosso*   to-mi   *mang-tajan*, na-maneq la   bongi
      STV-bored   also-3CMP   VRi1-wait   3-then   FUT night

      to-mi
      also-3CMP

      'he was also bored of waiting and it was soon going to be night'

2.3 Stative Verbs with *bu-*

There is a closed subclass of stative verbs that carry the prefix *bu-* 'have a certain smell'. The experiencer isn't present in the clause. Only one argument is allowed and that is the thing that smells. Since this subclass of verb can also be intensified, can form the causative with the affixes *pe-/-i*, and can modify a preceding noun with the prefix *bu-* dropped, it is regarded as a subclass of stative verbs. Below are examples of some stative verbs with *bu-* and their use in sentences.

bu-nangnguq	'fragrant'
bu-bau	'stink'
bu-marran	'smell of blood'
bu-banggung	'smells rotten'
bu-tassik	'smell of sweat or urine'

(19) *Bu-bau-i* tee bale ku-alli
STVb-bad.smell-3 this fish 1sg-buy
'The fish that I bought smells bad'

(20) *Bu-banggung* tee balao (mate)
STVb-rotten this rat (dead)
'This (dead) rat smells rotten'

3 BASIC INTRANSITIVE VERBS

This section describes the class of basic intransitive verbs. The main morphological distinction between intransitive and transitive verbs is that the intransitive verbs can all take the absolutive set of person enclitics for the subject. The ergative set of person proclitics is found only in marked structures, such as the presence of certain adverbials at the beginning of a clause. In all cases only one syntactic argument is allowed. The transitive verbs by contrast, have two or more arguments and the ergative set of person proclitics indicates the actor in goal focus.

Basic intransitive verbs are either plain verb roots, or affixed verb roots, the latter with either intransitive affixes or denominal derivational affixes. Duri has five different prefixes and one infix to form basic intransitive verbs:

1. Unmarked		5. me-
2. ke-		6. mang-
3. keN-		7. -um-
4. meN-		

Plain unmarked intransitives take only verbal roots as bases (see 3.1 below). *Ke-* and *keN-* occur only with nominal bases (see section 3.2). The other four forms

above (*meN-*, *me-*, *mang-* and *-um-*) have both nominal and verbal roots as bases (see 3.3 below).

3.1 Unmarked Intransitives

There is a closed subclass of intransitive verbs that do not take any verb prefixes. Although few in number, they occur quite frequently. In the following (not exhaustive) list a large number (ten) are verbs of motion:

kinjaraq	'run'
male	'go'
pole	'return'
ratu	'arrive'
torro	'stay'
ola	'pass'
*leppang	'drop by'
*songka	'fall'
*endek	'go up'
*lao	'go, depart'
*mammaq	'sleep'
*miqcik	'wake up'
*lonta	'boil'
*den	'to be'
*tuo	'live, grow'
mate	'die'
pokaq	'break'

Many of these verbs above (the ones with an asterisk) are usually unmarked but may take the intransitive verb prefix *meN-* with a difference in meaning (refer to sections 3.2.3 and 3.3.1 B.). The following are examples in sentences:

(21) Ia   tee Lajanaq *male*-mi   lako uma-[n]na
      3pn this Lajanak go-3CMP to   rice.field-3PO
      'Lajanak went to the rice field'

(22) Apa teqda una   na-*pokaq* to gelas
      but NEG   still 3-break   DEF cup
      'But no cups were broken'

Note the ergative proclitic *na-* on the verb in (22). All negated sentences in Duri take the proclitic personal marking instead of the expected absolutive enclitic.

A few verbs that are unmarked can belong both to the intransitive class AND to the transitive class of verbs.

(23) talo 'lose' (intr)   'win, defeat' (tr)
     Intr: talo-naq   Tr: ku-talo-kiq
           lose-1sg   1sg-win-2h
           'I lose'   'I win (over) you'

3.2 Intransitive Verbs denoting State or Change of State

There are three verb-forming prefixes, *ke*, *keN-* and *meN-*, that can be prefixed to a noun resulting in an intransitive verb denoting a state or a change of state.

The *ke*-verbs most often describe a state but may also denote the event that leads to this state. The *keN*-verbs describe a gradual process in plants or smaller animals. Verbs affixed with the third prefix *meN-* denote a complete change of identity.

3.2.1 Have Noun (*ke-* + Noun)

The *ke-* prefix denotes a quality, state or relation of the participant. The meaning of the resulting verb is 'to have Noun'. *Ke-* is limited in applicability.

ke-muane	'marry (a man)'	*muane*	'man, husband'
ke-baine	'marry (a woman)'	*baine*	'woman, wife'
ke-baqtang	'be pregnant (lit. to have a stomach)'	*baqtang*	'stomach'
ke-anak	'give birth'	*anak*	'child'
ke-uban	'have grey hair'	*uban*	'grey hair'
ke-doiq	'have money'	*doiq*	'money'
ke-bulu	'have fur'	*bulu*	'fur'
ke-buku	'have stones'	*buku*	'stone, seed'
ke-duri	'have thorns'	*duri*	'thorn'
ke-mata	'have eyes'	*mata*	'eye'
ke-rara	'have a bleeding'	*rara*	'blood'
ke-nana	'be infected (lit. to have pus)'	*nana*	'pus'

The last two words denote body functions. They have parallel forms with *me-*. In the case with *rara* both parallel forms mean 'to bleed' but *kerara* has the additional meaning of 'a monthly bleeding', i.e. 'to menstruate'. Note the following examples:

(24) den jolo-ri   sapin-taq   to   pura-mo   *ke-anak*
     is first-3CTR   cow-1plinPO REL finish-CMP VRi5-child
     'one has to have a cow which has given birth

     na   biccuq una-pa   *anak*-[ka]na
     and small still-INC child-3PO
     and whose calf is still small'

(25) *Ke-mata*-ra-ka   to bitok
     VRi5-eye-CTR-Q DEF worm
     'Has the worm eyes?'

(26) Den pissen wattu na-male *ke-baine*   jio Dante Mararih
     is once time 3-go   VRi5-wife in Dante Mararih
     'Once he went to get married in Dante Mararih'

In the first line in (24) we find the noun *anak* prefixed with *ke-* functioning as a predicate and in the second line the same noun appears, now without the prefix, functioning as the subject of the predication.

3.2.2 Produce Noun (*keN-* + Noun)

So far the *keN-* verbs found are very few. They denote natural processes in plants and smaller animals. The meaning of *keN-* is 'to produce Noun'.

The final nasal in the prefix assimilates to the same point of articulation as the following consonant.[4]

kem-bua	'bear fruit'	*bua*	'fruit'
kem-bunga	'blossom'	*bunga*	'flower'
ken-daun	'produce leaves'	*daun*	'leaf'
ken-tangke	'get branches'	*tangke*	'branch'
ken-talloh	'lay eggs'	*talloh*	'egg'

Kentalloh 'to lay eggs' is the only verb in this subclass that takes an animate participant (usually *manuk* 'chicken' or *manuk-manuk* 'bird'). The following are examples in sentences:

(27) Iake male-kiq n-tiro   angreq
     if   go-1plin AF-search orchid
     'The best time to go and look for orchids is

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na-makassing iake wattu *kem-bunga*-i
3-good   if   time   VRi5-flower-3
when they are in bloom'

(28) *Kem-bua*   o-mi   joo pao
     VRi5-fruit again-3CMP that manggo
     'The manggo tree is bearing fruit again'

There is a parallel form *meN-* that could replace *keN-* in the words and sentences above with no change in meaning. *MeN-daun* has two meanings: 'produce leaves' and 'become leaves' (see section 3.2.3).

3.2.3 Become Noun (*meN-* + Noun)

Nouns prefixed with *meN-* create verbs that have the meaning 'to become Noun'. The transformation is complete.

mem-beang	'become grass'	*beang*	'grass'
mem-manuk	'become a chicken'	*manuk*	'chicken'
men-tau	'become a man/person'	*tau*	'person'
men-doiq	'become money'	*doiq*	'money'
mel-litak	'become dust'	*litak*	'dust,soil'

These *meN-* verbs are mainly found in folk stories where animals become people or vice versa and rice transforms into something useless like grass or dust. Although rather rare *meN-* is productive and can occur with almost any noun. Examples in sentences are as follows:

(29) *men-tau*   poleq-i joo ulliq   mesaq
     VRi2-person again-3 that worm one
     'That worm became a man again'

(30) Ia   tonna jiong-mo   *mel-litak*-mi   tuu joo pare
     3pn time below-CMP VRi2-dust-3CMP that that rice
     'When he had gone down, the rice turned into dust'

MeN- is also used with different sounds (except oral sounds which have the prefix *me-*, see section 3.3.2) to form verbs that describe an action with a sound.

mem-maqtu	'explode'		
mem-massak	'explode loudly '		
meng-galuntuh	'fall with a sound'	*galuntuh*	'sound of falling'

(31) *Mem-maqtu*   tuu peluru ke di-tunu
VRi2-explode that bullet if PASS-burn
'That bullet will explode if you burn it'

(32) *Meng-galuntuh-*[h]i to   uran rambak
VRi2-falling sound-3 DEF rain hard
'The rain is making noise'

There is a corresponding form *ti-baqtu* 'explode' to the verb in (31) but the *ti*-form doesn't stress the sound. So while both *mem-maqtu* and *ti-baqtu* could be used, for example when one gets a flat tyre, only *tibaqtu* could be used when something breaks without a sound, for example when a banana breaks open.

MeN- 'to become' can also be prefixed to some unmarked intransitive verb roots and to stative verbs. That shows how productive *meN-* is and that it is not limited to noun bases.

men-tuo	'become living'	*tuo*	'live, grow'
men-den	'come into being'	*den*	'to be'
mel-lonta	'become boiling'	*lonta*	'boil'
mem-biccuq	'become small'	*biccuq*	'little'
mem-baru	'become new'	*baru*	'new'
mem-ma-lando	'become long'	*ma-lando*	'long'
mem-ma-lea	'become red'	*ma-lea*	'red'

(33) Ia joo ulah pura ku-pe-mate-i   *men-tuo*
3pn that snake finish 1sg-CAUS-dead-LOC VRi2-live

poleq-i
again-3

'The snake I killed came to life again'

(34) Teqda ku-issen-[n]i na-taqpa   *men-den* bang
not   1sg-know-3   3-immediately VRi2-be just
'I don't know how it suddenly appeared'

(35) *Mem-biccuq-*i bajung-kuq tonna ku-bossok-[k]i
VRi2-small-3 shirt-1sgPO time 1sg-wash-3
'My shirt shrunk when I washed it'

3.3 Dynamic Intransitive Verbs

3.3.1 Motion Verbs with meN-

When *meN-* is affixed to bound verb roots, unmarked intransitives or to adverbs (mainly directionals) the resulting verbs are verbs of motion.

A. With bound verb roots

men-tengka	'step'
men-tiaq	'fly'
men-tindak	'appear'
meng-keqdeh	'rise (to stand)'
meng-kondong	'jump'
mel-lele	'move'
mer-rorok	'creep'

B. With unmarked intransitives

mel-lao	'descend'	*lao*	'go, depart'
mel-leppang	'turn'	*leppang*	'drop by'
mem-miqcik	'get up'	*miqcik*	'wake up'
mem-mammaq	'lie down'	*mammaq*	'go to sleep'
men-c[um]adokko	'sit up'	*cadokko*	'sit'

C. With adverbs

men-deq	'go up'	*deq*	'up (DIR)'
men-doq	'go down'	*doq*	'down (DIR)'
men-jolo	'go first'	*jolo*	'first'
men-tama	'go in'	*tama*	'in (DIR)'
mes-sun	'go out'	*sun*	'out (DIR)'

Note that the unmarked intransitive verb *miqcik* 'wake up' has another meaning than *memmiqcik* 'to get up'. In the first case the person has slept and is waking up from his sleep, but in the latter case the act of getting up from the bed is described and the person doesn't need to have slept. The same is true for *mammaq* 'sleep' and *memmammaq* 'lie down'. With the *meN*-verbs there is always a feature of volition that is usually absent with the unmarked intransitives. There are also some corresponding forms with *me-* that are used when doing something involuntarily.

Compare the following examples:

mel-lenten   'roll'   *me-lenten*   'roll (involuntarily)'
mel-lontin   'fall (on purpose)'   *me-lontin*   'fall'

(36)   taqpa   *mem-miqcik*-[k]i Amir sanga na-saqding-mi
      at.once VRi2-get.up-3   Amir for   3-hear-3CMP

      di-tamba-i
      PASS-call-3

      'Amir got up at once because he heard somebody calling him'

(37)   *meng-kondong*-moko mu-rakaq-i   joo   bai *mem-buni*
      VRi2-jump-2sfCMP 2sf-embrace-3   that pig VRi2-hide
      'Will you jump and embrace the pig which is hiding?'

(38)   Ia   tonna masaqna-mo   *men-jolo*-mi   lako baraqbah
      3pn time next.day-CMP VRi2-before-3CMP to   garden

      ambeq-na   Lajanaq na-*men-tama* n-tuu   joo   lulun dea.
      father-3PO Lajanak 3-VRi2-enter   PRp-that that   roll   grass

      'The day after that Lajanak's father went before L. to the garden and
      entered the roll of grass'

In (37) the verb roots *kondong* and *buni* have *meN-* prefixed to them. Note the nasal assimilation before the velar and bilabial stops. In (38) the time adverb *jolo* and the directional *tama* are made into intransitive verbs with the *meN*-prefix.

There is one example in a text where *meN-* is prefixed to a complex verb base, namely *men-cumadokko* 'sit up'. The verb root *cadokko* has the infix *-um-*, resulting in *cumadokko* 'to sit'.

In elicited material two examples were found where these intransitive verbs were followed by a noun.

(39)   men-deq-naq   buntu
      VRi2-up-1sg   mountain
      'I go up the mountain'

(40)   mel-lele   bola-naq
      VRi2-move house-1sg
      'I move (to another) house'

In example (39) *buntu* is not actually a direct object but an oblique noun just as in the English translation. In example (40) *bola* seems to function as an incorporated direct object with the first person singular enclitic *-naq* following it. But the English translation makes it clear that here as well it's not the moving of the house in question but the actor moving to another place. Hence *meN*-verbs don't have incorporated objects.

The prefix *meN-* marks certain subjects as both affecting the event and being affected by the event. Thus, depending on the lexical character of the root, it sometimes receives a reflexive meaning and sometimes a middle voice-like meaning.

The following verbs prefixed with *meN-* carry a reflexive meaning. They are derived from transitive verbs.

men-toe	'hold on to'	*toe*	'hold (s.th.)'
mem-buni	'hide oneself'	*buni*	'hide (s.th.)'
mem-base	'clean oneself (after going to the toilet)	*base*	'clean (s.th.)'
men-jioq	'wash oneself'	*jioq*	'wash (s.o)'
mer-russu	'brush oneself'	*russu*	'brush (s.th.)'
meng-girik	'turn oneself'	*girik*	'turn (s.th.)'
meng-kajok	'scratch oneself'	*kajok*	'scratch (s.o)'

(41) *Mer-russu*-ko   ke men-jioq-ko
VRi2-brush-2f if VRi2-wash-2f
'Brush yourself when you wash yourself'

(42) *Men-toe*-naq   tonna   ku-endek   deq   bola
VRi2-hold-1sg when   1sg-go.up up   house
'I hold on to (s.th.) when I go up (the stairs to) the house'

Other examples:

meng-kita	'see'	*kita*	'see (s.th.)'
men-tekeq	'climb'	*tekeq*	'climb (s.th.)'

Mengkita[5] and *mentekeq* have corresponding transitive forms which can also be detransitivized by the prefix *mang-*. In that respect they follow the other reflexive verbs although the reflexive meaning is obscure. Motion verbs with *meN-* on the other hand don't have a corresponding transitive form (without the locative *-i*) and can't substitute *meN-* for *mang-*.

MeN- may also be prefixed to complex verb bases. *MeN-*, combined with the non-volitional *ti-*, forms a few intransitive verbs with the meaning 'to move to/ to seek a place with certain characteristics'. Below are some examples:

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men-ti-allo	'sunbathe'	*allo*	'dry, day'
men-ti-uran	'(go and) bathe in the rain'	*uran*	'rain'
men-ti-ongan	'seek shelter (from rain and sun)'	*ongan-ongan*	'(s.th. used as) umbrella'
men-ti-lendung	'seek shelter (in war)'	*lendung*	'protect'
men-ti-tammu	'come as a guest'	*tammu*	'meet, guest'

(43) *Men-ti-lendung*-naq   tonna tembaq-naq
VRi2-NVOL-protect-1sg   time   shoot-1sg
'I sought protection when he shot at me'

(44) Anggiq *men-ti-uran*   bang
PRB   VRi2-NVOL-rain just
'Don't go out (and play) in the rain'

3.3.2 Oral Verbs (*me-* +V)

Bound verb roots prefixed with *me-* form a closed group of verbs. They have in common that they all refer to an activity of the mouth.

me-bali	'answer'
me-tamba	'call'
me-tawa	'laugh'
me-kutana	'ask'
me-lajah	'study'
me-langoaq	'yawn'
me-nawa	'breathe'

Melajah 'to study' may be a loan word from Indonesian *belajar*. In any case the traditional way of learning is to repeat what the teacher has said. The following are examples in sentences:

(45) Ia *me-tawa,*   *m-pe-tawa-i*   kaka-[n]na
3pn VRi3-laugh   AF-CAUS-laugh-LOC elder.brother
'He laughed, he laughed at his brother'

(46) Bisa-ra-ka   ke *me-kutana*-naq
may-CTR-Q   if Vri3-ask-1sg
'May I ask?'

In (45) the first occurrence of the verb root *tawa* 'laugh' is prefixed with *me-* to form an intransitive verb. In the second case the Actor Focus prefix N- and the transitive prefix *pe-* together with the locative suffix *-i* form the transitive verb *mpetawai* 'to laugh at' with *kaka* as the object.

3.3.3 Gather Noun (*me* + Noun)

Me- is prefixed to noun roots resulting in verbs meaning 'to look for/to gather Noun'. A *me*-verb describes an activity which typically involves an effort on behalf of the actor. Below are some examples of *me-* + Noun and their use sentences:

me-pare	'harvest rice'	*pare*	'rice (on stalk)'
me-bale	'catch fish'	*bale*	'fish'
me-batu	'gather stones'	*batu*	'stone'
me-kaju	'collect firewood'	*kaju*	'wood'
me-kutu	'look for lice'	*kutu*	'lice'
me-reu	'gather grass'	*reu*	'grass'
me-wai	'fetch water'	*wai*	'water'
me-uwe	'look for rattan'	*uwe*	'rattan'
me-utan	'pick vegetables'	*utan*	'(uncooked) vegetables'

(47) Ia tee sangsuran-na dua male-mi *me-kaju*
      3pn this brother-3PO two go-3CMP VRi3-wood
      'His two brothers went and looked for wood'

(48) Pira-ra   karung pare di-ala   ke *me-pare*-kiq
      How.many-CTR sack   rice PASS-take if VRi3-rice-2h
      'How many sacks of rice do you get when you harvest?'

There are some special meanings with different nouns. With body parts *me-* means 'to aim at':

me-mata	'to aim at the eyes'	*mata*	'eye'
me-baqtang	'to aim at the stomach'	*baqtang*	'stomach'
me-rara	'to bleed'	*rara*	'blood'

Merara 'to bleed' is an exception since it doesn't mean 'to look for/gather blood'. *Merara* has a synonym *kerara* 'have a bleeding' (see 3.2.1).

(49) Ia ke mang-boboq-i joo tau   *me-mata* bang-ri ia
      3pn if VRi1-fight-3 that person VRi3-eye just-CTR 3pn
      'If that person is fighting he is always aiming at the eyes'

Used with clothes or shoes the *me-* prefix doesn't just mean 'to get' but 'to use', therefore *me-dodo* and *mang-dodo* (see section 3.3.4) have the same meaning 'to put on/to wear a sarung'.

3.3.4 Use Noun (*mang* + Noun)

Prefixed to nouns *mang-*[6] has the meaning 'to use Noun'. With musical instruments or with sports and games the English translation is 'to play Noun'. With clothes the meaning is 'to wear/put on Noun'. With vehicles the English translation is 'to go by Noun'. The *mang-* verbs usually describe an activity which is not punctual but extended in time.

mang-bas	'play bamboo flute'	*bas*	'flute'
mang-bulu	'play badminton'	*bulu*	'badminton'
mang-bobong	'wear a veil'	*bobong*	'veil'
mang-pentiroan	'look through a window'	*pentiroan*	'window'
mang-kadera	'sit on a chair'	*kadera*	'chair'
mang-kasoroq	'use a matress when 'sleeping'	*kasoroq*	'matress'
mas-sapatu	'wear/put on shoes'	*sapatu*	'shoe'
mang[ng]-oto	'go by car'	*oto*	'car'

The majority of the *mang-* verbs are derived intransitives and will be dealt with under section 4.5. Some *mang-* verbs could either be analyzed as *mang-* + Noun or *mang-* prefixed to a verb root since the base could be either a noun or a transitive verb root.

mang-garagaji	'to saw'	*garagaji*	'saw; to saw s.th.'
mang-jala	'catch fish 'with a net'	*jala*	'net; to fish'

Although the above examples can be analyzed as being derived from noun roots I have chosen to put them together with the *mang-* + V since there is a corresponding transitive form. Examples in sentences are the following:

(50) Male-kiq ng-kita to-*mang-bas*   dau   bongi
go-1plin AF-see PRS-VRi1-flute later night
'Let's go and look at the people playing flutes tonight'

(51) *Mas-sapatu*-ko ma-doiq   sanga   la   male-mi-kiq
VRi1-shoe-2f STV-quick because FUT go-3CMP-1plin
'Put on your shoes quickly because we will go (now)'

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3.3.5 The Infix -*um*-

The infix -*um*- isn't productive any longer. It can be affixed to only a few noun or verb roots forming intransitive verbs. They take only one argument. The activity is seen as done during a period of time (not punctual). Below are some examples of the infix -*un*- and their use in sentences:

c[um]ucu	'(to be) breastfed'	*cucu*	'breast, suckle'
k[um]arrak	'to weep'	*karrak*	'a cry'
r[um]ido	'polish rice'	*rido*	'polished rice'
l[um]ingka-mingka	'go for a walk'	*lingka*	'walking'
s[um]arro	'sigh'	*sarro*	'a sigh'
s[um]aro	'to profit'	*saro*	'profit'
c[um]adokko	'sit'	*cadokko*	'sit, sitting'
t[um]orak	'clear away (weeds)'	*torak*	'clear(ing) away s.th.'
k[um]ua	'say'	*kua*	'say s.th.'
k[um]ande	'eat (rice)'	*kande*	'eat s.th., food'

(52) Taqpa ratu-i anak-[ka]na jio saqde-na la
at.once come-3 child-3PO at side-3PO FUT

c-um-ucu
VRi4-suckle

'Her child came at once to her side to suckle'

(53) Teqda-pa na-masai *c-um-adokko* na-kita-mi Lajanaq
NEG-INC 3-long VRi4-sit 3-see-3CMP Lajanak
He hadn't sat for a long time when he saw Lajanak'

4 DERIVED INTRANSITIVE VERBS

With derived intransitives we mean intransitive verbs which are derived from transitive verb roots. In this section four derivational verb-prefixes (*si-*, *ti-*, *di-* and *mang-*) will be given a brief treatment. Some related meanings of the prefixes will be included although they are not strictly derived intransitives.

4.1 *si-*

4.1.1 Reciprocal *si-*

Transitive verb roots that are prefixed with the prefix *si-* result in verbs with reduced valency. These *si-*verbs have only one argument and take the absolute enclitics. The prefix *si-* indicates reciprocal action i.e. two or more participants are acting out the same verb to each other. In other words the subject and the object of the derived verb are combined into a single compound subject in the reciprocal verb (Comrie 1985:326). Below are some examples of reciprocal *si-* and their use in sentences:

si-kita	'see each other'	*kita*	'see'
si-ala	'marry' (lit. take each other)	*ala*	'take'
si-rari	'fight each other'	*rari*	'fight'
si-tammu	'meet each other'	*tammu*	'meet'
si-tulung	'help each other'	*tulung*	'help'
si-sumpa	'swear an oath to each other'	*sumpa*	'swear an oath'
si-tiro	'look for each other'	*tiro*	'seek'
si-bicara	'talk with each other'	*bicara*	'speak'
si-tammu-an	'meet each other'	*tammu*	'meet'

(54) Ia joo wattu *si-rari*-i   to   to-Duri   na to
     3pn that time REC-war-3 DEF PRS-Duri and DEF

to-Toraja
PRS-Toraja

'At that time the people of Duri and Toraja were at war'

(55) Cocok gaja-mi   paleq   ke *si-tulung-kiq*
     fine   very-3CMP EMPH if   REC-help-1plin
     'That's great if we help each other,

tulung-naq ku-tulung-ko
help-1sg   1sg-help-2sf
help me and I will help you'

Since Duri doesn't differentiate singular and plural in the third person absolutive enclitics, there is no way to decide in example (54) what the absolutive enclitic *-i* refers to. But the use of the absolutive enclitic makes it clear that this is an

intransitive verb with only one argument. The people of Duri and the people of Toraja are combined into the compound subject of the reciprocal verb *sirari* 'to fight each other'.

In (55) we have the intransitive verb *tulung* with *si-* in the first line and two occurences of it as a transitive verb in the second line. Note how the first person singular subject *ku-* and the second person singular object *-ko* in the last verb combine to form a compound subject in *situlungkiq* where *-kiq* marks the first person plural inclusive enclitic.

The prefix *si-* can also be combined with the suffix *-an* having essentially the same meaning as *si-* by itself but adding the notion that although two participants are involved, one of them is more prominent than the other.

(56) ratu-mi   Endekan jio Toqkulo,
     arrive-3CMP Enrekang at Toqkulo
     'Enrekang arrived at Tokkulo

     si-tammu-an-[n]i   Baroko na Makale
     REC-meet-BEN-3 Baroko and Makale
     to meet Baroko and Makale'

In the above example three people meet each other and are included in the subject enclitic but since it is Enrekang who takes the initiative to meet he is put into fronted position before the verb and the suffix *-an* marks the two others as less prominent. Later in the text the three agree to meet each other again and then the plain *sitammu* is used.

4.1.2 Other Functions of *si-*

When *si-/-an* is affixed to an intransitive verb root the reciprocal meaning is lost and it plainly marks the subject as being plural i.e. a group of people is doing something together. It can also mark the totality of the subject or the whole entity. The following are some examples:

si-mellingit-an	'all see'	*mel-lingiq*	'see'
si-palai-an	'all run away'	*palai*	'flee'
si-ratu-an	'arrive together'	*ratu*	'arrive'
si-paqdik-an	'ache all over'	*paqdik*	'pain'

(57) *si-palai-an*   ngasan-mi joo anaddara
     together-flee-BEN all-3CMP that girls
     'All the girls ran away'

(58) dikua na-*si-paqdik-an*   kale-na   ambeq-na
so that 3-all over-ache-BEN body-3PO father-3PO
'in order that his father's body would ache all over'

In (57) the subject is a group of girls while in (58) the subject is singular. In the latter the totality or the whole body is emphasized.

Si- also has another function which doesn't decrease the valency of transitive verbs. It will then have the meaning of 'he, himself' referring to the actor. Since it doesn't affect the transitivity of the verb this isn't the place to make a thorough presentation of its use. It is sufficient to mention here that some of the transitive verb bases can take both *si-* meaning 'he, himself' and *si-* with the reciprocal meaning. The affixation makes it clear what function *si-* carries. Compare the following sentences:

si- 'he, himself'

(59) Omar dikkaq *si-lamun*   Amir
Omar poor   himself-bury Amir
'Poor Omar buried Amir all by himself'

si- 'reciprocal'

(60) Danggiq mi-*si-lamun-lamun*   bang pea
PRB   2h-REC-RED-bury   only child
'Don't mess each other up, children!'

4.2 *ti-*

4.2.1 Non-volitional *ti-*

Transitive verb roots that are prefixed with *ti-* also result in verbs with reduced valency. These verbs typically don't take any explicit actor. They take only one argument which denotes the patient of the action. Mills (1975:138) calls this common South Sulawesi *ti-*form an accidental passive. Often the resultant state is emphasized and can be translated as a passive participle. Below are examples of non-volitional *ti-* and their use in sentences.

ti-piak	'divided'	*piak*	'divide'
ti-ballu	'spilled'	*ballu*	'spill'
ti-bukkaq	'opened'	*bukkaq*	'open'
ti-tanan	'planted'	*tanan*	'plant'
ti-todo	'stumbled'	*todo*	'kick'
ti-tokeq	'hung up'	*tokeq*	'hang'

ti-tutuq	'closed'	*tutuq*	'close'
ti-kabuaq	'made'	*kabuaq*	'make'
ti-sapuq	'wrapped up'	*sapuq*	'wrap up'
ti-sorong	'pushed'	*sorong*	'push'
ti-laqcu	'slipped'	*laqcu*	'let loose'
ti-lamun	'buried'	*lamun*	'bury'
ti-lua	'throw up; vomit'	*lua*	'throw up (s.th.)'
ti-ammaq	'swallowed'	*ammaq*	'swallow'
ti-angkaq	'lifted'	*angkaq*	'lift'
ti-rarek	'torn'	*rarek*	'tear'
ti-roge-roge	'shaken'	*roge*	'shake'
ti-loso	'dropped'	*loso*	'be born prematurely'
ti(ng)-ka-loso-	'peeled'	*loso*	
ti-pa-lumbang	'fall on face'	*pa-lumbang*	'put face down'

Note the optional nasal accretion before *ka-* in the second last word. In the two last words *ti-* is prefixed to complex verb bases.

(61) *Na*-male l-lenten-[n]i   joo kurin-na,
     3-go   AF-knock.over-3 that cooking.pot-3PO
     'He knocked over the cooking pot

     na-*ti-ballu*   ngasan joo *nande*
     3-NVOL-spill   all   that rice
     and all the rice was spilled'

(62) Ia   joo na-sanga Lajanaq *ti-roge-roge*-mi
     3pn that 3-name   Lajanak NVOL-shaken-RED-3CMP
     'But the thing, that Lajanak said was shaking

     sanga   tang-barah-[h]i, pajo-pajo-ra
     because NEGp-satisfied-3 dummy-RED-CTR
     because they were hungry, were only dummies'

In the first clause of (61) there is a human actor *na-* '3' mentioned but in the second clause the subject of the *ti*-verb is the patient *nande* 'rice' undergoing the action. In (62) the agent is not mentioned at all but is supposed to be an inanimate agent, the wind.

4.2.2   *ti(C)*+ Noun

There are a few verbs that are prefixed with *ti(C)*- to a noun root that denote body functions. So far only two such verbs are found. In those an accretion of an

identical consonant is found between the prefix *ti-* and the noun root.

These verbs seem to be old non-volitional forms that now have been lexicalized. They have no corresponding transitive verb that they are derived from.

tit-tai	'defecate'	*tai*	'excrements'
cic-ceme	'urinate'	*ceme*	'urine'

Note in the second example that the alveolar stop in the prefix assimilates to the same point of articulation of the initial stop of the noun root.

(63) Ia   tonna pura-mo   *tit-tai*   pole-mi
      3pn when already-CMP NVOL-excrements return-3CMP

      lako bola
      to   house

      'When he had finished defecating he returned home'

4.3   Passive *di-*

The passive construction in Duri functions as an ordinary intransitive verb, usually taking the absolute personal clitics marking the surface subject of the clause. The agent is irrelevant and is obligatorily absent in the passive. The only argument is the patient undergoing the action and the derived passive verb base is prefixed with *di-*. That differentiates the passive from the goal focus construction where the actor is obligatorily marked as an ergative proclitic to the verb. The passive construction is very common in procedural discourse.

di-bage	'is divided'	*bage*	'divide'
di-base	'is washed'	*base*	'wash'
di-buno	'is killed'	*buno*	'kill'
di-garaga	'is made'	*garaga*	'make'
di-sanga	'is called'	*sanga*	'name, call'
di-sorong	'is pushed'	*sorong*	'push'
di-leqto	'is broken, cut'	*leqto*	'break, cut'
di-nasu	'is cooked'	*nasu*	'cook'
di-ala	'is taken'	*ala*	'take'
di-anduq	'is milked'	*anduq*	'milk'
di-angkaq	'is lifted'	*angkaq*	'lift'
di-issen	'is known'	*issen*	'know'
di-patama	'is entered'	*pa-tama*	'enter' *tama* 'in (DIR)'
di-pakande	'is fed'	*pa-kande*	'feed' *kande* 'eat'

(64) Jaji ia to tedong *di-anduq*-ra joloq
so 3pn DEF water buffalo PASS-milk-CTR first
'First you have to milk the water buffalo

na-*di-ala* to dadik-[ki]na
3-PASS-take DEF milk-3PO
to get the milk'

(65) Mate Manai jio Toraja na *di-leqto*-i to ulu-[n]na
die Manai in Toraja and PASS-break-3 DEF head-3PO
'Manai died in Toraja and his head was cut off'

4.4 Detransitivizer *pa-*

When *pa-* is prefixed to transitive verb roots it functions as a detransitivizer. The resulting verbs only take one argument which denotes the actor. The understood patient is most often a general human object although it is obligatorily absent in the clause. The predications often tell general truths. *Pa-* is very productive and may be prefixed to almost any transitive verb root.

pa-kengke	'bite'	*kengke*	'bite s.th'
pa-bawa	'bring'	*bawa*	'bring s.th.'
pa-jokko	'catch'	*jokko*	'catch s.th.'
pa-lamun	'bury'	*lamun*	'bury s.th.'
pa-tajan	'wait'	*tajan*	'wait for s.o.'
pa-talo	'win'	*talo*	'win over s.o.'

(66) *Pa-kengke*-ra-ka tee kecu
DET-bite-CTR-Q this ant
'Does this ant bite?'

(67) *Pa-jokko* to pulisi ke male-kiq boko
DET-catch DEF police if go-2h steal
'The police will catch you if you go and steal'

That the understood patient is animate with the *pa-* verbs distinguishes them nicely from the verbs formed with the other detransitivizer *mang-* which usually have an inanimate patient (see section 4.5). Compare the following sentences where the only difference is the detransitivizer.

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(68) Inda-ra   *pa-bawa*   ke male-kiq deq   Juppandang
who-CTR DET-take to go-1plin up(DIR) Ujung Pandang
'Who will take (us) to Ujung Pandang when we'll go there?'

(69) Inda-ra *mang-bawa* (rido) ke male-kiq   deq   Juppandang
who-CTR VRi1-take (rice) to go-1plin   up(DIR) Ujung Pandang
'Who will take it (the rice) to Ujung Pandang when we'll go there?'

With perceptive verbs *pa-* has a special meaning 'to be able to'. These verbs are also irregular in that the only argument allowed can either be the experiencer OR the patient.

pa-kita	'able to see; visible'	*kita*	'see s.th.'
pa-saqding	'be awake (lit: able to hear); be heard'	*saqding*	'hear s.th.'

Compare the following examples:

(70) *Pa-kita*-mi   joo tau
DET-see-3CMP that person
'That person is able to see (us) now'

(71) *Pa-kita*-i   ulu-[ng]kuq
DET-see-3 head-1sgPO
'My head is visible (My head can be seen)'

(72) Teqda ku-*pa-saqding*   tonna liu to   oto jio bataq
not   1sg-DET-hear   when pass DEF car at   road
'I slept when the car passed by on the road!'
(lit: I wasn't able to hear when the car passed by)

(73) Gaja *pa-saqding* to   to-mak-kelong pu-bongiq
very DET-hear   DEF PRS-VRi1-sing last-night
'The singers could really be heard last night'

4.5 Detransitivizer *mang-*

The largest group of intransitive verbs is marked with the prefix *mang-* (see note 6) which is very productive. The bases are transitive verbs (except those derived from nouns, see section 3.3.4) and *mang-* functions as a detransitivising strategy. That process isn't complete in that about 65% of the *mang-*verbs can optionally take an incorporated object. In that respect they occupy a middle position on the transitivity scale. In spite of that they are clearly intransitive verbs since they take the absolute enclitic person marking.

mang-baqte	'fry (without oil)'	*tbaqte*	'fry s.th.'
mang-boboq	'fight'	*boboq*	'fight'
mang-jala	'to fish'	*jala*	'to fish; net'
mang-rari	'to war'	*rari*	'war with'
mang-ruaga	'to lie'	*ruaga*	'lie s.th.'
mang[ng]-esse	'to hatch'	*esse*	'hatch (egg)'
mang[ng]-olo	'face'	*olo*	'face s.th.'
man-daduq	'repeat'	*daduq*	'repeat s.th.'
mang-gereq	'slaughter'	*gereq*	'slaughter s.th.'
mas-sua	'to command'	*sua*	'order s.th.'
mang-lamun	'bury'	*lamun*	'bury s.th.'
mas-sola	'(go) together'	*sola*	'together'
mang[ng]-apa	'do what?'	*apa*	'what'
mang-parri-parri	'in a hurry'	*parri-parri*	'(do) quickly'
mas-siboboq	'fight'	*siboboq*	'fight each other'
mang-pesaqding	'to listen'	*pesaqding*	'listen to s.th.'

In the two last examples *mang-* is prefixed to complex verb bases. The first one is already made intransitive by the reciprocal prefix *si-*. The following are examples in sentences.

(74) Ia tee Manai male *mang-rari* req   Toraja
     3pn this Manai go   VRi1-war to.(north) Toraja
     'Manai went to war in Toraja'

(75) Bale apa-ra   biasa ta-atta   ke *mang-jala*-kiq
     fish what-CTR usually 2h-catch   if VRi1-fish-1plin
     'What kind of fish do you usually catch with a net?'

(76) *Mang[ng]-apa*-ri-kiq
     VRi1-what-CTR-1plin
     'What are you doing?'

(77) *Mang-baqte rappo*-naq
      VRi1-fry   peanut-1sg
      'I am frying peanuts'

(78) Iake *mang-gereq*   *manuk*-[k]i to   to-sallang
      if   VRi1-slaughter chicken-3   DEF PRS-muslim
      'If a Muslim person is going to kill a chicken...'

The *mang-* verb in (74) cannot take an incorporated object while the verbs in (75)-(78) may. The object incorporation is shown in the last two examples by the subject enclitic on the object. The incorporated object is always an indefinite patient closely related to the verb. The possible incorporated objects of one *mang-* verb are often very restricted; often the patient isn't mentioned but understood as the most usual patient of the verb. In the utterance (79) the understood patient is rice.

(79) man-nasu-naq   'I am cooking'
      VRi1-cook-1sg

There is no need to explicitly state it as in *mannasu_nandenaq* 'I am cooking rice'. If, on the other hand, 'I am cooking bananas' the patient has to be stated, as in:

(80) man-nasu   punti-naq   'I am cooking bananas'
      VRi1-cook   banana-1sg

The *mang-* verbs are highest in transitivity of the intransitive verbs. They most often have two participants involved. Further they describe an activity and the patient is affected by the action. The features that are low in transitivity are the non-perfective aspect and the nonindividuated object. No incorporated object can be definite.

5   BASIC TRANSITIVE VERBS

In this section a very brief outline of the focus system will be given before the basic transitive verbs are discussed. For a more complete presentation see Kari Valkama, "Person marking in Duri" (this volume).

The transitive verbs in Duri are either actor focus or goal focus. Discourse factors decide whether to use goal or actor focus.

Goal focus occurs more often in texts and has no special marking except the obligatory ergative proclitic person marking on the verb. The object must be definite if goal focus is used.

Goal focus:

> (81) *na-pa-torro* toda-*mi*   Lajanaq joo dea lan bala bola
> 3-CAUS-stay also-3CMP   Lajanak that grass in under house
> 'Lajanak also left the grass under the house'

> (82) na   ia   tee   Lajanaq *na-ala* ngasan-[*n*]*i* joo kande-kande
> and   3pn this Lajanak 3-take all-3   that RED-food
> 'And Lajanak took all the food'

In both the examples above the subject Lajanak is also marked as the third person ergative proclitic *na-* on the verb. The object enclitics -*mi* (81) and -[*n*]*i*(82) come at the end of the verb phrase, and are not directly attached to the transitive verbs.

Actor focus is marked with a nasal prefix, *N*-, preceding the verb. The enclitic person marker can either denote the object, (as is the usual case) or the subject, as in the antipassive construction.

Actor focus:

> (83) Amir *m-p-keqdeh-[h]i*   joo pajo-pajo jio uma-[n] na
> Amir AF-CAUS-stand-3 that dummies in   field-3pO
>
> sanga madoang-[ng]i ng-kalasi-i
> because want-3   AF-decieve-3
>
> 'Amir put the dummies on his rice field' because he wants to decieve them'

Antipassive:

> (84) *N-ampaq-naq* akuq-na   kokoq   lungkun bene
> AF-get-1sg 1sgpn-3PO mushroom fresh   girls
> 'I've found a fresh mushroom, girls'

In (84) the absolutive enclitic -*naq* denotes the first person subject of the clause.

5.1 Unmarked transitives

Unlike the unmarked intransitives which form a small closed subclass the unmarked transitives form a large open subclass of transitive verbs. Below are some examples:

la	'take'
bawa	'bring'
ben	'give'
tajan	'wait'
takke	'see'
kande	'eat'
garaga	'make'
jokko	'catch'
lamun	'bury'
sorong	'push'
sulle	'change'
angkaq	'lift'
anna	'put away'

(85)   Apa-o   la   ta-*ben*[g]-kan
       what-more FUT 1plin-give-1plex
       'What else are you going to give us'

(86)   na-*sulle*-i   joloq pakean-na   jio Tondok
       3-change-3 first clothes-3PO at Tondok
       'he changed his clothes first at   Tondok'

5.2 Transitives Derived from Nouns

A way of forming a transitive verb from a nominal root is with the prefix *pu-*. These *pu-* verbs take two arguments. The resulting meanings (see below) cannot be predicted. *Pu-* is therefore just glossed as TR (transitivizer). Some examples one:

pu-baine	'marry s.o.'	*baine*	'woman'
pu-muane	'marry s.o.'	*muane*	'man'
pu-anak	'regard as a child'	*anak*	'child'
pu-kelong	'sing s.th.'	*kelong*	'song'
pu-curita	'tell a story'	*curita*	'story'

(87)	Sitti na-*pu-baine* Amir	compare the	Ke-baine Amir
	Sitti 3-TR-wife Amir	the intransitive	VRi5-wife Amir
	'Amir married Sitti'	counter part:	'Amir married'

(88) Apa mu-*pu-curita*?
what 2f-TR-story
'What story are you telling'?

Pu- prefixed to other roots (including intransitives) has a resultative meaning. In a reason-result construction *pu-* is prefixed to a verb marking the result. Verbs with *pu-* usually take an ergative person prefix marking the subject of the verb.

89) Na-*pu-karrak* Markus ke di-ala   tuu oto-na
3-RSLT-cry   Markus if PASS-take that car-3PO
'Markus will cry if his car is taken'

6   CONCLUSION

In this paper the stative and intransitive prefixes have been presented. Further research has to be done in the area of transitive affixes. Those will include derived transitives such as causatives, requestives, locatives and benefactives. The morphologically unmarked free roots have been shown to belong to three different classes: stative, intransitive and transitive verbs.

The different affixes have been given clearly defined semantic functions. There may be a need for further study in order to expand the meaning ranges to include what now seem to be exceptions. For example, the prefix *meN-* that has the meaning 'to become' or 'to produce' when prefixed to noun roots and that denotes motion when prefixed to verb bases, may be shown to be a general marker of dynamic or event verbs.

SUMMARY CHART OF AFFIXES

	AFFIX	BASE	MEANING	EXAMPLES	
STATIVE VERBS	–	V	(8 terms)	*biccuq* *gajaq*	'small' 'bad'
	ma-	V V	qualities manners colours emotions	a *matonggo* *makassing* *mabusa* b *malaira* *malajaq*	'big' 'good' 'white' 'wild' 'afraid'
	bu-	Noun	smells	*bubau* *bumarran*	'stink' 'smell of blood'
INTRAN-SITIVE VERBS	–	V		*pole* *miqcik*	'return' 'wake up'
	ke-	Noun	'to get N'	*kebaine* *kemuane*	'marry' 'marry'
	keN-	Noun	'to produce'	*kembunga* *kentalloh*	'blossom' 'lay eggs'
	meN-	Noun	'to produce N'	*membunga* *mendaun*	'blossom' 'produce leaves'
	meN-	Noun	sounds	*memmaqtu*	'explode'
	meN-	Noun	'to become N'	a *mentau* *mellitak*	'turn into a man' 'become dust'
		Vst	'to become Vst'	b *membaru* *memmalea*	'become new' 'become red'
		Vint	'to become V'	c *mentuo* *mellonta*	'become living' 'become boiling
	meN-	V	motion verbs	a *mentiaq* *mengkon-dong*	'fly' 'jump'
		Vint ADV		b *memmiqcik* c *mendeq* *menjolo*	'get up' 'go up' 'go first'
	meN-	Vtr	reflexive	*menjioq* *merrussu*	'wash o.s.' 'brush o.s.'
	me-	N	'gather N'	*mepare*	'harvest rice'

AFFIX	BASE	MEANING	EXAMPLES	
			mekutu	'look for lice'
			mewai	'fetch water'
me-	Noun/ parts of the body	'to aim at'	*memata*	'aim at the eyes'
me-	Noun/ clothes shoes	'to wear'	*medodo*	'wear a sarung
me-	V	oral verbs	*metawa*	'laugh'
			mekutana	'ask'
			melangoaq	'yawn'
mang-	Noun	'use N'	*mangkadera*	'sit on a chair'
			mangbulu	'play badminton'
mang-	Vtr	detransitivizer	mangrari	'to war'
			mandaduq	'repeat'
			manggereq	'slaugh-ter'
-um-	Noun		kumarrak	'weep'
			rumido	'polish rice'
-um-	V		cumadokko	'sit'
			tumorak	'clear away (weeds)'
			kumua	'say'
si-	Vtr	reciprocal	sikita	'see each other'
			siala	'marry'
			sitammuan	'meet'
si-/-an	Vint	'to do V together'	sipalaian	'all run away'
ti(C)-	Noun	body function	*tittai*	'defecate'
			cicceme	'urinate'
ti-	Vtr	non-volitional	tiballu	'spilled'
			tilaqcu	'slipped'
di-	Vtr	passive	dinasu	'cooked'
			dibage	'divided'
pa-	Vtr	detransitivizer	patalo	'win'
			pakita	'visible'

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	AFFIX	BASE	MEANING	EXAMPLES	
TRAN-SITIVE VERBS	–	V		*kita* *kande* *ben*	'see' 'eat' 'give'
	pu-	Noun		*pubaine* *pukelong*	'marry s.o.' 'sing smth'

ABBREVIATIONS

ABS	Absolutive	
ADJ	Adjective	
AF	Actor Focus	N-
AFF	Affective	ka-
act	Actor	
BEN	Benefactive	-an
CAUS	Causative	pa-
CAUS	Causative	pe-
CMP	Completive	-mo
2sfCMP	"	-moko
3CMP	"	-mi
CTR	Contrastive	-ra
3CTR	"	-ri
DEF	Definitive	to
DET	Detransitivizer	pa-
EMPH	Emphasis	paleq
ERG	Ergative	
HAB	Habitual	ka-
FUT	Future	la
INC	Incompletive	-pa
3pINC	"	-pi
intr	Intransitive	
LOC	Locative	-i
N	Noun	
NEG	Negative	teqda
NEGp	Negative verb prefix	tang-
NPo	Noun Phrase object	
NR	Nominalizer	pang-
NRp	Nominalizer, person	pang-
NVOL	Nonvolitional action	ti- (tiN-, tiC-)
O	Object	
PASS	Passive	di-
pn	Pronoun	
PO	Possessive	
PRB	Prohibitive	(d)anggiq
PRp	Prepositional prefix	n-
PRS	Personalizer	to-
Q	Question	-ka
REC	Reciprocal action	si-
RED	Reduplication	

			ABS	ERG
REL	Relative	to		
RSLT	Resultative	pu-		
S	Subject			
STV	Stative	ma-		
STVb	Stative prefix	bu-		
TR	Transitive derivational	pu-		
tr	Transitive			
V	Verb			
VRi1	Verbalizer, intr	mang-		
VRi2	"	meN-		
VRi3	"	me-		
VRi4	"	-um-		
VRi5	"	ke-		
VRt2	Verbalizer, transitive	peN-		
VRt3	"	pe-		

		ABS	**ERG**
1sg	First person singular	-naq,	ku-
1plin	" plural inclusive	-kiq,	ta-
1plex	" plural exclusive	-kan,	ki-
2f	Second person familiar	-ko,	mu-
2h	Second person honorific	-kiq	ta- mi-
3	Third person	-i	na-
1sgPO	First person singular possessive	-kuq	
1plinPO	" plural inclusive possessive	-taq	
1plexPO	" plural exclusive possessive	-kiq	
2fPO	Second person familiar possessive	-mu	
2hPO	Second person honorific possessive	-taq -mi	
3PO	Third person possessive	-na	

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NOTES

1. They are *ma-* meaning '(much) more' in section 2.1, *si-* 'he, himself' in 4.1.2 and the resultative use of *pu-* in 5.2.

2. Under certain circumstances (e.g. questions and negatives) the stative verbs take the ergative set of person proclitics. For a more complete presentation see Kari Valkama, 'Person marking in Duri' (this volume).

3. Except for the passive that cannot have a causative prefix preceding it.

4. Preceding stops the nasal in *keN-* and *meN-* assimilates to the same point of articulation. Before the alveolar lateral (l), grooved fricative (s) and vibrant (r) *meN-* assimilates to the following consonant resulting in the allomorphs *mel-*, *mes-* and *mer-*.

5. There is a notion of movement of the head in this verb, although not obligatorily present. The same is true for the synonym *mellingiq* 'to (turn around and) see'.

6. *mang-* has the following allomorphs. *mang-* is in free variation with *maN-*. It is realized as *man-*, *mas-*, and *mal-* before alveolar stops (t,d), alveolar fricatives (s) and laterals (l), respectively. Before vowels the allomorph is *mangng-*. There are also a few examples of deletion following assimilation as in *manengko* (*maN-* + *tengko*) 'plough' and *manyumpun* (*maN-* + *sumpun*) 'burn'.