PERSON MARKING IN DURI

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This paper discusses person marking in Duri. There are four sets of pronouns: two clitic sets, one suffix set and one free set. Set one is prototypically used with objects of transitive verbs and subjects of intransitive verbs. Set two is used with subjects of transitive verbs. The system is therefore basically ergative. There is, however, a split pattern for intransitive verbs, where sometimes the intransitive subjects are marked with proclitics. This split is based on syntactic grounds and is therefore different from active languages, where the split is based on inherent lexical aspect (Aktionsart). One possible explanation for the split is the certainty, definiteness or presupposition of the action, but no final solution is offered, since the evidence is not yet conclusive.[1]

1 INTRODUCTION

The Duri language belongs to the Massenrempulu subfamily, Northern South-Sulawesi family. It is located in the three northernmost subdistricts of the Enrekang district (i.e. Alla, Anggeraja and Baraka). Duri is spoken by about 90,000 people and consists of several closely related dialects (Valkama and Valkama 1990:75). Duri is very similar to the Toraja language spoken in the district immediately north of it, especially the southernmost dialect of Toraja, the Mengkendek dialect. It is closer to Duri than the closest Massenrempulu language, showing lexical similarity around 80%. As a whole, Duri shows an average 78% lexical similarity with Toraja, compared to 76% lexical similarity with Enrekang. But because of sociolinguistic considerations, we have included it in the Massenrempulu subfamily (Valkama 1987). The Massenrempulu subfamily consists of Duri, Enrekang (including the Pattinjo dialect, which is spoken in the Pinrang District), Maiwa (which is spoken in the Maroangin subdistrict of the Enrekang District and in the northern parts of the neighbouring Sidenreng-Rappang District), and Malimpung, which is spoken in the Pinrang District. The total number of speakers of these languages is estimated at 200,000.

Little linguistic research has been done in the Duri language. Work done by the *Proyek Penelitian Bahasa dan Sastra Indonesia dan Daerah Sulawesi Selatan* (Pelenkhu *et al.* 1978), *Proyek Penelitian Bahasa dan Bastra Indonesia dan Daerah* (Hanafie *et al.* 1981), *Proyek Pengembangan Bahasa dan Sastra Indonesia dan Daerah* (Junaedie *et al.* 1978), *Proyek Pengembangan Ilmu Pengetahuan dan Teknologi* (Syarif *et al.* 1982 and 1983) as well as work done by *Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa* (Junaedie *et al.* 1984 and Mursalin *et al.* 1984) have concentrated on the Enrekang language. Pelenkahu *et al.*

1972 discusses Duri, Enrekang and Maiwa languages. Mills' *Proto South Sulawesi* (1975) touched on Duri a little bit as did the *Peta Bahasa Sulawesi Selatan* (Pelenkahu *et al.* 1974) and Grimes and Grimes *Languages of South Sulawesi* (1987). My own work includes Valkama (1987), which is a survey report. Some text volumes have been published: *Sastra Lisan Massenrempulu* (Sikki *et al.* 1986), *Duri Conversations* (Valkama *et al.* 1989) (a triglot edition of everyday conversations), and *Sulawesi language texts* (Friberg (ed.) 1990.) An interesting publication is *Transliterasi dan Terjemahan Lontarak Sejarah Enrekang*, (Abdullah *et al.* (1989)), which is a transcription and translation of the Bugis lontara kept by Lasallang alias puang Tobalu. That lontara discusses the history of Enrekang. Another book about history is Makkulasse (1986). There are some B.A. theses both at UNHAS and IKIP, which discuss Duri. I am aware of two: Dawaru (1981), *The Interference of the Duri Dialect Sound System in Learning English* (IKIP), and Angreny (1985), *A Phrase Study of Duri Dialects Compared to English Phrases* (UNHAS). There is also one M.A. thesis about Maiwa, which is closely related to Duri (Hente 1990).

In this paper I use the terms subject and object in the sense of grammatical subject and object as defined by Halliday (1985:32-37). Therefore in a one argument clause, the only argument is the subject. In a two argument clause, the argument that is referred to by a set two (ergative) pronoun, is the subject and the object is the argument that is referred to by a set 1 (absolutive) pronoun.

The aim of this paper is to describe how Duri handles person marking in intransitive and transitive clauses. The normal pattern is that subjects of intransitive verbs and objects of transitive verbs are marked by enclitic personal pronouns, while the subjects of transitive verbs are marked by proclitic personal pronouns. This is the expected pattern for a morphologically ergative system, as shown by Figure 1 below (S and O refer to subject and object clitics respectively):

Transitive verb: S - V - O
Intransitive verb: V - S

Figure 1. Morphologically ergative system

This scheme is, however, not without exceptions and a significant part of this paper discusses the factors that govern the departures from such ergative-absolutive marking. The final section summarizes the Agent and Patient marking, relating Duri to the larger typological linguistic scene.

There are two kinds of transitive verbs in Duri. One kind, the N-verbs, have a nasal prefix *N-* (which is realized as *m-*, *n-* or *ng-*), and usually no subject proclitic. These could be called actor focus, when the enclitic pronoun is the object. Clauses with N-verbs are called N-transitives. When the enclitic pronoun of the N-verb is the subject, they are called antipassives, and not actor focus or N-transitives. The other type, the 0-verbs, do not have the N-prefix, hence the name 0- or zero-verb. Clauses with 0-verbs are called simple transitives. For more discussion on the 0- and N-verbs, see section 3.2 and 3.3.

In Duri there are no morphological cases, so subject and object are not marked on the NPs. Instead, in transitive clauses, the pronoun clitics are used to differentiate subject and

object. The proclitics refer to the subjects and the enclitics to the objects. With actor focus, the enclitic refers to the object NP, which is definite. If the enclitic refers to the subject NP instead, the verb becomes a one argument verb, because there is no reference to the object NP, which is indefinite. This is the antipassive construction.

According to Givón (1984:362) pronouns may be used as noun substitutes or, when they cliticize, they may be interpreted as obligatory parts of the verb. Therefore they would occur also when the co-referential NP is present. Then we may say that the verb agrees with an NP. In Duri the status of pronouns is between noun-substitutes and obligatory parts of the verb. The norm is that subject and object clitic pronouns are obligatory, but there are some exceptions to the norm. First, N-verbs don't normally take subject proclitics. Secondly, for the 0-verbs, the main rule is that if the subject or object is mentioned before the verb in the same clause or in some cases even in the previous clause, the verb does not take a pronoun clitic, but if the subject or object is mentioned after the verb, the verb does take a pronoun clitic. (See section 3.2 and 5 for more discussion.) Therefore the pronoun clitics have cataphoric reference within the clause in Duri.[2] This is illustrated in the following example (1), where the proclitic *na-* refers to the following NP and not to the preceding NP:

(1)   Amir *na*-buno *Beceq*
      Amir 3-hit   Beceq
      'Beceq hit Amir'

So in Duri the pronominal clitics may be part of the verb, when the co-referential NP follows the verb, but not if it precedes the verb. In other words, the verb agrees with a following object or subject NP, but not with a preceding object or subject NP.

2   PRONOUN SETS

Duri, like many other languages of Sulawesi, has four basic pronoun sets (see Chart 1 below).

As shown in Chart 1, there is a gap in the enclitics of 2 nd person plural (set 1). This gap is, however, filled by the extension of the use of *-kiq* and *kitaq* '1st plural inclusive' forms to several politeness situations in which the speaker wishes to establish solidarity with the addressee see Chart 2 below.

	Set 1 enclitics	Set 2 proclitics	Set 3 poss. suffixes	Set 4 free pronouns
1sg.	-naq	ku-	-kuq	akuq
1incl	-kiq	ta-	-taq	kitaq
1excl	-kan	ki-	-kiq	kamiq
2pl.	-	mi-	-mi	kamuq, komuq
2fam	-ko	mu-	-mu	iko (sg. only)
3	-i	na-	-na	ia

Chart 1. Basic pronoun sets

	Set 1 enclitics	Set 2 procitics	Set 3 poss.suffixes	Set 4 free pronouns
1sg. pol	-kiq	-	-taq	kitaq
2pol	-kiq	ta-	-taq	kitaq
2sg. pol	-	mi-	-mi	kamuq, komuq

Chart 2. Politeness pronoun sets

It is to be noted that *-kiq*, *-taq* and *kitaq* (but not *ta-*) can be used for first person singular. The following example shows its use:

(2) oto-*taq* *kitaq*-na mu-la-n-ala-i   iko-na
     car-my I-3PO   2f-will-AF-take-it you-3PO
     'You are going to take my car!'

The *-na* is emphatic and discussed in section 6.3. Sentence 1 here illustrates the use of *-taq* and *kitaq* '1incl' for 1sg. reference. This presumably again is an instance of conventionalized politeness usage. Notice also that sets 2, 3 and 4 employ the plural forms *mi-*, *-mi*, and *kamuq, komuq* to achieve 2nd singular politeness reference.

As can be seen from Charts 1 and 2, number is only weakly distinguished in the pronouns. Only the first person differentiates between first person singular and first person plural (exclusive or inclusive). Also the second person free pronoun *iko* is singular only. The other 2fam pronouns *-ko*, *mu-* and *-mu* can be both singular and plural. *mi-*, *-mi* and *kamuq/komuq* are basically plural but singular when used politely. (This happens to be identical with the use of the Finnish personal pronoun *te* 'you', which, if used singularly, is also polite.)

If one wants to make it clear that plural meaning is intended, one can add *sola ngasan* 'with all', i.e. *kamuq sola ngasan* 'you all', *kitaq sola ngasan* 'we (incl.) all', or just *ngasan* as in (3) below:

50

(3)   lillang   *ngasan*-m-i
      startled all-CMP-3
      'They all were startled'

The surface form of the combination -*mo* 'CMP' plus the 3rd person enclitic pronoun -*i*, is -*mi*. In this paper they will be written separately as -*m-i*, as illustrated in the above example. The same applies to the contrastive enclitic -*ra* 'CTR', which if conjoined with -*i* '3' becomes -*ri*, but will be written separately. in the example sentences as *r-i*. The incompletive marker -*pa* 'INC' is similarly written as -*p-i*, when it occurs with the third person enclitic.

In the example sentences square brackets show epenthetic consonants (usually nasals) that are inserted between morpheme breaks. For example *punti-[ng]kuq,* where *punti* 'banana' occurs with possesive -*kuq* 'my' and there is an epenthetic nasal *ng* inserted between the two morphemes.

3   ENCLITIC (SET 1) FUNCTIONS

The basic function of the enclitic pronoun, as indicated above in Figure 1, is absolutive, i.e. it marks the subject of intransitive predicates and the object of transitive predicates. Set 1 is repeated below in Chart 3.

Set 1
enclitics

1sg.	-naq
1incl	-kiq
1excl	-kan
2pl.	-
2fam	-ko
3	-i

Chart 3. Enclitic pronoun set

3.1   Subjects of Intransitive Clauses

The order of the basic constituents of intransitive clauses is illustrated in Figure 2 below:

51

```
        ┌──────────────────────────────────────────┐
        │                                          │
  Prediate (intr)                        Argument (subject)
        │                                          │
        │                                          │
  Verb-enclitic                              (NP)
   (set 1)
```
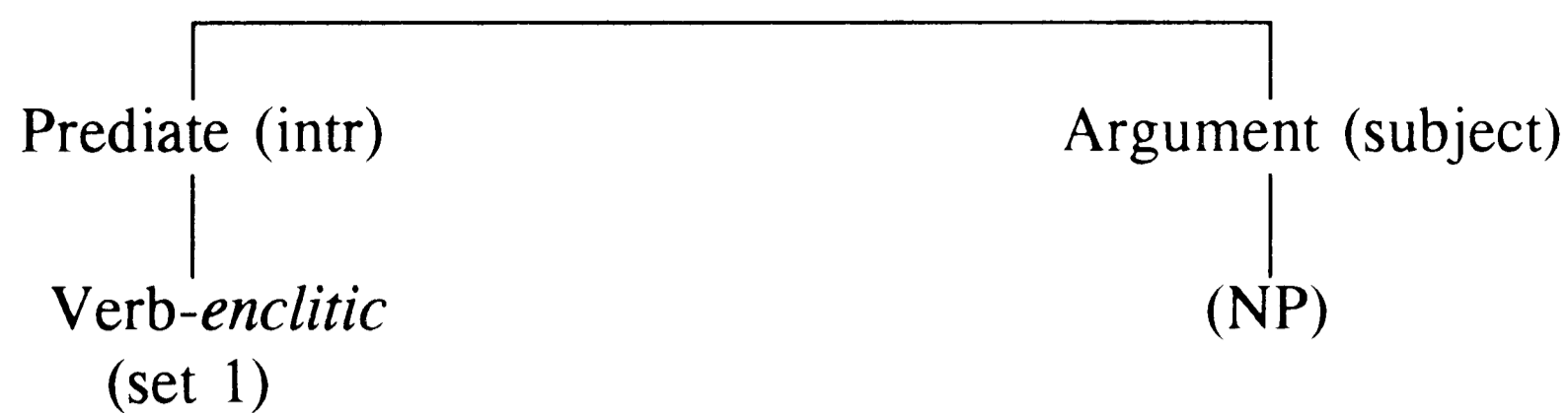
Figure 2. Constituent order of intransitive clauses

The enclitic occurs, whether or not there is an associated full NP in the clause, for example (4)-(7) below:

(4) pole-*naq* lako bola-kuq
     return-I to   house-1PO
     'I returned to my home'

(5) ma-lajaq-*i*   indo-na
     STV-afraid-3 mother-3PO
     'His mother was afraid'

(6) ia tee Lajanaq male-*i* lako uma-[n]na
     3 D1   Lajanak go-3   to   field-3PO
     'This Lajanak went to this fields'

(7) ma-rio   gaja-m-*i*   Yuhani ng-kita-i
     STV-happy very-CMP-3 Juhani AF-see-3
     'Juhani was very happy to see it'

Notice that there is subject agreement between the full NP and the subject enclitic in (5), (6) and (7). The examples above illustrate the normal use of the enclitic pronouns. For a discussion of cases where the enclitic pronouns are absent, see section 5. Notice here that the *ma*-verbs (called stative verbs elsewhere in this paper) in examples (5) and (7) denote punctiliar events, not static, unchanging state of affairs. Example (6) illustrates discourse topicalization with preverbal subject NP; cf. section 5 note 5.

3.2 Objects of Transitive Clauses

The enclitic pronoun set is also used for objects in transitive clauses. The basic constituent order of such clauses is given in Figure 3 below (for our purposes, the difference between the N-verbs and 0-verbs may be ignored and thus the subject is not included in the figure):

```
┌─────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│                                             │
Predicate (tr)                        Argument (object)
│                                             │
│                                             │
Verb-*enclitic*                              (NP)
```
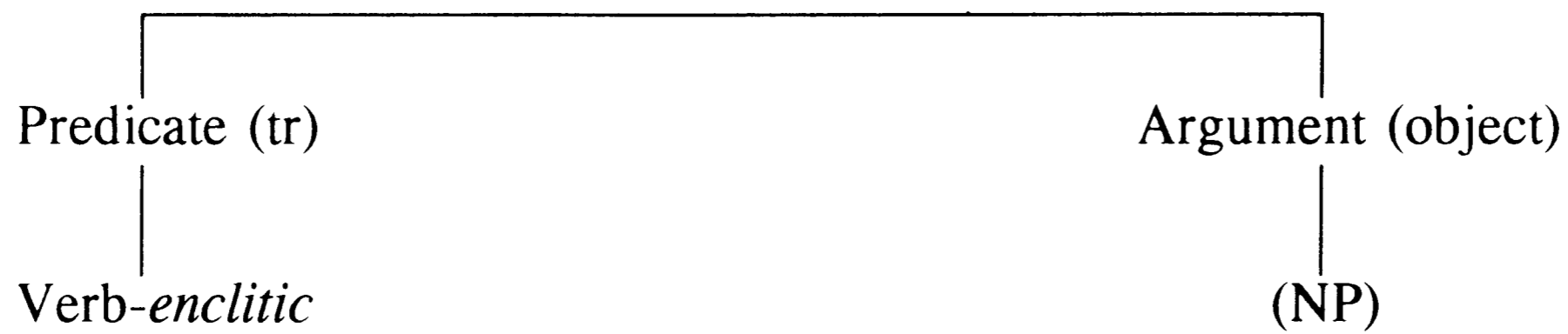
Figure 3. Simplified constituent order of transitive clauses

The position of the object-referencing pronoun as an enclitic in transitive clauses is identical with the same position of the subject-referencing element as an enclitic in intransitive clauses (recall Figure 1). Some examples of set 1 enclitics as object markers are given in (8)-(10) below.

(8) mesaq tau n-takke-*i* aje-na   sola paniq-na
     one   man AF-hold-3 leg-3PO with wing-3PO
     'One person holds its legs and its wings'

(9) ia-na den ma-doang n-anna-*i*   joo dangke   di-ceqla-i-*i*
     if   is STV-want AF-store-3 that cottage.cheese PASS-salt-TZRI-3
     'If one wants to store the cottage cheese, it is salted'

(10) male-naq n-ala-*i*   joo dangke
     go-1sg   AF-fetch-3 D3 cottage.cheese
     'I'll go to fetch the cottage cheese'

Notice that there is object agreement between the definite NP and the object enclitic in (8)-(10). There is, however, a general condition under which the object enclitic is not used. That is, when the object has been mentioned previously in the discourse. This can be divided into two subcases. First, if the object has been mentioned previously in the same clause, the object enclitic is obligatorily absent.[3] This is similar to object focus in Muna (van den Berg, 1989:165-169). There the patient is foregrounded and the agent is backgrounded giving a passive-like construction. See (11) and (12) below, where -*X* indicates a suppressed object referent expression:

(11) pakean adaq-na   tana Duri na-pake-*X* male
      clothes custom-3PO land Duri 3-wear   go
      'He used traditional Duri clothes and went'

(12) punti-[ng]kuq na-kande-*X* Amir
      banana-1PO   3-eat   Amir
      'Amir ate my bananas'

Second, if the object has been mentioned in the previous clauses or is old information, or is understood from the speech situation, it is optionally absent. This can be observed in (13) and (14) below:

(13)   sanga   gaja bandaq gaja ia, na-bawa-X joo dea,
        because very heavy very it 3-carry   that elephant.grass
        'Because it (the elephant.grass) was very heavy to carry'

(14)   ia to nande, na-nasu-X indo-na   pitu baka
        3 the rice   3-cook   mother-3PO 7   baka
        'The seven baka containers of rice, that his mother had cooked'

Note that if the object is relativized as in (14), it is not marked in the relative clause. Note also that *joo dea* is still present in (13), possibly as an afterthought.

The object enclitic is also not used, when the object is generic, although the definite marker *to* is still present, which is illustrated in the following examples (15)-(17):

(15)   na-kande meong to   dangke
        3-eat   cat   DEF cottage.cheese
        'Cats eat cottage cheese'

(16)   na-kande-i meong to   dangke
        3-eat-3   cat   DEF cottage.cheese
        'Cats ate the cottage cheese'

(17)   *na-kande meong dangke
         3-eat   cat   cottage.cheese
        'Cats eat cottage cheese'

Notice that in (15) the object is generic and probably the topic of the discourse. In (16) the object is definite: it is a certain piece of cottage cheese that one had put away to eat later, but cats came and ate it. The English equivalent where the cottage cheese is indefinite without *to*, is ungrammatical as (17) shows.

In the following example pair, the first sentence (18) has two interpretations: first, the action has not been finished, there is more grass to be tied. Second, it is certain that there is grass that has been tied, so it is ready to be transported, for example. In the second sentence (19) the action has been finished, all the grass has been is tied, but there is a possibility that after the work is done, it has become undone. The absence of object marking therefore shows that the object is only partially affected, there is still more of it. Object marking shows that the object is totally affected, the action is finished:

(18) den-mo   ku-ujun-*X* dea-kuq
      ada-CMP 1sg-bundle elephant.grass-1PO
      'I have bundled my grass' (the action is not finished,
      there is some left of it to be bundled)

(19) den-mo   ku-ujun-*i* dea-kuq
      ada-CMP 1sg-bundle elephant.grass-1PO
      'I have bundled my grass' (the action is finished)

In the above discussion the differences between N-verbs and 0-verbs were ignored. Also the differences between different usages of N-verbs were not discussed. I will briefly discuss both issues here.

An 0-verb is a verb that does not have an *N*-prefix. Thus the name 0- or zero-verb. The name is nemonic also, because those verbs could also be called object focus (The numeral '0' and the capital letter 'O' are close in appearance). With 0-verbs the object may be either definite or indefinite.

N-verbs get their name from the *N*-prefix, which is realized as *m-*, *n-*, or *ng-*. N-verbs are used in three different ways. Firstly, when the subject NP is fronted as in (8). The fronting is used to emphasize the subject NP. The object is definite and the enclitic refers to it. This case could be called actor focus proper or active N-verb. The second usage is with serial verbs, where the first verb is usually an intransitive and has the subject marking on it, and the following verb is an N-verb having the object marking on it, as in (9). The object is definite here as well. The reason an N-verb occurs here does not seem to have anything to do with fronting or focus. Rather, it seems to me that the previous mention of the subject triggers the use of the N-verb. However, for the sake of simplicity, it also is called actor focus, as well as active N-verb. The third usage of the N-verbs is in a construction where the enclitic does not refer to the object but to the subject. The object in these constructions is prototypically indefinite and it is not marked on the verb. This construction is called antipassive and is discussed in the next section (3.3).

3.3 N-Verbs with Subject Enclitics

The enclitic pronoun set is used for the subject of transitive clauses with verbs that have the prefix *N-*, in a construction that is commonly referred to as antipassive. (See Dixon 1979 and Comrie 1978:361-364). These verbs do not take an object enclitic, but instead a subject enclitic and the object is not marked at all on the verb making it intransitive-like, as shown in examples (20) and (21) below:

(20) n-ampaq-*naq* akuq-na kokoq   lungkun   bene!
      AF-get-1sg   1sg-3PO mushroom just.grown girls
      'I found a just grown mushroom, girls!'

(21)   ng-kande-*naq* punti
       AF-eat-I   banana
       'I eat bananas'

Notice that the object in the above examples is indefinite. In example (20) we would normally expect the transitive verb *ampaq* 'get' with an enclitic referencing the object. Instead we get -*naq* 'I' referencing the subject.

In a related construction, object incorporation (see Givón 1990:624-628), we find the same pattern, where a semantically transitive verb receives the same subject enclitic as above. Object incorporation is exemplified in example (23) below, of which (22) is the regular (non-incorporated) counterpart:

(22)   ku-tanan-[n]i joo punti
       1sg-plant-3   D3 banana
       'I plant that banana tree'

(23)   man-tanan-punti-naq
       VRi0-plant-banana.tree-1sg
       'I am banana-tree-planting'

Example (22) demonstrates the normal transitive clause, in which the subject is referenced by a proclitic on the verb. However, in example (23) the object has been incorporated into the verb, creating an intransitive clause, which receives enclitic subject marking.

4   PROCLITIC (SET 2) FUNCTIONS

The basic function of the proclitic pronoun is ergative, i.e. it marks the subject of transitive predicates. Set 2 is repeated below in Chart 4.

Set 2
proclitics

1sg	ku-
1incl	ta-
1excl	ki-
2pl.	mi-
2fam	mu-
3	na-

Chart 4. Proclitic pronoun set

4.1 Subjects of Transitive Clauses

The basic constituent order of simple transitive clauses (which could be called object focus) is given in Figure 4 below:

```
        ┌─────────────────────────┬─────────────────────────┐
        │                         │                         │
  Predicate (tr)          Argument (subject)        Argument (object)
        │                         │                         │
proclitic-Verb-enclitic        (NP)                      (NP)
```
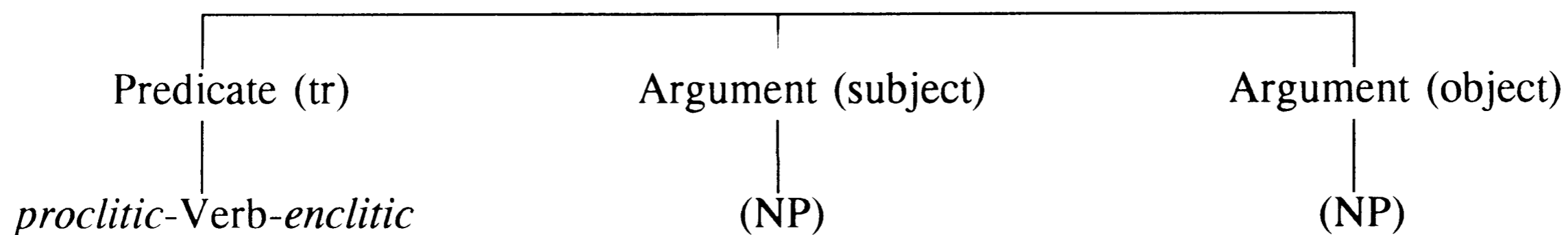
Figure 4. Constituent order of simple transitive clauses

The verbs in simple transitive clauses I call *O-verbs* as opposed to the *N-verbs* (in N-transitive clauses, actor focus), which take the nasal verb prefix *N-*.

The proclitic pronouns are illustrated in the following examples (24)-(27):

(24) *na*-cidokko-i-i Amir joo kopi
     3-sit-TZRl-3   Amir that coffee
     'Amir sat on the coffee'

(25) *na*-pa-keqdeh-[h]i jio uma-[n]na
     3-CAUS-stand-3   in field-3PO
     'He put them on his rice field'

(26) *na*-kua-n-[n]i   Amir kaka-[n]na
     3-say-BEN-3   Amir elder.brother-3PO
     'Amir said to his brother'

(27) pura   *mu*-saeq-i joo dea
     already 2f-cut-3   that grass
     'You have cut that grass'

There is another class of transitive clauses, which I call N-transitives (they could also be called actor focus) and may be diagrammed as follows (Figure 5):

```
        ┌─────────────────────────┬─────────────────────────┐
        │                         │                         │
  Argument (subj)           Predicate (tr)          Argument (object)
        │                         │                         │
      (NP)              N-Verb-enclitic (object)          (NP)
```
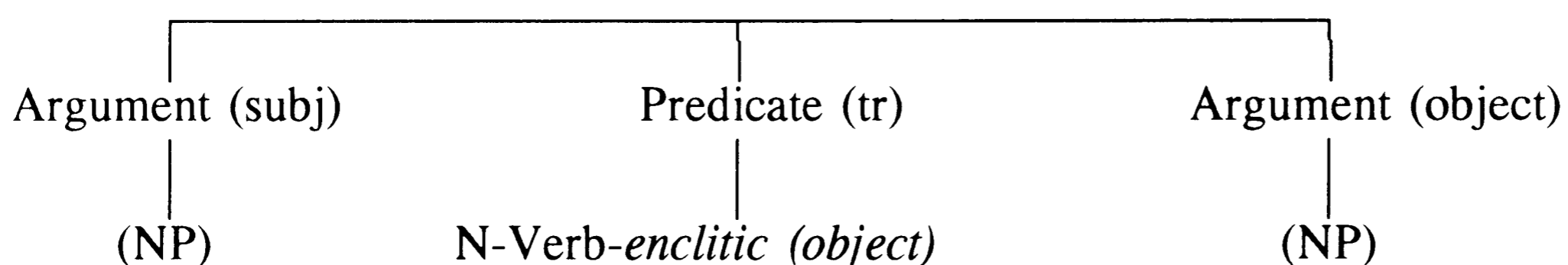
Figure 5. Constituent order of N-transitive clauses

With N-verbs, the subject is normally not marked on the verb. N-transitive clauses are produced when the subject NP is being specially asserted to provide new or contrastive information and the remainder of the clause is presupposed/old information. Compare example (28) below with the corresponding simple transitive clause in (25) above:

(28)   Amir m-pa-keqdeh-[h]i joo pajo-pajo jio uma-[n]na
        Amir AF-CAUS-stand-3 D3 dummies in field-3PO
        'Amir put the dummies on his rice field'

4.2 Subjects of Intransitive Clauses

The proclitic pronoun set can be used for subjects of intransitive clauses. This is, however, marked (unusual) and there are several conditions which govern such proclitic subject marking. First, if there is a consecutive linking morpheme (CNS) *aN-*, the following verb takes a proclitic subject pronoun, as in the following examples (29)-(32) below:

(29)   am-*mi*-ma-sai   gaja kamuq-na man-nasu
        CNS-2h-STV-long very 2f-3PO   VRi0-cook
        'Why did it take so long for you to cook?'

(30)   doppa dau   karuen   an-*ta*-male
        soon later afternoon CNS-1plin-go
        'Later this afternoon we (incl.) will go'

(31)   ang-*ku*-male n-ala-i
        CNS-1sg-go AF-fetch-3
        'I will go and fetch it'

(32)   anna male
        CNS go
        'Why does he go?'

As illustrated above in (32), with third person subjects, the CNS morpheme takes the form *anna* and the third person proclitic is suppressed. The form *anna* 'CNS' can occur with non-third person pronouns also, the forms being *anna mimale, anna tamale, anna kumale* etc., but these forms are not so common.

Consecutive linking is called consecutive relation by Sirk (1983). According to him this occurs when in compound sentences "the second component is presented either as simply following in time what is rendered by the first component or as its result or its aim." (Sirk 1983:91-93). In Bugis there is no CNS morpheme and in Duri, too, consecutive linking may occur without the CNS morpheme. Then it is marked by the proclitics only as in examples (33)-(35) below:

(33)   ia   to   indo-na   man-nasu-m-i   pitu baka, *na*-male-mo...
        3   DEF mother-3PO VRi0-cook-CMP-3 7   baka 3-go-CMP
        'His mother cooked seven baka containers of rice and then went...'

(34)   ia tee ambeq-na ma-lajaq   tongan-m-i,   *na*-mes-suun...
        3   D1   father-3PO STV-afraid truly-CMP-3 3-VRi2-come.out
        'His father was afraid and therefore came out...'

(35)   na-kita-m-i   Lajanaq mes-suun   lan mai joo lulun
        3-see-CMP-3 Lajanak VRi3-come.out in here D3   roll

        dea,   *na*-ma-galli-mo   tee ambeq-na...
        elephant.grass 3-STV-angry-CMP D1 father-3PO

        'He saw Lajanak coming out from the roll of grass,
        then his father got angry...'

With *dikua* 'so that' one also gets consecutive linking. The *dikua*-clause states the aim of the preceding clause as illustrated in (36) below:

(36)   di-pa-raqtah-m-i   to   goro-goro-na   dikua *na*-buda
        PASS-CAUS-break-CMP-3 DEF-throat-RED-3PO so.that 3-a.lot

        rara-na   mes-suun
        blood-3PO VRi2-come.out

        'Its throat is broken so that a lot of its blood comes out'.

In a similar pattern, the N-verbs may also take a proclitic subject. This indicates close linkage between the two clauses as with the intransitive clauses above. In example (37) below, the latter clause is antipassive, as shown by the fact that the object is not marked on the verb and the object NP is non-definite:

(37)   ia tee Lajanaq male-m-i   lako uma-[n]na, *na*-n-ala   pajo-pajo
        3 D1 Lajanak go-CMP-3 to   field-3PO   3-AF-fetch dummies
        'This Lajanak went to his fields and took dummies'

Second, with some subordinating conjunctions (e.g. *ia-na* 'if, when', *sanggen-[n]na* 'until', *ia ton-na* 'when'), the following verb gets a proclitic subject marking as in (38)-(40) below:

(38) ia-na *ku*-male   OR   ia [ng]ku-male
      if-3PO 1sg-go   3 1sg-go
      'If I go'   'If I go'

(39) sangge-[n]na *ku*-mate OR   sangge-[ng]kuq mate
      until-3PO   1sg-die   until-1sgPO   die
      'Until I die'   'Until I die'

(40) ia ton-na *ki*-male 1-um-ingka-mingka   OR   ia ton-[g]ki-male
      3 when 1plex-go-VRi4-walk-RED   3 when-1plex-go
      'When we (excl.) went for a walk'   'When we (excl.)went'

In the examples above, only 1st and 2nd person exhibit this feature. For 3rd person subjects, see discussion in section 5 below. Note also that *sangge* 'until' always has a possessive attached to it and if it is of the same person as the subject, the verb does not take subject marking (see (39)). With *ia* and *ton-* the verb takes a proclitic subject and it is the conjunction that is without marking or is attached to the verb (see (38) and (40)).

Note that with another subordinating conjunction *ia-ke* 'if', enclitics are used as in (41) below:

(41) ia-ke male-*naq*
      3-if go-1sg
      'If I go'

Thirdly, with the question clitic *-ka* and some question words, the following verb gets a proclitic subject pronoun. The question clitic is illustrated in (42) below:

(42) Ma-doang-ro-ko-ka   *ta*-male n-jokko-i   joo bai?
      STV-want-CTR-2f-Q 2h-go   AF-catch-3 D3 pig
      'Do you want to go and catch the pig?'

With some question words the subject may be proclitic. In the following example pair the first sentence (43) uses proclitics and the second sentence (44) uses enclitics. Presumably the variation can be explained in that the proclitic is used when the action is presupposed or is old information, but some language informants do not see any difference between these two examples:

(43) umbo wattu *na*-la-male?
      where time   3-FUT-go
      'When will he go?'

(44) piran-[g]*ko* pole?
      when-2f   return
      'When will you return?'

After *ciapari* 'why' and *ia-mo* 'therefore' (literally '3-CMP') proclitics are always used, because the action is presupposed and the question is about the reason for the action. See (45) and (46) below:

(45)   ciapa-r-i   *ta*-male?
       why-CTR-3 2h-go
       'Why did you go?'

(46)   ia-mo   na-male
       3-CMP 3-go
       'Therefore he went'

It is natural that past tense (as in example (47) below) shows more presupposition of the action as opposed to future (as in example (48) below):

(47)   piran *ta*-ratu?
       when 2h-arrive
       'When did you arrive?'

(48)   piran-[g]*kiq* pole?
       when-2h   return
       'When will you return?'

Fourthly, when *danggiq* 'prohibitive' or *teqda* 'negative' occurs in the clause, the subject will be proclitic. This can be explained by saying that negatives negate forms stated as facts as can be seen from the examples (49) and (50) below:

(49)   danggiq *na*-ka-male-male
       lest   3-VRi6-go-RED
       'So that it doesn't move'

(50)   teqda *na*-waqding na-kande to to-sallang
       not 3-may   3-eat   the person-islam
       'The muslims may not eat it'

The fifth case of proclitic marking on intransitive verbs is with certain time phrases as in example (51) below:

(51)   Den pissen wattu ... *na*-male pole ng-kalasi-i   pang-pasaq
       is   one   time   3-go   again AF-deceive-TZRl NRp-market
       'One time ... he went again to deceive market people'

The examples (52) and (53) below show a minimal pair, in which the order of the time phrase and the verb is reversed. According to our hypothesis, in the first example the going

should be presupposed and therefore certain, and in the last example the going should not be presupposed and therefore less certain. But our language helpers do not discern any difference in meaning between these two sentences:

(52) masawa   *ku*-male
      tomorrow 1sg-go
      'I will go tomorrow'

(53) male-*naq* masawa
      go-1sg   tomorrow
      'I will go tomorrow'

4.3 Passives

Passives in Duri are of the agent-deleting type (Givón 1990:581-583). Thus they function like intransitives, because only one argument, the patient, is present. Passives are signalled by the passive prefix *di*- and normally take an enclitic pronoun referring to the syntactic subject, which is also the semantic patient, as in (54) and (55) below (See S. Valkama, "Notes on Duri Transitivity", this volume):

(54) di-base-i-*i*   to   aje-na
      PASS-wash-TZRl-3 DEF foot-3PO
      'Its feet are washed'

(55) di-buno-*naq*
      PASS-hit-1sg
      'I was hit'

Sometimes passives get set 2 proclitic pronouns, as in (56) and (57) below. The reasons for this are the same as for intransitive verbs. See 4.2 for a more complete discussion:

(56) ia-mo *na*-di-sanga   Lajanaq,
      3-CMP 3-PASS-name Lajanak
      'That is why he was called Lajanak'

(57) di-ala-m-i   to dadik,   *na*-di-pa-tama   kurin,
      PASS-fetch-CMP-3 DEF milk   3-PASS-CAUS-enter cooking.pot
      'The milk is taken and then poured into a cooking pot...'

Example (56) shows the proclitic subject after *ia-mo* 'therefore' while (57) is an example of consecutive linking with passive verbs.

5 ABSENCE OF SUBJECT MARKING

Quite often the subject is not marked on the verb either as proclitic or as enclitic. Several conditions under which the subject marker is omitted will be explained in the section below.

First, if the referent is understood because of prior mention (in the same clause or earlier in the discourse) or is understood from the speech situation, it is not marked on the verb.[5] More specifically, the subject will not be marked on the verb if:

- a) reference is made to it in an earlier NP of the same clause (58) and (59);
- b) it is marked as clitic on a preceding verb in the same clause (60) and (61);
- c) it is marked at the end of the previous clause or is understood from the speech situation (62)-(65);
- d) there is a relative clause, which relativizes the subject (66);
- e) there is an imperative (67) - (69).

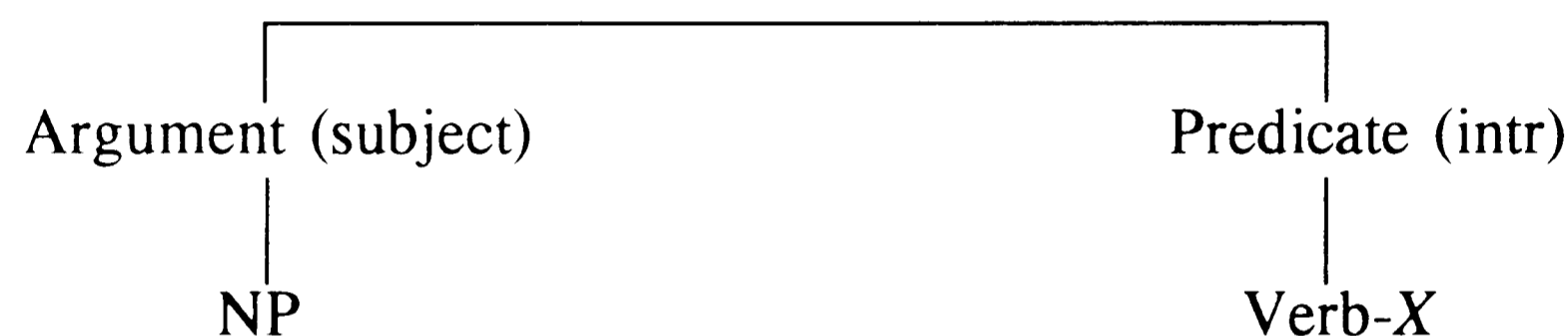Figure 6 illustrates a clause, where the enclitic is suppressed, signified by -X:

```
        ┌──────────────────────────────┐
  Argument (subject)            Predicate (intr)
        │                               │
       NP                            Verb-X
```

Figure 6. Fronted NP with suppressed enclitic

See the following examples (58)-(69) below (-X again marks the suppressed enclitic):

a) Reference is made to the subject in an earlier NP of the same clause:

(58) dikua   na-buda rara-na   mes-suun-X
      so.that 3-a.lot blood-3PO VRi2-come.out
      'So that a lot of its blood comes out'

(59) male-m-i   ambeq-na   Lajanaq mas-saeq dea-X
      go-CMP-3 father-3PO   Lajanak VRi0-cut grass
      'Lajanak's father went to cut the grass'

b) The subject is marked as clitic on a preceding verb in the same clause:

(60)   na-male-mo pa-rundun-*X*
         3-go-CMP   DET-bring.food
         'He went to bring the food'

(61)   teqda ku-kua male-*X* N-ala-i
         not   1sg-can go   AF-fetch-3
         'I am not able to go fetch it'

c)   The subject is marked at the end of the previous clause or is understood from the speech situation:

(62)   ton-na mang-rari Endekan, si-rari-*X*   to-pole   jiong   mai Bugiq
         when   VRi1-war Enrekang REC-war person-return down from Bugis
         'When Enrekang warred, they warred against the Bugis'

(63)   na-dateq-m-i   Salubarani to-Toraja,   ratu-*X* r-rari-i   to-Duri
         3-reach-CMP-3 Salubarani person-Toraja arrive AF-war-3 person-Duri
         'The Torajanese reached Salubarani, they arrived to war against the Duri'

(64)   jio ulu baraqbah, jiong pala pao,   di-kapuq-*X belopa*
         in head garden   down under mango.tree PASS-tie banana.string
         'It is in the upper part of the garden, under the mango tree, tied with banana string'

(65)   ku-passan pole-m-i,   ku-ba-i   lako bola-kuq.   ratu-*X*
         1sg-carry again-CMP-3 1sg-carry-3 to   home-1sgPO arrive
         lako bola-kuq,   ku-pa-tarruh-[h]i   tama bala
         at   home-1sgPO 1sg-CAUS-continue-3 enter under.the.house

         'I lifted it up again and carried it to my house. When I
         arrived home, I left it (the grass) under the house'

Note that in (64) the verb is passive, which makes it intransitive. Therefore person marking follows the rules of subject marking of intransitive verbs.

d)   There is a relative clause, which relativizes the subject:

(66)   sapin-taq,   to   pura-mo-*X*   ke-anak
         cow-2hPO   which already-CMP VRi5-child
         'Your cow, which has given birth'

Note that in all the examples above (58) - (66), the verbs, whose enclitics are suppressed, are intransitive. This is because with transitive verbs the verbs become N-verbs, and there it is the norm that the subject is not marked.[6] Notice also that proclitic subjects are not suppressed, as in (65).

e) There is an imperative:

(67) male-*X* kamuq! male-ko is also possible
     go   2f   go-2sgf
     'Go!'

(68) *X*-kita-r-i joo tau!
     look-CTR-3 D3 people
     'Look at those people!'

(69) *X*-baq-i mai tuu nande!
     carry-it here D2 rice
     'Bring the rice here!'

The second case occurs where *ia-na* 'if', *(ia) ton-na* 'when', *an-na* 'CNS' or *sangge-[n]na* 'until' is followed by a verb whose subject is in the third person, as illustrated in (70)-(73) below:[7]

(70) ia-na *X*-mang-gereq-mo
     if   VRi1-kill-CMP
     'When he is ready to kill'

(71) ia ton-na *X*-buno-i anak-[ka]na
     3 when   hit-3   child-3PO
     'When he hit his child'

(72) an-na   *X*-ma-bandaq gaja ia tee dea
     why   STV-heavy   very 3 D1 grass
     'Why is this grass very heavy/so heavy?'

(73) sanggen-[n]na *X*-mate Manai jio Toraja
     until-3PO   die   Manai in Toraja
     'So Manai died in Toraja'

A possible explanation for these cases is that the third person proclitic *na-* is homophonous with the possessive suffix *-na*. Therefore the proclitic is deleted (i.e. because of haplology):

ia ton-na na-buno-i > ia ton-na *X*-buno-i

The third case where the subject is not marked occurs when the referent of the subject is not important or not specific ('one'), as illustrated in (74) below:

(74)   ke k-um-ande-*X*
       if   -VRi4-eat
       'When one eats'

Fourthly, when the verb denotes an intrinsic state (static, unchanging state of affairs or a general truth), the subject is not marked, as can be seen from examples (75)-(81) below:

(75)   cara-na to   mang-kabuaq dangke-*X*
       way-3PO DEF VRi1-do   cottage.cheese
       'The way to make cottage cheese' (Title of a procedural story)

(76)   penpiran ke-anak-*X*   to   sapin?
       how many times VRi5-child DEF cow
       'How many times does a cow give birth?' (general truth)

(77)   umbo-*X* bola-na   Amir?
       where   house-3PO Amir
       'Where is Amir's house?'
       (the house doesn't move, therefore static)

(78)   umbo-*i* Amir?
       where-3 Amir
       'Where is Amir?'
       (Amir moves around, therefore not static)[8]

(79)   penpiran-ra   m-baca-*X* sejarah to   passikola SD?
       how many times-CTR AF-read history   DEF pupils   SD-school
       'How often do the pupils in elementary school study history?'

(80)   guru-*X* ambeq-kuq jio Baraka
       teacher father-1PO in   Baraka
       'My father is a teacher in Baraka'

(81)   guru-*i*   ambeq-kuq jio Baraka
       teacher-3 father-1PO in   Baraka
       'My father teaches in Baraka'

Example (79) shows that not only stative verbs like 'dull' (as in 82 below), but also semantically transitive verbs like 'read' or 'study', can be without subject marking because they have a static meaning in the context of the sentence. Examples (80) and (81) are especially interesting, because they show the difference between position (*guru*) and activity (*guru-i*).

Fifthly, in a similar vein, with many stative verbs[9] (adjectives), which denote static, unchanging state of affairs, or resultant state, the subject is not marked, as can be observed from the examples (82)-(85) below:

(82)   ma-kundu-*X* tee   laqboh
         STV-dull   D1 machete
         'This machete is dull' (resultant state)

(83)   ting-kaloso-loso-*X*   tongan dikkaq-na kale-na
         NVOL-peeled-RED truly   poor-3PO body-3PO
         'His skin, poor fellow, was peeled off all over'
         (resultant state)

(84)   ma-tonggo-*X* bola-na
         STV-big   house-3PO
         'His house is big' (unchanging state of affairs)

(85)   ma-tonggo-*X* ia
         STV-big   3
         'He is big' (unchanging state of affairs)

Sixthly, the existential verb *den* 'to be' often does not get marking, as in (86) and (87) below:

(86)   den-*X* pissen wattu
         is   one   time
         'One time'

(87)   na-sanga-i kua den-*X* tongan bai
         3-think-3 RS   is   truly   pig
         'He thought that there really is a pig'

In the seventh case, verbs like *manassa* 'really', *musti* 'must' and *tarapassa* 'be compelled to', which normally can take a clitic marker when used as predicates (e.g. *musti-naq* 'I must'), when they are used as modal operators on verbs, take no marking as illustrated in examples (88)-(90) below:

(88)   ma-nassa-*X* na-talo-mi-kiq
         STV-really 3-win-CMP-1plin
         'We certainly will lose'

(89)   taropassa-*X* na-angkaq-i-i
         must   3-lift-TZRl-3
         'He had to lift it'

(90)   musti-*X* si-sarak-[k]i
         must   REC-separate-3
         'They must be separated'

6 POSSESSIVES (SET 3)

Possession in Duri involves a set of pronoun suffixes as shown in Chart 5.

Set 3.
possessive suffixes

1sg.	-kuq
1incl	-taq
1excl	-kiq
2pl.	-mi
2fam	-mu
3	-na

Chart 5. Possessive pronoun set

It will be observed from Chart 1 that the set 3 possessive pronouns are nearly identical in shape to the ergative (set 2) pronouns, the main difference being that the former are suffixes and the latter proclitics.

6.1 Possession with Nouns

The general scheme for possession constructions is one of Head Marking (Nichols 1986), that is, the set 3 pronoun is suffixed to the noun as illustrated in the following Figure 7 (N/0 means noun or zero):
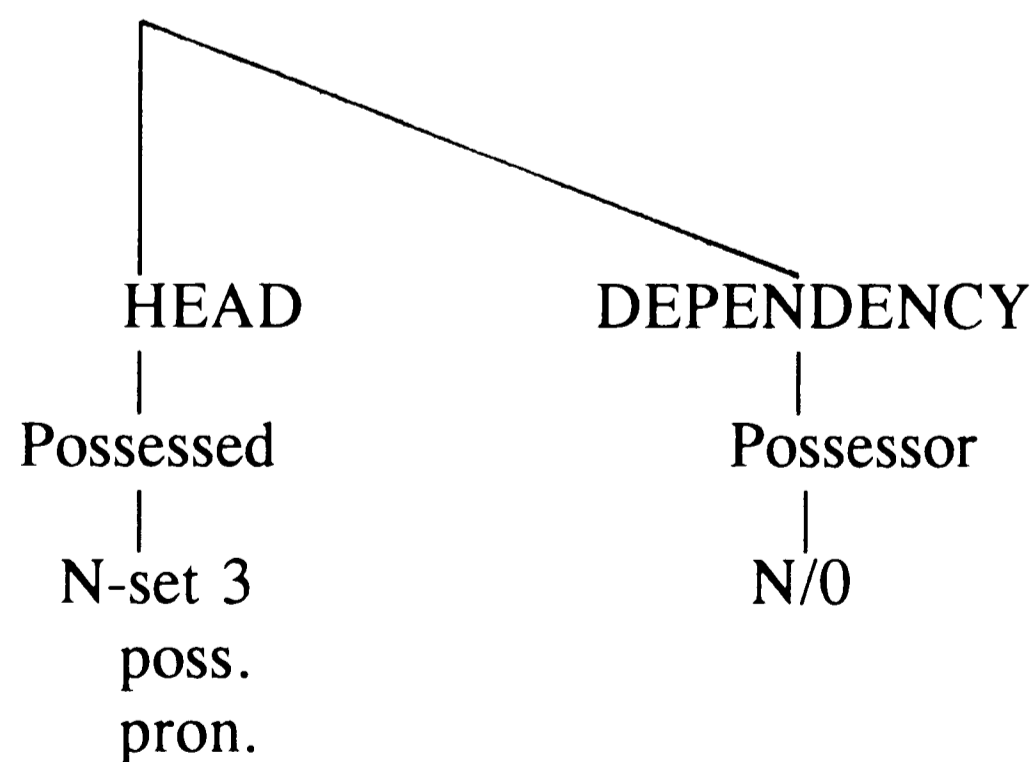
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        |‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾
        |                    ‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾‾
        |                              ‾‾‾‾‾
      HEAD                    DEPENDENCY
        |                          |
    Possessed                  Possessor
        |                          |
     N-set 3                     N/0
      poss.
      pron.
```

Figure 7. Possession with nouns

The following possessed noun constructions are illustrative:

(91) ambeq-*na* Lajanaq
father-3PO Lajanak
'Lajanak's father'

(92) oto-*na* Amir
car-3PO Amir
'Amir's car'

The diagramme of possession above reflects the conceptual distinction between the Possessed Item and the Possessor, a fact that receives separate morphemic representation in sentences (91) and (92) with -*na* for 3rd person. The possessor need not, however, be separately represented for 3rd person and may not be represented in the case of 1st and 2nd person possession, where the possession function and the possessor referents are conflated into a single pronominal suffix as in the examples (93)-(95) below:

(93) kale-*na* ollong
body-3PO be.seen
'His body was visible'

(94) bola-*mu*
house-2fPO
'Your house'

(95) ma-sai-m-i-ra-ka tee ratu-[n]*taq*?
STV-long.time-CMP-3-CTR-Q D1 arrive-2hPO
'How long time ago was your arrival?'

The above examples contain not only nouns as heads but also nominalized verbs (*ratu-[n]taq*).

6.2 Possession with Larger Units

The possessive pronouns are also used with larger units than words. One case is with subordinate clauses, where the first verb takes the third person possessive suffix -*na*. This construction is similar to the Head-Dependency on the word level (see Figure 7 above) and can be illustrated with a similar figure (see Figure 8 below). This appears to be a type of nominalization.
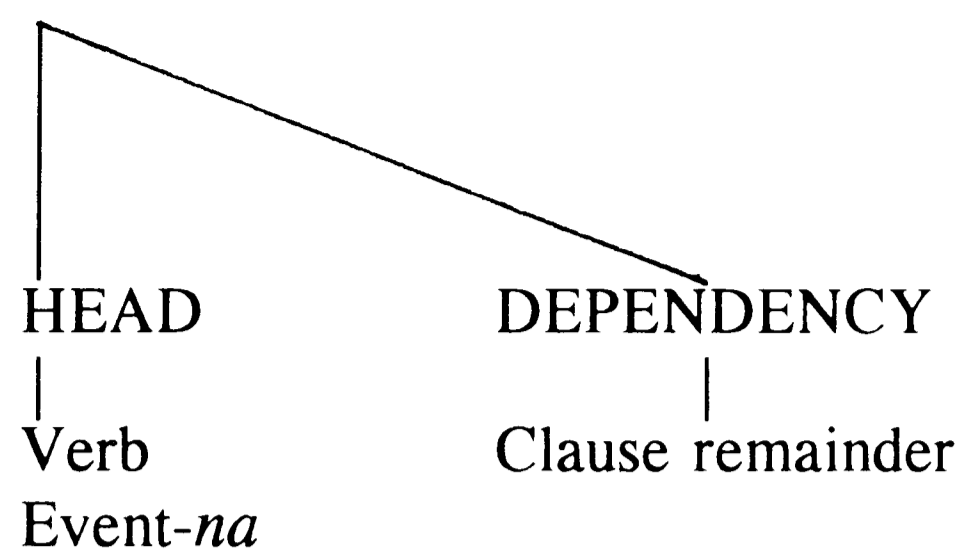
Figure 8. Possession with larger units

This is illustrated in the following examples:

    HEAD   DEPENDENCY

(96) apa ratu-[n]na lako bola-na   Cinangkewalo, na-kua:...
      but arrive-3PO to   home-3PO Cinangkewalo 3-said
      'After arriving home, Cinangkewalo said,...'

    HEAD   DEPENDENCY

(97) ia ton-na duang bongiq-mo pura-[n]*na* na-kua-n   ambeq-na...
      3 when   two   night-CMP already-3PO 3-say-BEN father-3PO
      'Two days after the event that Lajanak had said to his father...'

In (96) two events are in close sequence and the first one is marked with the possessive suffix -*na*. What happened in (97) is that Lajanak said something to his father. Then two days after that (*puranna*) his father did what Lajanak asked him to do.

6.3 Emphasizing the Free Pronouns with -*na*[10]

The third person possessive affix is used to emphasize the first and second person free pronouns. It also contains a degree of surprise or contra-expectation. See examples below:

(98) n-ampaq-naq akuq-*na*
      AF-get-1sg   1sg-3PO
      'I found it'

(99) male-ko iko-*na*!
      go-2f   2sgf-3PO
      'You are going!'

(100) male-naq akuq-*na*!
       go-1sg   1sg-3PO
       'I will go!' (even though my mother said that I wouldn't)

7 FREE PRONOUNS (SET 4)

Free pronouns are infrequent in texts. They are used in equative clauses and to emphasize the referent. The third person pronoun *ia* is also used in combination with some other words to refer to a dummy subject or as a discourse function. Set 4 is repeated below in Chart 6:

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Set 4
free pronouns

1sg.	akuq
1incl	kitaq
1excl	kamiq
2pl.	kamuq, komuq
2fam	iko (sg. only)
3	ia

Chart 6. Free pronouns

</div>

7.1 In Equative Clauses

Free pronouns can be used in equative clauses. It is common to have third person equative clauses, but first and second person usually are encoded with an enclitic and are therefore not equative. See examples (101)-(103) below:

(101) to-Kalosi   *ia*
       person-Kalosi he
       'He is a Kalosi/He is from Kalosi'

(102) to-Kalosi-naq
       person-Kalosi-1sg
       'I am a Kalosi/I am from Kalosi'

(103) guru   *ia*
       teacher 3
       'He is a teacher'

7.2   Some Special Usages of *ia*

The third person free pronoun can be used in other constructions as illustrated below: in clausal subjects (104), in discourse topicalization (105) and (106), in time constructions (107), in conditional clauses (108) and (109), in reasons (110) and in questions (111):

(104)   laqbih   *ia*   mate-naq
       better   3   die-1sg
       'It is better for me to die'

(105)   *ia* tee   Lajanaq
       3   D1   Lajanak
       'This Lajanak...'

(106)   *ia* tee   kamiq
       3   D1   1plex
       'We...'

(107)   *ia* ton-na   anaddara-mo
       3   when   teenage.girl-CMP
       'When she had become a teenage girl'

(108)   *ia* anna   teqda   na-siqpiq, calonah-i
       3   CNS   NEG   3-tight   loose-3
       'If it wasn't tight, it was loose'

(109)   *ia*-p-i   akuq na-ma-nyaman...
       3-INC-3   1sg   3-STV-satisfied
       'I will be satisfied only if...'

(110)   *ia* sanga   indeq-m-i   ia mate
       3   reason here-CMP-3 3   die
       'Because she died here...'

(111)   *ia*-ra-ka iko   mu-ma-mawa
       3-CTR-Q   2sgf 2f-STV-carry
       'Are you going to carry'

The third person free pronoun can also be used with several other words. See examples (112)-(116) below:

(112) tang-*ia*
not-3
'Not' (constituent negator, like Indonesian *bukan*)

(113) meman-*[n]ia*
really-3
'Really'

(114) *ia*-ke
3-if
'If'

(115) *ia*-na/*ia*-[n]na
'If'

(116) *ia*-mo
3-CMP
'Therefore (it)/It is he who...'

7.3 Emphasis

Free pronouns are used for contrastive emphasis in a variety of contexts: as free subjects (117) and (118), objects (119), indirect objects (120) and possessives (121):

(117) n-ampaq-naq *akuq*-na
AF-get-1sg   1sg-3PO
'I found it'

(118) male-po *kamuq*
go-hon 2sgf
'Please go ...'

(119) na-tambai-naq *akuq*
3-call-1sg   1sg
'He called me'

(120) na-alli-an-ko   *iko*
3-buy-BEN-2f 2sgf
'He bought (for) you (something)'

(121) cincin-[ng]kuq *akuq*!
ring-1sgPO   1sg
'It is my ring'

In example (119) the person speaking is emphasizing that he has been called and not the others. Similarly in example (120) the speaker is envious, because something has been bought for the other person, but not for him. In example (121) there is a strong emphasis that the ring belongs to the speaker and not to anybody else.

8 SUMMARY

Mallinson and Blake (1981:47,55-59) present a typology for agent and patient marking. According to them there are five types of indirect marking or cross referencing: (1) accusative agreement, (2) ergative cross referencing, (3) 3-way cross referencing, (4) active cross referencing and (5) inverse cross referencing.

In the following discussion A refers to the actor of a transitive clause, S to the subject of the intransitive clause and O to the patient of the transitive clause. In accusative (cross referencing) agreement A and S are treated similarly and O is treated differently. In ergative cross referencing S and O are treated similarly and A differently. In 3-way cross referencing A, S and O are each treated differently. In active cross referencing agents, whether in intransitive or transitive clauses, are treated similarly and patients, whether in intransitive or transitive clauses, are treated similarly. (This resembles what was called fluid S-marking or variable marking in Dixon (ed.) 1987. But since according to Dixon, there are only four languages in the world, that have fluid-S marking, he may mean something different.) According to Mallinson and Blake some Amerindian and Caucasian languages are active languages (Dakota, Crow, Takelma, Arikara, Chocktaw and Bats). Also Acehnese is an active language (Durie 1985).

It is clear from the above typology that Duri belongs to the ergative cross referencing type. A is always proclitic, (except in antipassive constructions, which can be regarded as one argument clauses, i.e. intransitives, and therefore actually one could talk about S and not A). O is always enclitic, unless it is suppressed. S is prototypically enclitic, unless suppressed, but under some conditions it is proclitic. The reasons for S being proclitic can be explained and therefore the enclitic cross referencing is the non-marked case.

Since the proclitic exceptions do not follow agentivity nor lexical aspect (see Mithun 1991), Duri is not an active language. Neither does it follow scales of transitivity related properties (Givón 1984:153-161), which are somewhat similar to Mithun's agentivity and lexical aspect. In Mithun's analysis verbs can more or less be divided into two classes. One class of verbs is high in agentivity, control, affectedness, completeness etc. and the other class is low, with some overlapping.

In Duri the intransitive verbs cannot be divided into two classes, but all the intransitive verbs sometimes get enclitic pronoun reference and sometimes proclitic. In Duri, as we have seen, consecutive linking, (whether with *aN-* 'CNS' or without it), some subordinating conjunctions (*iana, ia tonna, sanggenna*), some interrogative constructions and *dikua* 'so that', *danggiq* 'prohibitive', *teqda* 'not', and preverbal time phrases cause proclitic cross referencing. The reason why these factors cause proclitic cross referencing of the S is not yet clear to me. Why does 'I go' follow the ergative-absolutive system, but 'I do not go' follow the nominative-accusative system? It is not likely that the former is more agentive or has more control than the latter. In other words, as in many other ergative languages, the system is split.

The interesting fact about Duri (and other South-Sulawesi languages) is that the factors determining the split are typologically unusual.

Duri also has what Mallinson and Blake call limited accusative marking. Or, more specifically, limited O cross referencing, since Duri does not have cases. Limited accusative marking/limited O referencing means that O is not marked if it is non-specific or indefinite. However, if the verbs are antipassive, the Os can be regarded as non-Os or oblique Os and therefore it is only natural that they are not cross referenced on the verb.

9 TEXT

A narrative text is presented here to show how person marking works in Duri in a connected discourse. The verbs in the text are numbered. An explanation for each verb is found on pp. 38-41. Those explanations tell why each verb has its particular person marking. Exceptions are listed also, so one can see how well the analysis covers the data. Without going into detail, the simplified definition of a verb is: every word that has verbal prefixes (AF, STV, or VRi0-VRi5) or person marking, is considered a verb. The definition is flexible, so that sometimes a word is regarded as a verb and sometimes not, depending on the affixation and clitization. (E.g. *men-tama* 'enter' is a verb, but *tama* 'to/into' directional adverb.) The reader can see from the numbers which words are regarded as verbs.

In the explanatory section, the first column is the number of the verb. Then there is a code, where the first part (3.1, 4.2. and 5) refers to the sections of this paper and the latter part refers to items in the order they occur in the sections. So, 4.2.2 for example, refers to section 4.2 *Subjects of intransitive clauses*, and the last number 2 refers to *consecutive linking without the aN- 'CNS' morpheme*. For the sake of clarity the codes are listed below:

3.1	Enclitics marking subjects of intransitive verbs
3.2	Enclitics marking objects of transitive verbs
3.2.-A	Mentioned in the same clause previously, therefore no marking
3.2.-B	Mentioned in the previous clauses or understood from the speech situation, therefore no marking
3.3	Enclitics marking subjects of N-verbs
3.3.-A	Antipassive, therefore no marking of object
4.1	Proclitics marking subjects of transitive verbs
4.1.-A	No marking of subjects on active N-verbs
4.2	Proclitics marking subjects of intransitive clauses
4.2.1	Consecutive linking with *aN-*
4.2.2	Consecutive linking without *aN-*
4.2.3	Subordinating conjunctions uith 1.p. & 2.p.
4.2.4	Question words
4.2.5	*danggiq* and *teqda*
4.2.6	Time phrases
5	Absence of subject marking
5.1	Prior mention or understood from speech situation

5.1.A	Earlier NP in the same clause
5.1.B	Clitic on a previous verb of the same clause
5.1.C	Marked at the end of the previous clause or understood from the speech situation
5.1.D	Relative clause
5.1.E	Imperative
5.2	Subordinating conjunctions & consecutive linking + 3.p.
5.3	Not important or specific subject 'one'
5.4	Intrinsic state
5.5	Stative verbs
5.6	Existential verb *den*
5.7	*manassa, musti*, and *taropassa* used as modal operators

The column after the code is an explanation of the marking on the verb. REGULAR indicates that the person marking follows the ergative/absolutive system. When that is not stated, it means that person marking deviates from that system, but follows the rules for deviation explained in the section mentioned by the code. The word EXCEPTION indicates that the rules for exceptions do not cover the item in question, so the rules should be changed or added to. The code indicates what the expected case was. Often after the exception, there is a suggestion of what the right explanation might be.

CURITANNA LAJANAK NGKALASII AMBEQNA

```
        1                   2              3
1.  den pissen wattu tonna  pura-mo        Lajanaq N-kalasi-i-i
    is  once   time  when   already-CMP    Lajanak AF-deceive-TZRl-3


                               4
    indo-na       sola kaka-[n]na,     na-male
    mother-3PO and  elder brother-3PO  3 -go


    5
    N-kalasi-i-p-i              ambeq-na.
    AF-deceive-TZRl-INC-3   father-3PO


        6                   7                            8
2.  pole-i   lako bola  Lajanaq N-kua-an-[n]i ambeq-na    kua "den
    return-3 to   house Lajanak AF-say-BEN-3 father-3PO RS    is


             9       10                     11
    dea          pura    ku-saeq jio baraqbah, male-po kamuq dau
    elephant.grass already 1sg-cut in  garden        go-hon 2sgf    later
```

```
     12                    13                        14        15
N-ala-i,     sanga    boqjoq gaja-naq, na  teqda  ku-kua   male
AF-fetch-3 because tired      very-1sg  and NEG  1sg-able  go


     16
N-ala-i".
AF-fetch-3


     17                    18          19
3.   na-kua-mo ambeq-na  "umbo-r-i      na-ni-i          joo  dea
     3-say-CMP father-3PO  where-CTR-3 3-place-TZRl D3  elephant.grass


     20        21
pura     mu-saeq  nenaq".
already  2sgf-cut  recently


     22          23
4.   "aN-ku-male    N-ala-i      dua-ng      bongiq karuen".
     so that-1sg-go AF-fetch-3  two-QNL  nights  afternoon


     24
5.   na-bali-i     Lajanaq kua  jio ulu  baraqbah jiong  bala pao
     3-answer-3 Lajanak RS   in head garden  down    tree mango


     25
di-kapuq belopa          dua-ng     ujun     sola".
PASS-tie banana string two-QNL bundles together


                                                   26
6.   ia tonna  dua-ng     bongiq-mo  pura-[n]na     na-kua-an ambeq-na
     3  when  two-QNL    nights-CMP already-3PO 3-say-BEN father-3PO


            27            28                            29
Lajanaq kua "male kamuq N-ala-i      to      dea          pura
Lajanak RS   go   2sgf   AF-fetch-3 DEF  elephant.grass already


30          31                            32
ku -saeq", male tongan-m-i      ambeq-na   Lajanaq N-ala-i.
1sg-cut       go    truely-CMP-3 father-3PO Lajanak AF-fetch-3


                                   33
7.   ia tee  Lajanaq sanga  to-kalasi        meman jolo-m-i        lako
     3  D1  Lajanak because person-deceive truly    before-CMP-3 to
```

34
baraqbah na-meN-tama n-tuu   joo lulun dea   anna
garden   3-VRi3-enter LOCR-D2 D3 roll elephant.grass so.that

                36
teqda lalo-mo   pa-kita kale-na.
NEG   at.all-CMP CAUS-see body-3PO

             36   37
8.   apa   ratu-m-i   ambeq -na lako baraqbah, tarruh-m-i
     when arrive-CMP-3 father-3PO to   garden   immediately-CMP-3

     38 39   40
     male N-passan-i joo dea,   na-kua lan penawa-[n]na
     go   AF-carry -3 D3 elephant.grass 3-say in mind -3PO

              41
     ambeq-na   "anna ma-bandaq gaja ia   tee dea?
     father-3PO why STV-heavy very DEM D1 elephant.grass

     42   43   44
9.   na-maneq N-pa-torro   pole-i na-guririk-guririk-TZRl-i,
     3-then   AF-CAUS-stay again-3 3-go.around-RED-TZRl-3

                    45
     apa teqda laen-laen   na-kita lan joo lulun dea.
     but NEG   another-RED 3-see   in D3 roll elephant.grass

     46   47
10. na-passan pole-m-i   na-bawa-i lako bola-na.
     3-carry   again-CMP-3 3-carry-3 to   house-3PO

     48   49
11. ratu   lako bola-na   na-pa-tarruh-[h]i   tama bala.
     arrive to   house-3PO 3-CAUS-continue-3 enter under the house

              50
12. ia tonna na-pa-torro-m-i   joo dea
     3 when   3 -CAUS-stay-CMP-3 D3   elephant.grass

     51   52
     c-um-adokko-dokko-m-i mang-pe-sau   boqjoq-na.
      -VRi4-sit-RED-CMP-3 VRi1-CAUS-go away tired-3PO

53   54   55
13. teqda-pa   na-masai   c-um-adokko na-kita-m-i   Lajanaq
     NEG-INC 3-long time   -VRi4-sit   3-see-CMP-3 Lajanak

     56
     meN-suun lan mai joo lulun dea.
     VRi3-out in here D3 roll   elephant-grass

     57
14. na-ma-galli-mo   tee ambeq-na   sanga gaja bandaq gaja ia
     3-STV-angry-CMP D1 father-3PO because very heavy   very 3

     58
     na-bawa joo dea   sabaq   Lajanaq paleq   lan.
     3-carry D3 elephant.grass because Lajanak EMPH   in

                     59
15. taqpa   mang-pekkiriq toda-m-i   ia ambeq-na   Lajanaq, kua:
     immediately VRi1-think   ADD-CMP-3 3 father-3PO Lajanak   RS

                        60
     "Masaa   toda-pa   ku-kalasi-i-ko   Lajanaq".
     tomorrow ADD-INC 1sg-deceive-TZRl-2f Lajanak

          61   62   63
16. apa masaa-na-m-i   male-m-i   ambeq-na   Lajanaq maN-saeq
     but tomorrow-3PO-CMP-3 go-CMP-3 father-3PO Lajanak VRi0-cut

             64   65   66
     dea   na-ujun-[n]i, na-maneq N-pa-torro-i
     elephant.grass 3-bind-3   3-then   AF-CAUS-stay-3 at

                  67   68   69
     jio bala pao, to na-ni-i   Lajanaq pura   N-pa-torro-i
     at   tree mango REL 3-place-TZRl Lajanak already AF-CAUS-stay-3

     dea-na   baqtu-piran.
     elephant.grass-3PO some days-ago

          70   71
17. ia tonna masaq-na-mo   meN-jolo-m-i   lako baraqbah
     3 time tomorrow-3PO-CMP VRi3-before-CMP-3 to   garden

79

72
ambeq-na   Lajanaq, na-meN-tama n-tuu   joo lulun dea
father-3PO Lajanak 3-VRi3-enter LOCR-D2 D3   roll elephant.grass

73   74
pura   kapuq.
already tie

75   76
18. apa ratu-m-i   lako n-tuu   joo na-ni-i   dea
    when arrive-CMP-3   to   LOCR-D2 D3   3-place-TZRl   elephant.grass

77   78
Lajanaq na-angkaq-m-i joo dea   na-ma-bandaq gaja
Lajanak 3-lift-CMP-3   D3   elephant.grass 3-STV-heavy   very

79
na-saqding.
3-feel

80   81   82
19. na-maneq N-pem-bassan-an-i,   sanga   na-issen-m-i,
    3-then   AF-CAUS-throw.down-BEN-3   because 3-know-CMP-3

83
kua lan-[n]i n-tee   joo lulun dea   ambeq-na.
RS   in -3   LOCR-D1 D3   roll elephant.grass father-3PO

84   85   86
20. ia tee ambeq-na, sanga   masiriq-i s-um-arro, na-tahan
    3 D1   father-3PO because ashamed-3   -VRi4-sigh 3-keep

bang-m-i   paqdik-[ki]na.
just-CMP-3 pain-3PO

87   88
21. ia tee Lajanaq, sanga   ma-doang meman-[n]i N-calla-i
    3 D1 Lajanak because STV-want truly-3   AF-suffer-3

89
ambeq -na, na-bawa-m-i   joo dea.
father-3PO 3-carry-CMP-3   D3   elephant.grass

22. apa cinggaqtuq-cinggaqtuq na-bassan-an-[n]o-i,   dikua
    but short intervals-RED   3-throw down-BEN-ADDt-3 so that

91
na-si-paqdik-an   kale-na   ambeq-na lan n-tuu   joo
3-TOT-pain-BEN body-3PO father-3PO in   LOCR-D2 D3

lulun dea.
roll   elephant.grass

          92   93
23. ia tonna ratu-mo   lako bola   na-pa-torro   toda-m-i   Lajanaq joo
    3 time arrive-CMP to   house 3-CAUS-stay ADD-CMP-3 Lajanak D3

dea   lan ̣bala   bola.
elephant.grass in under the house house

    94   95   96
24. na-maneq N-ala   batu na-kua "lan-lan   tau   lulun dea
    3-then   AF-fetch stone 3-say   in-RED man roll   elephant.grass

        97   98   99
la ku-bakaq   la   ku-bakaq la   ku-pe-basa-i   tongan".
FUT 1sg-throw FUT 1sg-throw FUT 1sg-CAUS-hit-TZRl truly

               100   101
25. Ia tee ambeqna   malajaq   tongan-m-i,   na-meN-suun lan mai
    3 D1 father-3PO STV-afraid truely-CMP-3 3-VRi3-out   in   from

n-tuu   joo lulun dea.
LOCR-D2 D3   roll elephant.grass

    102   103
26. tiN-kaloso-loso   tongan dikkaq-na kale-na   na-tumang Lajanaq,
    NVOL-peeled-RED truly   poor-3PO body-3PO 3-because Lajanak

       104   105
ke   na-bassan-an-[n]i   joo dea   na-passan nenaq.
when 3-throw down-BEN-3 D3 elephant.grass 3-carry recently

9.1 Translation

1. Once upon a time after Lajanak had deceived his mother and brother he went and deceived his father.
2. When he returned home Lajanak said to his father, "There is some grass I have cut in the garden. Could you go and fetch it later because I'm very tired and I can't fetch it."
3. His father replied, "Where is that grass that you just cut?
4. I will go and fetch it in two days, in the afternoon."
5. Lajanak answered,"In the upper part of the garden under the mango tree, it is tied with banana string, two bundles together."
6. Two days after Lajanak said to his father, "Go and fetch the grass I have cut", and father really went to fetch it.
7. And Lajanak, since he was a deceiver, went before his father to the garden and got into the bundle of grass so that nothing of his body could be seen.
8. When his father came to the garden he immediately took the grass and carried it, and he said to himself, "Why is this grass so very heavy?"
9. He laid it down again and went around it but he couldn't see anything different about the roll of grass.
10. He lifted it up again and carried it to the house.
11. When he arrived home he left it (the grass) under the house.
12. When he had put down the grass he sat down and rested.
13. He hadn't sat for very long when he saw Lajanak coming out from the roll of grass.
14. His father got angry because it had been very heavy to carry home since Lajanak was inside it.
15. Immediately Lajanak's father thought, "Tomorrow I will deceive you too."
16. The next morning Lajanak's father went and cut some grass, bound it together and left it under the mango tree where Lajanak had left his grass the other time.
17. The day after that Lajanak's father went before Lajanak to the garden and got into the roll of grass that was tied together.
18. When Lajanak came to the place where the grass was he lifted up the grass, and he thought it was very heavy.
19. Then he threw it down because he knew that his father was inside the roll of grass.
20. His father just kept the pain to himself, because he was ashamed to sigh.
21. Lajanak carried the grass, because he wanted to torture his father.
22. So at short intervals he threw down the grass roll in order that his father's body would feel pain inside the roll.
23. When Lajanak arrived at the house, he also put the grass down under the house.
24. Then he took a stone and said, "The man, the man in the roll, I will, I will throw (a stone) and I will hit him indeed."
25. The father became afraid and came out from the roll.
26. His skin, poor fellow, was peeled off all over, because Lajanak, while carrying the roll, threw it down.

9.2 Notes

1	5.6	Subject is not marked because of existential verb *den*.
2	5.2	Subject is not marked because of the conjunction *ton-na* + 3.p.
3	4.1.-A	REGULAR for N-verbs.
	3.2.	REGULAR for object marking.
4	4.2.2	Subject is proclitic because of consecutive linking with-out *aN-*.
5	4.1.-A	REGULAR for N-verbs.
	3.2	REGULAR for object marking.
6	3.1	REGULAR for subject marking.
7	4.1.-A	REGULAR for N-verbs.
		Addressee is coded as indirect object (following *-an*), but the verb behaves like a transitive verb. Also 17, 26, 40 and 96.
8	5.6	Subject is not marked, because of existential verb *den*.
9	5.1.D	Subject is not marked because it is relativized.
10	4.1	REGULAR for subject marking.
	3.2.-B	Object is not marked because it is relativized.
11	5.1.E	Subject not marked because of imperative.
12	4.1.-A	REGULAR for N-verbs.
	3.2	REGULAR for object marking.
13	3.1	REGULAR for subject marking.
14	4.2.5	Subject is proclitic because of preceding negator.
15	5.1.B	Subject is not marked because it is mentioned before.
16	4.1.-A	REGULAR for N-verbs.
	3.2	REGULAR for object marking.
17	4.1	REGULAR for subject marking (this verb acts like a transitive). See 7.
18	3.1	REGULAR for subject marking.
19	4.1	REGULAR for subject marking (this verb acts like a transitive). Object is never marked with this verb.
20	3.1	EXCEPTION. Although *pura* is often treated like a verb, in relative clauses it seems to be deverbal without subject marking. Also 29 and 73.
21	4.1	REGULAR for subject marking.
	3.2.-B	Object is not marked because it is relativized.
22	4.2.1	Subject is proclitic because of consecutive linking with *aN-*.
23	4.1.-A	REGULAR for N-verbs.
	3.2	REGULAR for object marking.
24	4.1	REGULAR for subject marking.
	3.2	REGULAR for object marking.
25	5.1.C	Understood from the speech situation OR 5.4. intrinsic state?
26	4.1	REGULAR for subject marking. See 7.
27	5.1.E	Subject is not marked because of imperative.
28	4.1.-A	REGULAR for N-verbs.
	3.2	REGULAR for object marking.

29	3.1	EXCEPTION. See 20.
30	4.1	REGULAR for subject marking.
	3.2.-B	Object is not marked, because it is relativized.
31	3.1	REGULAR for subject marking.
32	4.1.-A	REGULAR for N-verbs.
	3.2	REGULAR for object marking.
33	3.1	REGULAR for subject marking (see footnote in section 5).
34	4.2.2	Subject is proclitic because of consecutive linking with-out *aN-*.
35	5.2	No marking because anna + 3.p. (*pakita* is derived intransitive).
36	3.1	REGULAR for subject marking.
37	3.1	REGULAR for subject marking.
38	5.1.B	Subject is not marked because it is mentioned before.
39	4.1.-A	REGULAR for N-verbs.
	3.2	REGULAR for object marking.
40	3.1	REGULAR for subject marking. See 7.
41	5.2	Subject is not marked because of *anna* + 3.p.
42	4.2.2	Subject is proclitic, because of consecutive linking without *aN-* OR *namaneq* is a conjunction, which takes proclitic subject but no object. Also 65, 80, 94 and 103 (*natumang*).
43	4.1.-A	REGULAR for N-verbs.
	3.2	REGULAR for object marking (adverb incorporation).
44	4.1	REGULAR for subject marking.
	3.2	REGULAR for object marking.
45	4.1	REGULAR for subject marking.
	3.2.-A	Object is not marked, because it is mentioned before.
46	4.1	REGULAR for subject marking.
	3.2	REGULAR for object marking (adverb incorporation).
47	4.1	REGULAR for subject marking.
	3.2	REGULAR for object marking.
48	3.1	EXCEPTION. Subject should be marked. (possibly a deverbal temporal conjunction.) (See van den Berg, 1989:253,254)
49	4.1	REGULAR for subject marking.
	3.2	REGULAR for object marking.
50	5.2	EXCEPTION. Should be no marking i.e. *patorromi*, because of the conjunction *ton-na* +3.p.
	3.2	REGULAR for object marking.
51	3.1	REGULAR for subject marking.
52	5.1.B	Subject is not marked because it is mentioned before.
53	4.2.5	Subject is proclitic, because of preceding negator.
54	5.1.B	Subject is not marked because it is mentioned before.
55	4.1	REGULAR for subject marking.
	3.2	REGULAR for object marking.
56	5.1.A	Subject is not marked because it is mentioned before.
57	4.2.2	Subject is proclitic because of consecutive linking without *aN-*.

58	4.1	REGULAR for subject marking.
	3.2.-B	Object not marked, because mentioned before, although it also follows.
59	3.1	REGULAR for subject marking (adverb incorporation).
60	4.1	REGULAR for subject marking.
	3.2	REGULAR for object marking.
61	3.1	REGULAR for subject marking.
62	3.1	REGULAR for subject marking.
63	5.1.A	Subject is not marked because it has been mentioned before.
64	4.1	REGULAR for subject marking.
	3.2	REGULAR for object marking.
65	4.2.2	See 42.
66	4.1.-A	REGULAR for N-verbs.
	3.2	REGULAR for object marking.
67	4.1	REGULAR for subject marking.
		With this verb object is not marked.
68	5.1.A	Subject is not marked because it is mentioned before.
69	4.1.-A	REGULAR for N-verbs.
	3.2	REGULAR for object marking.
70	5.1.2	Subject is not marked because of ton-na.
71	3.1	REGULAR for subject marking.
72	4.2.2	Subject is proclitic because of consecutive linking without *aN-*.
73	3.1	EXCEPTION. See 20.
74	4.1	EXCEPTION. Possibly this verb here functions as a stative verb 'to be tied'.
	3.2.-B	Object is not marked because it is relativized.
75	3.1	REGULAR for subject marking.
76	4.1	REGULAR for subject marking.
		With this verb object is never marked.
77	4.1	REGULAR for subject marking.
	3.2	REGULAR for object marking.
78	4.2.2	Subject is proclitic, because of consecutive linking without *aN-*.
79	4.1	REGULAR for subject marking (*saqding* is a transitive verb).
	3.2.-B	Object is not marked because it has been mentioned before.
80	4.2.2	See 42.
81	4.1.-A	REGULAR for N-verbs.
	3.2	REGULAR for object marking.
82	4.1	REGULAR for subject marking.
	3.2	REGULAR for object marking.
83	3.1	REGULAR for subject marking.
84	3.1	REGULAR for subject marking.
85	5.1.B	Subject is not marked because it is mentioned before.
86	4.1	REGULAR for subject marking.
	3.2	REGULAR for object marking (adverb incorporation).
87	3.1	REGULAR for subject marking.

88	4.1.-A	REGULAR for N-verbs.
	3.2	REGULAR for object marking.
89	4.1	REGULAR for subject marking.
	3.2	REGULAR for object marking.
90	4.1	REGULAR for subject marking.
	3.2	REGULAR for object marking.
91	4.2.5	Subject is proclitic because of *dikua* (this verb is in-transitive).
92	5.2	Subject is not marked because of ton-na + 3.p.
93	4.1	REGULAR for subject marking.
	3.2	REGULAR for object marking (adverb incorporation).
94	4.2.2	See 42.
95	5.1.B	Subject is not marked as enclitic because it is mentioned before.
	3.3.-A	Object is not mentioned because this is antipassive.
96	4.1	REGULAR for subject marking. See 7.
97	4.1	REGULAR for subject marking.
98	3.2.-B	Understood from the speech situation.
99	4.1	REGULAR for subject marking.
		Object is not marked, because it is understood from the speech situation.
100	3.1	REGULAR for subject marking.
101	4.2.2	Subject is proclitic because of consecutive linking with-out *aN-*.
102	5.5	Subject is not marked because of stative-like verb.
103	4.2.2	See 42.
104	4.1	REGULAR for subject marking.
	3.2	REGULAR for object marking.
105	4.1	REGULAR for subject marking.
	3.2.-B	Object is not marked because it is relativized.

ABBREVIATIONS

0-verb	A verb without the nasal N- prefix	
A	Actor	
ADD	Additive	toq, to-
ADDt	Additive, temporal	-o
AF	Actor Focus verb prefix	N-(m-, n-, ng-)
BEN	Benefactive	-an
CAUS	Causative	pa-
CMP	Completive	-mo
CNS	Consecutive linking	aN-, anna
CTR	Contrastive	-ra
DEF	Definitive	to
DET	Detransitivizer	pa-
D1	Deictic, near speaker	tee
D2	Deictic, near hearer	tuu
D3	Deictic, far from both	joo
EMPH	Emphasis	paleq
FUT	Future	la
Hon	Honorific	-po
INC	Incompletive	-pa
intr	Intransitive	
LOCR	Locationalizer	n-
N	Noun	
N/0	Noun or zero	
N-verb	A verb which has the nasal N-prefi (m-,n-,ng-)	
N-transitive clause	A clause, which has an N-verb	
NEG	Negative	teqda, tang-
NP	Noun phrase	
NR	Nominalizer	pang-, ka- -an
NRp	Nominalizer, person	pang-
NVOL	Nonvolitional action	ti-, tiN-
O	Object	
PASS	Passive	di-
PO	Possessive	
Q	Question	-ka
QNL	Quantifier ligature	-n
REC	Reciprocal action	si-
RED	Reduplication	
REL	Relative marker	to
RS	Reported speech	kua
S	Subject	
STV	Stative verb prefix	ma-

tr	Transitive	
TOT	Totality	si-
TZRl	Transitivizer, locative	-i
V	Verb	
STV	Stative verb prefix	ma-
VRi0	Intransitive verb prefix 0	maN-
VRi1	Intransitive verb prefix 1	mang-
VRi2	Intransitive verb prefix 2	meN
VRi3	Intransitive verb prefix 3	me-
VRi4	Intransitive verb prefix 4	-um-
VRi5	Intransitive verb prefix 5	ke-
1sg	First person singular	ku-, -naq akuq
1plin	First person plural inclusive	ta-, -kiq kitaq
1plex	First person plural exclusive	ki-, -kan kamiq
2f	Second person familiar	mu-, -ko kamuq
2sgf	Second person singural familiar	iko
2h	Second person honorific	ta-, -kiq kitaq
3	Third person	na-, -i ia
1sgPO	First person singular possessive	-kuq
1plinPO	First person inclusive possessive	-taq
1plexPO	First person exclusive possesive	-kiq
2hPO	Second person honorific possessive	-taq
2fPO	Second person familiar possessive	-mu
3PO	Third person possessive	-na
X-	Suppressed person referent expression	
*	Ungrammatical form	
-	Separates morphemes in the morpheme line ex male-naq	
.	Is used in the translation line between two English words to show that they translate one Duri morpheme e.g. banana.tree	

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NOTES

1. Acknowledgements

2. An exception is discourse topicalization, where the reference is anaphoric and optional. Example (6) in section 3.1. is an example of discourse topicalization. See note 5 in section 5 for further details.

3. With the exception of discourse topicalization, where the object enclitic is optional. Example (12) would become (12a) with object topicalization:

(12a) ia tee punti[ng]kuq na-kande-i Amir
       3 D1 banana -1sgPO 3-eat-3   Amir
       'This banana of mine was eaten by Amir'

For more discussion, see note 5 in section 5.

4. Except with a topicalized time phrase *ia joo wattu* 'at that time'.

DISCOURSE TOPICALIZATION, which involves the construction NP = 3p pron. + Demonstrative + Noun. This occurs to shift the discourse topic from one participant to another. The situation may be illustrated with the following pair of sentences (1) and (2) below:

(1) Ia teq Lajanaq male-m-*i* lako uma-[n]na
     3 this Lajanak go-CMP-3 to   field-3PO
     'This Lajanak went to his fields'

(2) Lajanaq male-*X* lako uma-[n]na
     Lajanak go   to   field-3PO
     'Lajanak went to his fields'

6. Two examples form the above intransitives changed to transitives are (63a) and (66a) below:

(63a) na-dateq-m-i   Salubarani to-Toraja,   la   m-buno-naq
       3-reach-CMP-3 Salubarani person-Toraja FUT AF-kill-1sg
       'The Torajanese reached Salubarani to kill me'

(66a) sapin-taq,   to   ng-kande-i reu-[ng]kuq
       cow-shPO   REL AF-eat-3   grass-1sgPO
       'Your cow, which eats my grass'

7. As shown by the examples (38)-(40) in section 4.2, proclitics would have been expected.

8. In Uma, a Central Sulawesi language, third person is marked only when it refers to persons, not when it refers to things (Michael Martens, personal communication). If this is the case with this example, it is limited to *umbo* and maybe some other words only.

9. The stative verbs get subject marking in comparisons (E.g. *ma-lando-i Amir na Beceq* 'Amir is bigger than Beceq'.), and when they denote punctiliar events, like in examples (5) and (7) above.

10. There are some other usages of -*na*, which are left out of this paper. *na* occurs in some high-frequency words in Duri: *ia-na* 'if', *an-na* 'CNS', *ton-na* 'when' etc. The problem with these forms is that it is not clear whether *na* here is proclitic or enclitic. The most frequent forms are third person forms like *iana ratu* 'if he arrives', *anna polloh* 'then he fell', *ia tonna male* 'when he went'. Those forms would suggest that the forms are possessive suffixes and the proclitic has been deleted from the verbs because of haplology. However, the first and second person forms suggest otherwise: *ia [ng]ku-ratu* 'if I arrive', *am-mi-polloh* 'then you fell' and *ia ton-*[g]*ku-male* 'when I go' These constructions make one think that they are proclitics and not possessives at all. The situation is made even

94

[*ng]ku-ratu* 'if I arrive', *am-mi-polloh* 'then you fell' and *ia ton*-[g]*ku-male* 'when I go' These constructions make one think that they are proclitics and not possessives at all. The situation is made even more complex because of the free forms: *iana ku-ratu* 'if I arrive', *anna mu-polloh*, 'then you fell', *ia tonna ku-male* 'when I go', which suggest that the forms *iana, anna* and *tonna* have become frozen forms, which may be what has happened historically. I am still undecided on how to analyze these forms, i.e. as possesives, as proclitics or as free forms without possessives or proclitics. Therefore these forms have not been included in this section on possessives.