PERSON MARKING IN PADOE

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Person marking in Padoe is complex. There are eight different sets of pronouns/pronominal affixes, two of which have four allomorphic sets. The choice of which set to use for marking subject or object on the verb is determined by such factors as the transitivity of the verb, definiteness of the patient and/or the adjunct, prominence of the constituent in question and mood (realis, irrealis or unmarked). Together these factors are responsible for the correct person marking affix and the corresponding verbal marker. The Padoe person marking system as described here does not seem to fit into either a nominative-accusative system, nor into a typical ergative-absolutive system.

○ INTRODUCTION

Padoe is one of the Mori languages which are spoken by approximately 30,000 people living in the Mori homelands in Central and South Sulawesi and in urban centres throughout Sulawesi. Mori languages, considered to be one language with three dialects by some (Esser (1927)) and three separate languages by others (Salzner (1960)), Karhunen and Vuorinen (1991), are classified as Austronesian languages, South-west Indonesian group, Bungku-Mori subgroup (Barr, Barr with Salombe (1979)). Padoe, also called South Mori, is spoken by some 8,000 people in the north-eastern part of South Sulawesi, district Luwu, subdistricts Nuha, Malili and Mangkutana, and a few villages in Central Sulawesi, district Poso, subdistricts Mori Atas and Pamona Utara. The language is very homogeneous throughout the area, although two close dialects may be distinguished, the standard dialect and the western dialect (see Vuorinen (to appear)).

The present study deals with person marking in Padoe, incorporating useful insights from Magnetti-Barsel’s dissertation Verb Morphology in Mori, an Austronesian Language Spoken in Central Sulawesi, Indonesia (1984). This is based on the Ngusumbatu dialect of the East Mori (or Mori Bawah) language, but since this dialect is closely related to Padoe, their grammars are relatively similar, though there are differences too as will be shown later.¹
1 AN OVERVIEW OF PADOE PERSONAL PRONOMINAL SETS

Padoe has a complicated person marking system with three sets of independent pronouns, a set of possessive suffixes, and four sets of pronominal affixes of which two come with four allomorphic sets. In addition to marking, for instance, the subject or the object for person number, respect, and inclusion, the members of some of the pronominal sets mark the predicate for realis or irrealis mood as shown later in 1.3, and 1.4 or for emphasis as presented in 1.1 and 1.6.

All of the pronominal markers except the 3rd person singular refer to animate, usually human, beings. The 3rd person singular forms refer to a single animate being or any number of animals, plants, or other similarly regarded inanimate objects.

(1) umari sie moN- gaa-iro- to ai kalamboro sie²
   finish that VRse-eat-3pRE-CMP PI giant that
   ‘After that the giants ate’

(2) pinggo-o- to io pae- nggu no- kaa-ngo sapi-ro
gone- 3sRE-CMP ART paddy-1sPO 3sS-eat-3sO cow-3pPO
   ‘There’s nothing left of my paddy; it was eaten by their cows’

In example (1), the 3rd person plural suffix -iro refers to two giants, while in example (2), the 3rd person singular prefix no- refers to several cows.

The second person plural forms are used when addressing two or more people or a single person to whom one wishes to show respect because of his age or social standing, for instance. The third person plural forms are similarly used when referring to two or more people or to a single person who is respected by the speaker.

(3) ikomiu-to me- sombori kee neine
    2pPRO-EMPH VRse-spouse Q aunt
    ‘Are you (polite) married, aunt?’

(4) ro- pau- akune
    3pS-speak- 1sIO
    ‘He (polite) said to me’

The three sets of independent personal pronouns are as follows (independent meaning that they are analyzed as words rather than affixes or clitics):
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SET 1</th>
<th>SET 2</th>
<th>SET 3</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INDEP</td>
<td></td>
<td>INDEPENDENT</td>
<td>INDEPENDENT</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>irrealis</td>
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<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>iaku</td>
<td>lakuda’a</td>
<td>aku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>iiiko</td>
<td>lekoda’a</td>
<td>iko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>umono</td>
<td>leda’a</td>
<td>o(no), lo’o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1px</td>
<td>ikami</td>
<td>lekamida’a</td>
<td>kami</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pn</td>
<td>ikito</td>
<td>lekitoda’a</td>
<td>kito</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>ikomiu</td>
<td>lekomiuda’a</td>
<td>komiu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>umboro</td>
<td>le’iroda’a</td>
<td>iro, lo’iro</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.1 Set 1: Independent Unmarked Personal Pronouns

Of all the person markers, the independent pronouns of set 1 have the widest usage, can occur alone in a clause, and frequently occur without affixation. They do not mark a predicate for mood or aspect even to the point that they cannot take the perfective -to suffix. (However, they may take the emphatic -to or the conditional -po suffixes as will be exemplified later in examples (11)-(13).) For instance, the following example does not express either irrealis or realis mood, neither perfective nor imperfective aspect, and could thus be translated into English in several different ways:

(5)       umono mo- turi
3sPRO VRse-sleep  
'He sleeps' or 'He is sleeping' or 'He slept' or 'He was sleeping'

If one wants to express mood or aspect explicitly and still have the subject as the most prominent part of the clause, the pronouns of set 3 or 4 (see 1.3 and 1.4) co-occur with set 1, and there is agreement between the two person-markers (in the English translation, emphasis is shown by capitalizing the relevant word):

(6) o- to mo- turi umono  
3sIR-CMP VRse-sleep 3sPRO  
'HE is (already) sleeping'

(7) moN- nau-iro- to umboro  
VRse-cook-3pRE-CMP 3pPRO  
'THEY cooked' or 'THEY were cooking'

When the personal pronouns of set 1 are used as the subject of a clause, that subject is highlighted or emphasized (compare with set 6 in 1.6). This is the first usage of this set. (Terms highlight, emphasis, and prominence in this study are used for a special feature of
the Padoe syntax where certain sets of pronominal markers together with appropriate verb morphology are employed to highlight certain constituents of a clause while other pronominal sets are unmarked as to emphasis.) See the following examples of clauses with subject emphasis:

(8) aaso tempo umboro mo- RED-ekoa
    one time 3pPRO VRse-walk
    'Once THEY were taking a walk'

(9) ikami me- RED-eu moN- nahu
    1pxPRO VRse-REP-change VRse-cook
    'WE (excl) take turns in cooking'

(10) ma- haki iaku.
    VRse-sick 1sPRO
    'I have been sick'

As these examples show, the pronoun may either precede or follow the predicate. To give further prominence to the subject, an emphatic clitic or suffix may be added:

(11) umono kaa se’elu h[um]enu- aku
    3sPRO EMPH first VRdfo-hit-1sO
    'But HE hit me first.'

(12) iaku- to minggi me- wangu
    1sPRO-EMPH will VRse-wake.up
    'Okay, I will wake up'

It is also possible to add a conditional meaning by the conditional suffix -po:

(13) umono-po me- wangu
    3sPRO-CND VRse-wake.up
    '(Later) if HE will wake up'

Moreover, set 1 may be employed as the emphasized subject in passive clauses. Passive is marked by the infix -in-.

(14) umono tf[in]anu hiewi
    3sPRO PASS-bury yesterday
    'HE was buried yesterday'

(15) ikomiu kee h[in]enu ai sala
    2pPRO Q PASS-hit GP road
    'Were YOU hit on the road?'
Second, the members of this set may be used as the subject of an equative clause:

(16) umono mia puu- m-pe- lere  
    3sPRO person worker-LG-NR-garden  
    'She is a farmer'

(17) umboro io kapala-mami  
    3pPRO ART chief- 1pxPO  
    'He (polite) is our village chief'

Third, they may be used to emphasize the direct object of a clause. In example (18) both the independent pronoun and the object marker of set 7 occur in the same clause, and they are in agreement with each other. In example (19), the verb is suffixed by the indirect object marker of set 8, and thus the independent pronoun alone marks the object.

(18) umboro no- tena- 'iro roonga me- wangu  
    3pPRO 3sS-order-3pO quickly VRse-wake up  
    'THEY were ordered to wake up quickly'

(19) umono no- po- kasu-akune ine- nggu umbu ai inie  
    3sPRO 3sS-CAUS-send-1sIO mother-1sPO from GP village  
    'HE was sent to me by my mother from the village'

Fourth, these pronouns are used after prepositions:

(20) pe-siken- no tama hawe ndi ikami  
    NR-propose-3sPO man come to 1pxPRO  
    'The bride price of the groom has come to us'

(21) lo'o kaa beehe kee me- eka ai lere saru ikito  
    3sIR EMPH want Q VRse-go up GP garden with 1pnPRO  
    'Does HE want to go to the garden with us (incl)焗

Fifth, the personal pronouns of set 1 may also be affixed by the possessive suffixes, which give them an additional meaning 'by oneself', e.g.,

(22) ai-nei mo- nau-akomiu ikami- mami  
    PI-who VRse-cook-2pIO 1pxPRO-1pxPO  
    'Who cooks for you? We do it by ourselves'

(23) umono-no kaa w[0]owau- 'o  
    3sPRO-3sPO EMPH VRdfo-make-3sO  
    'HE made it himself'
Sixth, these pronouns may alone constitute a clause as shown in the next examples:

(24) ai-nei mo- nau hiewi iaku
    PI-who VRse-cook yesterday 1sPRO
    'Who cooked yesterday? I did'

(25) ai-nei henu hawe ikami
    PI-who REL come 1pxPRO
    'Who came? We (excl) did'

1.2 Set 2: Independent Additive Personal Pronouns

The independent additive personal pronouns of set 2 are used for special emphasis, and they have an additive meaning something like '(person) too'. As to their form, all of them share la/-le- at the beginning and -da' a at the end of their form. They are quite infrequent. These pronouns behave like clitics as they cannot form a clause independently unlike the pronouns of set 1 (see examples (24) and (25) above) and cannot be affixed. There is agreement between these pronouns and the noun phrase they emphasize.

(26) po- ema-ngakito lekitoda’a bou- no
    VRae-ask-1pniO 1pniAPRO fish-3sPO
    'Ask for some of his fish for US too'

As in this example, the additive pronoun may emphasize an indirect object, but they may be utilized to give emphasis to other constituents as well, e.g. a subject or a direct object:

(27) umono mo- ema wute ka- no poN- parenta leda’a
    3sPRO VRse-ask land so.that-3sS VRae-govern 3sAPRO
    'He asked for land so that HE too would govern'

(28) ku- sue’-iro le’iroda’a
    1sS-see-3pO 3pAPRO
    'I saw THEM too'

1.3 Set 3: Independent Irrealis Personal Pronouns

The 3rd person singular and plural have two forms, lo’o and o(no) for singular and lo’iro and iro for plural. Of these, the pronoun o(no) loses -no when the pronoun is affixed. There is no big difference of meaning between the two forms though the longer forms tend to be slightly more formal.
(29) ono l[um]eko ai Tomata
3sIR VR-go GP T.
'He will go to Tomata'

(30) o- to mo- nahu inehu
3sIR-CMP VRse-cook vegetables
'She is cooking vegetables'

(31) lo'o- to mo- nahu inehu
3sIR-CMP VRse-cook vegetables
'She is cooking vegetables'

(32) iro l[um]eko ai Tomata
3pIR VR-go GP T.
'They will go to Tomata'

(33) lo'iro mo- nahu inehu
3pIR VRse-cook vegetables
'They will cook vegetables'

The independent irrealis personal pronouns are used to mark the predicate for irrealis mood (compare with the unmarked sets in 1.1 and 1.6 and with the realis set in 1.4), and they always precede the verb. The term *irrealis* (versus future used by Magnetti-Barsel 1984) has been chosen here to conform with recent works on Central Sulawesi and Southeast Sulawesi languages (Barr (1988) and Van den Berg (1989), respectively) and also to note more clearly that set 3 pronouns are used for marking irrealis mood on predicates that traditionally would be called future or present.

The irrealis pronouns are used alone, i.e. without any other subject marker, when emphasis is unmarked in a clause (examples (29)-(33)), but together with set 1 or a noun phrase if the subject of a clause is highlighted (example (6) above and (34) below). As mentioned before, the two co-occurring person-markers agree with each other.

(34) ono l[um]eko ai Tomata umono
3sIR VR-go GP T. 3sPRO
'HE will go to Tomata'

When irrealis pronouns appear unaffixed, they mark the predicate for future aspect (examples (29) and (32)-(34) above). When they appear affixed with perfective *-to*, they mark the predicate for present (continuous) aspect (example (30) and (31)). When they are affixed by conditional *-po*, they mark the predicate for future conditional aspect as in example (35).
As set 1, these pronouns may also be used as the subject of a passive clause. Compare the following examples with (14) and (15):

(36) ono timeofday\[a\] owundu-olo
3sIR PASS-bury short-day
'He will be buried in the afternoon'

(37) komiu-po timeofday\[a\] sala
2pIR- CND PASS-hit GP road
'If you are hit on the road'

Like the pronouns of set 2, the members of set 3 cannot occur by themselves, in other words not in equative clauses, not after prepositions, and not as single-word clauses, but rather belong to the predicate. They are treated, though, as independent words, because they may be affixed by aspeltucal suffixes that are always word-final.

1.4 Set 4: Realis Subject Suffixes

In addition to the three independent pronoun sets, there are two sets of pronominal affixes that are used to mark the subject of a predicate, i.e., sets 4 and 6.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SET 4</th>
<th>SET 5</th>
<th>SET 6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SUBJECT</td>
<td>realis</td>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>SUBJECT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>-aku</td>
<td>-nggu</td>
<td>ku-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>-iko</td>
<td>-mu</td>
<td>au-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>-o(to), -lo'o</td>
<td>-no</td>
<td>no-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1px</td>
<td>-kami</td>
<td>-mami</td>
<td>ki-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pn</td>
<td>-kito</td>
<td>-ndo</td>
<td>to-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
<td>-komiu</td>
<td>-miu</td>
<td>ai-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>-iro, -lo'i-iro</td>
<td>-ro</td>
<td>ro-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The realis subject suffix set of 4 is very similar to set 3, but it has been analyzed as a set of pronominal suffixes rather than independent words as its members always follow the verb and as a word-final, verb-modifying perfective suffix -to is very often attached after the pronoun and never after the verb. The 3rd person singular form -o(to) always comes affixed. Also, the stative and intransitive verbs that undergo vowel shortening when affixed
(see Karhunen (1991a)) are affected when set 4 suffixes are attached to the verb as shown in examples (38) and (39). The realis suffixes are frequently further suffixed by -to and they mark the predicate of a clause for realis mood.

(38) pinggo-o- to io pae- nggu (cf. piingo 'gone')
gone- 3sRE-CMP ART paddy-1sPO
'There's nothing left of my paddy'

(39) mate-o- to io uma- no (cf. maate 'die')
die- 3sRE-CMP ART father-3sPO
'His father has (already) died'

(40) mo- nahu-aku- to ine hu
VRse-cook-1sRE-CMP vegetables
'I cooked vegetables'

Set 4 is used when emphasis is unmarked in a clause, but realis mood is marked for the predicate. Also there cannot be a definite object marker (and thus no set 7 suffix) attached to the verb. Compare with 1.7. But if the subject is highlighted and the mood is still realis, then both a set 1 pronoun or a noun phrase and a set 4 suffix co-occur. The two are in agreement with each other. Cf. 1.3.

(41) me- wuni-o- to umono ai te'o lo
VRse-hide-3sRE-CMP 3sPRO in woods
'HE hid in the woods'

Set 4 is used to mark the subject of a passive clause if the predicate is in realis mood. Cf. examples (14)-(15) and (36)-(37) with the following:

(42) t[in]anu- o- to
PASS-bury-3sRE-CMP
'He has (already) been buried'

(43) h[in]enu-komiu- to kee ai sala
PASS-hit-2pRE- CMP Q GP road
'Were you hit on the road?'

The pronoun sets 1, 3, and 4 are employed with the same verb morphology. The verb of the clause is marked by one of the markers 0-/ma-/me-/meN-/mo-/moN- according to its class or their plural equivalents meN-/mema-/mpe-/mpeN-/mpo-/mpoN-, except in passive expressions where the passive verb marker is -in-. This verb morphology is used when the verb is stative, intransitive, or transitive with an indefinite object. Later 1.7 will deal with the verb morphology used in connection with transitive verbs with a definite object. With set 1, the subject of a clause is highlighted or given prominence over other constituents, but
the predicate is unmarked for mood or aspect. With sets 3 and 4, prominence is unmarked but the predicate is marked for irrealis or realis mood, respectively. The following four examples show these differences on the same predication.

(44) umboro me- wuni ai te’olo (set 1, subj.emphasis, 3pPRO VRse-hide GP woods unmarked mood) 'THEY hide in the woods'

(45) iro me- wuni ai te’olo (set 3, no emphasis, 3pIR VRse-hide GP woods irrealis future) 'They will hide in the woods'

(46) iro- to me- wuni ai te’olo (set 3, no emphasis, 3pIR-CMP VRse-hide GP woods irrealis present) 'They are hiding in the woods'

(47) me- wuni-iro- to ai te’olo (set 4, no emphasis, VRse-hide-3pRE-CMP GP woods realis) 'They hid in the woods'

1.5 Set 5: Possessive Suffixes

The possessive suffix set has the following usages. First, the possessive suffixes are used with nouns to express a possessive relationship:

(48) raha- nggu
    house-1sPO
    'my house'

(49) kaa-na- ro la’a
    eat-NRs-3pPO that
    'that food of theirs'

For a fuller treatment of this usage see Karhunen (this volume). Second, they are utilized to express the agent of a passive verb:

(50) ñ[in]ahu- nggu ine hu la’a
    PASS-cook-1sPO vegetables that
    'Those vegetables were cooked by me'
(51) no- ole- ’o ai Wembaine kaka- no
3S-medicine-3S O PI W. older sibling-3S PO
meng-gena n[in]ee- no ai Ndalowulu
VRse-same PASS-name-3S PO PI N.

’Wembaine treated her brother, as she was advised by Ndalowulu’

Third, they are used as the subject of a dependent clause. The verb form is marked
by one of the markers 0-/pe-/peN-/po-/poN- instead of the markers listed in section 1.4.
(Compare similar dependent verb forms in Uma (Martens 1988:224-225)).

(52) 0- hawe-ro ai raha mo- lao- o- to RED-elu
VRae-come-3P O GP house VRse-flee-3sRE-CMP orphan
’When they got home, the orphan had already fled’

(53) po- lao- no ai RED-elu ro- lulu- ’o
VRae-flee-3s PO PI orphan 3P S-chase-3s O
’The orphan having fled, they chased him’

Fourth, the possessive suffixes may be affixed to the personal pronouns of set 1, which
construction has a meaning ’by oneself’ as shown in 1.1. Example (22) will be repeated
here:

(22) ai-nei mo- nahu-akomiu ikami- mami
PI-who VRse-cook-2PI O 1pxPRO-1px PO
’Who cooks for you? We do it by ourselves’

1.6 Set 6: Prefixes Marking an Unmarked Subject

The unmarked subject prefix set has two forms in 2nd person singular and plural: the
shorter forms, shown in parentheses in the chart on page 8, are used in informal spoken
language and with certain functor words (see discussion and examples later in this section).
Examples of the use of set 6 are as follows:

(54) umari sie ku- nahu-o
finish that 1sS-cook-3s O
’After that I cooked it’

(55) inehu mbio au- poN- nahu
vegetables what 2sS-VRae-cook
’What vegetables are you cooking?’

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When set 6 is used, the subject is not emphasized nor is mood indicated. Instead, it is used when other constituents are highlighted or prominent. When attached to a transitive verb with an object present in a clause, either the object or the adjunct of the clause is highlighted. (Adjunct here means an adverbial phrase - temporal, locative, etc - that modifies the predicate of a clause.) If a clause has both the object and the adjunct, the highlighted constituent tends to be the adjunct:

(56)  ku- nahu-o inehu la’a
1sS-cook-3sO vegetables that
’I cooked THOSE VEGETABLES’

(57)  hiewi ku- nahu-o inehu la’a
yesterday 1sS-cook-3sO vegetables that
’YESTERDAY I cooked those vegetables’

(58)  ai pamutu la’a ku- po- nahu inehu
GP wok.pan that 1sS-VRae-cook vegetables
’IN THAT WOK PAN I cook vegetables’

(59)  inehu kaa ku-po- nahu ai pamutu la’a
vegetables EMPH 1sS-VRae-cook GP wok.pan that
’It is VEGETABLES I cook in that wok pan’

When the object is definite, an object marker of set 7 (see 1.7) is obligatory, whether or not there is an explicit object in the clause as shown in examples (54), (56) and (57). When the object is indefinite, there is no marker of set 7, but after a subject prefix the verb marker 0-/poN- is attached as shown in examples (58) and (59). When employed as a prefix to a stative or an intransitive verb, set 6 markers highlight the adjunct of a clause. Similar verb morphology is used as with transitive verbs with indefinite objects, i.e., the verb marker 0/-pe-/peN-/po- is used.

(60)  aso N- ta’u- to ku-po- ia ai Poso
one LG-year-CMP 1sS-VRae-stay GP P.
’I have lived FOR A YEAR in Poso’

(61)  nderio ro- po- turi
where 3pS-VRae-sleep
’WHERE will they sleep?’

With set 6, the explicit subject is optionally stated as a noun phrase in a clause. If it is not stated, then it is provided by the context.
(62) epie wongi no-to’ori-o ai RED-elu motae long night 3sS-know- 3sO PI orphan that 'Late at night the orphan knew that…'

(63) nderio ro- po- turi RED-ana la’a where 3pS-VRae-sleep PL-child that 'Where will those children sleep?'

When a verb is preceded by a functor word ako- 'because', ba- 'if, when', ka- 'so that', or la- 'not' (negative), or an adverb like aambo 'not yet', the set 6 subject-marker is obligatorily suffixed to the functor word instead of being prefixed to the verb stem. In this affixed functor word, stress is regularly on the penultimate syllable. Also, native speaker intuition puts the word break after the set 6 affix rather than before it.

(64) RED-amba- no ba-to po- nahu boka INT-first-3sPO if-1pnS VRae-cook oil 'First, if we make coconut oil,…'

(65) o- to me- wangu io ine- no ka- no 3sIR-CMP VRse-wake.up ART mother-3sPO so that-3sS

po- nahu
VRae-cook

'His mother wakes up to cook'

(66) la- ku to’ori-o nee- no NEG-1sS know- 3sO name-3sPO 'I do not know his name'

The 2nd person singular and plural forms are always short in these cases:

(67) ba-mbio kee ka- i pe- iwi Q- what Q so.that-2pS VRae-cry 'Why are you crying?'

(68) la- u huru kee l[um]eko ndi dotoro NEG-2sS ever Q VR-go to doctor 'Have you not gone to a doctor?'

Set 6 prefixes are also employed in passive clauses to express an emphatic adjunct (cf. 1.1):

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(69) olo nie kee no- tj[in]anu
day this Q 3sS-PASS-bury
'Will he be buried TODAY?'

(70) nderio ai- h[in]enu
where 2pS-PASS-hit
'WHERE were you hit?'

1.7 Set 7: Suffixes Marking an Object

In Padoe there is one object-marking set of pronominal markers which has four allomorph sets:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SET 7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OBJECT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(four allomorph sets)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1px</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p</td>
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<tr>
<td>3p</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The four allomorph sets of the object suffixes (set 7) are root determined, perhaps going back to the final consonants of an earlier stage of the language. In sets (a), (b) and (c), actually only vowel-initial markers are different, the others being identical.

(71) iiko kaa t[um]o'ori-aku kee
2sPRO EMPH VRdfo-know-1sO Q
'Do YOU know me?'

(72) ku- asa- 'o lasa- nggu ai Malili
1sS-sell-3sO langsats-1sPO GP M.
'I sell my langsats in Malili'

(73) ki- rodo-hiro
1pxS-hit- 3pO
'We (excl) hit them'
(74) o- to epie kee au- e’ema-nganggu
3sIR-CMP long Q 2sS-wait- 1sO
’Is it long that you have waited for me?’

The equivalent allomorphic sets are found in the indirect object pronominal set (set 8, see 1.8) and in nominalizer suffixes as the following examples show:

(75)a. ki- angga- ’o io galu la’a
1pxS-work- 3sO ART rice.field that
’We are working that rice field’

b. ki- angga-’akero io galu la’a
1pxS-work- 3pIO ART rice.field that
’We are working that rice field for them’

c. angga-’a- ro moiko ngako
work- NRs-3pPO good very
’Their work is very good’

(76)a. uma- no no- kaa-ngo kalamboro
father-3sPO 3sS-eat-3sO giant
’His father was eaten by a giant’

b. no- kaa-ngakune ako- ku ma- haki
3sS-eat-1sIO because-1sS VRse-sick
’He ate for me, because I was sick’

c. kaa-nga-ro la’a orao ngako
eat-NRs-3pPO that much very
’That food of theirs is very much’

The set 7 pronominal markers are obligatorily used to mark the definite direct object on the predicate of a transitive clause as in examples (75a) and (76a). If the definite direct object is the most prominent constituent of a clause, the subject is obligatorily of set 6. The explicit object may optionally occur in a clause together with a set 7 marker, and then its place is either before the predicate (giving even more emphasis to the object) or after it and following the explicit subject if there is one in the clause.

(77) ine- no no- kaburu-’o ai wiwi sala
mother-3sPO 3sS-bury- 3sO GP edge road
’He buried his mother by the road’

(78) no-kaburu-’o ine-no ai wiwi sala
’He buried his mother by the road’
(79) no- kaburu-’o ai RED-elu ine- no ai wiwi sala
3sS-bury- 3sO PI orphan mother-3sPO GP edge road
'The orphan buried his mother by the road’

But if the subject is the most highlighted constituent of the clause, then a set 1 pronoun or a noun phrase will be used to mark it, and the verb is infixed by -um-. This verb marker appears after the first consonant of a verb root or root-initially when the root begins with a vowel. It has two phonologically determined allomorphs: -0- when the root begins with a bilabial consonant and -um- elsewhere (see Karhunen (1991a)). Consider examples (71) and (80)-(82) below.

(80) ikami [um]angga- ’o io galu la’a
1pxPRO VRdfo-work-3sO ART rice field that
'WE work that rice field’

(81) ono k[um]aa- ngo uma- no kalamboro sie
3sIR VRdfo-eat-3sO father-3sPO giant that
'That giant will eat his father’

(82) umono w[0]awe4- o ihikuro-nggu ai raha
3sPRO VRdfo-bring-3sO rice -1sPO GP house
'HE brought my rice home’

As example (81) shows, it is possible to express at least irrealis mood when having a transitive verb with a definite object and subject emphasis in the clause. The use of set 4 markers, however, with set 7 markers seem to yield ungrammatical structures. Further study is needed here.

It also seems that certain verbs take the object marker of set 7 to mark a recipient that is usually marked by set 8 indirect object markers:

(83) po- wee- aku lakuda’a te-aaso botolo siu- mu
VRae-give- 1sO 1sAPRO TE-one bottle honey-2sPO
'Give me also one bottle of your honey!’

In Mori, sets 4 and 7 have been analyzed as one by Magnetti-Barsel (1984) thus creating an absolutive pronominal set. In Padoe, though, it seems best to separate these two sets from each other on the following grounds: ① Semantically, they have different functions, i.e. marking the subject versus the object.

② Morphologically, set 4 comes with one set that can be attached to any verbal roots, while set 7 has four allomorphs (Mori having only one set) the choice of which is lexically determined. Also, set 4 conforms to the general morphophonemic pattern of Padoe, in which the glottal is always inserted between two vowels if these belong to two different morphemes (see Karhunen 1991). Set 7(a) is an exception to this pattern. ③ Lexically, set 4 has two forms that set 7 has not, the 3rd person singular and plural -lo’o and -lo’iro which
occasionally occur, although they are not as common as -o(to) and -iro.

Though being treated as separate sets, sets 4 and 7 still resemble each other enough to give reason for positing an earlier stage of the language with an absolutive set which has started to split up.

1.8 Set 8: Suffixes Marking an Indirect Object

The last set of pronominal markers is that marking an indirect object:

| SET 8
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INDIRECT OBJECT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(four allomorphic sets)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1s -akune</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s -ako</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s -akeo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1px -akami</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pn -akito</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p -akomiu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p -akero</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As discussed above in 1.7, set 8 has four allomorphic sets.

(84) ai-nei mo- nahu-akomiu
     PI-who VRse-cook-2pIO
     'Who cooks for you?'

(85) pau-’akune
     say-1sIO
     'Tell me!'

(86) no- wungge-hakero io wala
     3sS-open- 3pIO  ART fence
     'He opened the fence for them'

(87) po- ema-ngakito lekitoda’a bou-no
     VRae-ask-1pnIO 1pnAPRO fish-3sPO
     'Ask for some of his fish for us too'

The members of the pronominal set 8 are used as indirect objects marking a recipient as in examples (85) and (88):
(88) no-po-kule- 'akeo tama parewa pe-sikenop
3sS-CAUS-return-3sIO man things NR-propose
'The bride price will be returned to the groom'

If the recipient is expressed by both set 8 marker and a noun phrase as in this example, the two agree with each other.
Second, set 8 suffixes mark a beneficiary as in examples (84), (86)-(87), and (89).

(89) no-pa- ka-ngakune io boe
3sS-CAUS-eat-1sIO ART pig
'He fed the pig for me'

2 TEXTS

The following sentences from an expository text describing a proposal ceremony are chosen to show how the eight person-marking sets of Padoe function in a wider context. The analysis of the pronominal markers presented above is applied to the text analysis. After the interlinearized lines another line has been added to show which pronominal sets (S.1 - S.8) the person-markers belong to.

umbu ai irowai s[um]iken-o umbu n- tama no- po- tae
from PI woman VRdfo-ask -3sO from LG-man 3sS-VRae-say
S.7 S.6
'The girl’s side asked the man’s side. They said

helinie mbio kee sie tinungkai-miu ka- i me-hawe
this way what Q that intention-2pPO so.that-2pS PL-come
S.5 S.6
like this: "What is your intention in coming here?"

no-po- tae umbu n- tama niio su’u tinungkai-mami
3sS-VRae-say from LG-man is really intention-1pxPO
S.6 S.5
The man’s side said: "We really have an intention.

ooto ikami minggi mpo- ema
it.is 1pxPRO want VR/PL-ask.for
S.1
And it is that we want to propose."
Show the sign of ownership quickly!

They showed that sign of ownership, which was the bride price.

The bride price was opened by the girl’s side.

After they had opened it,

called the girl’s relatives were asked by one of them:

"Shall we receive this?"

They said: "Yes."

The traditional leader gave them advice. He said like this:

"Who breaks this rule will be subjected to law."
It is, if the girl breaks the rule of bride price,

the bride price will be returned to the man.

and it will be accompanied by a buffalo.

If the man breaks the rule,

the bride price will stay with the girl."

3. CONCLUSION

Padoe has a person-marking system with eight sets of pronominal markers. In addition to the usual functions of subject, object and possession, the Padoe person-markers are used to mark irrealsis, realsis, or unmarked mood, thus creating quite a peculiar system where pronouns instead of verb affixes mark the mood.

Another unusual phenomenon is the marking of emphasis or prominence, which is achieved by the choice of the appropriate person-marker and verb morphology to go with it. Further research is needed to ascertain how the interplay of person-markers, transitivity, mood, emphasis, and word order functions in Padoe discourse.

In conclusion, a table of the Padoe pronominal sets is presented below.
### TABLE: Padoe pronominal sets

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Set 1</th>
<th>SET 2</th>
<th>SET 3</th>
<th>SET 4</th>
<th>SET 5</th>
<th>SET 6</th>
<th>SET 7</th>
<th>SET 8</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td>INDEP.</td>
<td>INDEPENDENT</td>
<td>INDEPENDENT</td>
<td>SUBJECT</td>
<td>POS.</td>
<td>SUBJECT</td>
<td>OBJECT (4 allomorphic sets)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>additive</td>
<td>irrealis</td>
<td>realis</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(a)</td>
<td>(b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>iaku</td>
<td>lakuda’a</td>
<td>aku</td>
<td>-aku</td>
<td>-nggu</td>
<td>ku-</td>
<td>-aku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>iiko</td>
<td>lekoda’</td>
<td>iko</td>
<td>-iko</td>
<td>-mu</td>
<td>au- (u-)</td>
<td>-ko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1px</td>
<td>ikami</td>
<td>lekamida’s</td>
<td>kami</td>
<td>-kami</td>
<td>-mami</td>
<td>ki-</td>
<td>-kami</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pn</td>
<td>ikito</td>
<td>lekitoda’a</td>
<td>kito</td>
<td>-kito</td>
<td>-ndo</td>
<td>to-</td>
<td>-kito</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p</td>
<td>umboro</td>
<td>le’iroda’a</td>
<td>iro, lo’iro</td>
<td>-iro, -lo’iro</td>
<td>-ro</td>
<td>ro-</td>
<td>-iro</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AFF    affected prefix
APRO   additive pronoun
ART    article
CAUS   causative
CMP    completive
CND    conditional
EMPH   emphatic clitic
excl   exclusive
GP     general preposition
incl   inclusive
INT    intensive
IO     indirect object
IR     irreals
LG     nasal ligature
NEG    negative
NR     nominalizer
NRse   nominalizer suffix
O      object
PASS   passive
PI     person identifier
PL     plural prefix (3 or more)
PO     possessive
PRO    pronoun
Q      question marker
RE     realis
RED    reduplication
REL    relative pronoun
REP    repeated action
S      subject
SUP    superlative
TZ     transitivizer
VR     verbaliser
VR/PL  verbalizer + plural prefix

VRae   verbalizer, used with intransitive and transitive verbs (without a definite object) when there is an adjunct or (more rarely) object emphasis; used in imperative constructions; used in imperative construction; used in dependent verb forms

VRdo   verbalizer, used with transitive verbs with a definite object when there is a subject emphasis

VRse   verbalizer, used with stative verbs always when there is either subject or non-marked emphasis

Pronouns and person markers are a combination of the following:

1  first person
2  second person
3  third person
s  singular
p  plural
pn plural inclusive
px plural exclusive

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NOTES

1 I would also like to thank Dr René van den Berg for his helpful comments in the preparation of this paper.

2 In interlinearized examples, morphophonemic glottals have not been marked, though there is always a non-phonemic glottal between two morphemes if there are two adjacent vowels over the morpheme boundary. For example *moN-gaa-iro-to* should be *mongga’iroto*. The only exceptions are the direct and indirect object marking suffixes, where the glottals have been marked if they belong to the suffix.

3 In both of these examples, the transitive verb prefix is *poN-*, but since the nasal N is realized only before unvoiced stops, the examples have been written as *po-*.

4 The root of the verb is *wawo*, but when attached by the 3rd person singular object marker, *wawo-a* becomes *waweo*. 