

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 keine
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):

	SET 1	SET 2	SET 3
	INDEP	INDEPENDENT additive	INDEPENDENT irrealis
1s	iaku	lakuda'a	aku
2s	iiko	lekoda'a	iko
3s	umono	leda'a	o(no), lo'o
1px	ikami	lekamida'a	kami
1pn	ikito	lekitoda'a	kito
2p	ikomiu	lekomiuda'a	komiu
3p	umboro	le'iroda'a	iro, lo'iro

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- nahu-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 minggu 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 t[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-sikeno- 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)?'

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- nahu-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- nahu 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 1pnAPRO 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).

- (35) aku- po l[um]eko ai Tomata
 1sIR-CND VR-go GP T.
 '(Later) if I go to Tomata'

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 t[in]anu owundu-olo
 3sIR PASS-bury short-day
 'He will be buried in the afternoon'

- (37) komiu-po h[in]enu ai 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 aspectual 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.

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

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 inehu
 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'olo
 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
3pPRO VRse-hide GP woods
'THEY hide in the woods' | (set 1, subj.emphasis,
unmarked mood) |
| (45) | iro me- wuni ai te'olo
3pIR VRse-hide GP woods
'They will hide in the woods' | (set 3, no emphasis,
irrealis future) |
| (46) | iro- to me- wuni ai te'olo
3pIR-CMP VRse-hide GP woods
'They are hiding in the woods' | (set 3, no emphasis,
irrealis present) |
| (47) | me- wuni-iro- to ai te'olo
VRse-hide-3pRE-CMP GP woods
'They hid in the woods' | (set 4, no emphasis,
realis) |

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-nga-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) | n[in]ahu- nggu inehu la'a
PASS-cook-1sPO vegetables that
'Those vegetables were cooked by me' |
|------|---|

(51) no- ole- 'o ai Wembaine kaka- no
 3sS-medicine-3sO PI W. older sibling-3sPO

meng-gena n[in]ee- no ai Ndalowulu
 VRse-same PASS-name-3sPO 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-3pPO 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-3sPO PI orphan 3pS-chase-3sO
 '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-2pIO 1pxPRO-1pxPO
 '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-3sO
 'After that I cooked it'

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

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).³ 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) inderio 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) inderio 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):

(69) olo nie kee no- t[in]anu
 day this Q 3sS-PASS-bury
 'Will he be buried TODAY?'

(70) inderio 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 allomorphic sets:

	SET 7			
	OBJECT (four allomorphic sets)			
	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)
1s	-aku	- 'aku	-haku	-nganggu
2s	-ko	-ko	-ko	-nggo
3s	-o	- 'o	-ho	-ngo
1px	-kami	-kami	-kami	-nggami
1pn	-kito	-kito	-kito	-nggito
2p	-komiu	-komiu	-komiu	-nggomiu
3p	-iro	- 'iro	-hiro	-nggiro

The four allomorphic 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 langsung-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-' akerio 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: *-o-* 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			
	INDIRECT OBJECT (four allomorphic sets)			
	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)
1s	-akune	-'akune	-hakune	-ngakune
2s	-ako	-'ako	-hako	-ngako
3s	-akeo	-'akeo	-hakeo	-ngakeo
1px	-akami	-'akami	-hakami	-ngakami
1pn	-akito	-'akito	-hakito	-ngakito
2p	-akomiu	-'akomiu	-hakomiu	-ngakomiu
3p	-akero	-'akero	-hakero	-ngakero

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-sikeno
 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]ikeno-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."

ai- mem-pandi-pandi- 'o te- me- rae
2pS-PL- sign.of.ownership-3sO SUP-VRse-quickly
S.6 S.7

"Show the sign of ownership quickly!"

ro- po- ko- ena- ho pandi-pandi la'a ooto pe- sikeno
3pS-CAUS-AFF-show-3sO sign.of.ownership that it.is NR-ask
S.6 S.7

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

pe-sikeno la'a ro- wungge-ho irowai
NR-ask yon 3pS-open -3sO woman
S.6 S.7

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

ro- me-umari me- wungge-ho
3pS-PL-finish VRse-open- 3sO
S.6 S.7

After they had opened it,

no- sikeno-iro io petia irowai
3sS-ask- 3pO ART sibling woman
S.6 S.7

the girl's relatives were asked by one of them:

kito- to men-tarima-'o kee onie
1pnIR-CMP PL- receive-3sO Q this
S.3 S.7

"Shall we receive this?"

ro- mpo- tae humbee
3pS-VR/PL-say yes
S.6

They said: "Yes."

mia mo-su'o [um]oliwi- ngiro no- po- tae helinie
orang VRse-old VRdfo-advice-3pO 3sS-VRae-say this.way
S.7 S.6

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

ai-nei l[um]inggei-o gau nie, no- kono-o atora
PI-who VRdfo-break-3sO rule this 3sS-hit- 3sO law
S.7 S.6 S.7

"Who breaks this rule will be subjected to law."

ooto tabulu irowai l[um]inggei-o gau m- pe- sikeno
 it is if woman VRdfo-break-3sO rule LG-NR-ask
 S.7

It is, if the girl breaks the rule of bride price,

no- po- kule- 'akeo tama parewa m- pe-sikeno
 3sS-CAUS-return-3sIO man things LG-NR-ask
 S.6 S.8

the bride price will be returned to the man.

kaa no- tonda- ri-o mbo'u aaso ambau
 and 3sS-follow-TZ-3sO also one buffalo
 S.6 S.7

and it will be accompanied by a buffalo.

tabulu tama l[um]inggei-o gau
 if man VRdfo-break-3sO rule
 S.7

If the man breaks the rule,

parewa m- pe-sikeno ono mo- turi ai irowai
 things LG-NR-ask 3sIR VRse-sleep GP woman
 S.3

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 irrealis, realis, 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

	Set 1	SET 2	SET 3	SET 4	SET 5	SET 6	SET 7				SET 8			
1s	INDEP.	INDEPENDENT additive	INDEPENDENT irrealis	SUBJECT realis	POS.	SUBJECT	OBJECT (4 allomorphic sets)				INDIRECT OBJECT (4 allomorphic sets)			
							(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)
1s	iaku	lakuda'a	aku	-aku	-nggu	ku-	-aku	-'aku	-haku	-nganggu	-akune	-'akune	-hakune	-ngakune
2s	iiko	lekoda'	iko	-iko	-mu	au- (u-)	-ko	-ko	-ko	-nggo	-ako	-'ako	-hako	-ngako
1px	ikami	lekamida's	kami	-kami	-mami	ki-	-kami	-kami	-kami	-nggami	-akmi	-'akami	-hakami	-ngakami
1pn	ikito	lekitoda'a	kito	-kito	-ndo	to-	-kito	-kito	-kito	-nggito	-akito	-'akito	-hakito	-ngakito
3p	umboro	le'iroda'a	iro, lo'iro	-iro, -lo'iro	-ro	ro-	-iro	-'iro	-hiro	-nggiro	-akero	-'akero	-hakero	-ngakero

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

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

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 imparative construction; used in dependent verb forms
VRdfo	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

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 *monggaa'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*.