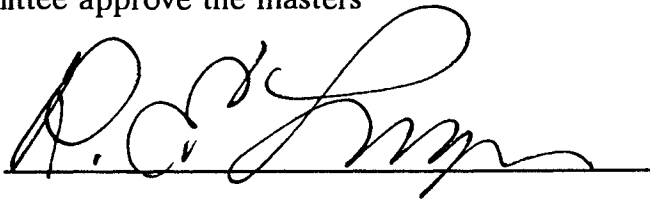# SOME ASPECTS OF PITU ULUNNA SALU GRAMMAR:

A TYPOLOGICAL APPROACH

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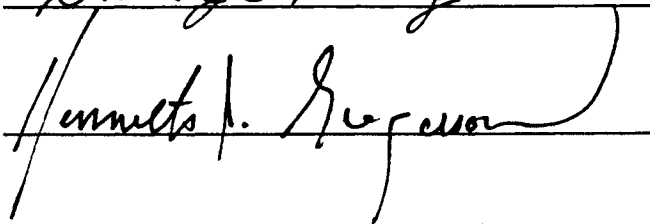
Robert E. Longacre
Supervising Professor

Shin Ja Hwang

Kenneth J. Gregerson

SOME ASPECTS OF PITU ULUNNA SALU GRAMMAR:

A TYPOLOGICAL APPROACH

by

PHILIP J. CAMPBELL

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of

The University of Texas at Arlington in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements

for the Degree of

MASTERS OF ARTS IN LINGUISTICS

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT ARLINGTON

December 1989

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

her for reading and correcting my drafts, and for maintaining peace and harmony in our household.

Lastly, I lift up praise and thanks to our Almighty God who gives us life, protects us, provides for our needs, and strengthens us day after day. His creative power has become even more apparent to me as I have undertaken the analysis of one of the thousands of languages spoken on earth.

November 20, 1989

ABSTRACT

SOME ASPECTS OF PITU ULUNNA SALU GRAMMAR:
A TYPOLOGICAL APPROACH

Philip J. Campbell, M.A.

The University of Texas at Arlington, 1989

Supervising Professor: Robert E. Longacre

Pitu Ulunna Salu (PUS) is a little–known Austronesian language spoken in South Sulawesi, Indonesia. This study touches on several aspects of PUS, ranging from morphophonemics to speech act distinctions. The main concentration of the study is on verbal and clause constructions, noting, particularly, how each type of construction encodes focus and underlying transitivity.

The PUS focus system is presented as a cline of salience of particular arguments to the predication. Passives are employed to defocus the agent, while antipassives are used to defocus the undergoer. Object focus is the unmarked transitive clause type.

Morphological features of PUS verbs present varying degrees of transitivity. PUS utilizes several transitive derivational affixes to increase the valency of stems. Non–prototypical intransitives encode transitive–type action as intransitive.

PUS exhibits a split ergative system in which ergativity is marked only in the bound pronoun sets. There are no ergative markings on nominals.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

A	– actor	1	– first person
ABS	– absolutive	2	– second person
ACT	– actuative	3	– third person
ADJ	– adjective		
AF	– actor focus	du	– dual
AFF	– affected	ex	– exclusive
C	– consonant	in	– inclusive
CAUS	– causative	s	– singular
CONJ	– conjunction	pl	– plural
E	– excrescent nasal		
EMP	– emphasis		
ERG	– ergative	#	– word boundary
EXT	– existential	–	– morpheme boundary
HAB	– habitual	&	– discontinuous morpheme
IMP	– imperative	*	– disallowed form
IMPF	– imperfective		
INT	– intransitive	/ /	– (morpho–)phonemic
INTS	– intensifier		transcription
IRR	– irrealis	[ ]	– phonetic transcription
LOC	– locative		
MI	– M–intensification	{ }	– one of two or
N	– noun		more alternates
NEG	– negative	( )	– optional
NR	– nominalizer		
NV	– non–volitional		
OF	– object focus		
PASS	– passive		
POL	– polite imperfective		
POS	– possessive		
PRF	– perfective		
PRT	– particle		
Q	– question		
QI	– Q–intensification		
REC	– reciprocal		
REF	– reflexive		
REL	– relativizer		
STA	– stative, adjective, adverb		
TAG	– tag question		
TR	– transitive		
UN	– uncertainty		
V	– vowel		
VL	– volition		

1. INTRODUCTION

This study presents an analysis of some aspects of Pitu Ulunna Salu grammar. In this introductory chapter I will present background material on the language and the people of Pitu Ulunna Salu (1.1). Secondly, I will discuss the theoretical framework within which this study has been carried out and presented (1.2). Thirdly, I will outline the scope and objectives of this study (1.3).

1.1 Pitu Ulunna Salu

1.1.1 The Language

Pitu Ulunna Salu (PUS) is a West Austronesian language spoken on the island of Sulawesi in Indonesia. To my knowledge no detailed studies have been made of Pitu Ulunna Salu and so, consequently, there are no published materials describing in depth the grammar of Pitu Ulunna Salu. This is not to say that no previous work has included reference to PUS. Early references to PUS include H. van der Veen's (1929) look at Torajan–related languages and S.J. Esser's (1938) map of South Sulawesi language groups in which he refers to PUS as Pitu–Ulunna–Salo (sic). More recently, R. Mills (1975) used data from one PUS speaker in his reconstruction of Proto South Sulawesi phonology.

In a recent survey of South Sulawesi, Grimes and Grimes (1987:16) classify PUS as a member of the Pitu Ulunna Salu subfamily in the Northern South Sulawesi language family of the South Sulawesi Stock. According to Stromme (1987), there is a Pitu Ulunna Salu subfamily[1] consisting of two closely related languages: Pitu Ulunna Salu and Aralle–Tabulahan. These two languages both consist of a series of related dialects which are flung like a chain across the n untainous

1

region. The largest and most central PUS dialect is Bambam (usually pronounced Bambang by outsiders) and thus PUS is alternately referred to as Bambam.

While no previous in–depth study has been published on PUS grammar, a fair amount of work has been completed on the related language of Toraja Saqdan.[2] Van der Veen has written a considerable amount about that South Sulawesi language. He has published works on Toraja–Saqdan linguistics and anthropology as well as co–authoring (with J. Tammu) an extensive Torajan–Indonesian dictionary. C. Salombe's (1982) work on Toraja Saqdan verb morphology offers the insights of a local scholar and native speaker.

1.1.2 History and Geography

Pitu Ulunna Salu (PUS) literally means 'seven river head'. Although the PUS region has many rivers, traditional legends relate how PUS refers not to seven rivers, but rather to seven members of a bygone socio–political federation. No one knows how long ago this federation materialized and there are varied opinions as to which seven areas formed the alliance. Most likely, PUS consisted of the areas Tabulahan, Aralle, Mambi, Bambang, Rantebulahan, Matangnga, and Tabang. Today PUS no longer functions as a socio–political entity, having given way early in this century to Dutch administration and subsequently coming under Indonesian central government jurisdiction. Presently, of the seven areas mentioned above, all but Matangnga and Tabang are included in the district of Mambi, in the regency Polewali–Mamasa in the province of South Sulawesi. The speakers of PUS live primarily in the sub–districts of Buntu Malangka (Bumal), Bambang, Rantebulahan, and Mehalaan. However, as linguistic boundaries seldom correspond with political boundaries, PUS speakers are also found in surrounding sub–districts within and without the district of Mambi.

1.1.3 The People

Currently, there are approximately 22,000 speakers of PUS living in some 50–60 villages scattered throughout the mountainous district of Mambi as well as in surrounding subdistricts.

Most PUS speakers are subsistence farmers. Rice is the most important crop and constitutes the main food for those who live in areas with a sufficient amount of level land. In the more mountainous regions of eastern Mambi the rice fields are small, so rice production is not sufficient for personal consumption. In these areas the main food is cassava.

Coffee is the major cash crop of PUS. Cacao, a relatively recent addition as a cash crop, also provides some income for the PUS people.

Generally, PUS speakers go to market once a week at whichever of the area markets is closest to their village. Traders from the coast bring in salt, dried fish, clothing, and other items not available locally. The PUS people sell their coffee, cacao and, occasionally, rice to the traders for cash. Many of the women bring along garden produce which they sell to other villagers. In addition to serving as venues for trade, the markets also serve as locations for inter–village communication and meetings for village leaders.

1.1.4 Current Research

My wife and I have carried out linguistic field research among the PUS people since November 1985. Through September 1988 we intermittently resided in the village of Tanete in the sub–district of Rantebulahan. The approximately two thousand residents of eastern Rantebulahan speak the PUS dialect referred to as Salu Mukanam, named for the river which flows down the valley.[3] While I have had many opportunities to travel throughout the PUS region, most of my data have been

collected in and around the village of Tanete. Thus, this analysis is based primarily on the Salu Mukanam dialect.

1.2 The Typological Approach

> Now the whole world had one language and a common speech. . . .
> So the Lord scattered them from there over all the earth, and they stopped building the city. That is why it was called Babel—because there the Lord confused the language of the whole world. From there the Lord scattered them over the face of the whole earth (Genesis 11:1,8–10 NIV).[4]

In choosing to follow a typological approach in this analysis and presentation of PUS grammar, I did not purpose to use PUS data as a platform for defending typology per se. As various linguistic theories arise over the years, much effort is expended in justifying their postulates. The theories related to typology and universals are no exception. However, the nature of the typological approach ensures that the very arguments used to defend its merits naturally result in providing practical guidelines for linguists studying real language data and trying to make sense out of the patterns which are found in particular languages.

The typological approach is concerned with examining variations between languages. Linguists following this approach may study the phonological and/or grammatical features of various languages. These languages can then be classified based on the presence or absence of particular features. These feature variations would be of no interest if every language was totally different from every other language with no shared characteristics between them. If that were the case, there would be no 'types' of languages. Typologists reject the view that "languages could differ from each other without limit and in unpredictable ways" (Martin Joos 1957:96).

Another current realm of cross–linguistic survey involves the study of universals. Beginning in the late 1950's Noam Chomsky popularized the notion of

language universals. Yet Chomsky and his followers were not compelled to study languages other than English. They held to the *a priori* existence of deep structure universals. Therefore, they believed that linguists need only to study one language in order to ascertain these universals. Typology did not particularly interest Chomsky and his followers as, traditionally, typological studies have had the goal of ferreting out the variations in languages rather than seeking universals. Concerning the relationship between Chomsky's universal studies and the field of typology, Greenberg writes:

> If we assume . . . that there is a universal base, and that all universals are in the base which constitutes the deep structure, then . . . All languages belong to one type that is defined by the universal base which they all share. If all universals are found only in the base, then there are no surface universals, nor presumably are they to be found in the transformational component which produces these surface structures. Under these circumstances, typology, while permissible, is indeed pointless (Greenberg 1974:52).

Chomsky's transformational grammar was the best–selling approach for many years, yet even during the height of the English–focused Chomsky era there were linguists who recognized the limitations of a single–language analysis (Greenberg 1966b).

In recent years linguists committed to typological studies have also been involved in the exploration of language universals, a seemingly disparate subject.

> At first sight, the study of language universals and the study of language typology might seem to be opposites, even in conflict with one another: language universals research is concerned with finding those properties that are common to all human languages, whereas in order to typologize languages . . . it is necessary that there should be differences among languages. The contrast can thus be summed up as one between the study of similarities across languages and the study of differences among languages (Comrie 1981:30).

The field of language universals addresses characteristics which are shared by all languages. Typology is concerned with the study of variations between languages. Both of these fields explore the area of language variation. The two fields differ in that:

language universals research is concerned primarily with limits on this variation, whereas typological research is concerned more directly with possible variation (Comrie 1981:30–31).

In spite of the differing goals of the fields of universals and typology, it is not surprising that linguists involved in research in either one of these topics will naturally drift over into the other sphere of study. The linguist who is studying a particular feature may establish that the feature is universal. He can then demonstrate that the feature cannot be used for typological studies. A feature that every language has obviously cannot be used to distinguish groups of languages. Just as discoveries from universal studies can aid typologists, likewise universalists can gain insights from the findings of typological studies.

> Suppose that some feature, believed to be important and universal, turns out to be lacking in a newly discovered language. The feature may still be important. To the extent that it is, its absence in the new language is a typological fact of importance about the language.
> Conversely, if some feature is indeed universal, then it is taxonomically irrelevant (Hockett 1966:4).

> Typology, historically, had been a pursuit that emphasized language differences rather than similarities and that sought to characterize the typological uniqueness of individual languages. However, a classification of languages into types in regard to any aspect of language virtually always shows that some logically conceivable types do not exist (Greenberg, et al. 1978:2).

In the process of identifying languages which share particular features and classifying them accordingly, the typologist begins to discover predictable patterns of co–occurring features. This is where the fields of universals and typology function jointly.

> The hypothesis that typology is of theoretical interest is essentially the hypothesis that the ways in which languages differ from each other are not entirely random, but show various types of dependencies among . . . properties of languages . . . (Greenberg 1974:54).

> Typological universal grammar is explicitly designed to accommodate the considerable variation observed between languages. Although not denying that there are properties which all languages share (called 'absolute' universals), this paradigm focuses primarily on the search for regularities in the ways that languages vary, and on the constraints and principles that underlie this variation. . . . Classifications of languages made in terms of the properties or

property clusters mentioned in the variation–defining statements are then referred to as 'typologies' (Hawkins 1983:10).

The expression 'universal' as used by typologists is a misleading term. 'Universal' implies absolutes. However, this is not what is always meant. That is why it has become necessary to modify the term for varying applications.

> *Implicational universals* are generalised statements of the form 'if X, then Y', e.g. if a language has a word order of a certain type, it will also have a verb structure of a certain type. *Absolute universals* are properties which all languages share; there are no exceptions. *Relative universals* are general tendencies in language; there may be principled exceptions (italics mine) (Crystal 1985:322).

Personally, I would prefer reserving the word 'universal' for what Crystal calls 'absolute universals'. Absolute universals would be those universals considered by linguists to be "equivalent to the general design features of human language" (Crystal 1985:321). Implicational universals and relative universals are those which are most interesting to typologists. Concerning implicational universals Comrie writes:

> Many . . . statements about language universals . . . relate the presence of one property to the presence of some other property, i.e. state that a given property must, or can only, be present if some other property is also present (Comrie 1981:17).

Typologists search for predictable patterns of co–occurring features. When languages have been typed according to some feature(s), e.g., the relative positions of object and verb, then we can begin to examine languages of one type to see if there are any other predictable patterns. This is why it is important to study many languages.

> A single language can attest to the POSSIBILITY of some combination, but only large language samples can motivate its IMPOSSIBILITY (Hawkins 1983:10).

If we identify consistent patterns of feature co–occurrence in a number of languages we can then make implicational statements about these languages. For example, we might discover that VO languages (languages with the order verb–

object) *tend* to have adjectives after the noun. We might be tempted to state this pattern as a universal until we examine the VO language English and discover that, unlike many other VO languages, the adjective comes before the noun.

As more information becomes available concerning types of languages and patterns of feature co–occurrences, linguists are better able to predict the presence of structural features in a particular language based on a limited amount of typologically relevant data available in that language (Lehmann 1978:35).

To simply catalog languages according to type, based on surface morphosyntactic characteristics, would not be particularly interesting nor enlightening. A study of surface structure alone tells us nothing about the motivation of such structures. More essential to the understanding of language, rather, is the study of how languages *encode* semantic and pragmatic meaning. Linguists in the field of functional typology study the various methods languages use to encode meaning on the surface level.

> One of the basic principles of functional linguistics is that clause–internal morpho–syntax can only be understood with reference to the semantic and pragmatic functions of its constituent units, and consequently the major task is to describe the complex interaction of form and function in the language (Foley and Van Valin 1984:14).

When we undertake the study of an individual language we may note how particular morphosyntactic characteristics are used to encode meaning in that language. We cannot expect, however, to find the same semantic domain encoded by identical grammatical categories in different languages. Nor can we expect that identical grammatical categories will bear the same semantic functions.

> In the individual languages the category is identified and defined in terms of the formal characteristics of each of those languages and so is, by definition, language–specific. But the identification across languages . . . rests upon shared semantic characteristics . . . (Palmer 1986:2–3).

Functional typologists endeavor to identify how languages encode meaning and then search for predictable cross–linguistic patterns. The underlying assumption in typological studies is that for any given semantic or pragmatic domain there will be a limited number of cross–linguistic surface morphosyntactic patterns.

> Our particular concern is to understand how such patterns compare across languages. That is, for a particular semantic domain, we ask if languages exhibit a wide variety of patterns, a comparatively small number of patterns (a typology), or a single pattern (a universal) (Talmy 1985:57).

I am particularly interested in the application of functional typology as it addresses the question of *why* a language may elect to use a particular structure in a particular position in discourse. Bernard Comrie (1981) has addressed the issue of syntactic structure selection as it applies to the illumination of underlying semantic content:

> The generalization is . . . functional: in positions where, for independent reasons . . . semantic processing would be more difficult, that syntactic structure is used which would be most explicit in providing direct access to the semantic content (Comrie 1981:26).

In other words, the structure which will best bring out the meaning of the discourse will be the structure of choice.

Linguists involved in studying universals and typologies from a functional approach work to identify the various types of semantic and pragmatic encoding devices in the world's languages. In the process of identifying these devices, information is gained on the methods languages can and do use for conveying meaning. This information is valuable for researchers involved in the analysis of the structure of language at any level.

1.3 Scope Of This Study

The essence of this study is to examine particular aspects of PUS which I consider to be most significant; namely those aspects related to predication.

Certainly, there are many ways for semantic predication to be encoded in the surface structure of a language. However, in this thesis I will concentrate on the prototypical form of predication, i.e., the verb. This is not to say that I will be examining the verb in isolation, but rather I will use the verb as the starting point and focal point in my analysis of aspects of PUS grammar. The verb (predicate) is the central cornerstone upon which the rest of the clause is built. As one linguist has written:

> . . . the verb is the most characteristic segment of human language. Linguistic typology then must concern itself centrally with the verb and its constructions (Lehmann 1978:9).

As a prelude I will begin with a brief overview of PUS phonology, particularly concentrating on morphophonemic processes which take place. Since much of the discussion in this thesis relates to the verb morphology, the discussion on morphophonemics provides a natural introduction and gives background on how morphemes interrelate in PUS.

In this thesis I will discuss how aspects of PUS grammar relate to the claims of typologists and universalists. I am interested in observing how PUS fits patterns which have been uncovered in other languages. I am equally interested in searching for possible *exceptions* to established patterns. The hope is that through this study we can add some pieces to the worldwide linguistic puzzles that linguists are attempting to assemble and solve.

NOTES

[1]The name Pitu Ulunna Salu as applied to the language subfamily corresponds quite well historically and culturally with the area and people it encompasses. However, the use of the name Pitu Ulunna Salu as one of the languages within the Pitu Ulunna Salu subfamily has two shortcomings. First of all, it brings on the confusion which typically accompanies the use of one term for two entities. Secondly, it falsely gives the impression that the language encompasses the entire area of Pitu Ulunna Salu. Those who have applied the name Pitu Ulunna Salu to the language within the Pitu Ulunna Salu subfamily are not, however, to be faulted. Identifying a unifying name for the language is not an easy task. After three years living in the region I have still failed to find a term which includes the language area or the people but excludes those outside of the language. In fact, the local people do not refer to themselves or their language as PUS. If any reference is made they usually say basa to . . . 'language of the people of (name of village or subdistrict)'. Alternatively the language is referred to as basata which means 'our language'—a term which could be used by many languages in Sulawesi.

[2]According to Grimes and Grimes (1987:19), Toraja Saqdan relates to PUS at approximately 70% similarity lexicostatistically.

[3]Salu Mukanam is very similar to the Bambam dialect. There are only a couple of phonological variations as well as a few vocabulary words which differentiate the two dialects.

[4]From the HOLY BIBLE, NEW INTERNATIONAL VERSION. Copyright © 1973, 1978, 1984 International Bible Society. Used by permission of Zondervan Bible Publishers.

2. PHONOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS

In this chapter I will present a brief overview of some of the major aspects of PUS phonology. I have described PUS phonology in more detail elsewhere (Campbell 1987). In order to lay a foundation for the discussion of PUS morphology I will here primarily concentrate on morphophonemic alternations. At the end of this chapter I will present suggested orthographic symbols. The PUS material presented in the remainder of this paper will then be written orthographically.

2.1 PUS Phonemes

Characteristics of phonemes, such as their general point of articulation as well as manner of articulation, provide the newcomer to a language with a basis for interpretation of symbols. These characterisitics also equip the reader with a rough pronunciation of the symbols should the reader be interested in enunciating the utterances presented.

Features of phonemes, on the other hand, are fundamental to the presentation and interpretation of rules generated in the phonology. For these purposes I will present the phonemes in two different fashions.

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2.1.1 Phoneme Chart

PUS has fourteen consonant phonemes and six vowel phonemes:[1]

Table 1.--PUS Phonemes

<u>Consonants</u>:

	<u>labial</u>	<u>alveolar</u>	<u>back</u>
stops			
voiceless	p	t	k
voiced	b	d	g
affricate		j	
fricatives	ƀ	s	h
nasals	m	n	ŋ
lateral		l	

<u>Vowels</u>:

	<u>front</u>	<u>back</u>
high	i	u
mid	e	o
low	æ	a

2.1.2 Feature Matrix

Following are the fully specified feature matrices for PUS segments:

Table 2.--Feature Matrices

Consonants	p	t	k	b	d	g	j	m	n	ŋ	l	ƀ	s	h
syllabic	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
consonantal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
continuant	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
nasal	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
anterior	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-
coronal	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-
voiced	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-

Vowels	i	e	æ	a	o	u
syllabic	+	+	+	+	+	+
high	+	-	-	-	-	+
low	-	-	+	+	-	-
back	-	-	-	+	+	+

The low–front vowel /æ/ is unusual in South Sulawesi languages. To my knowledge it does not exist outside of the Pitu Ulunna Salu subfamily. Most South Sulawesi languages have only 5 vowels. Similarly, the existence of the bilabial fricative is rare in South Sulawesi. Pelenkahu (1967) reports the allophone [ƀ] for the phoneme /b/ in Mandar. J. N. Sneddon (1984) records /ƀ/ in four Sangiric languages of North Sulawesi and southern Philippines.

A noteworthy feature of PUS phonology is the absence of the phoneme /r/ and the presence of the phoneme /h/ in several dialects (including the dialect under study). Thus we find, e.g., the word barra? 'uncooked rice' in the 'r–dialects' and bahha? 'uncooked rice' in the 'h–dialects'.[2] Similarly, there is a consistent correspondence among [w], [ƀ], [b], and [h] in various dialects. Thus I have found the following forms for the word 'rattan': [uwe], [uƀe], [ube], and [uhe].[3]

Another characteristic feature of the dialect under study is word final /m/. Other PUS dialects, such as Mehalaan, have no final /m/, but rather have /n/ or /ŋ/ word final. Data I have collected from the dialects in the Bambam, Bumal, and Salu

Mukanam regions confirm Mills' (1975:115) suspicions. He noted the possibility of a distinctive final /m/ in Bambam, but was unable to locate a speaker from the 'm' dialects. Mills (1975:121) notes:

> [The presence of final /m/ is] striking because, as any linguist would note, one of the characteristics of this language family is the lack of final /m/, which has merged with /n/, and then—in some languages . . . further with /ng/.

2.2 Stress

Stress in PUS is not phonemic. It normally occurs on the penultimate syllable of words or on the nucleus of the rare one–syllable roots.[4] The addition of any suffixes to the word (thus making a new word) affects the placement of stress; that is, it causes the stress to shift to the right. The suffixes are: the possessive suffixes on nouns (–ku, 1s; –mu, 2s; –na, 3s, 3pl; –ki, 1 dual exclusive; –ta, 1 dual inclusive) and the derivational suffixes –am and –i.

The exception to the regular stress rule is in the case of vocatives. Vocatives are always stressed on the last syllable as in /ati/ —> [atí] (girl's name). The vocative stress rule occurs before the regular stress rule. The stress placement rule applies only if the last syllable is unstressed. Therefore, a word which receives vocative stress will not undergo stress placement.

(1) Vocative stress:

$$V \longrightarrow [+stress] / \underline{\quad} (C) \ \Big] \ \#$$

vocative word

(2) Stress placement:

$$V \longrightarrow [+stress] / \underline{\quad} (C) \quad \underset{[-stress]}{(C) \ (V) \ (C)} \ \Big] \ \#$$

word

The stress placement rule is <u>not</u> iterative. Therefore, it will first look for the penultimate vowel and stress it.

(3)   a.   /daham-ku/   -->   [daháŋku]   'my horse'

         b.   /piso-mu/   -->   [pisómu]   'your machete'

Only if there is not a penultimate vowel, i.e., when the word has only one syllable, will the shorter version of the rule apply.

(4)   a.   /to/   -->   [tó]   'which, that'

         b.   /le/   -->   [lé]   'OK'

In contrast to penultimate stress we find that there are several clitics in PUS which, when following a word, do <u>not</u> affect the stress placement on the word.[5]

The most common of these clitics are the pronominal clitics which follow the predicate. These clitics are the absolutive set and thus function as subject person markers in intransitive or antipassive clauses, object person markers in transitive clauses, or indirect objects in bitransitive clauses (see 4.1).

(5)   a. /um-tibe-æk/   -->   [untíbeæʔ]   'I throw (it).'

        b. /ku-dæŋguk-ko/   -->   [kudǽŋguʔko] 'I hit you.'

Under certain conditions the absolutive pronominal clitic is drawn in tightly to the verb, resulting in the clitic becoming suffix-like in its effect upon the verb stem stress. Such is the case when the absolutive encodes the recipient/benefactee of a predication (6) or a patient who is also benefactee (7). This *suffixation* of the absolutive occurs only when the absolutive functions as benefactee *and* immediately follows the verb. In the cases in which the absolutive, as benefactee, follows a pre-verbal modifier (8) or the absolutive functions as the subject of an intransitive verb

or the object of a transitive verb (in any location), the absolutive pronoun retains the characterisitics of a clitic; i.e., mobility and lack of influence on word stress.

```
(6)      [la kualliáŋko báju]
         /la- ku-      alli-am -ko        baju/
          IRR-1s(ERG)-buy -BEN-2s(ABS) shirt
         'I'll buy you a shirt.'

(7)      [kupayawoáŋko]
         /ku-       pa-  yawo-am -ko/
          1s(ERG)-CAUS-up   -BEN-2s(ABS)
         'I'll let you up (in my car).'

(8)      [púhæmæʔ napapiáah hadióku áni]
         /puha    -m -äq       na-        papia-am  hadio-ku ani/
          already-PRF-1s(ABS) 3s(ERG)-make -BEN radio-1s Ani
         'Ani has already fixed my radio for me.'[6]
```

Other clitics (the functions of several of which will be dealt with later) include: noun phrase particles -e and -o; aspect markers -mi and -pi; uncertainty particle hi; question clitic -ka; and the plural marker -ak.

Since stress placement is predictable, and therefore by definition not phonemic, it is not symbolized in phonemic or orthographic transcriptions.

2.3 Syllable Structure.

In PUS each vowel constitutes the nucleus of a syllable. No consonant clusters occur within the syllable. The following structure formula expresses the possible syllable configurations:

```
(9)       ([-syllabic]) [+syllabic] ([-syllabic])
```

The above formula states that a syllable may begin with a consonant or a vowel and may also end with a consonant or a vowel, making possible the four following structures: V, CV, VC, and CVC. There are four possible syllable divisions

within words in PUS: V/V, V/CV, VC/CV, and CVC/V.[7] These divisions conform to the possible juxtaposed syllable patterns within phonological words:

(10) a. V.V   /u̱.a̱.se/   'axe'

      b. V.CV   /a.ka/   'what'

      c. V.CVC   /a.dek/   'say'

      d. VC.CV   /um̱-.ba̱.luk/   'sell'

      e. VC.CVC   /al.lak/   'difference'

      f. CV.V   /la.o/   'go'

      g. CV.VC   /ka.lu̱.a̱k/   'broad'

      h. CV.CV   /ma.te/   'dead'

      i. CV.CVC   /to.bam/   'coop'

      j. CVC.V   /ma̱k-.o̱.to/   'go by car'

      k. CVC.VC   /ma̱k-.a̱l.lak/   'different'

      l. CVC.CV   /um-.si-.pa̱k-.tu̱.lak-.am/
                                                 'to talk with'

      m. CVC.CVC   /bah.hak/   'hulled rice'

So we see that while there exist no consonant clusters within the syllable, we do encounter them at syllable boundaries. Generally, in PUS words a closed syllable can precede another syllable if the following syllable opens with a consonant. This means that single consonants are syllable onsets or word final. The exception to this (see examples 10j and 10k) is syllable final /k/ (which is pronounced [ʔ]). The phoneme /k/ remains as the coda of the syllable regardless of whether a vowel or consonant follows. This applies equally to prefixes and to words which precede a vowel-initial suffix or a clitic. In the case of the latter there are also two additional pairs of juxtaposed syllable patterns not found elsewhere.

(11) a. V.VC   /am.pa.-i̲.-æ̲k̲/   'Wait for me.'

      b. VC.V   /mak.ba.se.-æ̲k̲.-i̲/   'I'm dish-washing.'

One–syllable words are seldom encountered. The words /bu/ 'smell', /tæk/ 'no, not' (which in isolation is pronounced [tæ^æʔ]), and the tag word /le/ 'OK' are rare exceptions.[8]   While *words* of up to 7 syllables have been observed (/la.ku.pem.ki.la.la.i/ 'I will remember it'), I have yet to find a *morpheme* consisting of more than 4 syllables. By far the majority of the PUS morphemes consist of 2 syllables as shown below:

(12) 1 syllable morphemes   < 1%

      2 syllable morphemes   75-80%

      3 syllable morphemes   15-20%

      4 syllable morphemes   2- 3%

All consonant phonemes can fill the onset position of the syllable. All consonant phonemes with the exception of /j/ʔ can fill the coda position of the syllable. While all consonant phonemes can fill the onset and coda positions, there are co–occurence restrictions. The only consonant clusters within morphemes are: voiceless, continuant, and nasal geminates; combinations of a nasal and a following stop; and /k/ followed by a voiced stop or /l/. Therefore, only the following intramorphemic clusters occur: pp, tt, kk, ll, ss, hh, ~~bb~~, mm, nn, ŋŋ, mp, nt, ŋk, mb, nd, ŋg, kb, kd, kg, and kl.[10]

2.4 Phonological Processes.

In this section we will look at some of the phonological processes which occur in PUS. The full meanings and usages of PUS morphemes will be dealt with in

chapters 4, 5, and 6. For the present we are only concerned with phonological aspects of the language.

The only consonant phonemes which can occur morpheme final (and hence, word final) in PUS are /k/ and /m/. It stands to reason, then, that some of the most frequent phonological processes involve these two phonemes.

When /k/ occurs syllable final, the following process holds:

(13) k-weakening:

$$/k/ \quad \longrightarrow \quad [?] \quad / \underline{\quad} \quad \begin{Bmatrix} C \\ - \end{Bmatrix}$$

(14)   a.   /ulik/   [úli?]   'rope'

          b.   /bojok/   [bójo?]   'squash'

          c.   /bakba/   [bá?ba]   'door'

          d.   /mak-tulak/ [ma?túla?]   'speak'

          e.   /mak-oto/   [ma?óto]   'go by car'

Syllable final /k/ becomes [?]. This process applies within the morpheme when /k/ is followed by a consonant, and before morpheme boundaries. Why do I posit /k/ as the underlying phoneme and not */?/, when in fact [?] occurs more frequently than [k] at the surface level? The phonemes /p,t,k/ form a natural class of [+consonantal, –continuant, –voice]. The phonemes /p,t,*?/ do not form such a natural class. Also, it is more natural to consider the phoneme /k/ weakening to [?] in the syllable final position than to consider the phoneme */?/ strengthening to [k] in the syllable initial position. [k] occurs word and syllable initial as do [p] and [t]. Based on this natural class of stops I have chosen to posit /k/ as the underlying phoneme rather than /?/.

An exception to k-weakening is another process called k-sibilantization which takes place when word final /k/ is followed by the derivational morpheme -am. In such cases, /k/ changes to [s].[11]

```
(15)  k-sibilantization:

          /k/ -->    [s] / ___ - am ⌉
                                     ⌋
                             suffix
```

```
(16)  a./pak-pe-tuak-am/    [pa?petuásam]    'view'

      b./ki-tulak-am/       [kitulásam]      'we tell (him)'

      c./baluk-am/          [balúsam]        'merchandise'
```

A process related to k-sibilantization takes place in the language of Toraja Saqdan, in which root final /q/ becomes [r] or [s] before the derivational suffix -an. Sometimes the same base can have both 'r' and 's' derivations with no difference in meaning. Although I am presenting a synchronic analysis in which we see /k/ —> [s], historically it seems that the process has gone the other direction. Concerning Toraja Sa'dan, Mills (1975:97) writes:

> Even though the majority of bases have derivations with only one or the other consonant, the presence of final /r/ or /s/ in underlying forms is still . . . debatable. . . . it is fairly clear that Sa'dan speakers view the process as (synchronically)

> q —> r,s / ____ + an

> rather than

> r,s, —> q / ____ #

> Only such a change in the rules will account for the presence of /r/ or /s/ in the doublets, and for the fact that these inserted consonants for the most part have little relationship with the reconstructible PSS [Proto South Sulawesi] or PAN [Proto Austronesian] final, and thus must be the result of analogy.[12]

PUS has taken the analogy one step further and regularlized the process so that all (historically) non–nasal final consonants are now realized as [ʔ] word final and [s] before the derivational suffix –am.[13]

It is significant to note here that in addition to /k/ changing to [s], the consonant also changes from being the coda of the morpheme final syllable to taking the onset position of the following syllable. Thus /ba.luk.am/ becomes [ba.lú.sam]. K–sibilantization applies before k–weakening in a bleeding order relationship. Derivation (17) demonstrates both of the preceding 'k–rules':

```
(17)       Underlying form        /la-ku-pak-tappak-am-ko/

           k-sibilantization      la-ku-pak-tappas-am-ko

           k-weakening            la-ku-paʔ-tappas-am-ko

           stress                 la-ku-paʔ-tappás-am-ko

           new syllabification    la-ku-paʔ-tappá.s-am-ko

           Surface form           [lakupaʔtappásaŋko]

                                  'I'll wash-clothes for you.'
```

As earlier noted, several major phonological processes of PUS also involve the phoneme /m/. The general rules for morpheme–final /m/ follow.

First we will look at what occurs when a nasal is followed by a non–syllabic phoneme.

When a nasal is followed by a stop (p,t,k,b,d,g) or another nasal (m,n,ŋ), the nasal assimilates to the same point of articulation as the following consonant.

(18) Nasal assimilation:

$$[+\text{nasal}] \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \alpha \text{ anterior} \\ \beta \text{ coronal} \end{bmatrix} / \underline{\hspace{2em}} \begin{bmatrix} -\text{syllabic} \\ \alpha \text{ anterior} \\ \beta \text{ coronal} \end{bmatrix}^{14}$$

This rule applies across morpheme and word boundaries.

(19) a. /um-tibe-æk/   --> [untíbeæ?]   'I throw away'

     b. /daham-ku/   --> [daháŋku]   'my horse'

     c. /tedom-na/   --> [tedónna]   'his buffalo'

     d. /mem-kæhæ/   --> [meŋkǽhæ]   'to work'

     e. /pissam di-ande/ --> [píssan diánde]   'eaten at once'

     f. /asam kale-ku/   --> [ásaŋ kaléku]   'my whole body'

There are two further processes closely related to nasal assimilation. Continuantization results in a continuant geminate, and consonant deletion retains the nasal and deletes the following consonant. Both of these processes are ordered after nasal assimilation. First we look at what generally occurs when a nasal is followed by a continuant, i.e., /l,ƀ,s,h/. When this occurs the nasal undergoes total assimilation in all features, thus resulting in a geminate so that /m-l, m-ƀ, m-s, m-h/ —> [ll, ƀƀ, ss, hh].

(20) Continuantization:

$$[+\text{nasal}] \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} +\text{continuant} \\ \alpha \text{ voice} \end{bmatrix} / \underline{\hspace{2em}} \begin{bmatrix} -\text{syllabic} \\ +\text{continuant} \\ \alpha \text{ voice} \end{bmatrix}$$

This rule applies across morpheme and word boundaries. The following examples show the underlying form and the surface form after <u>nasal assimilation</u> and <u>continuantization</u> occur.

(21) a. /um-sakka/   -> [u<u>ss</u>ákka]   'catch (fish)'

       b. /um-habik/   -> [u<u>hh</u>ábi?]   'hit with device'

       c. /mem-lao/   -> [me<u>ll</u>áo]   'to travel'

       d. /læŋæm hante/   -> [læŋæ<u>h</u> <u>h</u>ánte] 'go up to Hante'

       e. /itim lima-mu-o/ -> [íti<u>l</u> <u>l</u>imámmuo] 'your hands'

The two processes <u>nasal assimilation</u> and <u>continuantization</u> similarly function in English with the prefix <u>in-</u>. Note the assimilation of the nasal in the words 'intolerable' and 'impossible' and the process of continuantization in the words 'illogical' and 'irresponsible' (however in these cases [ll] and [rr] reduce to [l] and [r]).

If possible, it would be better to combine <u>nasal assimilation</u> and <u>continuantization</u> into one rule. As will be shown in <u>consonant deletion</u>, however, they are really two separate—although related—processes.

In a few rare cases involving /m/-final prefixes followed by word initial /p/, /b/, /t/, or /s/, the word initial consonant is deleted, leaving only the nasal. The fact that the nasal is at the point of articulation of the deleted stop bears out that <u>nasal assimilation</u> must be ordered before <u>consonant deletion</u>, which is ordered before <u>continuantization</u>.

(22) Consonant deletion:

$$\left[\begin{array}{cc} \text{[+nasal]} & - \\ 1 & 2 \end{array}\right] \quad \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{+consonant} \\ \text{+anterior} \\ \text{-nasal} \\ 3 \end{array}\right] \quad \text{---> } \quad 1 \quad 2 \quad \phi$$

prefix
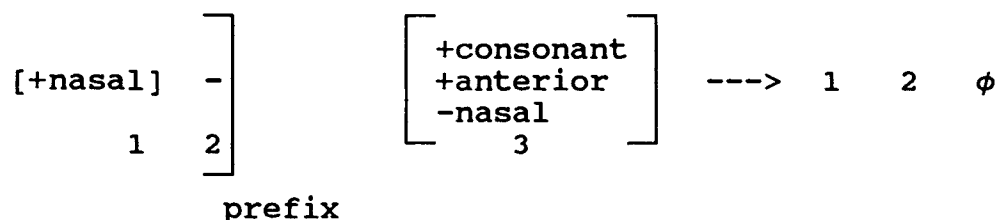
It must be noted that in order to form a natural class for this rule I have used [+anterior] which also includes /d/ and /l/ (as well as /b/, but it rarely appears word initial). To date, no cases of this process have actually been found involving /d/ and /l/. At this writing I do not know whether the fact that both /d/ and /l/ are voiced alveolars eliminates them from consonant deletion or whether it is just a matter of infrequency of occurrences of the application of this rule. In any case, because of the randomness of the occurrences, the roots involved will have to be marked in the lexicon as [+consonant deletion]. Following are examples from the roots /sobe/ 'to burn', /suhak/ 'write', /tottæk/ 'pierce', and /bisæk/ 'split wood with axe'.

(23)

U. form	/mam-sobe/	/mam-suhak/	/mam-tottæk/	/mam-bisæk/
Nas Asim	man-sobe	man-suhak	man-tottæk	-----
Cons. del	man-_obe	-----	man-_ottæk	mam-_isæk
Con'z'tion	-----	mas-suhak	-------	------
k-weak	-----	mas-suha?	man- ottæ?	mam- isæ?
Stress	man- óbe	mas-súha?	man- óttæ?	mam- ísæ?
Surface	[manóbe]	[massúha?]	[manóttæ?]	[mamísæ?]

So we see that while /suhak/ is unaffected by consonant deletion, /sobe/ /tottæk/ and /bisæk/ must be labeled [+consonant deletion].

Next we will examine the processes which take place when a vowel follows /m/ intermorphemically. When the prefixes mam-, mem-, pem-, pam-, and sam- occur before a vowel–initial word, /m/ becomes geminate [ŋŋ]

```
(24) m:ŋ-gemination:

-  C V [+nasal]  - V  --> 1 2  ⎡-anterior⎤ ⎡-anterior⎤ 4
   1 2    3        4             ⎢-coronal ⎥ ⎢-coronal ⎥
                                 ⎣   3     ⎦ ⎣   3     ⎦
```

```
(25)
```

a. /mam-allo/   [məŋŋállo]   'to sun'

b. /mem-olokolok/   [meŋŋoloʔóloʔ]   'animal-like'

c. /di-po-pak-pam-ohhok/ [dipopaʔpəŋŋóhhoʔ] 'to land-fill'

d. /pem-andak-am/   [peŋŋandásam]   'handle'

e. /sam-ampim/   [səŋŋámpim]   'a section (of a mat)'

When the transitive prefix um– occurs before a vowel–initial word, /u/ metathesizes with /m/ resulting in the prefix [mu] (not to be confused with second person pronominal prefix mu-). For examples of um– before a consonant–initial word, refer to nasal assimilation and continuantization.

```
(26) um-mu metathesis:

-  u m - ⎤ V --> 2 1 3
   1 2   ⎦ 3
       prefix
```

(27) a. /um-alli-æk/   [muálliæ?]   'I buy (bananas)'

      b. /um-ita-ko/   [muítako]   'you see (the bird)'

      c. /um-ælæ-i-kik/ [muǽlæiki?]   'we remove (it)'

Derivational suffixes with the form –am occur both on verbs and nouns. In both cases, when word final /m/ is followed by –am, /m/ becomes [ŋ].

(28) nasal velarization:

$$[+nasal] \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix} -anterior \\ -coronal \end{bmatrix} / \underline{\hspace{1cm}} - V \ [+nasal] \ -$$

Note how /m/—>[ŋ] when the suffix –am is added to roots such as /hapam/ 'example', /eham/ 'ladder', and /tanam/ 'to plant'.

(29)   a. /pe-hapam-am/ --> [pehapaŋam] 'moral story'

        b. /po-eham-am/   --> [poehaŋam]   'ladder materials'

        c. /ku-tanam-am/ --> [kutanaŋam] 'I plant for (him)'

Nasal velarization is iterative as shown in (30).

(30) Underlying form   /baŋom-am-am-æk/

      k-weakening   baŋom-am-am-æ?

      nasal velarization   baŋoŋ-am-am-æ?

      nasal velarization   baŋoŋ-aŋ-am-æ?

      stress   baŋoŋ-áŋ-am-æ?

      other...

      Surface form   [baŋoŋǽŋænnæ?]

                           'Raise (him) for me.'

I showed above in <u>nasal velarization</u> that [m] becomes [ŋ] when followed by a suffix with the form –<u>am</u>. In other cases of word final /m/ followed by a vowel, whether across morpheme or word boundary, /m/ becomes [nn]. The rule <u>m:n–gemination</u> will demonstrate this occurrence.

(31) m:n-gemination:

$$
m \quad \left\{ \begin{matrix} - \\ \# \end{matrix} \right\} \quad V \quad \text{---}> \quad n \quad n \quad 2 \quad 3
$$
$$
1 \qquad 2 \qquad 3
$$

So <u>m:n–gemination</u> states that whenever /m/ is followed by an affix, clitic, or word boundary which is in turn followed by a vowel; the /m/ geminates, becoming [nn], as is illustrated in (32):

(32)   a. /ku-issam-i/   -->   [kuíssanni]   'I know it'

         b. /daham-o/   -->   [dáhanno]   '(that) horse'

         c. /mam-anam-æk/ -->   [məŋŋánannæ?]   'I am weaving.'

         d. /asam#aka/   -->   [ásan náka]   'all of them?'

         e. /di-kuhæm-i/   -->   [dikuhǽnni]   'to decrease'

Contrary to expectation, <u>m:n–gemination</u> does not take place in the case of the perfective clitics followed by the first person clitic –<u>æk</u>.

The perfective clitic occurs in three forms as shown in (33):

(33)

a. When following a vowel, the form is -m:

     lakbi-m   --> [lá?bim]   'already more'

     pitu-m   --> [pítum]   'already seven'

b. When following a /k/, the form is -um:

    mammak-um   --> [mámma?um]   'already asleep'

    lekbak-um   --> [lé?ba?um]   'already left'

c. When following a /m/, the form is -mi:

    uham-mi   --> [úhammi]   'already raining'

    asam-mi   --> [ásammi]   'already all of them'

Derivation (34) demonstrates how perfective clitic -m does not become [nn] when followed by -æk.

(34)   Underlying form   /mam-ande-m-æk/

       ŋ-gemination   maŋŋ-ande-m-æk

       k-weakening   maŋŋ-ande-m-æ?

       m:n-gemination   ----------   Not *maŋŋ-ande-nn-æ?

       stress   maŋŋ-ánde-m-æ?

       other...

       Surface form   [məŋŋándemæ?]   Not *[məŋŋándennæ?]
                          'I've eaten.'

The derivation in (34) shows how, contrary to expectation, the perfective clitic -m does not undergo m:n-gemination. The same is true when the perfective clitic form -um precedes the first person clitic -æk.

Possessiveness in PUS is shown by the addition of the appropriate possessive pronoun suffix to the possessed nominal word. When the nominal word ends in the vowels /i/, /u/, and in many cases, /a/, a nasal excrescent 'N' is inserted before the possessive suffix. However, when a nominal word ends in /e/, /æ/, or /o/ there is no insertion of N. This rule does not readily lend itself to formalization as it randomly

applies to words which end in /a/. It is notable, however, that nasal insertion *always* applies to high vowels and *never* applies to mid vowels.

```
(35)  Underlying form      /punti-mu/    /asu-ku/

      nasal insertion      puntiN̲-mu     asuN̲-ku

      nasal assimilation   puntim̲-mu     asuŋ̲-ku

      stress               puntím̲-mu     asúŋ̲-ku

      Surface form         [puntímmu]    [asúŋku]

                           'your banana'  'my dog'
```

Note that nasal insertion must come before nasal assimilation.

The derivations in (36) show how some words which end with /a/ undergo nasal insertion while others do not:

```
(36)  Underlying form      /banua-na/    /sola-na/

      nasal insertion      banuaN̲-na     ----

      nasal assimilation   banuan̲-na     ----

      stress               banuán̲-na     solá̲-na

      Surface form         [banuánna]    [solána]

                           'his house'   'his friend'
```

In a rule involving vowel weakening, unstressed /a/ raises to [ə] before a sequence of /ŋ/ followed by a non-syllabic phoneme.

```
(37)  a-raising:


          a        -->   ə   /  ____      ŋ    [-syllabic]
       [-stress]
```

```
(38)  U.  form       /mam-allo/   /saŋŋim/   /mam-kekek/

      nasal assim.   -------      ----       maŋ-kekek

      ŋ-gem.         maŋŋ-allo    ----       ------

      stress         maŋŋ-állo    sáŋŋim     maŋ-kékek

      a-raising      məŋŋ-állo    ----       məŋ-kékek

      k-weakening    ------       ----       məŋ-kéke?

      Surface form   [məŋŋállo]   [sáŋŋim]   [məŋkéke?]

                     'to sun'     'all'      'to bite'
```

Before <u>a-raising</u> can occur any rule involving the generation of [ŋŋ] must occur. Therefore, as shown above, <u>nasal assimilation</u> and <u>ŋ-gemination</u> precede <u>a-raising</u>. Also, <u>stress placement</u> must precede this rule since stressed /a/ is not affected.

Table 3 presents the rules I have covered in this chapter. While not all rules in PUS are ordered, there are, as we have seen, several sets of rules which must be ordered. Only the rules related A–B(–C) are actually ordered with respect to each other. The remaining rules are placed arbitrarily on the chart.

2.6 Orthographic Considerations.

While PUS is not often written, some speakers of PUS do occasionally write their language. Based on informal observations it is clear to me that because of local opinions and practices, the orthography cannot be based totally on (morpho)phonemic aspects as presented in this paper.

I suggest the following symbols for the PUS orthography: p, t, k, q, b, d, g, j, m, n, ng, l, h, s, w, i, e, ä, a, o, and u. Refer to table 4, the following discussion, and to the analysis in this paper for a clarification of these suggested symbols.

Table 3.--PUS (Ordered) Morphophonemics Rules

```
1.   nasal insertion      A
                          |
2.   nasal assim.         B   A   A
                              |   |
3.   cons. deletion           |   B
                              |   |
4.   cont'ization             |   C
                              |
5.   m:ŋ-gemination           |           A
                              |           |
6.   vocative stress          |           |       A
     ─────────────────────────┼───────┼───┼──────────────
7.   stress place.            |       |   B   A
                              |       |       |
8.   a-raising                B       B       B
                                              
9.   k-sib'ization                                A
                                                  |
10.  k-weakening                                  B

11.  m:n-gemination

12.  um-mu metathesis

13.  nasal velarization
```

Table 4.--PUS Orthographic Symbols

Consonants		Vowels	
Morphophonemic characters	Orthographic symbols	Morphophonemic characters	Orthographic symbols
/p/	p	/i/	i[15]
/t/	t	/e/	e
/k/	k, q, s	/æ/	ä
/b/	b	/a/	a
/d/	d	/o/	o
/g/	g	/u/	u
/j/	j		
/m/	m, n, ng, s, h, l[16]		
/n/	n		
/ng/	ng		
/l/	l		
/ƀ/	w		
/s/	s		
/h/	h		

As was stated earlier, the phonemes /k/ and /m/ (being the only morpheme final consonants) undergo several processes which result in a variety of surface forms. Generally, PUS speakers who write their language use symbols which correspond to these surface forms.

Specifically, when /m/ undergoes <u>nasal assimilation</u> or <u>continuantization</u> or any other process which results in a change of point of articulation or manner of articulation, or causes deletion, insertion, or gemination of a nasal; that change is reflected (i.e., symbolized) in the orthography.

The one exception to the above is when word final /m/ is followed by a continuant which phonetically results in continuantization of the nasal. In this case PUS speakers generally choose 'm' (the form found on words in isolation) as the preferred symbol (my choice as well).

When /k/ is replaced by [s] due to <u>k–sibilantization</u> the symbol 's' is used. However, when /k/ undergoes <u>k–weakening</u> (resulting in [ʔ]) the decision about which symbol to use is not so straightforward. Some PUS speakers prefer writing an apostrophe ('), while others favor 'k'. We have noted that some PUS speakers switch back and forth even when writing the same word a second time. In recent years the symbol 'q' has been introduced by Indonesian linguists as the favored symbol for the glottal stop in Torajan related languages. I have also adopted this symbolization and it has been well received by PUS readers. The 'q' symbol is especially helpful with words which have a glottal stop followed by a vowel. If 'k' is used the tendancy is to read the 'k' as if it is [k] and the onset of a syllable rather than [ʔ] syllable final; e.g., [léʔbaʔi] 'he left' may be read [léʔbaki] if written as *<u>lekbaki</u> rather than <u>leqbaqi</u>.

At the onset of this chapter I stated that the PUS examples in the remainder of this thesis will be written orthographically. The one exception to this will be my

symbolization of nasal–final morphemes. These will be written morphophonemically, i.e., showing morpheme final m̲, to ease identification.

NOTES

[1]There are no phonemic glides in PUS. The only glides present are allophones of /i/ and /u/. These allophones occur when preceding a stressed vowel. In this environment /i/ —> [y] and /u/ —> [w]. For example: /iolo/ —> [yólo] 'first'; /uase/ —> [wáse] 'axe'. This process only occurs in a few words.

[2]See Stromme (1987) for a detailed discussion of the various dialects of PUS.

[3]To my knowledge, the form [uwe] is used only in the village of Kihaq, which is between the Salu Mukanam and Mehalaan dialect areas. [ube], [ube], and [uhe] are spoken in the Salu Mukanam/Mehalaan, Bambam/Bumal/Issilita', and Pakkau/Matangnga dialects respectively.

[4]I use the term 'word' to refer to *morphemes* which can stand alone as meaningful units or to *combinations of morphemes* which form meaningful units. Derivational or inflectional affixes can form part of a word, but they never constitute a word independent of other morphemes. In this chapter, when I refer to a phonological feature or process I will generally state whether it occurs morpheme final or word final. If a rule states that a process occurs **morpheme final**, it always implies that the process also occurs word final, since the word final position always co-occurs with a morpheme final position (i.e., the last morpheme in the word). Conversely, if a rule states that a process occurs **word final** it does not imply that the rule occurs morpheme final, as there are morpheme final positions which are not word final (e.g., the final phoneme in a prefix).

[5]Two factors identify morphemes as clitics in PUS. First of all, clitics, unlike suffixes, are mobile. Verbal clitics, for example, can attach to the end of a verb or to the end of a verb modifier, be it pre-verbal or post-verbal. Clitics are attached in a particular order. For example, the plural clitic -aq attaches to a stem after all

other suffixes and clitics are attached. Therefore, other constituents can come between -aq and the stem to which it normally attaches. The second defining feature of clitics is that they do not affect the stress of the stem to which they attach.

[6]Some examples in this thesis will refer to a person named 'Ani'. In those examples I have chosen to replace the real names of my PUS friends with the fictitious name, 'Ani', in order to respect their privacy. The reader will note that 'Ani' does not refer to one particular person, i.e., 'Ani' may be a man in one example and a child in the next.

[7]I write the last syllable division as CVC/V (instead of the more conventional VC/V) in order to demonstrate that within the word the division VC/V only occurs when the first of the two syllables is CVC. Only across clitic/word boundaries do we find .VC/.V patterns. See discussion below on juxtaposed syllable patterns.

[8]The symbol [^] indicates a rearticulation of the vowel sound. This indicates that the vowel is not a lengthened vowel, nor are the two vowels separated by a full glottal stop.

[9]The phoneme /j/ rarely occurs, so it is not surprising that there are gaps in its distribution.

[10]An argument can be made for positing /k/ and /m/ as the only *syllable* final consonant phonemes (see 2.4 where I discuss their morpheme final status). This argument is based on the assumption that phonological processes which occur across morpheme boundaries also occur within the morpheme. However enticing such an approach is, I have decided to take the conservative stand in this thesis. Finding patterns within the morpheme which parallel intermorphemic processes allows for neatness of analysis, yet there is no independent proof that such underlying forms exist. For example, I can not show that the underlying form of the morpheme [bahhaq] 'rice' is really /bamhaq/, even though there is a rule (see <u>continuantization</u>

in section 2.4.) which changes morpheme final /m/ to [h] when preceding a morpheme intial /h/.

[11]An alternate hypothesis would be that the underlying form of the derivational morpheme is *-sam. If this were the case, the /s/ would be lost in all positions except after /k/. When the stem final consonant is /k/, then /k/ would be deleted and /s/ would remain. The reason for the loss of one of the consonants (either the stem final consonant or the /s/) would, perhaps, be to avoid unallowable consonant clusters. However, this argument is weakened when we consider vowel final stems such as ande 'to eat'. When derivational -am is attached, there is no /s/ present: ande + am —> [andéam] 'something edible', not *[andésam]. There are no conditioning factors which require the deletion of /s/ before a vowel final stem.

[12]Mills posits the set of final consonants in Proto South Sulawesi as (p?), t, k, m, n, ng, r, h, l, and s (1975:334–5). The fact that Toraja Sa'dan only produces 'r' and 's' before derivational -an, and PUS only produces 's' before derivational -am, leads to Mills' conclusion that a neutralization of consonants before the derivational suffixes is a result of analogy.

[13]Some PUS speakers produce [k] in the position before the suffix -am, (i.e., /tulaq-am/ —> [tulákam]), but such pronunciation is considered by most to be substandard.

[14]The feature [–syllabic] allows all consonants, not just stops and nasals, to undergo this rule. The continuants (/l,b,s,h/) will be further affected by continuantization. The features [α anterior] and [β coronal] used together represent the four possible combinations: [+anterior] [–coronal], [+anterior] [+coronal], [–anterior] [+coronal] and, [–anterior] [–coronal].

[15]Some PUS speakers prefer to use the symbols 'y' and 'w' for the allophones [y] and [w]. See note 1.

[16]The multiple symbols used to represent the morphophoneme /m/ reflects how PUS speakers prefer a phonemically based orthography rather than one based on morphophonemic representations.

3. WORD ORDER TYPOLOGY

Before spotlighting particular aspects of PUS grammar, I will here present a brief overview of PUS word order typology. The observations I make in this chapter spring from the word order characteristics outlined by Greenberg (1966b) in his seminal paper on grammar universals.

Greenberg compiled forty two language universals, twenty five of which relate to word order. Greenberg was not chiefly interested in establishing principles underlying his word order statements, but rather in establishing empirical generalizations (Greenberg 1966b:75). Subsequent word order studies carried out by other linguists (e.g., Vennemann 1972, Lehmann 1973, Hawkins 1983) have taken more of an explanatory approach to word order universals.

I will show in this chapter that the *basic* clause order for PUS is VO. The majority of PUS clauses, in fact, have a SVO word order.[1] However, most of the SVO clauses involve the ergative pronoun set as subject.[2] It would be more desirable to base the 'typical' clause structure on clauses which have nouns rather than pronouns as subjects. However, the preponderance of pronominal subjects as compared to nominal subjects makes such an evaluation impractical.[3] Therefore, from a purely statistical basis, I will somewhat reluctantly state that the *typical* constituent order in a PUS clause is SVO.

As we study Greenberg's universals, we find that:

> while the existence of verb–initial word order or of SOV word order seems to correlate highly with various other typological parameters of word order, the existence of SVO word order does not seem to correlate particularly well with any other parameter (Comrie 1981:90).

39

Thus, the basic constituent order of VO may provide more of a basis for arriving at generalizations than does the SVO order.

When I state that I am basing this overview of PUS word order on Greenberg's work, I do not wish to imply that his universals will apply directly to the discussion, but rather that the general framework of word order parameters which he presented will provide a pattern for inquiry. It is not my purpose here to discuss in detail the various arguments related to word order universals, but rather to concisely present an overview of PUS structure. It is my hope that such a presentation will provide the reader with a helpful introduction to the basic characteristics of PUS grammar as well as a convenient reference for additional typological studies.

3.1 Basic Order Typology

Greenberg set up a typology based on basic factors of word order. He used three sets of criteria: a) the presence of prepositions as opposed to postpositions; b) the relative order of subject, verb, and object in declarative sentences; and c) the position of qualifying adjectives relative to the noun (1966b:76–77).

PUS is a prepositional language. This ordering is illustrated in (1) where the adposition <u>dipe</u> occurs before the noun <u>banua</u>

```
(1)    deem      tohho dipe banua
       there is stay  at    house
       '(some people) stayed at the house'
```

The typical structure of simple clauses in PUS is SVO (or VO in Vennemann's (1972) classification). As will be shown in chapter 4, there are plenty of exceptions to the SVO order, but the elementary order is SVO as illustrated in example (2).

```
(2)   ku-      hingngi indo änäq -ku
      1s(ERG)-hear     that child-1s
      'I heard that child of mine'
```

Adjectives generally follow the noun they qualify in PUS.

```
(3)   asu kasalle
      dog large
      'a large dog'
```

3.2 Further Ordering Parameters

Greenberg (1966b:78) stated that "the genitive almost always follows the governing noun" in prepositional languages. The possessor always follows the possessed noun in PUS.

```
(4)   änäq -ku
      child-1s
      'my child'
```

Givón (1984:189) states that a language which "has the order VERB–OBJECT (VO) in simple clauses . . . should have the order NOUN–MODIFIER (N–M) in noun phrases." We saw in (3) that this is indeed the case for PUS noun–adjective relationships. Givón later states (1984:223) that quantifiers or numeral modifiers may correlate with the head noun in an order which differs from the predicted N–M order. This may be due to diachronic processes which determine the positions of the quantifiers or numeral modifiers. PUS quantifiers and numbers differ from adjectives, appearing instead in the pre–nominal position.

```
(5)   a. mesa hante
         one  flat area

      b. buda tau
         many people
```

Determiners always precede the noun in PUS noun phrases. PUS contrasts with Indonesian in which the determiner <u>itu</u> 'that' normally comes in the final position of the noun phrase (see example 9). Note example (6) in which both a determiner and a number word modify the head noun. In this case the number moves to the post–nominal position.

```
(6)    indo änäq-ku   mesa
       that child-1s one
       'that one child of mine'
```

In languages around the world the two most common types of relative clauses are the *postnominal*, in which the relative clause follows the head, and the *prenominal*, in which the relative clause precedes the head (Comrie 1981:137). Keenan (1985:144) writes:

> In verb–medial languages of the SVO sort, postnominal RCS are the overwhelming norm and are to our knowledge always the dominant or most productive form of RC.

Relative clauses in PUS are normally postnominal. In the relative clause shown in (7) the head noun is followed by the relative clause which begins with <u>to</u> 'which'.

```
(7)    indo sikunna banua to    puham   disalii ingngenaq
       that corner  house which finish floored earlier
       'that corner of the house which was floored earlier'
```

Just as determiners precede nouns in PUS, auxiliaries precede verbs (example 8). This is similar to Indonesian in which auxiliaries (e.g., <u>harus</u> 'must') also precede the verb (9).

```
(8)    dotam  umpapiam-kiaq        ongeam
       better make     -1plin(ABS) place
       'we'd best make ourselves a place'
```

```
(9)    dia harus membaca buku itu
       he  must  read     book that
       'he must read that book'
```

Negative words always precede the main verb in a clause. Stative verbs functioning as adverbs (sections 5.1 and 6.5) also precede the main verb.

```
(10)   tääq ku-      issam sanga-N-na
       NEG  1s(ERG)-know  name -E-his
       'I do not know his name'
```

```
(11)   masimpam mentiaq
       quick    fly
       'fly quickly'
```

In addition to pre–verbal adverbs, there are also several post–verbal adverbs (see section 6.5), e.g., <u>bäbä</u> 'simply'.

```
(12)   maq-pahandam-handam bäbä  -äq
       INT-view     -view  simply-1s(ABS)
       'I'm simply looking at the view'
```

In his twenty seventh word order universal Greenberg (1966:112b) stated that "if a language is exclusively suffixing, it is postpositional; if it is exclusively prefixing, it is prepositional." PUS does not fit either of those categories since it has both prefixes and suffixes. However, one might extrapolate Greenberg's universal and conclude that languages which have a preponderance of prefixes as opposed to suffixes would be prepositional. This is the case with PUS which has many more prefixes than suffixes.

Comrie (1981:91) writes that "there is a high correlation between having the auxiliary after the verb and having suffixes and having the auxiliary before the verb and having prefixes." Again, PUS complies with the 'norm' as it has pre–verbal auxiliaries and more prefixes than suffixes.

In this chapter we have briefly considered general word order characteristics of PUS. I did not discuss the 'why's and wherefore's' of the structure of PUS but rather presented the reader with a quick tour of PUS word order strategy. In the remainder of this thesis I will present a more in–depth view of various aspects of PUS morphology and syntax.

NOTES

[1]In this chapter's discussion of basic word order I will use the terms subject (S), verb (V), and object (O) since they are the terms used by Greenberg to describe the constituents of a transitive clause. However, in the remainder of the thesis I will use the following terms:

actor   the *surface* constituent which refers to the initiator, the source, or the experiencer (with words like siqdim 'feel') of the predication in a transitive clause.

object   the *surface* constituent which refers to the undergoer (the patient, the location, the recipient or the goal) of a transitive clause.

subject   the *surface* argument in an intransitive clause.

agent   the *underlying* initiator, source, or experiencer (see **actor**) of events.

undergoer   the *underlying* patient, location, recipient, or goal of events.

[2]I will present a discussion on ergativity in chapter 4.

[3]In chapter 4, I will show that when nominals are present in actor focus or antipassive constructions, the constituent order can be SVO, VSO, or VOS. Note that the subject moves around, while the verb and object retain a VO ordering relationship.

4. FOCUS AND ERGATIVITY

PUS verb morphology is intertwined with constituents traditionally considered to be at the clause level, e.g., the arguments of the verb can be affixed to the verb stem in the forms of pronominal prefixes and enclitics. This type of construction suggests that PUS is agglutinative in nature and indeed it does exhibit corresponding characteristics with an array of prefixes and suffixes, as well as clitics, which can serially attach to the verb stem.

PUS words are typically constructed by the addition of morphemes to a base. The boundaries between the morphemes are usually obvious. Morphemes may change shape according to their phonological environment (see 2.4); however, their alteration is generally minimal, such that one can still distinguish unique morphemes.

In this chapter and the chapters which follow we will see how PUS verbal affixes and clitics carry significant functional weight as they perform such tasks as deriving verbs from nouns, changing the valency of the predication, indicating the nature and involvement of the participants, shifting the aspect of the activity, and affecting the focus of the clause.

Like its Philippine neighbors to the north, PUS has a focus system[1]; albeit in a comparatively weak form. Focus is related to the relationship between the verb and its participants. It indicates the *centrality* or *salience* of a particular argument to the predication. Focus is the surface device used to signal which of the underlying arguments, i.e., agent or undergoer, is central to the clause.

Unlike most of the Philippine–type languages, PUS has no topic (or case) markings on the nominal arguments of the verb.[2] The only arguments on the verb which indicate case are the bound pronouns, which bear the dual function of person marker and focus indicator. An understanding of the pronominal system is key to comprehending PUS clause structure (4.1).

Ergativity is a term used to refer to a morphosyntactic relationship in which the intransitive subject is treated in the same way as the transitive object, while the transitive subject is treated in a different manner (Dixon 1979, Comrie 1978).[3] In PUS, absolutive/ergative case inflections are limited to the arguments represented by pronominal affixes on the verb stem (see table 5 in section 4.1). There are no case markings on nouns.

Following the presentation on pronoun sets in PUS, I will further discuss the topics of focus and ergativity in PUS.

4.1 Pronoun Sets

PUS has four pronoun sets. Members of two of the sets play vital roles in forming particular focus constructions in PUS clauses. For the purpose of clarification I will briefly discuss all four pronoun sets, as presented in table 5 before proceeding with the presentation of PUS clauses and verb morphology.

Table 5.--PUS Pronoun Sets

	1 Absolutive clitics	2 Ergative prefixes		3 Possessive suffixes	4 Free Pronouns
Singular					
1	-äq	ku-		-ku	kao/kadoq
2	-ko	mu-		-mu	iko
3	φ/-i	na-		-na	ia
Plural					
1duin	-kiq	ta-		-ta	kita
1plin	-kiaq	ta-	-aq	-ta-aq	kita
1ex	-kam	ki-		-ki	kamiq
2	-ko-aq	mu-	-aq	-mu-aq	iko-aq
3	φ/-i	na-	(-aq)	-na	φ

Pronouns in set 1, the **absolutive pronoun set**, take the form of clitics. The reader will note that the second person plural form is simply the second person singular form -ko plus an additional word-final plural clitic -aq. This same plural clitic also appears in sets 2, 3 and 4.

Set 1 absolutive (ABS) clitics attach to the constituents of the verb phrase according to the order presented in table 6.

Table 6.--Location of Absolutive Clitics

NEG-ABS	PRE-VERBAL MODIFIERS -(ABS)	VERB-(ABS)	POST-VERBAL MODIFIERS -(ABS)
1	2	3	2

In negative clauses, the absolutive always attaches to the negative word which is always the first word in the clause (see example (1a) and section 6.4). In non-

negative clauses in which there are post–verbal modifiers or pre–verbal modifiers, the absolutive always attaches to the end of the modifier (examples (1b,c)).[4] In non–negative clauses which have no verb modifiers, the absolutive clitic attaches to the verb (1d).

(1)   a. tääq-äq   ma- sihhaq mem-lao
          NEG -1s(ABS) STA-quickly INT-go
          'I'm not going quickly'

        b. ma- sihhaq -äq   mem-lao
          STA-quickly-1s(ABS) INT-go
          'I'm going quickly.'

        c. Lao soe   bäbä-äq
          go arm hanging just-1s(ABS)
          'I just go along empty handed'

        d. lao-äq
          go -1s(ABS)
          'I'm going'

The absolutive pronouns are the 'unmarked' set (Dixon 1979:72) functioning as the subject of an intransitive verb, the object of a transitive verb, or as the agent in an antipassive construction (which, as we will see, can be considered a type of intransitive). The absolutive pronoun can also function as the indirect object in a three argument predication. These roles which the absolutive pronoun can fill are illustrated with the first person singular absolutive clitic -äq in (2).

(2)   a. keqdeq-äq
          stand -1s(ABS)
          'I stand'

        b. na-   ita-äq
          3s(ERG)-see-1s(ABS)
          'he sees me'

        c. um-tanam-äq   bunga[5]
          AF-plant-1s(ABS) flower
          'I plant flowers'

```
d. puha    -m -äq      na-       papia-am hadio-ku Ani
   already-PRF-1s(ABS) 3s(ERG)-make -BEN radio-1s
   'Ani has already fixed my radio for me'
```

The only absolutive clitic which does not follow the pattern of roles shown in (2) is the third person clitic -i, which has an optional alternate of zero realization; i.e., often there is no explicit marking for third person.[6] While the clitic -i can optionally mark the subject of an intransitive verb or the object of a transitive verb, third person agent in an antipassive construction is never explicitly marked. A possible explanation for the zero realization of third person is suggested by Foley and Van Valin (1985:288). They propose that the salience of speech act participants is reflected in pronominal systems. First and second person pronouns correspond to the speaker and addressee while third person pronouns refer to a referent which is further removed from the speech act. Foley and Van Valin (288) write:

> The non-participant status of the third person as opposed to the first and second is reflected in the fact that while all languages have overt morphemes for the first and second persons, many have a zero morpheme for the third.

It could also, however, be argued that the *high* degree of salience of the third person as topic in narrative discourse leads to the zero realization for third person. Since the topic has been established there is no reason to refer to it again.

In PUS the third person form is available, but not always called upon.

Set 2 pronouns form the **ergative set**. These pronouns are prefixed on the verb and fill the role of actor in object focus constructions as we will see in 4.4. Together, Set 1 and Set 2 form an ergative pronominal relationship.

```
(3)    a. na-       dängguq-äq
          3s(ERG)-hit     -1s(ABS)
          'he hit me'

       b. ki-        petuaq-ko     -aq isamaiq
          1plex(ERG)-watch -2s(ABS)-pl yesterday
          'we watched you (pl) yesterday'
```

From a comparative perspective it is instructive to observe that the PUS ergative set of pronouns corresponds with the non–topic or unfocused pronoun set found in Philippine languages. Table 7 shows the unfocused pronouns from one such Philippine language (DuBois 1976:45).

Table 7.--Sarangani Manobo Unfocused Pronouns[7]

<u>Singular</u>

1	ko
2	no
3	din

<u>Plural</u>

1duin	ta
1plin	tadon
1ex	day
2	niyo
3	dan

The unfocused set of Sarangani Manobo pronouns is used when the actor is not in focus. Similarly, set 2 PUS pronouns are used when the focus of the predication is not on the actor, but rather on the object. In Philippine languages the unfocused set of pronouns typically take the form of enclitics on the verb. These same pronominal forms function as possessive pronouns on nouns (DuBois 1976:9,47). The examples in (4) are from Sarangani Manobo (DuBois 1976:46).

(4)   a. in   -in-em **ko** se wayeg
            drink-OF-& 1s   water
            'I drank water'

    b. bata **-ko**
       child-1s
       'my child'

In PUS, set 2 pronouns take the form of prefixes on the verb. The relationship between Philippine unfocused pronouns and PUS set 2 pronouns becomes more obvious when we look at the possessive (set 3) PUS pronouns. Just as Philippine unfocused pronouns also function as possessive pronouns (4), PUS ergative pronominal prefixes (set 2) are almost identical in form with the possessive pronouns (set 3). Like Sarangani Manobo the PUS possessives are suffixed on the nouns they modify (see 2.2).[8]

```
(5)     a. ku-      ihuq  uwai
           1s(ERG)-drink water
           'I drink water'

        b. änäq -ku
           child-1s
           'my child'
```

It appears, then, that for all intents and purposes, PUS sets 2 and 3 are one pronominal set which function like the unfocused Philippine-language pronoun set. I have separated them into two sets in order to emphasize the distinct functions of these pronouns.

Set 3 **possessive pronouns** can also attach to verbs as illustrated in (6).

```
(6)     leqbaq adeq längäm banua anna
        go     said go up   house and

        na-      piseq -i    la- na-      ala -N-na
        3s(ERG)-choose-LOC   IRR-3s(ERG)-take-E-3s
        'It is said that (he) went up to the house
        and he chose the things he would take.'
```

Note the possessive suffix –na on na–ala. This changes the phrase from a meaning 'he will take' to 'the things he will take'.

The possessive suffix –na can also function as a definite article (example (7)).

```
(7)     la- ku-      tulaq-am- ko      Ani wattu-N-na
        IRR-1s(ERG)-talk- BEN-2s(ABS) Ani time- E-DEF
        'I'll tell you, Ani, about the time . . .'
```

Set 4 pronouns are the **free pronouns**; they stand alone as words. Free pronouns are not frequently used in PUS. Unlike sets 1 and 2 which are in an absolutive/ergative relationship, the free pronouns can fill the three roles of subject of intransitive clauses, actor in transitive clause, or object of transitive clause. They never, however, fill the role of possessor or benefactee.

When set 4 pronouns are used, it is for the special purpose of indicating a contrastive sentence topic (cf. Longacre 1968:25). Consider in this regard example (8), which is taken from a folk tale in which four thieves are preparing to steal from a rich man. In the onset of the story they are referred to as a **group** of thieves. Until they arrive at the house there is no mention of the thieves as **individuals**. Upon arrival at the rich man's house, however, each thief announces what special ability he has for carrying out the robbery. All four of the thieves announce: ku–issam kao 'I, myself know (how to . . .)', using free pronoun forms in addition to bound forms:

```
(8)     ku-      issam kao ku-pa-    mammaq asam ingganna
        1s(ERG) know  1s  1s-CAUS-sleep all    all

        issi      -N-na banua
        contents-E-3s house
        '(As for me) I know how to put everyone in the house
        to sleep.'
```

In another folk tale, when two bananas are arguing about who will be chosen by the Buginese trader later that day, the biggest banana replies (see 9) most emphatically that he will be the one chosen. The big banana refers to himself, using the first person pronoun kao.

```
(9)     kao aka     kasalle-äq      kao
        ls  because big     -ls(ABS) ls
        'Me, because, I'm the one who's the biggest'
```

4.2 Focus and Ergativity in PUS

I have already stated that the focus system in PUS is quite limited compared to the focus system of languages of the Philippines. PUS has actor focus and object focus. These are marked solely on the verb, with no corresponding case marking on the nominals. We will see later that PUS also has two 'sub–focus' types, i.e., locative and benefactive. These sub–focus types parallel the locative and instrumental focus constructions commonly found in Philippine languages (Foley and Van Valin 1985:313). However, the locative and benefactive PUS constructions function within actor and object focus clauses, but not independent of them.

In addition to the two focus types (i.e., actor focus and object focus) PUS also has two other morphosyntactic strategies for focusing on the central topic of the clause: the use of **passive** and **antipassive** constructions. Together these four surface constructions form the PUS focus cline.

```
(10)
```

Passive	Object Focus	Actor Focus	Antipassive

```
<------------------------------------------------------------------->
Undergoer                                                     Agent
Focus                                                         Focus
```
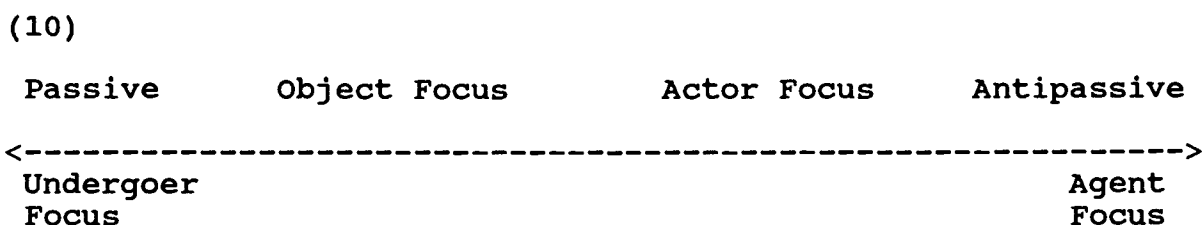
The passive in PUS is the quintessential construction for defocusing the agent and thus focusing the affected participant or patient. The antipassive, on the other hand, is the extreme case of defocusing the undergoer of the predication while focusing on the agent. Object focus is the 'normal' or unmarked structure in PUS

discourse. Actor focus is used for focusing on the agent. Each of these 'focus types' will be discussed in detail below.

Before I present further discussion on focus, I will outline the PUS ergativity system. Ergative morphology in PUS is, as mentioned earlier, restricted to the pronominal verb affixes (see table 5). I will again illustrate (in (11)) the ergative pronominal relationship as previously presented in example (3).

```
(11)    a. na-      dängguq-äq
           3s(ERG)-hit      -1s(ABS)
           'He hit me.'

        b. ki-      petuaq-ko      -aq isamaiq
           1plex(ERG)-watch -2s(ABS)-pl yesterday
           'We watched you (pl) yesterday.'
```

Noun phrases receive no marking for absolutive or ergative case (or any other type of case marking). Free pronouns (see table 5) also lack ergative marking. That is, morphologically, the non-bound arguments (free pronouns and nominals) are all unspecified for ergativity in all syntactic functions. Consequently, PUS ergativity is marked as shown in (12).

```
(12)    1st, 2nd, 3rd pronominal prefix   >  Noun Phrase
        ERGATIVE                             UNSPECIFIED

        1st, 2nd clitic >  3rd clitic     >  Noun Phrase
        ABSOLUTIVE         ABSOLUTIVE/φ       UNSPECIFIED
```

The presence of ergative marking in the bound pronominal affixes and lack of marking on free forms are similarly attested in languages which have verb–agreement marked but have no noun phrase case markings. Comrie (1978:339) states that some Northwest Caucasian languages as well as Mayan languages of Mexico and Central America have an ergative–absolutive verb–agreement system, but lack case marking.

These verb–agreement morphemes can be compared with the pronominal ergative markers in PUS.

The ergative construction (illustrated in (11)) is the most common form used for transitive clauses in PUS. Out of two hundred and ten transitive verbs which I found in ten narrative discourses, 66 percent were of the ergative construction.[9] Concerning the defining characteristics of ergative languages, Cooreman, Fox, and Givón (1988:418) note:

> It is only meaningful to call a language 'ergative', of whatever type, if the bulk of transitive events in discourse are coded by the ergative clause–type.

In this sense, PUS can be considered an ergative type language. Since, however, the ergative characteristics are limited to the pronominal system, PUS is morphologically ergative in a very limited sense. Like many languages which have ergative morphology, PUS does not have ergative syntax (Dixon 1979:63).

In the sections below I will discuss the role of the ergative constructions in PUS grammar as well as each of the four 'focus types'.

4.3 Passives

Dixon (1987:8) writes that "syntactically accusative languages typically have a passive derivation, and ergative ones an anti–passive." PUS, a morphologically ergative language, has both passive and antipassive constructions.

In his discussion of the general properties of passives, Edward Keenan (1985a) refers to a type of passive he calls 'basic passives'. According to Keenan the basic passive has the following characteristics:

> (i) no agent phrase... is present, (ii) the main verb [independent, non–auxiliary] (in its non–passive form) is transitive, and (iii) the main verb expresses an activity, taking agent subjects and patient objects (1985a:247).

The passive in PUS has all three of the defining characteristics of Keenan's 'basic passive'.

Structurally, the passive must be represented by a unique form. Concerning the syntactic aspect of passives, Foley and Van Valin (1985:303) write:

> Passive is signalled by various means across languages, but there is always some mark in the core, usually on the predicate, which signals the passive.

PUS passive constructions are identified by the prefix di-, which is attached to the verb stem as shown in examples (13) and (14).

(13)   tanda-mi sia   di- ita tuam
        sign -PRF really PASS-see landslide
        'The landslide really could be seen.'

(14)   sapo ma- pahhiq   anna ma- pahhiq   aka
        but STA-difficult than STA-difficult because

        anggam inde tallu tedom   di- tunu
        merely this three water buffalo PASS-butcher
        'But it's an extremely difficult situation
        because only these three water buffalos will be
        butchered.'

Mills (1975:165) notes the frequent use of the di- form in South Sulawesi languages and calls it the "passive or goal–focus marker." In most languages of South Sulawesi, including PUS, the agent may not be expressed when di- is used. This contrasts with ergative constructions in which the agent is always present.

> In the prototypical cases, the agent is not omissible in the ergative construction ... but is omissible, and is in fact normally omitted, from the passive construction (Comrie 1988:18).

The absence of an explicit agent is very typical of passives (Shibatani 1985:831). In English, the agent can be optionally omitted in passives; in normal speech the agent is more often omitted than included (Comrie 1988:18). PUS takes this one step further and completely prohibits the explicit expression of agent in passives.

According to the PUS focus cline (10), the passive construction is the ultimate undergoer focus form, focusing on the undergoer to a greater degree than the

object focus clause type. Morphologically, the passive is very similar to the ergative. Example (15) demonstrates how di- takes the same pre-verbal position as the ergative/object focus prefix (in this case ku-).

```
(15)     na-   ua adeq ku-       lambam-pi  liwam na-    ua
         3(ERG)-say said 1s(ERG)-cross -IMPF over  3(ERG)-say

         taia inde leqboq e    aka    mala di- lambam
         not  this sea    PRT  because can  PASS-cross
         'He said, "I'll cross over."  He said, "This isn't the
         sea, because this can be crossed over."
```

Since the passive prefix fills the same morphological slot as the ergative prefix, it could be argued that di- is simply another ergative prefix which has a neutral person meaning. In fact it has been similarly argued that passive prefix di- in Indonesian was derived from the third person pronoun dia (Shibatani 1985:845). Mills (1975:167), on the other hand, argues against considering the passive prefix as an abbreviated form of third person:

> Since the 3d person pronoun in SSul [South Sulawesi] rarely has a /d/ or /r/, there can be little though (sic) of relating the prefix to some 'short form' of the pronoun.[10]

Regardless of its origins, di- in PUS now functions as a passive marker and is syntactically differentiated from the ergative. The ergative construction uses the ergative pronominal prefix and thus obligatorily indicates the actor in pronominal form. This ergative construction can also optionally be accompanied by a nominal agent, while di- may not.

```
(16)     na-       kutana-i -äq       baine-ku
         3s(ERG)-ask   -LOC-1s(ABS) wife -1s
         'My wife asked me.'
```

```
(17)        di- kutana-i  -ko       aka       di- ua
            PASS-ask    -LOC-2s(ABS) because PASS-say

            onge  -am sawum mani -i
            occupy-NR soap  later-LOC
            'You were asked (about it) lest (you want to use it
            as) a soap container later.'
```

Since the PUS ergative construction obligatorily indicates the agent, the passive construction is needed in order to eliminate the agent, as pointed out by Shibatani (1985:836):

> Typical ergative languages with passives are those in which an agent is an integral element of a transitive clause–which perforce cannot be freely omitted; a special device is thus needed to eliminate the agent. Such languages often have agent–marking in the verb of a transitive clause.

The primary function of the passive, then, is that of defocusing the agent and thus focusing on the undergoer of the predication. Shibatani (1985:834) argues that this defocusing of the agent in the passive is "not merely a consequence of an object promotion or of topicalization, but rather is the basic and primary function of the passive construction." Shibatani's contention holds true in PUS and ably explains the role and function of the passive construction in PUS.

The passive is used, "when the singling out of an agent is either impossible or unimportant—because of its being unknown, obvious, or irrelevant" (Shibatani 1985:831). The passive construction is generally employed in text when specifying the agent would disturb the thematic unity of the discourse (Longacre 1983:230). When the passive is used in PUS, the **agent requires no direct attention.** PUS efficiently diminishes such attention by eliminating the agent altogether.

The ergative and the passive constructions are both illustrated in example (18), a section taken from a folk tale about a conflict between a dog and a pig. The dog ends up beating the pig and (18) is used to wrap up the story:

```
(18)    di-  talo  bawi na-    talo  asu
        PASS-defeat pig 3(ERG)-defeat dog
        'The pig was defeated, the dog beat (it).'
```

Note the absence of the agent with di- and the presence of the agent asu 'dog' following the ergative verbal construction na-talo. The passive form di-talo 'defeated' is used to defocus the agent while focusing on the undergoer.

The undergoer bawi in (18) immediately follows the verb. Note example (13) in which the undergoer also immediately follows the verb. While the post–verbal position is a common position for the subject in passives, subjects are also frequently encountered in the pre–verbal position as illustrated by the subject tedom 'water buffalo' in example (14).

Example (14) demonstrates how a speaker can use the passive construction to avoid referring to himself. The speaker in this case was the family representative speaking in front of villagers at a funeral. He was humbly explaining (in a very formal speech) that, for the funeral, the family of the deceased did not have enough water buffalo to butcher one for everyone in attendance, but rather only three would be butchered. The use of the passive di- form enabled the speaker to avoid referring to himself as the source of the water buffalo.

Another similar use of the passive is found in example (17). The speaker in (17) had hesitantly asked if she could have a plastic container. She explained that she asked before taking it, in case the addressee had plans for using the container. Note that there is no indication of agent in the clause. She uses the passive, for pragmatic effect, to avoid referring to herself.

Often the di- form is used in dependent clauses in which not only the agent is absent but the undergoer itself is not explicitly stated in the same clause.

(19)   lao-ko   iko taha-i   indo kaju[11]
           go -2s(ABS) 2s cut -LOC that wood

           la- **di**- beem Puaq Meni
           IRR-PASS-give Puaq Meni
           'You go cut that wood which will be
           given to Puaq Meni.'

(20)   Umba amo   ia ngei tääq deem **di**-   ita
           where don't know 3 place NEG EXT   PASS-see
           'Don't know where he is, (he) hasn't been seen.'

The di- form in (19) is in a relative clause. It is used to refer to the wood which will be given to Puaq Meni, yet neither the wood nor the agent giving the wood are mentioned in immediate association with the verb carrying di-. In this case the undergoer kaju is present in the larger sentence context but is deleted in the relative clause due to coreferentiality with head noun. Similarly, in (20) neither the agent nor the undergoer of the action of the second clause is explicitly stated in that clause.

The passives are the most common PUS verb constructions in procedural discourse:

(21)   puha -i   uma   ia **di** -ala -mi poleq
           finish-LOC rice field CONJ PASS-take-PRF only now

           tanam-am tuju anna **di** -tanam-i -i   lao
           plant-NR reed and PASS-plant-LOC-LOC all over

           'Only after the rice field is prepared are the
           reed plants taken and planted all over.'

(22)   uali **di**- häppäq mala-mi poleq   **di**- pahanduq
           after PASS-flatten can PRF only now PASS-begin

           di- anam ampaq
           PASS-weave mat

           'After it is flattened out, then the weaving of the
           mat can begin.'

In (21) the undergoer <u>tanam–am</u> is explicitly stated in the first <u>di</u>– clause. However, in the next clause there is no explicit mention of the undergoer. The only indication that there is an undergoer is the locative suffix –<u>i</u> on the verb which refers back to the earlier mentioned undergoer.

Example (22) is from the same text as (21) but occurs five sentences later. Note <u>di</u>– on the verb <u>häppäq</u> 'flatten'. The undergoer of this verbal action is still <u>tanam–am</u> which has not been mentioned again in the past five sentences. Here is a case in which both the agent and the undergoer are implicit and there is no locative suffix after the verb to point towards an undergoer as we saw in (21). The undergoer <u>tanam–am</u> has been well established and remains in focus. The activities which affect the undergoer are mentioned without reference to the agent of the predication. If the agent were mentioned, the thematic unity of the discourse would be unnecessarily disturbed (Longacre 1983:230).

4.4 Object Focus

The ergative pronoun set (set two in table 5) is used in object focus (OF) constructions. These pronouns are obligatorily present in OF clauses. They have a dual role in that they tell who the actor is, yet at the same time they signal that the *object* of the predication is actually in focus. The OF construction has no marking on the verb other than these ergative/OF pronominal prefixes.

```
(23)    ku-      hingngi indo änäq -ku
        1s(ERG)-hear     that child-1s
        'I hear that child of mine.'[12]
```

The fact that the ergative prefix also functions as an OF marker corresponds with the tendency for Philippine–type languages to focus the undergoer of the

predication rather than the actor (as is normal in nominative–accusative languages such as English). This non–actor focus tendency is not the norm in most languages.

> Focus decreases along the hierarchy of grammatical relations: subject > direct object > oblique objects (Shibatani 1985:832).

Yet the unmarked case in PUS is the object focus (OF) structure, constituting the majority of clauses in PUS narratives. This accords with the observation by Shibatani (1988b:96) that "high frequency of patient–prominent constructions is an earmark of ergative languages."

In order to focus on the agent of the predication, either the actor focus or antipassive construction must be used. In order to pointedly defocus the agent and focus exclusively on the undergoer, the passive is used. As stated above, the ergative pronoun set marks the OF construction. Inherent in the OF construction, then, is the presence of an actor. This differentiates OF from PUS passives, which prohibit any explicit encoding of an agent. A similar condition is found among Philippine languages which have non–actor focus sentences.

> O–focus sentences in [Philippine languages] seem similar to what have been termed 'passives' in other languages, in that an NP other than the A is being singled out and 'promoted' to a special status. However, they are distinct from 'passives' in one important respect: they tend to occur with A's whereas passives of the English type do not (Hopper and Thompson 1980:292).

The PUS object focus construction, unlike the passive, is not a *special* agent–defocusing device. While the object focus construction does inherently defocus the agent, it is not employed in discourse for the special task of defocusing. It is, rather, the *typical* unmarked condition which, in PUS, focuses on the undergoer.

Functionally, the OF constructions serve to advance the story line in discourse. As predicted by Hopper and Thompson (1980:293), OF constructions in PUS are highly transitive. That is, **affected objects** are the reference points in the narrative.

The text segment in (24) describes the actions of a man attempting to fix up a shelter during a storm.

```
(24)  ku-      henggä   -i  -m    hindim am-
      1s(ERG)-dismantle-LOC-PRF  wall   and-

      ku-      henggä   -i  eham   ku-       kulakkaq-i  -am
      1s(ERG)-dismantle-LOC  ladder 1s(ERG)-joist     -LOC-BEN

      anna ku-      sali -i  -am -i  tama hoä-  na  banua
      and  1s(ERG)-floor-LOC-BEN-LOC in   inside-DEF house
      'I took apart the wall and I took apart the ladder;
      I made (the bamboo from the ladder) into floor joists
      and I made (the bamboo from the wall) into flooring in
      the main part of the house.'
```

Example (24) is one stretch of speech in which there are four OF verb constructions (each marked as ERG). The focus is not on the actor (in this case the narrator) but rather on the objects. In the first two OF constructions the objects hindim and eham are expressed explicitly. In the following two clauses the objects are not explicitly mentioned. In both cases it is clear from the context and from shared knowledge that the material used for floor joists and flooring is the bamboo taken from the ladder and the wall. So, even though OF is used, the objects can be omitted if context allows.

In (24) the explicitly mentioned objects were in the form of nominals. If the object is referred to by a pronoun, then the absolutive pronoun set (see table 5) is used. In (25) the undergoer of the predication is second person plural, so the absolutive pronoun -koaq is encoded as object.

```
(25)  ku-      kando    -i  -koaq      matim
      1s(ERG)-reach for-LOC-2pl(ABS) where you are
      'I'll reach for you (pl) where you are.'
```

Examples (26), (27), and (28) are consecutive clauses taken from the true story of an encounter between a wild pig and a coffee picker. (I will discuss the actor focus (AF) clauses of (26) in the following section.) Note the exclusive use of the OF 3s ergative prefix na– in all the clauses of (27) and (28).

```
(26)   um-lappaq  lembaq-na to     me -kopi   anna
       AF-release load   -3  person INT-coffee and

       hopäq -i  um-sintäq   piso    -na
       spring-LOC AF-pull out machete-3
       'The coffee picker dropped his load and whipped out his
       machete.'

(27)   mane na-    ajo              la- na-    batta tahhuq
       just 3(ERG)-ready to strike IRR-3(ERG)-stab  right away

       na-     kekeq lengolengo-na
       3(ERG)-bite  wrist      -3
       'Just when he was prepared to stab it, it bit him on
       his wrist.'

(28)   puha -i       na-    kekeq lengolengo-na na-    kekeq
       after-3s(ABS) 3(ERG)-bite  wrist      -3 3(ERG)-bite

       pole  boo   lambeq-na
       again again calf  -3
       'After it bit his wrist it bit him again on his calf.'
```

Example (27) has three OF constructions. In the first clause the coffee picker is ready to strike (na–ajo) the pig.[13] In the following clause we find the coffee picker is going to stab (na–batta) the pig. The ergative prefix na– obviously refers to the coffee picker as agent, as it is unlikely that the pig would prepare to stab the coffee picker with a machete. Next comes a change of actor in the final clause of (27). The na– ergative OF actor prefix refers to the pig which bites the coffee picker. Again, we can tell who the agent is by the factual plausibility of the text. Note that the focused object is the coffee picker's wrist. Continuing on to (28) we see that the pig remains the actor as it bites the coffee picker's calf.

Pragmatically, it is not necessary to explicitly specify who does the striking or biting. Based on the context, PUS speakers are able to keep track of the agent and the focused object without any difficulty.

4.5 Actor Focus

While the actor focus (AF) construction may be the easiest to relate to for English speakers, it is in fact a very rare form in PUS. Unlike English, the PUS AF construction is the marked transitive form. The AF construction uses the prefix um– (or alternately mu– with vowel–initial verbs)[14] on the verb. The form of the actor is either a proper noun, a noun, or a free pronoun (pronoun set 4 in table 5).

Philippine type languages have AF constructions which not only mark the focus on the verb but also have corresponding case markings on the arguments of the clause. While PUS does not have case marking, the AF prefix um– shares formal as well as functional similarity with 'Philippine–type' languages, for Tagalog and Chamorro each have an AF verbal infix –um– (Foley and Van Valin 1985:313, Topping 1973:184).

Actor focus clauses are used when the speaker wants to make the agent the point of departure in the predication or when a new agent is introduced into the discourse.

In the coffee picker story of example (26), the coffee picker himself has just been introduced. He is a new actor when example (26) occurs. At that point the coffee picker takes his first action of dropping his load (um–lappaq) and whipping out (um–sintäq) his machete. He had been introduced in the preceding sentence via a reciprocal construction, but his first action is marked by the actor focus construction.

The actor (<u>to me–kopi</u>) is specifically mentioned in the first clause of (26); however, the actor is not repeated in the second clause with the verb <u>um–sintäq</u>. The actor can be deleted from the second clause because he was established in the preceding text. The <u>um–</u> prefix on the verb marks the actor as the subject (or 'pivot', Foley and Van Valin 1985:305–306) of the clause. This subject can be omitted from the actor–focused clause without causing semantic or syntactic confusion.

No other actors are introduced into the coffee picker text after (26), and no other AF constructions are used. The <u>um–</u> AF verbal construction is used to (re)introduce characters into the text, especially at points in which they take their first transitive type action. The fact that AF is not often implemented indicates that the actor focus construction is saved for such special purposes in the text. Out of the 210 transitive verbs which I found in ten narrative discourses only fourteen (or 7 percent) were marked for AF. In one particularly long narrative text of 162 sentences there are only two actor focus marked verbs, and these occur in the same sentence.

```
(29)    anna baine- ku ia   ia    maq-kale ia tuhum
        and  female-1s 3     CONJ  INT-self 3  go down

        um-honnoq-am  dukaq kale-na dokko
        AF-drop-  BEN also   self-3  go down

        um-pem-andaq-i   andihi
        AF-TR- hold- LOC pole
        'As for my wife, she got down herself, dropping
        herself down by hanging onto a pole.'
```

About a third of the way into his exciting story the speaker suddenly uses this actor–focus construction for the first (and last) time. In the sentences immediately before (29) the speaker himself was the actor, then in (29) he brings his wife into the

action. His wife had been mentioned in the story before this point, but besides speaking parts she had taken no transitive type action. In (29) she is reintroduced into the story and for the first time takes action. Note that in both of the um-clauses in (29) the actor is not explicitly stated even though the actor is being focused on. Again this is because these clauses follow a previous clause (maq-kale ia tuhum 'she got herself down') in the same sentence. In that previous clause the wife is presented as the topic. There is no reason to repeat the actor explicitly in the following clauses when her identity has already been established.

Note the Verb–Object–Actor word order used in the first clause of (26). In (29) the order is VO with the actor omitted from the AF clauses. Actor focus clauses can also have Actor–Verb–Object order.

```
(30)    buda tau    dekke        mu-ala pahuhum-ki
        many people go upriver   AF-get things -1pex
        'A lot of people went up to get our things.'
```

4.6 Antipassives

The actor focus um- prefix is also used in the construction of the extreme case of actor focus: the antipassive construction. In PUS, the function of antipassives is the converse of that of passives (see (10)). The passive defocuses the agent, while the antipassive defocuses the undergoer (Shibatani 1988b:112). In some languages the defocusing is accomplished by marking the object as an oblique. In other languages the object must be omitted in an antipassive clause. In PUS the defocusing of the undergoer is accomplished through the use of the absolutive as subject in an otherwise transitive clause. Review the roles of the absolutive in PUS as reiterated in (31) and (32).

(31)   keqdeq -äq
         stand up-1s(ABS)
         'I stand up.'

(32)   na-   dängguq-äq
         3(ERG) hit   -1s(ABS)
         'He hit me.'

Example (31) shows the absolutive as the subject argument with the intransitive construction 'stand up'. In (32) the absolutive is the object of the transitive construction. As I stated earlier, in ergative constructions the subject of the intransitive verb is marked the same way as the object of the transitive verb. Now, note the actor–focus–type constructions in (33) and (34).

(33)   **um-peä**   **-kam**   po-saho-am
         AF-search for-1pex(ABS) NR-wage-NR
         'We're searching for work'

(34)   pissananna la- sohoq -kam
         suddenly   IRR-finish-1pex(ABS)

         um-batta-m -**äq**   kao bittiq-ku
         AF-cut -PRF-1s(ABS) 1s foot -1s
         'Suddenly when we were going to head home
         from work, I cut my foot.'

(33) and (34) show the antipassive construction in which the absolutive functions as the agent in an underlyingly transitive predication. Since the absolutive is used to encode the agent, it is functioning as a subject in an intransitive clause. Indeed the antipassive is morphologically intransitive, though underlyingly transitive.

> Antipassivization typically involves a decrease in valency, turning a transitive into an intransitive clause and a ditransitive into a transitive clause. Correlated with the marked status, antipassive forms have extremely low text frequency (Shibatani 1988b:113).

For the antipassive construction there is no change in the verb from the actor focus construction which uses the prefix um-. The object, though defocused, is never omitted from an antipassive clause. Since PUS does not mark case, there can be no

oblique mark on the object of an antipassive clause. The only signal that tells us that an antipassive is present is the use of set one absolutive pronouns as subject. In example (33) the first person exclusive absolutive pronoun (-kam) fills the subject slot as the agent (the one who is looking for work). Example (34) shows the absolutive both as subject of an intransitive verb and then as subject in an antipassive construction. The verb sohoq is intransitive and the subject is the same -kam used as actor in (33). When the excitement starts and the speaker cuts his foot he uses the um- actor focus construction with absolutive -äq 'I' as subject, even though there is an undergoer of the predication. Note how he adds the free pronoun kao 'I' after the verb for extra emphasis: "I, myself, cut my foot."

Until I began looking at texts I was under the false impression that the antipassive construction was the most common transitive construction. That is because so much of language learning involves asking questions and writing down responses. Questions in PUS are often answered using the antipassive or an intransitive form. However, in *text* we rarely find the antipassive construction. The one text I have which makes heavy use of the antipassive is a story a man told me about an upcoming trading trip. Out of the seven transitive verbs in his story, five used the antipassive construction. When, however, he returned from the trip I had him tell me how the trip went and in that text only one of the eight transitive verbs was of the antipassive construction. In advance of the trip all the focus was on himself as he made his plans. The plans were still unfulfilled and therefore defocused. After the trip the speaker focused on all the *actual* events of the trip. Therefore the antipassive construction was no longer the appropriate form. These texts indicate that the antipassive may be used to encode irrealis predications.

Structurally, the order of constituents of antipassives in PUS is VSO as illustrated in (35).[15] The only exception to this is in the case of pre-verbal auxiliaries

to which the subject attaches itself and therefore comes before the verb. In (36) the
first person absolutive clitic –äq attaches to the pre–verbal auxiliary lao 'go'.

```
(35)    mu-ala -m  -kam        -i   sambuq-ki   anna
        AF-take-PFT-1pex(ABS)-LOC sarong-1pex and

        um-bantaq-kam        -i   Ani
        AF-carry -1pex(ABS)-LOC Ani
        'We took our sarong and we carried Ani.'

(36)    la- lao-äq        mu-ala  baham -na mahaqdia
        IRR-go -1s(ABS) AF-take things-3   leader
        'I am going to take the leader's things.'
```

NOTES

[1]The term focus, as used in this paper, and in discussions of Philippine–type languages, relates to the predicate features that indicate which of the verb arguments is the topic. In other words, the focused argument is the topic of the clause. This use of the terms focus and topic differs from that of transformational grammar which contrasts focus and topic (cf. Lyons 1977:501–3).

[2]Cotabato Manobo, a language spoken on the island of Mindanao in southern Philippines, also has a limited topic marking system (Johnston 1975). The only nominal in the clause which is marked for topic is the 'subject' which is marked as 'in focus' or 'out of focus'.

[3]In recent years a number of linguistic articles (e.g., Cumming and Wouk, 1987; Cooreman 1988; Correman, Fox, and Givón, 1988; De Wolf 1988) have dealt with the subject of ergativity in Austronesian languages. It is not a topic without controversy. In this paper I present ergative morphological characteristics of one Austronesian language. I will not delve into a comparative study of the other proposed ergative systems.

[4]The post–verbal modifiers and pre–verbal modifiers do not co–occur in the same clause. See chapter 6 for a discussion of the various verb modifiers.

[5]This is an example of the antipassive construction. See section 4.5 for a discussion of antipassives.

[6]I have yet to discover the determining factors in the absence or presence of the clitic –i̯ as subject or object; however, I do suspect that the ø/–i̯ alternation is not entirely random.

[7]Presented by DuBois (1976:45) along with three other Sarangani Manobo pronoun sets.

[8]Interestingly, Comrie (1978:340) reports that the Quiché ergative affixes are also used as noun prefixes indicating possession.

[9]Passive di- formed 25 percent of the transitive verbs while the actor focus and antipassive constructions together only formed 9 percent of the verbs. In tallying the occurrences of ergative constructions, I did not count the verb ua 'to say' because it is a special device used to introduce direct quotes. If I would include these verbs the percentage of ergative constructions would be much higher.

[10]The third person free pronoun in PUS is ia (clearly related to Indonesian dia), the third person abolutive clitic is -i, and the third person ergative prefix is na-.

[11]In (19) and (24) the locative (LOC) and benefactive (BEN) suffixes indicate the presence of the non-agent arguments of the clause, even when these arguments are not explicitly mentioned. I will discuss LOC and BEN further in 5.5.4 and 5.5.5.

[12]I am intentionally avoiding translating object focus (OF) constructions as English passives such as 'that child of mine was heard by me'. Such a translation would give the false impression that OF constructions are equivalent to English passives. Unfortunately there is not a comparable construction in English which I can draw upon for illustrative purposes.

[13]Note the absence of third person absolutive clitic which we would expect to find post-verbally. This is a good example of how the third person absolutive can be filled by a ø morpheme.

[14]The second person singular form of the ergative pronominal set is mu-. This form becomes um- before consonant-initial verbs. So the two morphemes AF and 2s(ERG) both have the same alternate forms um- and mu-.

[15]Word order specifications are not usually based on clauses which mix affixes (or clitics) with free nominals. However, the agent (surface subject) in PUS

antipassives is always expressed by the absolutive clitic while the undergoer is expressed by a free nominal.

5. THE TRANSITIVITY CLINE

Transitivity is concerned with the relationship between the verb and the participant(s) of the predication. Hopper and Thompson (1980:251) state that "transitivity is a central property of language use." They take the traditional view of transitivity, i.e., "carrying over or transferring an action from one participant to another" (253) and associate it with an extended range of morphosyntactic effects. Transitivity is not, in their view, dichotomous in nature, but rather, continuous. Such a continuum of transitivity is found in PUS and will be discussed below.

In this chapter I will show how certain morphological features of PUS verbs function to reflect varying degrees of transitivity.[1] I am interested in examining how various morphosyntactic characteristics of PUS function to reflect or, conversely, skew the inherent transitivity of an event. I am particularly interested in examining how PUS surface structure can construe as intransitive an event which would ordinarily be considered transitive.

Table (8) displays the major points along the PUS transitivity cline. The position on the transitivity cline of any given PUS clause type is based on two factors: the kinds of events normally encoded by the clause type, and the surface characteristics of that type. Each of these clause types will be discussed in the following sections.

Table 8.--PUS Transitivity Cline

Prototypical Intransitive	Non-Proto Intrans	Non-volitional	Passive	Object Focus Actor Focus Derived

Stative

<--->
Low Transitivity   **High Transitivity**

5.1 Statives

By their very nature, statives should not actually be considered part of the

transitivity cline.   Statives represent existential *conditions*, not causal events.

According to Givón (1984:133):

> states ought to be considered the *least-complex* predications, since they (a) tend
> to involve most commonly only a single argument, and (b) tend to involve no
> change over time.

There are varying degrees of stativeness; some conditions are permanent,

while others are temporary.   Statives have only one participant and, therefore,

transfer no action.   In short, statives exhibit none of the traits typically associated

with transitivity.   In this chapter, I include presentations on statives and on

prototypical intransitives (in section 5.2) for the purpose of demonstrating the most

extreme examples of non–transitivity among the verb types in PUS.

Morphologically, most statives are marked on the verb by the prefix ma- as

illustrated in (1).

(1)   a.   **ma-** lajaq -äq
           STA-nervous-1s(ABS)
           'I'm nervous.'

```
b.  ma- toho  -ko
    STA-strong-2s(ABS)
    'You're strong.'

c.  ma- tua-m  -äq
    STA-old-PRF-1s(ABS)
    'I'm already old.'

d.  ma- langkaq-äq
    STA-tall    -1s(ABS)
    'I'm tall.'
```

Example (1a) demonstrates a temporary state as experienced by a person walking along a narrow, high path. The state of the addressee in (1b) is more permanent than the condition referred to in (1a). The states attributed to the speakers in (1c) and (1d) are permanent in nature; they are unlikely to change. The prefix ma– carries the meaning 'state of'. In some rare cases the prefix is added to a noun to form a stative verb which has characteristics of that noun.

```
(2)  a.  lompo        ma- lompo änäq -mu
         fat          STA-fat    child-2s
                      'Your child is healthy.'

     b.  hante        ma- hante[2]
         level area   STA-level area
                      'to be level'
```

In PUS, the stative verbs also function as adjectives and adverbs.[3] In fact, labeling them as statives is actually an arbitrary decision. Givón (1984:53) recognizes the blend in some languages of the categories of verbs and adjectives:

> there are languages where no class 'adjective' exists, and where most adjectival qualities/states which lexicalize in English as adjectives are lexicalized instead as verbs.

Most adjectives in PUS have the prefix 'ma–'. As adjectives, the stative verbs modify the head noun in a noun phrase.[4]

```
(3)     dio                banua ma- langkaq banua-N-ku
        that down there house STA-tall    house-E-1s
        'That tall house down there is my house.'
```

```
(4)     deem dukaq kaju ma- lunäq
        EXT  also  wood STA-soft
        'There is also soft wood.'
```

```
(5)     tongguhu pasikola ma- langkaq-kam
        teacher  school   STA-tall   -1s(ABS)
        'We're university teachers.'
```

In (3) and (4) the ma- words follow the head nouns (as do most nominal modifiers).[5] Example (5) is an equative clause in which the stative verb ma-langkaq ('tall', or 'high'; referring to a 'school of higher learning') functions as adjective modifying the noun pasikola 'school'. This stative verb/adjective is in turn followed by the absolutive clitic -kam which indicates that the clause is equative. If -kam were not present, the phrase would simply be a noun phrase meaning 'university teacher'.

There are a few stative verbs which do not take the ma- prefix. These 'non ma-' statives can also function as adjectives, but not as adverbs. Several of these statives begin with ka (see examples (6a,b)) which seems to be a frozen affix with a meaning related to size or dimension: kalando 'long', kasalle 'big', kapodiq 'short', kaluaq 'vast'.[6] When these and the other 'non ma-' statives occur before a noun, they function as statives. When they occur after nouns, they function as adjectives. An identifiable feature of all statives, including the 'non ma-' statives, is their ability to take the absolutive clitic as subject.

```
(6)     a. kasalle-ko      iko
           big     -2s(ABS) 2s
           'You are big.'
```

```
        b. banua kasalle-ku
           house big     -1s
           'My big house.'
```

```
c. bahinniq änäq -mu
   small    child-2s
   'Your child is small'

d. änäq  bahinniq-mu
   child small    -2s
   'Your small child.'
```

Example (6a) demonstrates how the statives take the absolutive clitic as subject. This is contrasted in (6b) in which the same stative form follows a noun and is modified by a possessive suffix. In this case it functions as an adjective. (6c) and (6d) show how the word order encodes a different meaning and function for the same 'stative' form.

PUS statives can be made more intensive by modifying the stems phonologically. This is a good example of phonological iconicity. The increased intensity is reflected in the pronunciation of the stative. There are two basic ways in which these stems can be modified. I call these two methods 'Q–intensification' (QI) and 'M–intensification' (MI). There are basic patterns of stem modification associated with each of these methods. The differences between the two methods are strictly phonological in nature, being identical semantically. Some stems can be modified in both ways with the same resultant meaning.

I will describe here the basic stem modifications associated with intensification. The following descriptions are not hard and fast rules, i.e., there is some variation in the way stative stems are modified. I will present the most common forms.

In both Q–intensification and M–intensification the stative stem is modified so that the final two syllables have the pattern CVCCVC. Examples (7) and (8) show the basic formulas for Q–intensification and M–intensification. There are some qualifications for these rules, as will be discussed below.

(7) Q-intensification

C V (C) (C) V (C) # --> C V q d ä q #

(8) M-intensification

C V (C) (C) V (C) # --> C V m d ä m #

Examples (9), (10), and (11) demonstrate the types of modifications associated with intensification.

(9) a. mapia   b. mapiqdäq   c. mapindäm
         ma- pia   ma- pia -QI   ma- pia -MI
         STA-good   STA-good-INTS   STA-good-INTS
         'good'   'fantastic'   'fantastic'

(10) a. mahingam   b. mahiqngäq   c. mahingngam
         ma- hingam   ma- hingam-QI   ma- hingam-MI
         STA-light   STA-light -INTS   STA-light -INTS
         'light'   'very light'   'very light'

(11) a. kasalle   b. kasaqdeq   c. kasandem
         kasalle   kasalle-QI   kasalle-MI
         big   big   -INTS   big   -INTS
         'big'   'very big'   'very big'

Examples (9a), (10a), and (11a) show the statives in their unmodified form. In (9b), (10b), and (11b) the statives are modified by 'Q–intensification'. Similarly, examples (9c), (10c), and (11c) demonstrate 'M–intensification'.

When Q–intensification or M–intensification occur, several similar modifications take place. In both cases, the stem is modified so that the final two syllables each have the syllable pattern CVC. In Q–intensification the consonants in the codas of the final two syllables must be 'q' (glottal stop). Similarly, in M–intensification the codas of the final two syllables must be 'm'.[7]

In order to form the proper CVCCVC pattern , a 'q' or an 'm' is added to the coda of the penultimate syllable if it is an open syllable ((9b) and (10b)). If the penultimate syllable is a closed syllable, then the syllable final consonant is *replaced* by 'q' or 'm' ((11b) and (11c)).

The second change to the stem involves the addition or modification of the *onset* to the final syllable so that the onset is 'd' ((11b), (9c) and (11c)). This process does not occur, however, when the onset to the final syllable is a nasal (10c).

Thirdly, if the vowel in the final syllable is 'a', then it generally changes to 'ä' (examples (9b), (10b), and (9c)).

Lastly, a word–final 'q' or 'm' is added, replacing any other word–final consonants which may occur.

In addition to the changes described above, there are also suprasegmental changes. The stress on the penultimate syllable is noticeably stronger and the stressed vowel is pronounced with a correspondingly higher pitch. The result of these processes is a form which increases the intensity of the stative, both in pronunciation and meaning.

Statives can be made *less intensive* through the process of *reduplication*. In order to change a stative so that its meaning is attenuated, the last two syllables are repeated. The most common meanings associated with reduplication in languages are related to the increase of quantity or the amount of emphasis (Moravcsik 1978:317). In PUS, reduplication carries the meaning of diminution of nominals, and attenuation or repetition of verbs. Reduplicated statives carry the meaning of 'somewhat X'.[8]

```
(12)     a. ma- doko .      b. ma- doko-doko
            STA-thin           STA-thin-thin
            'thin'             'somewhat thin'
```

(13)	a. ma- piqdiq	b. ma- piqdiq-piqdiq
	STA-sore	STA- sore -sore
	'sore'	'rather sore'

(14)	a. bahinniq	b. bahinniq-hinniq
	'small'	'rather small'

5.2 Prototypical Intransitives

The prototypical intransitives can take only one argument on the verb. These intransitive verbs encode action which a subject performs. There is no transfer of activity to another participant. There is no undergoer and, therefore, no surface object presented. These intransitives are on the 'low transitivity' end of the transitivity cline. They differ from statives in that an action is taking place. Yet this action is limited to the subject and does not involve any other participant.

Prototypical intransitives in PUS can take several forms. Most of them involve the addition of an intransitive prefix: maq-, mem-, or me-. There are also a few intransitives which take no prefix as in (15):

(15)   a.   **la- keqdeq**-äq
               IRR-stand -1s(ABS)
               'I'll stand.'

        b.   **mammaq** baine-ku
              sleep wife -1s
              'My wife is sleeping.'

        c.   **leqbaq** o   -m -äq   lako   onge -am-ki
              go   again-PRF-1s(ABS) over to occupy-NR-1pex
              'I went over to our place.'

        d.   **tohho**-kam   dio   Mambi
              live -1pex(ABS) down at Mambi
              'We live down in Mambi.'

When the prefix maq- is attached to a noun stem, the meaning of the intransitive verb is 'to N' or 'to have/own N'.[9]

(16)   a. **maq**-senggoq-äq
           INT-shovel -1s(ABS)
           'I'm shoveling/I own a shovel.'

        b. **maq**-tekkem dua-äq   kao
           INT-cane   two-1s(ABS) 1s
           'I walk with two canes/I have two canes.'

        c. la- lao-äq   **maq**-pasaq
           IRR go -1s(ABS) INT-market
           'I'm going shopping at the market.'

        d. **maq**-bengi-pi -äq   dio
           INT-night-IMPF-1s(ABS) down there
           'I'll spend the night down there.'

        e. menna deem **maq**-papam inde?
           who   EXT INT-lumber here
           'Who has lumber here?'

The prefix maq- can also attach to the names of sounds, with the meaning 'to make sound X'.

(17)   a. **maq**-ngoä tedom   -mu
           INT-moo water buffalo-2s
           'Your water buffalo is mooing.'

        b. **maq**-killiq indo bawi
           INT-squeal that pig
           'That pig is squealing.'

        c. **maq**-tutututu   uham
           INT-rain noise rain
           'The rain is making noise (i.e., on the roof).'

The intransitive prefix me- can also attach to nouns (example 18). The resultant meaning of me-N is 'to gather/look for N'. Intransitive me- verbs formed from nouns are the only me- forms which could be considered transitive in nature. These forms could perhaps be considered as non-prototypical intransitives (see 5.3). Intransitives which are formed from me- attached to a verb root are prototypically intransitive (example (21).

```
(18)      a.  me- kaju
              INT-wood
              'to collect firewood'

          b.  me- kinande bawi
              INT-food      pig
              'to gather pig food'

          c.  me- pahe
              INT-rice plant
              'to harvest rice'
```

When intransitive prefix mem– is attached to nouns, the verb means 'to have the characteristics of N'.

```
(19)      a.  mem-tau
              INT-people
              'to be human-like'

          b.  mem-oloqoloq
              INT-animal
              'to be like an animal'

          c.  mem-lombä
              INT-valley
              'to be valley-like'
```

Note the differences in meaning between examples (20a,b,c) in which the same stem kaju 'wood' is attached to all three intransitive prefixes.

```
(20)      a. maq-kaju      b. me- kaju      c. mem-kaju
             INT-wood          INT-wood         INT-wood
             'to have wood'    'to gather       'to be wood-like'
                                firewood
```

I have shown that the prefixes maq–, me–, and mem– result in verbs with differing meanings when attached to a **noun**. When, however, the intransitive prefixes are attached to **verb** stems, they are equivalent in meaning. The verbs they form are intransitive; they may not take an object.

Individual verb stems only take one of the three intransitive prefixes.[10] In a sense, the prefixes function as verb classifiers. There is generally, however, no difference between the types of verb stems which take the prefixes me- or mem-. Only the verbs which take the prefix maq- stand apart from the rest of the prototypical intransitives. The maq- prefixed verb stems all involve transitive–like actions. While me- and mem- verb stems are intransitive in nature, maq- verb stems involve action which is transferred from an agent to an undergoer. I will discuss these maq- verbs in detail when I present the 'non–prototypical' intransitives in 5.3. Prefixes me- and mem- are exemplified in (21):

(21)   a.   **me-** tindo
                 INT-lie down
                 'to lie down'

        b.   **me-** tawa
                 INT-laugh
                 'to laugh'

        c.   **me-** tobä
                 INT-fall
                 'to fall down'

        d.   **mem-**tiaq
                 INT-fly
                 'to fly'

        e.   **mem-**kähä
                 INT-work
                 'to work'

        f.   **mem-**dioq
                 INT-bathe
                 'to bathe'

        g.   **mem-**base
                 INT-wash
                 'to wash oneself'

As seen in (21f,g), some mem- prefixed intransitive verbs carry a reflexive meaning.

PUS also has an intransitive infix –um– which is quite limited in application. Example (22) demonstrates the infix –um– with the verbs sumahho 'cry', tumekaq 'tree–climb', tumimba 'fetch water', and lumumpaq 'run'.

```
(22)    a.    s<um>ahho
              um- sahho
              INT-cry
              'to cry'

        b.    t<um>ekaq
              um- tekaq
              INT-tree-climb
              'to tree-climb'

        c.    leqbaqmäq  t<um>imba
              leqbaq-um -äq        um- timba
              go     -PRF-1s(ABS) INT-fetch water
              'I've already gone to fetch water.'

        d.    leqbaq oo l<um>umpaq    indo bawi
              leqbaq oo      um- lumpaq indo  bawi
              go        again INT-run      that  pig
              'That pig ran off again.'
```

Verbs with the infix –um– do not ever take objects. This infix is never attached to nouns to form intransitives. Unlike verb stems which take me– and mem–, verb stems with the infix –um– can be transitive–like in nature (note examples 22b and c).[11]

5.3 Non–Prototypical Intransitives

There are two types of 'non–prototypical' intransitives in PUS. The first type which I will discuss includes those intransitive forms which encode actions that are transitive in nature, yet do not take an object in the surface structure (5.3.1 and 5.3.2). The second type are antipassives which take the absolutive as subject (as do prototypical intransitives), yet also take an object as undergoer of the predication (5.3.3).

5.3.1 Non–Object–Taking mam–, maq–, and ke– Verbs

The verbs prefixed by mam–, maq–, and ke– are transitive–like surface intransitives which may not take an explicit object. That is, each of these forms intransitively encodes an action which is underlyingly transitive. The activity itself is expressed, but the affectedness of an undergoer is unexpressed and unimplied.

Salombe (1982:95) reports that the verbal prefixes maq–, ma(N)–, and ma(G)– in Toraja Saqdan are allomorphs of the same morpheme.[12] These forms correspond in function with the PUS forms maq– and mam–. However, in PUS there is no phonological evidence that the forms are allomorphs. Both maq– and mam– can occur in the same phonological environments. Since, however, these forms function identically, and there is evidence of their allomorphic relationship in a related language, maq– and mam– *may* be related forms which at one time were allomorphs of the same PUS morpheme. Whatever their history, these prefixes function synchronically in PUS to subclassify the sets of roots that may take them.

The prefixes maq– and mam– are used to intransitively express the *act* of carrying out an activity which is inherently transitive in nature.

(23)   a.   **maq-lebaq**
             INT-throw
             'to throw'

        b.   **maq-nasu**
             INT-cook
             'to cook'

        c.   **maq-tappaq**
             INT-clothes wash
             'to clothes-wash'

        d.   **mam-dasiq**
             INT-sew
             'to sew'

        e.   **mam-tuliq**
             INT-write
             'to write'

```
f.  mam-dioq
    INT-bathe
    'to bathe someone'
```

The transitive nature of maq-/mam- forms is well illustrated by example (23f) which can be compared with the intransitive form mem-dioq 'to bathe' (see 5.2) which describes bathing oneself rather than bathing someone else. In both cases no object is expressed. The transitiveness of the activity is expressed through the choice of prefix.

Examples (24) through (28) show maq- and mam- forms in clauses.

```
(24)    maq-batte-m  -äq
        INT-fry  -PRF-1s(ABS)
        'I'm frying (coffee).'

(25)    maq-papia-ko      le
        INT-make -2s(ABS) TAG
        'You're making (things), eh?'

(26)    mam-ande-m  -kam
        INT-eat -PRF-1plex(ABS)
        'We already ate.'

(27)    mam-tuwe           dio      -kiaq           litäq
        INT-build a fire down there-1plin(ABS) ground
        'We'll build a fire down there.'

(28)    leqbaq-kam          sauq      belaq  mam-baja
        go      -1plex(ABS) downriver garden INT-to weed
        'We went to weed down at the garden.'
```

Mills (1975:139–145) states that South Sulawesi maN- prefixes form active transitive verbs. Concerning these prefixes he says:

> Focus appears to be on the agent, with the result that the goal or direct object is often either indefinite or unexpressed (139).

Mills' analysis of the form maN- applies to several South Sulawesi languages. He gives examples from Buginese, Makassarese, Mandar, Toraja Saqdan (which Mills calls Sa'dan), and Massenrempulu. In all his examples, with the exception of

Toraja Saqdan, verbs prefixed with maN– take an object. He assumes that the form maN– is the same morpheme, with the same function, in each of these languages. However, upon inspection of his Toraja Saqdan sentences, I found that each of the maN– verbs are transitive in nature but take **no** objects in the surface clauses. For example, maN–kambiq 'to herd buffalo' takes no corresponding object. These verb forms appear not to be transitive as suggested by Mills, but rather intransitive as reported by Salombe (1982:96). Mills' maN– prefix may form active transitive verbs in several South Sulawesi languages, but in the languages related to Sa'dan, maN– forms are intransitive, albeit transitive in their underlying meaning. These forms convey transitive–type ideas, yet the action is seen as a whole rather than as a direct transfer of action from one argument to another. This would indicate low transitivity since there is only one participant and the effect on the object is not emphasized.

According to Topping (1973:85) another Austronesian language, Chamorro, has a transitive prefix man– which is used when the direct object is indefinite. In such a construction the agent is marked with the same pronoun set as is used in an intransitive construction. Concerning this structure Topping states:

> These changes in the forms of the verb and pronoun are very confusing to the non–Chamorro speaker because they make the transitive verb construction resemble intransitive verb constructions (85).

In Chamorro the man– clauses take objects which are independently marked as indirect by the absence of a direct object marker. This change from direct object to indirect object and the corresponding change from transitive to intransitive form is predicted by Hopper and Thompson (1980:253) under the parameter of "individuation of O", referring to the distinctiveness of the object. An indefinite object is considered to be less distinctly affected than a definite object. In PUS there are normally no objects with maq–/mam– verbal forms. Unspecified objects, obviously, are less distinct than indefinite objects. The low transitivity indicated by

these objectless forms corresponds with the low transitivity of the man- indirect object forms of Chamorro.

Though I have stated that there are no objects with maq-/mam- verbs, I have, nevertheless, come across a few unusual examples in which an object is either incorporated into the verbal structure or is explicitly mentioned in the clause.[13] These rare forms further indicate that maq-/mam- verbs are not prototypical intransitive verbs.

```
(29)      mam-tanam kopi   -kam
          INT-plant coffee-1plex(ABS)
          'We're coffee-planting.'

(30)      mam-dioq -äq        änäq -ku
          INT-bathe-1s(ABS) child-1s
          'I'm bathing my child.'
```

Example (29) was uttered in response to the question aka um-tanam? 'What are you planting?' Note that the absolutive subject clitic -kam follows the object kopi 'coffee', thus incorporating it as part of the verb.

The prefix maq- can also be used to downgrade transitive verbs into surface intransitives. In (31) the prefix po- forms a transitive, actuative verb (see section 5.5.3) out of a stative verb. This transitive verb is then changed to a surface intransitive by the addition of maq-. Like other maq- verbs, the verb in (31) is intransitive in its surface structure, but the underlying predication is transitive in nature.

```
(31)      ma- nähä  maq-po- ma- kaleso
          STA-smart INT-ACT-STA-clear
          'He is good at explaining.'
```

The prefix ke- (kem-, before some consonant initial morphemes) also forms intransitive verbs which carry a transitive-like meaning. The prefix ke- is prefixed to

nouns and carries the meaning 'to possess/produce N'. It is very limited in applicability. This prefix also appears in questions with the question word menna 'who' forming the structure menna ke-N which means 'whose N'.[14] I call ke- the possessive (POS) verbal prefix. Clauses with ke- verbs can only take a subject, just like other intransitive forms.

```
(32)      baine-ku mane ke- änäq
          wife -1s just POS-child
          'My wife just gave birth.'

(33)      kem-bua  -m  -ka kopi  -N-mu
          POS-fruit-PRF-Q  coffee-E-2s
          'Have your coffee trees produced (coffee)?'

(34)      ta- deem ku-       ke- saho  -i
          NEG EXT  1s(ERG)-POS-worker-LOC
          'I do not have workers work (the garden).'
```

In examples (32) and (33) ke- precedes a noun which is produced/possessed by the subject. The form ke-saho 'to possess workers' in (34) is embedded in a transitive clause marked by the ergative first person prefix ku- and the locative suffix -i.

5.3.2 Reciprocals and Reflexives

Another 'non-prototypical' intransitive form in PUS is the reciprocal verb formed by the prefix si-. This prefix is common throughout South Sulawesi as recorded by Mills (1975:181):

A prefix indicating reciprocal or mutual verbal action is found in all the languages (except PUS, surely an accidental gap) with the form /si-/.

Although Mills' data lacked the reciprocal prefix si-, it *is* the form used in PUS for reciprocal action verbs. In these constructions the subject encodes both the agent and the undergoer. Based on surface structure features, this construction is considered to be low in transitivity, as there is only one argument on the verb. In

actuality, the action described is high in transitivity since there are two participants and each participant is both *affecting* and *being affected by* the other participant. The reciprocal construction serves to reduce the valency of the predication. Concerning such constructions Comrie (1985:326) writes:

> Reciprocal verbs, as in English *John and Mary met* as opposed to *John met Mary*, introduce a more complex valency change involving subjects. With the reciprocal verb, subject and direct object of the basic verb are combined into a single compound subject.

Examples (35) through (38) demonstrate the use of valency–reducing reciprocal si– in PUS.

```
(35)      la- si- tammu-kiaq        yawo  Damaq-Damaq
          IRR-REC-meet -1plin(ABS) up at Damaq-Damaq
          'We'll meet each other up at Damaq-Damaq.'

(36)      akanna si- dängguq-koaq
          why    REC-hit    -2plex(ABS)
          'Why are you hitting each other?'

(37)      tääq-kiaq        la- si- pe-tawa- tawa -i
          NEG -1plin(ABS) IRR-REC-TR-laugh-laugh-LOC
          'We will not laugh at each other.'

(38)      biasa-kam        si- paq-tulaq Ani
          usual-1plex(ABS) REC-TR- talk  Ani
          'Ani and I usually talk with each other.'
```

In examples (35) and (36) the absolutive as subject immediately follows the verb. There is no object in both of these examples. In both cases, si– indicates that the absolutive is both the agent and the undergoer in a transitive–like action.

The verbs in both examples (37) and (38) have transitive prefixes (see section 5.5.3) which follow si–. Example (37) also has the locative suffix –i (see section 5.5.4) pointing towards a goal for the activity. This also indicates that the predication is transitive. Yet, the preverbal modifiers in both (37) and (38) take the absolutive as subject. Note example (38) in which the proper name Ani appears as a

participant in the clause. In this case the subject is expressed by –kam '1plex'. Ani is simply one of the two participants included in the 'exclusive we' indicated by the subject. In English it would be like saying, 'we (Ani and I) usually talk with each other.' Specifically mentioning Ani merely clarifies who the other person is. Ani is no more an actor or undergoer than the absolutive subject.

PUS has a reflexive prefix lim– which is also part of an intransitive verbal form. This prefix is so rare that I have only found two examples of it used in text, both of which modify the same verb stem. (Martens (forthcoming) reports a similar prefix li– in the Central Sulawesi language of Uma.)

```
(39)      mem-lim-bangum-äq        dio         mai
          INT-REF-get up-1s(ABS)  down there  here
          'Getting myself up from down below . . .'
```

5.3.3 Antipassives

The final form I will present in this section is the antipassive. Recalling the discussion on antipassives in 4.6, I want in this section to mention its place in the transitivity cline.

Like the other constructions presented in section 5.3, the antipassive form takes the absolutive pronominal clitic as subject. Unlike the other forms, however, the antipassive *always* takes an object. The subject in the antipassive encodes the agent of a transitive activity. The object is the undergoer of the predication. There are two participants; however, the antipassive construction defocuses the object. If PUS marked case, undoubtedly the object would be marked as oblique.

The antipassive is used for special focusing purposes in discourse. This form enables the speaker to speak of a transitive–like activity, mention a specific object,

and yet refer to the agent as if the agent were the only participant in the activity. The agent is encoded as a subject in an intransitive clause.

```
(40)     um- tanam-kam          bunga dio          olo  baqba
         ANT plant-1plex(ABS)  flower down there front door
         'We're planting flowers in front of the house.'
```

In example (40) the absolutive subject -kam is treated as the only argument on the verb. It is as if the clause stated the intransitive expression 'we're planting.' The antipassive construction is morphologically intransitive, yet clearly more transitive than the prototypical intransitive forms.

5.4 Non–Volitionals and Passives

5.4.1 Non–Volitionals

Verbs prefixed with ti- have no actor explicitly expressed as an argument. However, the actions associated with ti- verbs have an effect upon an undergoer. The effect on the undergoer indicates that this form is transitive in nature (Hopper and Thompson 1980:253). However, the presence of only one argument, the surface object, associates ti- clauses with clauses which are low in transitivity.

Another parameter which indicates the degree of transitivity of ti- verbs is the parameter of *volitionality* (Hopper and Thompson 1980:252). Volitional action suggests high transitivity. PUS predications encoded by ti- verbs are non–volitional in character. There is no indication that their associated actions are deliberately instigated by an agent. Therefore they are low in transitivity.

PUS ti- forms are similar to verbs prefixed by ter- in Indonesian. Mills (1975:138) calls this common South Sulawesi ti- form an 'accidental passive'. He describes these forms as being "usually agentless, and the action is conceived as happening accidentally, spontaneously, or involuntarily" (1975:172).

```
(41)        ti- sohom banua  ti- sohom umbaiq
            NV- slide house   NV- slide probably

            sa- meteq setangnga
            one-meter half
            'The house slid, it probably slid a meter
            and a half.'
```

```
(42)        ti-bollo     lampu-N-na ia   na-      ande api
            NV-tip over  lamp -E-3s CONJ 3s(ERG) eat  fire
            'The lamp tipped over, then (the house) burned up.'
```

```
(43)        O  ti-tutuq
            Oh NV-close
            'Oh, it (the door) closed!'
```

In example (41) the house undergoes the action of sliding (across the ground) as it was struck by a landslide, yet there is no direct indication of an agent's involvement. Similarly, the lamp in (42) is tipped over *accidentally* by an unknown or unspecified agent. The non–volitional construction is commonly used to refer to a door or a window which suddenly shut (e.g., due to the wind) as is the case in example (43).

Non–volitional verbs are often (but not exclusively, see (46)) associated with non–animate agents. I stated earlier that ti– verbs generally do not have explicit agents associated with them. It is possible, however, to present an inanimate agent of the predication in a dependent clause as shown in (44).

```
(44)    ti-tedo-äq        lako   onge  -am  bau  balleq[15]
        NV-cut -1s(ABS)   over   to occupy-NR fish can
        'I was cut by a canned fish can (upon stepping
        on it).'
```

Non–volitional PUS verbs can also indicate a *state* which is a result of the type of action associated with the verb stem. Martens (forthcoming) reports that the Uma language of Central Sulawesi has a prefix te– which functions similarly. Examples (45) and (46) illustrate this 'resultant state' usage of ti–.

```
(45)        ti-tungkaq-hi-ka baqba-na
            NV-open     -UN-Q  door -3
            'Is his door open?'
```

```
(46)        menna tau    tääq ti-suhaq illaam inde suhaq,
            who   person NEG  NV-book  in     this book
```

```
            ia   di-  beem ia suhaq saliwam
            CONJ PASS-give 3s book   outside
            'Whoever is not written in this book will
             be given a different book.'
```

Clause (45) was expressed when a man yelled down at someone who was standing in front of a friend's house. He wanted to know if his friend was home, indicated by whether his door was open or not. Example (46) came out of a discussion concerning which individuals' names were written in a record book. Example (46) also demonstrates that the non-specified agent of a non-volitional verb can be animate. It is assumed that only a human would be responsible for writing someone's name in a book.

5.4.2 Passives

I have already shown (section 4.3) that passives in PUS never take an actor. The subject (which encodes the undergoer of a passive predication) is usually the only argument directly associated with the passive verb. Since passives most often have only one participant, their degree of transitivity is comparable to intransitive forms. However, the number of participants associated with a verb is only one of several parameters considered in determining the transitivity of the verb. The *affectedness* and *individuation* of the undergoer (Hopper and Thompson 1980:252) must also be considered. In intransitives the undergoer is not present and, therefore, the effect on the undergoer is not highlighted. Conversely, the subjects of passives in PUS can be definite (high degree of individuation) and be highly affected by the action.

```
(47)      di-  pe-bulle-i     indo to      mate
          PASS-TR-carry-LOC   that person  dead
          'That dead person was carried.'
```

```
(48)      dakoq-pa- ko         di-  beem bahhaq-mu
          later-POL-2s(ABS)    PASS-give rice   -2s
          'Later you will be given your rice.'
```

Clause (48) has two arguments associated with the verb _beem_ 'to give'. Although passives are 'agentless' they do encode activities which semantically are highly transitive.

5.5 Transitives

5.5.1 Object Focus

The most frequently encountered transitive clauses in PUS are the object focus constructions (see section 4.4). Object focus clauses in PUS are highly transitive. They have an obligatory actor which takes the form of the ergative/object focus pronominal clitic. Object focus clauses generally take an object which is concrete (example (49)), another indication of high transitivity (Hopper and Thompson 1980:253). Objects in _dependent_ object focus clauses may be deleted if the undergoer of the predication is obvious (example (50)). In such cases the clause is still highly transitive, since the identity of a specific undergoer is apparent from the preceding text.

```
(49)      ku-      hingngi indo änäq -ku
          1s(ERG)  hear    that child-1s
          'I hear that child of mine.'
```

```
(50)      mebengngiq leqbaq-um  tau      mam-boqbäq
          morning    go    -PRF people   INT-dig hole

          um-bawa    mesa bawi na-          tunu
          AF-carry   one  pig  3pl(ERG)-butcher
          'In the morning people went to dig a hole, carrying
          a pig to butcher (it).'
```

In example (50) the object <u>bawi</u> 'pig' is not explicitly associated with the verb <u>tunu</u> 'butcher'. This object can be omitted since it was mentioned in the previous clause.

5.5.2 Actor Focus

Actor focus clauses (see section 4.5) are also highly transitive. Like object focus clauses, the <u>um–</u> actor focus constructions take an object which is concrete. Unlike object focus constructions, the *actor* in a dependent actor focus clause may be deleted.

In example (51) (which is repeated from example (29) in chapter 4) the actor <u>baine</u> 'wife' is deleted from the third clause. This deletion of the actor in dependent clauses does not diminish the transitiveness of the clauses.

```
(51)    anna baine- ku ia   ia   maq-kale ia tuhum
        and  female-1s 3    CONJ INT-self 3  go down

        um-honnoq-am  dukaq kale-na dokko
        AF-drop-  BEN also   self-3  go down

        um-pem-andaq-i    andihi
        AF-TR- hold- LOC pole
        'As for my wife, she got down herself, dropping
        herself down by hanging onto a pole.'
```

Similarly, in (50) there is no explicit actor associated with the actor focus verb <u>um–bawa</u>. Yet the identity and presence of the actor (<u>tau</u> 'people') is still apparent.

5.5.3 Derivational Transitive Prefixes

There are several derivational verbal prefixes in PUS which indicate that the verb is transitive and, therefore, can take an object. Most of these transitive prefixes begin with 'p'.

Transitive derivational prefixes serve to increase valency, that is, the number of arguments or participants directly related to the verb. When intransitives, which have a valency of one, are modified so that they can take two arguments (giving them a valency of two), they become transitive. Morphological means of changing the valency of a verb are quite common in languages. So it is not unexpected that PUS would have derivational affixes for such purposes. Concerning the presence of such devices in languages, Bybee (1985:29) reports:

> In 90% of the grammars consulted there was mention of an affix or stem change which could be applied to a verb to change the number of arguments required by the verb. The most frequently mentioned morpheme of this sort was a causative morpheme.

One valency increasing device in PUS is the **causative prefix pa-**. Causatives are highly transitive, involving at least two participants. The object of the predication is "totally affected and highly individuated" (Hopper and Thompson 1980:264).

Causative pa- forms derive a transitive out of an intransitive, resulting in the subject of an intransitive becoming the object of the corresponding transitive.

```
(52)     a. änäq -ku mam-ande
            child-1s INT-eat
            'My child is eating.'

         b. ku-      pa-  ande änäq -ku
            1s(ERG)-CAUS-eat   child-1s
            'I feed my child.'

(53)     a. tikkeduq-äq
            startle -1s(ABS)
            'I was startled.'

         b. na-      pa-  tikkeduq-äq        uham
            3(ERG)-CAUS-suprise -1s(ABS) rain
            'The rain surprised me.'

(54)     a. mammaq sola  -ku
            sleep  friend-1s
            'My friend is sleeping.'
```

```
     b. ku-      issam kao ku-pa-  mammaq asam ingganna
        1s(ERG) know  is  1s-CAUS-sleep all   all

        issi    -N-na banua
        contents-E-3s house
        'I, myself, know how to put everyone in the house
        to sleep.'
```

(55)   a. tohho-äq   dipe   Tanete
          stay -1s(ABS)   over there Tanete
          'I live over there in Tanete.'

       b. na-   pa- tohho daham-na
          3s(ERG)-CAUS-stay horse-3s
          'He stopped his horse.'

The subject of the intransitive verb mam–ande 'to eat' in (52a) is the undergoer encoded as the object which is 'caused to eat' in (52b). Each pair of examples in (53) through (55) also demonstrate how causative pa– changes an intransitive into a transitive.

Causative pa– can also derive transitive constructions out of stems which are not intransitive verbs. In example (56) the preposition sola 'with'[16] is changed to a transitive verb with the meaning 'to accompany'. A stative/adjective verb (see 5.1) can be modified by pa– as demonstrated in (57). A noun which has been made into a transitive verb by the addition of the locative suffix -i can also take the causative prefix as shown in (58).

(56)   la- di- pa- sola-m -koaq   sauq
        IRR-PASS-CAUS-with-PRF-2pl(ABS) downriver
        '(We'll) accompany you downriver.'

(57)   la- ki-   pa- kasalle liu   sanga-N-mu
        IRR-1plex(ERG)-CAUS big   continual name -E-2s
        'We'll magnify your name continually.'

(58)   la- di- pa- puhewa -i
        IRR-PASS-CAUS-clothes-LOC
        '(The body) will be dressed.'

I stated above that causatives increase the valency of the verb. Causative pa-not only changes intransitives into transitive, but it also increases the valency of a transitive stem. Note example (59) in which a two argument transitive verb is changed to a three argument verb with the addition of causative pa-.

```
(59)    a. la- mu-indam -hi-ko      -ka pe-tuliq-ku
           IRR-AF-borrow-UN-2s(ABS)-Q  NR-write-1s
           'Will you borrow my pen?'

        b. la- ku-      pa- indam -i  -ko      pe-tuliq-ku
           IRR-1s(ERG)-CAUS-borrow-LOC-2s(ABS) NR-write-1s
           'I'll loan you my pen.'
```

In addition to causative pa-, PUS verb morphology has five other derivational transitive prefix forms which begin with 'p': pam-, paq-, pem-, pe-, and po-.

The first four of these derivational prefixes (i.e., pam-, paq-, pe-, and pem-) often correspond to the 'm' intransitive prefixes I have already presented (see sections 5.2 and 5.3). Stems generally take the transitive 'p' prefix which corresponds to the 'counterpart' intransitive prefix; e.g., stems which take maq- in intransitive constructions will take paq- to form transitive verbs.

In the examples below, we will see that the transitive prefixes often function in conjunction with one or both of the suffixes -i and -am (see sections 5.5.4 and 5.5.5).

We saw earlier (section 5.3) that intransitive prefixes mam- and maq- are attached to verbs which carry transitive-type meaning. Since these verbs are already inherently transitive, it could seem redundant to mark them with a transitive prefix. It turns out, however, that transitive prefixes pam- and paq- are attached to verbs to create transitive verbs which have objects other than those ordinarily associated with that particular verb.

```
(60)    a. maq-tappaq      -äq
           INT-clothes wash-1s(ABS)
           'I'm clothes-washing.'

        b. la- ku-      paq-tappaq       -am -ko
           IRR-1s(ERG)-TR -clothes wash-BEN-2s
           'I'll wash clothes for you.'
```

The verb root <u>tappaq</u> 'to clothes–wash' can take the prefix <u>maq-</u> (60a) to form an intransitive verb. Likewise, this same root can take the transitive prefix <u>paq-</u> in the formation of a transitive verb. The natural undergoer in the process of washing clothes is, of course, the clothes. However, in this PUS root, the concept of clothes washing is captured in one word. To repeat the clothes as an object would be redundant. Note that the construction in (60b) is benefactive (see section 5.5.5) and the object is the benefactee. While it is normal to consider clothes as the undergoer of the clothes washing predication, it is unusual for a benefactee to be encoded as the object for such a verb. That is why the prefix <u>paq-</u> is used.

Similarly, the transitive prefix <u>pam-</u> is attached to the verb <u>sapu</u> 'to sweep' in example (61). In this case the normal undergoer would be the floor or the house. However, again, this is a benefactive construction resulting in a benefactee as object, so the transitive prefix is used. Likewise, the expected object corresponding to the verb <u>anam</u> 'to weave', would be a mat, or a basket. This is illustrated in (62a) in which the passive form, <u>di–anam</u>, takes <u>ampaq</u> 'mat' as its object. Note the absence of the prefix <u>pam–</u>. Although the mat (<u>ampaq</u>) is specifically mentioned in example (62b) , the benefactive is considered the featured object.[17] Therefore the prefix <u>pam–</u> is attached not only to indicate increased valency, but to point out that the object is unexpected.

```
(61)      na-      pam-sapu -am -kam         Ani
          3s(ERG)-TR- sweep-BEN-1plex(ABS)  Ani
          'Ani swept for us.'
```

```
(62)    a. uali  di-  häppäq  mala-mi  poleq
           after PASS-flatten can  -PRF  only now

           di-  pahanduq di-  anam  ampaq
           PASS-begin     PASS-weave mat
           'After it is flattened out, then the weaving of
           the mat can begin.'

        b. la-  lao-äq       um-pam-anam -am  ampaq-na Ani
           IRR-go -1s(ABS) AF-TR -weave-BEN mat  -3s Ani
           'I'm going to weave Ani a mat.'
```

Example (63) illustrates how a verb can be made more transitive with the addition of paq- and -i. In (63b) the object (i.e., the purpose of the meeting) appears to be more in line with the central meaning of the verb than were the objects of the verbs above. However, in PUS, normally the object of a transitive form of the verb hempum, is something which is gathered.

```
(63)    a. maq-hempum       -kam   isamaiq
           INT-meet together-1plex yesterday
           'We met together yesterday.'

        b. aka  di-  paq-hempum       -i
           what PASS-TR- meet together-LOC
           'What did you meet about?'
```

In some cases, when the transitive derivational prefixes pam- and paq- co-occur with locative -i, a transitive verb is formed with the resultant clause meaning 'to use the object as a location to V'. Again, this meaning reflects the function of these suffixes to send up a signal saying that the predicate is transitive, while the object is not standard.

A typical object for the verb sasaq 'to slice' would be something cut with a knife, e.g., vegetables. This is illustrated in the imperative clause of example (64a).[18] Note example (64b) in which a question is asked concerning the location where the slicing will take place. In this case the transitive prefix pam- is used along with locative -i.

```
(64)    a.  sasaq-i    utam
            slice-LOC  vegetables
            'Slice up vegetables!'

        b.  aka   la- di-  pam-sasaq-i
            what  IRR-PASS-TR -slice-LOC
            'What (location) will be used for slicing?'
```

A man who was carrying a load of wood was asked what he intended to do with the wood. His answer is recorded in (65). Note how he used the root word nasu 'to cook' along with paq- and -i in order to indicate that cooking will take place on the wood. In other words, the wood was to be used as the fuel for his evening meal. Again, one would expect the object of the verb 'cook' to be the food which is cooked.

```
(65)    la- di  -paq-nasu-i
        IRR-PASS-TR -cook-LOC
        '(The wood) will be cooked over.'
```

Similarly, when asked about the pile of coconut shells in his house, a PUS speaker said that he burned them and then put their hot coals into an iron in order to iron clothes. Example (66) illustrates how the affixes pam- and -i are used to turn a noun into a transitive verb which indicates the location of the undergoer.

```
(66)    si- ku-       pam-gahusuq-i
        HAB-1s(ERG)-TR- iron    -LOC
        'I usually place (coconut shell coals) in the
        iron.'
```

Example (67b) demonstrates another case in which a noun root is derived into a verb meaning 'to use as a location to N'. Example (67a) illustrates the intransitive verb which has the root allo 'sun'. In example (67b), a passive verb with a locative suffix -i indicates the presence of an object which will be laid out to be sunned. In example (67c) the topic under discussion is some chairs which are in

front of a house. The speaker explains that his mattresses will be placed onto the chairs for the purpose of sunning them. Here again the prefix pam- indicates that an unexpected object is present.

(67)   a. **mam**-allo-ko
           INT-sun -2s(ABS)
           'Are you out sunbathing?'

        b. uali di- hebuq, **di**- allo-i -m
           after PASS-pull up PASS-sun -LOC-PRF
           'After (the reeds) are pulled up, they
           are sunned.'

        c. ku- **pam**-allo-i gasoq
           1s(ERG)-TR- sun -LOC mattress
           'I am using (the chairs) as a place for
           sunning the mattress.'

When paq- is attached to a noun (without -i), the meaning of the verb is 'to use as a N' (example 68b). This contrasts with the intransitive prefix maq- (68a), which also attaches to nouns with the resultant meaning 'to N' or 'to have/own N' (see also examples (16a–e)).

(68)   a. **maq**-baju -äq
           INT-shirt-1s(ABS)
           'I own/am wearing a shirt.'

        b. mala dukaq di- **paq**-baju
           can also PASS-TR- shirt
           '(The sarong) can also be used as a shirt.'

When paq- is attached to numbers, a verb is formed which means 'to divide into X parts'.

(69)   kulle di- **paq**-dua
           wealth PASS-TR- two
           '(Their) wealth is divided in two.'

The prefix **pem–** rarely occurs. In examples (70) and (71) the addition of the this transitive prefix results in adding an element of volition to the meaning of the verb.

(70) a. ku-   kilala -i   sanga-N-mu
         1s(ERG)-remember-LOC name -E-2s
         'I remember your name.'

      b. melo-äq   la- ku-   **pem**-kilala   -i
         want-1s(ABS) IRR-1s(ERG)-TR- remember-LOC
         'I want to commit (it) to memory.'

(71) a. mem-tama
         INT-enter
         'to enter'

      b. na-   **pem**-tama -i   indo dewata
         3s(ERG)-TR- enter-LOC that god
         'That spirit possessed (him).'

The transitive prefix **pe–** functions to mark an increase in transitivity in the clause. Often **pe–** also bears an element of **volitionality**. Note example (72) in which a transitive verb root (hingngi 'to hear') can be prefixed by **pe-**, resulting in a verb which carries the idea of volitional action ('to listen to'). In this case there does not seem to be an increase in the valency of the verb, yet there is an increase in transitivity since the action is more volitional.

(72) a. ku-   hingngi indo änäq -ku
         1s(ERG)-hear   that child-1s
         'I heard that child of mine.'

      b. ku-   **pe**-hingngi-i   hadio-ku
         1s(ERG)-TR-hear   -LOC radio-1s
         'I listen to my radio.'

The verb <u>ampa</u> 'wait' in example (73a) refers to a low–action, low–volitional activity. The object is not affected. Therefore, the clause in (73a) is relatively low in

transitivity. With the addition of pe- (in example (73b)) the clause becomes highly transitive resulting in the active, volitional action of guarding or babysitting.

(73) a. ku-   ampa-i -ko   sangngallo
        1s(ERG)-wait-LOC-2s(ABS) earlier today
        'I waited for you today.'

     b. menna mu-pe-ampa-i -ko   sangngallo
        who   AF-TR-wait-LOC-2s(ABS) earlier today
        'Who babysat for you today?'

The intransitive verb me-tawa 'to laugh' in example (74a) becomes transitive (example (74b)) with the deletion of me- and the addition of the transitive pe- prefix. In this pe- construction there is again an element of volition and direct effect upon an undergoer. Instead of merely laughing, the actor is laughing at someone. In this story, a dog is complaining to a pig that the pig is deliberately laughing at him, despite their agreement not to laugh when they met again.

(74) a. me- tawa -ko
        INT-laugh-2s(ABS)
        'You are laughing.'

     b. tanda-na mu-   pe-tawa -i -äq   -i   akanna
        proof-3s 2s(ERG)-TR-laugh-LOC-1s(ABS)-LOC is that

        saliwam asam-i -aq isi -N-mu
        outside all -LOC-pl teeth-E-2s
        'The proof that you are laughing at me is that all
        your teeth are showing.'

Another example of a verb root used intransitively or transitively is heko 'to overload'. When prefixed with me- the verb means 'to be overloaded'. However, when heko is prefixed with pe- the valency is increased so that an explicit object can be mentioned. Also, the implication is that the addressee is carrying too much due to her own volition (and foolishness?).

(75)   a. **me-** heko   -ko
               INT-overload-2s(ABS)
               'You are carrying too much.'

        b. um-   **pe-**heko   -i   upe
               2s(ERG)-TR-overload-LOC taro
               'You are carrying too much taro.'

When adjectives take pe-, a transitive verb is formed which means 'to consider/make ADJ'.

(76)   ku-   **pe-**mammiq -i   kao punti
              1s(ERG)-TR-delicious-LOC 1s   banana
              'I think bananas are delicious.'

(77)   ki-   **pe-**buda-m -i
              1plex(ERG)-TR-many-PRF-LOC
              'We consider that to be a lot.'

(78)   ku-   **pe-**kasalle-MI -i
              1s(ERG)-TR-large   -INTS-LOC
              'I (yelled it) really loud.'

Transitive pe- can also be attached to nouns to form transitive verbs with the meaning 'to be used as N'. In (79) the noun ka-mamaq-am 'mother-name' is the name one is called based on the name of one's oldest child (e.g., Ani's mother would be called 'Mamaq Ani). The questioner wants to know the name of the addressee's oldest child so that he'll know what to call the addressee.

(79)   aka sanga-N-na änäq -mu anna
              what name -E-3s child-2s so that

              mala di- **pe-**ka-mamaq -am-ko
              can Pass-TR-NR-mother-NR-2s(ABS)

              'What is the name of your child, so that
              you can be called by your mother-name.'

In examples (80) and (81) the embedded nominal in each case is formed by the nominalizer prefix pe- and a verb root. Thus, the word for a knife is based on

pe- plus the verb <u>sasaq</u> 'to cut'.[19] The addition of transitive prefix <u>pe-</u> creates a transitive verb with the meaning 'to be used as N'.

```
(80)      aka   la- di-  pe-pe-sasaq
          what  IRR-PASS-TR-NR-slice
          'What will be used as a cutting instrument?'

(81)      aka   la- di-  pe-pe-sapu
          what  IRR-PASS-TR-NR-sweep
          'What will be used to sweep with?'
```

The transitive prefix <u>po-</u> is the **actuative** (ACT) prefix. It signals that the actor is motivating someone/something into action or a particular condition.

When prefixed onto verb roots, <u>po-</u> is always followed by another of the 'p' transitive prefixes. The resultant prefix cluster (e.g., <u>po-pe-</u>) has the meaning 'to have/use someone/something do V'. This increases the transitivity of the clause because another participant is added.

```
(82)      indo jembeq-ku la- ku-      po- pe-tanam
          that coffee-1s IRR-1s(ERG)-ACT-TR-plant

          aka     tääq ku-      bela
          because NEG  1s(ERG)-able
          'I am going to have (others) plant that
          coffee of mine because I am not able.'

(83)      la- ku-      po- pe-papia meja
          IRR-1s(ERG)-ACT-TR-make   table
          'I'll have (someone) make a table'
```

In examples (82) and (83), the person who is to be ordered into action is not mentioned, yet is understood to exist because of the construction of the verb. In example (84) the intransitive verb root <u>kähä</u> 'to work' is made transitive with the addition of the derivational prefix <u>pem-</u>. The further addition of actuative <u>po-</u> increases the transitivity by incorporating the sense of agentive initiation, i.e., the water buffalo will work the land as determined by the owner.

```
(84)        mala di-  po- pem-kähä ke tääq-i   ke- änäq
            can  PASS-ACT-TR -work if NEG  LOC POS-child
            '(The water buffalo) can be put to work (by me)
            if it does not give birth.'
```

When asked what he was going to do with his pig when it gets large, a man

replied with the statement recorded in (85). The pig would be sold and the money

would be used to buy rice. Although encoded in a passive construction, the

underlying meaning of clause (85) is highly transitive. There are three participants

involved: the owner of the pig, the pig, and the rice which eventually will be

purchased.

```
(85)        la- di-  po- pam-alli bahhaq
            IRR-PASS-ACT-TR- buy   rice
            '(It) will be used to buy rice.'
```

The prefix po- can also attach to stative verbs and adjectives. In example

(86) po- indicates that the referent is able to make things clear. The implication is

that he can use examples, illustrations, etc. to clarify a point. Note the cluster of

prefixes in clause (86). The closest prefix to the root is ma- which forms a stative

verb. Next is po- which forms a transitive actuative verb. The prefix maq- is

attached to the front of the verb to form an intransitive verb. Although this clause is

intransitive, it is quite transitive in its underlying meaning (see 5.3.1).

```
(86)        ma- nähä   maq-po- ma- kaleso
            STA-smart INT-ACT-STA-clear
            'He is good at explaining.'
```

When po- is attached to adjectives the associated meaning is 'to act ADJ'.

This meaning is still associated with the general actuative meaning of po-, i.e., a

particular condition is brought about by the action of the actor. In example (87) the

child is making his actions, expressions, etc., correspond with those of someone who is brave, even though he is scared.

```
(87)     maq-po- bahani indo änäq
         INT-ACT-brave  that child
         'That child is pretending to be brave.'
```

When prefixing a noun, po- creates a verb with the meaning of 'function/use as' (example (88)). This is similar to the function of pe- (see examples (80) and (81)) when prefixed onto nouns. However, po-N often carries the idea of using something as a *substitute* for the real thing. For example a sharp lid from a can could be di-po-pe-sasaq 'used as a knife'. In example (89) the compound noun tutuq baqba 'close entry way' means 'door'. The owner of the house did not have a door and decided that a couple of boards could be used *as* a door.

```
(88)     aka si- um-      po- apam
         what HAB-2s(ERG)-ACT-bait
         'What do you usually use for bait?'

(89)     la- di- po- tutuq baqba
         IRR-PASS-ACT-close entry way
         '(It) will function as a door.'
```

The last transitive prefix I will present here is **affected ka-**.[20] When prefixed onto a verb, the undergoer is affected by the action or condition of that verb.

```
(90)     na-      ka- mase-i   -kam
         3s(ERG)-AFF-pity-LOC-1plex
         'He pitied us.'

(91)     na-      ka- heaq    asu Ani
         3s(ERG)-AFF-afraid dog Ani
         'Ani scared the dog.'
```

Sometimes the prefix mem- combines with ka- to form the prefix cluster mem-ka-. This prefix cluster combines the element of reflexiveness of mem- (see

(21f,g)) with the function of affectedness of ka-, to form verbs which mean 'to affect an action on oneself'.

```
(92)    mem-ka- ala   längäm olo  -na Dewata
        INT-AFF-take go up   front-3s God
        'to pray' lit. 'to take oneself up before God'

(93)    mem-ka- lao-äq        yawo belaq
        INT-AFF-go -1s(ABS)   up at garden
        'I set out from up in the garden.'

(94)    ma- ka- mem-tingngajo lako
        STA-AFF-INT-to face    to over there

        ma- ka- mem-tingngajo dio        mai
        STA-AFF-INT-to face    over there here
        '(We) faced that way, (we) faced this way.'
```

5.5.4 'Locative' -i

Verbal suffixes -i and -am function like a sub–focus system within the verbal focus system of PUS (see chapter 4). They can not occur independently of the preverbal focus markers. These suffixes indicate not only that there is an undergoer of the predication (thus increasing the transitivity of the verb), but also, in a broad sense, the *type* of relationship the surface object has with the verb. In this section I will present the functions of -i. In section 5.5.5 I will cover the functions of -am.

The suffix -i indicates that an object is the goal, source, experiencer, patient, or location of a predication.[21] It indicates the presence of the direct object of the verb. Although -i points towards many types of objects, for the sake of simplicity I will call it locative -i. Examples (95) through (100) show -i indicating various types of object.

```
(95) goal:
        la- lako  -kam          -i   banua-N-na Ani
        IRR-over to-1plex(ABS)-LOC house-E-3s Ani
        'We're going over to Ani's house.
```

(96) goal:
```
      ka- mase-i  -äq
      AFF-pity-LOC-1s(ABS)
      'Pity me.'
```

(97) source:
```
      tääq pi   bossiq na-      bossiq-i   uham
      NEG  IPRF wet     3(ERG)-wet    -LOC rain
      '(It) wasn't yet wet, wetted by the rain.'
```

(98) experiencer (twice):
```
      tamba-i  -äq        am- ku-      bali-i  -ko
      call -LOC-1s(ABS) CONJ-1s(ERG)-help-LOC-2s(ABS)
      'Call me and I'll help you.'
```

(99) patient:
```
      iko dukaq lelem  -i    sa-palapa
      2s  also  to fell-LOC a- frond
      'You also (should) cut down a frond.'
```

(100) location:
```
      dadi     indo sali -sali  ki-    onge   -i
      finish that floor-floor 1plex-occupy-LOC

      illaam-mi -kam   -i
      inside-PRF-1plex-EMP²²
      'When that little floor space was done we occupied
      (it), we were inside!'
```

When locative -i is attached to roots which are intrinsically non-transitive, it forms them into transitive verbs (examples (95) and (97)). In this sense locative -i is a derivational suffix. As we saw in section 5.5.3, locative -i often coincides with transitive derivational prefixes. So, there is often some redundancy in its function as a derivational affix.

When -i is added to a noun, it forms a transitive verb with the meaning 'to N something/someplace'. In example (101) -i is suffixed to the noun sia 'salt' (in its reduplicated form) to create the transitive verb 'to salt something'. In example (102) -i is added to the noun sanga 'name' to form the transitive verb meaning 'to name something'.

(101)   di- sia -sia -i
        PASS-salt-salt-LOC
        (It's) salted a little.'

(102)   tuqdo-i am -ki   -sanga-i[23]
        point-3s CONJ-1plex-name -LOC
        'Point at it and we'll name (it).'

When locative -i is attached to an adjective it forms a transitive verb with the meaning 'to cause/consider something to be(come) ADJ'. Locative -i derives bossiq 'wet' (in example (97)) into a transitive verb meaning 'to cause something to become wet'. Similarly, locative -i (in conjunction with the transitive prefix pe-) forms a transitive verb out of the adjective mammiq 'delicious' (example (103)).

(103)   ku-   pe-mammiq   -i   kao punti
        1s(ERG)-TR-delicious-LOC 1s banana
        'I think bananas are delicious.'

As illustrated in examples (103) through (107), -i often co-occurs with one of the transitive prefixes (see section 5.5.3).

(104)   di- paq-base-i
        PASS-TR- wash-LOC
        '(It will be) used as a place for washing.'

(105)   melo-äq   la- ku-   pem-kilala   -i
        want-1s(ABS) IRR-1s(ERG)-TR- remember-LOC
        'I want to commit (it) to memory.'

(106)   la- ku-   paq-tulaq-i   indo tau
        IRR-1s(ERG)-TR- talk -LOC that person
        'I'll talk with that person.'

(107)   mala-hi-ko   -ka ku-   paq-pakatu-i[24]
        can -UN-2s(ABS)-Q 1s(ERG)-TR- send   -LOC

        liwam   pasaq mu-   alli bau
        over to market 2s(ERG)-buy   fish
        'Can I send you over to the market to buy fish?'

When the absolutive clitic fills the role of the undergoer in a predication, locative -i̱ comes between the verb stem and the absolutive clitic in order to *point* towards the clitic as the object. Such is the case in examples (96) and (98). When the absolutive clitic fills the role of subject in an *antipassive* clause construction, -i̱ still comes between the verb stem and the absolutive clitic even though the absolutive is not the object. Although it may seem more logical/natural to position locative -i̱ after the subject clitic (in order to clearly point out that the object of the verb is something other than the absolutive clitic), there is a morphosyntactic basis for positioning locative -i̱ before the absolutive clitic.

In an antipassive construction (see section 4.6) the verb is prefixed with the actor focus verbal prefix u̱m–. The presence of the post–verbal absolutive clitic along with actor focus u̱m– indicates that the construction is antipassive. Since the absolutive clitic can only function as subject in such a case, the locative suffix -i̱ can precede it without causing confusion. It is clear that locative -i̱ is pointing toward an argument other than the subject of the antipassive. This explicit indication of the presence of an object again points out the intermediate transitive nature of PUS antipassives.

```
(108)    tamba-i  -äq
         call -LOC-1s(ABS)
         'Call me.'

(109)    um-tungkaq-i  -äq       baqba
         AF-open     -LOC-1s(ABS) door
         'I open the door.'
```

There are some cases in which locative -i̱ follows the absolutive clitic. Note example (95) in which locative -i̱ functions to indicate the goal of the verb. Unlike example (109), example (95) is not an antipassive. In such a case locative -i̱ must

come after the absolutive if it is pointing toward an argument other than the one encoded by the absolutive.

In still other cases, -i points not towards the absolutive, nor to another argument within the main clause, but rather to a following clause which is the complement to the main clause. Perhaps it could be argued that this complement -i should be treated as a different morpheme than locative -i. Yet, in both cases -i functions to indicate that something is to follow. In most cases the 'something' is the object of the clause. However, in other cases -i indicates that a clause will follow which completes the present clause.

(110)   mu-   ua -am -äq   -i   la- si- tammu-kiaq
         2s(ERG)-say-BEN-1s(ABS)-LOC IRR-REC-meet -1plin
         "You said to me, 'we will meet each other.'

(111)   tanda-na mu-   pe-tawa -i -äq   -i   akanna
         proof-3s 2s(ERG)-TR-laugh-LOC-1s(ABS)-LOC is that

         saliwam asam-i -aq isi -N-mu
         outside all -LOC-pl teeth-E-2s
         'The proof that you are laughing at me is that
         all your teeth are showing.'

In example (110), locative -i indicates that the *words* which the addressee spoke will follow. Locative -i in (111) indicates that the tanda 'proof' that the addressee is laughing will follow in another clause.

5.5.5 'Benefactive' -am

The verbal suffix -am also indicates the presence of an object. The roles of the objects to which -am refers differ from the roles of the objects associated with locative -i. The suffix -am indicates the presence of an object which is oblique, i.e., not direct. The presence of suffix -am signals a high transitivity predication; i.e., one

in which there are three underlying participants. I call this suffix benefactive -am because the most common role which -am indicates is the benefactive role.

(112) la- lao-äq   um-bawa -am uwai Ani
       IRR-go- 1s(ABS) AF-carry-BEN water Ani
       'I'm going to carry water for Ani.'

(113) Ani um-papia-am -äq   inde gambaq
       Ani AF-make -BEN-1s(ABS) this picture
       'Ani made this picture for me.'

(114) ku-   tanam-am punti -N-na Ani
       1s(ERG)-plant-BEN banana-E-3s Ani
       'I planted Ani's bananas for her.'

(115) la- ku-   alli-am -ko   baju
       IRR-1s(ERG)-buy -BEN-2s(ABS) shirt
       'I'll buy you a shirt.'

(116) bangom-am -am -äq   itim sola -ku
       raise -BEN-BEN-1s(ABS) that friend-1s
       'Lift up that friend of mine there for me.'

Note example (116) in which benefactive -am occurs twice. These two benefactive suffixes refer to the two benefactees in the clause, i.e., the speaker and the friend who is lifted up.

The typical word order for bitransitive clauses is verb–direct object–indirect object (examples (112) and (114)). The agent can be located in the preverbal position as illustrated in the actor focus (113) and object focus (114) examples. In the case of an antipassive construction, an auxiliary is used to bring the subject from the typical post–verbal position to a pre–verbal position (example (112)). This is to avoid potential ambiguities in the clause. If the subject of an antipassive were to follow the verb in a benefactive clause (example (117)) there may be some confusion as to the identities of the actor and the benefactee (cf. example (113)).

```
(117)   *la- um-bawa -am -äq       uwai  Ani
        IRR-AF-carry-BEN-1s(ABS) water Ani
        'I'm going to carry water for Ani.'/
        'Ani is going to carry water for me.'
```

Benefactive -am also functions to encode the role of speech act addressees and other oblique roles; i.e., it points to the indirect object.

```
(118)   la- ku-      tulaq-am- ko       Ani wattu-N-na
        IRR-1s(ERG)-talk -BEN-2s(ABS) Ani time- E-DEF
        'I'll tell you, Ani, about the time . . .'

(119)   ku-      ua -am -mi  änäq -ku sola baine-ku
        1s(ERG)-say-BEN-PRF child-1s with wife -1s
        'I said to my child and my wife . . .'

(120)   sanaka    di  -alli-am
        how much PASS-buy -BEN
        'How much was paid (by you) (for the goods)?'
```

Example (120) is a passive form of a question. The question is made more polite by avoiding direct reference to the agent of the predication. There are three underlying 'participants' related to the verb alli 'to buy' in this question: the agent, the purchase price, and the goods which were purchased. Benefactive -am encodes the unmentioned goods which were purchased. A translated active–statement transformation of question (120) brings out more clearly the oblique status of the purchased item: '(You) paid X amount (for the goods)'.

Example (120) illustrates how benefactive -am can encode the role of the undergoer even when there is no explicit object mentioned in the clause. In fact, both locative -i and benefactive -am can refer to objects which are not explicit in the clause, but rather were mentioned earlier in the text. Such is the case in example (121) (which is repeated from chapter 4 example (24)).

```
(121) ku-      hengga   -i  -m   hindim am-
      1s(ERG)-dismantle-LOC-PRF wall    and-

      ku-      hengga   -i  eham  ku-       kulakkaq-i  -am
      1s(ERG)-dismantle-LOC ladder 1s(ERG)-joist      -LOC-BEN

      anna ku-       sali -i  -am -i  tama hoa-  na  banua
      and  1s(ERG)-floor-LOC-BEN-LOC in   inside-DEF house
      'I took apart the wall and I took apart the ladder;
      I made (the bamboo) into floor joists and I made (the
      bamboo) into flooring in the main part of the house.'
```

Lit. 'I took apart the wall and I took apart the ladder,
     I floored joisted (the floor joists with the
     bamboo from the ladder) and I floored (the floor
     with the bamboo from the wall) inside the main
     part of the house.'

In the first clause of (121), locative -i follows the verb root henggä 'dismantle' and points toward the patient of the verb which in this case is the hindim 'wall'. In the following clause the same verb appears along with locative -i, which in this case indicates that an eham 'ladder' will be dismantled. In the next clause locative -i follows the noun kulallaq 'floor joist' and serves to create a transitive verb which means 'to floor joist something'. Note how locative -i in example (101) encoded the object which was salted. The material (or instrument) is not referred to by locative -i, but rather the goal or location of the newly formed predicate. In the case of kulakkaq-i, locative -i is not referring to the material used for making floor joists, but rather to the floor joists themselves in a reflexive type relationship. The following benefactive -am refers to the instrument which is used to make the floor joists, in this case the dismantled ladder.

Similarly, in the last clause the locative -i suffix following sali 'floor' forms the transitive verb sali-i with the meaning 'to floor something'. Again, this refers to the location of the event, which is the floor itself. Benefactive -am encodes the material used to make the floor, i.e., the bamboo taken off the wall. The final locative -i of ku-sali-i-am-i encodes the location in the house where this new floor was laid.

NOTES

[1]While I refer to Hopper and Thompson's (1980) transitivity properties, I am not basing my discussion on PUS transitivity wholly on their parameters. I am limiting the analysis of transitivity in PUS to the functions of derivational verb affixes.

[2]The PUS people have an expression ma–hante lino–na which means 'his world is level/flat'. Figuratively, this means 'he has no worries/he has it easy'; which reflects their perception about how hard it is to eke out a living in their mountainous region.

[3]I will discuss the role of ma– 'statives' as adverbs in 6.5.

[4]I am not presenting a full discussion on noun phrases in this thesis. However, the role of ma– as a modifier of nouns demands a brief presentation of such constructions.

[5]Some ma– stative verbs drop the ma– prefix when filling the adjective slot . Note the 'adjectives' which correspond to the stative verbs ma–lotä 'black', ma–kulaq 'hot' and ma–hihi 'yellow': tedom lotä 'black water buffalo'; uwai kulaq 'hot water/hot drink'; kaju hihi 'yellow wood'. In each of these cases the resultant noun phrase is a common term viewed as a *compound*, not as a modification of a noun. For example, PUS speakers would not consider lotä 'black' as a modification which differentiates the color of water buffalos in general, but rather, they categorize tedom lotä as a special type of water buffalo. Similarly, kaju hihi does not bring to mind any old piece of yellow wood, but rather a type of wood from the tree which bears the same name. Only outsiders like myself note that the wood from that tree is yellow and obviously the name originally came from the color.

[6]Yet not all size or dimension statives begin with ka; see example (6c).

⁷The 'm' in the penultimate coda then changes to the point of articulation of the following consonant due to nasal assimilation (see section 2.4). This morpheme-internal process of nasal assimilation further strengthens the argument for positing /k/ and /m/ as the only syllable final consonant phonemes. See note 10 in Chapter 2.

⁸I am presenting reduplication of statives in this section in order to contrast this process with the intensification of statives. I will discuss reduplication of non-stative verbs in sections 6.1 (aspectual reduplication) and 6.3 (manner reduplication).

When PUS nominals are reduplicated, the resultant meaning is 'diminuative N' or 'false or pretend N':

(122) asu   'dog'   asu-asu   'puppy/pretend dog'

       banua   'house'   banua-nua   'little house/play house'

       daham   'horse'   daham-daham   'colt/pretend horse'

       mäneq   'chicken'   mäneq-mäneq   'chick/pretend chicken'

There is evidence that reduplication functions similarly in some Philippine languages. In Higaonon (a Manobo language) reduplication of nouns results in forming nouns which convey the meaning 'false or pretend N'. However, unlike PUS, reduplication of nouns does not mean 'diminuative N' (Scott Munger, personal communication). For example, a badi' 'machete' can be reduplicated to badi'-badi', but the meaning is 'child's machete' or 'play machete'. The term would never refer to a small machete which an adult would use, even though, in form, it is similar to a real machete. The following examples are also from Higaonon:

(123) balay   'house'   balay-balay   'child's play house'

       tadak   'truck'   tadak-tadak   'wheel barrow'

       diyus   'God'   diyus-diyus   'false god'

Unlike PUS, Higaonon does not reduplicate statives.

Cebuano also has reduplication of nouns. Like, Higaonon, the reduplicated nouns have the meaning 'false or pretend N', but do not mean 'diminutive N'.

```
(124) tawo    'person'   tawo-tawo      'figurehead'

      kabayu  'horse'    kabayu-kabayu  'folding ironing board
                                        /toy horse'

      iru     'dog'      iru-iru        'broken piece of white
                                        coral, resembling a
                                        dog in shape'

      manuk   'chicken'  manuk-manuk    'weather vane'
                                        Not *'chick'
```

I find no evidence of Cebuano statives or adjectives reduplicating to form words with the meaning 'somewhat X' (as does PUS). The Cebuano word gamay 'small in size', for example, can be reduplicated, but it forms the verb gamay-gamay 'reduce something into small pieces'.

[9]The concept of possession is actually transitive–like in nature, e.g., 'I have a shovel'. I include the examples of maq– verbs here because the alternate meaning, 'to N', is intransitive. The transitive nature of possessive maq– parallels the transitivity of maq– prefixed verb stems which I will present in the discussion on non–prototypical intransitives (see 5.3).

[10]The only exception to this I have found involves the verb base 'to wash' which takes the forms maq-base 'to wash something' and mem-base 'to wash oneself'. I will discuss these in more detail below.

[11]The acts of climbing a tree (tumekaq) or going to fetch water (tumimba) are transitive–like activities. However, this may be an etic viewpoint. It is very possible that the PUS people emically view such activities as intransitive.

[12]Salombe's ma(G)- forms take the surface form of [mas] before an 's'–initial verb so that, e.g., ma(G)-sassaq 'wash clothes' becomes [massassaq]. This corresponds to the PUS process of 'continuantization' (see section 2.4) which changes a morpheme–final nasal into the same form as the morpheme–initial continuant on the following stem. According to 'continuantization' the PUS form mam–suhaq 'to write something' becomes [massuhaq] and the form mam–lulum 'to roll up something' becomes [mallulum]. Torajan phonology differs from PUS in that a nasal final morpheme followed by /l/ will take the form of a velar nasal rather than become a continuant. Hence, the need to posit a separate allomorph which Salombe calls ma(G)-.

[13]However, the only examples I have recorded which show an object explicitly mentioned in a separate, non–incorporated form are phrases which I specifically elicited. I find no such examples in text and therefore must suspect that language helpers stretched their imaginations to come up with the forms which include an object with maq- or mam-. Still, these suspicious forms do provide evidence of the underlying transitive meaning of these verbs.

[14]See section 7.3.3.

[15]The word lako 'to over there (at a place which is relatively level with our location and is on the other side of a valley or a mountain)' is one of six directions (which also have six corresponding locatives) in PUS. These can function as verbs or can modify another verb.

[16]It is fitting (note example (54)) that the possessed form of the word sola is 'friend'.

[17]I use the term 'feature' as opposed to 'focused' in order to avoid confusion with the overall verbal focus system as described in chapter 4. See sections 5.5.4 and 5.5.5 for further discussion on this subject.

[18]See section 7.2 for a discussion on imperatives in PUS.

[19]One particularly challenging aspect of the PUS language is its propensity to use the same surface forms for different functions. Not only are there transitive prefix morphemes with the forms pam- paq-, pe-, pem-, po-, and ka- , but there are also nominalizing morphemes with the same forms. These morphemes are prefixed to roots to form nouns, often in conjunction with the nominalizing suffix –am, which is the same *form* as the benefactive suffix on verbs. Thus, for example, pe-tindo-am (with the root tindo 'to lie down') means 'place where one lies down'.

[20]I owe this application of the term **affected** to Michael Martens (forthcoming) who uses it to describe the prefix ka- in Uma.

[21]While I am not undertaking an indepth case frame analysis at this time, I do draw upon Longacre's (1983) inventory of cases in identifying the various roles of objects.

[22]In addition to the absolutive clitic –i and the locative suffix –i (see notes 22 and 23) there is also a clitic –i which indicates *emphasis*. All attempts to identify this clitic as either the absolutive clitic or as the locative suffix –i fail. I will illustrate with a few examples from a text about a family in Tanete who survived a stormy night in which their house was destroyed. When the father could not find one of his children, he yelled out, "where are you?" The child's answer is recorded in example (125).

```
(125)   inde-äq      -i
        here-1s(ABS)-i
        'I'm here!'
```

At first glance it appears that –i could be interpreted as locative –i. However, this is an intransitive clause with no undergoer unless the meaning of the clause is interpreted as 'I am located in this place.' Note however, another example of emphatic –i which can have no locative interpretation (example (126)).

```
(126)    kammaq-koaq le daum  ma -heaq  -aq-i
         quiet -2pl   OK don't STA-afraid-pl-EMP
         'Be quiet, OK; don't be afraid!'
```

Emphatic -i in example (126) cannot be interpreted as a third person clitic -i encoding an object (rendering a translation of *'don't be afraid of it') because the verb is intransitive. In order to be transitive the affected prefix ka– (see 5.5.3) would have to appear before the root heaq.

Later in the text, the man of the house (the speaker) prays to God. In his prayer he exclaims to God, "Have pity on us!" (example (127)). In this case, locative -i is used to identify he and his family as the goal of God's pity. Emphatic -i is then added at the end of the verb structure.

```
(127)    ka- mase-i  -kam  -i
         AFF-pity-LOC-1plex-EMP
         'Have pity on us!.'
```

[23]Note the absolutive third person clitic -i following the imperative form of the verb tuqdo 'point at' in example (102). One way that the absolutive clitic is differentiated from locative -i is by the effect each has on the stress patterns of the words to which they attach. Unlike locative -i, the absolutive clitic does not affect the stress on the word which it follows (see section 2.2).

[24]In example (107), locative -i, which follows the verb root pakatu 'to send' points to the addressee, -ko '2s', as the object. Note that -ko (along with the uncertainty clitic -ho and question clitic -ka—see section 7.3.1) is shunted to the post auxliary/pre-verbal position. This movement to the post auxiliary position is typical of verbal clitics in PUS. This feature again differentiates locative suffix -i from absolutive clitic -i. Note, for example, how the absolutive clitic -i moves to the post auxiliary position in example (128).

(128) puha-i   mam-ande me- tindo   -m
       after-3s(ABS) INT-eat   INT-lay down-PRF
       'After he ate (he) laid down.'

6. MODIFIERS OF PREDICATION

Modifiers of predication function to alter the meaning of the basic predication. A speaker has a wide range of possible modifications to choose from. As Longacre (1981:340) notes, the decision to use a particular type of modification is not a random decision:

> Diversity must *always* be explained. Differing forms of tense/aspect/mood/voice do not exist for nothing in a language. Our belief is that such variety serves the needs of discourse . . . .
>
> . . . Just as a spectographic analysis of white light separates out various hues (our perception of differing wave lengths) ranging from red to violet, so the analysis of a narrative text reveals a cline of information which ranges from the most dynamic elements of the story to the most static (depictive) elements; successive positions along the cline correlate well (as a whole) with distinctions among the verb forms of a language (i.e., with the tense/aspect/mode/voice system), but other features (word order, use of affixes, particles, or adverbs) must sometimes be invoked to round out the picture.

There are a number of ways in which predications in PUS can be modified. I will present several of the most common means in the following sections.[1]

6.1 Aspect

PUS expresses **perfective** and **imperfective** aspects by means of the verbal enclitics -mi and -pi. **Habitual** action is expressed by the verbal proclitic si-. **Continuous** or **repetitive** action is expressed through partial reduplication of the verb. I will discuss each of these aspect encoding devices in turn.

According to Comrie (1976:3), "aspects are different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation." Comrie compares aspect with tense which "relates the time of the situation referred to some other time, usually to the moment of speaking." PUS has no morphological means for expressing tense.

Tense is expressed through the use of time words such as isamaiq 'yesterday',

sangngallo 'earlier today', dakoq 'later', makaleq 'tomorrow', etc.

In this chapter I have chosen to present aspect along with the discussion of

other modifiers of predication. According to Bybee (1985:21):

> Aspect . . . refers exclusively to the action or state described by the verb. It
> does not affect the participants, nor does it refer to them. Thus, it might be
> said that aspect is the category that is most directly and exclusively relevant to
> the verb.

Verbal aspect (particularly perfective and imperfective) in PUS is best viewed

in relation to its discourse level functions.[2] Before discussing these functions, I will

summarize the morphological aspects of –mi and –pi.

In chapter 2 (example (33)) I presented the three different forms of the

perfective aspect clitic. After stems ending in vowels, the perfective form is –m,

after stems ending in nasals, the form is –mi, and after stems which end with a

glottal stop ('q'), the perfective form is –um. Most languages of South Sulawesi have

only the perfective forms –mi or –mo. Therefore, I refer to all of these PUS forms

as perfective –mi.

Each of the three basic forms of –mi is further modified if there is a following

absolutive clitic.[3] The final 'm' in the forms –m and –um assimilates to the point of

articulation of the following 'k'–initial absolutive pronoun. The 'i' in the form –mi

harmonizes with the first vowel of the following absolutive clitic. When the following

absolutive clitic begins with a vowel (–äq), the vowels in both –mi and –um are

deleted resulting in the same *perfective* + *absolutive* surface form (–mäq).

Table 9.--Perfective -mi with the Absolutive Pronouns

Following Vowel Final Stems: -m

sule-m-äq	-->	-mäq	'I've come.'
-ko		-ngko	'You've come.'
si-tammu-m-kiq		-ngkiq	'We (du in) have met.'
-kiaq		-ngkiaq	'We all (in) have met.'
sule-m-kam		-ngkam	'We (ex) have come.'
-koaq		-ngkoaq	'You all have come.'

Following Nasal Final Stems: -mi

bulim-mi-äq	-->	-mäq	'I'm already lost.'
-ko		-moko	'You're already lost.'
-kiq		-mikiq	'We're (du in) already lost.'
-kiaq		-mikiaq	'We're all (in) already lost.'
-kam		-makam	'We're (ex) already lost.'
-koaq		-mokoaq	'You all are already lost.'

Following Glottal Final Stems: -um

na-dängguq-um-äq	-->	-mäq	'He hit me.'
-ko		-ungko	'He hit you.'
-kiq		-ungkiq	'He hit us (du in).'
-kiaq		-ungkiaq	'He hit us (in).'
-kam		-ungkam	'He hit us (ex).'
-koaq		-ungkoaq	'He hit all of you.'

In examples below I will use the three basic forms of -mi (i.e., m, -mi, and -um) without showing the morphophonemic changes shown in table 9.

Perfective -mi follows the verb and precedes the absolutive clitic in intransitive constructions (examples (1) and (2)), non–prototypical intransitives (such as the antipassive in example (3)), and transitive clauses (4).

(1)   sule-m   -ko   mu-ala bahhaq-mu
        come-PRF-2s(ABS) AF-take rice   -2s
        'Have you already come for your rice?'

```
(2)     leqbaq-um -kam          illaam mai
        go    -PRF-1plex(ABS) upriver here
        'We left from upriver to come here.'

(3)     um-batta-m  -äq       kao bittiq-ku
        AF-cut  -PRF-1s(ABS) 1s  foot  -1s
        'I cut my foot.'

(4)     na-     tundam -mi -kam   Ani
        3s(ERG)-wake up-PRF-1plex Ani
        'Ani woke us up.'
```

True to its nature as a clitic, perfective –mi will follow post–verbal modifiers (example (5)). In negated clauses the perfective clitic follows the pre–verbal negative word tääq (example (6)).

```
(5)     maq-sambajam oo  -m -äq      -i
        INT-pray    again-PRF-1s(ABS)-EMP
        'I prayed again!'

(6)     tääq-um -ko        la- landaq längäm
        NEG -PRF-2s(ABS)  IRR-arrive up
        'It's already too late for you to make it up there.'
```

As can be ascertained from the examples above, perfective –mi communicates a sense of completeness. It is often (but not exclusively) associated with past situations, and thus can appear to function as a past tense marker. The use of perfective –mi becomes a significant factor in discourse level communication. After I present a brief introduction to imperfective –pi, I will discuss the role of –mi in discourse.

Imperfective –pi has one basic form which can be modified by the following absolutive clitic.

Table 10.--Forms of Imperfective -pi


```
-pi-äq  -->  päq
-ko          poko
-kiq         pikiq
-kiaq        pikiaq
-kam         pakam
-koaq        pokoaq
```


Like perfective -mi, imperfective -pi also follows the verb and precedes the absolutive clitic as shown in examples (7) and (8). Imperfective -pi also follows the pre-verbal negation word tääq (example (9)).

(7)   sule-pi -äq   mane   ku-   balaq -i
        come-IMPF-1s(ABS) only then 1s(ERG)-replace-LOC
        'Later when I come I'll be able to replace (it).'

(8)   ku-   pahanduq-am -pi -ko   dio   -na
        1s(ERG)-begin   -BEN-IMPF-2s(ABS) method-DEF

        mu-   tanam tuju Ani
        2s(ERG)-plant reed Ani
        'I'll begin (to tell) you the method you use for
        planting reeds, Ani.'

(9)   tääq-pi -äq   kadoq deem mammaq pusam bengi
        NEG -IMPF-1s(ABS) 1s   EXT sleep all   night
        'I have not slept all night.'

(10)   pe- tuaq-pi dio   tedom   lea
        INT-view-IMPF down there water buffalo younger male

        battu dio-   pi
        whether down there-IMPF
        'Look down there first for the water buffalo, son,
        is it still there?'

Imperfective -pi signifies incomplete action (examples (7) and (8) and the first -pi in (10)) or durative action ((9) and the second -pi in (10)). It often refers to current or future situations.

Imperfective -pi has a polite counterpart form -pa. Polite imperfective -pa (POL) maintains the same form in every environment.

```
(11)    dakoq-pa  yolo  tääq-pi    tau     la  me- tamba
        later-POL first NEG -IMPF  people  IRR-INT-call
        'Wait a second, we will not yet call out.'

(12)    makaleq -pa  anna     mala deem-pa
        tomorrow-POL so that  can  EXT -POL

        ki-         ola
        1plex(ERG)-traverse
        'Later tomorrow (we'll go) so that there will be
        (a path) for us to travel on.'
```

In discourse, the perfective aspect is commonly used to present the foregrounded situations. I use the terms *foreground* and *background* as defined by Givón (1984:287):

> In connected discourse, some aspects of the description—coded in some sentences/clauses—are considered the *gist, backbone, main line* of the episode/description/communication. They are the **foreground** of the discourse. Others are considered *satellites, side trips, supportive* portions of the description/episode/communication. Those are the **background** portions of the discourse.

The imperfective aspect is seldom used in narrative discourse in PUS. For example, in four PUS folk tales, perfective -mi was used 49 times, while -pi was used 8 times, with all 8 uses occurring in direct quotes. Similarly, in 9 true story narrative accounts perfective -mi was used 115 times, while imperfective -pi only occurred 8 times outside of direct quotes. By contrast, in behavioral discourse (Longacre 1983:3) there is little or no usage of either perfective -mi or imperfective -pi. For example, in a speech at the funeral of the oldest man in Tanete, the head of the family used no aspect markers in the entire main body of his speech as he urged the attendees to behave properly while the water buffalos were butchered and the meat divided up.

The text "The Storm" presented in example (13) illustrates how perfective -mi is used to highlight the main events in narrative discourse. The sentences in which the main verb is perfective are presented in the right–hand column of (13). The perfective verbs are in bold. Constructions in which the main verb is non-perfective are in the left–hand column. Clauses with imperfective –pi are underlined.[4]

(13) <u>Non-Perfective</u>   <u>Perfective</u>
      <u>Main Verb</u>   <u>Main Verb</u>

1. That time when at daylight
the land was ravaged,[5]

2.   well, about four o'clock in
                                    the morning, Ani **awakened** us.

3. He said, 'Wake up all of
you because it's raining very
hard.'

4.   Well, we **woke** up.

5. I also woke up my children
and we got up. Well, he
said, 'Let's all pray.'

6.   We **prayed** first.

7.   Well, afterwards, he **said**
                                    'Fry some coffee so that my
                                    eyes can clear up because <u>I</u>
                                    <u>have not yet slept all night</u>.'

8. Ani said it. Well, I said
to him, 'Yes'.

9.   I **fried** it and Uni went to
                                    pound it.

10.   After I gave them coffee,
                                    well, I **put** on some rice

11. so that it could be carried in a pot if we go, who knows where.

12.

Well, then it was just about to get **bright** out.

13. Well, Ani saw that upriver the rice field (the dikes) had already **collapsed**.

14.

Well, he **left upriver** with Uni and repaired them.

15. Well, the river was getting much bigger.

16.

Well, when he arrived at the garden house, well, we **ate**.

17.

About eight o'clock, well, (the river) **came from upriver down to here**, downriver the rice field was flooded by the river which carried in logs.

18.

Well, we **took** our sarongs and carried Ibi.

19. We went up to Pati's house. Well, we got up there. The flooded river also came up (to the rice field dikes).

20.

Well, we **continued (to stay) up there** all day.

21. We saw the continuous sliding over at the main road.

22.

Well, after awhile, people from Sandam Kondo **came upriver**.

```
23.They said, 'You're going
to be accompanied downriver.'

24. Well, Ani said
[politely], 'Tomorrow (we'll
go) so that there will be
something to traverse, since
everything has slid, that
downriver path washed away.'
Well, they said, 'Yes.'  They
came back down here.  Well,
it was morning before they
came up to get us.

25.                                    We left from upriver and
                                       (stayed) downriver in Sandam
                                       Kondo.

26. A whole lot of people
went upriver to get our
things.
```

Combined together, the clauses which are marked with perfective -mi provide a good abstract of the whole story. This strengthens the argument that the perfective aspect is commonly used to present the foregrounded situations in a text. The foregrounding function of completive-type aspects (like the perfective in PUS) is similarly addressed by Hwang (1987:87) in her study of Korean narratives.

> In contrast to the incompletive, durative, and stative aspects, the completive, nondurative, and nonstative aspects tend to increase the prominence of information and thus raise the level of information—as though the event has been reported with a little more force.

The perfective in PUS similarly adds a sense of prominence to the predication.

In example (13) there are seven instances in which direct quotes are used. In the analysis of direct quotes, I refer to Longacre (1983:129) who considers "the attribution of an utterance or the substance of an utterance to a speaker" as a notional structure which is constructed from a combination of predications. He calls

this relation "speech attribution." PUS speech attribution constructions consist of the speech verb ua 'to say' and the quoted words of the speaker.

In example (13) I have divided the speech attribution constructions according to the aspectual character of the speech verb. In (13.7) the speech verb is marked with perfective –mi. This indicates that the speech attribution construction is aspectually perfective. According to this standard, all other instances of speech attribution in example (13) are aspectually non–perfective. Note example (13.23) in which the verb of the quotation is perfective, while the speech verb itself is non–perfective. The speaker used the perfective at the time of his utterance, but the narrator later reported the utterance as part of a non–perfective speech attribution construction. The question is raised, are PUS speech attribution constructions considered foregrounded when marked as perfective? If the speech verbs are not marked as perfective but the quote itself is perfective, can the construction ever be considered part of the foregrounded text? The constructions in which the speech attribution verbs are marked as perfective will very likely be foregrounded constructions. However, the use of aspect (or tense or mood) markers within a quotation is probably not directly related to foregrounding or backgrounding, since quotations are embedded discourse elements (Longacre 1989).

Closely related to speech attribution is "awareness attribution" (Longacre 1983:133). Awareness attribution encompasses "the attribution of cognitive content to a conscious subject" (129). Such verbs as 'know', 'see', 'feel', and 'sense' attribute cognitive content to someone. The cognitive content itself is expressed in a seperate predication. In example (13.13) the verb ita 'to see' is used to attribute to the experiencer the cognitive content expressed through the verb hubäq 'collapse'. In this case, the attribution verb ita 'to see' is in a non–perfective form while the cognitive content verb is perfective. At the actual time the experiencer (Ani) looked

upriver, the dikes in the rice field had already collapsed. However, the narrator presents this event by means of a non-perfective awareness attribution construction. The question again is raised as to the status (i.e., foregrounded vs. backgrounded) of such constructions in discourse. I will need to further examine the 'ground' status of both speech attibution and awareness attribution constructions.

In "The Storm", the only use of imperfective -pi or polite imperfective -pa is in quotes (examples (13.7 and 13.24)). Since the action is completed at the time of narration, it is natural that the imperfective would not be used, except when quoting the actual words of the participants.

There are two unusual characteristics found in example (13.12). First of all, the verb ma-siä 'bright', a stative verb describing a condition of nature, is marked with perfective -mi. Secondly, in (13.12) there is an irrealis prefix la- (see 6.2) which does not typically appear in the same clause as perfective -mi. This combination results in the meaning 'already going to'. Irrealis mood is not by nature associated with foregrounded situations. Clause (13.12) encodes an event which is a necessary preliminary to the following narrative scene. The verb ma-siä 'bright' is marked as perfective in order to highlight the fact that only when the light of day appeared could they assess the damage done during the stormy night. In a highly unusual manner, the irrealis marker is used in conjunction with the perfective in example (13.12) in order to communicate the fact that the event was just coming about.[6]

The functions of non-perfective clauses include forming paraphrastic constructions (example (13.3)), explanations (13.11), and preliminary observations (13.13) or remarks (13.23,24). Each of these types of constructions expand on, or prepare the ground work for, the main events.

In addition to the main aspectual properties of perfective and imperfective, PUS also expresses **habitual** aspect. Habitual action is marked by the prefix si-.[7] Habitual si- is used to indicate situations which are iterative or carry over an extended period of time. Comrie's (1976:27) explanation of habituals nicely summarizes the use of habituals in PUS.

> The feature that is common to all habituals, whether or not they are also iterative, is that they describe a situation which is characteristic of an extended period of time, so extended in fact that the situation referred to is viewed not as an incidental property of the moment, but precisely, as a characteristic feature of a whole period.

In PUS, the habitual aspect can be used to describe a feature which is characteristic of a particular situation (example (14)). Habitual si- also is used to convey the meaning translated in English as 'usually' (examples (15), (16) and, (17)).

```
(14)    si- ma- heaq    sia    -m  -äq
        HAB-STA-afraid really-PRF-1s(ABS)
        'I was really afraid (the whole time).'

(15)    si- sa-minggu mane  puha  -i   indo ampaq o
        HAB-a- week    until finish-LOC that mat    PRT⁸
        'Usually a week until that mat is done.'

(16)    leqbaq-um -äq     lako   indo
        go       -PRF-1s(ABS) to over that

        banua si- ku-      onge  -i
        house HAB-1s(ERG)-occupy-LOC
        'I went over to that house which I usually occupy.'

(17)    si- buda tau     sule
        HAB-many people come
        'Many people usually come.'
```

According to Comrie (1976:25) habitual aspect is a subtype of imperfective aspect. Not surprisingly, then, habitual si- in PUS never occurs in the same clause as imperfective -pi. However, habitual si- does co–occur with perfective -mi (example (14)) to express a situation which is habitual, yet has already been completed.

Habitual si– is never preceded by another verbal affix, i.e., it is always located first in a word. Habitual si– most often attaches to the verb stem, yet can also attach to time words (example (15)) or to the first argument in the clause (17)).

Two other aspectual properties expressed in PUS are **continuous** or **repetitive** action. Both are expressed through reduplication of the last two syllables of non–stative PUS verbs.[9]

(18)   **uham-uham-uham** sampe bengi
       rain-rain-rain until night
       'It kept raining until nightfall.'

(19)   mem-**andaq** -**andaq**   indo änäq kasalle-ku
       INT-hold on-hold on that child big   -1s
       'That oldest child of mine kept holding on.'

(20)   si -**kekeq-kekeq** ponno hante
       REF-bite -bite   full   flat place
       '(They all) kept biting each other all
       over the field.'

(21)   leqbaq-um adeq   um-**peä** -**peä**   leqboq
       go   -PRF it is said AF-search-search sea
       'It is said that he went searching all over
       for the sea.'

(22)   akanna maq-**timba**   -**timba**   -ko
       why   INT-fetch water-fetch water-2s(ABS)
       'Why do you keep coming to get water?'

6.2 Mood

PUS verb morphology marks the irrealis mood by use of the proclitic la–. Irrealis la– marks situations that are potential. Concerning the subject of marking mood in the grammar, Bybee (1985:22) writes:

> Even when mood is expressed as a verbal inflection, it is clear that it has the whole proposition in its scope, and does not only modify the verb. Furthermore, since it expresses the speaker's attitude, it does not have a direct effect on the situation described by the verb. Both of these properties make mood less relevant to the verb than either aspect and tense are. Thus we

might expect mood to occur less frequently as an inflectional category of verbs than aspect and tense.

While irrealis is marked in PUS, realis mood has no explicit marking. This is not unexpected as realis is usually the unmarked, neutral case, while irrealis is the marked, exceptional case in language (Givón 1984:287).

Irrealis la- marks events which are planned (examples (23), (24), (25), and (26)), predicted (example (27)), or potential (examples (28) and (29)).

```
(23)    la- lao-äq        mu-ala  baham -na mahaqdia
        IRR-go -1s(ABS) AF-take things-3s leader
        'I'm going to take the leader's things.'

(24)    la- si- tammu-kiaq
        IRR-REC-meet -1plin(ABS)
        'We will meet with each other.'

(25)    la- kadoq lao anna mala me- luwe-luwe
        IRR-1s    go  so   can  INT-rest-rest

        sia   -m -äq
        really-PRF-1s(ABS)
        'I will go so that I can really get a little rest.'

(26)    tääq-kiaq        la- si- pe-tawa- tawa -i
        NEG -1plin(ABS) IRR-REC-TR-laugh-laugh-LOC
        'We will not laugh at each other.'

(27)    umbaiq    la- tuwo mammi    tau
        probably IRR-live actually people
        'We're probably actually going to live.'

(28)    ma- sussa        aka      la- si- lawa-    lawa    -i
        STA-difficult because IRR-REF-disturb-disturb-LOC

        tau
        people
        'It's difficult because everyone will keep
        getting in each other's way.'

(29)    la -me -tobä-ko
        IRR-INT-fall-2s(ABS)
        'You might fall!'
```

Irrealis la- occurs pre–verbally, generally before other pre–verbal modifiers. In the case of negation (example (26)), the negative word and the absolutive clitic precede irrealis la-.

Irrealis la- seldom occurs outside of direct quotes in narratives. In 9 PUS true story narratives in which 115 perfective -mi clitics appeared, only two examples of irrealis la- occurred outside of direct quotes (see examples (13.1), and (13.12)). In example (13.1) la- appears in a construction which provides background, scene–setting information. In example (13.12) la- co–occurs with perfective -mi in a special foregrounding construction (see 6.1).

In the 9 PUS narratives mentioned above, there were, however, 30 occurrences of irrealis la- within direct quotes. The presence of irrealis la- in narrative direct quotes highlights the fact that it is used to express that which is uncertain, unknown, or in the future. Narratives are told from the viewpoint of known information and therefore do not make use of the irrealis mood except in certain constructions used to indicate that a change in scene is about to take place (again, see examples (13.1), and (13.12)). Conversely, in a behavioral discourse of 34 clauses in which no aspect markers were used, there were 32 instances in which irrealis la- was employed.

6.3 Manner—by Reduplication

There are two functions of reduplication in PUS. We have already seen how reduplication of non–stative verbs can express *continuous or repetitive aspect* (section 6.1) and how reduplication of statives results in a *reduction of intensity* (section 5.1). These two functions of reduplication can be referred to as **aspectual reduplication** and **manner reduplication**.

The reduction of intensity can also be expressed in non-statives through manner reduplication. Thus, non-statives can undergo both aspectual reduplication as well as manner reduplication. Although identical in form, these modifications represent separate functions. This means that reduplicated non-statives can be interpreted as either being aspectually continuous/repetitive or as being reduced in intensity.

Manner reduplicated non-stative verbs communicate either a reduction in intensity (examples (30) and (31)) or they express the meaning 'to pretend to V' ((31) and (32)). Pragmatic considerations as well as semantic content of individual verbs determine whether a reduplicated verb is interpreted as less intensive or as aspectually continuative or repetitive. For example, if a child who is out playing says the phrase recorded in example (31), then it is clear that the meaning is 'to pretend to work'. However, if an adult utters the same phrase, then it is clear that he is using the reduplicated form to indicate the manner of his work, i.e., he is not working very hard.

(30)   puha   ku-   **papia-pia** -i   yolo
        finish 1s(ERG)-make -make-LOC first

        mane   ki-   onge -i
        before 1plex(ERG)-occupy-LOC
        'I will finish fixing this up first before
        we occupy it.'

(31)   mem-**kähä-kähä**-kam
        INT-work-work-1plex(ABS)
        'We're pretending to work' or 'We're just
        doing a little work.'

(32)   maq-**binga-binga** indo änäq
        INT-deaf -deaf   that child
        'That child is pretending he is deaf.'

6.4 Negation

There are two forms of verbal negation in PUS. The most common is the negative word _tääq_ which negates the entire clause. Less common is the negative prefix _ta-_ which negates only the verb, forming a new word which is an antonym of the root.

The negative word _tääq_ is always the first word in a clause. Any verbal clitics, such as aspect markers or pronominal clitics move forward in the clause and attach to _tääq_.

```
(33)    tääq-ko      la- maq-kada
        NEG -2s(ABS) IRR-INT-word
        'You will not speak.'
```

```
(34)    tääq-pi  -äq       kadoq deem mammaq pusam bengi
        NEG -IMPF-1s(ABS) 1s    EXT  sleep  all   night
        'I have not yet slept all night.'
```

```
(35)    tääq ku-       issam sanga-N-na
        NEG  1s(ERG)-know name -E-3s
        'I do not know his name.'
```

Negative clauses are found in the backgrounded portions of narrative discourse. This is because "negative clauses are . . . not used to introduce new propositional information into the discourse, but to deny the truth of already-introduced propositions" (Givón 1984:333–47). Note the types of information conveyed in the following negative clauses selected from one narrative discourse.

```
(36)    mem-tueliq-um -kam        dokko  sapo dio
        INT-move   -PRF-1plex(ABS) to down but   down

        iwiq         tääq-pi  bossiq na-       bossiq-i  uham
        under house NEG -IMPF wet     3(ERG)-wet    -LOC rain
        'We moved down (under the house), but down under the
        house it wasn't yet wetted by the rain.'
```

(37)   ku-   ua -am   änäq -ku e   dotam di- sali -i   inde
       1s(ERG)-say-BEN child-1s hey best PASS-floor-LOC here

       illaam hoä   -na aka   tääq-pi uali indo banua
       in   inside-3 because NEG -IMPF finish that house

       kale-na o   mane angga dapoq -na di- onge -i
       self-DEF PRT just only kitchen-3 PASS-occupy-LOC
       'I said to my child, 'Hey, here in the inside of
       the house best be floored', because the main part of
       that house was not yet finished, only the kitchen was
       occupied.'

(38)   tääq kattu uham
       NEG stop rain
       'It didn't stop raining.'

(39)   tääq-pi   tau   la- me- tamba
       NEG -IMPF people IRR-INT-call out
       'We will not yet call out.'

The negative clause in example (36) gives background information so that the addressee understands that the place to which they are moving is still dry. Similarly, the negative clause in (37) gives background information concerning the condition of the house. Example (39) is a direct quote within the narrative text. The speaker had just suggested to his family that they call out for help, then he states "we will not yet call out, but rather we will pray first." The negative clause does not provide foreground information, but rather comments on already proposed information and leads up to another main event in the story line.

Another form of negation is expressed by the negative prefix ta-. This negative prefix is used to form new verbs which are antonyms of the verb root.

(40)   ta- deaq-äq
       NEG-full-1s(ABS)
       'I'm hungry.'

(41)   ta- deem ku-   kähä ta- deem ku-   ke- saho -i
       NEG-EXT 1s(ERG)-work NEG-EXT 1s(ERG)-POS-worker-LOC
       'I have not worked (it), I have not had workers
       work it.'

In example (42) negative <u>ta</u>– is prefixed to an object focus construction which is followed by the definite suffix –<u>na</u> (which normally attaches to nouns). This construction yields the meaning 'the I not getting of (him)' which idiomatically translates 'before my getting of him/before I got him.'

```
(42)    sapulo-pi   meteq  ta- ku-        lambiq-na
        ten    -IMPF meters NEG-1s(ERG)-get    -DEF
        'Ten meters before my getting of him.'
```

The PUS expression <u>saidiq</u> . . . <u>ta–V</u> conveys the meaning 'not V, but only by a little' or 'almost V'. In example (43) <u>ta</u>– prefixes the verb <u>paqde</u> 'non–existent' or (in this text) 'wiped out'. Example (43) translates 'we were not wiped out, but only by a little' or (more idiomatically) 'we were almost wiped out'.

The same combination of <u>saidiq</u> . . . <u>ta</u>– is found in example (44) and again produces the meaning 'almost V'.

```
(43)    saidiq-kam          ta- paqde         sahapu
        little-1plex(ABS) NEG-non-existent family
        'Our family was almost wiped out.'

(44)    saidiq-um- kiaq       kita  ta- lessuq
        little-PRF-1plin(ABS) 1plin NEG-pass by

        na-      bawa  tuam
        3(ERG)-carry landslide
        'We were almost carried away by the landslide.'
```

PUS also has a special negative form, <u>taeq</u> 'no, you are wrong', used to counter a negative proposition. Examples (45) and (46) each represent a short dialogue between two people. In each case the first speaker puts forward a negative proposition which is then refused or denied by the second speaker.

(45)   a.   taia to   mem-kähä-mu pem-bawa tinallo -ku[10]
           NEG   person INT-work-2s NR- carry provision-1s
           '(That was) not your worker, (but rather) my
           provision carrier.'

       b.   **taeq** to   mem-kähä-ku
           NEG   person INT-work-1s
           'No (you're wrong), (that's) my worker!'

(46)   a.   tääq-äq   la- lao mam-sikola
           NEG -1s(ABS) IRR-go INT-school
           'I'm not going to school.'

       b.   **taeq** la- lao-ko
           NEG   IRR-go -2s(ABS)
           'No (you're wrong) you will go!'

6.5 Adverbs

I mentioned in section 5.1 that stative verbs often function as adverbs in PUS. Most manner adverbs are of the stative verb (i.e., ma-) form. These stative–verb/adverb forms precede the main verb in a clause. Any post–verbal clitics, such as the aspect markers or the absolutive pronoun clitics will shunt forward in the clause and follow these pre–verbal adverbs.

(47)   **ma- elaq-äq**   mem-lao
       STA-slow-1s(ABS) INT-go
       'I am going slowly.'

(48)   ku-   sanga deem mu-andaq -i   bittiq-na
       1s(ERG)-think EXT   AF-hold on-LOC leg   -3s

       tääq **ma- simpam** mem-tiaq
       NEG STA-quick   INT-fly
       'I thought there was something holding onto its legs,
       (it) didn't quickly fly.'

Other than the 'stative adverbs', PUS has other clausal adverbs, most of which occur after the verb. These adverbs have no derivational affixes attached. Each of these non–derived adverbs take any aspectual and person enclitics present in the clause, thus leaving the verb itself without such enclitics.

Some of the most common post-verbal adverbs include <u>oo</u> 'again', <u>bäbä</u> 'simply', <u>manda</u> 'just', <u>sia</u> 'really/truly', <u>mammi</u> 'actually', <u>pole</u> 'again', and <u>liu</u> 'continually'.

(49)   ku-   ala **oo**   -m   kaju
              1s(ERG)-take again-PRF wood
              'I again took some wood.'

(50)   maq-sambajam **oo**   -m -äq   -i
              INT-pray   again-PRF-1s(ABS)-EMP
              'I prayed again!'

(51)   tääq kao deem mem-kähä anna mala
              NEG 1s EXT INT-work and can

              ku-   ande **bäbä**   indo belaq o
              1s(ERG)-eat simply that garden PRT
              'I do not work and can simply eat
              (out of) that garden.'

(52)   maq-pahandam-handam **bäbä** -äq
              INT-view   -view   simply-1s(ABS)
              'I'm simply looking at the view.'

(53)   mam-ande **manda**-kam
              INT-eat just -1plex(ABS)
              'We just ate.'

(54)   la- landaq **sia**   -m -äq
              IRR-arrive really-PRF-1s(ABS)
              'I'll really arrive.'

(55)   tama **mammi**   -ko   tambim anna mu-ala-i
              enter actually-2s(ABS) room   and AF-get-LOC

              bahhaq-mu
              rice   -2s
              'Just go ahead and enter the room and get your rice.'

(56)   tallu bengi si- tammu-tammu **pole**- kiaq eta inde
              three night REC-meet- meet again-1plin here this
              'In three days (lit. nights) we will meet here again.'

(57)   na-uham-i **liu**   -m -äq   sule inde banua
              3- rain-LOC continually-PRF-1s(ABS) come this house
              'It continually rained on me until I came to this
              house.'

The adverb säkä 'quickly (durative)' (example (58)) occurs in a pre-verbal position. Like all other clausal adverbs, it also takes any aspectual and pronominal clitics present in the clause.

(58)   la- **säkä**   -pi -äq   kao mem-dioq mane
              IRR-quickly-IMP-1s(ABS) 1s INT-bathe before

              maq-saleo-kiq
              INT-relax-1plin(ABS)
              'I'll quickly bathe before we relax together.'

The adverb umbaiq 'probably' (examples (59) and (60)) occurs pre-verbally. Unlike adverb säkä (in (58)), umbaiq does not take aspectual or pronominal enclitics. These clitics follow the main verb.

(59)   **umbaiq**   la -tuwo mammi
              probably IRR-live actually
              'We're probably actually going to live.'

(60)   **umbaiq**   la- ma- siä   -m
              probably IRR-STA-bright-PRF
              'It's probably about to get bright out.'

The adverb mammi 'actually' (examples (55) and (59)) occurs post-verbally except in negated clauses (61) in which it occurs pre-verbally. I will need to further investigate the possibility of other post-verbal adverbs occurring pre-verbally in negated clauses.

(61)   tääq **mammi**   hondom
              NEG   actually slide down
              '(It) did not actually slide down.'

6.6 Auxiliaries

PUS has the auxiliaries dotam 'should', mala 'can/may', and melo 'want to'. These auxiliaries are considered modal because they affect the mood of the clause.

Auxiliaries precede the main verb of the clause. The auxiliary <u>dotam</u> (examples (62) and (63)) differs from <u>mala</u> and <u>melo</u> in that it never takes aspectual or pronominal clitics.

PUS auxiliaries are not used in foregrounded narrative text. Foregrounded text contributes "to the temporal and logical sequence of events" (Hwang 1987:72). PUS auxilaries are used to express comments, opinions, or feelings which can provide the background for major events in the narration.

```
(62)    dotam  um-papia-m  -kiaq        onge  -am
        should AF-make -PRF-1plin(ABS) occupy-NR
        'We should make ourselves a place.'

(63)    dotam tau     mem-tueliq dokko  litäq
        should people INT-move    down to ground
        'We should move down to the ground.'

(64)    o  inde bahhaq-ku mala-ko      ku-       beem
        Oh this rice   -1s can -2s(ABS) 1s(ERG)-give
        'Oh I can give you this rice of mine.'

(65)    melo-äq        mem-lao
        want-1s(ABS) INT-go
        'I want to go.'
```

NOTES

[1]In preparing the following presentation on modifiers of predication, I have considered how they function in discourse. Following Longacre's lead (based on work in more than 50 languages) it would undoubtedly be possible to construct a *cline of salience* (1981) based on the verb forms and the corresponding modifiers. However, a full-blown discourse analysis is beyond the scope of this thesis, so comments on discourse level functions must be considered preliminary.

[2]Cf. Hopper (1977) and Gregerson and Martens (1986).

[3]See table 5 for a presentation of the absolutive clitics.

[4]See the appendix for the interlinear transcription of the text. Since the story is a narrative which occurred in the past, I have translated the story in the past tense. Therefore, most of the English verbs (non–perfective verbs included) are in past tense form, even though PUS does not mark tense. These past tense English verbs are not to be confused with the perfective PUS forms which are in bold print.

[5]The text in example (13.1) is background information used to set the scene. The first part of example (13.2), 'well, about four o'clock in the morning', is also background information. I have chosen to include this latter case of background information as part of construction (13.2) because it has no verb and is, therefore, syntactically dependent on the clause 'Ani awakened us'.

[6]An alternate analysis is to consider example (13.12) as off the main event line, as would be expected of an irrealis construction. If this is the case, then (13.12) is part of the narrative *setting* and the perfective marker is being used in an unusual manner. I will need to further explore the discourse function of this remarkable co-occurrence.

[7]Not to be confused with reflexive si– (section 5.3.2).

[8]PUS noun phrases often use the particles o and e. I am not attempting an indepth study of PUS noun phrases at this time, nor have I isolated the exact function(s) of these particles. I do believe, however, that their function is related to referentiality of the nominal. I will reserve final judgement on this issue for a future study.

[9]This same form of reduplication can be used to express a decrease in intensity of verbs, as I have shown with statives in section 5.1. See, also, the discussion on *manner* in section 6.3.

[10]The negative form taia used strictly in noun phrases.

7. SPEECH ACT DISTINCTIONS

The three most common sentence types in PUS are declaratives, imperatives, and interrogatives. This is not unexpected; these three sentence types are the basic types found in most languages (Sadock and Zwicky 1985:160).

In this chapter I will look at the forms and the functions of each of these PUS sentence types.

7.1 Declaratives

Some of the uses of the declarative form in PUS include narration (example (1)), passing on information (2), expressing opinions (3), reporting (4), expressing uncertainty (5), and expressing likelihood (6).

(1)   la- ku-   tulaq-am- ko   Ani wattu-N-na
            IRR-1s(ERG)-talk -BEN-2s(ABS) Ani time- E-DEF
            'I'll tell you, Ani, about the time . . .'

(2)   ku-   beem-ko   bahhaq-ku sa-liteq
            1s(ERG)-give-2s(ABS) rice   -1s a- liter
            'I am giving you a liter of my rice.'

(3)   dotam um-papia-m -kiaq   onge -am
            should AF-make -PRF-1plin(ABS) occupy-NR
            'We should make ourselves a place.'

(4)   tääq deem mem-timbaq
            NEG EXT INT-answer
            'No one answered.'

(5)   battu -m na-   hingngi-hi sapoq ma- heaq   dukaq
            perhaps-PRF 3(ERG)-hear   -UN but   STA-afraid too
            'Perhaps they hear, but are also afraid.'

(6)   umbaiq hondom   -mi si- ampeq -na
            probably slid down-PRF REC-next to-3s
            '(The land) has probably already slid next to it.'

The notable feature which all declaratives share is the lack of any particular notable features, i.e., the declarative is the unmarked construction. There are no formal features which especially mark clauses as declarative.

7.2 Imperatives

While it is possible to mitigate commands using declaratives (example (3)), PUS speakers normally communicate commands by means of one of three types of imperatives. The three types of imperatives are *basic imperatives*, *prohibitives*, and, *hortatives*.

7.2.1 Basic Imperatives

The basic imperative is the form most often used for commands or requests. One characteristic feature of basic PUS imperatives is the absence of any pre–verbal focus markers (i.e., actor focus or object focus), passive prefixes, or intransitive prefixes. Also absent are most aspectual clitics. Since imperatives generally involve commands to carry out actions which have not yet been completed, the aspectual condition of the clause is already apparent.

The reduction of verbal affixes in PUS imperatives is not unexpected as it is cross–linguistically a very common characteristic of imperatives (Sadock and Zwicky 1985:172).

Most imperative clauses have only one argument explicitly mentioned. This argument is always represented by the absolutive pronoun set (see table 5). In most imperatives the absolutive pronoun represents the addressee. Such is the case with intransitive imperatives as illustrated in examples (7) through (9). Note that the addressee is always the second person.

```
(7)     kammaq-koaq        le
        quiet -2pl(ABS) OK
        'All of you be quiet, OK!'

(8)     okkoq-ko
        sit   -2s(ABS)
        'You sit down!'

(9)     hapaq           -koaq       le
        settle down-2pl(ABS) OK
        'All of you settle down, OK!'
```

The intransitive 'm' prefixes (sections 5.1 through 5.3) neutralize with the transitive 'p' prefixes (section 5.5.3) in imperative constructions. Thus, 'intransitive' imperatives often take the transitive derivational prefixes, indicating that the prefixed verbs are transitive verbs. This is because the addressee is ordered to act both as agent and patient, thus increasing the valency of the predication. Imperatives also have an element of increased volition which is related to high transitivity. Both of these factors increase the transitivity of the predication.

```
(10)    a. maq-pa-  mammaq
           INT-CAUS-sleep
           'to close one's eyes'

        b. paq-pa-  mammaq liu       -ko
           TR -CAUS-sleep  continual-2s(ABS)
           'Keep your eyes closed!'

(11)    a. maq-tabeq
           INT-excuse me
           'to say, "Excuse me."'

        b. paq-tabeq      -ko
           TR -excuse me-2s(ABS)
           'Excuse yourself!/Say, "Excuse me!"'

(12)    a. mem-dioq -äq
           INT-bathe-1s(ABS)
           'I'm bathing.'

        b. pem-dioq -ko
           TR -bathe-2s(ABS)
           'You go bathe!'
```

Imperatives can also be prototypically transitive, i.e., they can have explicit objects mentioned in the clause. In example (13) the locative word <u>yawo</u> 'above' functions as an adverb which modifies the verb <u>hondo</u> 'to step on something'. The explicit object <u>indo kaju</u> 'that wood' is the location of the predication. The prefix <u>pem–</u> is attached to the main verb to form an imperative clause.

```
(13)    pem-hondo    yawo- koaq indo kaju
        TR -step on above-2pl   that wood
        'All of you step on top of that wood!'
```

The argument expressed by the absolutive can also be the object (source) or the benefactee. In such cases the absolutive argument represents the speaker.[1] When the speaker is represented by the absolutive pronoun, the addressee is not explicitly mentioned.

```
(14)    pe-hingngi-äq      -i
        TR-hear    -1s(ABS)-EMP
        'Listen to me!'

(15)    paq-nasu-am -äq      aka       la- lao
        TR -cook-BEN-1s(ABS) because IRR-go

        siä     -m -äq        längäm
        really-PRF-1s(ABS) go above
        'Cook for me, because I'm really going up!'

(16)    po- ma- kaleso-am -äq
        ACT-STA-clear -BEN-1s(ABS)
        'Explain (it) to me!'
```

Verb roots which are inherently transitive, and take no derivational prefixes, normally take only a focus prefix in declarative sentences. In imperative clauses, these verbs drop the focus prefix and, therefore, have no prefixes attached.

```
(17)    beem-äq       itim      to      bahinniq
        give-1s(ABS) that there person small
        'Give me that child!'
```

```
(18)     ala-am -äq        indo suhaq
         get-BEN-1s(ABS) that book
         'Get that book for me!'

(19)     tutu -i    itim        baqba
         close-LOC that there door
         'Close that door!'

(20)     base-i    itim        lima-N-mu o
         wash-LOC that there hand-E-2s PRT
         'Wash those hands of yours!'
```

Statives seldom appear in imperatives as they do not normally lend themselves to commands or requests. In English, for example, one does not normally say, *'Be small!'. In spite of this apparent limitation, there are at least two PUS stative verbs which can be used as imperatives (examples (21) and (22)). Both of these stative imperatives are formed with the causative pa– prefix.

```
(21)     a.  ma- elaq
             STA-slow
             'slow'

         b.  pa- elaq-i    le²
             CAUS-slow-EMP OK
             'Go slowly, OK!' ('Take it easy, OK!')

(22)     a.  ma-sihhaq
             STA-fast
             'fast'

         b.  pa-  sihhaq-i
             CAUS-fast  -EMP
             'Go quickly!'
```

7.2.2 Prohibitives

About half of the languages surveyed by Sadock and Zwicky (1985:175) "have a negative marker in sentences with imperative meaning which is not the same as the one found in other sentence types." PUS has a negative marker daum which is used exclusively in negative imperatives, alternatively called *prohibitives*.

Unlike stative basic imperatives, stative prohibitives retain the stative prefix ma– (example (23)).

```
(23)    daum   ma- heaq   -aq-i
        don't  STA-afraid-pl-EMP
        'Don't be afraid!'
```

Prohibitives make no explicit mention of the addressee (examples (24) through (27)). However, they can mention an object of the verb (examples (28) and (29)).

```
(24)    daum   paq-uham-uham
        don't  INT-rain-rain
        'Don't run around in the rain!'
```

```
(25)    daum   tutu -i   itim          baqba tau   dio   mai
        don't  close-LOC that there door  people below here
        'Don't close that door, people are on their way up!'
```

```
(26)    daum   paq-pa-  susi
        don't  TR- CAUS-like
        'Don't act like that!'
```

```
(27)    sapo daum   paq-kada dana na-         hingngi-ko
        but  don't  TR -word lest 3s(ERG)-hear    -2s(ABS)
        'But don't speak, lest he hear you!'
```

```
(28)    daum   pe-tawa -i   -äq
        don't  TR-laugh-LOC-1s(ABS)
        'Don't laugh at me!'
```

```
(29)    daum   lio -lio -äq
        don't  look-look-1s(ABS)
        'Don't stare at me!'
```

7.2.3 Hortatives

PUS also has a hortative form, which is the first person plural form of the imperative. This construction uses the first person dual inclusive object–focus prefix

ta-. The plural clitic -aq can be optionally added when more than two participants are involved.

(30)   ta-   pem-tueliq-aq sule   banua
        lindu(ERG)-TR -move   -pl return house
        'Let's all move back to the house.'

(31)   ta-   kandi   -i -aq-i
        lindu(ERG)-run fast-LOC-pl-EMP
        'Let's all run there fast!'

(32)   ta-   paq-sambajam-aq
        lindu(ERG)-TR -pray   -pl
        'Let's all pray.'

(33)   ta-   lao-m -aq
        lindu(ERG)-go -PRF-pl
        'Let's all go already!'

7.3 Interrogatives

There are three subtypes of interrogatives which I will present in the following sections.   According to Sadock and Zwicky (1985:178), the most common interrogative type in languages is the yes–no question type, and PUS is no exception. PUS also has an alternative interrogative which offers a choice of possible answers. The third interrogative type is the content question.

7.3.1 Yes–No Questions

Yes–no questions can be formed from declaratives by changing the intonation of the sentence.   In a declarative the intonation drops at the end of the sentence. The drop in intonation begins on the stressed syllable of the last word in the sentence. Similarly, the rise in intonation in a question begins on the stressed syllable of the last word, as illustrated in examples (34) through (37).

(34)

```
                          ┌─
_____┘
mala-pi  -ko sule makaleq
can -IMPF-2s come tomorrow
'Can you come tomorrow?'
```

(35)

```
                           ┌─
_____┘
di- beem-ko        uwai
PASS-give-2s(ABS) water
'Would you like some water?' (Lit. 'Water given
to you?')
```

(36)

```
                        ┌──────
_____┘
kendeq-um  pam-ohhoq  -mu
finish-PRF NR -terrace-2s
'Is your terrace already finished?'
```

(37)

```
                              ┌──
_____┘
mem-kahoja       -ko       sa-bengi
INT-stay up late-2s(ABS) a- night
'Did you get to bed late last night?'
```

The common form of greeting in PUS is with a rhetorical question which asks if the addressee is carrying out a particular task. Again, it is the rising intonation which distinguishes the rhetoricals as questions. Since the speaker is not seeking information, but rather expressing a known fact in a question form, there is no indication, other than the distinctive interrogative intonation, that these are questions.

(38)   mam-tanam-koaq
         INT-plant-2pl(ABS)
         'Are you all planting?'

(39)   maq-tekaq   -ko
         INT-tree-climb-2s(ABS)
         'Are you tree-climbing?'

(40)   me- banua-koaq
         INT-house-2pl(ABS)
         'Are you all building a house?'

A common form of yes–no questions involves the **question clitic** -ka which attaches to the end of the verb stem or verb modifier (examples (41) through (46)). The basic word order in these -ka question forms is the same as that found in declaratives. However, simply removing -ka from these questions does not necessarily form a complete, logical, independent declarative sentence.[3]

Question clitic -ka must always be preceded by another post–verbal clitic. Often, one of the two aspectual clitics (i.e., imperfective -pi or perfective -mi) precedes ka–.

```
(41)    kem-bua   -m   -ka kopi   -N-mu
        POS-fruit-PRF-Q   coffee-E-2s
        'Have your coffee trees produced (coffee)?'

(42)    tuwo-pi   -ka to       ma- tua-N-mu
        live-IMPF-Q   person STA-old-E-2s
        'Are your parents still alive?'

(43)    mala-pi   -ka di-   baluq
        can -IMPF-Q   PASS-sell
        'Can (they) still be sold?'

(44)    ma- piqdiq-pi   -ka tambuq -mu
        STA-sore   -IMPF-Q   stomach-2s
        'Is your stomach still sore?'

(45)    deem-mi -ka na-       beem-ko       doiq -mu Ani
        EXT -PRF-Q   3s(ERG)-give-2s(ABS) money-2s Ani
        'Has Ani already given you your money?'

(46)    deem-mi -ko       -ka längäm   Mamasa
        EXT -PRF-2s(ABS)-Q   go above Mamasa
        'Have you ever gone up to Mamasa?'
```

Another element often used in forming questions is the **uncertainty clitic** -hi. The uncertainty clitic is used, along with -ka, in forming both yes–no questions and alternative questions when no aspect clitics are used. The uncertainty clitic never co–occurs with the aspectual clitics, but rather fills the same slot as they would fill, i.e., the post verbal or post verb modifier position. Uncertainty -hi is added to the

question in order to maintain the same pattern as is used when aspect clitics are present (i.e., stem–aspect–question clitic or stem–uncertainty clitic–question clitic).

Uncertainty –hi undergoes vowel harmony when there is a following question clitic or absolutive person clitic. When a person clitic is included in the formation of a question, it normally follows –hi and precedes –ka (with the exception of first person –äq—see table 11 below). In addition to vowel harmony, –hi undergoes another process in which the initial 'h' becomes 'd' when following a stem–final consonant.[4]

(47) h-replacement/d:

$$h \longrightarrow d \ / \ C \ \# \ \_\_\_\_ \ V \Big] \ + $$
$$\text{clitic}$$

According to h–replacement/d, uncertainty –hi becomes –di when following a consonant. (The neutral V is used in the rule rather than the specific vowel 'i' since the vowel can change due to vowel harmony.)

Table 11 illustrates the possible combinations of question–forming clitics –hi and –ka with the optional absolutive clitics –äq '1s', –ko '2s',–kiq '1indu', and –ko–aq '2pl'.[5] Note that plural clitic –aq is always word final. Note also that vowel deletion occurs when two juxtaposed clitics result in producing contiguous vowels.[6] In such cases the preceding vowel is deleted, e.g., ka–äq —> käq.

Table 11.--Question Clitics with Juxtaposed Pronouns

Following a vowel-final stem:

<u>Underlying form</u>   <u>Surface form</u>

   -hi-ka   -->   haka
   -hi-ka-äq   -->   häkäq
   -hi-ko-ka   -->   hokoka
   -hi-kiq-ka   -->   hakika
   -hi-ki-ka-aq   -->   hakikaq
   -hi-ko-ka-aq   -->   hokokaq/hakokaq

Following a consonant final stem:

<u>Underlying form</u>   <u>Surface form</u>

   -di-ka   -->   daka
   -di-ka-äq   -->   däkäq
   -di-ko-ka   -->   dokoka
   -di-kiq-ka   -->   dakika
   -di-ki-ka-aq   -->   dakikaq
   -di-ko-ka-aq   -->   dokokaq/dakokaq

The surface forms in table 11 represent the spoken forms of these construction. For ease of identification, I will use the underlying forms of the question and pronominal clitics in the remaining examples.

(48)   la- dokko   -**hi-ko**   -**ka** Polewali
       IRR-go down-UN-2s(ABS)-Q   Polewali
       'Are you going down to Polewali?'

(49)   um-   hingngi-**hi-ka**
       2s(ERG)-hear   -UN-Q
       'Do you hear?'

(50)   deem-**hi-ka** kaluku um-   baluq
       EXT -UN-Q   coconut 2s(ERG)-sell
       'Are you selling any coconuts?'

(51)   bonoq -bonoq asam-**hi-ko**   -**ka-aq**
       healthy-healthy all -UN-2s(ABS)-Q -pl
       'Are you all well?'

(52)   susi-**hi-ka** iko inde tangkihiq-mu
         like-UN-Q 2s this cup   -2s
         'Is your cup like this?'

(53)   mammaq-**hi-ka** änäq -mu
         sleep -UN-Q child-2s
         'Are your children asleep?'

(54)   la- sola-**hi-kiq**   -ka-aq adi   -N-mu
         IRR-with-UN-lindu(ABS)-Q -pl younger sibling-E-2s

         längäm   Hante dakoq
         go above Hante later
         'Will your younger sibling go with us to Hante later?'

The question clitics most often follow the verb or a modifier of the verb. However, the question clitics can also follow other elements which function as the topic of the question.

(55)   buda-**hi-ka** kaju dio   banua-N-mu
         much-UN-Q wood below house-E-2s
         'Is there much wood down at your house?'

(56)   asu-N-mu-**hi-ka** dio
         dog-E-2s-UN-Q below
         'Is that your dog down there?'

(57)   allo sattu   -**hi-ka** temo
         day Saturday-UN-Q now
         'Is today Saturday?'

7.3.2 Alternatives

The alternative interrogative form also uses the uncertainty clitic –hi with the question clitic –ka. Alternative interrogatives differ from yes–no interrogatives in that the former offer a choice of answers when posing the question. Each alternative is followed by the question clitics –hi–ka. The question clitics can attach to verbs (examples (58) and (59)), negative words representing a negation of the preceding clause (60), nominals (61), demonstratives (62), and even after

conjunctions (63). In examples (60), (62), and (63) the full complement of the first clause is not stated, but is understood.

```
(58)    la- maq-tappaq      -hi-ko     -ka
        IRR-INT-clothes wash-UN-2s(ABS)-Q

        la- maq-base        -hi-ko     -ka
        IRR-INT-dish wash-UN-2s(ABS)-Q
        'Are you going to clothes-wash or dish-wash?'

(59)    la- lao-hi-ko        -ka-aq maq-pasaq
        IRR-go- UN-2s(ABS)-Q -pl INT-market

        la -maq-sambajam-hi-ko        -ka-aq
        IRR-INT-worship -UN-2s(ABS)-Q -pl
        'Are you all going to the market or to church?'

(60)    mu-       hingngi-hi-ka tääq-hi-ka
        2s(ERG)-hear    -UN-Q  NEG -UN-Q
        'Did you hear (it) or (did you) not (hear it)?'

(61)    muane-hi-ka inde-e    baine -hi-ka
        male -UN-Q  this-PRT female-UN-Q
        'Is this a male or a female?'

(62)    inde-hi-ka kao tangkihiq-ku-e    inde-hi-ka-e
        this-UN-Q  1s  cup       -1s-PRT this-UN-Q -PRT
        'Is this my cup, or is this (my cup)?'

(63)    si- bassaq  -hi-ka ma -saki susi mane anna-hi-ka
        HAB-diligent-UN-Q  STA-sick like just CONJ-UN-Q
        'Is he usually sick like this or only now
        (is he sick like this)?'
```

Another type of alternative interrogative is the **comparison question**. Semantically, this type of question is similar to other alternative questions. Formally, however, the comparison question can be considered a distinct type of question. Comparison questions are formed with the question word menna 'who/which' and two alternatives joined by the conjunction anna.

```
(64)    menna yolo  mam-tanam dio Limbä anna inde Tanete
        who   first INT-plant over there CONJ this Tanete
        'Who plants first, over in Limbä or here in Tanete?'
```

```
(65)    menna mam-bela Mambi anna Polewali
        which INT-far  Mambi CONJ Polewali
        'Which is further, Mambi or Polewali?'
```

7.3.3 Content Questions

In content questions particular question words are used to elicit information from the addressee.

The question word aka means 'what'. It is conceivable that the question clitic -ka (presented in section 7.3.1) is related to the question word aka.

```
(66)    aka um-       basa  -i   lima-N-mu
        what 2s(ERG)-injure-LOC hand-E-2s
        'What did you injure your hand on?'
```

```
(67)    aka um-       tanam
        what 2s(ERG)-plant
        'What are you planting?'
```

```
(68)    aka um-       tungka längäm Mamasa
        what 2s(ERG)-purpose go up  Mamasa
        'What is your purpose in going up to Mamasa?'
```

```
(69)    aka dukaq si- na-       ande piha
        what also  HAB-3s(ERG)-eat  partial
        'What other kinds of things does it usually eat?'
```

```
(70)    aka la- di- paq-hempum-i
        what IRR-PASS-TR -meet  -LOC
        'What are you meeting about?'
```

```
(71)    aka -N-na iko bale bawi handam um-       pohäe
        what-E-3s 2s  meat pig  most   2s(ERG)-enjoy
        'What part of the pig meat do you most enjoy?'
```

```
(72)    to      aka dio  -o
        person what below-PRT
        'Where is that person down there from?' (Lit. 'What
        person below?')
```

The question word aka is the root of several other question words in PUS. It is used to form questions asking for the identification of items or actions, asking for explanations, or inquiring about quantities.

The question word <u>aka</u> can be formed into a verb in order to ask about types of actions which will take place.

```
(73)     si- di- po- aka   ia piso
         HAB-PASS-ACT-what 3s machete
         'What is usually done with a machete?'
```

```
(74)     la- di- aka   inde-e
         IRR-PASS-what this-PRT
         'What will be done with this?'
```

```
(75)     la- mu-        aka
         IRR-2s(ERG)-what
         'What are you going to do?'
```

Stative <u>ma-</u> can be prefixed to <u>aka</u> to form the question word 'why' (example (76)), 'how' ((77) and (78)) or, 'what' (79).

```
(76)     ma- aka -hi anna keahaq Ani
         STA-what-UN CONJ angry  Ani
         'Why is Ani angry?'
```

```
(77)     ma- aka  indo  -mu na-       bela-bela-m  -ka
         STA-what mother-2s 3s(ERG)-able-able-PRF-Q
         'How is your mother, is she better?'
```

```
(78)     ma- aka  allo anna landaq-koaq      dekke
         STA-what sun  CONJ arrive-2pl(ABS)  go upriver
         'How was the sun when you arrived upriver?'
         ('What time was it when you arrived upriver?')
```

```
(79)     ma- aka -ko
         STA-what-2s(ABS)
         'What's wrong with you?'
```

When a verb formed from question word <u>aka</u> is followed by <u>susi</u> 'like', the question asks 'How is (it) that ....?'.

```
(80)     mu-     aka  susi anna um-batta-ko       lima-N-mu
         2s(ERG)-what like CONJ AF-cut  -2s(ABS) hand-E-2s
         'How is it that you cut your hand?'
```

```
(81)    di- aka susi
        PASS-what like
        'How is that done?'
```

The question word <u>akanna</u> 'why' is likely formed from the question word <u>aka</u>
'what' and the conjunction <u>anna</u>. If so, the combination of <u>aka–anna</u> could mean
'Why is it that . . .?' Below, I treat <u>akanna</u> as one word, keeping in mind its possible
origin.[7]

```
(82)    akanna ta- maq-saleo-kiaq
        why     NEG-INT-relax-1plin(ABS)
        'Why don't we relax together?'
```

```
(83)    akanna tääq-ko       mammaq ma- nappa sa- bengi
        why     NEG -2s(ABS) sleep  STA-well   one-night
        'Why didn't you sleep well last night?'
```

```
(84)    akanna tohho-koaq
        why     stay -2pl(ABS)
        'Why did you (pl) stay home?'
```

The question word <u>sanaka</u> 'how many, how much' may originate from the
combination of the prefix <u>sa–</u> 'a, one' and the question word <u>aka</u> 'what'. I posit this
only as a possible origin of <u>sanaka</u>, noting that the meanings 'how many, how much'
are not readily predictable from the combination *<u>sa–aka</u> 'one what'.

```
(85)    sanaka     banua inde tondäq   Tanete
        how many house this village Tanete
        'How many houses are there here in Tanete?'
```

```
(86)    sanaka     mu-      alli-am
        how much 2s(ERG)-buy -BEN
        'How much did you pay for it?'
```

```
(87)    sanaka     di- ande pissam
        how many PASS-eat  at one time
        'How many (pills) do you take at once?'
```

```
(88)    sanaka -koaq       la- lao
        how many-2pl(ABS) IRR-go
        'How many of you will go?'
```

```
(89)    sanaka   tullu mu-     alli
        how many egg   2s(ERG)-buy
        'How many eggs did you buy?'
```

```
(90)    tetteq sanaka   anna sohoq       -koaq
        hour   how many CONJ quit activity-2pl(ABS)
        'What time did you all go home from work?'
```

The prefix pem- is a *multiplicative* which attaches to numbers to form a word meaning 'X fold'. For example pem-appaq 'MULT-four' means 'four fold'. When prefixed to the question word sanaka 'how much, how many', it forms the question word pem-sanaka 'how many times'. When asking about multiples of measurable items, pem-sanaka simply translates 'how many' (example (92)).

```
(91)    pem- sanaka    di- balaq -i   oto mane    sule
        MULT-how many PASS-change-LOC car before  come

        lako    Tator
        go over Tator
        'How many times (did you) change cars before
        reaching Tator?'
```

```
(92)    pem- sanaka    liteq um-     bawa
        MULT-how many liter 2s(ERG)-carry
        'How many liters did you carry?'
        (Lit. How many times liter you carry?)
```

The question word menna generally means 'who' and occasionally means 'which' (see example (65)).

```
(93)    menna um-     beem punti
        who   2s(ERG)-give banana
        'To whom did you give a banana?'
```

```
(94)    menna um-paq-guhu -ko       maq-gontim
        who   AF-TR -study-2s(ABS) INT-scissors
        'Who taught you how to cut hair?'
```

```
(95)    menna um-pam-alli-i    mäneq  -mu
        who   AF-TR -buy -LOC chicken-2s
        'From whom did you buy your chicken?'
```

(96)   **menna** um-pa -sola sauq   Salumäjä
       who   AF-CAUS-with go downriver Salumäjä
       'Who accompanied you downriver to Salumäjä?'

(97)   **menna** na-   papia-am Ani sampa
       who   3s(ERG)-make -BEN Ani basket
       'For whom did Ani make the basket?'

To ask about the owner of a particular item the phrase <u>menna ke-N</u> 'who POS-N' is used.

(98)   **menna**-koaq   **ke**- hadio inde
       who   -2pl(ABS) POS-radio this
       'Whose radio is this?/Which of you (pl) owns
       this radio?'

(99)   **menna ke** -banua la- na-   onge -i   dio
       who   POS-house IRR-3s(ERG)-occupy-LOC below
       'Whose house will he stay in down there?'

(100) **menna ke**- posa dio
       who   POS-cat below
       'Whose cat is that down there?'

(101) **menna ke**- bawi mu-ande kinande-ki
       who   POS-pig AF-eat food   -1plex
       'Whose pig ate our food?'

The question word <u>umba</u> means 'where', 'which', or (rarely) 'what' (example (107)). <u>Umba</u> often co–occurs with the word <u>ngei</u> 'place' (examples (104) and (105)). In such cases, the meaning of <u>umba</u> could be interpreted as 'which' with the combination <u>umba</u> . . .<u>ngei</u> meaning 'which place' (or 'where').

(102) la- **umba** -ko   iko
       IRR-where-2s(ABS) 2s
       'Where are you going?'

(103) **umba** indo änäq bahinniq-ta   o
       where that child little -1plin PRT
       'Where is that little child of ours?'

(104) lalam **umba** inde **ngei**
       path which this place
       'To which place (where) does this path lead?'

(105)   si- tammu **umba** -koaq   **ngei**
        REC-meet   which-2pl(ABS) place
        'At which place (where) did you (pl) meet?'

(106)   **umba** -m   iko tangkihiq-mu
        which-PRF 2s   cup   -2s
        'Which cup is yours?'

(107)   pada   **umba** kasalle-na
        same size what big   -3s
        'How big is it?' (Lit. 'Its bigness is the
        same size as what')

The question word <u>piham</u> 'when' normally occurs clause initial.

(108)   **piham**-o   -pi   sule baine-mu
        when -again-IMPF come wife -2s
        'When will your wife return?'

(109)   **piham**-ko   leqbaq längäm Mamasa
        when -2s(ABS) go   go up Mamasa
        'When will you go up to Mamasa?'

(110)   **piham** anna ke -änäq -i
        when   CONJ POS-child-LOC
        'When did she give birth?'

(111)   **piham**-pi   adeq na-   pa- sule
        when -IMPF said 3s(ABS)-CAUS-come
        'When did he say he'd bring it back?'

NOTES

[1]While it is possible to form an imperative which involves a third person source, this source is not expressed through the absolutive clitic, but rather through a noun phrase.

```
(112)   pe-hingngi-i    sola  -mu
        TR-hear    -LOC friend-2s
        'Listen to your friend!'
```

[2]This is the most common PUS expression used when an addressee is leaving from a home or continuing on a journey after stopping along the path. It can also be used in a more specific sense, i.e., to tell a friend to *slow down* or to *be careful* at a dangerous point on a path.

[3]For example, if the question clitic -ka is deleted from example (44), the resultant clause would be ma-piqdiq-pi tambuq-mu 'your stomache is still sore'. While this may occur as a dependent clause (e.g., 'You should not eat now, because *your stomache is still sore*), it is unlikely to occur as an independent sentence.

[4]Uncertainty clitic -hi also appears in declaratives. It is this unmodified form (i.e., with no following clitics) which is the basis of determining the underlying form for -hi. I did not include a discussion on the forms of -hi in the phonology discussion in chapter 2 because of the limited application of the processes involved, i.e., only applying to one morpheme.

```
(113)   tääq ku-       issam battu   la- ma- säe        -hi
        NEG  1s(ERG)-know  whether IRR-STA-long time-UN

        battu   la- tääq-di
        whether IRR-NEG -UN
        'I don't know whether it'll be a long time or not.'
```

[5]I have yet to come across an example of question clitics –hi and –ka used with the exclusive plural person clitic –kam, although it seems highly probable that one could ask na–ita–ha–kam 'did he see us (excl)?'

[6]See Campbell (1987) for the formalization of this vowel deletion rule and a more complete description of PUS phonology.

[7]The question word akanna is stressed on the first syllable ([ákanna]). This first syllable stress differentiates akanna from aka–N–na 'what–E–3s' of example (71), which is stressed on the penultimate syllable ([akánna]) and asks about the identity of a nominal. The first syllable stress of akanna is unusual for PUS (penultimate stress is normal). The unusual stress pattern may also indicate that akanna is the combination of aka and anna, with aka maintaining its normal stress and anna losing its stress.

8. SUMMARY AND PROSPECTS

A number of linguists who advocate the typological approach to language analysis have helped provide the linguistic world with a framework for cross–linguistic surveys of grammatical structure. In my study of the grammar of Pitu Ulunna Salu I have benefited by reading the studies and findings of several of these linguists, many of whom I have cited in the text. In this study I have identified and described various features of PUS grammar, many of which may have gone unnoticed had I not been exposed to the work of others drawn to the field of typological studies.

Until recently there has been a paucity of in–depth linguistic research carried out on languages of South Sulawesi. In contrast, there has been a substantial amount of research carried out on Philippine languages. Languages of South Sulawesi share many grammatical features with their northerly neighbors, yet they differ in several significant ways. It is hoped that some of the features described in this paper will help expand our general knowledge of Austronesian languages and provide data for further comparative work. Below, I summarize some of my findings.

One of the keys to PUS grammar is an understanding of the focus system. I have shown how the PUS focus system (a diluted version of the focus systems found in many Philippine languages) indicates the *centrality* or *salience* of a particular argument to the predication. The object focus construction is the unmarked form. The actor focus construction is the marked transitive form. PUS has a passive form which is used to eliminate the agent from the clause. PUS also has an antipassive construction which is the converse of the passive. While the passive defocuses the

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agent, the antipassive defocuses the undergoer. The antipassive is morphologically intransitive, though underlyingly transitive.

The topic of ergativity has been the subject of many linguistic studies during the past decade. I have shown that, morphologically, PUS can be considered an ergative language, albeit in a very weak sense. PUS exhibits a split ergativity system in which the only ergative marking is in the pronoun sets. There are no ergative markings on nominals.

A continuum of transitivity is present in PUS grammar. Morphological features of PUS verbs present varying degrees of transitivity. Prototypical intransitives can only take one argument on the verb. These intransitive verbs encode action which a subject performs without involving another participant. The non–prototypical intransitives encode transitive–type action as intransitive. Several of the non–prototypical intransitives can take no object, yet the underlying action is transitive in nature. The antipassive must take an object, yet the absolutive pronoun functions as the subject of the clause, just as it does in an intransitive construction.

The most common transitive clause type is the object focus clause which is highly transitive. Actor focus clauses, which rarely occur compared with object focus clauses, are also highly transitive. PUS has several derivational transitive prefixes (most of which begin with 'p') which form transitive verbs. Consistent with its nature as an agglutinative language, PUS encodes causativity via a causative (pa–) prefix. This prefix increases the valency of the verb.

The verbal suffixes –i (locative) and –am (benefactive) function like a sub–focus system in PUS. In addition to pointing toward the "objects" of the verb, they also function as derivational suffixes which increase the valency of the verb.

PUS does not grammatically mark tense, but does mark perfective and imperfective aspects by means of verbal enclitics (–mi and –pi). The perfective is

used to present the foregrounded events of a discourse. Habitual aspect is morphologically presented by means of the prefix si–. Continuous or repetitive action is expressed through reduplication of the verb. Manner is also marked through reduplication. Pragmatic considerations as well as the particular semantic content of verbs determine whether reduplicated verbs are to be interpreted as less intensive or as aspectually continuative or repetitive. PUS marks the irrealis mood, but has no explicit marking for realis.

PUS has three distinct sentence types: declaratives, imperatives, and interrogatives . PUS differentiates three types of imperatives: basic imperatives, prohibitives, and hortatives. Prohibitives make use of the negative word daum which is uniquely reserved for this application. PUS also has three types of interrogatives: yes–no questions, alternatives and, content questions. Yes–no questions are sometimes expressed by a change in intonation, with no other morphosyntactic modifications. Many yes–no questions are formed by the addition of the question clitic –ka. PUS speakers often greet one another using rhetorical questions.

This thesis has certainly left numerous aspects of PUS grammar unaddressed; many of which I hope to address in future studies.

I have not presented an analysis of nouns or the noun phrase. As I better understand features such as the noun phrase particles e and o, I may be able to address the relationship of referentiality and transitivity as presented by Hopper and Thompson (1980:288).

In this thesis I have made several references to the discourse functions of PUS grammatical features. Further discourse–level study is needed in order to understand how sentences are linked and to clarify the functions of words and particles which hold a text together and make it work. In particular, I wish to further research the function(s) of the imperfective and perfective aspect markers in discourse. I am also

interested in analyzing the discourse functions of <u>pissananna</u>, which I translate as 'then' and <u>ia</u>, which I have been translating as 'well' (see Mamaq Dakmam's narration in the Appendix). In addition, I would like to study what types of grammatical features occur at the peaks of discourses.

A natural extension of this present work will be a look at sentences as combinations of clauses. The features related to relative clauses, adverbial clauses and complementation will undoubtedly throw more light on the subject of focus in PUS. More illuminating yet will be an analysis which further sorts out the discourse functions of actor focus clauses, object focus clauses, passives, and antipassives.

APPENDIX

"THE STORM"

BY MAMAQ DAKMAM

APPENDIX

"THE STORM"

BY MAMAQ DAQKAM

In the following text, the main verbs which are perfective are in bold type. The numbered divisions correspond to those used in example (13) of chapter 6.

1.   indo anna la- tallam-i   lino ke ma -siä   -i
      that and IRR-ravage-LOC world if STA-bright-LOC
      'That time when at daylight the land was ravaged,'

2.   ia   kiha-kiha tetteq appaq bengi
      well about   hour   four night
      'well about four o'clock in the morning,'

      na-tundum-mi -kam   Ani
      3s-awaken-PRF-1plex Ani
      'Ani awakened us.'

3.   Na-ua milliq -koaq aka   buda sagali uham
      3s-say wake up-2pl because much very   rain
      'He said, "Wake up all of you because it's raining
       very hard."'

4.   Ia   **milliq -um -kam**
      well wake up-PRF-1plex
      'Well, we woke up.'

5.   um-tundam -äq duka änäq -ku anna bangom-kam
      AF-wake up-1s also child-1s and get up-1plex
      'I also woke up my children and we got up.'

      ia   na-ua ta-   paq-sambajam-aq
      well 3s-say 1plin-TR- pray   -pl
      'Well he said, "Let's all pray."'

6.   **maq-sambajam-mi -kam**   yolo
      INT-pray   -PRF-1plex first
      'We prayed first.'

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7.   ia   puha -i   ia
     well finish-LOC well
     'Well afterward, well'

     na-ua -m   batte-ko kopi   anna   ma- siä   mata-N-ku
     3s-say-PRF fry   -2s coffee so that STA-bright eye -E-1s

     aka   tääq-pi -äq kadoq deem mammaq   pusam bengi
     because NEG -IMPF-1s 1s   there is sleep all   night
     'He said, "Fry some coffee so that my eyes can clear up
     because I have not yet slept all night."'

8.   Ani mu-ua -i
     Ani AF-say-3s
     'Ani said it.'

     ia, ku-ua -am dukaq io
     well 1s-say-BEN also yes
     'Well, I said to him, "Yes."'

9.   **maq-batte-mi -äq** anna lao-i na-lambuq Uni
     INT-fry- PRF-1s and go -3s 3s-pound Uni
     'I fried (it) and Uni went to pound it.'

10.   puha -i ku-kopi -i -am
     after-3s 1s-coffee-LOC-BEN
     'After I gave them coffee'

     ia **ku-bubuq -um** tama bahhaq
     well 1s-put in-PRF enter rice
     'well, I put on some rice'

11.   aka   ku   -ua anna di- bawa sola kuhim
     because 1s(ERG)-say that PASS-carry with pot
     'so that it can be carried in a pot

     ke leqbaq-i   tau   battu   umba ngei
     if go   -LOC people whether where place
     if we go who knows where.'

12.   ia   pissananna **la- ma- siä   -m**
     well then   IRR-STA-bright-PRF
     'Well, then it was just about to get bright out.'

13.   ia na-   ita Ani dekke   uma   ia
     well 3s(ERG)-see Ani to upriver rice field well

     hubäq   -um
     collapse-PRF
     'Well, Ani saw that upriver the rice field (the dikes)
     had already collapsed.

14.   ia   **lebaq-um dekke**   sola-i   Uni anna
     well go   -PRF go upriver with-LOC Uni and

     na-   tompäq-i
     3s(ERG)-repair-LOC
     'Well, he left upriver with Uni and repaired them.'

15.   ia   tuttuam illaam mai salu tasiajaq
     well increase upriver here river a lot
     'Well, the river was getting much bigger.

16.   ia   sule illaam mai läntä
     well come upriver here garden house
     Well, when he arrived the garden house,'

     ia   **mam-ande-m -kam**
     well INT-eat -PRF-1plin
     well, we ate.

17.   kiha-kiha tetteq kahua-i   ia   **illaam -mi mai**
     about   hour   eight-LOC well upriver-PRF here
     'About eight o'clock, well (the river) came from
     upriver to here,

     illauq   uma   salu tibuloso illaam mai
     downriver rice field river flood   upriver here

     sola bätä
     with log
     downriver the rice field was flooded by the river
     which carried in logs.'

18.   ia   **mu-ala -m -kam**   -i   sambuq-ki   anna
     well AF-take-PRF-1plex(ABS)-LOC sarong-1plex and

     um-bantaq   -kam   -i   Ibi
     AF-carry in sarong-1plex(ABS)-LOC Ibi
     'Well, we took our sarongs and carried Ibi.'

19.   leqbaq-kam   längäm anu -N-na Pati
     go   -1plex(ABS) go up thing-E-3s Pati
     'We went up to Pati's house.'

     ia   sule-kam   längäm, ia   sule dukaq liwam   tondom
     well come-1plex go up   well come also go over above

     indo pam-bawa salu
     that NR -carry river
     'Well we got up there. Well, the flooded river also
     came up (to the rice field dikes).'

20. ia **yawo liu -m -kam** pusam allo
well up there continual-PRF-1plex(ABS) all day
'Well, we continued (to stay) up there all day.

21. ki- ita liwam batattana hondom -hondom
1plex(ERG)-see to over main road slide down-slide down
'We saw the continuous sliding over at the main road.'

22. ia ma- säe- säe
well STA-long-long
'Well, after awhile,'

sule-m dekke to Sandam Kondo
come-PRF go upriver person Sandam Kondo
'people from Sandam Kondo came upriver.'

23. na -ua **la- di- pa -sola-m -koaq** sauq
3pl(ERG)-say IRR-PASS-CAUS-with-PRF-2pl go downriver
'They said, "You're going to be accompanied downriver."'

24. ia na- ua -am Ani makaleq -pa anna mala-pa
well 3s(ERG)-say-BEN Ani tomorrow-POL so that can -POL

ki -ola anuq hondom asam di- pahaq itim
1plex-traverse since slide all PASS-wash away that

sauq lalam o
go downriver path PRT
'Well, Ani said to them, "Tomorrow (we'll go) so that
there will be something to traverse, since everything
has slid, that downriver path washed away."'

ia na- ua io leqbaq-i sule illaam mai
well 3s(ERG)-say yes go -3pl return upriver here
'Well, they said "Yes." They came back down here.'

ia mebengngiq dam mane dekke -kam
well morning just before go upriver-1plex(ABS)

poleq na- ala
only now 3pl(ERG)-get
'Well it was morning before they came upriver to get
us.'

25. ia **leqbaq-um -kam** illaam mai anna
well go -PRF-1plex(ABS) upriver here and

illauq -kam Sandam Kondo
downriver-1plex(ABS) Sandam Kondo
'Well we left from upriver and (stayed) downriver
in Sandam Kondo.'

26. buda-Q   tau   dekke   mu-ala pahuhum-ki
    many-INTS people go upriver AF-get things -1plex
    'A whole lot of people went upriver to get our things.'

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