

Makassarese (*basa Mangkasara'*)

**A description of an Austronesian language of
South Sulawesi**

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Abstract

This thesis is a grammatical description of Makassarese, a language spoken by about 2 million people in South Sulawesi, Indonesia. Data for the study comes from fieldwork, and from literary and oral traditions, including manuscripts dating back over 300 years. The thesis examines the indigenous writing system in depth, and describes the phonology, morphology and syntax. Special emphasis is placed on the cross-referencing system of pronominal clitics which marks arguments on the predicate, and is affected by the interaction of transitivity, focus, and 2nd position phenomena.

This is to certify that

(i) the thesis comprises only my original work towards the PhD except where indicated in the Preface,

(ii) due acknowledgement has been made in the text to all other material used,

(iii) the thesis is less than 100,000 words in length, exclusive of tables, maps, bibliographies and appendices.

Signed:

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'A. H. S.', written in a cursive style.

Acknowledgements

This thesis has been long in the writing, and much has changed in the meantime. My original plan to work on Sumbawa became Makassarese. My first supervisor went to Frankfurt, and then London. My second went on sabbatical to Germany and returned. Indonesia went through four presidents and onto a fifth. The city of Makassar regained its name, and the province of South Sulawesi was split into two. And last but not least, my two children Thomas and Natalie were born. Through it all my wife Sonia has stood by me with her love and support, and my first thanks go to her.

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Abbreviations of grammatical terms

The abbreviations used for grammatical terms are based on the Leipzig Glossing Rules (<http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/files/morpheme.html>) with a few modifications.

1	first person	MULT	multiplier
2	second person	MUT	mutual
3	third person	MV	monovalent
A	agent-like argument of trans. verb	NEG	negation, negative
ABS	absolutive	NR	nominaliser/nominalisation
ADJ	adjective	NVOL	non-volitional
AF	actor focus	OBL	oblique
AFFL	afflicted with	ORD	ordinal
APPL	applicative	p	polite
BCS	because	P	patient-like argument of trans. verb
BEN	benefactive	P ^{INDEF}	patient-like arg. of semi-trans. verb
BV	bivalent	PASS	passive
CAUS	causative	PERS	personal
CLF	classifier	PFV	perfective
COM	comitative	pl	plural
COMP	complementiser	POSS	possessive
COMPR	comparative	PRO	full pronoun
DEF	definite	PROH	prohibitive
DEM	demonstrative	PROX	proximal/proximate
DIST	distal	PURP	purposive
DISTR	distributive	Q	question particle/marker
DUR	durative	QUOT	quotative
EC	echo VC (epenthetic syllable)	RDP	reduplication
EQ.COMPR	equal comparative	RECP	reciprocal
ERG	ergative	REFL	reflexive
excl	exclusive	REL	relative
EXP	experiencer-oriented	s	singular
f	familiar	S	single argument of intrans. verb
FOC	focus	S ^A	agent-like arg. of semi-trans. verb
FUT	future	SBJV	subjunctive
HORT	hortative	SG	singular
incl	inclusive	ST	stative
INDF	indefinite (pronoun)	TOP	topic
INF	infinitive	TOT	in totality, completely
INTR	intransitive	TR	transitive
IPF	imperfective	TRS	transitiviser
LK	linker	VET	vetative
–	affix		
=	clitic		
≡	affixal clitic		

Clitic pronouns are minimally labelled for person, eg:

1 = 1st person proclitic ('ergative') =3 3rd person enclitic ('absolutive')

Abbreviations of sources for example sentences

The following is a list of abbreviations for the most commonly used sources of example sentences. Those left unspecified are generally from my fieldnotes.

- C:pp (Cense & Abdoerrahim 1979)
- Cgn:pp Grammar notes by A.A. Cense, KITLV Or545.43
- KIT:ref Shoeboxed excerpt of the Gowa Chronicle in ms 668–216, Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen (see Appendix A)
- Maros:ref Shoeboxed text of the Maros Chronicle (from Cummings 2000)
- PT:ref Shoeboxed folktale *Caritana Pung Tedong* (Jukes 1998:Appendix B; Zainuddin Hakim 1991)
- SKT:ref Shoeboxed excerpt of *Sinrili'na Kappala' Tallumbatua* (Aburaerah Arief and Zainuddin Hakim 1993)
- bembe:ref Shoeboxed folktale *Caritana Karaeng Ammanaka Bembe*, KITLV Or545.55f (see Appendix B)

1 Introduction

This is a description of the Makassarese language, which is spoken by about 2 million people in the province of South Sulawesi in Indonesia. It is an Austronesian language belonging to the South Sulawesi subgroup within the large Western–Malayo Polynesian family (§1.2.1). Typologically it is a head–marking language which marks arguments on the predicate with a system of pronominal clitics, which canonically follow an ergative/absolutive pattern, while full NPs are relatively free in order. There is a pre–predicate focus position which is widely used. In Himmelmann’s (2005) terminology, Makassarese (along with other South Sulawesi languages and some from other parts of Indonesia) is a **transitional language**, being neither a **symmetrical voice language** like the majority of Austronesian languages, nor a **preposed possessor language** such as languages of the Moluccas and Timor. The phonology is notable for the large number of geminate and pre–glottalised consonant sequences, while the morphology is characterised by highly productive affixation and pervasive encliticisation of pronominal and aspectual elements. Over the centuries the language has been represented orthographically in many ways: with two indigenous Indic or *aksara* based scripts, a system based on Arabic script, and a variety of Romanised conventions.

This description differs from most modern grammars of living languages in that it draws heavily upon literary sources reaching back more than three centuries. This is partly due to circumstances — various problems prevented me from spending as much time in South Sulawesi as I would have liked, restricting my access to the lively speech community. But it is also due to a conscious decision — Makassarese is rare among languages of eastern Indonesia in possessing a literary heritage of moderate antiquity which allows us to see snapshots of the language of the past, and ignoring this source of data seems to me short–sighted. The older material has been balanced by use of modern written data, either published material or from online chat fora, and also by work with speakers both in Makassar and in Melbourne.

Space and time limitations have meant that this description contains little information about interclausal relations — a complex area which remains the subject of ongoing and future research.

A note on spelling conventions:

There is significant confusion about the best way to represent orthographically the name of this language, the ethnic group who speak it, and the city which dominates the region (renamed Makassar in 1999 after 28 years as Ujung Pandang). In the language itself they are respectively *basa Mangkasara'*, *tau Mangkasara'* and *Mangkasara'* (previously *Jumpandang*). In modern Indonesian they are *bahasa Makassar*, *orang Makassar* and *Makassar*. At various times in English the forms *Makassarese*, *Macassarese* and *Macassan* (among others) have been found.¹ Recently scholars working on South Sulawesi have come to favour the forms *Makasarese* (eg. Noorduyn 1991b) or just *Makasar* (eg. Macknight & Caldwell 2001), presumably to differentiate the language/ethnic name from the name of the city, and also to ‘correct’ the Indonesian spelling (Indonesian has no geminate /s/ sound so evidently the form has been taken from a European language). I have not chosen to follow this latter convention — whatever its advantages, the form *Makasar* represents neither the ethnonym, nor the national spelling; nor the most common English spelling. Instead I have decided, in agreement with many other scholars (eg. Cummings 2002; Evans 1992, 1997; Walker & Zorc 1981), to use *Makassarese* to signify the language and the people (–ese being taken as an English equivalent of both *basa/bahasa* and *tau/orang*), and *Makassar* for the name of the city.

As for orthographic conventions for representing language data, I have largely followed those of the Makassarese–Dutch dictionary (Cense & Abdoerrahim 1979), with a few minor alterations, along the lines of those in Chabot (1996), to make the script more compatible with modern Indonesian spelling. Briefly:

' is a glottal stop [ʔ]

ng is a velar nasal [ŋ]

ny is a palatal nasal [ɲ]

c is a voiceless palatal stop [c]

j is a voiced palatal stop [ɟ]

¹ The term *Macassan* (as used in Macknight 1976) is intended as a catch-all term for the people (mostly but not all Makassarese) who travelled to northern Australia in search of trepang. Many nowadays fail to draw the distinction.

The whole question of orthographic standards is examined in much more detail in Chapter 3.

1.1 The area and inhabitants

This is an introduction to the neighbourhood of South Sulawesi: its physical geography and some human geographic information about the major ethnic groups which inhabit it, followed by some background history of the Makassarese people and cultural observations.

1.1.1 Geography

Sulawesi (formerly Celebes) is an unusually shaped island straddling the equator between Borneo (Kalimantan) and the Moluccas (Maluku), south of the Philippines. Its distinctive shape and mountainous nature are the result of the collision of four major island fragments associated with Eurasian and Australian continental margins; this is also reflected in the island's inclusion in Wallacea, the transitional zone between the Asian and Australian biogeographic regions (Hall 2001).

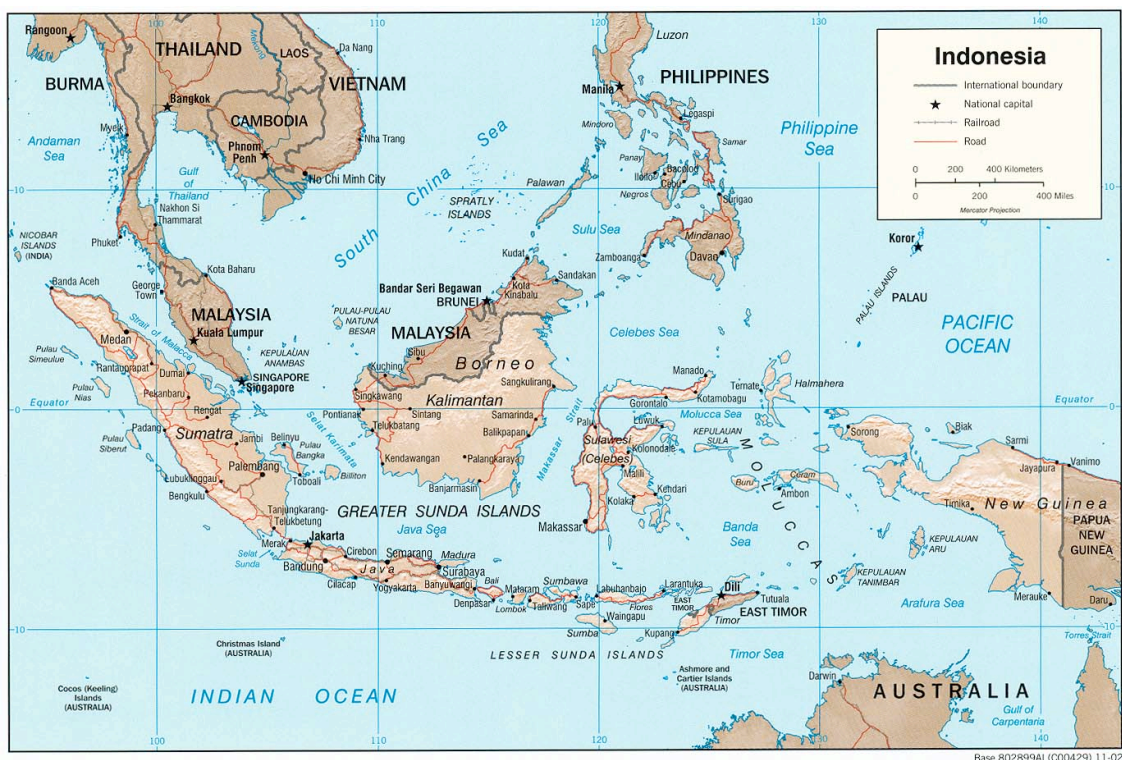


Figure 1.1: Indonesia



Figure 1.2: Sulawesi showing current provincial boundaries

Sulawesi is part of the Republic of Indonesia, and is divided into six provinces: these are Sulawesi Utara (North Sulawesi), Gorontalo (split off from North Sulawesi in 2000), Sulawesi Tengah (Central Sulawesi), Sulawesi Tenggara (South–East Sulawesi), Sulawesi Selatan (South Sulawesi), and Sulawesi Barat (West Sulawesi, split off from South Sulawesi in October 2004). South Sulawesi (excluding the string of islands to the south) extends roughly between 2° and $5^{\circ}5'$ south of the equator, a length of approximately 400 km. The province, at its widest, stretches over 200 km east to west, but the peninsula proper is about 150 km wide in the north and 80–100 km wide in the south. The area of the province is 62,482 km².

The northern half of South Sulawesi (including the well-known Tana Toraja region) is mountainous with several peaks over 3000 metres. The southern half of the peninsula is divided by a cordillera into two main parts — a narrow strip of fertile plains on the west coast which becomes wider in the south west corner; and a wider area of plains and lowlands on the east coast and in the centre, including the two shallow lakes Tempe and Sidenreng. These correspond roughly to areas of Makassarese and Bugis settlement respectively. The southern tip of the peninsula is dominated by two peaks over 2500

metres, Bawakaraeng and Lompobattang. The south coast is somewhat arid, as is the island of Selayar off the south-east cape. Otherwise, the climate is tropical and monsoonal, with the west monsoon bringing rain predominantly to the west coast from November to March, and the east monsoon bringing rain to the other coast from April to October.

1.1.2 Demography

South Sulawesi is the most populous of the Sulawesi provinces with upwards of seven million inhabitants.² Roughly 80% of the population live in the southern half of the peninsula (Pelras 1996:7), the mountainous northern half is relatively sparsely populated by many language/ethnic groups concentrated along the coast and in river valleys. Of the 29 South Sulawesi languages listed in the Summer Institute of Linguistics' Ethnologue (www.ethnologue.com), 22 are spoken in this northern half and in the part which is now West Sulawesi — those with the most speakers are Saqdan (500,000), Tae (250,000) and Mandar (200,000).

The southern half is dominated by speakers of the two largest languages: Bugis and Makassarese and their dialects, together with some closely related languages. The Makassarese live in the south-west corner of the peninsula. Most of them are concentrated in the fertile coastal plain around the city of Makassar and to the south; these are the *kabupatens* (administrative districts) of Gowa and Takalar, considered the heartland of the Makassarese. Gowa also extends into the mountains which occupy the centre of the peninsula, but these are more sparsely populated. To the north of Makassar are the kabupatens of Maros and Pangkajene Kepulauan (Pangkep), which are densely populated with a mixture of Bugis and Makassarese. On the south coast are the kabupatens of Jeneponto and Bantaeng, whose inhabitants identify as Makassarese though their dialects are substantially different from that of Gowa and Takalar (see § 1.2.4). Kabupaten Bulukumba in the south-east corner of the peninsula is inhabited by a mixture of Bugis and Konjo (or Kajang) people, while the Selayarese people occupy

² The Indonesian Bureau of Statistics (<http://www.bps.go.id/profile/sulsel.shtml>) gives 7.8 million, however this does not appear to take account of the roughly 800,000 people who are now in the new province of West Sulawesi.

the island of Selayar to the south. The remainder of the southern part of the peninsula is inhabited by Bugis, including the east coast and the inland plains which extend roughly from the Sinjai area in the south-east to Pare-pare in the west.

It is difficult to ascertain exactly the number of Makassarese speakers, as Indonesian census data does not reliably include language or ethnic data. SIL Ethnologue gives a figure of 1.6 million, while Pelras (1996:12) estimates about 2 million. Using population information for kabupatens found at <http://www.tvrimakassar.com/>, I calculate that Pelras' estimate is more likely to be accurate. If we include speakers of the Bantaeng and Jeneponto dialects as Makassarese (but exclude Konjo and Selayarese, see §1.2.4), then by adding together the populations of the kabupatens which are almost entirely populated by Makassarese speakers (Maros, Gowa, Takalar, Jeneponto and Bantaeng), we get a figure of 1,525,829. If we then assume (very conservatively) that at least one-third of Makassar city's population of 1,251,493 is Makassarese speaking, as well as about half of the population of kabupaten Pangkep, we get a total of 2,068,260. This makes it the second largest language in Sulawesi, after Bugis with over 3 million speakers (Pelras 1996:1).³

1.1.3 Economy

There is an obvious economic division between urban and rural Makassarese. I would estimate that roughly 500,000 Makassarese live in or around the city of Makassar, the remainder living in smaller towns, villages and hamlets. The majority of rural Makassarese are engaged in farming or fishing. There is extensive wet rice cultivation on the west side and the interior of the peninsula, largely relying on rainfall rather than complex irrigation systems. There are also cash crops such as cacao and vanilla, and fruit such as *markisa* (passionfruit) — syrup made from this is one of the more famous local products. On the south coast the kabupatens of Jeneponto and Bantaeng are drier and poorer — Jeneponto in particular is notorious for its poverty and many of its young men work in Makassar or other towns driving taxis or bicycle rickshaws (*beca*); income from relatively poor agriculture in parts of this region is supplemented by fish farming and evaporating seawater for salt. Shipbuilding used to be an important activity in

³ Ethnologue gives 3.5 million.

communities along the south coast, but this is now largely dominated by the Bugis in Bulukumba and the Mandar people in the north-west of the peninsula.

Makassar itself has a complex economy — as a city of 1.25 million it is beyond simple characterisation. It is the largest city in eastern Indonesia, and attracts large numbers of immigrants, including refugees from strife-torn Maluku and Central Sulawesi, and also large numbers of students from Sulawesi and all over the eastern part of the archipelago. As an administrative, educational, and commercial centre it supports a sizeable middle class. There are also some modern industrial facilities such as a large paper mill and cement plant, as well as an important port handling produce and primary resources. Within the city of Makassar the Makassarese form something of an underclass, though they are still (to the best of my knowledge) the largest single ethnic group in the city, followed closely by the Bugis, and then Torajans and other ethnic groups from the rest of Sulawesi and Indonesia. There is also a sizeable Makassar Chinese population. However, as with many Indonesian centres underemployment is a large problem and many urban Makassarese are employed in the informal sector as becak drivers and small-scale pedlars.⁴

Tourism was until recently an important part of the local economy — not particularly for Makassar itself since it is not an especially attractive city — but as the port of entry for travellers to the popular area of Tana Toraja it received a share of transit and flow-on travel. However, my sources report that even before the Bali bombings of 2002 and 2005, tourism had diminished to virtually nothing due to the perception (and reality) of instability and danger in the region. This situation was only worsened by 2 relatively small bombs which were detonated in Makassar in 2002, killing two people.

⁴ See Forbes (1979) for a brief description of the informal sector and some insights into the lives of those who work in it. Although based on data which is now over twenty years old, most of the general observations are pertinent today.

1.1.4 Historical background

This section briefly covers the historical background of the peninsula from prehistory to present, drawing on archaeological and linguistic research for the earliest part, and written history (both indigenous and external) for the last 800 years or so.

1.1.4.1 Prehistory

South Sulawesi was inhabited by humans by at least 30,000 years ago (Macknight 1993:6), but the best known pre-Austronesian material culture indicated by the archaeological record is known as Toalean (or Toalian),⁵ “the most important industry of the flake and blade technocomplex ... with an array of microliths (small-backed flakes and geometrics) of types seemingly unique in the Indo-Malaysian archipelago” (Bellwood 1997:193). These were produced from about 8000 BP until 1500 BP (Bulbeck et al. 2000:71) across the south-west of the peninsula, an area which “corresponds closely to the area where the Makasar languages (Austronesian) are spoken today” (Bulbeck et al. 2000:74). The close fit between the Toalean and Makassarese areas has led Bulbeck (Bulbeck 1992:512–3) to speculate that there could be a Toalean linguistic substratum in Makassarese — an appealing notion but one for which there is no apparent evidence. However, the dates certainly suggest that the hunter-gatherer Toalean culture survived for some time after the arrival of Austronesian speakers — this is also indicated by the presence of pottery (believed to have been acquired by trading with Austronesians) in Toalean sites from between 2500–1500 BC (Bellwood 1997:229). The evidence has led Bulbeck et al to surmise that the Toaleans were quite able to coexist and trade with their new neighbours: “Far from being in peril of rapid replacement, the Toaleans must have been a dense hunter-gatherer population who evidently tolerated immigrant Austronesian farmers for the benefits they brought” (Bulbeck et al. 2000:102).

According to Bellwood’s generally accepted model, the spread of Austronesian languages throughout the archipelago is associated with the spread of ceramics and agriculture, starting from a putative proto-Austronesian homeland in Taiwan around

⁵ The term ‘Toalean’ itself is a misnomer, from the Bugis *toale* ‘forest people’, who lived in rock shelters in Lamoncong and appear to have been Bugis exiles (Bulbeck et al. 2000:74; Pelras 1996:37).

3000 BCE, through the Philippines and into Sulawesi by about 2000 BCE (Bellwood 1997:119). The first Austronesians into South Sulawesi may have been speakers of proto–South Sulawesi (PSS), or there may have been earlier incursions by speakers of other groups (see §1.2.4 for a discussion of the historical linguistic evidence). It is worth noting here that for some or all of this period seawater would have covered some of the lowland area between Pare–Pare on the west coast and the Cenrana river valley on the east coast (including the present lakes Tempe and Sidenreng), to a greater or lesser extent separating the southern part of the peninsula from the north. The dating, extent, and ramifications of the saline intrusion remain a matter of ongoing debate. Mills (1975a:513–34), Pelras (1996:41) and Sirk (1994) all assume that the southern part of the peninsula was virtually an island, that the ancestors of the Makassarese moved to this island from a PSS homeland to the north, and that the isolation resulting from dwelling on the island in part explains the divergence of Makassarese from the other South Sulawesi languages. More recent work by Caldwell & Lillie (2004) has determined that there was seawater as far as the western side of Lake Tempe from 7000 – 2600 BP, but that it is unlikely that it ever extended all the way across the peninsula (Caldwell pers.comm). I have nothing to add to this debate, but will simply note that a narrow channel would pose little obstacle to a seafaring people, while the cordillera which forms the spine of the peninsula would in all likelihood prove more effective at isolating the Makassarese from the rest of South Sulawesi.

The exact pattern of expansion will likely never become clear (again, see §1.2.4) — but for the purposes of this work I will simply assume that at least by the end of the 13th century CE (which is as far back as locally recorded history can be projected) the major ethnic groups of South Sulawesi had occupied their present locations and were divided into small kingdoms.

1.1.4.2 Early kingdoms

For the purposes of this work, the history of the Makassarese people from the early modern period will be conflated with the history of Gowa, the most successful Makassarese kingdom; and the port city of Makassar which grew up inside it and its smaller neighbour and ally, Tallo'. This is not only because this thesis is mainly concerned with the language and literature of Gowa, especially its *patturioloang*

(‘ancestor tale’ or Chronicle), but also because this region became the heartland of the Makassarese by virtue of the preeminence of Gowa in its heyday of the 16th and 17th centuries.⁶ This is not to deny the histories of other Makassarese realms such as Bantaeng or Maros, but from a purely linguistic view, the written sources coming from minor realms have either been passed through the filter of the Gowa court or derive from relatively recent oral versions.

Because local histories give sparse and rather mythic information about periods prior to the 16th century, most of what we know about the early Makassarese states comes from archaeology or external sources. The most detailed source of archaeological analysis for the Gowa area is Bulbeck’s (1992) PhD thesis, which uses archaeological evidence to confirm and augment information given in the Gowa and Tallo’ Chronicles. His analysis of ceramic tradeware sherds show that several sites around Gowa were occupied — and trading — by at least the 13th century.

The influence of Gowa at these early times was probably local and limited. External sources tell us that Gowa is not the oldest identifiable Makassarese kingdom — this was probably Bantaeng on the south coast, which was known to Javanese spice traders in the 14th century. The 1365 Javanese poem *Deśawarṇana* (also known as *Nāgarakṛtāgama*) names ‘Bantayan’ as one of the subjects of the Javanese Majapahit empire in a passage which reads:

As well as the land of Bantayan, led by Bantayan and Luwuk,
Including Uḍa, these being the three foremost places on the island
Taking them island by island: Makasar, Butun and Banggawi,
Kunir, Galiyahu and Salaya, Sumba, Solot and Muwar... (Prapañca 1995)⁷

⁶ Similarly the heartland of the Buginese — and supposedly the oldest kingdom — is considered to be Luwu, in the very north-east of South Sulawesi at the top of the Gulf of Bone. This folk belief has been challenged by research by Bulbeck and Caldwell (2000), suggesting that Luwu is younger than tradition would suggest.

⁷ This passage is to my knowledge the first recorded mention of the name ‘Makasar’, however it is confusingly listed as an island separate from Bantayan, along with Buton, Selayar, and others less easily identified. Pelras explains this away by saying that the name Makassar is first and foremost an ethnic

‘Luwuk’ is probably the Bugis kingdom of Luwu, ‘Uḍa’ has not been identified (Pelras 1996:66; Reid 2000:107). Another intriguing indication of early Javanese influence in the area is that several local placenames later mentioned in the Gowa Chronicle seem to be based on Javanese names — Sorobaya (Surabaya), Jipang and Garassi’ (Grisek) — “all names of north Java cities likely to have sent merchants in this direction” (Reid 2000:107).

The next recorded mention of the Makassarese and their kingdoms comes from the Portuguese, who were active in the archipelago from the early 16th century. Their interest in Sulawesi was only peripheral — their real areas of influence were westwards in Malacca (which they conquered in 1511), and the Spice Islands of Maluku to the east. Again, rather confusingly, the early sources talk about the Makassar ‘islands’. A passage written by the apothecary Tomé Pires not long after the conquest of Malacca reads in part:

The islands of Macaçar are four or five days journey beyond the islands we have described ... The islands are numerous. It is a large country. One side goes up to Buton and Madura⁸ and the other extends far up north. They are all heathens. They say that these islands have more than fifty kings. These islands trade with Malacca and with Java and with Borneo and with Siam and with all the places between Pahang and Siam. They are men more like the Siamese than other races. Their language is on its own, different from the others. They are heathens, robust, great warriors⁹ (Pires and Rodrigues 1944:226).

name which “could apply to any settlement of Makassar people, even away from mainland South Sulawesi” (Pelras 1996:67).

⁸ This possibly refers to Mandar.

⁹ The passage mentions that the Javanese call these people the ‘BaJuus’ (interpreted as ‘Bugis’ in the English translation): this has led Reid (2000:109-112) to surmise that there must have been a close connection between the Makassarese and the Bajau people (also known as Sama, ‘Orang Laut’, or in Makassarese *Bayo* or *tau ri je’ne* ‘people of the water’); and further, that the ‘islands of Macacar’ might refer to the islands of the Spermonde Archipelago to the west and north of Makassar, which could have been settled by Bajau under Makassarese rule. Reid further discusses evidence from folklore of close ties

According to Portuguese reports the most prominent of the Makassarese kingdoms on the west coast was Siang, which was located in the area of Pangkajene north of modern Makassar. Muslim Malay traders had been established in Siang since before 1500 (Reid 2000:117), and Siang appears (along with Tallo' and Garassi', but not Gowa) on a Portuguese map from 1534 (Pelras 1996:115). The trader Antonio de Paiva visited Siang several times in the 1540s, and even baptised its leader into Catholicism in 1544 (Jacobs 1966). However, Siang appears to have declined rapidly from that point — de Paiva himself moved his ships south to Tallo' due to Siang's inadequate harbour (Pelras 1996:129), and historians have also speculated that the Christianisation of the ruler may have led the Muslim traders to seek opportunities elsewhere (Pelras 1996:129; Reid 2000:114). Not long afterwards Siang became a vassal state of the rising kingdom of Gowa.

1.1.4.3 The rise and fall of Gowa

The exact date of the founding of the kingdom of Gowa is unknown, but the first external source who mentions it is Antonio de Paiva, who called it a “great city” which had recently been under the dominion of one of Siang's vassals but was now free. Pelras speculates that this may have been Tallo' (Pelras 1996:115), though this seems unlikely, given that according to both the Gowa and Tallo' Chronicles, Tallo' had only recently been established as an offshoot of the Gowa dynasty. Looking at local sources, Bulbeck (1992) has shown by counting back the rulers in the Gowa Chronicle that that dynasty probably began in the 13th century.

The earliest parts of the Gowa Chronicle have a mythological element which is quite different from the matter-of-fact tone of the later sections. A controversial preface (which does not appear in all versions) may list rulers of Gowa who predate the dynasty

between the two peoples. It must be noted however that these coral islands, though numerous, are small and today sporadically inhabited by Makassarese people (rather than Bajau), and that there is no significant Bajau component in the Makassarese lexicon nor, to my knowledge, vice versa. Another explanation put forward by Campbell Macknight (p.c) is that the passage is talking about two distinct peoples, the Bajau and the Makassarese, who became conflated either by Pires himself (relying as he was on whatever information he could get from traders in Malacca), or simply through unintended ambiguity in the passage.

(Noorduyn 1991b:457–62), but the chronicle proper begins with a female *tumanurung* ('descended one'), who married a certain Karaeng Bayo. Some versions of the chronicle state that the latter's place of origin was Bantaeng (Blok 1817:5; Reid 2000:100), which is supported by histories from Bantaeng itself (Cummings 2003), though other versions (perhaps in an attempt to erase evidence of Bantaeng's precedence over Gowa) simply say that "his country is also not known" [*taniassengtongangngai pa'rasanganna*] (Matthes 1883:146). It is interesting to note also that *Bayo* is Makassarese for Bajau, suggesting another possible link with the seafaring people mentioned in footnote 9.

The son of the *tumanurung* and Karaeng Bayo was known as Tumassalangga Barayang ('the one with sloping shoulders'),¹⁰ and the chronicle lists the kings that follow, but with little information about their actions: Puang Loe Lembang, Tuniatabanri, Karampang ri Gowa, Tunatangkalopi, Batara Gowa, Tunijallo' ri Passuki' — the latter of whom died around 1510. Meanwhile a feud between Batara Gowa and his brother, Karaeng Loe ri Sero, resulted in the latter founding the neighbouring kingdom of Tallo', which would remain closely linked with Gowa, though not always in friendly circumstances.¹¹

Most scholars agree, however, that it was in the reign of Tumapa'risi' Kallonna ('the one with a sore neck'), who reigned from c.1510 until c.1546 that Gowa really started to become powerful. This can be seen partly as a result of strong leadership, and partly because of favourable economic and social conditions. Macknight (1993) has argued that around 1400 CE there was a pronounced increase both in the area and productivity of wet rice agriculture throughout the peninsula, allowing a significant rise in population densities and producing a surplus available for export. Gowa, having control of some of the most fertile land in the peninsula, was in a strong position — particularly

¹⁰ Most karaengs are referred to here by their posthumous names, which often describe some characteristic of the individual or the circumstances of their death (see §6.1.2.3). In this case the word *barayang* apparently refers to a kind of tree with uneven branches (Cense & Abdoerrahim 1979:78), thus 'the one with uneven/sloping shoulders'.

¹¹ For the hidden turbulent history of Gowa-Tallo' relations see Cummings (1999). It is worth noting here that the story of the founding of Tallo' by Karaeng Loe ri Sero is well supported by archaeological evidence (Bulbeck 1992; Macknight 1993).

so after trading activity became centred there in the mid-16th century — and so it was able to use both economic and military means to subjugate smaller states.

From the reign of Tumapa'risi' Kallonna onwards the Gowa Chronicle contains frequent lists of kingdoms (including Siang) being defeated and/or forced to pay tribute [*sa'bu kati* — literally '1000 catties']. It also recounts the story of a war between Gowa and its smaller neighbour Tallo', possibly in response to the abduction of the daughter of the king of Tallo' by Tumapa'risi' Kallonna's son (Cummings 1999), which ended in a peace treaty and alliance. This was probably around 1535 (Bulbeck 1992:117–27). The relationship between the two states was later characterised as 'only one people but two rulers' [*se'reji ata na rua karaeng*], and often involved the king of Tallo' becoming the *tuma'bicarabutta* ('one who speaks the land') of Gowa, the highest official after the king.

Another important development during Tumapa'risi' Kallonna's rule is described in the Gowa Chronicle as the "making of Makassarese lontara" [*ampareki lontara' Mangkasara'*] by the harbourmaster [*sabannara'*] I Daeng Pamatte'. This probably refers to the beginning of the keeping of detailed records and possibly the inception of the Chronicle itself (Cummings 2002:42). Certainly the Chronicle becomes much more detailed about non-genealogical matters from Tumapa'risi' Kallonna onwards.

Tumapa'risi' Kallonna was succeeded upon his death by his son Tunipalangga, who ruled from approximately 1546 until 1565. He was also considered a great king, and the Gowa Chronicle lists many of his achievements. An especially noteworthy event during his reign was the arrival and settling in Makassar of a group of Malay traders under Anakoda Bonang in 1561, a signal of Gowa's growing importance as an entrepôt.

Tunipalangga died in 1565 during a war against the Bugis kingdom of Bone and was succeeded by his brother Tunibatta, who reigned for only 40 days before being captured and beheaded in the same war (*tunibatta* = 'the one who was beheaded'). He in turn was succeeded by his son Tunijallo', who reigned until 1590 but was murdered on a ship by a kinsman who had run amok (*tunijallo'* = 'the one who was killed by an amok').

Tunipasulu' (1590–1593) was the son of Tunijallo' and was only fifteen when he ascended the throne. His mother had been ruler of Tallo' so he also took the Tallo' throne (as well as that of Maros to the north, see Cummings (2000)), however he was

not a good king and was deposed after two years on the throne [*tunipasulu'* = 'the one who was deposed']. He was forced into exile on Buton where he died in 1617. The Gowa chronicle is frank about his arbitrary behaviour: he killed people who had done no wrong [*manna taena salanna taua niasseng ti'ring nibunoji*], but ultimately concludes that it is better not talked about [*tasitabaji' nikana-kana*].

Tunipasulu' was replaced by his brother Tumamenang ri Gaukanna (ruled 1593–1639), who was only seven at the time of his accession. Because of his young age, the kingdom was put under the regency of the new king of Tallo', Karaeng Matoaya (ruled 1593–1623), and it was during his period of influence (he died in 1636) that Gowa entered its Golden Age. A non-exhaustive list of his achievements from the Gowa and Tallo' Chronicles includes:

- the construction of brick fortifications
- the digging of canals
- improvements in ship design
- the manufacture of firearms
- the minting of currency

(Andaya 1981:36; Reid 2000:133–38). There was also a marked increase in the number of merchants and envoys from other regional powers; and Dutch, Danes and English joined the Portuguese as representatives of Europe, adding to Makassar's increasingly cosmopolitan nature.

Another event symbolic of increasing Makassarese interaction with the wider world was Karaeng Matoaya's conversion to Islam around 1605 (he took the Islamic name Sultan Abdullah). He was followed soon thereafter by Tumamenang ri Gaukanna (who became Sultan Alauddin). They then embarked on a campaign of Islamisation which conquered and converted all the major kingdoms south of Tana Toraja by 1611. The speed with which this was achieved seems remarkable, but as Cummings reminds us, we should regard it as "an ongoing process rather than a single transformative event" (Cummings 2002:32).¹² The campaigns of Islamisation and/or conquest were not

¹² See also Cummings (2001b, 2003) for more on this.

confined to South Sulawesi: “By the time of Matoaya’s death in 1636 Makasar’s hegemony had extended in this way to embrace almost the whole coast of Sulawesi, the east coast of Borneo, and the Lesser Sundas from eastern Lombok to parts of Timor” (Reid 2000:144).¹³

Matoaya’s sons were Karaeng Kanjilo (ruled Tallo’ 1623–1641) and Karaeng Pattingalloang (ruled Tallo’ 1641–1654). The latter was a particular favourite of European visitors, and he was renowned for his intellectual curiosity and fluency in several European languages. He was also adept at negotiating with the increasingly influential and threatening Dutch East Indies Company (*Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie* or VOC) which was attempting to gain a monopoly on the trade of spices from the Moluccas and did not take kindly to Gowa’s role in this trade, nor its friendliness to merchants from other foreign powers.

Meanwhile, following the death of Sultan Alauddin in 1639, the throne of Gowa passed to Alauddin’s son Sultan Muhammad Said (Tumamenang ri Papambatua, ruled 1639–1653). Strangely (as Andaya points out), although the Gowa Chronicle praises him as a ruler under whose reign no disaster befell the kingdom, it adds that “he was loved by the common people, but as for the princes, such as the Tumailalang, they loved Tumamenang ri Gaukanna (Sultan Alauddin) more’ [*ningai ri tau ta’balaka, na ponna ri ana’ karaenga kammaya Tumailalanga, ningaiangngiji Tumenanga ri Gaukanna*] (Andaya 1981:38–9; Wolhoff and Abdurrahim 1959:70). This rather underwhelming vote of confidence notwithstanding, he seems to have been an effective king, and the partnership between him and Pattingalloang parallels that of their respective fathers Alauddin and Matoaya.

However, the reign of the next king of Gowa was to see the fall of the kingdom at the hands of its rival, the Bugis kingdom of Bone, in alliance with the VOC. Sultan

¹³ It was probably in the 18th century, after the fall of Makassar, that Makassarese influence reached its furthest southern extent: the north coast of Australia (*Marege*), where they went to collect sea-cucumber (*taripang*). These voyages still feature in some Aboriginal ceremonies, and there are still significant numbers of Makassarese loan words in languages of northern Australia. (See Macknight (1976) for a history of these contacts; there are also several papers discussing the linguistic evidence (Evans 1992, 1997; Walker and Zorc 1981).

Hasanuddin (Tumamenang ri Balla' Pangkana), ruled from 1653 to 1669 with his *tuma'bicarabutta*, Karaeng Karunrung (the son of Pattingalloang). The chain of events leading to the fall of Gowa is complex and is dealt with very comprehensively by Andaya (1981), but basically involves a series of misjudgements and bad dealings with Bone — resulting in resentment and feelings of *siri'* (§1.1.5) on the part of the Bone nobility, notably the prince Arung Palakka — and underestimation on Gowa's part of VOC military power.

There were several minor incidents and skirmishes in the years leading to the Makassar war of 1666-9 — notable being the Dutch occupation of Gowa's fort of Pa'nakkukang in 1660 (Andaya 1981:45). A treaty agreed between Gowa and the VOC at the end of that year stipulated that Portuguese merchants should be expelled from Makassar, but Gowa made no move to do so and instead concentrated on shoring up its defences. It also ignored other treaty requirements that it give up claims to the island of Buton and other territories in favour of the Sultan of Ternate, Sultan Mandar Syah, who was virtually a puppet of the VOC (Ricklefs 2001:71). Further tension was created by Gowa's seizure of goods from shipwrecked VOC ships on Makassarese territories, and the murder of a party sent to investigate one of these incidents in 1664 (Andaya 1981:62-3).

In November 1666 the Dutch sent a fleet out from Batavia commanded by Admiral Speelman. In addition to the VOC troops there was a party of Bugis led by Arung Palakka, who had been in exile in Java and elsewhere, fighting as a mercenary on behalf of the VOC. This alliance of Dutch and Bone forces inflicted major military defeats on the Makassarese, leading to the 1667 Treaty of Bungaya which gave effective control of trade to the Dutch,¹⁴ and political control to Bone. However Sultan Hasanuddin again failed to observe the terms of the treaty and fighting continued until June 1669, when

¹⁴ For an in-depth examination of Gowa's heyday and its fall see Andaya (1981). The significance of these events in world history is underlined by Fernández-Armesto:

The fall of Makassar...did change the world. It completed the Dutch ring of force around the spice islands: now the Dutch could control supply at the source of production and the first level of distribution... a valuable slice of the gorgeous east really was held in fee, and the economy of part of the Orient was impoverished for the benefit of the stockholders of the Dutch East India Company. This was a reversal of the aeons-old balance of trade, which had enriched the east at western expense (Fernández-Armesto 1995:326-7).

the royal citadel of Somba Opu was destroyed by the Bone army and Dutch navy, and Sultan Hasanuddin abdicated in favour of his son Sultan Amir Hamzah (Tumammaliang ri Allu', reigned 1669-1674).

Makassar was gradually rebuilt as a Dutch colonial city and became the centre of colonial administration, though Arung Palakka and his heirs retained significant influence for some time. The Makassarese rebelled a number of times in the 18th century, but were defeated each time. During this period many Makassarese (and Bugis who had sided against Arung Palakka) fled South Sulawesi, spreading throughout the archipelago and as far as the Siamese kingdom of Ayutthaya (Andaya 1981:209).

In some respects this was seen as the end of Makassarese history, and indeed the Gowa Chronicle does not mention the war at all — the final paragraphs contain only genealogical information concerning Sultan Hasanuddin and his successors up until Sultan Abdul Jalil (1677-1709) — while the Tallo' Chronicle finishes in the mid-17th century. In 1759 the Dutch governor of Makassar, Roelof Blok, noted that “the manuscripts of the Maccassars have, since the conquest of their kingdom, been discontinued, and they have no intention to resume them, until their much wished for restoration be realized” (Blok 1817:iii).

Interestingly, although he had been instrumental in Gowa's defeat, Arung Palakka became a heroic figure in Makassarese folklore as the protagonist of the epic tale *Sinrili'na Kappala' Tallumbatua* ('the tale of three ships') — a paradox which is examined in detail by Andaya (1980) and Cummings (2001a), but in a nutshell relies on the folk perception that he had been humiliated by the Gowa court and was therefore entitled to revenge.

1.1.4.4 Colonialism and independence

The 18th and 19th centuries saw the Dutch consolidating and extending their power throughout South Sulawesi. The victories of the 17th century had resulted in direct Company rule in Makassar itself and, at least in theory, over considerable areas in the southern half of the peninsula, but the previous kingdoms, and Gowa in particular, were still powers to be reckoned with. At the end of the 18th century the VOC was dissolved and the Dutch state took direct control of the Dutch East Indies (with the exception of a brief loss of power to Britain, which occupied Makassar and other Dutch controlled

areas from 1812 to 1816 during the Napoleonic Wars). Eventually the Dutch found it necessary to subdue their former Bugis allies, attacking Bone in 1824, 1859-60, and finally in 1905; a year that also saw the final uprising by Gowa under Sultan Husen, which was once again put down and ended with his death. Following this was a period of more or less complete Dutch control that ended with Japanese invasion in 1942.¹⁵

Following Japanese occupation and liberation by Australian troops the Dutch attempted to re-establish their rule, and nationalist insurgents were brutally put down by Captain Raymond 'Turk' Westerling. Even when it was obvious that most of the former Dutch East Indies were lost, the Dutch attempted to form a State of East Indonesia (*Negara Indonesia Timur*) with Makassar as its capital; however this was not viable and in August 1950 it was merged with the Republic of Indonesia.

This did not mean the end of conflict, however, as groups of disgruntled former guerrillas led by the Bugis Kahar Muzakkar rebelled over the new Republic's refusal to automatically absorb them into the army. In itself this may not seem sufficient grounds for armed insurrection, but as Andaya (1976) and Errington (1989:17) note, it should be seen as a typically South Sulawesi manifestation of besmirched honour or *siri'* (see § 1.1.5). In 1952 Kahar Muzakkar joined his rebellion to the broader Darul Islam movement seeking an Islamic republic, then in 1958 attached himself to the Permesta rebellion which sought greater regional autonomy. For a time his forces had control of large parts of South and Southeast Sulawesi (one of the consequences being large-scale migrations of people from the kampongs to Makassar in search of relative tranquility), but gradually he was deserted by his deputies and eventually killed by Republican troops on February 3rd 1965 (Dijk 1981:155-217).

Since becoming part of the Republic of Indonesia South Sulawesi has suffered, like many other peripheral regions of Indonesia, from marginalisation and economic colonialism. It has been widely felt that much of the economic and administrative power is wielded by Chinese and Javanese immigrants respectively, with low-level resentment

¹⁵ The history of this period is briefly recounted by Anthony Reid in Volkman and Caldwell (1995), the story is told more comprehensively in Reid (1981, 1988, 1993).

as a result. Occasionally there are outbreaks of religious or ethnic violence, though not to the extent of those in Central Sulawesi or North Maluku (which is not to deny that groups and individuals from South Sulawesi have been involved in the troubles of neighbouring areas).

One of the high points for South Sulawesi on the national stage came in May 1998, when B.J. Habibie, of Bugis-Makassarese descent, took over the presidency after Suharto's fall. His tenure as president was brief but eventful, seeing the referendum which resulted in the independence of East Timor, and (of primarily local interest) the resumption of the name Makassar for the city which had for 29 years been known as Ujung Pandang. Habibie and the ruling party Golkar enjoyed tremendous support within Sulawesi, but the rest of the nation did not feel the same and he lost power to Abdurrahim Wahid in June 1999. However, more recently the Bugis businessman and politician Yusuf Kalla has become prominent in national politics, and he became vice-president of Indonesia (under President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono) in October 2004.

In 2001 a meeting was held (chaired by Yusuf Kalla) to discuss the possibility of redrawing South Sulawesi's boundaries. Of the five potential breakaway provinces discussed in that meeting, as of this writing only one has as yet become reality: West Sulawesi. However it remains possible that Luwu and Tana Toraja will also leave South Sulawesi to become the province of Luwu Raya (Morrell 2005). Further developments are likely.

1.1.5 Religion and culture

In this section I will simply outline some of the most salient points of Makassarese religion and culture — this is not the place for a detailed ethnography, a difficult project given the kinds of dichotomies (eg. urban vs rural, commoner vs nobility, Islam vs *ada'*, seafarer vs farmer, etc) which obtain in Makassarese society. Instead the reader is directed to the ethnographic literature, when available. There are many aspects of culture which are shared by Makassarese and Bugis, which is reflected in the tendency to refer to both ethnic groups by the joint name 'Bugis-Makassar' — in fact, in my experience, Indonesians from outside South Sulawesi are often surprised to learn that Bugis and Makassarese are distinct groups with languages that are mutually

unintelligible. These similarities mean that general studies of Bugis culture and society (eg. Errington 1989; Pelras 1996) contain many observations which are also applicable to the Makassarese — one of the major differences being that the Makassarese do not share the La Galigo literary tradition (§3.2).

Both Makassarese and Bugis are overwhelmingly orthodox Sunni Muslim,¹⁶ though as elsewhere in Indonesia Islam is overlaid on an older belief system. Bugis and Makassarese are known as quite staunch Muslims, and indeed the Muslim saint, Sheikh Yusuf, was of Makassarese royal blood.¹⁷ There are mosques all over Makassar and in every village, and the volume of the muezzins' call is apparently not limited by law as it is in other parts of Indonesia (Hanson 2003:31).

Pre-Islamic traditions (*ada'*) are evident in the stories of royal ancestors of divine origin coming from the sky (*tumanurung* or 'descended ones'), and in the reverence for *gaukang* (sacred stones symbolising the centre of a country) and *kalompoang* (literally 'greatness', usually manufactured regalia or weapons believed to have been left behind by *tumanurung*). Work by the anthropologists Martin Rössler and Birgitt Röttger-Rössler has concentrated on the role of ritual and sacred items in rural Makassarese communities in modern times (Rössler 1987, 1990, 2000; Röttger-Rössler 1988, 2000).

Other items considered important — sometimes verging on the sacred — are texts (*lontara'*) of various genres. The cultural importance of texts and histories will be discussed in §3.2 and is also the subject of much of the work by the American historian William Cummings (1999, 2000, 2001a, 2001b, 2002, 2003). The ethnomusicologist R. Anderson Sutton has also written on the value of both traditional and popular music

¹⁶ A search of various evangelical websites produced estimates of the number of Makassarese Christians from "approximately 800" (<http://www.calebproject.org/makas.htm>) to "less than 3500" (http://www.bethany.com/profiles/p_code/801.html). Whatever the actual number, it is extremely small, and many are likely to be Makassar Chinese.

¹⁷ Sheikh Yusuf (1626 – 1699) is famous as a leader of Islamic resistance against the Dutch in Java, and later in exile in South Africa, as spiritual leader of the Cape Muslim community. The area where he lived, Zandvliet, is near the modern town of Macassar, near Cape Town; in 1705 his body was returned to Lakiung in Gowa.

forms, including the epic poetry genre *sinrili'* discussed here in §3.2.4.1 (Sutton 1995, 2002).

The kinship system, social hierarchies and gender roles of a Gowa village in the periods before and after WW2 are the subject of Chabot's 'Verwantschap, stand en sexe in Zuid-Celebes' (Chabot 1950), which was published in an English translation as 'Kinship, status and gender in South Celebes' (Chabot 1996). A notable feature of Bugis-Makassar society which he describes has come to be called the 'patron-client' relationship, which is further examined by Pelras (1996:181-6; 2000) for the Bugis. These fluid ties of reciprocal obligation seem to permeate Bugis-Makassar culture, from agriculture through business and trade to marriage arrangements, and it can also be helpful to see political relationships, particularly the shifting patterns of allegiance between kingdoms during the Makassar War, through the perspective of these kinds of relationships. Also central to Makassar society are bilateral kinship and ascriptive status, which explain the local obsession with genealogy.

Any discussion of Makassarese culture must address the important cultural keywords of *pacce* and *siri'*, both concepts also found in Bugis (*pessé* and *siri'*). *Pacce*, literally "to feel a stinging or biting pain" (Cense & Abdoerrahim 1979:534), refers roughly to empathy and sense of loyalty to place and community. *Siri'* has complex semantics which refer to a sense of honour and dignity, and also to the feeling of having been deprived of this by insult to one's person or family, which can result in revenge killings and blood feuds. These two notions go a long way towards explaining the perception across Indonesia of Makassarese and Bugis as being proud, loyal and rather hot-headed.¹⁸

1.2 Comparative and historical data

This section discusses the languages of South Sulawesi from the perspective of comparative and historical linguistics, beginning with the language family tree and discussion of genetic relationships, both at a micro-level within the Makassar language

¹⁸ Detailed discussion of *siri'* and *pacce* (*pessé* in Bugis) can be found in Chabot (1996:234-60), Andaya (1981:15-17), and Pelras (Pelras 1996:206-9). A criminological perspective on *siri'* as a cause of violent crime can be found in Mustofa (1992).

family, and within the larger South Sulawesi subgroup. There follows a review of theories about possible homelands and migrations.

1.2.1 Genetic affiliation

Makassarese is an Austronesian language which is usually placed in the Western Malayo-Polynesian (WMP) branch. Figure 1.3 shows its genetic affiliation, extrapolated from Adelaar (2005) and other sources:

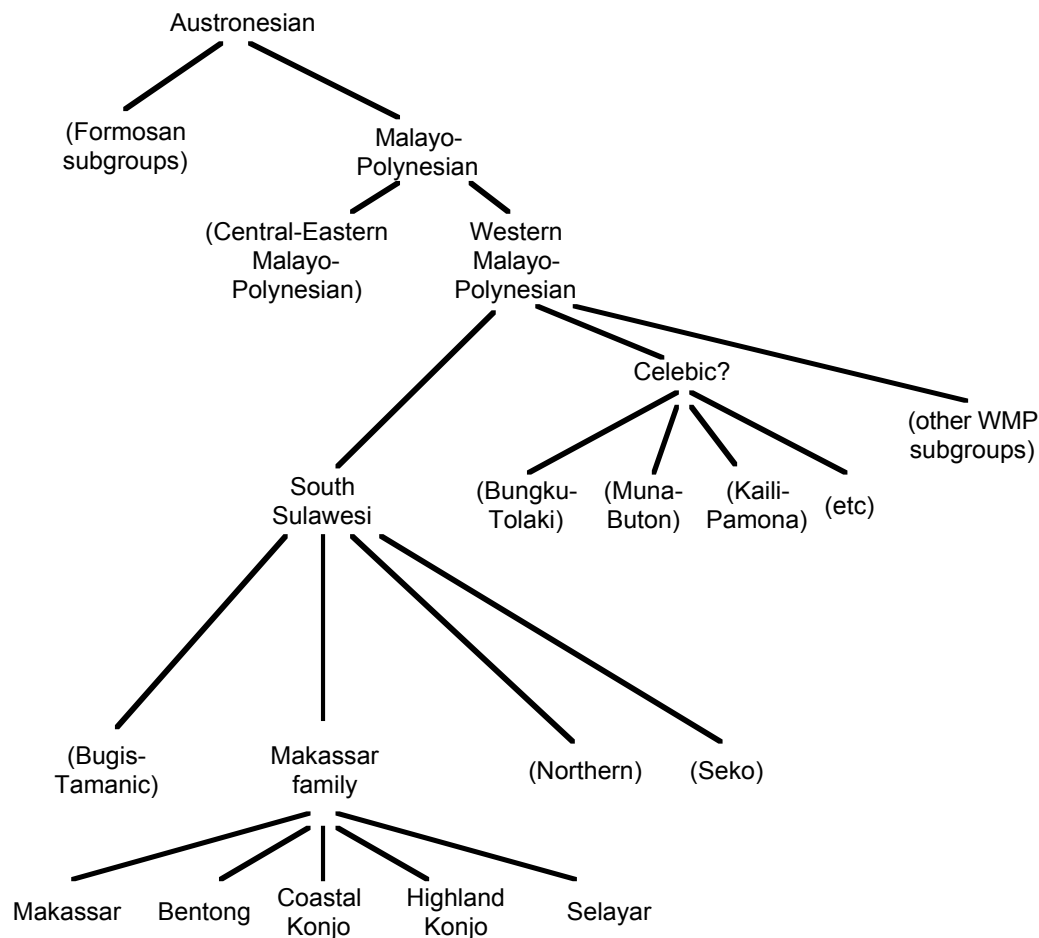


Figure 1.3: Austronesian family tree

The upper levels of this classification are based largely on Blust (1977), though he has acknowledged that WMP is defined largely as a subgroup of the Malayo-Polynesian languages left over after the subtraction of the Central-Eastern Malayo-Polynesian subgroup — that is to say there are no innovations which distinguish proto-WMP from proto-MP (Blust 1999:68). The middle levels are based on Adelaar (2005) and incorporate recent evidence from Mead (2003) and others that exclude the South Sulawesi subgroup from a ‘Celebic’ macrogroup which contains most of the other

Sulawesi subgroups. The lower levels are based on Grimes & Grimes (1987), as revised by Friberg & Laskowske (1989), and are as they appear in SIL's Ethnologue (www.ethnologue.com). This puts 29 of the 35-odd languages spoken in (geographical) South Sulawesi into one South Sulawesi subgroup (or stock in Grimes & Grimes terminology), the remainder belonging to either the Central Sulawesi or Muna-Buton subgroups.

1.2.2 The Makassar family

A dialect chain stretches from Gowa through Takalar, Jeneponto (also known as Turatea, literally 'the above people'), Bantaeng and Konjo to Selayar. Most linguists now accept that Konjo and Selayarese are separate languages from Makassar, but the dialect/language boundary is no easier to define here than it is anywhere else. Most of the Gowa Makassarese whom I asked considered Konjo and Selayarese to be (substandard) dialects of Makassar, but speakers of those languages would probably disagree.

The Gowa dialect (also called Lakiung, the name of a district of Gowa which is now a suburb of Makassar) is considered a prestige variety, and it is this dialect which is described here (in fact this can be considered the default reading of 'Makassarese'). To the best of my knowledge there are only minor lexical differences between it and the dialect of Takalar to the south. The differences between these two and the dialect of the Jeneponto region are greater, and Gowa speakers readily recognise (and stigmatise) speakers of this variety. Travelling further around the south coast of the peninsula, I have observed that people from Gowa will tend to use Bahasa Indonesia to speak to people from Bantaeng and vice versa (though it is likely the issue has as much to do with group identification as with intelligibility). This also applies to Konjo and Selayarese, although it should also be noted that many speakers of these languages are also reasonably fluent in Gowa Makassarese (the same observation can be made for speakers of the Jeneponto and Bantaeng dialects) owing to the city's importance as a regional centre. The town of Malino, though within the Highland Konjo area, is largely a resort for wealthy people from Makassar (predominantly Chinese), and is thus also Gowa Makassarese speaking.

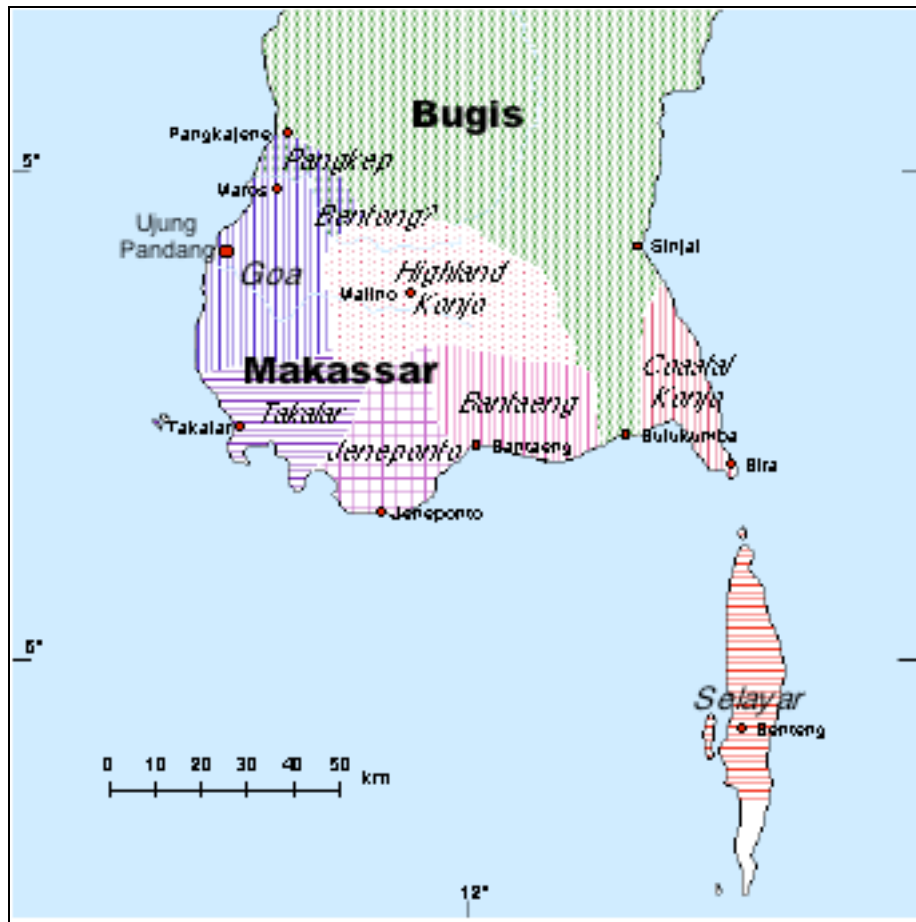


Figure 1.4 Dialect map

There are a few different sources for percentages of shared vocabulary within the Makassar family. Table 1.1 below shows figures from Grimes & Grimes (1987) based on Kaseng (1978). Since the percentages are all above 60% (indeed above 70%) Grimes & Grimes call the group a subfamily rather than a family (see §1.2.3).

Gowa				
89	Jeneponto			
77	86	Bantaeng		
70	78	81	Konjo	
70	73	71	78	Selayarese

Table 1.1: Makassar subfamily (Grimes & Grimes 1987)

A later study by Friberg & Laskowske (1989), though providing no data on Jeneponto and Bantaeng dialects, presents quite a different picture of the five members of the Makassar family for which they provide figures. Most notably, they add the language

Bentong (or Dentong),¹⁹ divide the Konjo language into two varieties, and reduce the percentage of shared vocabulary between Makassarese and Selayarese to 63% (using data from the southern part of the island rather than the north). The lower figures (shown in Table 1.2) lead them to call the group a family rather than subfamily (although strictly speaking they are still above the 60% cutoff which Grimes & Grimes used).

Lakiung			
75	Bentong		
68	77	Highland Konjo	
70	73	79	Lowland Konjo
63	65	71	79 Selayar

Table 1.2: Makassar family (Friberg & Laskowske 1989)

Most of the differences between the dialects/languages are lexical — superficially the grammars seem very similar, and their low percentages of shared vocabulary may give a rather exaggerated impression of the differences. As one would expect Selayarese seems to be the most unlike Makassarese grammatically; for example it has verbal marking for plurality of arguments (Hasan Basri 1998) which is not found in any of the others to my knowledge. Both Konjo and Selayarese use a different relativisation strategy than Gowa Makassarese (see footnote 25, this chapter), and while the unmarked word order for Makassarese and Konjo seems to be VSO (Friberg 1996), Finer (1994) argues that Selayarese has VOS. For other observations of the differences between Makassarese and Selayarese see Hasan Basri (1999:50-54), for differences between Makassarese and Konjo see Friberg (2002).

1.2.3 The South Sulawesi subgroup

The existence of the South Sulawesi subgroup, first identified by Esser (1938), has been supported by a reconstruction of elements of proto-South Sulawesi in Mills (1975a), by

¹⁹ The name of this language, spoken in the inland regions of Kabupatens Pangkep and Maros, is supposedly derived from Makassarese and Bugis words for ‘non-fluent’ (Friberg & Laskowske 1989:3), though I have been unable to find any comparable word in Makassarese. I was not personally able to confirm the existence of this language — most people from Makassar whom I asked had never heard of it, while others just said it was the same as Konjo.

a lexicostatistical survey in Grimes & Grimes (1987), and with qualitative evidence by Sirk (1989). It consists of the Makassar, Bugis, Northern and Seko families — to these may be added the Tamanic languages of western Kalimantan which Adelaar (1994; Adelaar 2005) has shown to be linked to the South Sulawesi languages, probably in a subgroup with Bugis.

1.2.3.1 Quantitative studies

There are a number of studies which consider the South Sulawesi languages from a predominantly or completely lexicostatistical approach. Of these the most significant is Grimes & Grimes (1987) — this forms the basis of the reevaluation by Bulbeck (1992), and refinements by Friberg & Laskowske (1989) are mostly confined to changes within families. Mills (1975a) also contains some lexicostatistical analysis, but is not especially detailed.

Grimes & Grimes used a 202 item wordlist, basically a modified Swadesh list, and collected data from 39 speech communities across South Sulawesi. Then each wordlist was compared with each other wordlist to derive a matrix showing percentages of lexical similarity between any pair of languages in the study. The languages were then divided into groups and classified according to the following taxonomy:

% LEXICAL SIMILARITY	LEVEL OF DIVISION
>80%	dialect
>75%	language
>60%	subfamily
>45%	family
>25%	stock
>15%	superstock
>0%	phylum

Table 1.3: Taxonomy of subgrouping levels (Grimes and Grimes 1987:12-13)

According to their analysis, the languages in the study are representative of three stocks within the West Austronesian Superstock (or WMP) of the Austronesian Phylum, these stocks being South Sulawesi, Central Sulawesi, and Muna-Buton.²⁰ Within the South

²⁰ The (presumed) Muna-Buton languages in the study were Laiyolo, Wotu, Kalaotoa and Bonerate. Recent work by Donohue, Mead, and Van den Berg suggests that at least the first two of these are not

Sulawesi Stock there are “five divisions: the Makassar Family-level Subfamily, the Bugis Family, the Northern South Sulawesi family, the Seko Family, and the Lemolang Family-level Isolate” (Grimes and Grimes 1987:23). The Makassar Family-level Subfamily in their analysis consisted of (Gowa) Makassarese, Konjo and Selayarese (or more precisely, a dialect/language chain which includes these languages); as already mentioned more detailed work by Friberg & Laskowske (1989) added the language Bentong, divided Konjo into Highland and Coastal varieties, and revised the group from subfamily down to family level due to a lower percentage spread.

All sources agree that the Makassar family is highly lexically divergent — Grimes & Grimes give the figure of only 43% average lexical similarity to the South Sulawesi stock as a whole (1987:25). This makes its inclusion in the stock rather marginal in strict lexicostatistical terms — the definition used above requires families to show 45% to 60% lexical similarity to the other families within a stock. Grimes & Grimes point out however that within the Makassar family, (Gowa) Makassarese diverges the most from the other South Sulawesi languages, while Konjo and Selayarese relate 5 to 10 percentage points higher in lexical similarity and conclude that “as this subfamily consists of a chain of languages, it would be wrong to include Konjo and Selayar in the South Sulawesi Stock while excluding the Gowa dialect” (1987:25).

The Australian archaeologist David Bulbeck reevaluated the data from Grimes & Grimes in his PhD thesis on the archaeology of Gowa and Tallo' (Bulbeck 1992:Appendix A), and tried various permutations of languages with different statistical methods to derive a number of seriated dendrograms. He shows again that the lexicostatistical evidence alone does not justify the Makassar subfamily's inclusion in the South Sulawesi Stock, instead suggesting that the languages of the peninsula be split into two stocks, namely the Makassar Stock and the ‘whimsically’ named Remainder Stock. However I view this more as a criticism of inflexibly using lexicostatistics to determine language family trees, than an actual dismantling of the South Sulawesi

Muna-Buton languages, though there are competing theories for the actual configuration of subgroups (Adelaar 2005).

subgroup. In other respects his findings are not directly relevant to the Makassar languages.

1.2.3.2 Qualitative studies

As well as the quantitative studies mentioned above there are two scholars who have used more traditional methods of historical linguistics to examine the South Sulawesi languages. One is the American linguist Roger Mills who wrote a PhD thesis on proto-South Sulawesi phonology (Mills 1975a), as well as a short paper summarising the main points (Mills 1975b). The other is the Russian/Estonian linguist Ülo Sirk, who wrote two important papers (Sirk 1988; Sirk 1989).

Mills' thesis is basically a reconstruction of the proto-South Sulawesi sound system, using information from the modern languages Bugis, Makassarese, Mandar, Saqdan Toraja, Masenrempulu, Pitu-Ulunna-Salo, Seko, and Mamuju. It also contains some (rather fanciful) hypotheses about homelands and migration scenarios, which will be discussed below.

Mills' work has been strongly criticised for the poor quality of his wordlists and his lexicostatistics (Bulbeck 1992:510), for his failure to adequately identify shared innovations defining the South Sulawesi languages, for “unexplained and incompletely (or unconvincingly) explained exceptions and cases of idiosyncratic development”, and for generally failing to show the basis for why the languages should be grouped together in the first place (Sirk 1989:55-6). That said, however, his phonological reconstruction has not been shown to be substantially in error. One obvious shortcoming is that he was not sufficiently aware of the link between the South Sulawesi languages and Tamanic languages of Borneo (Adelaar 1994), thus languages which should have been included in his comparison were left out.

Sirk (1989) explicitly makes the case for the existence (and composition) of the South Sulawesi group, using several kinds of evidence. The most fundamental is considered to be exclusively shared innovations, though non-exclusive innovations and ‘non-trivial retentions’ are also mentioned. Significant here are pre-nasalised allomorphs of possessive suffixes as a vestige of a nasal ligature (eg. $\equiv$ ku/ $\equiv$ ngku, see §4.4.2, also the

subject of Sirk (1988)); the reflex of proto-Austronesian *R as /r/; and numerous lexical items.

Sirk also adduces some quantitative evidence — lexicostatistics (again), etymostatistics, and functor statistics. The latter two are of interest here because they show significantly higher figures for shared lexicon between Makassarese and the other languages than simple lexicostatistics does.

Etymostatistics (Sirk 1989:72) is a method which basically involves analysing any text in language A ('text language'), and then searching the dictionary of language B ('vocabulary language') for reflexes of the etyma found in the text. Obviously this method is only possible when language B has an adequate dictionary, for example Makassarese (Cense & Abdoerrahim 1979), Bugis (Matthes 1874), and Sa'dan Toraja or Tae' (van der Veen 1940). The relevant figures show that Makassarese as 'text language' has 67% lexical similarity with Bugis and 60% with Saqdan, while as 'vocabulary language' Makassarese shows reflexes for 70% of Bugis words, 60% of Saqdan, and 64% of Mandar. This is markedly higher than Sirk's lexicostatistics which show Gowa Makassarese to compare 45% with Bugis, 42% with Sa'dan, and 37% with Mandar.

Functor statistics (Sirk 1989:73) employs a list of pronouns and pronominal clitics, deictic terms, interrogatives, quantifiers, conjunctions and so forth. Again, the figures for items common to Makassarese and the other languages were markedly higher than for simple lexicostatistics. A selected part of the table is reproduced below:

MAK			
65	BUG		
60	66	SAD	
55	65	66	MDR

Table 1.4: Functor statistics (Sirk 1989)

The upshot of Sirk's discussion is that qualitative evidence, and two kinds of quantitative evidence argue strongly for the inclusion of Makassarese in the South Sulawesi language group, while lexicostatistics suggests another grouping (excluding the 'Makasari' languages but possibly including Wotu and some other languages of northern South Sulawesi). However, qualitative evidence can not be found to back up the latter grouping, thus it can not be supported.

Finally, it could be said that Makassarese's lexical divergence is something of a mystery. Grammatically it has very much in common with Bugis and other members of the South Sulawesi family, and the cultural links between the Makassarese and Bugis people especially are strong and undeniable — to the point (as mentioned earlier) that they are considered one people by other Indonesians. There are three obvious possible explanations (not mutually exclusive) for such strong divergence:

1. Makassarese split off from the other South Sulawesi languages very early
2. There was influence from a substratum of indigenous, (possibly pre-Austronesian) origin
3. Makassar's position as an entrepôt and cultural crossroads exposed the language to a variety of outside influences, leading it to change rapidly

The first is usually assumed to be the case. The third, while attractive, suffers from the fact that neither Malay nor any other identifiable trade language seem to be the source for aberrant lexical items (Bulbeck 1992:506). The second hypothesis has been proposed in various forms. Mills (1975a:513-4) posited a Central Sulawesi origin for the substratum based on his rather implausible migration scenario (see §1.2.4 below). More recently Bulbeck and others (Bulbeck 1992:513; Bulbeck et al. 2000:103) have proposed a 'Toalean' (non-Austronesian) origin for the substratum — this possibility remains to be adequately checked.

1.2.4 Homeland and migration hypotheses

As was noted earlier (§1.1.4.1), the exact method by which South Sulawesi came to be inhabited by the present ethnic groups will probably never be known. Nevertheless, historical linguists have come up with a number of theories, which I will attempt to summarise here — they can be compared with findings from archaeology which were discussed in §1.1.4.1.

Mills (1975a:498-514) suggests that speakers of proto-South Sulawesi arrived by sea from another (unspecified) island, settling in the lower reaches of the Sa'dan river in order to trade with the Austronesian peoples of the interior (he strangely assumes the pre-PSS people would have preferred the mountainous interior to the fertile coastal areas, which is a complete reversal of present demographics). Speakers of proto-

Makassarese would have been the first group to migrate from there, spreading to the east and south.²¹ The early Makassarese may well have dispersed throughout much of the southern part of the peninsula. After that the early Mandar moved north to their present location (or they went inland and then back to the coast again). The proto-Bugis then crossed the mountains heading for Luwu', from where they spread out to the south along the east coast and inland, pushing the Makassarese into the south-west corner. (The remaining groups then wandered to their present locations in a similar fashion). Makassarese acquired aberrant lexicon by virtue of being the first of the PSS people to "have to contend with the indigenous population. male indigenes were probably killed or enslaved, women were enslaved or taken as wives, which no doubt led to a certain number of bilingual children" (Mills 1975a:508). These substratum languages were probably related to present day Central Sulawesi languages.

Bulbeck has noted the problems with Mills' scenario, which:

seems to be unnecessarily defiant of the principle of parsimony ... involving as it does long and complex migrations by proto-Makassar and proto-Bugis, and a succession of language replacements. In addition it is difficult to see how the mouth of the Sungai Sakdang could have held such extraordinary benefits for population growth that it remained the static centre for four successive migratory waves... Mills' argument further involves the presence of a few Makassar toponyms in the area now inhabited by the Bugis, explaining away the Makassar toponym of Majene which does not fit his scenario (Mills, 1975a:502,534), and ignoring the comparable presence of Bugis toponyms (e.g. Sanrabone, Bone-Bone, Pattiro ... in the area now inhabited by the Makassar. Finally there is Mills' fanciful conflation of isolated statements in the Bugis chronicles and local origin myths into an undated scenario - at least one of these folk stories, Luwuk's reputation as the oldest Bugis kingdom, is almost certainly false (Bulbeck 1992:514-5).

²¹ This may have necessitated a sea crossing — as previously mentioned some believe the peninsula may have been cut by a channel which extended from the delta of the Cenrana River on the Gulf of Bone, through the interior where the present day lakes Tempe and Sidenreng are located, to around the location of the town of Parepare on the Makassar Strait (Pelras 1996:62ff).

To which I can only add: if the Sa'dan delta was in that time such an attractive location, why does it not support any sizeable population today? Bulbeck also notes that there is no lexicostatistical support for a Central Sulawesi substratum in Makassarese, which is lexically aberrant from these languages as well as from the other South Sulawesi ones (Bulbeck 1992:513), though it would perhaps be more accurate to say that we simply don't know enough to make substrata claims of this kind.

Sirk (1994), responding to Mills' immigrant scenario (echoed by van den Berg (1996)), debates whether proto-South Sulawesi was indigenous to Sulawesi or migrated from another island. He concludes that "the common traits the SSul languages share with the 'indigenous' languages of Sulawesi, especially the Badaic group, Rampi and the B(ungku-To)L(aki) languages, are too numerous and weighty to be exclusively ascribed to the contacts between immigrants and former inhabitants of the country" (Sirk 1994:2-3). He posits the following scenario (because this paper is not widely available I quote from it at length):

Sometime, perhaps during the second half of the first millennium BC, there existed a network of dialects that included the ancestors of the later SSul and Badaic groups, and at least partly, those of the K(aili-)P(amona) and BL groups. [...] (W)e may surmise that what is now the SW peninsula was earlier separated from the main body of Sulawesi by a deeply incised bay or even by a strait. Let us call the bay or strait in question Tamparan and the island or 'almost-island' south of it — Libukan (both words are PSS reconstructions: *tamparan "sea, great lake", *libukan "island").

The above mentioned network of dialects was probably spread along the north coast of Tamparan but had several branchings towards the interior, perhaps along rivers. It is probably in these branchings where the Proto-Badaic, Proto-Rampi, and Proto-Mori dialects were placed. Most likely the early SSul dialects were spread on the very seashore. [...] Tentatively we may think of the following sequence (from the west to the east): Proto-Mandar, Proto-Makasari, Proto-Sa'danic, Proto-Bugis (Proto-Seko may have been connected with Proto-Sa'danic).

[...] It is probable that some time, maybe ca 2000 years ago, the Proto-Makasaric speakers left this chain and went to Libukan — either by crossing Tamparan, provided it was incised from the west, or along the land bridge on the place of the present day watershed (supposing it had not moved considerably, and Tamparan was incised from the east).

On Libukan ... the Proto-Makasaric speakers probably met with Proto-Laiolic speakers who had not belonged to the above mentioned network... the latter were pressed more and more to the south, at last to the Selayar island. It was either from there or already from Libukan that part of proto-Laiolic speakers undertook a sea voyage to Luwu' where they gave rise to a new language — Wotu...

Considerably later than the Proto-Makasaric, the early Bugis also appeared in ex-Libukan (their movement to the south, well in the Christian era, and certainly already by dry land, is apparently reflected in the mythology). Especially the eastern groups of the Makasaric linkage — namely early Konjo — were subject to Bugis linguistic influence. A few centuries of contacts in ex-Libukan may be responsible for several Makasaric (incl. Makasar, Konjo, Selayar) - Bugis isoglosses, eg. the emergence of the post-positional article (it would be difficult to explain these convergences from the initial chain on the north coast of Tamparan where judging by various isoglosses Proto-Makasaric and Proto-Bugis speakers were not immediate neighbours) (Sirk 1994:5-6).

Sirk's scenario is attractive in that it does not resort to convoluted migration scenarios and also manages to explain the location of the Laiyolo and Wotu languages. However, as he admits, it is highly speculative.

Bulbeck (1992:513), while allowing ample scope for competing hypotheses, has a strikingly different scenario — one reflecting the modern rural population statistics which show the highest densities in the Makassarese territories, intermediate densities in Bugis lands, and much lower densities to the north. He proposes that the proto-South Sulawesi homeland could have been “on or near the peninsula's south coast, followed by a northwards colonisation as population densities built up”. He concludes that:

From the point of view of the present thesis, the fugitive status which Mills would ascribe to the Bugis and especially the Makassar can be safely ignored. The linguistic line leading to modern Bugis would appear to have been based in the present Bugis heartland for several thousand years, and the counterpart proposition for the Makassar is even more certain. (Bulbeck 1992:514-5).

So this scenario paints the Makassarese as the ‘stay-at-home’ group. In many ways this also seems appealing. Using a narrow channel as a supposed barrier to habitation, as Sirk does, makes little sense when we are talking about seafaring people for whom crossing a narrow strait would be less trouble than crossing a mountain range. So from this point of view the present location in the south-west is a good candidate for the isolation necessary to explain the divergence of the Makassar languages. Recall also (§ 1.1.4.1) that Bulbeck has proposed a possible pre-Austronesian ‘Toalean’ substrate as another partial explanation for this divergence.

Unfortunately however, this scenario also has a number of problems. One is that it runs counter to the usual assumption that a homeland would be in a place of linguistic genetic diversity — instead this puts it in the heart of monoglot Makassarese territory. Another is that it does not explain the closer relationship between members of the northern South Sulawesi languages and their neighbours from other subgroups in Central and South-East Sulawesi, unless we are to assume it is simply due to convergence.

I am inclined to remain agnostic about these theories. Clearly much remains to be done before we can confidently adopt a scenario as being the ‘right’ one, and it may well be that we will simply never know.

1.3 Linguistic ecology

This section contains a discussion of the ‘linguistic ecology’ of the Makassarese areas, including the health of the language, and examines the use of other languages in the area.

1.3.1 Language status

Makassarese seems in robust health. In rural areas and poorer sections of Makassar city the language is almost exclusively used, and although in upwardly mobile sections of Makassarese society it competes with Indonesian, command of the Makassarese language is an important part of ethnic identification. Code-switching and mixing of Makassarese and Indonesian is pervasive in the urban setting, less so in rural ones.

Some urban Makassarese, especially if they are middle-class and/or in a mixed marriage (for example, marriage between Bugis and Makassarese people is common), now speak Indonesian at home, and children born into this situation will not be fluent in Makassarese. However my observations suggest that this is still a minority situation and Makassarese will be spoken for generations to come. Literacy is another matter. No-one can read the defunct Makassarese script, while few are becoming fluent readers of the Bugis script, and at the same time people are generally prevented from gaining literacy in romanised Makassarese by the lack of standardisation and a paucity of available texts. See Chapter 3 for more discussion of literacy.

1.3.2 Other languages of importance

In this section I discuss other languages which are of relevance, either through genetic or geographical proximity (such as Bugis), or by virtue of their importance within Makassarese culture — this group includes Malay/Indonesian as the national language, Arabic as the language of religion, and languages of past or present influence through colonialism (Dutch, Japanese) or global importance (English). They are discussed roughly in descending order of importance.

1.3.2.1 Malay/Indonesian

The Gowa chronicle (see Appendix A) records the arrival of Malay traders²² during the reign of Tunipalangga (c.1547-1565). The year was probably 1561. Their captain, Anakoda Bonang, asked for a place to dwell and the freedom to trade, which was granted. There must of course have been contact with Malay traders before this, but

²² Identified in the Chronicle as being from Java — the distinction is not clear in these texts.

this event seems to mark the beginning of large-scale Malay involvement with Gowa.²³ This had a bi-directional effect on the languages: Makassarese absorbed many Malay loanwords, and a local variety of Malay arose, which has been termed Makassar Malay or Makassarese Malay.

Unfortunately the label ‘Makassar Malay’ and its variants have been used to denote three different things:

- the Malay community in Makassar, and also possibly *peranakan* Chinese (Sutherland 2001).
- the Malay language as used as a *lingua franca* between Makassarese and non-Makassarese, and also used within the non-Makassarese population. According to Cense (1978), Makassar Malay was not the language of the Malay community itself (which stopped using Malay in the 19th century), but rather of the ‘European’ population. (Why this should have been the case is not immediately clear).
- The modern variety of Bahasa Indonesia spoken in Makassar, influenced by Makassarese and other local languages, and subject to code-switching/mixing (Aburaerah Arief 2001; Steinhauer 1988; Tadmor 2003).

In modern Makassar it is not clear that Makassar Malay as such can adequately be differentiated from code-switching and code-mixing between Malay/Indonesian and Makassarese. According to Tadmor (2003) “many bilingual speakers possess basically one grammatical structure, and when speaking Malay/Indonesian, they simply ‘graft’ Malay morphemes onto the Makassarese structure, and produce them with Makassarese phonology. In the speech of some younger speakers, who do not speak Makassarese, this strong interference has now become a *substratum*”. Specifically, Makassarese influence on local Indonesian can be seen in the following tendencies:

- replacement of all final nasals with velar nasal

²³ For a history of the Makassar Malays, see Sutherland (2001).

- replacement of schwa with /a/²⁴
- Makassarese stress patterns (strong penultimate stress) — this is the most obvious characteristic of the Makassarese or South Sulawesi accent of Indonesian
- the use of Makassarese clitics, especially aspectuals = *mo*, = *pa* etc
- the extension of the Indonesian pronoun *kita* (1st person plural inclusive, or 1pl.incl) to also function as a 2nd person polite form (2p), by analogy with the Makassarese pronoun *katte*

The influence in the other direction — of Malay on Makassarese — was historically largely lexical (note for example the high proportion of Malay loanwords in the dictionary (Cense & Abdoerrahim 1979)) but with the increased importance of Indonesian as the national language and associated phenomena of bilingualism and diglossia, the situation has become considerably more complex and is a matter for worthy study in its own right. Because I have been concerned predominantly with older text materials, I simply do not have information about this.

1.3.2.2 Arabic

Since the coming of Islam in the early 17th century Arabic has been a high status language in the region, and most Makassarese today have at least some facility in it, at the very least being able to produce and preferably understand necessary formulae. Fluency in Arabic is entirely connected with religious belief — there is no particular economic or other secular advantage in comprehensive knowledge of the language.

It is worth noting here that the phonotactics of Makassarese are not especially suitable for producing Arabic utterances, often deforming them beyond recognition. In many cases only the formulaic character of much Arabic used within the Makassarese context allows it to be interpreted. This is even more the case if Arabic words or passages of text are written in Makassarese or Bugis script — an excellent example is given in

²⁴ Steinhauer remarks that Malay schwa can be represented in Makassarese Malay as /a/, /e/, or /o/ — for example with the Malay prefix *məN-* corresponding to *maN-*, *meN-* or *moN-* (Steinhauer 1988:131). I could find no evidence of this.

Cummings (2002:37), where a section of text on a lontar roll in Bugis script translates as:

Following the words [undecipherable] makes very great the prosperity of all the communities above the winds and below the winds. He makes ruling decisions with the justness of Allah ta'ala. Whoever reads or hears and then acts on them, the words of this document will be advantageous to him. He is called a wise person.

The actual Arabic phrase in question has resisted identification from its representation: 'a/u ta u/a pa la la ta ra ja sa ha ma ra da' (Cummings 2001b:582). Probably to avoid that kind of circumstance, but also to show erudition, most Arabic names and formulae within any but the earliest Makassarese texts are written in the Arabic script.

1.3.2.3 Bugis

Given that many Makassarese lands border Bugis lands, and that these borders are quite porous (especially in the case of the city of Makassar which has a very large Bugis population), one would expect that many Makassarese would have good knowledge of Bugis. However, in my experience though many Makassarese have some partial or passive knowledge, few are truly fluent in Bugis, and within the city Bugis people are more likely to know Makassarese than vice versa. This is because Makassarese, although somewhat low-status, is for precisely this reason important as a 'pasar' language.

1.3.2.4 English

English is widely learned, if less widely spoken. As all travellers to Indonesia will be aware, seemingly every Indonesian knows at least the words 'Hello Mister', and Makassarese are no exception. Beyond this, most younger people at least have awareness of English through school, and the (often meaningless) slogans on clothing and the usual channels of pop music and Hollywood movies. The phrase [pakju] ('Fuck You') is popular, and can be seen in graffiti in unexpected places, as well as being used (apparently without malice) as a greeting for a foreigner.

1.3.2.5 Dutch

People of over 70 years can usually remember a little Dutch from the colonial period, and in fact often expect that this will be readily understood by all white people (*balanda*). Few people younger than this have any knowledge of the language. Both Makassarese and Indonesian are full of Dutch loanwords, however, so it must be counted as one of the most important influences on the lexicons of these languages.

1.3.2.6 Japanese

Many older people remember the Japanese occupation and can often recall a few words or phrases of Japanese. The nature of these phrases do not tend to paint the occupiers in a good light. On a more positive note, Japanese tourists and businessmen are among the more numerous of foreign visitors to the province, and Japanese people are also involved in the local coffee industry as coffee beans from Toraja are highly regarded in Japan. However, to my knowledge this has not resulted in more than a handful of Japanese-speaking tourist guides.

1.4 Previous studies of Makassarese

The following section is a summary of relevant publications by scholars working on Makassarese. For the purposes of this work the scholars have been divided roughly into three broad types:

- i. (mostly) Dutch scholars from the colonial period and early post-colonial period
- ii. Indonesian scholars in the post-colonial period, writing in Indonesian
- iii. scholars from the post-colonial period, writing in English

Each of these three main groups will be outlined in turn, concentrating first on works which are specifically concerned with Makassarese language or literature, then on those which approach Makassarese studies from a different discipline such as anthropology or history. For a more thorough evaluation, especially of pre-1990 works, see Noorduyin (1991a).

1.4.1 Colonial Dutch scholars

Much of the early descriptive work on Makassarese was carried out by Dutch colonial administrators, though there had already been a brief description of both the Makassarese and Bugis writing systems in English by Raffles (1817), and of the Bugis system alone by Crawford (1820) and others (see Noorduyn 1993).

Matthes

The first major linguistic work on Makassarese was carried out by the Dutch bible translator B. F. Matthes (1818-1908), who arrived in Makassar in 1848. His publications include a grammar (1858), a dictionary (1859, 1885), and a chrestomathy (Matthes 1860, 1883), as well as a Bible translation and other assorted texts. He also collected and copied many manuscripts, thus forming an extensive collection of texts, the body of which are now held in the Oriental Manuscripts section of the University Library in Leiden. In addition to this he had printing types for the Bugis syllabary cast in the Netherlands, thus allowing mass production of Makassarese and Bugis texts.

Matthes' linguistic work suffers from a number of shortcomings — Noorduyn writes that he “cannot be called a great linguist, nor an exemplary translator” (1991a:140). As was common with missionary grammarians of the period, Matthes relied heavily on the terminology and framework of traditional European grammar, or failing that, Greek or Hebrew. This led him to some rather clumsy analyses: for example, he proposes a class of adverbs (*bijwoorden*), which includes some freestanding words, some affixed elements, and the phenomenon of reduplication. His discomfort with this category is perhaps shown in this remark: “*Vele andere rededeelen, en zelfs geheele zinnen worden dikwijls als bijwoorden gebezigd*” (‘many other parts of speech, and even whole sentences are often used as adverbs’ (Matthes 1858:118)). For these reasons and others little use has been made in this work of Matthes' grammatical descriptions.

He was also not immune to condescending colonial attitudes, which could and did affect his linguistics. While complaining about confusion of the nominalising function of the prefix *pa-*, which can form a noun representing the actor or the action of a verb, he stated: “*Trouwens bij een volk, nog zoo achterlijk in verstandelijke ontwikkeling, verwachtte men evenmin eene naauwkeurige onderscheiding, als men dit bij onze*

kinderen doen zoude” (‘Indeed from a people, still so backward in intellectual development, one should expect no more accurate a distinction than from our children’ (Matthes 1858:25)). It is worth remembering that he was primarily a missionary and Bible translator, and one who had very little success in converting staunchly Muslim South Sulawesi. His major achievement must be considered the dictionary (Matthes 1859, 1885), and the collection, preservation and publication of historical and literary texts.

Cense

A.A. Cense (1901-77) was the government linguist in South Sulawesi from 1930 until 1941, and continued his work after Indonesian independence with the *Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* (KITLV) in the Netherlands. In 1933 he set up the Matthes Foundation in Makassar which collected a large number of manuscripts — unfortunately many were lost during Japanese occupation. His major undertaking was lexicography, and his major publication the Makassar-Dutch dictionary (Cense & Abdoerrahim 1979), with which he was assisted by Abdurrahim Daeng Mone.

Without a doubt the single most useful resource on the Makassar language, this volume of nearly a thousand pages contains a large amount of grammatical and ethnographic information, and a vast number of illustrative sentences. It was Cense’s life-work, and was still unfinished at his death — it was prepared for publication by J. Noorduyn and appeared posthumously. Its major drawback is the orthography chosen, which represents a rather uncomfortable compromise between a Dutch-based system of transcription, and a more phonemic one (see §3.1.3.2). It should also be noted that in spite of its 1979 publication date the dictionary is based largely on material collected before the Second World War, and also on entries from Matthes’ dictionary (the entries of which reappear virtually in their entirety). Nevertheless, it has stood up to the passage of time well, and the proportion of entries and examples rejected by modern speakers as archaic is surprisingly small.

On his death Cense left a large quantity of notes and manuscripts (including several which remain virtually unstudied). These are to be found in the historical documents

section (HISDOC) at KITLV, with the catalogue prefix Or. 545. A summary of the collection's contents (prepared by Noorduyn) is available in HISDOC.

Noorduyn

Jacobus (Koos) Noorduyn (1926-93) was another KITLV based scholar who worked predominantly on Bugis and also on Sundanese, but published some important papers on Makassarese historiography (Noorduyn 1961, 1965, 1991, 1993). He also prepared an indispensable bibliography of linguistic work on Sulawesi (Noorduyn 1991a).

Others

Other scholars of the 19th and early 20th centuries who published works on Makassarese literature include G.K. Niemann, the Swiss philologist R. Brandstetter, and R.A. Kern. The latter published some articles on grammatical topics, which were unfortunately based on unreliable data from Matthes (Noorduyn 1991a:145).

Also of some relevance here are some major Dutch ethnographic works. Friedericy (1933) is a study of Makassarese and Bugis social structures, while Chabot (1950) is an in-depth study of social and gender relationships in a village in Gowa, which also contains useful language data in the form of kinship terms and several stories and ritual texts. It is also available in English translation (Chabot 1996).

1.4.2 Indonesian scholars

There are several local linguists who have undertaken work on Makassarese. Chief among these are Djirong Basang Daeng Ngewa, Abdul Kadir Manyambeang, and Aburaerah Arief, but there have also been many others, because most Indonesian publications on Makassarese grammar have been compiled by teams of researchers (eg. Abdul Azis Syarif et al. 1979; Abdul Kadir Manyambeang et al. 1979; Abdul Muthalib et al. 1995). For the most part these works concentrate on providing lists of forms — some of which are extremely useful, though they tend to overemphasise parallels with Bahasa Indonesia. A major difficulty with using these publications is that due to technical limitations they are riddled with misprints and misspellings. The Makassarese-Indonesian dictionary (Aburaerah Arief 1995) is a case in point — many pages are

missing, blank, or bound out of order, so it is rather frustrating to use and in any case generally provides only short translations into Bahasa Indonesia which give little idea of the range of senses of words.

Containing more analysis, but also not without shortcomings, are the studies by Indiyah Imran (1976) and the Malaysian linguist Asmah Haji Omar (1979) on morphology. The former also wrote a PhD thesis at Hasanuddin University (Indiyah Imran 1984) on morphological processes in various word classes in Makassar, which Noorduyn praises as a “major and mature grammatical work” (Noorduyn 1991a:149). Regrettably I have been unable to find this either at UNHAS or in Australia. More recently there was a study of oblique constructions using a generative grammar framework (Zainab 1996), and also a study of lexemes relating to tense (Nursiah Tupa 1995). There was also a grammar, *Tatabahasa Makassar* (Abdul Kadir Manyambeang et al. 1996), which contains some useful example sentences, and another short description of affixes (Djirong Basang Daeng Ngewa 1997).

From a more literary perspective, there are numerous publications of Makassar poetry (*kelong*) and epic tales (*sinrili*), along with Indonesian translations of mixed quality (Aburaerah Arief & Zainuddin Hakim 1993; Gani *et al.* 1987; Parewansa *et al.* 1992; Sahabuddin Nappu 1986; Sahabuddin Nappu & Sande 1991; Syamsul Rizal & Sahabuddin Nappu 1993; Zainuddin Hakim 1991). Some of these are discussed more completely in § 3.2.4. There is also a collection of 1128 Makassar proverbs (Zainuddin Hakim 1995).

1.4.3 English language scholars

There has been little linguistic work on Makassar from the viewpoint of modern linguistics — with the notable exception of the phonological phenomena of Echo-VC and reduplication (see §2.3.4, §2.3.7) which have been discussed numerous times from various theoretical perspectives (Aronoff *et al.* 1987; Hasan Basri *et al.* 1999; McCarthy 1998; McCarthy and Prince 1994; Nelson 2003). There has been considerably more written on the neighbouring languages Konjo and Selayarese (see § 1.4.4), and a few papers by the group of linguists from State University of New York Stony Brook who

usually work on Selayarese have been concerned with Makassarese as well, or instead (eg. Finer 1997a).

Of course there are also many non-linguists who have written about Makassarese culture or history — many have already been mentioned in §1.1.4 and §1.1.5. Notable for my purposes are the historian William Cummings and the ethnomusicologist R. Anderson Sutton, because they have both published work with large sections of Makassarese text — the former from manuscripts, the latter from oral performances and recordings.

1.4.4 Work on related languages

Konjo

From the mid-1980s Barbara and Timothy Friberg from the Summer Institute of Linguistics have been working on Konjo. Among their publications are: a book of sample conversations (Friberg & Karda 1987), a phonological sketch (Friberg & Friberg 1991a), and an examination of verbal morphology (Friberg & Friberg 1991b). Most interesting are two studies of person marking and its interaction with a postulated focus system by Barbara Friberg (Friberg 1988, 1996), who also wrote a short paper on grammatical differences between Makassarese and Konjo (Friberg 2002).

Selayarese

There has also been a fair amount written in the United States about the nearby language Selayarese — mostly involving the Selayarese linguist Hasan Basri as either author or linguistic informant. Mithun and Basri (1987) is a thorough examination of the phonology, and many of the points raised there are discussed or re-evaluated by Goldsmith (1990:131-6). Basri also collaborated with Mark Aronoff, Ellen Broselow and another student from South Sulawesi, Azhar Arsyad, on an autosegmental analysis of reduplication in Makassarese (Aronoff et al. 1987). Yet another native speaker of Selayarese, Mohammad Asfah Rahman, provided the data for an MA paper on verbal morphology by Veronica Ceria at the University of Pittsburgh (Ceria 1993).

More recently there have been several papers on Selayarese syntax by Daniel Finer from SUNY Stony Brook (Finer 1994, 1996, 1997a, 1997b, 1998, 1999). They are mostly written from a Principles and Parameters viewpoint, though recently some have been from an Optimality Theoretical perspective. Occasionally he presents data from Makassarese, sometimes this data seems incorrect,²⁵ probably due to using a native speaker of Selayarese (Hasan Basri) as linguistic consultant. He has also collaborated with Basri and Broselow (Hasan Basri et al. 1999) on an interesting Optimality Theory account of the morphophonological behaviour of the determiner in Makassarese. Another study using OT is Bhandari (Bhandari 1997) which attempts to explain the behaviour of the nasal substituting verbal prefix which I notate as *aN(N)-* (§7.1.2). This paper seems to be largely based on a version of a paper by Pater (2001) which examines similar nasalising prefixes in other Austronesian languages, including Konjo.

Hasan Basri has also been responsible for a number of interesting works as sole author. Hasan Basri (1998) is a description of an interesting kind of verbal number-marking in Selayarese using the suffix *-i*, which is marginal in Makassarese (§9.1.3). His doctoral thesis (1999) is a detailed examination of the interaction between phonology and morphosyntax — much of it is relevant for this work and it will often be cited for comparison.

Bugis

Bugis has also been the subject of some recent study. A PhD thesis consisting of a grammar of the Soppeng dialect of Bugis was submitted at LaTrobe University (Hanson 2003). The same author also wrote an article on basic clause structure (Hanson 2001). From the University of Melbourne, Brotchie (1992) is an Honours thesis describing constituent order and its interaction with the agreement system, though it is based on highly unnatural elicited data. From a different perspective, and focussing on the literary register is Sirk (1996), and there is also a grammatical sketch from Noorduyn's thesis (1955) which was translated by Campbell Macknight and circulated informally. For other sources see Noorduyn's bibliography (Noorduyn 1991a). Much more has been written from anthropological or philological perspectives: for an overview see

²⁵ See §5.6.5.2 (Indefinite pronouns) for an example.

Pelras (1996). Here could also be mentioned the KITLV scholars Roger Tol and Sirtjo Koolhof, experts in Bugis literature (Koolhof 1999; Tol 1990, 1992, 1993, 1996, 2000).

1.5 Sources of data

Data for this study can be divided into two main types: spoken data collected on fieldwork or from speakers resident in Melbourne or the Netherlands; and written data collected from a variety of published or unpublished sources.

1.5.1 Fieldwork

During the course of researching my MA Thesis (Jukes 1998), I conducted two short fieldtrips to South Sulawesi, staying largely in the city of Makassar (then called Ujung Pandang) with short trips to the mountain area of Malino and around the coast to Bira.

For various reasons, including ongoing political and social instability in the region, I was unable to conduct a lengthy fieldtrip during my PhD candidature, however in the years 2000 and 2001 I was fortunate to find a Makassarese speaker studying for a PhD at the University of Melbourne. Asmuddin, a native of Makassar, helped me with interpretations of previously collected material, and also with understanding some of the published texts. In 2003 I met another Makassarese speaker studying in Melbourne, Isnawati Osman, who helped with comprehension of texts and grammatical structures, continuing to help via email and SMS after her return to Makassar.

In November-December 2003 I was able to have another short fieldtrip where I worked with Haji Djirong Basang Daeng Ngewa on some of the older and more opaque manuscripts, as well as general elicitation/instruction with a number of local people, notably Hasanuddin Salli Daeng Sikki and his family in Makassar and Malino.

1.5.2 Written sources

The written sources are either in the form of published materials in Roman or Bugis script, or handwritten *lontara* which may be in either the Bugis script or the obsolete Makassar script (also known as *jangang-jangang* or ‘bird’-writing, see §3.1.1). Most of the manuscript material was studied during a four month stay in Leiden. There are also some informal examples which came from emails or letters from friends in Makassar,

augmented by material seen in the online chat room of the local Makassar newspaper, Fajar.²⁶

I have relied heavily on the Makassarese–Dutch dictionary (Cense & Abdoerrahim 1979) for sentence examples, rather less so for grammatical explanation. The sheer quantity of the example sentences, and the quality of Cense’s scholarship, combine to make this an incredibly useful resource, and one which I would be foolish to underutilise. However, I have been cautious about grammatical constructions and explanations which are only found in the dictionary and cannot be found elsewhere in my corpus or confirmed by modern speakers. Where this is the case (eg. for some derivational possibilities) I have explicitly noted it.

1.5.3 The corpus

Over the years I have amassed a large collection of texts from various sources, and I have attempted to bring as much as possible into a database built using SIL’s Shoebox program.

1.5.3.1 Manuscripts

The manuscripts which I have examined in some detail myself are:

- KIT 668-216 from the Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen in Amsterdam. This manuscript from c.1750 is described in detail in §3.1.1.1, p.113. The first 33 pages contain a version of the Gowa chronicle (§3.2.2.1) and approximately 10 pages of this were interlinearised and analysed with Shoebox, with an English translation by Bill Cummings (to appear) and myself. A little over 4 manuscript pages is given as Appendix A of this work. A later section of the same manuscript contains a copy of the 1667 Treaty of Bungaya (see §1.1.4.3), and several articles of the treaty were also analysed with Shoebox.
- Or545.232 (origin unknown) from HISDOC at KITLV in Leiden. This comes from Cense’s collection and is a manuscript of 13 double-sided pages in rather poor condition. Its date and provenance are unknown. Pages 1-12 are in the

²⁶ <http://www.fajar.co.id/bukutamu.cfm>

Makassarese script and appear to be the story of a certain Karaeng I La Padara, though they seem to be bound out of order (the remainder of the manuscript is in the Bugis script and contains some Makassarese poetry and also some Malay fragments in Bugis script). Much of the vocabulary was not comprehensible to me and some passages do not appear to be Makassarese at all; as a result this manuscript awaits proper analysis and translation, however a variant use of the epistemic adverb *bedeng* was noted and is discussed in §5.5.2.

- Katalog Naskah Buton LL/27/AMZ. Photographs of this manuscript from the collection of the Sultan of Buton were provided courtesy of Sirtjo Koolhof at KITLV in Leiden. It contains 10 pages in the Makassarese script which give a description of Islamic practice, and also appears to contain a list of people, presumably in Buton, who were versed in these matters at the time. To my knowledge the manuscript has not been dated and it awaits detailed analysis, but at a glance it contains a large number of presentative clauses of the type noted in §12.5.

1.5.3.2 Published material

I have made heavy use of published works on or in the Makassarese language. In the vast majority of cases, texts taken from these sources have been discussed with native speakers, and where a translation (into English, Dutch, or Indonesian) was provided, this has been checked for accuracy. The main sources are listed below.

- As previously noted, the largest single source of language data for this work is the Makassarese–Dutch dictionary (Cense & Abdoerrahim 1979). Several hundred lexical entries (with several thousand example sentences) were scanned in and imported in their entirety, while many others were incorporated individually.
- Several excerpts from Makassarese *lontara* have been published in papers by Bill Cummings. Notable among them are the Maros Chronicle (Cummings 2000), and the oath between Gowa and Tallo' (Cummings 1999). Both were imported into the Shoebox corpus.

- There are several large selections of folklore and ritual text with English translations which were published in Chabot (1996). The largest is the *pakkio' bunting* ('call to the bride'). It and other smaller texts were imported and analysed.
- *Caritana Pung Tedong*, a long *rupama* (folktale), was excerpted from a published collection (Zainuddin Hakim 1991) and analysed in detail. It appears as an Appendix to my MA Thesis (Jukes 1998).
- Two published *sinrili'* (epic poems) were partially analysed. *Sinrili'na Kappala' Tallumbatua* (Aburaerah Arief & Zainuddin Hakim 1993), and *Sinrili'na iMa'di' Daeng ri Makka* (Parewansa et al. 1992).
- Finally, the first 200 of the collection of 1128 Makassarese proverbs (Zainuddin Hakim 1995) were analysed.
- There is a small number of examples which were taken from local linguistic publications (Abdul Kadir Manyambeang et al. 1996; Nursiah Tupa 1995; Zainab 1996). These have been noted individually.

1.5.3.3 Unpublished material

KITLV in Leiden has in its collection some unpublished material in or about Makassarese. Of particular interest were:

- Grammar notes by A.A. Cense, KITLV Or545.43. Although not touching on syntax, these notes included several interesting examples. The notes were imported and analysed in their entirety.
- *Caritana Karaeng Ammanaka Bembe* ('the karaeng who gave birth to a goat'), KITLV Or545.55f. This typewritten folktale (probably collected by Abdurrahim) was analysed in its entirety and appears as Appendix B.

1.5.3.4 Recorded narratives

Two short (3-4 minutes) narratives were recorded in the field and fully transcribed and analysed. They are 'prompted narratives', by which I mean that I asked people to tell the story of some activity we had both engaged in. The advantage of this approach in

initial fieldwork is that it is naturally easier to work out what is happening in a narrative if one was involved in the activity being described.

- *Pammekangngang* ('fishing time') by Muyazdlala was recorded in April 1996. It appears as Appendix 3 to my MA Thesis (Jukes 1998).
- *A'jappa-jappa ri Bulukumba* ('daytrip to Bulukumba') by Alimuddin was recorded in July 1997. It is included as Appendix C to this thesis.

1.5.3.5 Elicited examples

Finally, there are elicited data which are included in my Shoebox corpus. In general these were to draw out fine distinctions or construction types which did not occur in the other data. Some types of construction (such as the 'basic word order' of VPA, see § 11.1) were only found through elicitation. In cases like this it has been explicitly noted, but if elicited examples are generally acceptable and were not felt to be odd by speakers they have been included without further comment.

Speakers who provided elicited data were:

- Hasanuddin Salli: male, tour guide, late 30s. Native of Malino, family from Gowa and Takalar.
- †Haji Salli: male, losmen owner, early 70s. Childhood in Takalar, and Makassar, later life in Malino.
- Haji Djirong Basang Daeng Ngewa: male, scholar, early 70s. Childhood in Takalar, then Makassar.
- Muyazdlala: male, tour guide, mid 30s. Makassarese, Selayarese background.
- Alimuddin: male, student, early 20s. Native of Bontonompo (20 km south of Makassar).
- Asmuddin: male, agricultural scientist, early 40s. Native of Makassar.
- Isnawati Osman: female, student of administration, late 20s. Native of Makassar.

2 Phonetics & phonology

This chapter contains an overview of the phonological system of the language, based necessarily on the modern spoken language, though there is also some reference to historical differences suggested by manuscript data. Some parts of the chapter are revisions of material presented in Jukes (1998; 2005).

2.1 Phoneme inventory

This section presents the segment inventory of Makassarese, followed by lists of minimal or sub-minimal pairs as evidence for phonemic status. § 2.1.2 gives a more complete description of each consonant phoneme. Spectrograms are given to illustrate some contrasts, particularly length contrasts for single and geminate consonants. For each phoneme there is a list of words illustrating distribution, given in both practical orthography (in *italics*) and narrow IPA transcription showing stress ['], and syllabification [.]. In § 2.1.2.7 some issues of loan phonology are briefly discussed, particularly with regard to names. § 2.1.2.8 describes the possible consonant sequences. § 2.1.3 describes vowels, and § 2.1.3.1 describes the possible vowel sequences.

Consonants	bilabial	dental/ alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
voiceless stop	p	t	c	k	ʔ <'>
voiced stop	b	d	ɟ < <i>j</i> >	g < <i>g</i> >	
nasal	m	n	ɲ < <i>ny</i> >	ŋ < <i>ng</i> >	
fricative		s			h
lateral		l			
trill		r			
glide			j < <i>y</i> >	w	

Vowels	front	central	back
high	i		u
mid	e		o
low		a	

Table 2.1: Phoneme inventory

In Table 2.1 above bracketed graphs in <*italics*> show practical orthography where this differs from IPA. The glottal stop is discussed briefly in § 2.2.1.1 and also in § 2.1.2.6. Some other consonants which occur only in unadapted loans are discussed in § 2.1.2.7.

2.1.1 Phoneme contrasts

This section briefly presents examples of minimal or near-minimal pairs to illustrate phoneme contrasts. The examples are given in practical orthography — more phonetic detail is given in the next section.

Each pair of voiced and voiceless stops can be contrasted in onset position:

<i>p/b</i>	<i>palu</i>	a kind of sweet	<i>c/j</i>	<i>cappa</i>	contract
	<i>balu</i>	widow		<i>jappa</i>	walk
<i>t/d</i>	<i>taeng</i>	tree species	<i>k/g</i>	<i>kongkong</i>	dog
	<i>daeng</i>	uncle		<i>gonggong</i>	card game

Each nasal can be contrasted with the others:

<i>m</i>	<i>moa'</i>	crawl
<i>n</i>	<i>noa'</i>	gasp
<i>ny</i>	<i>nyoa'-nyoa'</i>	reflux
<i>ng</i>	<i>ngoa'</i>	gape (eg. wound)

The liquids *r* and *l* can be contrasted:

<i>l</i>	<i>lamba'</i>	creeper
<i>r</i>	<i>ramba'</i>	luxurious

The fricatives *s* and *h*, and affricated stops *c* and *j* can be contrasted:

<i>s</i>	<i>sala</i>	wrong, miss
<i>h</i>	<i>hala</i>	(call to move buffalo)
<i>c</i>	<i>cala'</i>	put next to
<i>j</i>	<i>jala</i>	fish net

The glides *w* and *y* can be contrasted between like vowels:

<i>w/y</i>	<i>bawang</i>	ordinary
	<i>bayang</i>	shadow

In some environments glides can also be contrasted with sequences of vowels with no intervening glide:

VyV	<i>kayu</i>	wood	VwV	<i>bawi</i>	pig
VV	<i>kau</i>	you	VV	<i>bai</i>	straddle

The restricted distribution of glides is discussed on p.67.

An important set of contrasts to establish is those between single consonants and geminate sequences. Single and geminate nasals contrast, as do the continuants *s*, *l*, and *r*:

<i>m/mm</i>	<i>lama'</i> <i>lamma'</i>	handspan liquid from a corpse	<i>l/ll</i>	<i>bali</i> <i>balli</i>	face, oppose price, buy
<i>n/nn</i>	<i>tanang</i> <i>tannang</i>	plant rice posture, bearing	<i>r/rr</i>	<i>sare</i> <i>sarre</i>	give k.o grass
<i>ny/nyny</i>	<i>lanya'</i> <i>lanynya'</i>	strike repeatedly gone, vanished	<i>s/ss</i>	<i>pasu</i> <i>passu</i>	knot (in wood) snort
<i>ng/ngng</i>	<i>bangi</i> <i>bangngi</i>	fragrant night			

Single and geminate voiceless stops contrast:²⁷

<i>p/pp</i>	<i>rapo</i> <i>rappo</i>	unlucky fruit	<i>c/cc</i>	<i>ace</i> <i>acce'</i>	Aceh grab by the throat
<i>t/tt</i>	<i>ata</i> <i>atta</i>	slave take possession	<i>k/kk</i>	<i>leko'</i> <i>lekko'</i>	leaf put up a sail

There are no examples of geminate voiced stops. Instead there are sequences of glottal stop and voiced stop:

<i>'b</i>	<i>le'ba'</i>	already
<i>'d</i>	<i>ta'do'do'</i>	tired
<i>'j</i>	<i>a'ji</i>	Haji
<i>'g</i>	<i>gari'gi'</i>	notch

The glottal stop can be contrasted with its absence in coda position, though this contrast can be extremely difficult to hear, especially in word-final position (see §2.1.2.6):

V#	<i>balla'</i>	house
V#	<i>balla</i>	warm in the fire
V'C	<i>ba'ba'</i>	wrap up
VC	<i>baba'</i>	Chinese
V'C	<i>ba'ba</i>	father

²⁷ It can be noted that most of these examples show geminate consonants after /a/. The explanation seems to lie in historical phonology: geminate consonants were at one time conditioned by preceding /*ə/ (see Mills (1975a:208) for a discussion of this). With the disappearance of /*ə/ from the vowel system and its replacement by /a/, Makassarese ended up with a large number of minimal pairs which can be distinguished only by the single/geminate contrast. There are of course exceptions, as shown by *leko'/lekko'*.

Finally, each of the five vowels contrasts with the others in both closed and open syllables:

<i>a</i>	<i>bambang</i>	hot	<i>bala</i>	misfortune
<i>e</i>	<i>bembeng</i>	way to offer food	<i>bale</i>	tasty
<i>i</i>	<i>bimbang</i>	worried	<i>bali</i>	face, oppose
<i>o</i>	<i>bombong</i>	leaf sprout	<i>balo</i>	k.o.bean
<i>u</i>	<i>bumbung</i>	ridge	<i>balu</i>	widow(er)

2.1.2 Consonants

There are corresponding sets of voiceless, voiced, and nasal stops in the four major places of articulation, but only two fricatives, /s/ and /h/; two glides, /w/ and /y/; and two liquids, /r/ and /l/. All consonants except the glottal stop may occur in onset position, but coda position is restricted to the glottal stop, any of the nasals (preceding a homorganic consonant), and voiceless stops as part of a geminate sequence. All the nasals, /l/, /s/, /r/ and the glides /w/ and /j/ appear in lengthened forms which are also analysed as geminated; thus, these also may appear syllable finally. Only two consonants are possible word-finally: the glottal stop /ʔ/ and the velar nasal /ŋ/.

2.1.2.1 Oral stops

All oral stops may appear in onset position: word-initially, intervocalically, and following homorganic nasals (abbreviated as #_, V_V, and N_). Voiceless stops may occur in geminate sequences, while voiced stops can occur after the glottal stop. Morpho-phonological evidence shows that these are sequences involving an underspecified stop coda and the onset of the following syllable (abbreviated as C_), rather than phonemic geminates or preglottalised stops.²⁸

p is a voiceless bilabial stop. There is a small amount of aspiration, with a VOT lag of between 20 to 40 milliseconds. Since aspiration is not contrastive it is only marked in this section which is using fairly narrow IPA transcription.

#_	<i>palu</i> ['p ^h a.lu] 'a kind of sweet'
V_V	<i>apa</i> ['a.p ^h a] 'what'

²⁸ With the possible exception of geminate /r/, see §2.2.1.3.

N_		<i>lampa</i> ['lam.p ^h a] 'go'
C_		<i>appasara</i> [ap. 'p ^h a.sa.ra?] 'go to market'

The length contrast between single and geminate /p/ is shown in the spectrogram below, with the words *rapo* 'unlucky' and *rappo* 'fruit'. The spectrogram is taken from a field recording of a 24 year old male, and represents careful speech. The single /p/ has a duration of about 150 ms, while the geminate is about 260 ms. This token is considerably above the average of 100 ms (min 70, max 150) and 170 ms (150 to 260) respectively.²⁹ Post-nasal /p/ tends to be shorter than single /p/, with an average of 70ms, which shows (as do geminate examples) that stops which occur in a sequence are of shorter duration than single consonants.

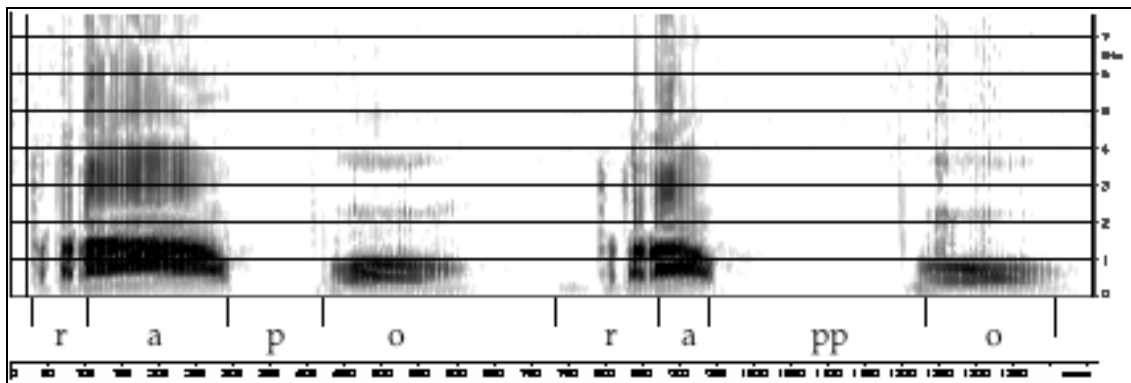


Figure 2.1: Single & geminate /p/

b is a voiced bilabial stop. It has the implosive allophone [ɓ] in word-initial position or following a glottal stop.

#_		<i>balu</i> ['ba.lu] 'widow'
V_V		<i>taba</i> ['t ^h a.ba] 'hit, succeed'
N_		<i>bambang</i> ['ɓam.bãŋ] 'hot'
C_		<i>le'ba</i> ['leʔ.ɓa?] 'already'

²⁹ The averages were taken from a sample of ten occurrences of each in the casual speech of the same speaker and another speaker, a male in his early thirties. There was no significant variation between the speakers.

The spectrogram in Figure 2.2 shows the words *taba* ‘fit’ and *le’ba* ‘already’. The single stop is of about 60 ms duration, while the [ʔb] sequence is about 125, of which the [b] is about 50 ms, showing that the voiced stop is considerably shorter than the voiceless, which is also the case with /d/ and /g/, though not always with /j/. On average voiced stops have a little more than half the duration of voiceless stops.

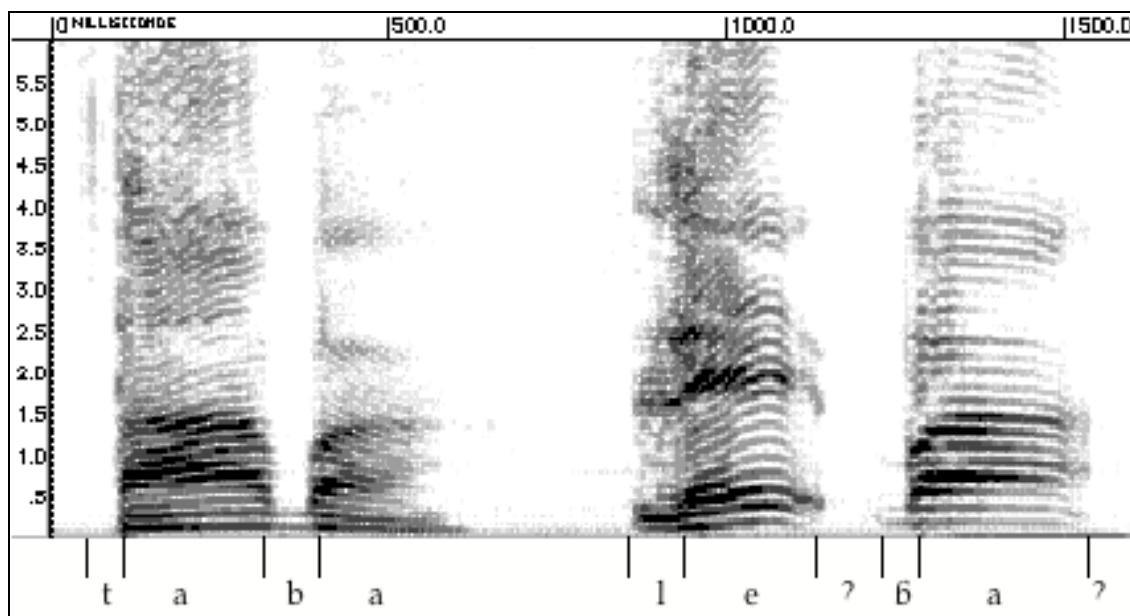


Figure 2.2: Single and post-glottal stop /b/

t is a voiceless apico-dental aspirated stop. It is the only dental consonant — /d/, /n/, /l/, /s/, and /r/ are alveolar. As with the aspiration, because this dental articulation has no contrastive function it is only mentioned in this section.³⁰

#_	<i>tinggi</i> [ˈtʰiŋ.gi] ‘high’
V_V	<i>tata</i> [ˈtʰa.tʰaʔ] ‘father’
N_	<i>benteng</i> [ˈbẽn.tʰẽŋ] ‘fort’
C_	<i>katte</i> [ˈka.tʰɛ] ‘we (incl)’

³⁰ Interestingly the place contrast between /t/ and /d/ is preserved in Makassarrese loans into Iwaidjan languages of Northern Australia. The correspondence is generally MAK [t] → IWJ [t], MAK [d] → IWJ [t], but some languages such as Maung even show an (unusual) dental phoneme in words such as [kaɽaŋ] ← MAK *gattang* ‘carpenter’s plane’. See Evans (1992, 1997) for more details.

The length of the single and geminate stops is roughly the same as for /p/ as shown in Figure 2.1—up to 160/280 ms respectively in careful speech, with an average of about 100/180 ms in casual speech. The aspiration can be seen as noise above 4 kHz in the word *taba* (Figure 2.2).

d is a voiced alveolar stop. It has an implosive allophone [ɖ] following a glottal stop. Length details are roughly as for /b/.

#_	<i>dinging</i> [' di.ŋĩŋ] ‘cold’
V_V	<i>dudu</i> [' du.du] ‘very’
N_	<i>andi'</i> [' an.diʔ] ‘younger sibling’
C_	<i>a'doleng</i> [aʔ. ' dɔ.lẽŋ] ‘hang beneath’

C is a voiceless lamino-palatal stop, often with strongly fricative release. Even one individual can show considerable variation in the pronunciation of this segment, thus it can be realised as the affricate [cç] or even [tʃ]. This concurs with the remarks in Ladefoged & Maddieson (1996:31), that laminal consonants are likely to be affricated, and that ‘it is often hard to decide whether a given sound should be classified as a palato-alveolar or a palatal’.

I have analysed this phone as a stop to fit in with the general pattern of oral and nasal stops, and because morphophonological evidence shows that there is a correspondence with the palatal nasal /ɲ/ just as the other oral stops have corresponding nasals. All the palatal consonants trigger palatal on and offgliding in adjoining vowels.

#_	<i>ca'di'</i> [' cçaʔ.diʔ] ‘small’
V_V	<i>bicara</i> [bi. ' cça.ra] ‘speak’
N_	<i>moncong</i> [' mōɲ.cçõŋ] ‘mountain’
C_	<i>pacce</i> [' p ^h ac.cçe] ‘empathic pain’

Figure 2.3 shows the words *ace* ‘Aceh’ and *acce'* ‘strangle’. The duration of the single stop is about 150 ms, of which about 30 ms is fricated release, while the geminate is 210 ms, also with about 30 ms of frication. The on and off glides in the vowels are seen as

raising and lowering of the formants, which co-occurs with the frication in the case of the off-glide.

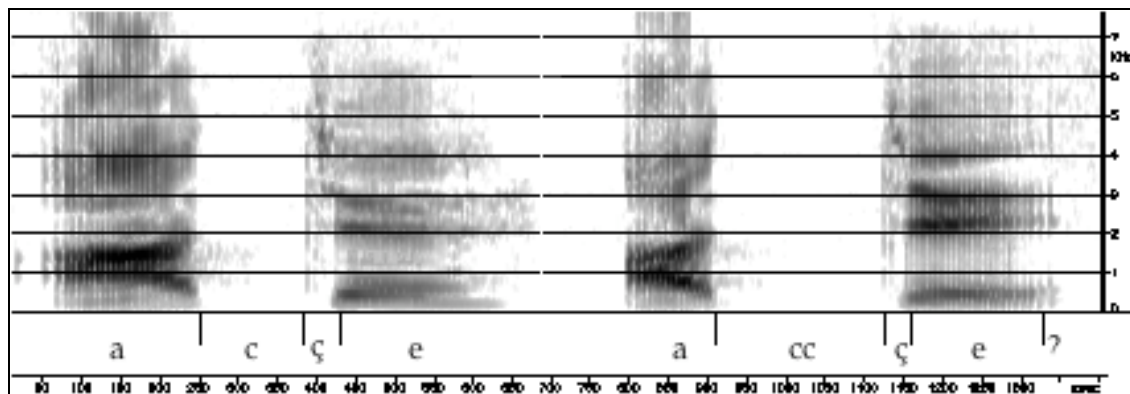


Figure 2.3: Single & geminate /c/

ʃ (*j*) is a voiced lamino-palatal stop. It also can also have fricative release, so it can be realised as [ʃʲ]. Unlike /b/ and /d/ it does not have an implosive allophone.

#_	<i>jarang</i> [ˈʃja.rãŋ] ‘horse’
V_V	<i>baji</i> [ˈba.ʃjiʔ] ‘good’
N_	<i>anjo</i> [ˈaŋ.ʃjo] ‘that’
C_	<i>jaʔjala</i> [ˈʃjaʔ.ʃja.laʔ] ‘lean’

Figure 2.4 is a spectrogram of the two words *jarang* ‘horse’ and *jaʔja* ‘upright’. *Jarang* shows strongly fricated release of the palatal stop, with about 100 ms of frication, which together with prevoicing gives a length of 200 ms, much longer than most voiced stops. *Jaʔja* shows only 20≅30 ms of frication, with slightly more in the initial occurrence of the stop than in the second. The off-glide from the palatal stop into the vowel is seen clearly in each case.

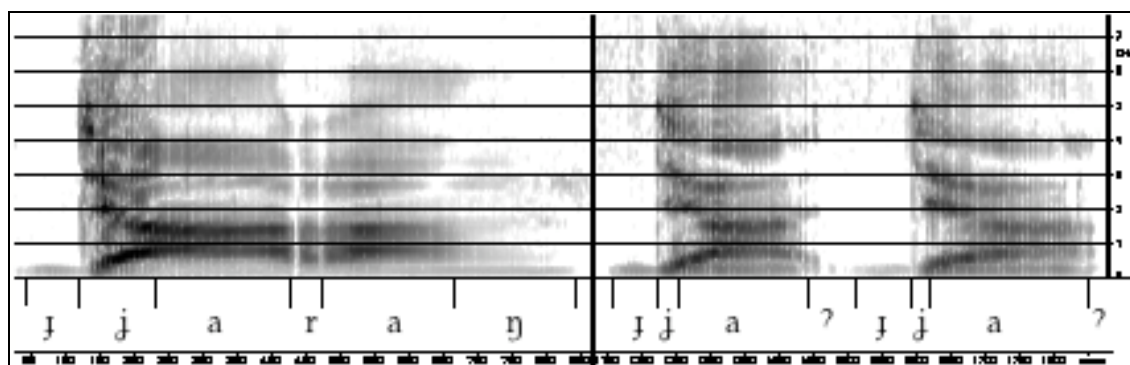


Figure 2.4: Voiced palatal stops with strong and weak fricative release

k is a voiceless aspirated velar stop. It is similar in length and aspiration details to /p/ and /t/.

#_	<i>kana</i> ['k ^h a.nā] ‘word’
V_V	<i>kukang</i> ['k ^h u.k ^h āŋ] ‘orphan’
N_	<i>dongko</i> ['dōŋ.k ^h oʔ] ‘back, ride’
C_	<i>sakke</i> ['sak.k ^h ɛ] ‘have a cold’

g (*g*) is a voiced velar stop. Unlike /b/ and /d/ it does not have an implosive allophone.

#_	<i>gana</i> ['ga.nā] ‘female animal’
V_V	<i>gaga</i> ['ga.gaʔ] ‘stutter’
N_	<i>mangge</i> ['māŋ.ge] ‘father’
C_	<i>ga'ga</i> ['gaʔ.ga] ‘well-chosen’

2.1.2.2 Nasals

All nasals can occur in onset position, either word-initially or intervocally: in coda position only nasals homorganic with the onset of the following syllable may occur, this results in geminate nasals if the following consonant is a nasal. Word-finally only the velar nasal /ŋ/ is possible. Nasal onsets trigger nasalisation of following vowels, and a nasal coda will trigger nasalisation of the preceding vowel (§2.1.3.2).

m is a voiced bilabial nasal. Unlike the stops, geminate /m/ is more than twice as long as single /m/, with an average of 210 and 80 ms respectively. This is also the case with the other nasals and continuants.

#_	<i>mate</i> ['mā.t ^h ɛ]	‘dead’
V_V	<i>lame</i> ['la.mɛ̃]	‘root vegetable’
_N	<i>kamma</i> ['k ^h am.mā]	‘thus, so’
C_	<i>pa'mai</i> [p ^h aʔ. 'mā.ĩʔ]	‘character’
_C[−voice]	<i>lampa</i> ['lam.p ^h a]	‘go’
_C[+voice]	<i>lambu</i> ['lam.bu]	‘child’s game’

n is a voiced apico-alveolar nasal. Before the dental stop /t/ it has a dental allophone.

It can occur in sequences with the stops /t/ and /d/, and also the consonants /s/ and /r/.

#_	<i>nia</i> [' nĩ.ãʔ]	‘be’
V_V	<i>kana</i> [' k ^h a.nã]	‘word’
_N	<i>anne</i> [' an.nẽ]	‘this’
C_	<i>ni'ni'</i> [' nĩʔ.nĩ]	‘fine, delicate’
_C[-voice]	<i>antu</i> [' an̩.tu]	‘that’
	<i>bansa</i> [' ban.saʔ]	‘rascal’
_C[+voice]	<i>andi'</i> [' an.diʔ]	‘younger sibling’
	<i>kanre</i> [' kan.drɛ] ³¹	‘food, eat’

ɲ (*ny*) is a voiced lamino-palatal nasal.

#_	<i>nyamang</i> [' ɲã.mãŋ]	‘delicious’
V_V	<i>lanya'</i> [' la.ɲãʔ]	‘hit hard’
_N	<i>lanynying</i> [' laɲ.ɲĩŋ]	‘holy, pure’
C_	<i>bi'nyara'</i> [' biʔ.ɲã.raʔ]	‘make an oath’
_C[-voice]	<i>moncong</i> [' mōɲ.ɕfōŋ]	‘mountain’
_C[+voice]	<i>anjo</i> [' aɲ.ʝo]	‘that’

The spectrogram in Figure 2.5 shows the words *lanya* ‘hit hard’, and *lanynya* ‘vanished’. The single /ɲ/ is about 80 ms, while the geminate is almost 200 ms. The geminate nasal is louder than the single, and this is clearly seen in the spectrogram. Nasal formants at about 2 and 3 kHz can be seen in the second vowels of both words, but they fade rather quickly. Note also the strong on and off-glides in both words, which reach a peak in the nasals.

³¹ See discussion of /r/ for an explanation of intrusive [d] in the sequence /nr/.

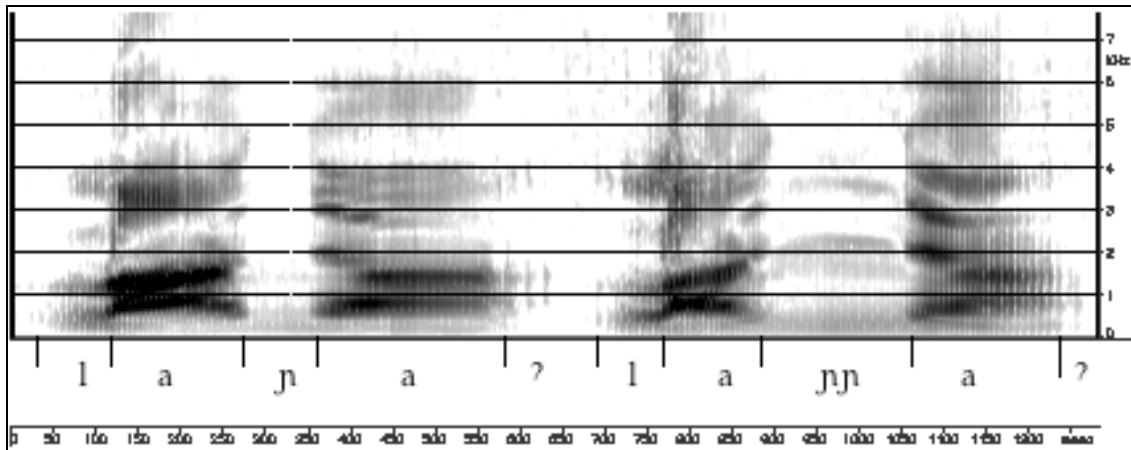


Figure 2.5: Single and geminate palatal nasal

ŋ is a voiced velar nasal. It appears syllable-initially or finally where it may be followed by a velar consonant, /h/, or nothing. It is the only nasal which may appear in word-final position, indicating that it is the default realisation of a nasal coda.³²

#_	<i>ngoro</i> ['ŋõ.roʔ]	‘snore’
V_V	<i>jangang</i> ['ja.ŋãŋ]	‘chicken’
_N	<i>bangni</i> ['baŋ.ŋĩ]	‘night’
C_	<i>bi'ngasa</i> ['biʔ.ŋã.saʔ]	‘split’
_C[-voice]	<i>bangkeng</i> ['bãŋ.kẽŋ]	‘leg’
	<i>anghukkung</i> [ãŋ. 'huk.kũŋ]	‘law’
_C[+voice]	<i>mangge</i> ['mãŋ.ge]	‘father’
_#	<i>le'leng</i> [leʔ.leŋ]	‘black’

2.1.2.3 Fricatives

There is one fricative /s/ which I consider indigenous, and another, /h/, which is probably a loan, but is at least partially nativised. (For a discussion of this, and some other loan fricatives, see §2.1.2.7). Both may occur in onset position at the beginning of a word or inter-vocally. /s/ may appear geminated or preceded by the alveolar nasal /n/; and /h/ may follow the velar nasal or glottal stop.

³² Mills (1975a; 1975b) and Sneddon (1993) both posit a historical process of loss of contrasts in final nasals in South Sulawesi languages; Sneddon arguing that it is part of a tendency to lose final consonants generally in Sulawesi languages.

S is a voiceless alveolar fricative. Single /s/ has an average duration of about 100 ms, while the geminate is about 220 ms. Morphophonological evidence shows that geminate /s/ can be the result of an underspecified coda and /s/, for example *aC- sura* ‘write a letter’ [as. 'su.raʔ]. This is also the case across word boundaries, eg. *nia* ‘se’re ‘there’s one’ → ['ni.as. 'seʔ.rɛ]. The phonetic sequence [ʔs] is not found.

A velar nasal /ŋ/ also tends to assimilate almost entirely to /s/, thus the name *Daeng Sikki* → ['dēs. 'sik.kiʔ], though nasalisation is apparent on the preceding vowel. However when alveolar /n/ precedes /s/ it maintains its nasality, for example in forms with the verbal prefix *aN-* (§7.2) such as *ansuro* [an. 'su.ro] ‘order’. Interestingly though, root-internally the sequence /ns/ seems to be found only in loans, especially from Malay, where it corresponds to the sequence /ŋs/ (as in *bansa* ← Malay *bangsat* ‘rascal’).

#_	<i>se're</i> ['seʔ.rɛ]	‘one’
V_V	<i>basa</i> ['ba.sa]	‘language’
(N_)	<i>(bansa)</i> ['bãn.saʔ]	‘rascal’
C_	<i>kassi</i> ['kas.siʔ]	‘sand’

h is a voiceless glottal fricative. It is quite rare³³ and, with the exception of some interjections, is seen exclusively in borrowings, generally from Arabic, Malay, or Dutch. I have included /h/ in this list while excluding other loan fricatives such as [f], [z] and [ʃ] because /h/ appears in words which are otherwise adapted to Makassarese phonology such as *hukkung* ‘law’, and also in some interjections, whereas [f], [z] and [ʃ] are not. Consonant sequences involving /h/ are only found across morpheme boundaries.

³³ It can be noted here that /h/ is common in both Selayarese and Konjo (Friberg & Friberg 1991a; Mithun & Basri 1987), where it takes the place of Makassarese /w/, which does not occur in either language, and also sometimes /b/. For example, Makassarese *bawi* ‘pig’ → Selayarese and Konjo *bahi*, and Makassarese *bari* ‘spoiled’ → Selayarese *hari*.

#_	<i>harusu</i> ['ha.ru.suʔ]	‘must’ (← Malay <i>harus</i>)
V_V	<i>aha</i> ['a.haʔ]	‘Sunday’ (← Arabic via Malay <i>ahad</i>)
N_	<i>anghukkung</i> [ãŋ. 'huk.kũŋ]	‘punish’ (← Ar. via Mal. <i>hukum</i>)
C_	<i>a'haramanika</i> [aʔ.ha.ra.mã. 'nĩ.ka]	‘play the harmonica’ (← Dutch <i>harmonica</i>)

2.1.2.4 Liquids

There is a lateral /l/ and a trill /r/. Both may occur in onset position; word-initially and intervocally, in geminate sequences and after the glottal stop. Only /r/ can be preceded by a nasal.

l is a voiced alveolar lateral approximant. It occurs syllable-initially (where it may follow a glottal stop) or as a geminate.

#_	<i>larro</i> ['lar.ro]	‘angry’
V_V	<i>sala</i> ['sa.la]	‘wrong’
N_	<i>balla</i> ['bal.laʔ]	‘house’
C_	<i>le'leng</i> ['leʔ.lẽŋ]	‘black’

Single /l/ is on average 80 ms duration while the geminate is often over 200 ms. In the spectrogram in Figure 2.6 it is 240 ms. Note that there appears to be suppression of high frequency sound in the vowels preceding the lateral, lasting for over 100 ms (about half the total length of the vowel) in the open stressed syllable in *bali* ‘oppose’, but less than 30 ms in the shorter vowel in the closed syllable of *balli* ‘price’.

Morphophonological evidence shows that a nasal coda assimilates to a following /l/, for example the word *allanna* [al. 'lan.naʔ] ‘kick s.t.’ consists of the verbal prefix *aN-* and the root *lanna*!. This also happens across word boundaries, thus *daeng Lala* ‘uncle Lala’ → ['dẽl. 'la.la]. The phonetic sequence [nl] is not found.

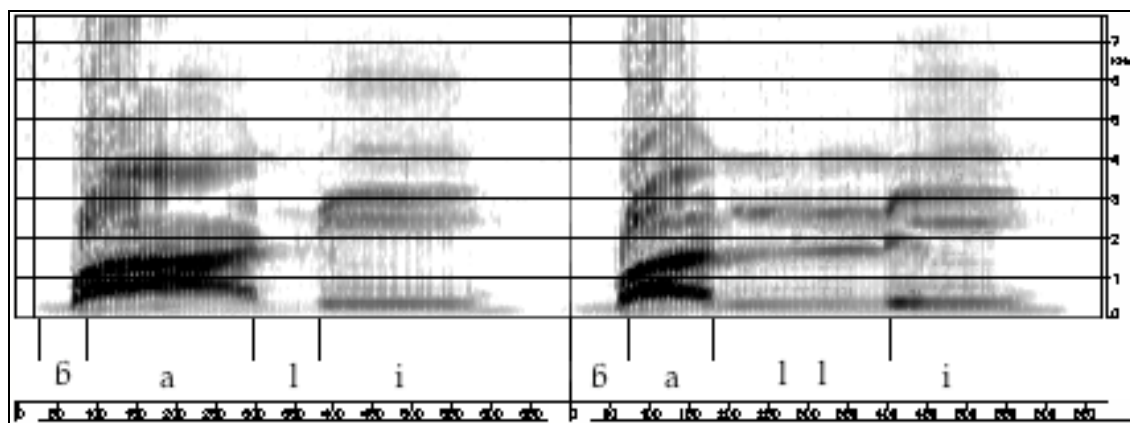


Figure 2.6: Single & geminate /l/

ɽ is a voiced alveolar trill. In very fast speech it may be realised as a single tap [ɽ], but it is usually composed of two taps. It can follow a glottal stop or an alveolar nasal; the sequence /nr/ sounds rather like [ndɽ]. There is a geminate trill which contrasts with the single trill. The single and geminate trills are very similar to those in Italian described in Ladefoged and Maddieson (1996:219-21).

#_	<i>rua</i> ['ru.a]	‘two’
V_V	<i>paru</i> ['pa.ru]	‘lung’
N_	<i>anrong</i> ['an.drõŋ]	‘mother’
CV	<i>pa'rang</i> ['paʔ.raŋ]	‘calmed’
V__V	<i>larro</i> ['lar.ro]	‘angry’

Geminate /ɽ/ is the only geminated consonant where the first element (the coda of one syllable) cannot be seen as an underspecified stop or nasal coda given, since both 'ɽ [ɽ] and *nr* are found as well. It is also the only geminate which only occurs root-internally and not across morpheme boundaries (see §2.2.1.3) for more discussion of this).

Figure 2.7 shows the difference between single and geminate /ɽ/ in the words *paru* ‘lung’ and *parru* ‘intestine’, the former consisting clearly of two taps (two closed phases of about 15 ms and an open vowel-like phase, totalling about 60 ms), and the latter of five taps (about 160 ms). The longest geminate /ɽ/ in my field recordings was six taps (200ms), the shortest was four (120 ms). Single /ɽ/ was realised as a tap on less than a third of the examples, however, even the single taps show one or two ‘ghost’ taps where the tongue is still vibrating but does not achieve closure. Figure 2.8 shows this in the

word *arabayya* ‘Wednesday’ and also shows the sequence nasal + /r/ in the word *anrong* ‘mother’.

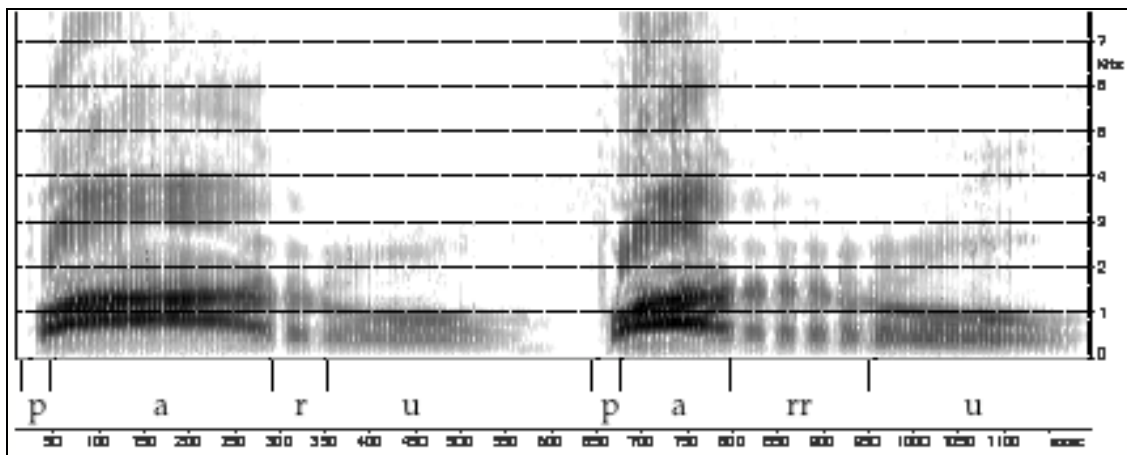


Figure 2.7: Single and geminate /r/

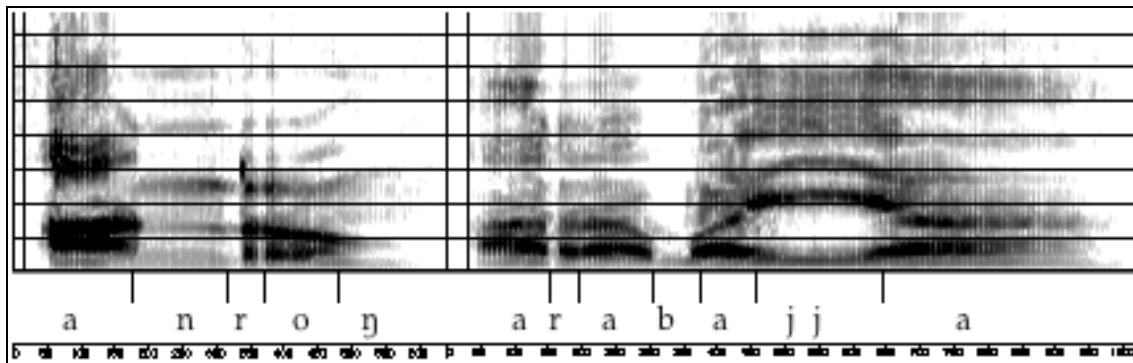


Figure 2.8: Nasal + /r/ & tapped /r/

2.1.2.5 Glides

W is a voiced labial-velar glide. It has a somewhat limited distribution, and in some environments should be considered epenthetic. Contrastively it is found in word-initial position before non-back vowels /a/, /e/ and /i/, or intervocally between two non-back vowels. Most words which begin with /w/ are loans from Arabic. Interestingly, there are no examples of /w/-initial roots hosting verb prefixes, so there are no consonant sequences involving /w/ other than surface geminates formed from underlying /aua/ (see below).

#_	<i>wara</i> ['wa.raʔ]	‘north’
V_V	<i>bawa</i> ['ba.wa]	‘mouth’
	<i>bawi</i> ['ba.wi]	‘pig’

V__V	<i>pauang</i> ['paw.waŋ]	'tell someone something'
		< <i>pau-ang</i> story-BEN>

Epenthetic or non-contrastive [w] appears between back vowels (/o/,/u/) and –high, –back vowels (/a/,/e/). Examples of this are *Gowa* '(kingdom of) Gowa' ['go.wa] and *rua* 'two' ['ru.wa]. This is indicated inconsistently in local texts whether in indigenous or romanised orthography,³⁴ but is only written here when it can be considered standard (ie. *Gowa*). Table 2.2 illustrates the distribution of /w/. (Shaded cells show the environment of epenthetic w. † = possibly archaic, A = Arabic, S = Sanskrit).

	_i	_e	_a	_o	_u
#_	<i>wittiri</i> 'k.o.ritual' (†A)	<i>wedede</i> 'ouch!'	<i>wara</i> 'north'		
i_			<i>piwali</i> 'reply'		
e_	<i>dewi</i> 'goddess' (S)	<i>kewe</i> 'sparkle'	<i>ewa</i> 'stand next'		
a_	<i>bawi</i> 'pig'	<i>rawe</i> 'fishing line'	<i>bawa</i> 'mouth'		
o_		<i>loe</i> 'great'	<i>Gowa</i> 'Gowa'		
u_		<i>pue</i> 'split'	<i>rua</i> 'two'		

Table 2.2: Distribution of /w/

A surface geminate w occurs when a stressed /u/ appears in the environment /a_a/, as in the word *taúa* <tau≡a | person≡DEF> 'the person' ['taw.wa], which is in contrast with the word *tawa* 'share, lot' ['ta.wa]. This gemination only occurs at morpheme boundaries; specifically when /u/-final roots host the affixal clitic ≡a (see §2.3.6 and §4.4.1) or the suffix –ang (§9.2). Locally this is transcribed inconsistently as –*aua* or –*awwa*; the former spelling is used here. On average, a single /w/ is about 70 ms, while a geminate is about 130 ms.

j (y) is a voiced palatal glide. Like /w/ its distribution as a contrastive element is somewhat limited. Word-initially its appearance is limited to some Arabic loans, and only in front of /a/. Intervocally it can occur between non-front vowels. As with /w/,

³⁴ For example the Makassarese–Indonesian dictionary (Aburaerah Arief 1995) lists both *suarak* and *suwarak* 'bustling'. Both would be transcribed as *suara* 'here, since they are clearly the same word.

there are no /j/-initial roots which host verb prefixes, so it is not found in consonant sequences other than false geminates (§2.2.1.3).

#_	<i>yako</i> ['ja.koʔ]	‘hyacinth’ (←Arabic <i>yāḵūt</i>)
V_V	<i>kayu</i> ['ka.ju]	‘wood’
	<i>mayang</i> ['ma.jaŋ]	‘palm blossom’
V__V	<i>matayya</i> [ma. 'taj.ja]	‘the eye’ <mata≡a eye≡DEF>

At a phonetic level /j/ occurs between front vowels and non-front vowels (in which case it is irregularly represented in local orthography, but is not shown in this work). In addition, unstressed /i/ is often reduced to [j] in fast speech if it is the first element in a vowel sequence (eg. *io* ‘yes’ → ['jɔ]). Table 2.3 below shows the distribution of /j/.

	<u>i</u>	<u>e</u>	<u>a</u>	<u>o</u>	<u>u</u>
#_			<i>yako</i> ‘hyacinth’ (A)		
i_			<i>nia</i> ‘be’	<i>io</i> ‘yes’	<i>liu</i> ‘full’
e_			<i>mea</i> ‘urine’	<i>meong</i> ‘cat’	
a_			<i>bayao</i> ‘egg’	<i>bayo</i> ‘Bajau’	<i>kayu</i> ‘wood’
o_			<i>boya</i> ‘search’	<i>boyo</i> ‘cucumber’	
u_					<i>ruyung</i> ‘dugong’

Table 2.3: Distribution of /j/
(Shaded cells show the environment of epenthetic /j/)

Parallel to /w/, surface geminate /j/ occurs if an underlying stressed /i/ appears in the environment /a_a/, eg. *taía* <tai≡a | shit≡DEF> ‘the shit’ → ['taj.ja].

Interestingly, geminate /j/ also occurs epenthetically between /a/ final roots and the definite marker ≡a, eg. *binangayya* <binanga≡a> [bi.na. 'ŋaj.ja] ‘the river’ (see §2.3.6 for more detail). This phenomenon can be seen graphically in *arabayya* <araba ≡ a> ‘Wednesday’ (Figure 2.8, p.67). It is almost always transcribed locally as yy, however in the dictionary it is represented by single y, eg. *buttáya* ‘the land’. The former convention has been followed here.

2.1.2.6 Glottal stop

ʔ (ʔ) is a glottal stop. It can occur before a voiced consonant as the initial element of a complex onset (this only happens when the initial vowel of the verbal prefix *aC-* has been deleted, see §2.3.5), but it is much more common as a coda. Consonant sequences with glottal stop as first element are realised with increased tension and more forceful release of the oral stop.

The glottal stop is the only word-final obstruent, though it can be realised rather weakly, and it can be difficult to tell if it is there at all. Careful comparison of recorded glottal-final and vowel-final words revealed that the closed syllables always had a slight click of glottal closure lacking in the open ones, and anticipatory creaky voice in the preceding vowels (this can be seen clearly in all spectrograms which include this phone, for example *lanya'* and *lanynya'*, Figure 2.5, p.63). It is probably due to its weak articulation that people often neglect to mark the glottal stop in final position when writing (ie. *saba* for *saba'* ‘reason’), though they will usually mark it when it is part of a sequence (*saba'na* ‘because’, lit. ‘its reason’).

V_#	<i>balla'</i> [ˈbal.laʔ]	‘house’
V_CV	<i>le'ba'</i> [ˈleʔ.baʔ]	‘ready’
V_V	<i>a'anrong</i> [aʔ.ˈan.drõŋ]	‘have a mother’ <aC- anrong>
	<i>a'io'</i> [aʔ.ˈi.oʔ]	‘say ‘yes’ <aC- io'>
	<i>u'-u'</i> [ˈuʔ.uʔ]	‘wig/a kind of sweet’ <RDP- u'> ‘hair’
#_C	<i>'jarang</i> [ˈʔjja.rãŋ]	‘ride a horse’ ← <aC- jarang>

The glottal stop occurs before all voiced consonants, and /h/. With the remaining voiceless consonants its parallel is the first element of a geminate sequence. Apart from some loans such as *ma'apa* ‘sorry’ (← Malay *maaf*), intervocalic glottal stop is only found between morphemes — specifically between the verb prefix *aC-* and some vowel-initial stems, or between vowel-initial/glottal-final reduplications.

When a root which ends in a glottal stop is followed by a vowel-initial suffixal element such as the applicatives *-i* and *-ang*, the determiner $\equiv a$, and the pronominal enclitics $\equiv a'$ ‘I’ and $\equiv i$ ‘s/he’, the glottal stop will be realised as [k]. For example:

- (1) *ballaka*
 balla' ≡ a
 house ≡ DEF
 the house
- (2) *kuciniki*
 ku= cini' =i
 1= see =3
 I see her

This glottal strengthening (§2.3.3) does not occur between prefixes and stems (as seen with *a'anrong* above), nor between reduplicated forms (as seen with *u'-u'*).

Traditionally the glottal stop is seen as an allophone of /k/.³⁵ However there is no evidence for this other than the above-mentioned process realising root-final glottal stop as [k] in a limited set of environments, and it requires some rather implausible phonological rules to explain why a presumed /k/ should assimilate completely to consonants such as /p/ and /s/.

The comparison of words in related languages is instructive. For example, we find [ʔ] appearing in positions corresponding not only to /k/, but also /t/ and /p/ in Malay counterparts.

Malay *adat* → *ada'* 'tradition, law'

Malay *adap* → *ada'* 'side'

Considering loans from other languages is also instructive. Consider the four homonyms *ha'*, all of which are loans (Cense & Abdoerrahim 1979:242):

Arabic *ḥaḳḳ* → *ha'* 'right, law'

³⁵ This is how it is treated in all local (scholarly) publications without exception, and also in the work of Asmah Haji Omar (1979) and Mills (1975a:72). The Dutch scholars Matthes (1858), Noorduyn (1991b; Noorduyn 1993), and Cense (1979) were not explicit about phonology, but each used a different convention — Matthes regarded the glottal stop as an attribute of the preceding vowel ('*scherpe*' vowels (1858:9) and marked the vowel with a grave accent, Cense used an apostrophe ' and Noorduyn used either an apostrophe or *q*. Mithun & Basri (1987) on Selayarese and the Fribergs (1991a) on Konjo consider the glottal stop a separate phoneme, but its distribution in those languages is slightly different.

Arabic *ḥadd* → *ha'* 'punishment'

Dutch *haak* → *ha'* 'hook'

English *half* → *ha'* 'half'

Here we can see the glottal stop corresponding to a wide range of sounds, which all have in common the fact that they are not acceptable as word codas in Makassarrese.

I prefer to analyse the glottal stop as the default realisation of a stop (C) in coda position, where the only other possibilities are nasal (N), and no specification at all (see § 2.2.1 for discussion of the syllabic template). Sneddon (1993) shows that Sulawesi languages have tended to lose final consonants, and this reduction of contrasts can be seen as an instantiation of this process.³⁶

2.1.2.7 Loan consonants

Although the phones listed above are those that can be considered indigenous, it should be remembered that nearly all Makassarrese people are fluent in Bahasa Indonesia, and are also part of the Islamic world which requires the use of Islamic names and other Arabic expressions and formulae. Thus there is frequent use of sounds and combinations of sounds which do not exist in the Makassarrese language. Indeed, the vast majority of Makassarrese people have names which not only violate the phonotactics of the Makassarrese language, but include sounds which do/did not exist in the language.³⁷ There are many commonly used expressions which do the same. Just a few examples are given here, with brief explanations:

- the popular name Hasanuddin has a final [n], where Makassarrese allows only [ŋ]
- the name Syarif has the sounds [ʃ] and [f], neither of which exist in Makassarrese
- the name Syahrir has the cluster [hr], and final [r]

³⁶ In Sneddon's terminology this is an example of Final Consonant Reduction (FCR). A timetable for the reduction of final stops is proposed by Mills (1975a).

³⁷ Note though that most Makassarrese also have a *pa'daengang* or *daeng* name which is usually a descriptive Makassarrese word following the title *daeng* 'uncle'. An example is Hasanuddin Daeng Sikki' 'success'.

- the name *Zainal* has the sound [z]
- the greeting *assalam alaikum* has a final [m]
- the expression *bismillah* ('in the name of Allah') has the cluster [sm] and final [h]

The major loan consonants used in names are [f], [ʃ] and [z]. Earlier I mentioned that /h/ is a somewhat marginal phoneme since it appears only in loans and in some interjections. However, it is somewhat different from the other non-native sounds mentioned above because it is more frequent, appears in words which are neither names nor formulaic foreign phrases and, most importantly, appears in loans which are otherwise adapted to Makassarese phonotactics such as *horoloji* 'clock' (← Dutch *horloge*) and *hurupu* 'letter' (← Arabic *ḥurūf*, note that [f] in adapted loans → /p/). Additionally, /h/ is represented in the Bugis script (though not the Makassarese one, see §3.1.1) with the aksara . Similar things could be said for /w/ and /y/, which have unusually limited distribution and are also seen often in loans (but also in uncontroversial indigenous words). They too are represented in not only the Bugis script (with  and  respectively), but also the Makassarese script (with  and ). The consonants [f], [ʃ] and [z] have no representation in the local scripts and they tend to be adapted (as seen in *hurupu* above), or the words are written in Arabic script.

There are many examples of loanwords in the Makassarese–Dutch dictionary which have been modified to conform to the Makassarese phonological system. Some are rather esoteric — such as *ma'arupolo-karahí* (← Ar. *Ma'rūf (ibn Firuz) al-Karkhī*, a ninth century saint from Baghdad) — but many are in current use such as *ma'apa* 'sorry' (← Ar. via Malay *maaf*), *hukkung* 'law' (← Ar. via Malay *hukum*), *garapu* 'fork' (← Portuguese *garfo*) and *hitára* 'guitar' (← Dutch). However there is no doubt that it is becoming more common to use the Malay equivalents of terms such as these (*maaf*, *hukum*, *garpu*, *gitar*), as Bahasa Indonesia becomes more and more the language of daily use (see §1.3.1).

2.1.2.8 Consonant sequences

A limited number of consonant sequences are possible at syllable boundaries — generally they are not possible within a single syllable, note however that complex

onsets may remain when the initial /a/ has been deleted from a verbal prefix (see §2.3.5 for further details).

$C^{[-voice]} + C^{[-voice]}$	pp	tt	cc	kk
$N + C^{[-voice]}$	mp	nt	ɲc	ŋk
$? + C^{[+voice]}$	ʔb	ʔd	ʔj	ʔg
$N + C^{[+voice]}$	mb	nd	ɲj	ŋg
$N + N$	mm	nn	ɲɲ	ŋŋ
$? + N$	ʔm	ʔn	ʔɲ	ʔŋ
$Co + Co$		ss		
		rr		
		ll		
$N + Co$		nr		
		ns		
$? + Co$		ʔr		
		ʔl		
$N + /h/$				ŋh
$? + /h/$				ʔh

Table 2.4: Consonant sequences

Table 2.4 above shows all possible consonant sequences. **C** here is taken to mean plosive, **N** nasal, and **Co** is a convenience label for the non-nasal continuants which seem to form a natural class in this language (/s/, /l/, and /r/, see §2.3.4). The marginal phoneme /h/ does not seem to belong in any of these groups, and the glides /w/ and /j/ do not appear in sequences other than ‘false’ geminates as was shown in the discussion of those phonemes and will be discussed in §2.2.1.3.

Each of these sequences is possible both intra- and intermorphemically, with the exception of [rr], which is only possible morpheme-internally, and [ʔh] and [ŋh], which are formed by attaching the verbal prefixes *a’-* and *ang-* to (rare) [h]-initial roots, eg: *a’haramanika* ‘play the harmonica’ and *anghukkung* ‘punish’.

Even a cursory examination of the above chart shows that all consonant sequences either involve a homorganic sequence or a glottal stop + voiced consonant sequence (with the exception of [ŋh], which is simply because there is no nasal homorganic with [h]). Notably missing are the sequences [ʔs] and [nl] — recall that underlying **Cs** and **Nl** sequences surface as [ss] and [ll] respectively (§2.1.2.3, §2.1.2.4).

2.1.3 Vowels

There are five vowel phonemes:

	front	central	back
high	i		u
mid	e		o
low		a	

Table 2.5: Vowels

Each of these can be syllable initial, medial, or final. Each vowel is short in closed and unstressed syllables, and long in open stressed syllables (see, for example, the spectrogram in Figure 2.2, p.58).

i is a high front unrounded vowel.

#_	<i>iru</i> ['i.ruʔ]	‘slurp’
C_C	<i>dinging</i> ['di.ŋiŋ]	‘cold’
_#	<i>pocci</i> ['poc.ci]	‘navel’

e is a high-mid front unrounded vowel. It has an allophone [ɛ] which tends to occur word-finally, or to the left of another [ɛ] (see §2.1.3.3).

#_	<i>ero</i> ['e.roʔ]	‘want’
C_C	<i>le'ba</i> ['leʔ.baʔ]	‘ready’
_#	<i>mange</i> ['ma.ŋɛ]	‘go towards’

a is a low central unrounded vowel.

#_	<i>árusu</i> ['a.ru.suʔ]	‘stream’
C_C	<i>bambang</i> ['bam.baŋ]	‘hot’
_#	<i>tena</i> ['te.na]	‘no, not’

In casual speech /a/ in the verb prefixes *aC-*, *aN(N)-* and *aN-* is subject to aphesis, leaving initial geminates, pre-glottalised voiced stops, or pre-nasalised stops, eg:

<i>kkanre</i>	‘cook, burn’	<aC- kanre>	→ ['kkan.dre]
<i>'baji'</i>	‘mend’	<aC- baji'>	→ ['ʔba.jiʔ]
<i>ngnganre</i>	‘eat’	<aN(N)- kanre>	→ ['ŋŋan.dre]
<i>mbajíki</i>	‘fix something’	<aN- baji' -i>	→ [mba. 'ji.ki]

See §2.3.5 for a discussion of this process. This apheresis is not apparent in /a/-initial roots.

O is a high-mid back rounded vowel. It has the allophone [ɔ] in certain environments, notably word-finally, or to the left of another [ɔ] (§2.1.3.3).

#_	<i>órasa</i> ['o.ra.saʔ]	‘laden’
C_C	<i>moncong</i> ['mõŋ.cõŋ]	‘mountain’
_#	<i>lombo</i> ['lõm.pɔ]	‘big’

U is a high back rounded vowel.

#_	<i>úrusu</i> ['u.ru.suʔ]	‘snot’
C_C	<i>rurung</i> ['ru.rũŋ]	‘together’
_#	<i>tallu</i> ['ʔal.lu]	‘three’

Unlike its neighbour Bugis, Makassarese lacks the phoneme /ə/ (schwa). The explanation for this can be surmised by examining vowel distribution — the vowel /a/ occurs between 3 and 5 times more frequently than the others. As an illustration, Figure 2.9 shows the breakdown of 776 vowels which occurred in a short text of 284 words.

a	392	(50.5 %)
e	83	(10.7 %)
i	121	(15.6 %)
o	97	(12.5 %)
u	83	(10.7 %)

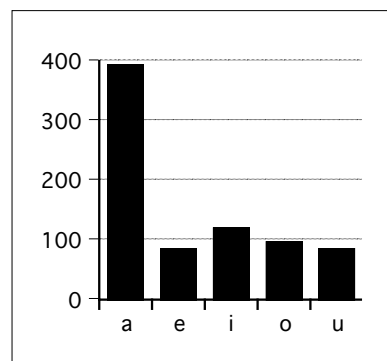


Figure 2.9. Comparison of vowel occurrences

This asymmetry, as well as evidence from neighbouring languages such as Bugis and from comparative-historical linguistics, shows that earlier phonemes /*a/ and /*ə/ have merged into modern /a/. (For a detailed discussion of proto-South Sulawesi phonology see Mills (1975a; 1975b).

2.1.3.1 Vowel sequences

Certain combinations of vowels may occur in sequences of monophthongs. These sequences can be distinguished from diphthongs (contra Rössler in Chabot 1996:55) because each vowel is syllabic; this can be observed from stress patterns and is also evident from songs and poetry requiring a fixed number of syllables per line (see § 3.2.4.2). The combinatory possibilities of vowels are less restricted across morpheme boundaries than morpheme-internally. Table 2.6 below illustrates the possible vowel combinations,³⁸ and gives examples of morpheme internal sequences.

Shading of cells in the table denotes that sequences of adjacent identical vowels are prohibited within morphemes in the modern language (though manuscript data suggests they may have been permissible in the 18th century, see § 2.3.1). Sequences involving mid-vowels and their neighbouring high vowels are also not found within morphemes, though between morphemes such sequences may occur. Sequences of like vowels remain somewhat marginal, as is discussed below. Cells left blank show unexplained or perhaps coincidental absences.

INTRA-MORPHEME						INTER-MORPHEME					
	i	e	a	o	u		i	e	a	o	u
i			✓	✓	✓	i	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
e			✓	✓		e	✓	✓	✓	✓	
a	✓	✓		✓	✓	a	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
o	✓	✓	✓			o	✓	✓	✓		
u	✓	✓	✓			u	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

EXAMPLES OF INTRA-MORPHEME VOWEL SEQUENCES

	i	e	a	o	u
i			<i>pia</i> 'heal'	<i>kio</i> 'call'	<i>liu</i> 'full'
e			<i>meang</i> 'stretch'	<i>meong</i> 'cat'	
a	<i>mai</i> 'breath'	<i>daeng</i> title		<i>bayao</i> 'egg'	<i>tau</i> 'person'
o	<i>roili</i> 'bunch'	<i>doe</i> 'money'	<i>noa</i> 'gasp'		
u	<i>kui</i> 'whistle'	<i>pue</i> 'be split'	<i>rua</i> 'two'		

Table 2.6. Vowel sequences

Within morphemes there are no more than two adjacent vowels, but with affixes and reduplication there may be six vowels in sequence. An example of this is *kaio-ióang*

³⁸ Found in the lexical database built using Shoebox.

consisting of reduplicated *ió* ‘yes’ and the nominalising circumfix *ka><ang*, meaning roughly ‘the propensity to agree with anything’.

Some words which have canonical forms containing the vowel sequence /ae/ have variants in which this is reduced to a single /e/, as can be seen in *daeng* → [deŋ] ‘uncle’ and *taena* → [tena] ‘no’. This is not universal, in fact these two high frequency words are the only examples I am aware of; thus it is considered allomorphy rather than a productive process.

As noted above, sequences of identical vowels do not occur within roots,³⁹ but can sometimes be found between prefixes/proclitics and roots, or bases and reduplicants. (The situation is different between roots and suffixes/enclitics, in which environment vowel degemination takes place (as shown with =*i* in (4), see §2.3.1). In artificially careful speech (‘instructor’ speech) identical vowels are sometimes separated by a glottal stop, but this is not the case in normal speech. Instead, both vowels occur in sequence. If the second vowel is stressed intonation sets it apart although there is still no intervening segment. Note that if the second vowel in the sequence belongs to a verb prefix as in (7), it will be deleted (see §2.3.5 for the rule).

- (3) *naallei* [na. 'al.le.i]

na= alle =i

3= take =3

‘she catches it’

- (4) *kuu'rangi* [ku. 'uʔ.ra.ŋi]

ku= u'rangi =i

1= remember =3

‘I remember her’

- (5) *niioi* [ni.i. 'jo.i]

ni- ió =i

PASS- yes =3

‘it's agreed’

- (6) *eke-eke* [e.ke. 'e.ke]

‘work slowly’

³⁹ At least not in the modern language. See §2.3.1 however for an historical counter-example.

- (7) *nantama* [nan. 'ta.ma]
 na= aN- tama
 3= AF- enter
 'she enters'

2.1.3.2 Vowel nasalisation

Nasal vowels are conditioned by the presence of nasal stops in the vicinity. There are at least two levels of nasalisation, which can be called light and heavy nasalisation. Regressive light nasalisation can be seen on vowels in syllables which are closed by nasals, but which are not utterance final (_N).

- *kanre* 'food' [kã̃n.dre]
- *anjo* 'that' [ã̃n.jjo]

Regressive heavy nasalisation is seen on vowels which precede an utterance final nasal (_N#), which is by default a velar nasal. Progressive heavy nasalisation is present on vowels which follow any nasal (N). Nasalisation will further spread to at least the next vowel if there is no intervening consonant. There are no examples in my field recordings of more than two vowels following a nasal so I cannot determine the limits of progressive nasalisation, but even over the duration of a single vowel spectrograms show that the nasal formants fade quite rapidly (see eg. Figure 2.5) and it seems unlikely that nasalisation could continue indefinitely.⁴⁰ In the following examples only, heavy nasalisation is shown by a double tilde, eg. [ã̃̃].

- *dinging* [di.ŋ̃̃ŋ] 'cold'
- *moncong* [mõ̃̃ŋ.cʃõ̃̃ŋ] 'mountain'
- *bambang* [bãm.bã̃̃ŋ] 'hot'
- *nia'* [nĩ.ã̃̃ʔ] 'be'

The nasalisation of the first vowel in *nia'* spreads to the second, but is already weakened. Note that the first vowel in *dinging* is not nasalised. This is because the word

⁴⁰ Though Mithun & Basri (1987:226) report that in Selayar vowel nasalisation spreads to all adjacent vowels in the intonation unit, even across glottal stops, giving the example [lamNěãĩĩĩ ã:su] 'a dog urinated on him'.

syllabifies so that the first nasal is the onset of the second syllable rather than the coda of the first.

2.1.3.3 Mid-vowel lowering

This refers to lowering/laxing of the mid-vowels /e/ and /o/ to [ɛ] and [ɔ] respectively. Although this seems a relatively minor process, it is given such prominence in Mithun and Basri's (1987) phonology of the closely related language Selayar, and also in more recent work on Makassarese and Selayarese by Hasan Basri and others (Hasan Basri 1999; Hasan Basri and Chen 1999; Hasan Basri et al. 1999), that it requires some discussion. The reason this process is considered important by these authors is that in some cases it can be considered diagnostic for determining the boundaries of the prosodic word. The findings from the most recent studies are summarised here, and contrasted with my own observations.

According to Hasan Basri *et al* (1999), mid-vowels are laxened word-finally, before clitics (including for this purpose the determiner $\equiv a$), and to the left of an already laxened mid-vowel. Contrary to the analysis in Mithun and Basri (1987), the vowel /a/ is no longer explicitly mentioned as a trigger for mid-vowel laxing, and in fact is specifically counter-exemplified with the suffix *-ang*, as illustrated with the following affix/clitic contrast:

[lɔmpɔ] 'big' + comparative [-aŋ] → [lɔm 'poʷaŋ] 'bigger'
 + 1st person enclitic [=aʔ] → ['lɔmpɔʷaʔ] 'I'm big'

Thus the position before a clitic is phonologically similar to word final position, and different from the position before an affix. However clitics containing /i/ do not cause laxing.

Vowel laxing is accounted for by a constraint against tense mid-vowels at the right edge of the prosodic word, *[-hi,tns]_{PWD}. The prosodic word is considered to include affixes but not clitics, explaining why laxing is seen before the latter but not the former.

Hasan Basri devotes a sizeable section of his 1999 thesis to an OT analysis of this phenomenon (Hasan Basri 1999:121-151). He describes it as a phenomenon of vowel harmony in terms of tongue root position: +ATR (Advanced Tongue Root) for tense mid-vowels [e] and [o], and -ATR for lax mid-vowels [ɛ] and [ɔ]. High vowels /i/ and /u/

are also +ATR, while low vowel /a/ is +RTR (Retracted Tongue Root). To summarise the environments in which –ATR mid-vowels appear:

stem-finally	✓	['tinrɔ]	‘sleep’
	✗	['barroʔ]	‘hawk’
to the left of another -ATR mid-vowel	✓	['gɔlɔ]	‘ball’
	✗	['sodi]	‘next time’
immediately adjacent to /a/ inside a root	✓	['tɔa]	‘old’
	✗	['gora]	‘shout’
immediately adjacent to /a/ in a suffix	✓	[bal 'lɔ-aŋ]	‘prettier’
- or enclitic	✓	['ballɔ=a]	‘I am pretty’
preceding non-adjacent /a/ in an enclitic	✓	[as 'sulɔ=kɑŋ]	‘we used a torch’
- but not in a suffix	✗	[su 'lɔ-ba]	‘our torch’
and never preceding /i/ or /u/,			
- whether adjacent	✗	['koi]	‘bed’
- or non-adjacent	✗	['dolu]	‘roll’
- or in a suffix	✗	[sar 'rɔ-i]	‘make intensive’
- or an enclitic	✗	['tinrɔ=ki]	‘we (incl) sleep’

It is interesting to note that one of these examples, [ballɔ-aŋ] ‘prettier’, directly contradicts data given in the earlier paper (Hasan Basri et al. 1999), showing that the comparative suffix *-ang* does not trigger laxing, thus [lom 'poʷaŋ] ‘bigger’. Whether this is due to a difference between the systems of Makassarese and Selayarese is difficult to say, given that all the data comes from the same speaker.

My field recordings show data rather different from these accounts. For a start, I would have to describe this as a tendency rather than a process. It is usually slight, and often hardly noticeable. While Mithun and Basri (1987) show that the presence of a following /a/ will lower a preceding mid-vowel, my observation is that mid-vowels are never lowered in this environment, whether preceding a clitic or an affix. Furthermore, it seems somewhat implausible to juxtapose a lax mid-vowel with the epenthetic glides described by Hasan Basri *et al* (1999)

In many of my examples, when words ending in mid-vowels were pronounced twice, the second utterance would show lowering while the first would not. This seems to indicate that lowering is associated with utterance-final falling intonation, and in my corpus of narratives it turned out that this was one of the two environments where lowering could confidently be expected to occur, the other such environment being to the left of a lowered mid-vowel, as described in both the papers.

Figure 2.10 shows the most marked difference between lowered and normal mid-vowels which occurred in my field recordings, in the phrase *tette' sampulo asse're* 'eleven o'clock' as spoken by Alimuiddin from the village of Bontonompo. Both /e/s in *tette'* are unaffected, both /e/s in *asse're* are lowered because of the open final syllable. The difference can be seen most clearly in the higher formants, which are about 500 Hz lower in the lowered mid-vowels.

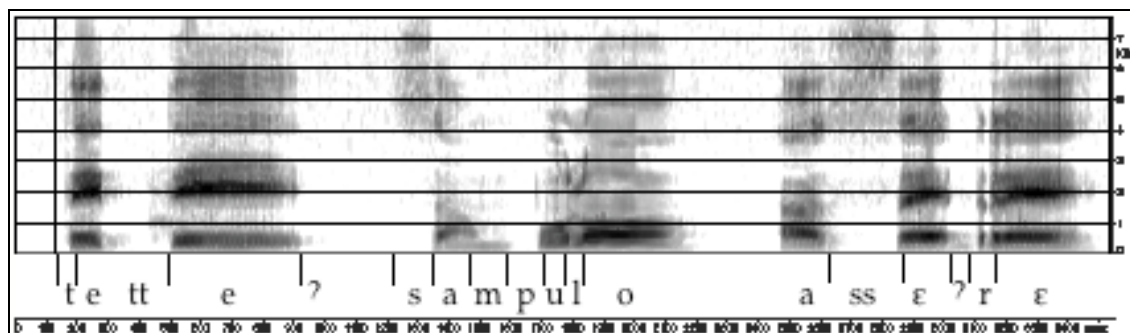


Figure 2.10: Normal and lowered mid-vowels

Figure 2.3 (p.60), with the words *ace* and *acce'* shows mid-vowel lowering to a lesser degree. By contrast, Figure 2.11, a spectrogram of the interjection *e'-e'* and the pronoun *inakke* 'I', shows mid-vowels which are actually slightly lower in the closed syllables (*e'-e'*) than the open one (*inakke*). This is due to the utterance-final falling intonation of *e'-e'*.

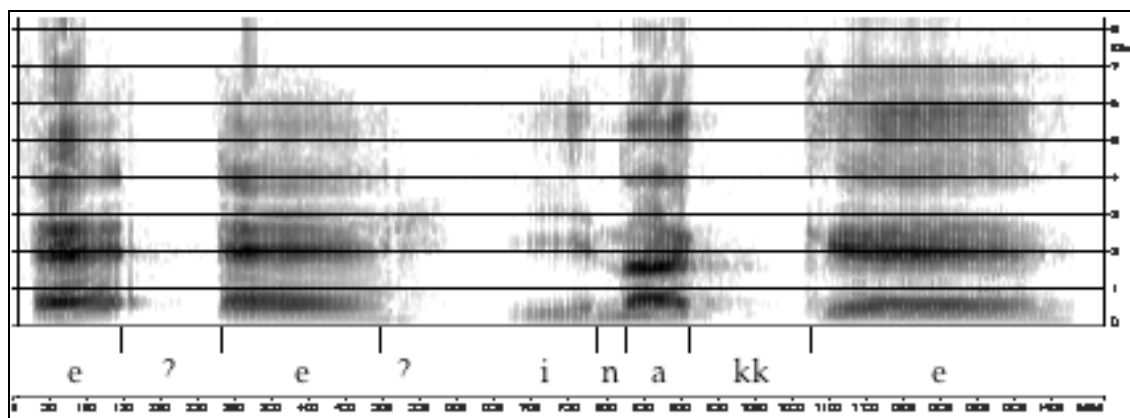


Figure 2.11: Non-lowered mid-vowels

I would have to conclude that this process must be more marked in Selayarese, and this also explains the data in all the papers (co-)authored by Hasan Basri, who is a native speaker of Selayarese and not Makassarrese. Also, in view of the rather limited (and

subjective) nature of the data, I am hesitant to use it as evidence of any prosodic or syntactic phenomena.

2.2 Phonotactics

This section attempts to define phonological and prosodic characteristics of words, and discusses constraints on syllable and word formation. While it attempts to be largely theory-neutral, some use will be made of the basic terminology of autosegmental phonology (Goldsmith 1990). There is also some use of Optimality Theory terms when evaluating previous work done using this framework.

2.2.1 Syllable structure

Basic syllable structure is (C1)V(C2). C1 is largely unrestricted, but C2 is highly constrained as we will see. C2 also has slightly different possibilities depending on whether the syllable occurs within a lexical root, or morpheme-finally. Because the latter environment is somewhat simpler it will be examined first.

2.2.1.1 Syllables at morpheme boundaries

A syllable at a morpheme boundary has the basic structure (C1)V(C2), where C1 = any consonant phoneme, V = any vowel, and C2 = any nasal ([m, n, ɲ, ŋ]), any voiceless stop ([p, t, c, k]), or [s], [l], [ʔ]. A closer look shows that a final nasal is always homorganic with a following stop or nasal, with a default velar articulation if there is no following consonant. Similarly, a voiceless stop will only occur before an identical voiceless stop in a geminate consonant, while the glottal stop occurs before all voiced consonants and word-finally.

These restrictions on distribution allow us to hypothesise that the underlying contrast of C2 is between stop (C) and nasal (N), with phonetic realisation determined by assimilation. Thus:

- C assimilates to a following voiceless consonant (with the exception of the loan consonant /h/). So C is realised as [p] before /p/, [t] before /t/, [s] before /s/, etc. In all other environments it is realised as [ʔ].

- N is realised as [m] before a labial consonant, [n] before an alveolar consonant, and so forth. It also assimilates to [l] preceding /l/, and [s] preceding /s/. Otherwise it will be realised as [ŋ].

2.2.1.2 Syllables within lexical roots

The syllable structure within lexical roots is slightly different. Although it can still be characterised as (C1)V(C2), C2 in this case has three possibilities rather than two — it may be an underspecified stop (C), underspecified nasal (N), or it may be /r/ (as part of geminate /r/). This differs slightly from Goldsmith's (1990:132) analysis of Selayarese (based on data in Mithun & Basri 1987). He posits only two possibilities for codas; either completely unspecified, or nasal, with all other information coming later through assimilation processes. This is not adequate for Makassarese (nor is it for Selayarese), simply because of the case of /r/. As we have seen, /r/ is the only segment which can occur in three different clusters: [ʔr], [nr], and [rr]. While [nr] is obviously a nasal coda followed by /r/, we are still left with [rr] and [ʔr], with no clear indication which of these is to be considered to illustrate the unspecified coda.

It is for the above reason that I propose a three way contrast in coda specification: (1) stop coda, (2) nasal coda, and (3) /r/. Alternatively (3) could be analysed as an unspecified coda or empty timing slot (see discussion of geminates below).

2.2.1.3 Geminates

Geminate consonants are one of the more characteristic features of Makassarese, and thus merit some detailed discussion.

A distinction has been drawn between 'true' geminates and 'apparent' or 'fake' geminates (Goldsmith 1990:80). True geminates are those which occur within a morpheme and are taken to be a single element corresponding to two timing slots, while fake geminates occur across morpheme boundaries and each element is a separate slot. Thus the geminates in the two words *appa* 'four' and *appada* 'do together' would be treated differently—*appa* is real and *appada* is fake:

- a) X X X X X b) X X X X X X
 | V | | | | | | | |
 a p a ? a p p a d a

According to Goldsmith (1990:81) all morpheme-internal geminates are assumed to be true geminates, as a consequence of the Obligatory Contour Principle banning adjacent identical segments at the melodic level. However, we have already seen that most geminates in Makassarese can be accounted for as a sequence of underspecified nasal or stop coda and the onset of the following syllable. These need not violate OCP because the principle does not assume them to be identical at an underlying level. Thus, the above examples can also be analysed as follows, where C stands for an underspecified stop coda:

- c) X X X X X d) X X X X X X
 | | | | | | | | | | |
 a C p a C a C p a d a

So in most cases it makes no difference whether morpheme-internal geminates are assumed to be true geminates, or sequences as described above. However, the notion of true geminates does help to account for geminate /r/. Recall that this is the only geminate consonant which cannot be analysed as an underlying stop or nasal + /r/ (/Cr/ or /Nr/), since these are realised as the sequences [ʔr] and [nr] respectively. If geminate /r/ is assumed to be a true geminate all possibilities are accounted for. Examples (e) and (f) show a true geminate in *karru* 'creak' and the sequence /Cr/ in *ka'ru* 'furrow':

- e) X X X X X X f) X X X X X X
 | | V | | | | | | | |
 k a r u C k a C r u C

Of course, invoking true geminates allows us to analyse all morpheme-internal geminates as true geminates if we so desire — an over-generation which cannot be avoided.

2.2.1.3.1 *Post-lexical geminates*

Another layer of complexity is added here when we consider a phenomenon which I will term post-lexical gemination. Until now most of the discussion has focussed on geminates which can contrast with single consonants, and which are not due to any particular environmental conditioning. But there are some environments which

condition geminate consonants somewhat irregularly. Typically, a consonant which occurs morpheme-finally (in a root or affix) in the position V_V will be geminated. Some examples are:

(8) *pammekangngang*

pa- aN(N)- pekang -ang
NR- BV- hook -NR
fishing time

(9) *angnginung-nginung*

aN(N)- inung- inung
BV- RDP- drink
drink for fun

(10) *kale'bakkang*

ka> le'ba' <ang
NR> finished <NR
the end

(11) *tawarri*

tawar -i
bargain -trs

haggle the price down on something

Most examples of this phenomenon occur after /a/, and in fact Mills (1975a:76) deduces that this is gemination conditioned by reflexes of proto-South Sulawesi /**ə*/, but it does also occur after other vowels (eg. *gassingngi* <gassing -i> 'make strong'), and since /a/ is by far the most common vowel it is hardly surprising that examples with it would predominate.

Stress seems to be a factor here. If the benefactive *-ang* is also affixed to *tawárrri* so that stress is now after the consonant rather than before, the gemination does not occur; eg. *tawaríang* <tawar-i-ang> 'haggle for someone'. But this does not account for the gemination in *angnginung-nginung*. Additionally, there are many cases where although the environment would seemingly condition it, the gemination does not occur. Examples from the dictionary are *balláki* and *ballakang*: <balla' -i> 'have (something) at home' and <balla' -ang> 'reside in' (Cense & Abdoerrahim 1979:57). However on the same page there is also the form *pa'ballakkang* <pa- aC- balla' -ang> 'place to build a house'. It is quite possible that Cense was rather irregular in transcribing this gemination, but I do not have enough data in my own field recordings to make a definitive statement about this. From my questioning on this matter it seemed that

words were generally acceptable with or without the gemination (eg. *gassíngi* or *gassíngngi*).

2.2.2 Word structure

Defining the word in Makassarese is not unproblematic. For a start, clearly the phonological word and prosodic word need not necessarily align — this is evident because clitics are outside the prosodic domain but still part of the phonological word (§ 2.2.2.2). It is also often hard to decide whether a unit should be considered a freestanding word, a clitic, or something in between: examples include the particles *ka* ‘because’ and *ɿi* PREP and reduced adverbial particles such as *tong* ‘also’ (§ 5.5.2.4). There are also the problems of reduplication and compounding, where it must be decided if the result should be considered one word or two (§ 2.3.7, § 2.3.8). Some idea of the difficulty in defining the word can be gained by considering some of the different ways words are written in various orthographies and where word boundaries have been drawn (§ 3.1.3).

2.2.2.1 Root structure

The majority of Makassarese roots (see § 4.1) are bisyllabic — more precisely they are bisyllabic trochee. Stress falls regularly on the penult (§ 2.2.3). A significant subset of roots are trisyllabic with antepenultimate stress: these are roots which have been subject to Echo-VC (§ 2.3.4). There is a smaller number of true trisyllabic roots with regular penultimate stress. Four syllable roots tend to look suspicious, as though they are derived from former compounds or other polymorphemic forms (for example in Table 2.7 *balakebo* ‘herring’ looks like a compound including *kebo* ‘white’, though the first element *bala* is not meaningful in this context).⁴¹ Monosyllabic roots are extremely rare, though there are several monosyllabic interjections and particles (such as *o* and *ɿi* below).

Table 2.7 below gives some examples of CV patterns for single morphemes. The list is exhaustive for permutations of mono- and bisyllabic forms, but since CV patterns do

⁴¹ It could come from *balao* ‘mouse’.

not change according to the length of the word only a few illustrative examples are given beyond two syllables. The first two are shaded because they are not roots.

V	<i>o</i>	‘oh’ (interjection)
CV	<i>ri</i>	PREP (particle)
VC	<i>u'</i>	‘hair’
CVC	<i>pi'</i>	‘birdlime’
VV	<i>io</i>	‘yes’
VVC	<i>acng</i>	‘father’
CVV	<i>tau</i>	‘person’
CVVC	<i>taung</i>	‘year’
VCVC	<i>ulu'</i>	‘head’
CVCV	<i>sala</i>	‘wrong’
CVCVC	<i>saba'</i>	‘reason’
CVCCVC	<i>le'ba'</i>	‘already’
CVCVCV	<i>binánga</i>	‘river’
CVCVCVC	<i>pásara'</i>	‘market’
CVCVCCV	<i>kalúppa</i>	‘forget’
CVCCVCVC	<i>ka'lúrung</i>	‘palm wood’
CVCVCVCVC	<i>balakebo'</i>	‘herring’
CVCVCVCCVC	<i>kalumanynyang</i>	‘rich’

Table 2.7: CV patterns

2.2.2.2 Phonological word vs prosodic word

There are two main methods used here to determine wordhood, and for the most part they come up with the same results. The first relies on metrics, defining the word as a prosodic unit which contains a syllable carrying primary stress (see § 2.2.1.3.1). The second considers separability, ie. whether units can constitute an entire utterance, be moved around within a sentence, or be separated from other units by pauses. Generally these phonological methods also agree with the morphosyntactic definition of a word as a root with or without affixes and clitics.

There are a few cases where the two methods used above do not match up. For example, while the preposition *ri* does not fulfil the criteria for the minimal prosodic unit and can never take stress, it can be pronounced with a pause or it can be drawn out

(while attempting to remember the name of the place or person which follows).⁴² It may also be pronounced with no pause at all between it and the following element. This is also seen with the conjunctions *na* and *ka*, but with no other prefixes or proclitics, neither is it possible to pause between roots and suffixes. For example the phrase *na aC-lampa =a'* (CNJ MV-go=1) ‘and...I went’ can be realised as *na'lámpa'* or *na...a'lámpa'* but not **na'...lampa'* or **na'lampa...a'*.

Similarly in the phrase *ka la= tinro =a'* (BCS FUT= sleep =1s/o) ‘because I’m about to go to sleep’ a pause may be inserted after *ka* but at no other point. There can be no pause between the homonymic nominalising affix *ka-* and its host, as in *katinroang* ‘bed’ (**ka...tinroang*).

I posit these three elements *ri*, *na* and *ka* as particles somewhere between clitics and words — grammatical elements which cannot occur in isolation and do not take stress, but which have a degree of phonological independence (see §4.5). For this reason (and to avoid ambiguity with homophonous affix or clitic forms in the cases of *na* and *ka*) I have transcribed them as separate words.

2.2.2.3 Word formation

Words can consist of between one and eight or more syllables. The vast majority of roots are two or three syllables, but Makassarese is agglutinative and the concatenation of morphemes, especially in combination with reduplication, can produce words of some length.

2.2.2.3.1 The minimal word

Since a word consists of a root with or without affixed material, the minimal word is a monosyllabic root without affixes. I know of only four definite examples of monosyllabic lexemes which are not obviously loans — there may well be others, but they are clearly uncommon. They are *bu* ‘fish trap’, *u'* ‘hair’, *pi'* ‘birdlime’ and *pa'* ‘chisel’. This shows that the bare minimum for a root is CV or VC. Other examples of monosyllabic words

⁴² If it seems that this is taking too long, the pro-noun *anu* ‘somewhere/thing/one’ is added and the process begins again (eg. *ri...anu*, *riMalino* ‘from umm...Malino’).

are loans, some interjections (which may be simply V, as in *e!* and *o!*, and the aforementioned grammatical elements *ri*, *na*, and *ka*.

2.2.2.3.2 *The maximal word*

It is impossible to give a maximum length because in theory something could always be added, but while six and seven syllable words are common, words above this length get exponentially rarer and always contain reduplications. To illustrate, take the eight syllable word *kagassing-gassingánnami*, which is formed in the following way:

1. the root *gássing* ‘strong’
2. reduplication → *gassing-gássing* (this would normally mean ‘strong-ish’, but it has a different meaning in combination with the next stage)
3. the nominalising confix *ka><ang* → *kagassing-gassíngang* ‘peak of strength’
4. the 3rd person possessive suffix *≡na* → *kagassing-gassingánna* ‘peak of his strength’
5. the perfective clitic *=mo* → *kagassing-gassingánnamo* ‘already the peak of his strength’
6. the 3rd person pronominal enclitic *=i* → *kagassing-gassingánnami* ‘he’s already at the peak of his strength’

This construction is a single phonological word because it only has one syllable carrying primary stress, and also because there is no point within it in which it is possible to pause or insert something else. The affixes *ka><ang*, *≡na*, *=mo* and *=i* are all bound elements which must occur in the order given.

It is clear that the results of reduplication are to be considered single words because of the single stressed syllable, and because they can host affixes such as the confix *ka><ang*. The hyphen between constituents of a reduplication is an orthographic convention with no phonological basis. For more on reduplication see § 2.3.7. Compounds (actually collocations) such as *balla'-lompo* (‘house’ + ‘big’ = ‘palace’) are not held to be a single phonological word (see §2.3.8).

2.2.3 Stress

Stressed syllables differ from unstressed syllables in a number of ways: pitch is normally significantly higher, and they are noticeably louder. There is also a requirement that stressed syllables be heavy—which means that open syllables become long. Not all stressed syllables are equal, however — this is because, unsurprisingly, as well as being assigned regularly by word-level phonological rule, stress is important for marking syntactic units larger than the word, and is also important for emphasis.

Stress is typically on the penultimate syllable of the word, which may be a reduplicated form (plus affixes) of eight or more syllables. Secondary stress only occurs if the word is a reduplication—in these cases the first element will take secondary stress where primary stress would have been assigned if it was a free-standing word. For example the reduplication *ammekang-mekang* receives stress in the pattern *ammèkang-mékang*, where the grave represents secondary stress.

Suffixes are counted for stress, while enclitics are not (because stress is assigned from the right edge of the word it is a moot point whether prefixes and proclitics are counted for stress or not). For example: *tedóng* $\equiv$ *ku* (buffalo $\equiv$ 1.POSS) ‘my buffalo’ but *tédong=a'* (buffalo=1) ‘I’m a buffalo’. Thus a word with a suffix (or affixal clitic, see §4.4) will generally retain penultimate stress, while a word with a clitic will have antepenultimate or even pre-antepenultimate stress—the latter occurring when a word hosts a disyllabic clitic combination such as $=mako <=ma \text{ PFV } =ko \text{ 2s}>$ as in *nái'mako* ‘climb up!’. The suffixes which are counted for stress are the applicatives *-ang* and *-i* (see §9); and the possessives $\equiv ku$, $\equiv nu$, $\equiv ta$, and $\equiv na$ (see §4.4.2). The enclitics which do not affect stress placement are the enclitic pronouns $=a'$, $=ko$, $=ki'$, and $=i$ (see §4.3.2) and the aspectuals $=mo$, $=ja$, and $=pa$ and variants (see §4.3.3). The definite marker $\equiv a$ shows both behaviours, but in different environments as is discussed in §2.3.6.

Words may have deviant stress because of vowel degemination or echo-VC (see §2.3.1, §2.3.4), and there is a small number of words, mostly loans, which have idiosyncratic stress patterns which mimic the stress in the source language, such as *goboranaméng* ‘government’ (from Dutch *gouvernement*) and *ampaló'* ‘envelope’ (from Dutch *enveloppe*).

Monosyllabic words can behave in two different ways with regard to stress: they can host stress (thus forming a degenerate foot), or they can attach to a neighbouring word much as a clitic would and not host stress. Both can be illustrated with the monosyllabic form of the word *dáeng* ‘uncle’ which is realised as [ˈdɛŋ].⁴³ If the monosyllabic form precedes a name it will not carry stress, while the full disyllabic form will carry normal penultimate stress. Thus *Daeng Nakku* can be realised as [ˈda.ɛn.ˈnak.ku] or more often [dɛn.ˈnak.ku]. However, if *daeng* is used without a following name (*daeng* being the most common form of address), it will take stress even if it is a monosyllable, for example in *ammémpoki*, *déng* ‘please sit down, brother’.

The same thing can be seen with the word *u* ‘hair’. Normally constituents of a supposed compound (see §2.3.8) each normally carry stress, as in *bálla-gárring* ‘house’ + ‘sick’ = ‘hospital’. In compounds where *u* is the first element it does not carry stress, as in *u-céra* ‘blood’ + ‘hair’ = ‘lanugo’. If it is the only possible candidate for stress, however, *u* will carry it, as in the utterance *ri ú* ‘in the hair’ (the preposition *ri* never takes stress).

I believe this shows that a monosyllabic word will attach prosodically to the following word in the same phrase if there is one, and the two words will be treated metrically as a single word. If this is not possible, however, the monosyllabic word will form a degenerate foot and take stress.

A small group of common words has stress on the final syllable, or words with normally penultimate stress can have it moved there for emphasis. This is typical in one word utterances, such as *íó* → *íó* ‘yes!’. Notably there is a difference in social meaning here — *íó* is quite familiar and may not be used to social superiors.

2.3 Morphophonological processes

This section discusses the major morphophonological processes.

⁴³ The reduced form is less formal, however, the longer form is always used in writing (it is never written *deng*).

2.3.1 Vowel degemination

This refers to a process in which sequences of identical vowels are collapsed into a single syllable, for example when a vowel-final root hosts a vowel-initial suffix or enclitic. In the case of the suffixes *-ang* and *-i* this results in ultimate stress, eg:

(12) *jappáng*

jappa -ang
walk -BEN
walk with

(13) *attaí*

aC- tai -i
MV- shit -APPL
shit on

The first person pronominal enclitic *=a'* is realised as only a glottal stop on an /a/-final root, while the third person enclitic *=i* has no audible realisation (not even stress-shifting) when hosted by an /i/-final root:

(14) *a'lampa'*

aC- lampa =a'
MV- go =1
I go

(15) *lari*

lari =i
run =3
s/he runs

This process, following a tendency towards deletion of intervocalic /d/, may also be historically responsible for the allomorphy of the adverbial elements *tódong/tóng*, *bédeng/béng*, etc (§5.5.2).

I shall note here that evidence from manuscripts suggests that vowel degemination was less prevalent in the Makassarese of a few centuries ago. For example, the 18th century manuscript KIT 668-216 (see §3.1.1.1) alternates between  (*agang*) and  (*agaang*) in representing the word which is *agáng* ‘do with’ in modern Makassarese (page 1, line 10). Another example is the representation of <jama -ang) ‘work’ as  (*jamaang*), where the modern equivalent is always *jamáng* (page 6, line 19). It is possible that at this period long vowels were only just becoming stressed vowels. Of

course, it is also possible that this was a particular scribe's method of denoting stressed vowels.⁴⁴

In an earlier work (Jukes 1998) I described a process in which a sequence of non-deletable identical vowels (ie. between a proclitic and vowel-initial root, as in *naallei* <na= alle =i> 's/he took it') were separated by a glottal stop (thus [naʔ'allei]). Further exposure to the spoken language in everyday contexts has suggested that, rather than a phenomenon of normal speech, this was either an artifact of 'instructor speak', or more likely an idiolectal variation of one of my main informants at that time, Muyazdlala. The latter, as I discovered later, had been a childhood speaker of Selayarese, in which language a glottal stop is inserted between like vowels at clitic-stem boundaries (Hasan Basri 1999:14). The usual result in Makassarese is simply two vowels in sequence, [naallei].

2.3.2 Nasal substitution

Nasal substitution refers to the process whereby a stem-initial consonant becomes the equivalent nasal when a prefix is added. A well known example of this kind of process is that seen in Malay/Indonesian, where the transitivity nasal prefix *meN-* added to verb stems with initial voiceless consonants will result in those consonants being substituted by nasals in the same place of articulation (for example *meN- pilih* → *memilih* 'to choose'). (See for example Sneddon (1996); for an Optimality Theory based description see Pater (2001); for a survey of the phenomenon across Austronesian languages see Blust (2004)).

The process in Makassarese has broad similarities to that described for Malay, but rather than the nasal prefix (see § 7.1.2) substituting a single nasal for the voiceless segment, the result is a geminate nasal, for which reason I notate the prefix with the form *aN(N)-*. Furthermore, the process is seen not only with voiceless stops (/p/, /t/, /k/); but also with stems beginning with /b/ (eg. <aN(N)-balli> → *ammalli* 'buy'), though not with any other voiced stops (/d/, /g/). Lastly, *aN(N)-* contrasts with another nasal prefix *aN-* (§7.2) which does not cause nasal substitution.

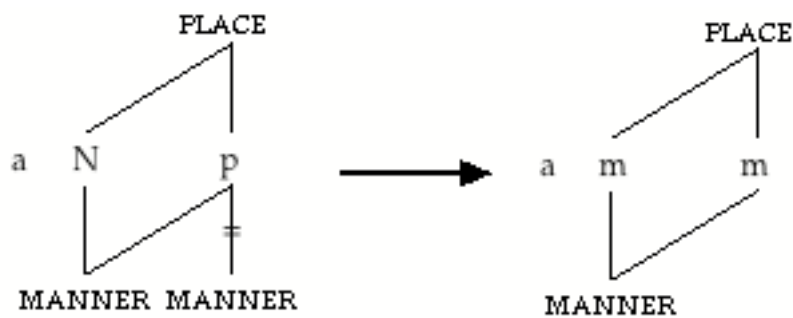
⁴⁴ It is also interesting to note that in the dialect of Bontonompo (southern coastal Gowa) the root *agáng* has a variant form *agádang*.

Some examples of C-initial roots which take this prefix are:

p	<i>pekang</i>	'hook'	→	<i>ammekang</i>	'fish'
b	<i>balli</i>	'price'	→	<i>ammalli</i>	'buy'
t	<i>tunrung</i>	'be hit'	→	<i>annunrung</i>	'hit s.t'
s	<i>sanggara'</i>	'fried'	→	<i>anynyanggara'</i>	'fry s.t'
c	<i>cokko</i>	'secret'	→	<i>anynyokko</i>	'hide s.t'
k	<i>kanre</i>	'cooked rice'	→	<i>angnganre</i>	'eat'

With V-initial roots the prefix is realised as *angng-*, as in *angnginung* 'drink'.

The phenomenon can be viewed as two processes of spreading: manner (nasal) spreading to the right, and place spreading to the left. For example, the process for the relevant segments of <aN(N)- polong> → *ammolong* 'cut' is shown in the figure below:



It should be noted that not all eligible consonants are equally likely to be affected by nasal substitution. For example, nearly all /s/-initial roots can host the nasal substituting prefix (usually becoming palatal in the process), but hardly any /c/-initial roots. The latter tend to be derived with the prefix *aC-* (§7.1.1) even if the meaning is transitive, for example *cukkuru'* 'shave' → *accukkuru'* (**anynyukkuru'*) in both intransitive and transitive examples:

(16) *accukuruka'*

aC- cukur =a'

MV- shave =1

I shave

(17) *accukuruka' bulu*

aC- cukur =a' bulu

MV- shave =1 body/face.hair

I shave my body/face hair

Using Cense (1979) as a corpus, and randomly taking 20 roots in each of the above consonants, the ratio with listed forms showing nasal substitution is shown in Table 2.8:

	p	b	t	s	c	k
/20	13	6	13	16	1	8
%	65	30	65	80	5	40

Table 2.8: Roots subject to nasal substitution

This is not to suggest that the choice between *aC*- and *aN(N)*- is made predominantly on phonological grounds, but it does seem that there is a dispreference for *aN(N)*- on roots beginning with /c/ and to a lesser extent /b/ and /k/, which may partly account for some of the examples of of transitive verbs which are marked with *aC*- (§7.1.1.1).⁴⁵

This process is the subject of an Optimality Theory based account by Bhandari (1997). Basically, she compares the process of nasal substitution in Malay/Indonesian with the process in Makassarese, and concludes that the differences are due to the ranking of two of four constraints:

- ***NÇ** (sequences of nasals and voiceless consonants are disallowed)
- **Align word** (the left edge of the root must align with the left edge of the prosodic word)
- ***Double link** (a constraint against gemination)
- **Prefix=σ** (the edges of a prefix must be aligned with syllable edges)

Indonesian ranks ***Double link** above **Prefix=σ**, which allows *me.mi.lih* (violating **Prefix=σ**, because the nasal is no longer in the same syllable as the rest of the prefix) while banning *mem.mi.lih* (fatally violating ***Double link** with a geminate); while Makassarese ranks **Prefix=σ** above ***Double link**, licensing <*aN(N)*- polong> → *am.mo.long* ‘to cut’ (violating ***Double link**) but banning *a.molong* (which fatally violates **Prefix=σ**).

To account for the fact that a geminate nasal prefix is added to V-initial stems (such as <*aN(N)*- alle> → *angngalle* ‘take’, Bhandari invokes two further constraints:

⁴⁵ In his survey of Austronesian nasal substitution, Blust (2004) states that /c/ does not undergo substitution at all, which is not quite correct.

- **Onset** (a syllable must have an onset)
- **Dep** (an anti-epenthesis constraint)

Makassarese ranks the **Onset** requirement above **Prefix=σ**, **Dep** and ***Double link** in that order, licensing *ang.ngal.le* (violating **Dep** and ***Double link**) but prohibiting *ang.al.le* (fatally violating **Onset**) and *a.ngal.le* (fatally violating **Prefix=σ**). The **Onset** constraint is also invoked to account for a proposed reduplicated form *ang.ngalle.ngalle*.

Unfortunately Bhandari's paper does not account for some problematic facts about Makassarese nasal substitution:

- it ignores the nasal substitution of /b/, which is not covered by ***NÇ**.
- it does not account for the non-substituting Actor Focus prefix *aN-* (§7.2), which results in violations of ***NÇ** in forms such as *ampolong*. This need not invalidate the analysis but does raise the question of whether these constraints are generally part of the phonology or are morpheme specific.
- the constraint **Prefix=σ** is regularly violated when the initial /a/ of the prefix is elided making the prefix non-syllabic (eg. *mmolong*, see §2.3.5).
- the reduplication data are inaccurate, since the reduplicated form of *angngalle* is *angngalle-alle*, not *angngalle-ngalle* (§2.3.7.2).

2.3.3 Glottal strengthening

This label (Friberg & Friberg 1991a) refers to the process whereby a root-final glottal stop is realised as [k] in onset position. This happens when the root hosts a vowel-initial suffix or enclitic, either the applicatives *-i* or *-ang*, the determiner $\equiv a$, or the pronominal clitics $=a'$ or $=i$.

(18) *kuparéhangi*

ku= pare' -ang =i

1= make -BEN =3

I made it for him/her

(19) *nacinika'*

na= cini' =a'

3= see =1

s/he sees me

This process only occurs between roots and suffixes or enclitics — it is not seen with the intransitive verbal prefix *aC-*, nor with reduplication or compounding. For example *aC-anrong* → *a'anrong* ‘have a mother’ (**akanrong*), and reduplicated *ana'* ‘child’ → *ana'-ana'* ‘children’ (**anakana*). This indicates that only suffixing elements are able to recruit a coda from a syllable in another morpheme to act as an onset; that is, they have an onset requirement which ranks higher than the root’s requirement to retain its structure unaltered.

2.3.4 Echo–VC

There is a large group of (typically) three syllable roots, in which the final syllable begins with one of /s/, /l/, or /r/. These words contain antepenultimate stress (unlike the vast majority of (uninflected) words which have penultimate stress), the final vowel is always the same as the preceding vowel, and they all end in a glottal stop. The list below shows some examples:

<i>pásara'</i>	‘market’	<i>Mangkásara'</i>	‘Makassar’
<i>bótoro'</i>	‘gamble’	<i>pa'risi'</i>	‘pain’
<i>bótolo'</i>	‘bottle’	<i>lápisi'</i>	‘layer’

Some of these are obviously loan words, but they are by no means the majority, and since this group of words includes the ethnonym *Mangkásara'* it must be seen as more than a phenomenon of loan phonology. However it is instructive to look at some of the loans, and also to compare some of the words with their Malay counterparts. For example, the word *bótolo'* is a loan, probably from Dutch *bottel*, while *pásara'* and *lápisi'* have Malay counterparts *pasar* and *lapis*.

These echo syllables are absent if the root hosts a stress–shifting affix (*-i* or *-ang*). For example:

(20) *botórang*

botor *o' -ang
gamble -BEN
wager something

(21) *sipa'risi*

si- pa'ris *i' -i
RECP- pain -APPL
hurt each other

They are, however, present when the roots host pronominal clitics or the determiner (the glottal stop is realised as [k] due to glottal strengthening as described in §2.3.3):

(22) *appásaraka'*

aC- pasar =a' =a'

MV- market =EC =1

I (go to) market

(23) *pásaraka*

pasar =a' ≡a

market =EC ≡DEF

the market

The echo syllables are also present when the stress-shifting possessive suffixes are added.

(24) *botoló'na*

botol =o' ≡na

bottle =EC ≡3.POSS

his bottle

However, since all the possessive suffixes are C-initial, this is not so surprising, because the consonant sequences which would result if the echo VC was not inserted are all forbidden (**sk*, **sn*, **lk*, **ln*, **rk*, **rn*).

It is apparent that /s/, /l/, or /r/ — which can be grouped for the sake of convenience into a class of non-nasal continuants — are not allowed in coda position except as the first element of geminates. Unless these consonants can be used as onsets for following syllables within the metrical word (therefore excluding extrametrical clitics), an empty VC slot is appended, which is filled by spreading of the previous vowel and then closed with a glottal stop by default. This VC is extrametrical, resulting in antepenultimate stress.

This phenomenon (and its counterpart in the Selayar language — which differs in that the echo syllable is only V rather than VC) has been relatively well discussed in the literature. Goldsmith (1990:131-6) gives an autosegmental account based on the description of Selayarese in Mithun & Basri (1987), while Aronoff, Arsyad, Basri & Broselow (1987) mention the phenomenon in their paper on reduplication.⁴⁶ Data from

⁴⁶ Unfortunately, as already pointed out, much of the data in this paper seems to describe Selayarese rather than Makassarese. For example, comparative forms are given using the suffix *-ang* rather than the

the latter paper is used for Optimality Theoretic accounts by McCarthy and Prince (1994) and McCarthy (1998).

The OT analysis of McCarthy and Prince (1994) can be exemplified with the tableau for the word *jamala* ‘naughty’ (p.24), reproduced here:

	CODA-COND	ALIGN-STEM-RIGHT	FINAL-C	FILL
<i>jamal</i> a'		*		**
<i>jamal</i> a		*	*!	*
<i>jamal</i>	*!			

CODA-COND stipulates that a coda cannot be specified for place (thus limiting it to [ʔ] and [ŋ]). ALIGN-STEM-RIGHT requires that a stem ends at a syllable edge, which is violated in this instance but is necessary to preserve vowel-final stems from epenthesis via FINAL-C (requiring a coda), which in turn dominates FILL (prohibiting epenthesis). All else being equal, the glottal stop [ʔ] rather than [ŋ] is chosen as the coda of the epenthetic VC because it conforms to a lower ranked constraint NO-NAS favouring oral stops over nasals (p.32).

McCarthy (1998) uses some of the same data to argue that the distinction between licit and illicit surface forms in Makassarese can be explained in terms of paradigm occultation rather than morpheme structure constraints (MSC). The paper’s main focus is explaining why Makassarese allows roots such as /jamal/ to emerge as *jamala*’, but does not allow putative roots such as /katop/ to emerge as, say **katop*, **katopo*’, or **katopi*’, concluding that various constraints combine to allow one paradigm which ‘occults’ any others.

The analysis relevant to Echo-VC proposes that VCV spreading is compelled by a faithfulness constraint IO-MAX-C (an input segment should have a corresponding output segment). The order of ranking constraints pertaining to vowel-spreading across specific types of segments is what licenses *jamala*’ but prohibits *katopo*’ et al, as seen in the tableaux below (McCarthy 1998:21).

more usual -*angngang*. The reduplication data are also rather different to my findings, as will be discussed in §2.3.7.

	/jamal/	OO-DEP-C	IO-DEP-VPL	CODA-COND	IO-MAX-C	NO-VL-LINK	*PL/COR+VPL
	jáma				*!		
	jáma.li'		*!				
	jámal			*!			
☞	jáma.la'					*	*

	/katop/	OO-DEP-C	IO-DEP-VPL	CODA-COND	NO-VS-LINK	*PL/LAB+VPL	IO-MAX-C
☞	káto						*
	káto.pi'		*!				
	kátóp			*!			
	káto.po'				*!	*!	

As in McCarthy and Prince (1994), CODA-COND prohibits **jamal*, while IO-DEP-VPL safeguards against the insertion of random vowels (**jamali'*). A constraint against the spreading of vocalic place is ranked below IO-MAX-C in the case of coronals (**PL/COR+VPL*), as is a similar constraint against spreading across liquids (NO-VL-LINK). In the case of /katop/, however, constraints against vowel-spreading across labials (**PL/LAB+VPL*) and obstruents (NO-VS-LINK) outrank IO-MAX-C, leading to deletion of the /p/.⁴⁷

For a broader look at final vowels in Sulawesi languages see Sneddon (1993), who notes that there has been a general tendency for Sulawesi languages to lose final consonants. This process of Echo-VC in Makassarese both exemplifies and defies this, because it adds a vowel to prevent a final consonant, but then paradoxically closes the syllable.

⁴⁷ Actually, in my opinion *kato* is the wrong candidate, and the most obvious candidate, *kato'*, is not considered. This is rather odd because one would assume that *kato'* would violate fewer constraints (actually it appears to violate no constraints at all). If we look at McCarthy's tableau we can see that the candidate *kato* beats the others because it only violates a faithfulness constraint IO-MAX-C (an input segment should have a corresponding output segment), while conforming to the higher-ranked constraint CODA-COND. However, a glottal stop in Makassarese is a placeless coda, as stated in McCarthy & Prince (1994:355), so *kato'* conforms to all constraints, including IO-MAX-C. More compellingly, if we leave the realm of possible roots thrown out by GEN and look at actual evidence from the language, we find that there are numerous examples in which /p/-final loans have entered the language and had /p/ replaced with /ʔ/. Malay *adap* 'side' and *harap* 'hope' are two obvious examples, which become *ada'* and *(h)ara'* respectively.

2.3.5 Aphesis of initial /a/

This refers to the fact that the three verb prefixes *aC-*, *aN(N)-* and *aN-* (§8.1), as well as the demonstrative set *anne*, *anjo* and *antu*, are all subject to a process of optional deletion which removes the initial vowel in fast speech. This leaves surface forms with initial consonant clusters—*pp*, *tt*, *cc*, *kk*, *mp*, *nt*, *nc*, *ngk*, *'b*, *'d*, *'j*, *'g*, *mb*, *nd*, *nj*, *ngg*, *mm*, *nn*, *nyny*, *ngng*, *ss*, *ns*, *'l*, *ll*, *'r*, *nr* and *'h*. For example, the word *ambajíki* ‘fix something’ can be realised as *mbajíki*. This can be explained as follows. With the vowel gone there is no syllable nucleus for the prefix, so the stranded coda attaches itself to the following syllable. The process is shown for the relevant segments below:

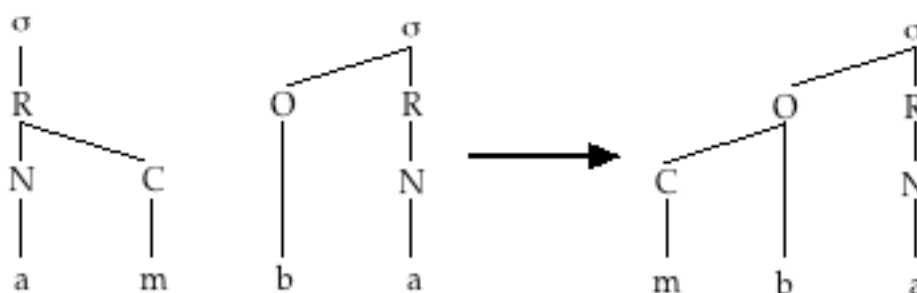


Figure 2.12: Formation of complex onsets

Note however that the stranded coda will attach itself to a preceding open syllable if there is one, as in the following example:

(25) *lanuápaíntu untia*

la- nu= apa =i antu unti ≡a
FUT- 2s= what =3 that banana ≡DEF

what are you going to do with those bananas?

An interesting point in the above example is that the deleted vowel retains its stress contour, which is then assigned to the new syllable nucleus (in this case an extra-metrical enclitic =*i*).

2.3.6 Determiner glide insertion

The determiner *≡ a* behaves rather differently from the other suffixes, showing a mixture of clitic and suffix behaviours. When affixed to a C-final stem it behaves as one of the enclitics; it is not visible to stress, and when affixed to one of the *s/l/r* words the epenthetic VC will be added. Thus *bállá' ≡ a* → *bállaka* ‘the house’, *pásara' ≡ a* → *pásaraka* ‘the market’.

When affixed to a stem ending in a vowel other than *a*, the determiner is visible to stress. Thus *báwi* $\equiv a \rightarrow$ *bawía* ‘the pig’, *tape* $\equiv a \rightarrow$ *tapéa* ‘the *tape*’ (a fermented rice sweet), *ráppo* $\equiv a \rightarrow$ *rappóa* ‘the fruit’, *bátu* $\equiv a \rightarrow$ *batúa* ‘the stone’. There is a low level glide insertion: *y* between front vowels and $\equiv a$, and *w* between back vowels and $\equiv a$. This is no different to the process seen ordinarily between these sequences of vowels. In addition to this, as was described in the discussion of glides, underlying stressed high vowels in the position *a_a* are realised as geminate glides: *táu* $\equiv a \rightarrow$ *taúa* or *tawwa* [‘tawwa] ‘the person’, *tái* $\equiv a \rightarrow$ *taía* or *tayya* [‘tajja] ‘the shit’.

Surface geminate *y* also appears when the determiner is affixed to an *a*-final stem, as in *mata* $\equiv a \rightarrow$ *matáyya* ‘the eye’, *binanga* $\equiv a \rightarrow$ *binangáyya* ‘the river’. I analyse this as an insertion of an epenthetic high front vowel *i* because this will result in the surface form with the insertion of only one segment. It is possible that the form of the determiner derives from that of the third person pronoun *ia* and its realisation in *a_a* position is a reflection of that, but this is merely speculation.

Hasan Basri *et al* (1999) explain the behaviour of the determiner using Optimality Theory, but in the end resort to using a constraint specific to this morpheme, **Align Det-L, Glide**, which requires a determiner to be left-aligned with a glide.

2.3.7 Reduplication

Reduplication is a common phenomenon in Makassarese, with a range of semantic functions including diminution, non-specificity, and repetition — the semantics are particular to word classes and are discussed in the relevant sections. This section deals strictly with reduplication as a phonological phenomenon, which has also been the subject of an autolexical study (Aronoff *et al.* 1987), and more recent Optimality Theoretic accounts (McCarthy and Prince 1994; Nelson 2003) of the same data. Hasan Basri’s OT account of Selayarese reduplication (1999:162-90) is largely based on McCarthy & Prince’s analysis. In addition there is a local publication (Said Mursalin 1984), which is basically a listing of different kinds and combinations of reduplicated forms. In this section I will first describe the basics of reduplication as seen in my data, then discuss some of the issues which arise from the aforementioned publications.

In this discussion I shall focus on reduplication as a productive phenomenon; thus I wish to exclude from the outset forms which appear reduplicated, but where the apparent base is not in itself a lexical item. By this I mean primarily disyllabic forms such as *kongkong* ‘dog’, *bambang* ‘hot’, and *rinring* ‘ceiling’. These kinds of words (reduplicated monosyllables) are common in many Austronesian languages and Makassarese is no exception (Mills 1975a:370ff). Said Mursalin (1984) gives a partial listing of these forms.

2.3.7.1 Reduplication of roots

The basic facts are as follows: mono- or disyllabic roots are copied in their entirety, and the reduplicative prefix is prefixed to the root. All usual processes of assimilation take place, and the entire form is treated as one word for the purposes of stress (though in careful speech the penult of the reduplicative prefix can carry secondary stress). Note that glottal strengthening (§2.3.3) does not apply between reduplicant and root. Some examples are:

<i>u'</i>	‘hair’	→	<i>u'-u'</i>	‘a kind of sweet’	[uʔ.uʔ]
<i>ana'</i>	‘child’	→	<i>ana'-ana'</i>	‘children’	[a.naʔ.'a.naʔ]
<i>le'leng</i>	‘black’	→	<i>le'leng-le'leng</i>	‘blackish’	[leʔ.lel.'leʔ.leŋ]
<i>bambang</i>	‘hot’	→	<i>bambang-bambang</i>	‘hottish’.	[bam.bam.'bam.baŋ]

Table 2.9: Reduplication of mono- and disyllabic roots

For roots of three or more syllables only the first two syllables are copied. The reduplicative prefix will always end in a glottal stop (subject to assimilation), whether the corresponding syllable in the base was open or closed, and even if the original syllable was closed with an acceptable coda consonant such as a nasal. Some examples are:

<i>tettere'</i>	‘fast’	→	<i>tette'-tettere'</i>	‘quite fast’	[tet.tet.'tet.te.reʔ]
<i>baine</i>	‘woman’	→	<i>bai'-baine</i> <i>*bai-baine</i>	‘women’	[ba.iʔ.ba.'i.ne]
<i>barumbung</i>	‘grey’	→	<i>baru'-barumbung</i> <i>*barum-barumbung</i>	‘greyish’	[ba.ruʔ.ba.'rumbuŋ]
<i>balao</i>	‘rat’	→	<i>bala'-balao</i> <i>*bala-balao</i>	‘toy rat’.	[ba.laʔ.ba.'la.o]

Table 2.10: Reduplication of trisyllabic roots

2.3.7.2 Reduplication of prefixed forms

When morphologically complex words are reduplicated, generally the root alone forms the base, and the entire reduplicated form then forms the stem for affixation. Thus, prefixed elements are attached to the reduplicant, and suffixed elements to the base, as in the following examples:

(26) *a'jappa-jappa*

aC- jappa- jappa

MV- RDP- walk

stroll

(27) *kaio-ioang*

ka> io- io <ang

NR> RDP- yes <NR

s.o who always agrees

(28) *sitaba-tabai*

si- taba- taba =i

MUT- RDP match =3

they're about the same

When a base containing the nasal substituting verbal prefix *aN(N)-* is reduplicated, it is the nasalised form which is copied, thus:

(29) *ammekang-mekang*

aN(N)- pekang pekang

BV- RDP- hook

fishing (for fun)

This shows that prefixed material can have an effect on both the base and the reduplicant. However, note that V-initial stems with the prefix *aN(N)-* do not show a nasal on the base (eg. *alle* 'take' → *angngalle-alle* 'take a direction'), unless they are *-ng* final and subject to post-lexical gemination (eg. *inung* 'drink' → *angnginung-nginung* 'drink for fun', see §2.2.1.3.1). In contrast, forms with the prefix *amm-* (§7.1.4) do show *m-* on the base (*empo* 'sit' → *ammempo-mempo* 'sit awhile').

Said Mursalin (1984:22) reports that in some cases reduplication can include more prefixed material, such as in *pana-panai'* (presumably this should be *pana'-panai'*) 'raise a little' (*naikan sedikit*), from the causative *pa-* and *nai'* 'ascend'. According to Mursalin this can contrast in meaning with reduplication of the root alone, for example *panai'-nai'* 'raise more' (*naikan lebih banyak*). Examples are also given (p.30) with the nominaliser *ka><ang*, such as *kako-kakodiang* 'a bit of badness' (*keburukan sedikit*),

contrasting with *kakodi-kodianna* ‘his worst (time), the time of his greatest evil’ (*masa buruk-buruknya*), which consists of the same circumfix and the 3rd person possessive suffix $\equiv na$. I must add here that although I have encountered the latter construction (*kakodi-kodianna*), speakers generally rejected *pana-panai'* and *kako-kakodiang* and stated them to be invented forms.

2.3.7.3 Reduplication of suffixed forms

Suffixed forms require some detailed discussion, especially when one considers differences in the data in Aronoff *et al* (1987) and the other papers based on it; and examples from some other publications (Cense & Abdoerrahim 1979; Said Mursalin 1984), and my own field data.

Looking first at suffixed bases: according to the data in Aronoff *et al* (1987), a consonant final disyllabic root with a suffix attached is counted as a trisyllabic base and conforms to the rule seen earlier for > disyllabic roots (reduplicant coda $\rightarrow$ glottal stop), as seen in (30), while a vowel-final suffixed root does not (31). Clitics are not counted as part of the base, so reduplication takes place as though the clitic was not there — thus the contrast between (30) and (32).

(30) *gassi'-gassíngi* (**gassing-gassíngi*)

RDP- gassing -i

DIM- strong -trs

make somewhat strong

(31) *lompo-lompói* (**lompo'-lompói*)

RDP- lompo -i

DIM- big -TRS

make somewhat big

(32) *gassing-gássingi* (**gassi'-gássingi*)

RDP- gassing =i

DIM- strong =3

he is somewhat strong (Aronoff et al. 1987:6-7)

The explanation for the loss of the final nasal of the reduplicant in (30) is that its correspondent in the base is no longer the coda of the 2nd syllable, but has been recruited as onset for the 3rd syllable, and reduplication takes place as normal for a trisyllabic base.

The same data are given an OT analysis in McCarthy & Prince (1994). They posit a number of constraints which apply to reduplication, beginning with R=ROOT (the

reduplicant is identical to the root). This is outranked by a cluster of constraints on reduplicant size, namely PARSE-SYLL (every syllable belongs to a foot), ALIGN-FT-RIGHT (every foot stands in final position in the prosodic word), and R=PRWD (the reduplicant is a prosodic word). These three constraints require that the reduplicant be disyllabic, resulting in violation of R=ROOT (due to inexact copying) for roots longer than this. When a root is copied inexactly a further constraint, FINAL-C (every prosodic word is consonant final) applies, giving a reduplicant with the default glottal stop coda as seen in Table 2.10 above. (R=ROOT dominates FINAL-C, so reduplicated disyllabic vowel-final stems do not gain final consonants). The reason that [ŋ] → [ʔ] in (30) is that R=ROOT is dominated by STROLE (a segment in R(eduplicant) and its correspondent in B(ase) must have identical syllabic roles, so when the [ŋ] in B becomes the onset of [ŋi] rather than the coda of [siŋ], its counterpart in R becomes the default coda [ʔ]).

It is an elegant analysis, and quite plausible. However it differs somewhat from the facts of spoken Makassarese as I have observed them. Instead speakers say that the realisation of RDP-*gassing-TRS* is either *gassing-gassíngi* (the supposedly unacceptable example from (30)),⁴⁸ or *gassing-gassíngngi* (with post-lexical gemination as described in § 2.2.1.3.1). They explicitly reject **gassi'-gassíngi*. This accords with data from the dictionary, which gives forms such as the *ka><ang* nominalisation *kagassing-gassingang* 'time of greatest strength', and the verbal form *a'gassing-gassingang* 'find which is the strongest' (Cense & Abdoerrahim 1979:229). Given Cense's normally careful transcription it seems probable that he would have indicated if the realisations were **kagassi'-gassingang* and **a'gassi'-gassingang*.

The reason for the anomalous data in Aronoff *et al* (1987) and the other papers is simple: the data do not represent Makassarese. Or rather, they represent a version of Makassarese spoken by the (Selayarese) co-authors, which differs in several respects from the speech of native speakers of the Gowa variety which is commonly accepted as a standard. This does not cause any real problems for McCarthy & Prince's (1994) analysis: in Gowa Makassarese STROLE is simply ranked lower than in Selayarese and

⁴⁸ In actuality, *gassing-gassing* translates as 'healthy' rather than 'somewhat strong', though this has no bearing on the phonological analysis.

does not dominate R=ROOT. Examples which show post-lexical gemination (*gassing-gassíngngi*) are unproblematic in any event as B retains its nasal coda rather than losing it to the following syllable, so the syllabic role is unchanged.

2.3.7.4 Exceptions

A few three syllable words have the whole form copied: eg. the adverbials *sinampe'* 'later' → *sinampe'-sinampe'* 'some time', and *sike'de'* 'a bit' → *sike'de'-sike'de'* 'a tiny bit'. These could be considered repetition rather than reduplication, because each element carries stress.

The demonstratives also behave rather differently from the pattern described above. Instead of the entire form being reduplicated and prefixed to the base, the reduced form is affixed: thus *anne* 'this' → *anne-nne* or even *anne-nne-nne* 'this one! this one!'. The same happens with *anjo* → *anjo-njo* and *antu* → *antu-ntu* 'that one!' ('over there' and 'over by you' respectively).

2.3.8 Compounding

There is no compelling evidence that compounding should be considered a phonological process in Makassarese. That is to say that supposed compounds such as *balla'-garring* <house sick> 'hospital' or *je'ne-mata* <water eye> 'tears' do not seem to be single phonological words. This differs from the analysis of Bugis in Hanson (2003:150-171), who lists numerous forms, and gives three criteria by which compounds should be defined:

- 1 phonological unity: the compound is a single phonological word with only one stressed syllable
- 2 semantic criteria: the meaning can not necessarily be considered the sum of its parts
- 3 immutability: the constituent parts cannot be moved around and no other morphemes can be inserted without changing the meaning

The Makassarese examples given above do not satisfy the first criterion — instead each constituent word carries stress, although the penult of the entire compound will be more heavily stressed than any single constituent (see §2.2.3). Neither do they always

obey criterion three, as compounds may be interrupted by affixes, for example *mata-allo* <eye day> ‘sun’ is made definite not just with the determiner $\equiv a$ but also the 3.POSS suffix $\equiv na$, to give *matanna-alloa* (literally ‘the day’s eye’). Further, there are no examples of entire compounds hosting circumfixes such as *ka><ang*.⁴⁹ The second criterion is not especially helpful since its application is subjective (one language’s ‘sick house’ is another’s ‘hospital’), and in any case there are clearly numerous idioms and collocations in which the meaning can not necessarily be considered the sum of the parts, but which cannot be considered compounds in any phonological sense.

Hasan Basri (1999:33-36) also identifies compounding as a process in Selayarese, giving nominal-headed examples such as *ere-inung* <water- drink> ‘drinking water’ (Makassarese *je'ne'-inung*); verbs with incorporated locatives such as *attolong-kadera* <MV- sit- chair> ‘sit on chair’; and verbs where the second element functions as a manner adverb such as *tinro-t-tolong* <sleep- MV- sit> ‘sleep while sitting, and *lingka-bonting* <walk- bride> ‘walk like a bride’. However, he also points out (1999:143) that mid-vowel lowering (§2.1.3.3) does not apply across elements of compounds, thus they should be considered two separate prosodic words.

I would go further, and argue that these ‘compounds’ are simply collocations at phrase level. *Je'ne-inung* ‘drinking water’ is not different in structure from *je'ne bambang* ‘hot water’ or indeed any modified nominal such as *miong le'leng* <cat black> ‘black cat’. And while it is true that clitics and affixal clitics typically do not intervene between elements of these supposed compounds (evidence for compound status given by Hasan Basri (1999:33)), the same could also be said of most phrasal constituents which include post-head modifiers. For example a supposed compound hosting the definite marker $\equiv a$,

⁴⁹ This is in contrast with Bahasa Indonesia where the comparable *ke><an* can be placed around entire compounds as in *kesalah-pahaman* ‘misunderstanding’ (Sneddon 1996:23). Note though that in Makassarese there are words which resemble compounds (and could well be derived from compounds historically), which are now indisputably a single lexeme. An example is *balakebo* ‘herring’. *Kebo* means ‘white’ and *bala* also appears in some other fish names but does not now exist as a word (except as a loan *bala* from Arabic ‘disaster’). Another is *kalumanyang* ‘rich’ which certainly looks like a compound, but neither *kalu* nor *mananyang* can be traced now. The latter word can host the circumfix *ka><ang* → *kakalumanyang* ‘wealth’.

such as *balla' garringa* 'the hospital' is formally identical to an ordinary NP containing a modifier such as *miong le'lenga* <cat black $\equiv$ DEF> 'the black cat' or *tau ruayya* <person two $\equiv$ DEF> 'the two people'. So this evidence is not useful unless one is willing to postulate that most cases of word+postmodifier are compounds.

Incorporated locatives (less common in Makassarese than Selayarese) are simply locatives which appear within the nuclear phrase rather than as prepositional adjuncts. Verb phrases may productively contain modifiers from various word classes resulting in meanings which rely on idiom to a lesser or greater degree (eg. *a'jappa-bunting* <MV-walk bride> 'walk like a bride', ie. slowly; *a'jappa-balanda* <MV-walk Holland> 'walk like a Dutchman' ie. swagger). The fact that suffixes and enclitics will occur after the modifier (eg. *miong le'leng $\equiv$ ku* 'my black cat', *a'jappa-balanda=i* 'he swaggers') is a feature of phrasal syntax rather than an indication of wordhood.

3 Makassarese writing and literature

Because this study is based largely on written sources, in this chapter I give an introduction to the different writing systems used for Makassarese, and also a brief introduction to Makassarese literature.

3.1 Orthography

This section introduces the numerous methods used for writing Makassarese: the two indigenous writing systems, an Arabic based script, and a variety of romanisation methods. Significantly more attention will be paid to the Makassarese script, because it has not been previously described in detail, whereas the Bugis script is much better known: as well as appearing in standard reference works, it has been the subject of an in-depth article by Noorduyt (1993).

3.1.1 Makassarese and Bugis scripts

South Sulawesi has two indigenous writing systems: the old Makassarese script which was used exclusively for Makassarese until it fell into disuse in the 19th century, and the Bugis-Makassar script, which is still in marginal use today for both Bugis and Makassarese, and possibly Mandar. (To avoid confusion these will be referred to simply as Makassarese and Bugis scripts respectively — other terms which can be found are *ukiri' jangang-jangang* (Bugis *uki' manu'-manu'*) ‘bird writing’ for the Makassarese script, and *lontara' baru* ‘new lontara’ or simply *lontara'* for the Bugis script.⁵⁰ Both are Indic type scripts: syllabic systems in which sequences of (C)V are represented by single characters (referred to as *aksara* by paleographers) where V is inherently /a/ or is

⁵⁰ Some advocate the use of the term *lontara'* as the preferred name for the Bugis script, and this is in fact the name used in the current Unicode proposal (Everson 2003). Others contend that *lontara'* refers more properly to manuscripts in general rather than the script itself.

modified by vowel diacritics.⁵¹ The two scripts have virtually identical systems, but differ significantly in the actual forms.

	<i>ka</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>nga</i>	<i>ngka</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>mpa</i>
BUG								
MAK								
	<i>ta</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>nra</i>	<i>ca</i>	<i>ja</i>	<i>nya</i>	<i>nca</i>
BUG								
MAK								
	<i>ya</i>	<i>ra</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ha</i>	
BUG								
MAK								
	<i>ka</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>kə</i>		
BUG								
MAK								

Table 3.1: The Bugis and Makassarese scripts

Table 3.1 shows instances of the two scripts side by side for comparison.⁵² Shaded cells show aksara used only for representing the Bugis language, while the aksara  for /ha/, used primarily in Arabic and Malay loans, never had a counterpart in the Makassarese script. The similarity in the systems can clearly be seen, as can the differences in the aksara themselves — the only close matches being Bugis *ta* = Makassarese *na*, Bugis *nya* = Makassarese *ba*, and both have a (more or less) similar *wa*. In Makassarese the aksara themselves are called *anrong lontara'* ‘mother of writing’, while the vowel modifiers are *ana' lontara'* ‘child of writing’, specifically: *ana' i rate* ‘child above’ (), *ana' i rawa* ‘child below’ (), *ana' ri boko* ‘child behind’ (), and *ana' ri olo* ‘child in front’ ().

⁵¹ Macknight and Caldwell (2001) have suggested the term **aksary** for this kind of script, while other proposed terms include **neosyllabary** (Daniels 1990) and **abugida** (Daniels and Bright 1996).

⁵² It should be noted that Makassarese was never standardized and the characters seen above are based on the handwriting from one particular manuscript: KIT 668/216.

Both scripts share the major deficiency that syllable codas are not shown, meaning that the reader must fill in the gaps at the time of reading a text. This obviously requires a high level of fluency, and preferably prior knowledge of the text matter (see §3.1.1.2).

3.1.1.1 History

Little is known about the source of either of the scripts, or when they first began to be used. They are obviously Indic in origin, descendants like other South and South-East Asian scripts of the Brahmi script developed in India by the 5th century BCE. This can be seen both by the syllabic nature of the system and from the general appearance of the aksaras, however the exact line of descent for the scripts is far from clear. There is no single obvious precursor from which either the Makassarese or Bugis script was derived, though most sources agree that Kawi (the script used in Java and its satellites) or something close to it was a likely ancestor, possibly via a Sumatran intermediary (Hunter 1996; Kozok 1996; Noorduyt 1991b). Table 3.2 shows a selection of Brahmi derived scripts for comparison.⁵³ The most comparable in appearance are Batak (BAT) and Rejang (not shown) from Sumatra, and a variety of Philippine scripts including Tagalog (TAG), Hanunóo and Buhid. The Philippine scripts share the deficiency of omitting syllable codas, which suggests the possibility that they are derived from a South Sulawesi script (Macknight and Caldwell 2001:142), or at least from a relatively proximate common ancestor.⁵⁴

velars	DEV	GUJ	PUN	BEN	ORI	TIB	TEL	KAN	TAM	MAL	SIN	BUR	LAO	THA	KHM	JAV	BAL	TAG	BAT	BUG
k	क	ક	କ	କ	କ	ཀ	క	క	ക	ක	ක	ກ	ກ	ก	ក	ꦏ	ꦏ	ᜏ	ᜏ	ᜏ
kh	ख	ખ	ਖ	ਖ	ଖ	ཀ	ఖ	ఖ	—	ഖ	ඛ	ခ	ຂ	ข	ខ	ꦏꦲ	—	—	—	—
g	ग	ગ	ਗ	ଗ	ଗ	ག	గ	గ	—	ഗ	ග	ဂ	ဂ	ง	ក	ꦒ	ꦒ	ᜒ	ᜒ	ᜒ
gh	घ	ઘ	ਘ	ଘ	ଘ	—	ఘ	ఘ	—	ഘ	ඝ	ယ	—	ง	យ	ꦒ	ꦒ	—	—	—
ṇ	ड	ડ	ਡ	ଡ	ଡ	ṇ	ఙ	ఙ	ṇ	ങ	ඬ	င	၄	ง	ង	ꦕ	ꦕ	᜔	᜔	᜔

Table 3.2: Scripts derived from Brahmi

For some time it was believed that the Bugis script was derived from the Makassarese, however given their dissimilarity to each other this seems unlikely. Instead it is now

⁵³ Found at <http://www.geocities.com/Athens/Academy/9594/brahmi.html>

⁵⁴ According to Paul Morrow (<http://www.mts.net/pmmorrow/bayeng1.htm>), tradition suggests that the Tagalog (or Baybayin) script came from Borneo, an obvious place for dispersal to both Sulawesi and the Philippines, though there is no evidence for this.

believed that they are both derived from the same ancestor (Tol 1996:214), but this cannot be identified. There is no evidence suggesting that the Makassarese script is older than the Bugis, or vice versa — speculation on this subject being hampered by the fact that there are few verifiably antique examples of either script. The damp tropical climate of South Sulawesi is not ideal for the preservation of manuscripts written on palm leaves or paper, and there is no evidence that there was ever any carving on stone, wood or bamboo.⁵⁵ It seems fair to assume that the two scripts developed somewhat independently in Makassarese and Bugis areas respectively, and both coexisted for some time, with texts written on lontar leaves or paper which simply have not survived the tropical climate or South Sulawesi's turbulent history.

Caldwell (1988, 1998), writing about Bugis, has argued that the desire to record genealogical information was the impetus for developing a script sometime in the 14th century, and Macknight (1993:34) concurs. Cummings (2002) does not speculate on the date of origin of either of the scripts but only says that they predate the arrival of Islam in 1605. This makes sense — as Noorduyn (1961) has pointed out, had there not already been a writing system in place at that time, the new converts would have simply adopted the Arabic script.

As for media, Macknight has argued that paper was unlikely to have been available before the 16th century, and that prior to this the medium for writing would have been the strip-roll, in which 'narrow strips of palm-leaf are sewn end to end to form a very long ribbon just wide enough for one line of script. This ribbon is then wound around two spools to form a device very similar to a modern tape cassette and providing the reader with a continuous line of text' (Macknight 1993:11-12). Some of these types of manuscript (in the simplified 'palm-leaf' style of Bugis script) are still preserved, but I am unaware of any in either Makassarese script or language.

A frequently cited passage from the Gowa Chronicle records that a certain Daeng Pamatte', the harbourmaster of Gowa in the early 16th century, 'made Makassarese *lontara*' (*ampareki lontara' Mangkasaraka*'), and there is also a cryptic comment in the

⁵⁵ Noorduyn (1993:563-4) reports Kern's speculation that the simplified 'palm-leaf' style of writing the Bugis script could have been carried over from carving vertically onto bamboo tubes in the manner found in the Philippines and Sumatra. As indicated though, there is no evidence for this.

Tallo' Chronicle that 'writing first became good' (*nauru mabaji' ukirika*) at around the same time (Cummings 2002:42). This probably refers to the same event. However, there is agreement among scholars that this means that Daeng Pamatte' instituted the keeping of historical records rather than inventing the script *per se* (Cummings 2002:42; Noorduynd 1993:567). Thus, though we can assume that there must have been writing before this time, it was during the 16th century that it really took off. For discussion of the subject matter of these early manuscripts, see §3.2.

To my knowledge the oldest extant and verifiable specimen of any South Sulawesi orthography is on a copy of the 1667 Treaty of Bungaya which is held in the Arsip Nasional Republic Indonesia in Jakarta (reproduced in Tol 1996:216). Although the articles of the treaty themselves are in Dutch and Malay in Arabic (Jawi) script, the names of the Makassarese noble signatories were in Makassarese script. They are reproduced in Figure 3.1.



Figure 3.1:Detail of the Bungaya Treaty (from Tol 1996).

The names read: ீྀྀྀྀྀྀ (Lengkese'), ீྀྀ (Popo'), ீྀྀྀ (Katampa), ீྀྀ (Ballo'), ீྀྀྀྀྀ (Bontosunggu), ீྀྀྀ (Karunrung), and ீྀྀྀ (Garassi'). (The reader is directed to Andaya (1981) for the story behind the treaty and the parts that the signatories played in the Makassar War).

Some other examples of treaties and similar documents dating from the early 18th century are still extant and are listed by Noorduynd (1991b:472-3). However the oldest surviving large manuscript from South Sulawesi is in the collection of the Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen (KIT) in Amsterdam. Known by its catalogue number KIT 668/216, it is a large bound paper volume of 77 leaves (154 pages) written almost entirely in Makassarese script. About one-third of the manuscript consists of the Chronicles of Gowa and Tallo' (pp. 1-33 and 33-56 respectively), and the remainder consists of various smaller texts. Noorduynd (1991b:470-2) describes the history of the

manuscript and deduces (from the watermark on the paper and the fact that the latest event described in the manuscript is 1739) that it dates from the mid-18th century.

The most recent large manuscript written in Makassarese script to my knowledge is a copy of a daily register (§3.2.2.3) from a *lontara'* owned by a *tu-mailalang* (prime minister) of Gowa. The original *lontara'* is probably lost, the copy was presumably commissioned by Cense in the 1930s, and this copy was photographed in the 1970s by Campbell Macknight and forms part of the microfilm collection which is kept at the Australian National University.⁵⁶ The register itself covers dates between 1834 and 1858.

The script in this copy is quite unusual. Although it is clearly a variant of the Makassarese script, many of the aksara are almost unrecognisable when compared to those in earlier manuscripts. As an example, consider the short extract in Figure 3.2 below.

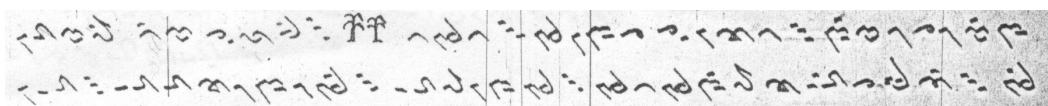


Figure 3.2: Later Makassarese script.⁵⁷

Table 3.3 below gives some isolated forms for comparison with the aksara as seen in the earlier manuscript KIT 668/216. At a superficial glance the script looks quite similar to the Bugis script — this is most likely due to the copyist being much more familiar with the latter and imposing its style on what could have been a more ‘authentic’ Makassarese original. I simply note in passing the use of images of palm trees as punctuation, not seen in any other manuscript to my knowledge.

		ka			a
		ya			sa

Table 3.3: Comparison of early and late Makassarese aksara.

⁵⁶ Item 4, DS646.4.S6 reel 1 in the Menzies library.

⁵⁷ The text transliterates (without the addition of unrepresented syllable codas) as: *lebapi nibatuwangi. nakana. karenatumena. ribotobira / e. alamoroki. apareka. kanakaripamaitayaji. ki* (‘before arriving there, their Kar(a)eng Who Rests in Bontobiraeng spoke, “it is easy to do, because it is only in our nature”’).

The process by which the Makassarese script became obsolete and was replaced by the Bugis was probably gradual, and may have been influenced by several factors, among them the decline of the power of Gowa and subsequent demoralisation of Makassarese chroniclers;⁵⁸ the concomitant increase in Bugis power and influence; and the simpler (though less attractive to my eye) nature of the Bugis script. Cummings has speculated that for some time the Makassarese script was viewed as ‘more arcane, rarified, and hence more spiritually powerful than the (Bugis) script’ and also that Makassarese used it ‘in certain texts to distinguish themselves and their past from Bugis’ (Cummings 2002:44). This could explain the script’s continued existence for some time after the fall of Gowa, but the fact remains that there are now no Makassarese who can read it — my experience tallies with Cummings’ (pers. comm.) that Makassarese people, even those well versed in reading *lontara*’ in Bugis script, need to have old Makassarese *lontara*’ transliterated for them before attempting to interpret them.

The position of the Bugis script is somewhat better. Although it is rare to find young people who are fluent in reading, at least they are aware of its existence (having been taught it in school). And though it is difficult to gauge actual demand for it, there is a proposal to encode the script (with a few additions) in the Unicode character encoding standard (Everson 2003). This proposal has apparently (and somewhat unexpectedly given the relative smallness of the speech community) been particularly backed by speakers of Mandar (Ka’ōnohi Kai, pers.comm.).

3.1.1.2 Problems with the scripts

I can only agree wholeheartedly with Cummings’ lament that ‘(r)ead[ing] Makassarese is difficult and requires patience and persistence’ (Cummings 2002:xii). As mentioned earlier, both scripts share a major drawback in that they fail to represent any syllable codas, which leads to numerous possible ambiguities and makes it difficult to read texts whose content is not already reasonably well known. Because of this, the scripts have been called ‘defective’ (Noorduyn 1993:533).

⁵⁸ It is worth repeating here Blok’s 1759 comment: ‘the manuscripts of the Maccassars have, since the conquest of their kingdom, been discontinued, and they have no intention to resume them, until their much wished for restoration be realized’ (Blok 1817:iii).

After the creation of Bugis printing types in 1856, Matthes introduced the convention of leaving spaces between words in printed Makassarese texts and using the *passimbang* more consistently as a clause delimiter. These innovations are also found in some later handwritten manuscripts, though by no means all (Noorduyn 1993:553).

Given the deficiencies of the system it is no surprise that there have been several proposals for modifying the Bugis script (none are known for the Makassarese script). Actually the system only needs the addition of two symbols (or diacritics) to become a near perfect way to represent the language. These symbols only need represent the opposition between syllable-final nasal (N) and stop (C); the phonetic realisation is entirely predictable (with the single exception of geminate *rr*, see §2.2.1.3). Thus, the 9 possibilities for *rr* given above: *kaka*, *kakang*, *kaka'*, *kakka*, *kakkang*, *kakka'*, *kangka*, *kangkang*, *kangka'*; would be represented by *rr*, *rr*N, *rr*C, *rr*C*rr*, *rr*C*rr*N, *rr*C*rr*C, *rr*N*rr*, *rr*N*rr*N, *rr*N*rr*C respectively.

However, attempts to improve the Bugis script have not always been sensible, nor have they become popular. One modification of the script is to use a caron-like symbol ǃ above an aksara as a *virama* or vowel-killer, to show that the symbol represents a consonant without a vowel, thus representing syllable codas. In this system no allowance is made for predictable assimilation, so nasal codas must be represented by the relevant choice of ǃ ǃ ǃ ǃ (*m, n, ny, ng*), and geminates must be represented by sequences of two symbols, with the first carrying the diacritic (eg. ǃ ǃ ǃ ǃ *salangga* ‘shoulder’, ǃ ǃ ǃ ǃ *nakku* ‘yearning’). This system adds greatly to the length of documents while still only providing a partial solution — there is no conventional way to represent

syllable-final glottal stops so these are omitted. Some recommend using ✎ (*k*-virama) for glottal stops, so *nakku'* = ✎ ✎ ✎ ✎ ✎ but this is clearly not an ideal solution. In practice people are generally aware of the virama option but do not seem to use it, though it is provided for in the Unicode proposal (Everson 2003), but with different symbols — either a trailing dot or underlining, thus ✎ . ✎ . ✎ or ✎ . ✎ . ✎ for *nakku'*.

Matthes in his grammar (1858:11) describes the use of the diacritic ̣ (known as *anca'* in Makassarese) to represent a syllable ending with a nasal, eg. ✎ ̣ ✎ ✎ *salangga* ‘shoulder’. This symbol is called *ecce'* in Bugis and represents schwa, so the above would read [saləga] to a Buginese. Matthes remarks that this usage is for beginning readers, although it was also found in a small number of ordinary texts (Noorduyn 1993:549). The Unicode proposal (Everson 2003) includes provision for something similar labelled *anusvara* after Sanskrit tradition. Although this addition is quite sensible, confusingly the proposal is for the caron-like modifier ̣ which has previously been used as virama (see above) though in the proposal ̣ is placed ‘before [rather than over - AJ] a consonant which is pre-nasalised’, so *salangga* = ✎ ̣ ✎ ̣ . The most recent font for the Bugis script, Xenotype Lontara,⁶⁰ includes this provision but the anusvara is placed above the post-nasalised consonant (which was the convention for *anca'*, thus *salangga* = ✎ ̣ ✎ ̣).

The Unicode proposal also includes provision for representing final stops or glottal stops with a circumflex-like character ̂, thus *nakku'* = ✎ ̂ ✎ ̂ . This modification is quite sensible but to the best of my knowledge its use is unattested.

3.1.1.5 Reading *lontara'*

Cummings describes his experience of reading Makassarese as follows:

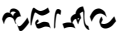
Often the meaning of a word or phrase becomes clear only later as the context unfolds, demanding that the reader turn back the page and re-read in this new light. Reading Makassarese — scanning, deliberating, choosing, and remaining open to possibilities — involves actively reworking material

⁶⁰ www.xenotypetech.com

to achieve a satisfactory, if always tentative, sense. Furthermore, Makassarese composers assumed a whole world of associations and knowledge that future readers would bring to the text. Defining a word is never a matter of a simple one-to-one unvarying correspondence between languages. Words are read and gain meaning from the web of implications, allusions, and contrasts they have not only with other words in that language, but with the world to which that language refers. Reading the archaic words that have passed out of use in contemporary spoken Makassarese is often a matter of assumption and inference ... In my translations I have been guided by the desire to reproduce on paper the rhythm of reading Makassarese texts I first encountered in Makassar. To do so I have used commas and semicolons liberally to structure the text. Only rarely do I follow strictly the breaks (•) the Makassarese composer placed within his text. Instead, I use commas and semicolons to mark out what I believe are read as coherent units of meaning, a process that is, of course, a matter of judgment. In my experience, Makassarese reading *lontaraq* read one statement at a time, scanning, deciding, and then interpreting each such unit as a whole before moving to the next. Makassarese reading has both a staccato rhythm and what can only be described as a declarative confidence in each statement. Texts are composed of these typically short declarations (Cummings 2002:xii-xiii).

Leaving aside the difficulty in identifying words, especially those which are archaic and unlikely to be in the dictionary, some of the most difficult (grammatical) aspects of interpreting texts from *lontara'* are:

- given the lack of spaces between words it is often unclear whether any given *na* should be identified as the conjunction *na* 'and', the 3rd person proclitic *na=*, or the 3rd person possessive suffix $\equiv na$
- similarly, it is often difficult to determine whether a *ku* should be attached to the previous element as the 1st person possessive suffix, or the following element as the 1st person proclitic pronoun.

- it is impossible to distinguish between the 1st person absolutive enclitic = *a'*, and the article $\equiv$ *a*, so  could be interpreted as *karaenga'* 'I am king' or *karaenga* 'the king'.
- it is often not clear whether a verb prefix is *aC-* or *aN-* (§7.1), as in  *a'betai* 'he won' (intransitive) or *ambetai* 'he defeated ...' (transitive).

The last point raises an important problem with using *lontara'* as sources of information about the language's state at a particular historical period: Texts are necessarily filtered through the contemporary language — that is to say that the modern reader unavoidably reconstructs missing elements using knowledge of the language as spoken today. For example, a reader's choice of *aC-* or *aN-* in *a(?)betai* is based on what the choice would be by a modern speaker, or on what one knows of the grammar in general. However there does not seem to be any solution to this particular problem, and it is not in itself an excuse to give up using manuscript data altogether. It simply means we must exercise caution, remembering that some details have been added by the reader.

3.1.2 Arabic script (*serang*)

The influence of Arabic following Islamisation in 1605, and also the presence of a Malay trading community using the Arabic-derived Jawi script, gave the option of using the Arabic script to represent Makassarese. This script was known as *serang*. It is a more complete way of representing the spoken language than the indigenous scripts, because it allows the representation of syllable-final consonants, but it never became widespread, with only a few manuscripts in such a script represented in collections. One of the major examples is the diary of the courts of Gowa and Tallo', which was transliterated and translated into Dutch by Ligtoet (1880). However, the use of Arabic script (writing the Arabic language) is common in manuscripts to represent Islamic names, dates, and religious concepts.

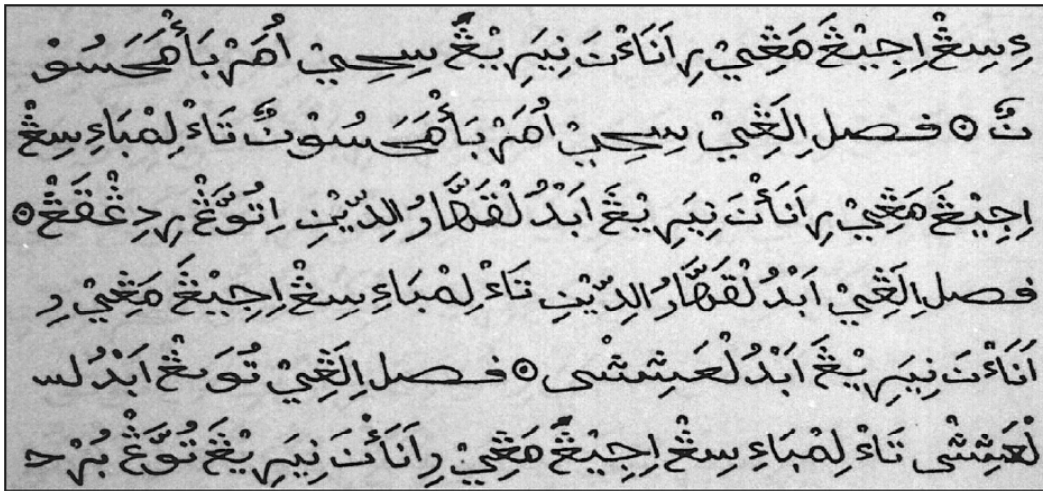


Figure 3.3: Serang script (from Cummings 2002:45).

3.1.3 Romanised orthography

There have been numerous methods of writing Makassarese in roman script. Some only appeared in short word lists or explanations of the writing system, such as Raffles (1817), Crawford (1820), and Thomsen (1832) (see Noorduyn 1993). Only those which became more common or are used in particularly significant works are examined here.

Not surprisingly, attempts to write Makassarese in roman script have been heavily influenced by colonial languages, namely Dutch and Indonesian. At present there is no generally accepted standard — or more accurately, there are several competing romanisation methods.

3.1.3.1 Matthes' system

There are two main Dutch based orthographies. One, developed by Matthes, was in use until the Second World War. It consisted of the following single letters:

Oral stops:	<i>p, b, t, d, k, g</i>
Nasals:	<i>m, n</i>
Fricatives:	<i>s, h</i>
Liquids:	<i>l, r</i>
Glides:	<i>w, y</i>
Vowels:	<i>e, i, a, o</i>

There were also a number of digraphs, with tildes used to tie the two letters together. The palatal stops /c/ and /ɟ/ were represented as *tj* and *dj*. The palatal and velar nasals

/ɲ/ and /ŋ/ were represented by *ñj* and *ñg*. The vowel /u/ was represented by *oe* — since this is considered a single letter in Dutch there was no need to tie the two letters together. Stress was consistently represented by circumflexes on stressed vowels, eg: *sikâmma* [si'kamma]. Geminates were shown as sequences of two identical letters, eg. *pasaribattañgânnâ*. The glottal stop was shown by an acute accent on the preceding vowel, eg: *kâmbará* ['kambara?], *lêlêng* ['le?leŋ]. (Actually it appears that Matthes misanalysed the glottal stop as a change in vowel quality, referring to ‘*scherpe*’ (sharp) vowels (Matthes 1858:9)). Stressed syllables with final glottal required two diacritics on the vowel.

Matthes generally included affixes and clitic pronouns as part of words, but hyphenated between stems and other bound and semi-bound elements such as the aspect and negation clitics and the particles *na*, *ka* and *ri*.

An example of text, from the beginning of the story *I Ma'di'* (Matthes 1883:141).

*Âpa oerôenna? âpa pakâramoelânnâ? — Kêre pokôna, kêre âká
málanrânnâ?*

What is the root? What does it grow from? — Where is the trunk, where
does it branch from?

3.1.3.2 Cense's system

This is found only in Cense's dictionary of 1979. In most respects it is similar to Matthes' system, with the following differences:

- The velar nasal is represented by an unusual symbol rather like the German *ß*, except when capitalised, in which case it is a large *ŋ*.
- The digraph *oe* was replaced with *u*.
- The digraphs *tj* and *dj* are no longer tied together with tildes.
- The glottal stop is shown with an apostrophe, eg: *balla'*.
- Stress is only shown occasionally, usually when it is deviant, by means of a grave accent, eg. *pàsara'*.

It is difficult to understand what led Cense to use this particular system. There are a number of inconsistencies — for example he showed predictable assimilation of a nasal to following bilabial, alveolar or velar consonants (*amp-*, *ant-*, *aβk-*), but not palatal consonants (*antj-* rather than *anjtj-*). It is also hard to understand why he consolidated two of the digraphs (*oe* and *ng* → *u* and *β*), but not the others (*tj*, *dj*, *ɲj*); furthermore the symbol he used for the velar nasal is neither a recognised IPA symbol nor a convenient one for ordinary keyboards.

Of all the various romanised orthographies, Cense's makes Makassarese look the most agglutinative — because he not only always attached particles to the following words, but stuck adverbs such as *dudu* 'very' and *tong* 'also' to preceding words and generally joined supposed elements of 'compounds' (really phrases) together with hyphens. Thus, where the local orthography (see below) would write *taena dudu tommo* or *taena-dudu-tommo* Cense wrote *taenadudutommo* 'also not very much anymore'.

In the archive of Cense's papers which is kept in the Historical Documents section of KITLV in Leiden there are some typewritten pages by Cense's friend and co-worker Abdurrahim outlining his preferences for writing Makassarese. This document is only a curio as his recommendations never became official, but it is worth outlining here for completeness. In terms of sound values for graphs his system is similar to Cense's, with the exceptions that /ɲ/ = *ng*, /j/ = *j* (not *y*) and /ɲ/ = *ɲj* (not *ny*) — in this he was following the version of Indonesian orthography prior to the 1972 reforms. He was also in favour of a rather agglutinative looking standard, recommending not only that affixes and clitics be attached to stems, but also particles and adverbs, and he also favoured writing compounds as one word. He also proposed the use of the numeral 2 for reduplication, eg. *a'jappa2* (*a'jappa-jappa* 'walk for fun'), which reflected contemporary Indonesian usage but is no longer favoured.

3.1.3.3 Indonesian based system

In 1975 a seminar and workshops on standardising the writing of regional languages were held in the Language Institute in Ujung Pandang, in which a method of romanisation was proposed. This is found only in academic publications about the Makassarese language, such as the Makassarese–Indonesian dictionary (Aburaerah Arief 1995) and various collections of folk texts published by the *Balai Pustaka* and the

Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan (eg. Aburaerah Arief & Zainuddin Hakim 1993; Parewansa et al. 1992; Sahabuddin Nappu 1986; Sahabuddin Nappu & Sande 1991; Syamsul Rizal & Sahabuddin Nappu 1993; Zainuddin Hakim 1991). It is also used in school teaching materials.

It uses the orthography of modern Bahasa Indonesia, which is for the most part reasonably adequate. The palatal stops are represented by *c* and *j*, and the only remaining digraphs are the palatal and velar nasals — *ny* and *ng* respectively. These nasals when geminated are inconsistently represented as *nny* or *nyny* [ɲɲ] and *nng* or *ngng* [ŋŋ]. The palatal nasal which arises from assimilation is just shown as *n* (eg. *moncong*). Geminate consonants are represented as such, but sequences of glottal and voiced stops, for example [ʔb] are variously shown as *kb* and *bb*. This is how the same text from *I Ma'di'* illustrated above (p.124) appears using this system:

Apa uruna apa pakaramulanna, kere pokokna kere akak maklanranna
(Parewansa et al. 1992:37).

The main problem with this system is the representation of the glottal stop as *k*. Usually this is easily understood: syllable-final *k* = [ʔ], so that *lekleng* = [leʔleŋ], for example. However, when a glottal stop is syllable-initial, as when the *a* has been dropped from verbs such as [aʔlampə] ‘go’, leaving [ʔlampə], this would have to be written as *klampa* (or *ʔklampa* showing the space left by the *a*). Although this can be understood, because [kl] is not a possible sequence in Makassarrese, it is misleading. More seriously, when a glottal stop is intervocalic, such as when the verbal prefix *aC-* is attached to a vowel-initial root like [anaʔ] ‘child’, resulting in [aʔanaʔ], the result is either the misleading *akanak* (as in Imran 1976), or some way must be found to show that this glottal stop does not become *k*. For example, Arief (1995) writes *ak-agang* [aʔaganʔ] ‘have friends’, showing the morpheme boundary, though this is never otherwise indicated.

But the most compelling argument against using *k* to represent the glottal stop is that they are not the same consonant. Many native speakers seem to agree with this—three different people, when asked to read texts written using this system out aloud, began by pronouncing the *ks*, stopped in confusion, and started again pronouncing them as glottal stops. In my experience, most people prefer to use an apostrophe ' , or leave out

the glottal stops altogether (a shop in the centre of Makassar has a large sign reading BAJI PAMAI, which is pronounced [bajiʔ paʔmaiʔ]).

Another drawback is that stress is never shown, and stress is the only way to distinguish between words with the applicative suffix *-i* and the enclitic *=i*.

A quirk of the system is that it often uses an apostrophe to mark ‘missing’ (elided) letters in verb prefixes and encliticised demonstratives (much as it is used in English words such as *don’t*). This can result in constructions such as *iaminne* <ia=mo=i(a)nne> ‘this is’ being represented as *iami’njo* or *iami ’njo*. Since most Makassarese use the apostrophe to represent the glottal stop *iami’njo* looks like [iamiʔnjo].

3.1.3.4 Locally preferred option

Makassarese who are not scholars use a variant of the above system when writing Makassarese. As such, it is found in handwritten notes, on the occasional sign, and in the lyrics sheets included with cassettes of popular songs by artists such as Iwan Tompo and Ismail Wahid, and more recently in subtitled lyrics on Karaoke Video CDs by the same artists. It is identical to the above ‘Indonesian’ system except that the glottal stop is usually represented by an apostrophe, eg: [ciniʔ] ‘see’ → *cini’*, and is often omitted altogether. Again, stress is never shown.

A similar system (though without the obvious inconsistencies) is used by the Fribergs in their work on Konjo (eg. Friberg 1996), and is also basically the method proposed by Rössler in the introduction to Chabot (1996:55-6). Noorduyn (eg. 1991b) and Cummings (2002 etc) use one which is identical except for showing the glottal stop with a *q*.

It is basically the system described above which is used as a practical orthography for presenting examples in this work. Thus the inventory of letters is as follows:

Oral stops:	<i>p, b, t, d, c, j, k, g, ’</i>
Nasals:	<i>m, n, ny, ng</i>
Fricatives:	<i>s, h</i>
Liquids:	<i>l, r</i>
Glides:	<i>w, y</i>
Vowels:	<i>i, e, a, o, u</i>

This system still has a number of shortcomings and redundancies which I have not attempted to resolve—the main being the use of digraphs *ng* and *ny* for single segments, which results in the unaesthetic *ngng* and *nyny* for geminates. Other shortcomings only become apparent when a little is known about the phonotactics of the language (for example, it is redundant to specify anything other than NASAL for syllable final nasals, since their realisation depends on assimilation, with a default velar articulation). However I have adopted the following conventions for clarity and regularity:

- the glottal stop is shown with a straight apostrophe ' to distinguish it from single quote marks ". The use of *q* to represent glottal stop is completely unknown locally, so although it is reasonable I have not attempted to impose it.
- stress is shown with an acute accent on the vowel (*á é í ó ú*) when it is not fully predictable. Basically, the accent is used to distinguish between words with the applicative *-i* and words with the pronominal clitic *=i* (*ciníki* / *ciniki*, and also to distinguish trisyllabic words including Echo-VC (§2.3.4) from words which are underlyingly trisyllabic and thus have regular stress (eg: *bótolo* 'bottle' vs *kalúru* 'tobacco').
- glides which occur automatically between high/mid and low vowels have not been represented, even if this is usual when using Makassarese or Bugis script, thus *rua* 'two', *mea* 'urine', *riolo* 'before', *siagáng* 'with'; not *ruwa*, *meya*, *riyolo*, *siyagang*. An exception is the place name *Gowa*, which has become reasonably standard.
- conjunctions *na* 'and', *ka* 'because' (§5.11), and the preposition *ri* (§5.10), although usually phonologically bound to the following word, are transcribed as separate words to help distinguish them from homophonous affixes or clitics.
- Encliticised adverbs such as *dudu* 'very' and *tong* 'also' (§5.5.2), are attached to their hosts with an en-dash, thus *taena–dudu–tommo* <taena dudu tong=mo | NEG very also=PFV> 'also not very much anymore', simply because this was the option preferred by most people whom I asked.

3.2 Literature

In this section I outline the main types of literary genre which are found in Makassarese, from both written and oral traditions.⁶¹ The distinction is important, because the manuscripts (*lontara'*) which comprise the corpus of pre-modern indigenous writings represent only a few major types: namely *patturioloang* (chronicles); *rapang* and *parakara* (expositions of *ada'* or traditional law); texts of religious instruction, and *lontara' bilang* (diaries or datebooks); while other genres such as *sinrili'* (epic chanted tales), *kelong* (poems) and *rupama* or *pau-pau* (folk tales) were transmitted through oral traditions.

It is instructive in fact to examine what sort of manuscripts are not found in Makassarese. For example, the Bugis creation myth/epic tale *I La Galigo*, written in a refined literary register⁶² and contained in innumerable manuscripts found throughout the Bugis speaking area, is often reported to form one of the largest single works of literature in the world (Pelras 1996:34). It has also been described as 'the most encompassing, encyclopaedic work regarding the knowledge important to Bugis society' (Koolhof 1999:384). But it has no parallel in Makassarese culture. Neither do the epic works of Bugis written poetry known as *tolo'*. Indeed there does not appear to have been a tradition of putting down myth or literature in writing until the colonial era, with a few notable exceptions such as translations of legendary or religious texts from Malay or Islamic tradition.⁶³

⁶¹ More detailed discussions of Makassarese literary genres can be found elsewhere (see especially Cummings 2002, 2003; Noorduynd 1991a).

⁶² This literary register forms the basis of Sirk's (1996) grammatical description.

⁶³ According to Matthes (1858:xi): '*De meeste, zoo niet alle vertellingen en romantische verhalen... hebben hunnen oorsprong aan de Maleijers te danken; terwijl die Makassaarsche godsdienstige geschriften... niets dan vertalingen en vrije omwerkingen van Arabische stukken te noemen zijn.*' (Most, if not all stories and romantic tales have the Malays to thank for their origin; whereas Makassarese religious writings... can be called nothing more than translations and free reworkings of Arabic pieces). A similar observation was made by Niemann (1863).

3.2.1 Orality and literacy in Makassarese

Much has been written about the relationship and lack of a clear boundary between oral and written genres in South Sulawesi. Pelras (1979), writing about Bugis literature, claimed that the two genres could not be separated and each borrowed from the other; while Macknight (1993:29) has surmised that the ‘writing in an oral style’ seen in La Galigo manuscripts could be explained by being the work of a ‘writing composer’ — a scribe who uses oral composition techniques to create a written work. More recently Cummings (2002, 2003) has written about the complex relationship between Makassarese oral and written histories, in which, for example, oral histories from polities outside Gowa may mimic the style of the Gowa Chronicle (which itself borrows from oral traditions) in order to promote their own region’s history and deny central claims about Gowa’s primacy; in essence using the authority of the Chronicle in order to deny its authority.

However, while the ongoing debate about orality and literacy is important, in some ways it diverts attention from the point, crucial for the present work, that in Makassarese certain genres were obviously intended primarily for entertainment or aesthetic pleasure, while others were intended for recording information considered important. The former, such as *sinrili'*, *kelong* and *rupama*, were exclusively oral; the latter, such as *patturioloang*, *rapang* and *lontara' bilang*, may have features of oral composition but, unlike the Bugis examples, there is no indication that they were ever considered as performance genres⁶⁴ — indeed, in the case of *lontara' bilang* the genre seems to have been designed not to be entertaining. When looking at the characteristics of language in various genres this division is important: the ‘oral’ genres contain a more literary or poetic style, and above all in the case of *sinrili'* are more obviously products of an oral compositional tradition.

⁶⁴ I have been unable to get conclusive information about this. Although it is likely that *lontara'* need to be read aloud in order to be properly interpreted (see Saenger 1997 about the difficulty of reading text without word spacing; also Cummings 2002:xii, 41), it is not known if *patturioloang* were ever ceremonially read aloud for education or entertainment.

3.2.2 *Lontara'*

In this section I summarise the genres that tend to appear in manuscripts that are referred to as *lontara'*, but first I will discuss the nature of *lontara'* themselves. The word (in origin referring to leaves of the *lontar* palm, as used for Javanese and Balinese literary traditions) in general is used to denote a physical handwritten manuscript, usually in the Bugis or Makassarese script, comprising ‘a more or less disparate miscellany of items’ (Macknight 1984:105). They vary in length from single sheets to hundreds of pages in bound codices, and may contain a fragment of a large work, or a collection of entire texts, or something in between. For example, the *lontara'* believed to be the oldest (KIT 668-216) has 154 surviving pages and contains versions of the Chronicles of Gowa, Tallo', Sanrabone, Bangkala', Maros, and Cenrana as far as p. 62; and from then a variety of different types of text, including treaties, tellings of particular events or reigns of *karaeng*, *rapang*, Islamic texts including the story of *Noong* (Noah), and so forth.

In both Bugis and Makassarese culture certain *lontara'* are believed to have sacred and mystical qualities (see for example Koolhof 1999), and in Makassarese they are included in the larger category of *kalompoang* (regalia, lit. ‘greatness’). To this day certain *lontara'* are believed to be so powerful that they must not be read by the wrong person (or in some cases even read at all). This of course can result in the knowledge of the substance of the *lontara'* being lost, as Cummings (2002:55) recounts: ‘In one case, the carefully handled manuscript of a family who no longer dared to open the case but who generations ago had been instructed to preserve its contents turned out to be only the receipt for the sale of a horse’. Many *lontara'* have however found their way into institutional collections in Indonesia or abroad, or been made available for copying or photographing.

3.2.2.1 *Patturioloang*

The main indigenous written text genre in Makassarese is the *patturioloang* or Chronicle. (*Patturioloang* is a *pa*><*ang* nominal derivation (see §6.2.2.3) based on *tu-ri-olo* <person-PREP-front> ‘ancestor’.) Of these, by far the best known are the Chronicles of Gowa and Tallo', which exist in many different manuscript copies (for a listing of those known to exist in public collections see Noorduyn (1991b) — many more

undoubtedly exist in private collections). Both chronicles were published by Matthes in the *Chrestomathie* (Matthes 1883), and later translated into Indonesian (Abdul Kadir Manyambeang and Abdul Rahim Daeng Mone 1979; Wolhoff and Abdurrahim 1959), and recently English (Cummings to appear). There are also several recent works that examine particular chronicles or the genre in general (Cummings 1999, 2000, 2002; Noorduyn 1991b).

Cummings (2002:77-88) has discussed the features typical of oral compositions which are found in *patturioloang*. These include paired phrases and the constant use of formulae and conventional phrasings. He goes so far as to list the most common phrases found in the Chronicles:

- 1 *anne karaeng uru* ... 'this was the first ruler to ...'
- 2 *sitau pole bainenna/ana'na*... 'another wife/child of ...'
- 3 *angnganakkangi* ... 'he had a child ...'
- 4 *anne karaenga (ta)nipuji(jai)* ... 'this ruler was (not) (only) praised as ...'
- 5 *anne karaenga ambetai* ... 'this ruler conquered ...'

To which might be added the constant use of the archaic formulae *iang kumabassung* 'may I not swell up', and *iang kumaweke-weke* 'may I not be destroyed', preceding the naming of members of the royal class. While their superstitious use in warding away misfortune associated with breaking naming taboos should not be underestimated, they have an obvious filler function whose use can be appreciated when it is remembered that most royal personages had at least three sets of names: posthumous names (*areng mate*), personal names (*areng kale*), and family or *daeng* names (*areng pamana'* or *pa'daengang*). With the addition of Islamic names in the 17th century one can understand that the dredging of names from memory was not an inconsiderable part of the oral performance and the formulae would have added valuable thinking time, but then found their way into written texts as well.

3.2.2.2 *Rapang* and *Parakara*

Rapang are statements of customary law (*adat*) and guides for correct behaviour based on the pronouncements of ancestors, who may or may not be named specifically. *Parakara* are similar to *rapang* but from a legal perspective, relating to criminal and

inheritance laws, and so forth (Cummings 2002:47,147). Manuscripts consisting of compiled *rapang* and/or *parakara* are common, and there is also a collection of them in the *Chrestomathie* (Matthes 1883), which were romanised and translated into Indonesian in a publication by the Proyek Penerbitan Buku Sastra Indonesia dan Daerah (Matthes 1985).

3.2.2.3 *Lontara' bilang*

These daily registers, also known as diaries, were records of important events associated with particular kingdoms. The genre has been discussed thoroughly in a paper by Cense (1966). The best known of these is the diary of the courts of Gowa and Tallo', which was transliterated from a *serang* copy and translated into Dutch (Ligtvoet 1880).

3.2.3 Published works in Bugis script

As has earlier been mentioned, in the mid-19th century Matthes had printing types created for the Bugis script, which made mass production of texts possible for the first time. The largest scale work is Matthes' *Chrestomathie* of 1860 (revised 1883), which contains a variety of texts based on copied *lontara'*.⁶⁵ Also at this time previously oral traditions such as *pau-pau* and *kelong* began to be written and published (see Noorduyin 1991a:143ff).

3.2.4 Oral genres

3.2.4.1 *Sinrili'*

This is probably the best known of Makassarese literary forms today — most recent local works on *sastra Makassar* (Indonesian: 'Makassarese literature') are devoted to it (Cummings 2002:42) — but in origin it was exclusively an oral tradition of epic prose, intended for chanted performance by professional *pasinrili'*, who were customarily blind, to the accompaniment of a two-stringed spike fiddle known as the *keso'-keso'* (Sutton 2002:105). To my knowledge *sinrili'* were first written down at the instigation of

⁶⁵ In some cases this book or sections of it have in fact become *lontara'* in their own right and are treated as valued heirlooms (Cummings 2002:54).

Matthes, and several were included in his *Chrestomathy* (Matthes 1883): these include *Datu Museng*, and *I Ma'di'*. These, together with some others were later published in roman script with Indonesian translation (Parewansa et al. 1992). Others available in published form include the *Sinrili'na Kappala' Tallumbatua* (Aburaerah Arief & Zainuddin Hakim 1993), which tells a fictionalised account of the Bugis prince Arung Palakka (called Andi Patunru in the *sinrili'*) and his alliance with the Dutch which permitted the defeat of Gowa (see §1.1.4.3).⁶⁶ Some *sinrili'* are (or at least were) also commercially available in abridged versions as recorded performances on cassette tape.

There are a number of *pasinrili'* (*sinrili'* performers) still active, and in fact some *sinrili'* have been composed in recent decades in both Makassarese and Indonesian, including one on family planning (*Sinrili' Keluarga Berencana*). However despite (or perhaps because of) the co-option of the *sinrili'* genre as the official exemplar of Makassarese literature, it does not seem especially popular today (see Sutton 2002:105-133).

3.2.4.2 Kelong

Kelong are a genre of short chanted or sung poems, similar to Malay *pantun*, with an 8-8-5-8 metre,⁶⁷ and free rhyme. The *Chrestomathy* (Matthes 1883) contains 8 pages of them, many reappearing among 634 romanised *kelong* with Indonesian translations (Sahabuddin Nappu 1986). A later publication (Sahabuddin Nappu & Sande 1991), although not describing them as *kelong*, merely *puisi*, contains nearly 400 of them, as well as some wedding poems with different metres. Another collection contains several hundred (Gani et al. 1987). There are also several hundred *kelong* which were collected by Abdurrahim and can be found in Cense's archives at KITLV (Or.545.55g, 56b).

3.2.4.3 Rupama and Pau-pau

These are folk tales, often recognisable as similar or identical to stories from other Indonesian cultures, for example stories containing the *pulando'* or mouse-deer (not found on Sulawesi) which are from a Malay tradition. There are a number of collections

⁶⁶ Andaya (1980) examines the paradox that the person who arguably did most to destroy Makassarese political power also became a Makassarese folk hero.

⁶⁷ Incidentally, many Makassarese pop songs use this metre, or 8-8-8-8.

of these, the results of projects in the 1980s and 90s.⁶⁸ It does not seem that these were written down until collected by teams working for the Pusat Bahasa or Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan (DepDikBud). *Pau-pau* are also folk tales but tend to be longer than *rupama* — one early published example is *I Kukang* ('the orphan') (Intje Nanggong Siradjoedin 1940).

⁶⁸ Two are word for word almost exactly the same, despite having different authors (Syamsul Rizal and Sahabuddin Nappu 1993; Zainuddin Hakim 1991).

4 Morphological units

This chapter outlines the types of units which are found in Makassarese morphosyntax. There are several different types of morphological unit, showing a progression from more lexical to more grammatical. Looking at the major types first, at the lexical end of the scale are lexical **roots**, then there are **clitics** and **affixes** — each being distinguished by clear morphological criteria. Then there are some types of unit which do not fit neatly into those three major types and can be considered to occupy areas between the major types. At the boundary of affixes and clitics there is a group of morphemes which share certain qualities of both and are termed **affixal clitics**, while at the boundary of roots and clitics there are different types of **particle**. Roots combine with clitics, affixal clitics and affixes to form **words**, while the status of particles with regard to wordhood is somewhat debatable.

4.1 Roots

Roots are non-dependent lexical units, meaning they are typically free morphemes which carry lexical meaning and form the basis for words (which may also contain bound morphemes but must have a root as morphological head, see §4.6). Note that being non-dependent need not mean that they are independent as there are roots which do not occur without apparent derivational morphology — for example the root *do'do'* appears in the derived intransitive verb *a'do'do'* ‘trudge’ and the non-volitional verb *ta'do'do'* ‘be exhausted’, but does not appear in isolation. This leads to the practical if inelegant definition that a root is what is left when all identifiable affixes and clitics have been removed, and as such they are the forms which are listed in the dictionary (Cense & Abdoerrahim 1979).

Roots can generally be categorised into various open or closed word classes (see Chapter 5), though it is not always clear that a root belongs unambiguously to any particular word class. Similarly it is not always clear that any particular reading of a root is more ‘basic’ than another. Prosodically the vast majority of roots can be basically characterised as disyllabic trochee — including the large number of (surface) trisyllabic forms which have been subject to Echo-VC due to an illicit coda (§2.3.4).

4.1.1 Bases

The term **base** is used to mean a unit to which affixes are added — in other words the basis of a morphological derivation. This may be a simple root, or it may be a form which is already derived, thus this stage is recursive. An example of recursive combining of derivational affixes can be seen in the word *napappikanreangi* in the following sentence:

(33) *napappikanreangi jukuka ri mionga*

na= pa- aC- pi- kanre -ang =i juku' ≡a ri miong ≡a
3= CAUS- MV- EXP- eat -BEN =3 fish ≡DEF PREP cat ≡DEF

he let the fish be eaten by the cat (because of him the cat ate the fish) (C:291)

There are a number of possible orderings of the derivations, but it is probably as follows: the root *kanre* means ‘food’ or ‘eat’, the addition of *pi-* forms a special passive verbal base *pikanre* ‘be eaten’,⁶⁹ which with the addition of applicative *-ang* makes *pikanreang* ‘let something be eaten’. Further derivation with the verb prefix *aC-* and then causative *pa-* forms *pappikanreang (ri)*, which means roughly ‘cause/let be eaten (by)’. This last form is the **stem** to which clitic pronouns are added, giving it an argument structure by cross-referencing the core arguments ‘he’ and ‘it’ (the fish).

4.1.2 Stems

The label **stem** refers to a form to which inflectional morphology in the form of clitics or affixal clitics is added: this may be derived (as in *pappikanreang* in (33), or simple as in *lompo=i* ‘he’s big’. Given that most clitics are extrametrical, the stem could be characterised as the prosodic word (with the stem + clitics constituting the phonological word); however, the fact that affixal clitics are sometimes metrical confuses the situation somewhat.

⁶⁹ Regular passives are formed with *ni-*, *pi-* is used within causative derivations to derive a causative passive, see §8.3.5).

4.2 Affixes

Affixes are units of derivational morphology — which is to say they affect the base to which they are attached in some way by changing its word class, semantics, or valence.

Affixes have the following properties:

- they attach only to roots or bases formed out of roots and other affixes, i.e. they cannot attach to a word which has already had clitics (§4.3) attached.
- they are counted as part of the prosodic word when stress is assigned (see §2.2.3). (This can only be diagnostic for suffixes, not prefixes, because stress is assigned from the end of a word.)
- when suffixes (*-ang*, *-i*, and *-a*) attach to roots ending in *s*, *l* or *r* (normally subject to Echo-VC, see §2.3.4) the echo syllable does not appear; in other words, affixes are attached before Echo-VC is applied.

There are **prefixes** and **suffixes**, the former being more numerous (the only true suffix forms are *-i*, *-ang*, and *-a*, but the first two are multifunctional). The most productive/commonly used affixes are the verb prefixes *aC-* and *aN(N)-*, and other affixes relating to voice and valence such as passive *ni-*, causative *pa-*, and the applicatives *-i* and *-ang*.

There are a number of polysyllabic affixes which interestingly appear superficially to be constructed out of monosyllabic affixes, but whose grammatical function cannot be considered to be the sum of the apparent parts. For example the prefix *maka-* (which attaches to numeral stems to denote ordinal numerals) cannot be analysed as consisting of the (unproductive) stative prefix *ma-* and the (rare) nominaliser *ka-*. The same could be said about the prefix *paka-* which forms causative adjectives.⁷⁰

There are also **confixes**: combinations of prefix and suffix forms which occur together and have a function which again can not be considered a sum of their parts. These could also be regarded as circumfixes, but I find the label confix more apt as it captures the

⁷⁰ Although there has been discussion about the likelihood of *paka-* descending from *pa-ka-* at an early stage of Austronesian (Blust 2003).

fact that both the prefix and suffix forms also occur as independent affixes. In interlinear examples confixes are shown with angle brackets, thus *pa*>BASE<*ang*.

There is evidence of former **infixes**, notably <*im*> and <*um*> which are no longer productive but occur in a number of /s/-initial fossilised forms such as:

<i>sorong</i>	'sit' (dial.)	→ <i>simorong</i>	'be seated' (ceremonially)
<i>sengka</i>	'division'	→ <i>sumengka</i>	'be divided'
<i>selang</i>	'dive'	→ <i>sumelang</i>	'dive'
<i>saya'</i>	'hover'	→ <i>sumaya'</i>	'glide'
<i>sombala'</i>	'sail' (n)	→ <i>simombala'</i> / <i>sumombala'</i>	'sail' (vi)

It is probable that <*um*> is also the ancestor of the variant verb prefix *amm-* (§7.1.4), which is seen on some vowel-initial roots such as *ana'* 'child' in *ammaana'* 'have a child' (← †<*um*>*ana'*). Cense also argues that the root *empo* (→ *ammempo* 'sit') comes from an earlier form such as †*t*<*um*>*empo*, with subsequent loss of the initial syllable *tu* (1979:900).

The dictionary entries state that <*im*> and <*um*> are variants of the same form, or at least that they have the same meaning (Cense & Abdoerrahim 1979:250, 900), whereas Djirong Basang Daeng Ngewa claims that <*im*> forms verbs, while <*um*> makes the word more refined ('menyatakan lebih halus') (Djirong Basang Daeng Ngewa 1997:19). The reasoning for the latter claim is unclear, but I would surmise that it stems from the fact that some <*um*> forms such as *sumengka* and *sumelang* can be replaced by regular *aC-* derived forms *assengka*, *asselang*, with the older forms being more formal. It seems likely that both are reflexes of proto-Malayo-Polynesian *<*um*> which marked agent voice or actor focus (Blust 2003).

Other postulated infix forms are more questionable. The forms <*al*> and <*ar*> are suggested by a small number of words such as *gala'ru'* 'stumble about' (cf. *ga'ru'-ga'ru'* 'move with difficulty'), and *karangkang* 'handful' (cf. *kangkang* 'id.'). Both infix forms are reconstructed as verb infixes for proto-Malayo-Polynesian, but no remnant of their function can be seen in Makassar. Djirong Basang Daeng Ngewa (1997:19) also lists the forms <*in*> and <*an*>, but the examples given do not appear to correspond to any unfixed forms and cannot be substantiated.

Table 4.1 is a list of the most productive or common affixes, with descriptive labels and abbreviations. Note however that the labels are in some cases only very rough

indicators, as some of the affixes appear to have extraordinarily diverse functions — this applies especially to *pa-*, *-ang*, and *-i*.

<i>aC-</i>	MV	monovalent	<i>taC-</i>	NVOL	non-volitional
<i>aN(N)-</i>	BV	bivalent	<i>sa-</i>	TOT	totality, unity
<i>aN-</i>	AF	Actor focus	<i>si-</i>	MUT	mutual, reciprocal
<i>ma-</i>	ADJ	adjective/stative (archaic)	<i>siN-</i> <i>/saN-</i>	EQ.CMPR	equal comparative
<i>ni-</i>	PASS	passive	<i>piN-</i>	MULT	multiplier
<i>pa-</i>	CAUS	causative (verb base)	<i>maka-</i>	ORD	ordinal
<i>pi-</i>	EXP	experiencer oriented			
<i>paka-</i>	CAUS.ADJ	causative (adj. base)	<i>-a</i>	SBJV	subjunctive marker
<i>pa-</i>	NR	nominaliser (agent or instrument)	<i>-i</i>	APPL	locative applicative
<i>paC> <ang</i>	NR	nominaliser (someone prone to ADJ)	<i>-i</i>	TRS	transitiviser
<i>pa> <ang</i>	NR	nominaliser (place or time of action)	<i>-ang</i>	BEN	benefactive
<i>ka> <ang</i>	NR	adjective nominaliser	<i>-ang</i>	NR	nominaliser

Table 4.1: Affixes

4.3 Clitics

Makassarese has a sizeable inventory of **clitics** (denoted in examples by the use of the equals sign =), which are used pervasively for pronominal cross-referencing of arguments (they are in fact the main way of indicating grammatical relations), and also for coding a range of tense/aspect and modal meanings. In this section the set of clitic pronouns will be introduced, and the functions of the other clitics will be described in detail. Affixal clitics which combine qualities of both affixes and clitics are discussed in § 4.4.

4.3.1 Properties of clitics

The formal properties of clitics are:

- they attach further from the root than affixes
- they are not counted for stress (because they are not part of the prosodic word, § 2.2.3)
- they attach after Echo-VC (§2.3.4)

- they have a tendency to appear in 2nd position (abbreviated as 2P, also known as the Wackernagel position), as will be discussed in §11.2
- they attach at phrase rather than word level. For example an adverb or other modifier such as an incorporated noun can come between a verb and the clitic pronoun, as in (34) and (35), or the negator may precede an entire PP (36).

(34) *naung todonga'*

naung todong =a'
descend also =1

I also climbed down

(35) *a'jappa bangkengi*

aC- jappa bangkeng =i
MV- walk foot =3

he's going on foot

(36) *laisi' ta-ri-nakkena*

laisi' ta= ri nakke ≡na
slenderness NEG= PREP 1.sing ≡3.POSS

her slenderness which is not for me

There are proclitics and enclitics: the proclitics are the pronominal set which canonically cross-reference the actor (the ERG 'ergative'⁷¹ clitics), the future tense marker *la=* and the negator *ta=*. The enclitics include the pronominal set which canonically cross-reference the subject of an intransitive clause or the undergoer of a transitive clause (the ABS 'absolutive' clitics), the aspectual/modal markers *=mo*, *=pa*, *=ja*, and the question marker *=ka*. The stable of clitics is given in Table 4.2 below.

Clitic pronouns			TAM clitics	
<i>ku=</i>	<i>=a'</i>	1	<i>la=</i>	FUT
<i>nu=</i>	<i>=ko</i>	2f	<i>ta=</i>	NEG
<i>ki=</i>	<i>=ki'</i>	2p/1pl.inc	<i>=mo</i>	PFV
	<i>=kang</i>	1pl.exc	<i>=pa</i>	IPF
<i>na=</i>	<i>=i</i>	3	<i>=ja</i>	LIM
			<i>=ka</i>	or

Table 4.2: Clitics

⁷¹ The use of scare quotes around the terms 'ergative' and 'absolutive' is due to the fact that the clitics do not always conform to ergative-absolutive patterning — often a proclitic represents S, and in some cases there are two proclitics representing P and A respectively. This is discussed in detail in §11.2.

4.3.1.1 Clitic ordering

The clitics generally appear in a fixed order which can be exemplified briefly with the following:

(37) *lakuapamako*

la= ku= apa =ma =ko
 FUT= 1= what =PFV =2f
 now what will I do with you?

(38) *takuassengapi*

ta= ku= asseng -a =pa =i
 NEG= 1= know -SBJV =IPF =3
 I don't know it/him/her yet

These examples show that on both sides of the stem modal and aspectual clitics precede clitic pronouns, which can be illustrated as follows:

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{aspect/modal} \\ \text{proclitic} \end{array} \right\} = \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{'ERG'} \\ \text{clitic pronoun} \end{array} \right\} = \text{STEM} = \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{aspect/modal} \\ \text{enclitic} \end{array} \right\} = \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{'ABS'} \\ \text{clitic pronoun} \end{array} \right\}$$

It appears that each slot may only contain one clitic — which is to say there are (for instance) no examples in which negator *ta=* and future *la=* appear together, or in which perfective *=mo* co-occurs with limitative *=ja*. The exception to this observation is that there may in some circumstances be two 'ERG' clitic pronouns — this and other exceptions to the canonical patterning are examined in detail in §11.2.

4.3.2 Clitic pronouns

Grammatical relations in Makassarese are principally signified by clitic pronouns which are attached to the predicate. The paradigm of the clitic pronoun system, as well as the associated free pronouns and possessive suffixes, appears in Table 4.3. The 1st person plural exclusive row is missing a proclitic, the remaining forms are marked with † because they are archaic, found for example in the Gowa Chronicle but not in the modern language, with the unusual exception of the enclitic form *=kang*, which is however only found in combination with aspect/modal enclitics (§4.3.3).

	Pronoun	Proclitic (ERG)	Enclitic (ABS)	Possessive suffix (POSS)
1 sing	<i>inakke</i>	<i>ku=</i>	<i>=a'</i>	<i>≡ku</i>
2 fam	<i>ikau</i>	<i>nu=</i>	<i>=ko</i>	<i>≡nu</i>
2 pol/1pl inc.	<i>ikatte</i>	<i>ki=</i>	<i>=ki'</i>	<i>≡ta</i>

1 pl exc.	† <i>ikambe</i>		†= <i>kang</i>	†≡ <i>mang</i>
3	<i>ia</i>	<i>na=</i>	<i>=i</i>	≡ <i>na</i>

Table 4.3: Paradigms of pronominal elements

The enclitics are generally used to cross-reference the subject of an intransitive clause (S) and the patient of a transitive clause (P), while the proclitics are used to cross-reference the agent of a transitive clause (A). For this reason they are, with some caveats, given the labels absolutive and ergative respectively, and Makassarese can be described at least superficially as a morphologically ergative language. However, there is a great deal of complexity and many exceptions to this generalisation — these issues are discussed in detail in Chapter 11, as is the question of whether these clitics are arguments in their own right, or agreement affixes (I prefer the former analysis).

4.3.3 Aspectual/modal clitics

This section deals with the clitics which are associated with tense, aspect, mood, modality and polarity (referred to for convenience as TAM). These consist of two proclitics: *ta=* (NEG negator) and *la=* (FUT future); and four enclitics: *=mo* (PFV perfective), *=pa* (IPF imperfective), *=ja* (LIM limitative), and *=ka* (OR ‘or’, and also question tag).

The TAM enclitics all behave similarly in that they encliticise onto predicates, following the applicatives *–i* and *–ang*, and preceding enclitic pronouns. The TAM enclitics will lose their final vowel if followed by *=a'* or *=i*.⁷² The results of the combination of TAM and pronominal enclitics are shown in Table 4.4.

	+	1 = <i>a'</i>	1pl.inc/2pol = <i>ki'</i>	1pl.exc = <i>kang</i>	2fam = <i>ko</i>	3 = <i>i</i>
<i>=mo</i>	→	<i>=ma'</i>	<i>=maki'</i>	<i>=makang</i>	<i>=mako</i>	<i>=mi</i>
<i>=pa</i>	→	<i>=pa'</i>	<i>=paki'</i>	<i>=pakang</i>	<i>=pako</i>	<i>=pi</i>
<i>=ja</i>	→	<i>=ja'</i>	<i>=jaki'</i>	<i>=jakang</i>	<i>=jako</i>	<i>=ji</i>
<i>=ka</i>	→	<i>=ka'</i>	<i>=kaki'</i>	<i>=kakang</i>	<i>=kako</i>	<i>=kai</i>

Table 4.4: TAM and pronominal enclitics

⁷² With the exception that *=ka=i* → *=kai*. Vowel-degeminaton still applies in the case of *=ka=a'* → *=ka'*.

The clitic pronoun =*kang* for the first person plural exclusive occurs only in combination with the TAM enclitics and not in isolation. It should also be pointed out there are numerous lexical ways of denoting TAM related meanings — these are not examined here.

Out of the six clitics, =*mo* is by far the most commonly used. Using Shoebox to make a wordlist and concordance from a subset of my corpus (2948 clauses) showed that =*mo* appeared 917 times, =*ja* 134 times, *ta*= 96 times, =*pa* 62 times, *la*= 39 times and =*ka* just 17 times.

4.3.3.1 Negative *ta*=

This proclitic is the most basic (ie. monomorphemic) of the set of negators, which also includes *tea*, *teá*, *tena* and *taena*. The behaviour of this clitic is described in the discussion of negation (§12.3).

4.3.3.2 Future *la*=

This is typically attached to a verb stem before all other preposed elements, including the proclitic pronouns. In most cases *la*= is a marker of future tense, in which the time can be left open or specified, ranging from the imminent to the remote or potential.

(39) *la'lampa'*

la= *lampa* =a'
FUT= go =1

I'll go, I'm going (time unspecified)

(40) *tanaasseng lanajappáia*

ta= *na*= *asseng* *la*= *na*= *jappa* *-i* $\equiv$ a
NEG= 3= know FUT= 3= walk -APPL $\equiv$ DEF

he doesn't know where he's going (Or545.48)

(41) *lamangea'ri pasaraka ammuko*

la= *mange* =a' *ri* *pasar* =a' $\equiv$ a *ammuko*
FUT= go =1 PREP market =EC $\equiv$ DEF tomorrow

I'll go to the market tomorrow

The meaning of the above sentence can also be expressed with a verb derived from *pasar* 'market':

(42) *lappasaraka' ammuko*

la= aC- *pasar* =a' =a' *ammuko*
FUT= MV- market =EC =1 tomorrow

La= is also often found on *wh*-words such as *apa* ‘what?’ and *kere* ‘where?’ (§5.6.4). (43) is the most common greeting formula, although it is usually shortened to *lakeko mae*.

(43) *lakereko mae*

la= kere =ko mae
 FUT= where =2f be

where are you going? (lit. where will you be?)

(44) *lakuapako*

la= ku= apa =ko
 FUT= 1= what =2f

what will I do with you?

The combination of *la=* and the perfective enclitic *=mo* (see below) means that an action is imminent.

(45) *lakusarema ko pa'arengang*

la= ku= sare =mo =ko pa> aC- areng <ang
 FUT= 1= give =PFV =2f NR> MV- name <NR

I will give you a naming (right now) (PT:033)

(46) *tena kuntama ri ballatta ri bangngia ka latinromaki' kucini'*

tena ku= aN- tama ri balla' ≡ta ri bangngi ≡a
 NEG 1= AF- enter PREP house ≡2p.POSS PREP night ≡DEF

ka la= tinro =mo =ki' ku= cini'
 BECAUSE FUT= sleep =PFV =2p 1= see

I didn't come in to your house yesterday evening, because I saw that you were about to go to sleep (C:257)

La= is not found in the mid-C18 manuscript KIT 668-216. Matthes noted it in his grammar (Matthes 1858:116) — his examples fit quite well with its current usage, but he associates it with the particle *ala*, which is a marker of deontic modality and unlike *la=* requires the subjunctive suffix on the predicate (§ 10.3). It may be that there is a historical connection, but there is no deontic content to *la=* in the modern language.

4.3.3.3 Perfective *=mo*

This clitic (which is irregular in that its vowel is /o/ rather than /a/ when unaffected by a following enclitic pronoun) has a wide range of functions, the main one of which is to mark completion of an action or event, or attainment of a state. In this way it is the most frequent marker of past tense, but is also used for fine aspectual distinctions, as well as some more obviously discourse/mood related functions such as forming imperatives and

expressing certainty. The following examples illustrate the core meaning of completion or attainment.

(47) *angnganrema'*

aN(N)- kanre =mo =a'
BV- eat =PFV =1

I've already eaten

(48) *pirambulamma battanta? sibulamma' taccini' cera'*

piraN- bulang =mo =i battang ≡ta
how.many month =PFV =3 belly ≡2p.POSS

si- bulang =mo =a' ta= aC- cini' cera'
one- month =PFV =1 NEG= MV- see blood

How many months have you been pregnant? (lit: how many months your belly?)
It's already a month since I saw any blood (C:840)

In addition, =mo is commonly used to form imperatives. This could be viewed as projecting the speaker's certainty that an action will be performed.

(49) *tunrummi*

tunrung =mo =i
hit =PFV =3

go and hit him (C:459)

(50) *ammempomaki'*

amm- empo =mo =ki'
MV- sit =PFV =2p

please sit yourself down (C:459)

On questions, =mo is used when an explicit or certain answer is required. Compare the following:

(51) *kerei mae pammantangannu*

kere =i mae pa> amm- antang <ang ≡nu
where =3 be NR> MV- live <NR ≡2F.POSS

where is your home? (C:459)

(52) *keremi mae pammantangannu*

kere =mo =i mae pa> amm- antang <ang ≡nu
where =PFV =3 be NR> MV- live <NR ≡2F.POSS

where exactly is your home? (C:459)

The combination of ta= and =mo means 'already not ...', and requires the predicate to be marked with subjunctive -a, see §10.3).

(53) *takuassengami*

ta= ku= asseng -a =mo =i
 NEG= 1= know -SBJV =PFV =3

I don't know it anymore, I already forgot it

When =*mo* is attached to the negator *taena* or *tena* the result is a word meaning “no more” which has scope over the following clause. The presence of *tenamo* in clause-initial position causes clitic fronting (§11.2.2).

(54) *tenamo nakkulle accini'*

tena =mo na= aC- kulle aC- cini'
 NEG =PFV 3= MV- can MV- see

he can't see any more

If the clause contains no other elements capable of hosting a fronted clitic pronoun, *tenamo* may host an enclitic pronoun. In the following example the clause consists solely of a prepositional phrase which can not host a proclitic.

(55) *taenami ri barugaya*

taena =mo =i ri baruga ≡a
 neg =PFV =3 PREP baruga ≡DEF

he isn't in the baruga (hall) any more

The combination of *tinang* ‘never’ and =*mo* means ‘never again’. (*Tinang* also requires subjunctive -a).

(56) *tinang niakkamo nasikatinrong karaeng-bainea*

tinang nia' -a =mo na= si- ka> tinro <ang karaeng baine ≡a
 never EXIST -SBJV =PFV 3= one- NR> sleep <NR king woman ≡DEF

it never happened again that he slept with the queen (lit: there was never again him one-bedding the queen) (C:459)

4.3.3.4 Imperfective =*pa*

The converse of =*mo* is expressed by =*pa* which marks incompleteness or remainder.

(57) *ingka se'repi kuboya*

ingka se're =pa =i ku= boya
 but one =IPF =3 1= search

but there's still one thing I seek (SKT:0001:007)

(58) *mmantampi tallu*

amm- antang =pa =i tallu
 MV- stay =IPF =3 three

there's still three left

Note that remainder (with the emphasis on scarcity, ‘only X left’) may also be expressed with the adverbial particle *mamo* (§5.5.2).

The combination of *=pa* with a negator means ‘not yet’:

(59) *tenapa kutianang*

tena =pa ku= tianang
NEG =IPF 1= pregnant

I’m not yet pregnant (bembe009)

(60) *takuassengapi*

ta= ku= asseng -a =pa =i
NEG= 1= know -SBJV =IPF =3

I don’t know it yet (cf. (53))

4.3.3.5 Limitative *=ja*

The enclitic *=ja* means ‘only’ in the sense ‘nothing more than’ or ‘nothing other than’.

(61) *la'lampaja'*

la= aC- lampa =ja =a'
FUT= MV- go =LIM =1

I’m just going to go

(62) *mannantu lombo, lombo bannanji*

manna antu lombo lombo bannang =ja =i
although MED big big thread =LIM =3

even if that’s thick, it’s only a thick thread (ie. it may be big, but it’s only big for a small thing)

(63) *manna le'leng ka i katte angkana buleng, bulenji*

manna le'leng ka i katte aN- kana buleng buleng =ja =i
although black because PERS you AF- word white white =LIM =3

although black, since you say ‘white’, it’s nothing but white

4.3.3.6 ‘Either/or’ *=ka*

This clitic groups with the aspectual/modal enclitics largely because it fits into the same morphosyntactic slot (between the stem and the pronominal enclitic), and because it is neither counted for stress has a stress contour of its own (unlike the otherwise similar hortative particle *sá*, see §5.5.2). However its function is somewhat removed from the other members of the group and it has a significant formal difference in that its vowel is not subject to replacement by a pronominal enclitic’s vowel, thus *=ka + =i → kai (*ki)*.

Cense describes it as having a ‘questioning’ (*vragende*) meaning, as did one of my informants who compared it to the Japanese question particle (which is also coincidentally *ka*).⁷³ However the fact that the vast majority of questions are not marked with *=ka* makes this explanation somewhat dubious. There seem to be two major functions: one is as a means of seeking confirmation or clarification similar to question tags in English:

(64) *lanaungkako?*

la= naung =ka =ko
FUT= descend =or =2f

will you really go down? (C:257)

The other major function of *=ka*, although less common in spoken Makassarese than the ‘questioning’ function, could perhaps be considered more primary. In this, *=ka* marks options or possibilities in an either/or construction, with each of the alternatives marked with *=ka*. Cense gives the partial example *tedongka jarangka* <buffalo=or horse=or> ‘either buffalo or horses’ (C:257) but a larger example comes from the preamble to the Gowa Chronicle (Wolhoff and Abdurrahim 1959:9):

(65) *Ka punna taniassenga ruai kodina kisa'ringkai kalenta karaeng–dudu na kanaka tau ipantaraka tau bawang– dudu.*

ka punna ta= ni– asseng ≡a rua =i kodi ≡na ki= sa'ring =ka =i
BCS if NEG= PASS– know ≡DEF two =3 bad ≡3.POSS 2p= feel =or =3

kale ≡nta karaeng dudu na kana =ka tau i pantara' ≡a
self ≡2p.POSS king very and word =or person PREP outside ≡DEF

tau bawang dudu
person ordinary very

Because if it is not known, there are two dangers: either we will feel ourselves to be kings too, or outsiders will call us common people.

In view of the latter function, it is tempting to compare the use of *=ka* on a single predicate to the use of leading *or* in English, as in *Do you want to come, or...* Note though that ‘or’ in Makassarese is in most cases the lexicalised construction *iareka* <ia are=*ka* | 3PRO perhaps=*Q*>.

⁷³ Most Makassarese people do not speak Japanese, however this person is a guide for Japanese tourists.

4.4 Affixal clitics

There is a small set of units whose behaviour is between that of affixes and clitics. These units are called **affixal clitics**, after Hasan Basri *et al*'s (1999) account.⁷⁴ They are the class of determiners, consisting of the definite marker $\equiv a$ and the possessive pronouns. They are marked with a triple-hyphen ($\equiv$) to distinguish them from affixes ($-$) and clitics ($=$).

They behave like affixes because:

- they are counted for stress (only after a vowel in the case of $\equiv a$, see §2.3.6)

They behave like clitics because:

- they attach to phrases rather than words. For example in the phrase *balla' lompóa* 'the big house', the determiner attaches to the adjective *lompo* 'big' rather than the head of the NP *balla'* 'house'.
- they attach after echo-VC (§2.3.4, unlike the true suffixes *-ang* and *-i*. Thus *botolo'na* <botol $\equiv$ na | bottle 3.POSS> 'his bottle' rather than **botolna*.

4.4.1 The definite marker $\equiv a$

This affixal clitic marks definiteness, and is also used to mark relative clauses. Phonologically it behaves like an affix (ie. it is counted for stress) following a vowel-final base, as in *batúa* 'the stone'; and like a clitic (not counted for stress) following a consonant-final base, as in *kóngkonga* 'the dog', *júkuka* 'the fish'. Another way in which it behaves like a clitic is that it attaches after Echo-VC (§2.3.4) on roots which are subject to that process, eg. *pasaraka* <pasar-EC $\equiv$ a> 'the market'. A geminate palatal glide $-yy-$ is inserted when $\equiv a$ is suffixed to bases ending in *a*, as in *matáyya* 'the eye'. It seems likely that there is a historical connection between $\equiv a$ and the 3rd person pronoun *ia*, and the geminate *yy* is in fact a remnant of underlying *i*, ie. *mataíia*.

⁷⁴ An alternative (and perhaps more felicitous) label is **phrasal affix** (Kroeger 2005:322). I retain the label affixal clitic to make plain the debt to Basri *et al*'s work. I use the symbol $\equiv$ to differentiate them from affixes ($-$) and clitics ($=$).

In its most basic use $\equiv a$ marks a noun as definite or specific, for example after being introduced by the existential verb *nia'*:

(66) *Nia' se're romang, anjo romanga tanikana–kanayai lompona siagáng luara'na...*

nia' se're romang anjo romang $\equiv a$ ta= ni- kana- kana -a =i
 exist one forest that forest $\equiv \text{DEF}$ NEG= PASS- RDP- word -SBJV =3

lompo $\equiv na$ siagáng luar =a' $\equiv na$
 big $\equiv 3.\text{POSS}$ with wide =EC 3.POSS

There was a forest, that forest's size and width cannot be described... (PT:002)

Once marked as definite, NPs participate in the agreement system, which is to say that they are cross-referenced with pronominal clitics, as shown by the difference between a sentence with P^{INDEF} and one with P:

(67) *Angnganrea'unti*

aN(N)- kanre =a' unti
 BV- eat =1 banana

I eat bananas

(68) *Kukanrei untia*

ku= kanre =i unti $\equiv a$
 1= eat =3 banana $\equiv \text{DEF}$

I eat the bananas

The interaction between definiteness and cross-referencing is examined further in § 11.2.4.

4.4.1.1 Miscellaneous uses of $\equiv a$

There are some uses of $\equiv a$ which are not easily analysed as marking definiteness, though they are not unrelated.

- Demonstratives may sometimes be marked with $\equiv a$ to add emphasis, eg. *annea* 'this one':

(69) *Annea kusuro–alle na maraeng nualle*

anne $\equiv a$ ku= suro alle na maraeng nu= alle
 this $\equiv \text{DEF}$ 1= order take and other 2f= take

I told you to take this and you took another

- There are also some rare examples in which pronouns host $\equiv a$ for strong emphasis:

- (70) *IAli nakana kodi, iSattu nakana baji' na inakkea tena nakulle kupattantu baji'na kodina.*

i- Ali na= kana kodi i- Sattu na= kana baji' na i- nakke ≡a
 PERS- Ali 3= word bad PERS- Sattu 3= word good and PERS- 1PRO ≡DEF

tena na= kulle ku= pa- aC- tantu baji' ≡na kodi ≡na
 NEG 3= can 1= CAUS- MV- certainty good ≡3.POSS bad ≡3.POSS

Ali says 'bad' and Sattu says 'good', I for myself can't be sure whether it's good or bad (Or.545.43:10).

- (71) *Iaya kusuro na tau maraeng tosseng nasuro.*

ia ≡a ku= suro na tau maraeng tong seng na= suro
 3PRO ≡DEF 1= order and person other also again 3= order

He was the one I ordered and he ordered someone else again (Or.545.43:10).

- There are also some examples in which ≡a is attached to nouns which already host possessive suffixes — usually in itself enough to mark a noun as definite:

- (72) *Napatojengi tumalompoa antekamma ri kanantaya, karaeng*

na= pa- tojeng =i tu- ma- lompo ≡a antekamma ri
 3= CAUS- true =3 person- STV- big ≡DEF how PREP

kana ≡nta ≡a karaeng
 word ≡2p.POSS ≡DEF king

The Governor believes it is according to your words, karaeng

- ≡a can be attached to *se're* 'one' when used as a specifier, with the meaning 'a certain X, a particular X':

- (73) *Ri se'rea kampong ammantangi se'rea tu-kalabini.*

ri se're ≡a kampong amm- antang =i se're ≡a tu kalabini
 PREP one ≡DEF village MV- stay =3 one ≡DEF person couple

In a certain village lived a certain couple (Zainuddin Hakim 1991:126)

- And finally, ≡a can be used to nominalise verbs, in statements such as the following:

- (74) *Angnganrea bawi harangi*

aN(N)- kanre ≡a bawi harang =i
 BV- eat ≡DEF pig forbidden =3

The eating of pork is forbidden

The definite marker ≡a can be distinguished from the homophonous subjunctive suffix *-a* (§10.3) because the latter is invariably counted for stress and attaches before Echo-VC is applied.

4.4.2 Possessives

The possessive affixal clitics $\equiv ku$ (1.POSS), $\equiv ta$ (1pl.incl.POSS), $\dagger \equiv mang$ (1pl.excl.POSS, but archaic), $\equiv nu$ (2f.POSS), and $\equiv na$ (3.POSS), are suffixed to the possessed NP. The possessor NP, if present, always follows the possessed NP. Some examples are *ballá'na* <house $\equiv$ 3.POSS> ‘his/her/their house’, *miong le'léngku* <cat black $\equiv$ 1.POSS> ‘my black cat’, *bonena gucia* <contents $\equiv$ 3.POSS pot $\equiv$ DEF> ‘the pot’s contents’, *tedonna i Ali* <buffalo $\equiv$ 3.POSS Ali> ‘Ali’s buffalo’. They can also be used directly on adjectives to show possessed attributes, as in *luara'na* <wide $\equiv$ 3.POSS> ‘its width’. It is very common to have multiple possessive markers within an NP, for example *tuka'na balla'na ana'na* <ladder $\equiv$ 3.POSS house $\equiv$ 3.POSS child $\equiv$ 3.POSS> ‘her children’s house’s stairs’.

Each of the possessives has a prenasalised allomorph which appears on some vowel-final roots, for example *limangku* ‘my hand’ (**limaku*). There are also some glottal-final roots which show these prenasalised forms instead of the expected geminate stops, such as *kaka'* $\rightarrow$ *kakangku* ‘my elder sibling’ (**kakakku*) or the archaic example from the Gowa Chronicle *balla'* $\rightarrow$ $\dagger$ *ballammang* ‘our house’. No obvious pattern for this has been found (cf. *andi'* $\rightarrow$ *andikku* ‘my younger sibling’ (**andingku*)). According to Cense (1979:xi) in some cases both the regular and prenasalised forms can be used on the same root with different semantics, and gives the example *bainengku* <woman $\equiv$ 1.POSS> ‘my wife’ as opposed to *baineku* ‘my maid’. However, this pattern (and the use of *baineku*) was not confirmed by modern speakers and it seems likely that the present usage is irregular and conventionalised.

Unlike the definite marker $\equiv a$, possessives may be followed by aspectual/modal and pronominal enclitics.

(75) *ri wattunnamo nai' ri biseanga Bruce tepokki anjo tuka'na biseanga*

ri wattu $\equiv na$ =mo nai' ri biseang $\equiv a$ Bruce tepo' -i
 PREP time $\equiv$ 3.POSS =PFV climb PREP boat $\equiv$ DEF Bruce broken -TRS

anjo tuka' $\equiv na$ biseang $\equiv a$
 that ladder $\equiv$ 3.POSS boat $\equiv$ DEF

When Bruce climbed back on the boat he broke the boat’s ladder (lit. on his climbing onto the boat time Bruce broke that ship’s ladder)

(76) *ana'nai karaenga*

ana' $\equiv na$ =i karaeng $\equiv a$
 child $\equiv$ 3.POSS =3 karaeng $\equiv$ DEF

he is the karaeng's son

In some complex constructions more than one may be suffixed:

(77) *pa'ja ta-ri-kalengkuna*

[pa'ja ta= ri kale **≡ngku**] **≡na**
 [good.complexion [NEG= PREP self **1POSS**] **3.POSS**]
 her beautiful complexion which is not for myself (Cgn:7)

The latter sentence also illustrates an interesting phenomenon: relative clause-like possessive constructions. Unfortunately, I have only three examples of these, all from Cense's grammar notes in the archives at KITLV in Leiden (Cgn:7). The other two follow:

(78) *kalimbu'-ta-tassungkeku*

kalimbu' ta= taC- sungke **≡ku**
 mosquito.net NEG= NVOL- open **≡1.POSS**
 my mosquito net which is unopened

(79) *laisi'-ta-ri-nakkena*

laisi' ta= ri nakke **≡na**
 slenderness NEG= PREP 1PRO **≡3.POSS**
 her slenderness which is not for me

A possessive suffix can be placed on a predicate in place of an enclitic, in which case it forms a subordinate temporal clause. Example (80) shows this on an intransitive clause.

(80) *Antamaku ri balla'na aganna akkuta'nammi Anthony ri aganna angkana "..."*

aN- tama **≡ku** ri balla' **≡na** agang **≡na** aC- kuta'nang =mo =i
 AF- enter **≡1.POSS** PREP house **≡3.POSS** friend **≡3.POSS** MV- question =PFV =3

Antoni ri agang **≡na** aN- kana
 Anthony PREP friend **≡3.POSS** AF- word

When we entered his friend's house Anthony asked his friend "..."

And (81) shows it on a transitive clause, in which **≡na** is co-referent with the goal Malino.

(81) *Kurapi'na Malino sengka angnganre ri warunga*

ku= rapi' **≡na** Malino sengka aN(N)- kanre ri warung **≡a**
 1= reach **≡3.POSS** Malino on.the.way BV- eat PREP stall **≡DEF**

On reaching Malino we stopped to eat at the *warung*

If two consecutive clauses show verbs with possessive markers instead of enclitics there is a strong inference that the second clause is a result of the first, as seen in the following examples.

(82) *Kucini'na, a'lampana*

ku= cini' ≡na aC- lampa ≡na
 1= see ≡3.POSS MV- go ≡3.POSS

When I looked at him, he left (he was afraid of me)

(83) *Kucini'na, a'lampaku*

ku= cini' ≡na aC- lampa ≡na
 1= see ≡3.POSS MV- go ≡3.POSS

When I saw him, I left (I was afraid of him)

Compare a parallel example with enclitics, where there is a sequential reading but no inference of causation:

(84) *Kuciniki, a'lampai*

ku= cini' =i aC- lampa =i
 1= see =3 MV- go =3

I saw him, he left

4.5 Particles

The term **particle** is used here to describe units which are not quite clitics but not quite roots. Particles generally carry grammatical rather than lexical meaning but phonologically they do not attach closely to words — meaning that it is possible to pause at particle-word boundaries, but the particle is for some reason not generally agreed to be a word in its own right. This can be seen most clearly in the fact that there is no agreement in published sources about whether these elements should be represented orthographically as free or bound. For example, in the convention adopted by Cense (Cense & Abdoerrahim 1979) and the almost identical one recommended by Abdurrahim (KITLV Or.545.46), all the elements discussed in this section are represented as bound forms; whereas in the Indonesianised version more current today (§3.1.3.3) they are nearly always represented as free. In the unofficial standard (found in non-scholarly sources, §3.1.3.4), whether any given particle is represented as free or bound varies on a case-by-case basis.

There are two quite distinct types: preposed particles which are generally conjunctions or prepositions, and postposed particles which are adverbial elements of varying nature, often reduced forms of adverbial roots.

4.5.1 Preposed particles

The six most common preposed particles are the preposition *ri*, the restricted locative preposition *i*, the homophonous personal prefix *i*, the reduced form *tu* of the noun *tau* ‘person’, and the conjunctions *na* ‘and’, *de* ‘or’, and *ka* ‘because’. They all have a degree of phonological independence but are less than the minimal prosodic word and are never assigned stress. They do not form the basis for any derivations, though *ri* and *tu* may be included in lexicalised compounds which may then be derived, as in *turiolo* ‘ancestor’ → *patturioloang* ‘chronicle’.

That they have some phonological independence (compared to clitics) can be illustrated by the fact that it is possible to pause after uttering them, that is to say the gap between a particle and the following word is a ‘resting place’ while the speaker recalls or formulates what is to follow. This is most often heard when speakers produce *ri...* or *i...* before having recalled the name of the place or person in question, often inserting the word *anu* ‘whatsit’ and starting again. For example, an extremely distracted speaker could produce something like this:

(85) *a'lampai i... anu, i Ali ri... Marusu', ka... nia' aganna*

aC- lampa =i i anu i Ali ri Marus ka nia' agang ≡na
 MV- go =3 PERS whatsit PERS Ali PREP Maros because EXIST friend ≡3.POSS
 he went, um, whatsisname, Ali, to ... Maros, because ... his friend was there

The boundary between clitics and their hosts is not subject to this phenomenon — for example in the following example only the junctions marked with # allow a pause:

(86) *ka# latinromaki'# kucini'*

ka la= tinro =mo =ki' ku= cini'
 BECAUSE FUT= sleep =PFV =2p 1= see

because I saw that you were about to go to sleep (C:257)

If there is a pause between clitics and their host, or between clitics in a cluster, eg. **la... tinromaki* or **latinroma...ki*, it sounds highly unnatural and disfluent.

4.5.2 Postposed particles

There are several elements which superficially resemble the modal/aspectual enclitics in that they are closely attached phonologically to a phrasal constituent, usually appearing between the phrase and any enclitics. Examples include the intensifier *dudu*, emphatic imperfective *ija*, hortative *sá*, and a group of formally similar adverbial and epistemic

modifiers such as *todong* ‘also’ and *sedeng* ‘again’ (which also have reduced forms *tong* and *seng* as seen in (91)).

(87) *lómpo–dúdui tena nakkulle antama ri pattia*

lombo dudu =i tena na= aC- kulle aN- tama ri patti ≡a
big very =3 NEG 3= MV- can AF- enter PREP coffin ≡DEF
he was very big (and) he couldn’t fit in the coffin (C:198)

(88) *tállasa’-íjapi anrong–manggeku*

tallas =a’ ija =pa =i anrong mangge ≡ku
alive =EC still =IPF =3 mother father ≡1.POSS
my parents are still alive

(89) *ballían–sá’ sapatu*

balli –ang sá =a’ sapatu
buy –BEN HORT =1 shoe
buy me shoes!

(90) *tena nalompo, tena todong naca’di*

tena na= lompo tena todong na= ca’di
NEG 3= big NEG also 3= small
it wasn’t big, neither was it small

(91) *antekámma–tóssengi i Udín?*

antekamma tong seng =i i Udín
how also again =3 PERS Udín
how also was Udín going? (i.e., returning to Udín, how was he going?)

However, these elements differ from the set of clitics in the following ways:

- although like clitics they do not affect stress on the ‘host’, unlike clitics they have their own stress contour, even if they are monosyllabic such as *sá* or *tóng*.
- unlike the case with enclitics, postposed *ija* on glottal-final roots does not cause glottal strengthening (/ʔ/ → /k/, see §2.3.3), eg. (88) *tállasa’-íjapi* (**tallasak-íjapi*, cf. *tallasak=i* ‘he’s alive’) (this is only applicable to *ija* because it is the only vowel-initial postposed particle)

It is apparent that these elements are separate prosodic words which are within the phrase as delimited by the enclitics, following and modifying phrasal heads in the same way that, for example, adjectives follow and modify nominal heads. The difference is that these adverbial particles are not lexical roots in their own right — they cannot act as head for any word or phrase, nor do they form the basis for derivations. They are examined in more detail in §5.5.

Another group of postposed particles are the discourse particles *to* ‘don’t you think?’, *de* ‘bah!’, and *di* ‘isn’t it?’. They differ from the adverbial particles because they are utterance final and do not host clitics. These are discussed in §5.12.

4.6 Words

Word is canonically taken to mean a single root, possibly reduplicated, which includes any attached affixes, and/or clitics, and/or affixal clitics. Thus the minimal word consists of a root alone (for example *gassing* ‘strong’, while the maximal word would be a reduplicated form with both affixes and clitics, such as the following:

(92) *kagassing–gassingannami*

ka> RDP– gassing <ang ≡na =mo =i
NR> RDP– strong <NR ≡3.POSS =PFV =3

he’s already at his strongest (C:228)

In my opinion there is no morphosyntactic evidence for word-level compounds, ie. words which include more than one lexical root — although there are numerous collocations which are often assumed to be compounds, such as *mata allo* ‘eye day’ = ‘sun’, *je’ne’ inung* ‘water + drink’ = ‘drinking water’; *balla’ garring* ‘house + sick’ = ‘hospital’. My reasons for rejecting compounds were presented in §2.3.8.

5 Word classes

Words in Makassarese can broadly be divided into a number of classes, of which the open ones are nouns, verbs, and adjectives. Nouns and verbs can be subdivided into a number of subclasses for a variety of distributional and structural reasons, while the class of adjectives is more homogeneous in nature. The minor word classes are pronouns (of various types such as personal pronouns, demonstratives and interrogatives), adverbs, locatives, numerals, classifiers, prepositions, conjunctions, discourse particles, and interjections. Two of the minor classes, interrogatives and locatives, are functionally defined classes which transect categories defined on strictly morphological and syntactic grounds, but their members have obvious commonalities justifying their being grouped together in this fashion (Evans 2000). This chapter introduces the major classes and discusses their properties with some representative examples while pointing to chapters where they are discussed in more detail, while the minor classes are detailed more exhaustively.

5.1 Root class and word class

Some roots can be unambiguously assigned a default word class. For example, the root *tedong* ‘buffalo’ has the potential to head an NP, can function as an argument in a clause, and denotes an entity. It may be called a noun root, and a verb derived from it, *attedong* ‘have a buffalo’, is clearly secondary to the nominal meaning. Similarly, the root *cini* ‘see’ is most likely to occur as a predicate, and takes the morphology associated with intransitive or transitive verbs depending on context — it may be called a verb root, and a nominal derivation such as *pacini* ‘seer’ is again clearly secondary to the verbal meaning. And the root *lompo* ‘big’ can function as an attribute or predicate and denotes a quality — it may be called an adjective root.

Many roots, however, are not so easily analysed. Some have no obvious default interpretation without derivational morphology, others show heterosemy between (usually) nominal or verbal realisations, while still others have an underived meaning which is not primary. The root *jappa*, for example, has an underived nominal interpretation ‘foot(length)’, but if one asks a speaker what the ‘basic’ meaning of *jappa*

is, they will reply ‘walk’ (BI *berjalan*); yet for this interpretation it needs to be formally derived with the verb prefix *aC-* → *a'jappa* ‘to walk’. So in cases like these we can see that a default interpretation of a root can in fact refer to the function of a derived form. In any event, ultimately it is a word’s function in a clause which is diagnostic for determining word class.

The major distinguishing properties of each word class will be detailed in the relevant sections, but can be summarised as follows:

Nouns	main function: heads of argument NPs can be specified by determiners and/or demonstratives may also be predicates tend to denote entities
Verbs	main function: head of predicate host verb prefixes and/or clitic pronouns tend to denote actions or states
Adjectives	function equally as predicates or attributes tend to denote qualities

Table 5.1: Properties of major word classes

On a general level there are several similarities and overlaps between the major classes. Nouns, verbs, and adjectives can all function predicatively, though the latter two are more obviously associated with this role. Adjectives and nouns may function attributively to modify nouns; verbs may also function in this way, but usually as relative clauses — direct attributional modification occurs but is not common. Nouns and adjectives can modify verbs adverbially. Adjectives may be modified by nouns or adjectives. Some examples of the possibilities are shown in Table 5.2.

HEAD	MODIFIER	PHRASE	MORPHEMES	GLOSS
Noun	nominal	<i>tanru' tedong</i> ≡ <i>a</i>	<horn buffalo≡DEF>	the buffalo horn
	verbal	<i>tedong attanru</i> ≡ <i>a</i>	<buffalo MV–horn≡DEF>	the horned buffalo
	adjectival	<i>tedong lombo</i> ≡ <i>a</i>	<buffalo big≡DEF>	the big buffalo
Verb	nominal	<i>a'jappa tedong</i> = <i>ko</i>	<MV–walk buffalo=2f>	you walk like a buffalo
	adjectival	<i>a'jappa kodi</i> = <i>ko</i>	<MV–walk bad=2f>	you walk badly
Adjective	nominal	<i>baji' pa'maik</i> = <i>i</i>	<good character=3>	he has good character
	adjectival	<i>baji' tojeng</i> = <i>i</i>	<good true=3>	he is truly good

Table 5.2: Heads and modifiers

In addition to the multifunctional nature of the major word classes, there is productive derivation. Most nominal roots with the addition of the verb prefix *aC-* can derive verbs which mean one of ‘become-have-use-make NOUN’ — this is in addition to the possibility of simply functioning as a nominal predicate without the prefix. To illustrate, the noun root *karaeng* ‘king’ can act as a nominal predicate in *karaeng=a'* <king=1> ‘I am king’ or derive a verbal predicate in *ak-karaeng=a'* <MV-king=1> ‘I became king’. Conversely, verb roots such as *lampa* ‘go’, normally appearing with verb morphology as in *a'-lampa=i* <MV-go=3> ‘he left’ can also host possessive morphology prototypically associated with nouns and thus derive a nominal interpretation, as in *lampa≡na* <go≡3.POSS> ‘his departure’. The same observation is true of adjectival roots, eg. *lompo≡na* <big≡3.POSS> ‘its size’. And beyond that there is more overt morphological derivation of causatives, mutuals, instrument nominalisations and so forth, which are detailed in chapters specific to nominal and verbal morphology.

The following charts show only the main and most regular derivational possibilities for the open word classes:

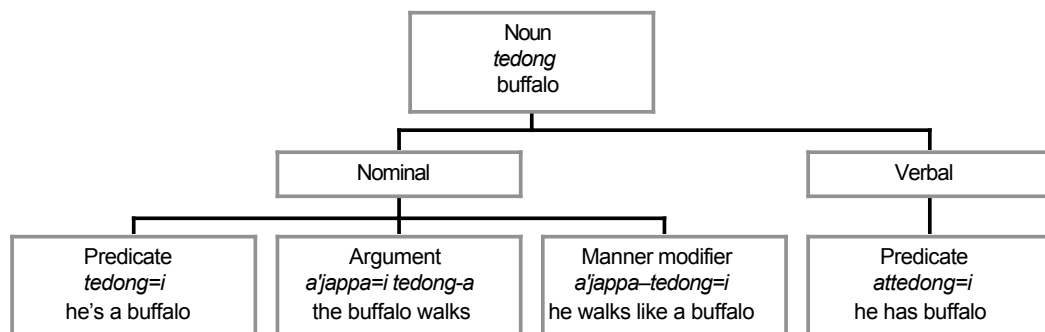


Figure 5.1: Derivation path for nouns

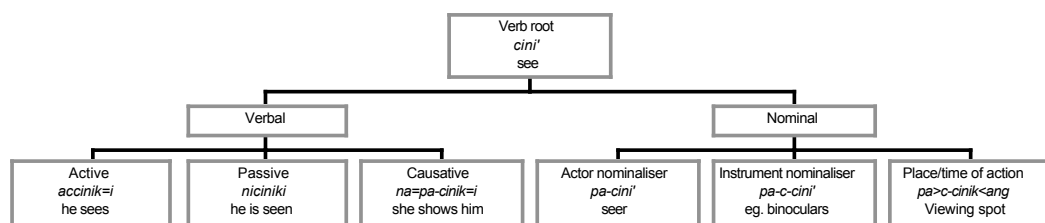


Figure 5.2: Derivation path for verbs

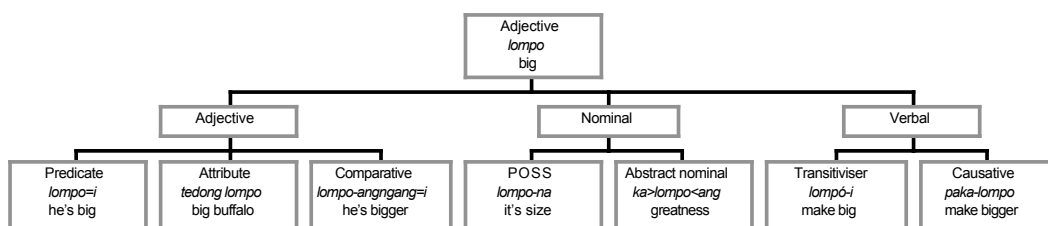


Figure 5.3: Derivation path for adjectives

5.2 Nouns

Nouns can be defined syntactically as words with the potential to form or head noun phrases (including relative clauses), and act as arguments in a predicate and thus be cross-referenced with clitic pronouns. They have the potential to be both possessor or possessed (head and modifier) in possessive constructions, with this relationship being marked morphologically with affixal enclitics on the possessed NP. They may also be marked for definiteness with the affixal enclitic $\equiv a$.⁷⁵ Like the other major classes they may also function as predicates. Ex. (93) below illustrates all of these major points:

(93) *ana'nai karaenga*

ana' $\equiv na$ $\equiv i$ karaeng $\equiv a$
 child $\equiv 3$.POSS $\equiv 3$ king $\equiv DEF$
 he is the son of the king

Other typical nominal properties are:

- they can be specified by demonstratives (§5.6.3)
- they can be modified by adjectives (§5.4)
- they can be quantified with numerals (§5.8) or other quantifiers, this process usually also involving a classifier (§5.9)
- they can be complements of PPs marked with the preposition *ri* (§5.10)

⁷⁵ Note though that it cannot be assumed that a word hosting a possessive or definite marker is a noun; firstly because these attach at phrase level so may be directly attached to a modifying element within the NP rather than the head noun itself (§6.3); and secondly because the definite marker also marks relative clauses, in which case it may appear on the RC-internal verb (§6.3.3), while the possessive markers may themselves nominalise adjectives (§5.4.1.1) and are also seen on verbal predicates in a temporal/causal construction (§4.4.2).

- when prefixed with *aC-*, they will typically derive a verb meaning ‘have/use NOUN’ (§5.3.1.1)

Note that the above features are generally true of common nouns, but are not shared by all subclasses of noun. Nouns can be subdivided a number of ways: morphologically, combinatorically, and semantically.

Morphologically the main division is between simple and derived nouns, with simple nouns tending to refer to entities; such as *tau* ‘person’, *juku* ‘fish’, *tamparang* ‘ocean’, *berang* ‘cleaver’; and derived nouns tending to be more abstract, such as *kakalumanynyangang* ‘wealth’ (a *ka* > < *ang* nominalisation of the adjective *kalumanynyang* ‘rich’).

The most obvious division which can be drawn on the grounds of combinatorics is between the majority of common nouns which can take the definite marker $\equiv a$, and names and titles (excluding kin terms) which are unlikely to host $\equiv a$ but group together with the class of pronouns in taking the personal prefix *i-*.

Semantically of course nouns may be divided into any number of classes — animals, body parts, artefacts, and so forth. In general these types of division do not appear to be reflected structurally in the language, with the exception that the system of numeral classifiers divides common nouns by shape and/or type (see §5.6.2). Another possible exception is that the alternation of plain and pre-nasalised possessive markers ($\equiv ku/\equiv ngku$ and so forth) may reflect an archaic alienable-inalienable distinction (§4.4.2).

More detail on types of nouns and the structure of the noun phrase is given in Chapter 6.

5.3 Verbs

The large open class of verbs expresses actions, processes, achievements, and to a certain extent states, though the latter may also be expressed by adjectives (see §5.4). Verbs typically function as the heads of verb phrases. They may occur as attributes of nouns (§6.3.2.3), but this is relatively rare except within relative clauses (§6.3.3). Verbs are distinguished morphologically from other word classes largely by the presence of distinctively verbal affixes encoding voice and valence (§7). Furthermore, although other predicates may host clitic pronouns indexing S, only (transitive) verbs may host

clitic pronouns indexing both A and P, which is to say that only (a subset of) verbs may take more than one argument.

Some other morphosyntactic features of verbs are:

- licensing of a beneficiary by the applicative *-ang* (§9.2)
- licensing of a local by the applicative *-i* (§9.1)
- derivation of a passive with *ni-* (§7.3)
- derivation of a causative verb by *pa-* (§8.1)
- derivation of a mutual/reciprocal verb by *si-* (§10.1)
- derivation of occupation/habitual nouns by *pa-* (§6.2.2.2)
- derivation of place/time nouns by *pa>* *<ang* (§6.2.2.5)

5.3.1 Subcategories of verbs

The class of verbs can be subdivided using two main methods. One is syntactic and depends on valence, basically dividing verbs into intransitive and transitive classes. The other is morphological and depends on which (if any) verb prefix appears on infinitive forms.⁷⁶ Although there are many exceptions, the two methods coincide often enough that it can be generally said that the choice of prefix is related to the inherent valence of the verb. These topics will be examined in detail in § 7.1.1, but the basic facts are summarised below.

5.3.1.1 Regular (prefixed) verbs

All verbs (with the exception of the small group of basic verbs) can be said to have an infinitive or citation form consisting of the verb base (simple or derived) plus a verb prefix.⁷⁷ These forms, with the addition of enclitic pronouns indexing S, are also found

⁷⁶ There is also the logical possibility of subdividing verbs by their cooccurrence with applicative suffixes (Chapter 9), however there are no obvious paradigms formed in this way.

⁷⁷ The label **infinitive** is not ideal but tries to capture the fact that once a verb prefix has been attached the word is unambiguously a verb, but has no information about grammatical functions or aspect, these coming from clitics. In an earlier work (Jukes 2005) I used the label **citation form** for the same thing.

in intransitive or semi-transitive clauses (semantically transitive clauses with indefinite P). Verbs in fully transitive clauses do not have verb prefixes, but rather the base directly hosts a proclitic pronoun indexing A, as well as the enclitic indexing P.

The two most common verb prefixes are *aC-* and *aN(N)-* (for detail on the phonological behaviour see §2.3.2). A less common prefix found only on some vowel-initial roots is *amm-* (§7.1.1.4).⁷⁸ As illustrated in Table 5.3 and put very roughly, *aC-* and *amm-* mark intransitive verbs, often derived from noun roots, (a, b); and *aN(N)-* marks transitive verbs whose roots are often inherently verbal (c). Some roots can be seen with both *aC-* and *aN(N)-*, usually with a difference in transitivity (d) or a broader change in meaning (e).

(a)	<i>aC-</i>	<i>jarang</i>	‘horse’	→	<i>a'jarang</i>	‘have/ride a horse’
(b)	<i>amm-</i>	<i>ana'</i>	‘child’	→	<i>ammana'</i>	‘have a child’
(c)	<i>aN(N)-</i>	<i>tunrung</i>	‘hit’	→	<i>annunrung</i>	‘hit’
(d)	<i>aC-</i>	<i>cokko</i>	‘secret’	→	<i>accokko</i>	‘be hidden’
	<i>aN(N)-</i>			→	<i>anynyokko</i>	‘hide something’
(e)	<i>aC-</i>	<i>kanre</i>	‘food’	→	<i>akkanre</i>	‘burn, be consumed’
	<i>aN(N)-</i>			→	<i>angnganre</i>	‘eat’

Table 5.3: Differences between verb prefixes

As has been stated, there are several exceptions to the above generalisations, which are discussed in §7.1.1. It should also be noted that verbs derived using the causative or mutual/reciprocal prefixes (*pa-* or *paka-*, and *si-*) always have infinitives with *aC-* even though they may be transitive.

5.3.1.2 Basic verbs

There is a small group of common intransitive verbs which do not take verb prefixes (though they are all subject to other kinds of derivational morphology). These are labelled basic verbs and are listed in Table 5.4.

⁷⁸ A further prefix *aN-* (without nasal substitution, §7.2) is found only in clauses where A is an NP in the pre-predicate Focus position (§11.9), and there is a definite P.

<i>naung</i>	go down	<i>tinro</i> ⁷⁹	sleep
<i>nai'</i>	go up	<i>mate</i>	die
<i>battu</i>	come	<i>nia'</i>	exist
<i>mange</i>	go	<i>kamma</i> ⁸⁰	be like, be so
<i>mae</i>	be in a place	<i>ero'</i>	want
<i>lari</i>	run	<i>tu'guru</i> ⁸¹	be fallen
<i>anrai'</i>	go east	<i>bangka</i>	be breached
<i>kalau'</i>	go west ⁸²	<i>tuli</i>	continue
<i>antama</i>	enter ⁸³	<i>tulusu'</i>	be straight/upright
		<i>lalo</i>	pass
		<i>le'ba'</i>	be ready, finished

Table 5.4: Basic verbs

They are not an especially homogeneous group.⁸⁴ As can be seen, they can roughly be divided into a group denoting movement or location and another group with more stative meanings, but each has some idiosyncracies, with the exception of the antonym pair *naung* and *nai'* which appear to be identical to each other in distribution and behaviour. Generally speaking though basic verbs have some similarities to the class of adjectives (§5.4), notably:

⁷⁹ Although *tinro* always appears without a prefix in manuscripts and published sources, in my field recordings and notes there are some examples of *tinro* with the prefix *aC-* (→ *attinro*). This may indicate that it is becoming a regular (ie. prefixed) intransitive verb.

⁸⁰ In older texts the form *kontu* is found with the same meaning.

⁸¹ As with *tinro*, some younger speakers attach *aC-* (→ *attu'guru*).

⁸² *Kalau'* and *anrai'* are obviously connected with the locatives *lau'* and *raya* (§5.7.2), but are not derived by any regular method and are best treated as basic verbs. Interestingly, *timboro'* 'south' and *wara'* 'north' do not have corresponding verb forms.

⁸³ Historically this was probably <aN-tama | AF-tama>, however the combination is now lexicalised as can be shown by the fact the 'prefix' remains when negated (eg. *tena ku=ntama* <NEG 1=enter> 'I didn't enter'), which is unusual. Its antonym *assulu'* can still be considered *aN-sulu'*.

⁸⁴ Neighbouring languages have a similar class of basic verbs, but the members are somewhat different. For example Selayarese (Ceria 1993; Hasan Bastri 1999) has 8 basic verbs, four of which correspond to basic verbs in Makassar (e.g. *mate* 'die', *uru'* 'fall', *tinro* 'sleep', *nae'* 'go up'), and four of which do not (*gege* 'laugh', *sa'ra'* 'set (sun)', *simbara* 'stop (rain)', *kua* 'say'). Bugis (Hanson 2003) has a larger set, many of which have equivalent regular verbs in Makassar (eg. 'vomit', 'stand', 'cry'). Indonesian (Sneddon 1996) has a much larger set.

- Some of them can take the comparative *-angngang* or *-ang* (§ 5.4.1.3.2; eg. *naungang(ngang)* ‘lower down’, *naikang(ngang)* ‘higher up’, *mangeangngang* ‘be more/stronger than...’, *niakkangngang* ‘to have more’, *erokangngang* ‘prefer’)
- Some can be used attributively quite naturally without needing to be in a relative clause (eg. *tau mate* ‘dead person’, *bembe battu* ‘a goat (that) came’ (ie. wandered in by itself).
- They are often nominalised by the distinctive adjectival nominalising circumfix *ka><ang* (§6.2.3).

However, their distributional and derivational possibilities are somewhat different from the class of adjectives in the following ways:

- They all take the verbal causative prefix *pa-* (§8.1) rather than the adjectival causative *paka-* (§8.2; eg. *palari* ‘make run’, *pakamma* ‘make so’, *patinro* ‘make sleep’, *patu'guru'* ‘make fall’).
- The *ka><ang* nominalisations are quite different from those derived from adjectives proper. While *ka>ADJ<ang* derives an abstract noun denoting a quality (eg. *kagassingang* ‘strength’), equivalent derivations of basic verbs either denote an event nominal (*kamateang* ‘time of death’, *kabattuang* ‘arrival’) or have irregular meanings (*katinroang* ‘bed’, *kamangeang* ‘miscarriage’). See § 6.2.3 for more detail on these forms.

Some of the basic verbs (*tuli*, *lalo*, *ero'* and *mange*, are often involved in serial constructions (such as *ero' a'lampa* ‘will go’ and *mange assikola* lit.‘go schooling’) and could perhaps be considered auxiliaries.

5.4 Adjectives

Unlike in many other Austronesian languages (see eg. Bowden, 2001; Durie, 1985; Klammer, 1998) in Makassarese there are clear distributional differences between a class of words which generally denote attributes and qualities, and the other major word classes. Here I shall follow local instincts and label this class **adjectives**, although they

could arguably be termed ‘stative verbs’.⁸⁵ I have avoided labelling them as verbs largely because this class of words does not enter into many of the types of morphosyntactic behaviour which can be characterised as ‘verbal’, such as the *ni-* passive or *pa-* causative; instead having its own unique behaviour such as the *-i* transitive (§9.1.1) and *paka-* causative (§5.4.1.2), and *ka><ang* nominalisation (§5.4.1.1). Also unlike verbs, adjectives may be nominalised simply using the possessive markers.⁸⁶ However, the main feature that sets this class apart from verbs is that these roots can function predicatively without any verb prefix — a quality they share with nouns and the small group of basic verbs (§5.3.1.2).

Historically this word class was marked in both predicative and attributive functions by the prefix *ma-* as part of the paradigm of verb prefixes (§5.3.1.1).⁸⁷ This is now only found in older texts or in conventionalized forms such as *tu malompo* <person ST-big> ‘governor’ and in Makassarese descriptive names (*pa'daengang*, eg. Daeng Mabaji ‘Ms Good’, for which see §6.1.2.2). The prefix *ma-* was also used to derive a particular type of attributive nominal predicate, eg. *tena ku=ma-kopi* <NEG 1=ST-coffee> ‘I’m not a coffee-drinker’ (C:429), but this use is at best dubious today (see §7.1.5).

The group of adjectives covers a variety of meanings: colour terms, evaluations, physical characteristics, and the like. A selection is given in Table 5.5.

⁸⁵ Hyslop (2004:264) describes a similar dilemma when she refers to ‘stative-inchoative verbs ... (which) could equally well be called adjectival verbs, verb-like adjectives, or simply adjectives’.

⁸⁶ Possessive markers on verbs do not nominalise the verbs, but instead result in a temporal/causal construction (§4.4.2).

⁸⁷ A reflex of pMP *ma- ‘stative verb prefix (realis)’ (Blust 2003:37)

<i>baji'</i>	good	<i>cara'de'</i>	clever
<i>kodi</i>	bad	<i>dangngala'</i>	stupid
<i>le'leng</i>	black	<i>tojeng</i>	true
<i>kebo'</i>	white/silver	<i>sala</i>	false
<i>eja</i>	red	<i>larro</i>	angry
<i>lolo</i>	young	<i>rannu</i>	happy
<i>toa</i>	old	<i>lambusu'</i>	straight
<i>battala'</i>	heavy	<i>jeko</i>	crooked
<i>nipisi'</i>	light	<i>tu'guru'</i>	fallen
<i>gassing</i>	strong/healthy	<i>reppe'</i>	broken
<i>garring</i>	sick	<i>kalumanynyang</i>	rich
<i>pongoro'</i>	mad	<i>kasiasi</i>	poor

Table 5.5: Adjectives

As mentioned above, adjectives function predicatively without any derivation other than the attachment of clitic pronouns, eg: *garringi taua* <sick=3 person $\equiv$ DEF> ‘the person is sick’. For more detail see §11.5.2.

In attributive function the adjective is placed after the head of the phrase, which is typically a noun, eg. *tau garring* <person sick> ‘sick person’. Enclitics or affixal enclitics which apply to the phrase are then attached, eg. *tau garringa* <person sick $\equiv$ DEF> ‘the sick person’. (For more detail on noun phrase structure see § 6.3). Adjectives may also modify verbs, eg. *a'jappa kodi* <MV-walk bad> ‘walk the wrong way’, though this is less common.

Adjective phrases may also contain a variety of basic or derived adverbs, most obviously degree modifiers such as those presented below. Most of them precede the adjective, but some follow it:

PREPOSED MODIFIERS

<i>kurang</i>	less
<i>lebe</i>	more (Indonesian or Bugis influence, usually – <i>angngang</i> , see § 5.4.1.3.2)
<i>kaminang</i>	the most
<i>sanga'</i>	very
<i>ta'lalo</i>	exceedingly, too
<i>ta'liwa'</i>	surpassingly, too

POSTPOSED MODIFIERS

<i>sikali</i>	a bit
<i>tojeng</i>	truly
<i>dudu</i>	very

Table 5.6: Modifiers of degree

5.4.1 Adjective morphology

There are a number of morphological derivational processes which may act upon adjectives. The processes which affect valence or result in a different word class are dealt with in other chapters and will be discussed only briefly here, but processes that modify the semantics of adjectival roots while still resulting in adjectives are dealt with in detail in this section. There do not seem to be any derivational processes which derive adjectives as such from other word classes, given that other word classes can function attributively without modification.

5.4.1.1 Derivation of nouns

There are four distinct ways of deriving nominals from adjectives. Three use dedicated nominalising morphology, the other simply attaches possessive affixal clitics.

- ***ka>ADJ<ang***

Adjectives can be nominalised with the confix *ka><ang*, resulting in abstract nouns meaning ‘ADJ-ness’ eg. *kagassingang* ‘strength’ (← *gassing* ‘strong’) This is discussed in §6.2.3.1.

- ***paC>ADJ<ang***

This confix derives a noun meaning ‘someone who is easily ADJ’, eg. *pa'mallakang* ‘scaredy-cat’ (← *malla* ‘afraid’). It is discussed in §6.2.2.6.

- ***ka>RDP–ADJ<ang***

The confix *ka><ang* when attached to a reduplicated adjectival base results in a nominal with the meaning ‘peak of ADJ-ness’, eg. *kagassing–gassingang* ‘peak of strength’, see §6.2.3.2.

- ***ADJ≡POSS***

It is also possible to nominalise adjectives simply by adding possessive markers:

(94) *bajiki lompona*

baji' =i lompo ≡na
 good =3 big ≡3.POSS
 it's a good size

(95) *anjo romanga tanikana–kanayai lompona siagáng luara'na*

anjo romang ≡a ta= ni– kana– kana –a =i lompo ≡na
 that forest ≡DEF NEG= PASS– RDP– word –SBJV =3 big ≡3.POSS

siagáng luar =a' ≡na
 with wide =EC ≡3.POSS

that forest's size and depth can't be described (PT:002)

We can see that the adjectives have been nominalised because they are arguments and thus are cross-referenced with clitic pronouns, and furthermore in (95) they are conjoined with the nominal conjunction *siagáng* (§ 5.10.1). Possessed adjectives are functionally equivalent to *ka><ang* nominalisations but are less formal and also less abstract. In some cases they must be used because the equivalent *ka><ang* form has a specialised meaning (ie. *kalompoang* 'regalia').

5.4.1.2 Derivation of verbs

There are two main ways of deriving verbs from adjectives, both involving valence increasing morphology, and both resulting in verbal bases which are then subject to verb prefixation and other morphosyntactic processes characteristic of verbs.

- **Causative *paka–***

The prefix *paka–* is unique to the class of adjectives (the main causative prefix being *pa–*, see §8.1). It derives causative verb bases which mean 'to make more ADJ, to ADJ-en'. By nature these are transitive, though like *pa–* derived verbs the infinitive forms of these verbs are formed with the (normally) intransitive verb prefix *aC–*, eg. *appakalompo* <aC–paka–lompo> 'to enlarge' (← *lompo* 'big'). This prefix is discussed in detail in §8.2.

- **Applicative/transitiviser *–i***

Among the many uses of the suffix *–i* is the derivation of transitive verb bases from adjectival roots — the resulting base may then take the transitive verb prefix *aN(N)–* and/or clitic pronouns, eg. *ammajíki* <aN(N)–baji'–i> 'to improve, to fix' (← *baji'* 'good'). For detailed discussion see §9.1.1.

Derivations with *–i* differ from those with *paka–* because with the latter it can be assumed that the undergoer already has the quality to some degree, eg. *kupakabambangi je'neka* <ku=paka–bambang=i je'ne'≡a | 1=CAUS.ADJ–hot=3 water≡DEF> 'I heat the water' implies that the water is already warm (but not hot enough), whereas

kubambáŋgi je'neka <ku=bambang-i=i je'ne' ≡ a | 1=hot-TRS=3 water ≡ DEF> does not have this implication.

5.4.1.3 Derivation of adjectives

5.4.1.3.1 *Reduplication*

Reduplication of adjectives weakens or moderates the meaning in a similar way to English '-ish', without changing the word class or distributional possibilities, eg. *lompo-lompo* 'large-ish', *baji'-baji'* 'pretty good, OK', *kebo'-kebo'* 'white-ish'.

5.4.1.3.2 *Comparative -angngang*

A feature that adjectives share with locatives (§5.7) is that they can be modified by the comparative suffix *-angngang*, which has the somewhat archaic variant *-ang*. It appears that *-angngang* is a fairly recent development from *-ang*, as only *-ang* is described by Matthes (1858:43), and to my knowledge there are no examples of *-angngang* in old manuscripts. Cense, who collected most of his data in the 1930s, merely states that *-ang* is sometimes found alongside the more usual *-angngang*, especially in dialect and poetry (Cense & Abdoerrahim, 1979:24, 27). As for the reason why such a development would have taken place, it could possibly be because simple *-ang* was felt to have too many functions.

In comparative constructions, the comparative element (the thing being compared) is the S argument and is cross-referenced with an enclitic pronoun, while the standard of comparison is in a conjoined NP marked with the conjunction *na*:

(96) *lompoangngangi balla'nu na ballakku*

lompo -angngang =i balla' ≡nu na balla' ≡ku
big -COMPR =3 PERS ≡2f.POSS and PERS ≡1.POSS
your house is bigger than mine

(97) *cara'dekangngangko na inakke*

cara'de' -angngang =ko na i nakke
clever -COMPR =2f and PERS 1PRO
you are smarter than me

(98) *gassingangngangi angnganre na inakke*

gassing -angngang =i aN(N)- kanre na i nakke
strong -COMPR =3 BV- food and PERS 1PRO
his appetite is bigger than mine (lit. he's stronger eating than me)

Superlatives are expressed with the preposed adverb *kaminang* ‘most’, eg. *tedong kaminang lompoa* <buffalo most big≡DEF> ‘the biggest buffalo’.

5.4.1.3.3 *Equal-comparative siN-/saN-*

Unlike verbs and the majority of nouns, adjectives can host the equal-comparative prefix *siN-/saN-*; the two forms seem to be interchangeable according to any source which mentions them (Abdul Azis Syarif et al., 1979; Abdul Kadir Manyambeang et al., 1996; Cense & Abdoerrahim, 1979).

Equal comparative constructions are similar to the comparatives described above, with two minor differences. The first is that the use of *na* ‘and’ to conjoin the standard of comparison NP is optional rather than obligatory if the comparative element is only denoted by a clitic pronoun:

- (99) *sintinggia' (na) bainennu*
 siN- tinggi =a' (na) baine ≡nnu
 EQ.COMPR- high =1 (and) woman ≡2f.POSS
 I'm the same height as your wife

The second is that if both the comparative element and the standard of comparison are full NPs, they may be conjoined with *siagáng* ‘with’ instead of *na*:

- (100) *sallompoi ballakku na/siagáng balla'na*
 saN- lompo =i balla' ≡ku na / siagáng balla' ≡na
 EQ.COMPR- big =3 house ≡1.POSS and / with house ≡3.POSS
 my house is as big as his

The comparative element may also appear clause-initially. The following example from the Gowa chronicle describes the feet of the misshapen Karaeng Tumassalangga Barayang (§1.1.4.3):

- (101) *pala' bangkenna salla'bui katulu'na mange ri olo*
 pala' bangkeng ≡na saN- la'bu =i katulu' ≡na mange ri olo
 span foot ≡3.POSS EQ.COMPR- long =3 heel ≡3.POSS go PREP front
 the span of his foot was the same length as from its heel forwards (Wolhoff and Abdurrahim, 1959:10)

The other roots which may be modified by *siN-/saN-* are nouns denoting type or value, such as *rupa* ‘type’ (→ *sanrupa* ‘the same type’, and the adverb *kamma* (and its archaic variant *kontu*) ‘so, thus’. These latter forms (*singkamma/sangkamma* ‘the same’) may themselves be used for equal comparative constructions:

(102) *singkammai lompona ballakku na balla'na*

siN- kamma =i lompo ≡na balla' ≡ku na balla' ≡na
 EQ.COMPR- thus =3 big ≡3.POSS house ≡1.POSS and house ≡3.POSS
 my house is as big as his (the size of my house is the same as his)

5.4.1.3.4 **si/sa- + RDP- ADJ ≡POSS 'always ADJ'**

There is a construction in which *si-* or *sa-* (in free variation) are prefixed to possessed reduplicated bases to derive the meaning 'always doing X'. It is most common on verb bases, but is also possible with adjectival bases:

(103) *sagarring-garrinna*

sa- garring- garring ≡na
 TOT- RDP- sick ≡3.POSS
 he's always sick

Note that these forms can be identical to those derived via the process described below.

5.4.1.3.5 **si/sa- + RDP- ADJ ≡POSS 'as ADJ as possible'**

This construction has the dictionary definition 'in the highest degree',⁸⁸ though it seems to be closer in meaning to the Indonesian construction seen in forms such as *sebaik-baiknya* 'as well as possible':

(104) *sibella-bellana; sisallo-sallona*

si- bella- bella ≡na si- sallo- sallo ≡na
 TOT- RDP- far ≡3.POSS TOT- RDP- long ≡3.POSS
 as far as possible; as long as possible (C:692)

The example in (105) seems to show this construction without possessive *≡na*, however the string *sajarre'-jarre' tena sangkamma* may be considered a phrasal constituent, with the allomorph *≡nna* attached:

(105) *"Jarre'mi sajarre'-jarre' tena sangkammanna."*

jarre' =mo =i sa- jarre'- jarre' tena saN- kamma ≡nna
 strong =PFV =3 TOT- RDP- strong NEG EQ.COMPR- thus ≡3.POSS
 "It's strong, strong as strong can be with no equal." (SKT 129)

⁸⁸ *in de hoogste mate* (Cense & Abdoerrahim 1979:692). Cense only discusses this construction with the prefix form *si-*, but I observed that actually it is also possible with *sa-*, confirmed in a locally published description (Abdul Kadir Manyambeang et al. 1996:180,188).

5.5 Adverbs

There is a heterogeneous class of predicate and clause modifiers which can be labelled adverbs. Their main common feature is that they cannot function as heads of arguments or as predicates in their own right. In general they have restricted derivational possibilities, and many of them are particles (§4.5) rather than full words. They can be divided formally into preposed or postposed elements — in general the preposed adverbs modify clauses while postposed elements modify just the immediately preceding constituent. The postposed adverbs can be further subcategorised into those which are internal to the phrase as delimited by enclitics, and those which are external to it. There are also temporal adverbs whose distribution is less constrained.

Many words with adverbial types of meaning and/or function belong formally to other word classes. For example, the set of basic verbs (§5.3.1.2) includes words such as *tuli* ‘continually’, *le'ba* ‘already’, and *kamma* ‘be like so, thus’, which modify verbal or clausal constituents. Nouns and adjectives can modify verbs for manner, and the majority of temporal expressions are nouns (§6.1.3).

5.5.1 Preposed adverbs

This type of adverb precedes the modified constituent (generally a clause, except in the case of the superlative marker *kaminang*). They do not host clitics nor cause clitic-fronting (§11.2), and are not subject to any derivational processes.

<i>maka</i>	surely, be expected to
<i>poro</i>	may well (negative sense)
<i>barang</i>	maybe
<i>ti'ring</i>	by chance
<i>pila'</i>	the more (correlative)
<i>kaminang</i>	the most (superlative)

Table 5.7: Preposed adverbs

(106) *maka mateki' punna nia'lukinne pakua*

maka mate =ki' punna ni- a'lu' =i (a)nne paku ≡a
 should death =2p if PASS- swallow =3 this nail ≡DEF
 you'll surely die if you swallow this nail (C:432)

(107) *poro angngarru'nu*

poro aN(N)- karu' ≡ nu
 may.well BV- cry ≡ 2f.POSS
 may well you cry (but it won't help) (C:561)⁸⁹

(108) *barang iUdin angngassengi, kuta'nangi*

barang i Udin aN(N)- asseng =i kuta'nang =i
 maybe PERS Udin BV- know =3 ask =3
 maybe Udin knows, ask him

Pila' 'the more' introduces correlative clauses:

(109) *pila' lompoi pila' ja'dalaki*

pila' lomp =i **pila'** ja'dal =a' =i
 the.more big =3 the.more naughty =EC =3
 the bigger he is the naughtier he gets

The superlative adverb *kaminang* (also sometimes *minang*) modifies adjectives and absolute locatives (§5.7.2):

(110) *Nakanamo ana'na kaminang toaya 'Inai paleng kiarenganga' amma'?*

na= kana =mo ana' ≡ na **kaminang** toa ≡ a i- nai **paleng**
 3= word =PFV child ≡ 3.POSS the.most old ≡ DEF PERS- who in.that.case

ki= areng -ang =a' amma'
 2p= name -BEN =1 mother

Her oldest child said 'What, then, will you call me, mother?' (PT:034)

5.5.2 Postposed adverbial particles

The postposed adverbial particles (see also §4.5.2) vary somewhat in function and distribution. Some modify nominals as well as other categories, but they share enough features that they should be grouped together.

ADVERB	MEANING	MODIFIES	PHRASE-INTERNAL
<i>sá</i>	HORTative	V	yes
<i>mamo</i>	only	N, V	yes
<i>i(n)ja</i>	still	Adj, V	yes
<i>dudu</i>	very	Adj, †N	yes
<i>are</i>	perhaps	wh-, N, V	yes
<i>memang</i>	immediately	V, N	yes
<i>pole</i>	even	N	no
<i>todong</i>	also	V, N, Adj, wh-	yes
<i>sedeng</i>	again	V, N, Adj, wh-	yes

⁸⁹ Predicates preceded by *poro* usually take possessive markers rather than clitic pronouns.

<i>bedeng</i>	hearsay	S	no
<i>kodong</i>	what a pity	N	no
<i>rolong</i>	first	V	no
<i>paleng</i>	in that case	X	no
<i>poleng</i>	do again	Pred	yes
<i>kutadeng</i>	perhaps	wh-, S	no

Table 5.8: Postposed adverbs

The last eight postposed adverbs in Table 5.8 share a phonological peculiarity: the consonant in the middle (/d/ or /l/) is often deleted, and if the vowels are identical vowel degemination (§2.3.1) will take place and delete one syllable, the result being that these words all have reduced allomorphs. The choice between the full and reduced forms seems to be largely stylistic.

FULL FORM REDUCED FORM

<i>todong</i>	<i>tong</i>
<i>sedeng</i>	<i>seng</i>
<i>bedeng</i>	<i>beng</i>
<i>kodong</i>	<i>kong</i>
<i>rolong</i>	<i>rong</i>
<i>paleng</i>	<i>paeng</i>
<i>poleng</i>	<i>poeng</i>
<i>kutadeng</i>	<i>kutaeng</i>

Table 5.9: to(do)ng postposed adverbs

I have represented the postposed adverbs orthographically as being attached to the preceding word by an en-dash (–) if they are the kind that are usually phrase-internal and host enclitics (ie. they intervene between the phrase-head and enclitics), and as separate words if they are external. This is a compromise between the approach taken by Cense (1979), who always joined them to the preceding word, and the ad hoc nature of later publications (eg. Abdul Kadir Manyambeang et al., 1996; Aburaerah Arief & Zainuddin Hakim, 1993; Djirong Basang Daeng Ngewa & Aburaerah Arief, 1981; Parewansa et al., 1992) in which they are sometimes attached and sometimes separate.

Only the most common of the postposed adverbs will be discussed in detail here.

5.5.2.1 *sa, mamo, ija*

The first three items in Table 5.8 show some similarities to the set of aspectual/modal enclitics =*mo* etc, (§4.3.3) and are in fact analysed as enclitics by Cense (1979). *Sá* resembles the TAM enclitics in form because it is monosyllabic, but differs from them

because its vowel is not subject to elision by the vowel of the 3rd person enclitic =*i*; thus <*sá=i*> → *sái* (**si*, compare <=*pa=i*> → *pi*). The final vowels of *mamo* and *ija* will elide if followed by =*a'* or =*i*, eg. *mami*, *iji*. However, unlike TAM enclitics *sá*, *mamo* and *ija* have their own stress contour, showing that they are prosodic words in their own right.

(111) *mángo-sáko*

mange **sá** =ko

go HORT =2s

go, get a move on (C:626)

(112) *Bembe-mami naboli' kale-kalenna najoli pakke'bu'.*

bembe ≡a **mamo** =i na= boli' kale- kale ≡nna na= joli pakke'bu'

goat ≡DEF only =3 3= hidden RDP- self ≡3.POSS 3= bolt door

Only the goat was still there, she hid herself, locked the door. (bembe:030)

(113) *battu-mami bosi lompoa*

battu **mamo** =i bosi lompoa ≡a

come only =3 rain big ≡DEF

there's nothing but heavy showers coming

The adverb *inja* 'still' modifies adjectives and verbs — it has a variant *ija* in which form it can be found in the dictionary (1979:248):

(114) *ca'di-inji ana'na*

ca'di **inja** =i ana' ≡na

small still =3 child ≡3.POSS

his child is still small

(115) *Nakanamo manggena: "Angngapa nummantang-inja na bangngimo".*

na= kana =mo mangge ≡na angngapa nu= amm- antang **inja** na bangngi =mo
3= word =PFV father ≡3.POSS why 2f= MV- stay still CMP night =PFV

His father said: "Why are you still here and it's already night?" (bembe:086)

In many examples where *inja* somewhat redundantly co-occurs with =*pi* (the combination of the imperfective clitic =*pa* and the 3rd person enclitic =*i*), the form *i(n)ji* appears instead of *i(n)ja*. This could be a result of vowel harmony, but it seems more likely that the combination <*ija=i*> → *iji* has become lexicalised, resulting in what appears to be two 3rd person clitic pronouns:

(116) *jai-ijipi*

jai **ija** =i =pa =i

many still =3 =IPF =3

there are still many (C:248)

5.5.2.2 *dudu*

dudu is an intensifier which in the modern language modifies adjectives and the basic verb *ero* 'want':

(117) *ero'-dudui angnginung.*

ero' **dudu** =i aN(N)- inung
 want very =3 BV- drink
 they really wanted to drink (PT:224)

(118) *Bella-dudu-ijipi na nacini'mo balla'na andi'na*

bella **dudu** **iji** =pa =i na na= cini' =mo balla' ≡na andi' ≡na
 far very still =IPF =3 and 3= see =PFV house ≡3.POSS ↓sibling ≡3.POSS
 They were still very far away and they saw their sister's house (PT:217)

In the Gowa chronicle there is one example of *dudu* following a noun, *karaeng* 'king':

(119) *kisa'ringkai kalenta karaeng-dudu, nakanaka tau i pantaraka tau bawang-dudu.*

ki= sa'ring =ka =i kale ≡nta karaeng **dudu** na= kana =ka tau
 2p= feel =or =3 self ≡2p.POSS karaeng very 3= word =or person
 i pantara' ≡a tau bawang **dudu**
 PREP outside ≡DEF person ordinary very
 either we feel ourselves to be too much like kings, or outsiders will say we are very common people (Matthes, 1883:146).

5.5.2.3 *are*

The particle *are* 'perhaps' is typically used on interrogatives in rhetorical questions:

(120) *Siapa-arei sallona attayang anne ana' karaeng tallua*

siapa **are** =i sallo ≡na aC- tayang anne ana' karaeng tallu ≡a
 how.many **perhaps** =3 long ≡3.POSS MV- wait this child king three ≡DEF
 how long was it that the three princes waited? (PT:097)

It is also used on nouns where it expresses uncertainty, similar to questions with 'surely':

(121) *Juku'-are nuballi*

juku' **are** nu= balli
 fish **perhaps** 2f= buy
 Surely you bought fish?

Are can also be placed on both parts of correlative structures with the meaning 'whether ... or ...':

(122) *Taenapa kuasseng akkulle-are taena-are*

taena =pa ku= asseng aC- kulle **are** taena **are**
 NEG =IPF 1= know MV- can **perhaps** NEG **perhaps**
 I don't know yet whether it's possible or not (C:31)

5.5.2.4 *to(do)ng*

To(do)ng means ‘also’. It is usually placed between the head of the predicate and the enclitic pronoun, if present:

(123) *Nia'-tommonjo joa'sitau ampangngapási*

nia' tong =mo anjo joa' si- tau aN- pa- aN(N)- apas -i
be also =PFV that followers one- person AF- CAUS- BV- take.care.of -TRS

There was also one servant who took care of it (bembe:19)

(124) *Ero'-tongi ammekang-mekang*

ero' tong =i aN(N)- pekang- pekang
want also =3 BV- RDP- hook

They also wanted to go fishing

To(do)ng often appears in presentative clauses (see § 12.5) in discourses where numerous entities or events are being introduced using these constructions.

(125) *ia-tommi anne. uru angngallei. pa'rasangang. Bontomanai'.*

ia tong =mo =i anne uru aN(N)- alle =i pa'rasangang Bontomanai'
3PRO also =PFV =3 this beginning BV- take =3 land Bontomanai'

He was also the first to take the land of Bontomanai'

ia-tonji nikana. Gallarang Loaya.

ia tong =ja =i ni- kana gallarang loa ≡a
3PRO also =LIM =3 PASS- word chief ill-favoured ≡DEF

He was also just called Gallarang Loaya (KIT:1.04)

In environments where there is clitic fronting (§11.2.2), *to(do)ng* will move with the clitic:

(126) *Taena nalompo, taena todong naca'di'*

tena na= lompo tena todong na= ca'di
NEG 3= big NEG also 3= small

It wasn't big, it also wasn't small (cf. *ca'di'-todong=i* 'it was also small')

Unlike most of the other adverbial particles, *to(do)ng* can be the base for a verbal derivation, *atto(do)ng* 'to say "me too"'.

5.5.2.5 *se(de)ng*

Se(de)ng means ‘again’. In contrast to *to(do)ng* it does not usually intervene between the predicate head and enclitics.

(127) *Ma'gilingi seng Karaeng Tunisombaya*

maC- giling =i seng karaeng tu- ni- somba ≡a
 MV- other.side =3 again karaeng person- PASS- homage ≡DEF

Karaeng Tunisombaya turned around again (SKT:095)

(128) *Le'baki anjo mangei sedeng ri romanga angngalle rea naparekangi sedeng pattongko' balla'na ana'na.*

le'ba' =i anjo mange =i sedeng ri romang ≡a aN(N)- alle rea
 finished =3 that go =3 again PREP forest ≡DEF BV- take reed

na= pare' -ang =i sedeng pa- aC- tongko' balla' ≡na ana' ≡na
 3= make -NR =3 again CAUS- MV- cover house ≡3.POSS child ≡3.POSS

After that she went again to the forest to get thatch to make a roof for her children's house (PT:049)

Seng often appears in combination with *tong* (see above), in which case they form a portmanteau *tosseng*. In this combination they may in fact appear before the enclitic:

(129) *Antekamma-tossengi i Udin?*

antekamma tong seng =i i Udin
 how also again =3 PERS Udin

How also was Udin going? (i.e., returning to Udin, how was he going?)

5.5.2.6 *ko(do)ng*

Ko(do)ng is an attitudinal modifier, showing that the speaker feels bad about the events reported, or sorry for the person involved:

(130) *Gassingka nia'-inja nucokko-cokko?*

gassing =ka nia' inja nu= cokko- cokko
 sure =or be still 2f= RDP- hide

Maybe there's still (some) you've hidden away?

Tenamo kodong. Ia-maminne sibatua.

tena =mo kodong ia mammo =i =nne si- batu ≡a
 NEG =PFV pity 3PRO only =3 =this one- CLF.misc ≡DEF

No more, unfortunately. There's only this one.

(131) *O amma' nabuntulu'- tonga' kodong ammakku*

o amma' na= buntul =u' tong =a' kodong amma' ≡ku
 oh mother 3= find =EC also =1 pity mother ≡1.POSS

Oh mother, you finally found me, my poor mother (PT:203)

5.5.2.7 *ro(lo)ng*

This means 'first', in the sense 'do (something) first (before doing something else)', similar to Indonesian *dulu*.

(132) *Angganre rong*

aN(N)– kanre rong

BV– eat first

Eat first (then we'll talk)

This is most likely a lexicalisation of *ri olo–ang* <PREP before–COMPR> ‘further forward than...’

5.5.2.8 *be(de)ng*

Be(de)ng is a epistemic marker showing that the information is second-hand or based on hearsay, or alternatively is an indirect quotation:

(133) *nikanaja bedeng assari'battangi Lakipadada*

ni– kana =ja bedeng aC– sari'battang =i Lakipadada

PASS– word =LIM QUOT MV– sibling =3 Lakipadada

it is only said that he (Karaeng Bayo) was brother to Lakipadada (from the preamble to the Gowa Chronicle (Wolhoff and Abdurrahim 1959))

(134) *Kupauangko tena tau ri balla'na bedeng*

ku= pau –ang =ko tena tau ri balla' ≡na bedeng

1= story –BEN =2f NEG person PREP house ≡3.POSS QUOT

I tell you there was no-one at home (someone told me, eg. a neighbour)

Be(de)ng can also be used as an intensifier similar to ‘I say’ in English:

(135) *Mange–sáko beng!*

mange sa =ko beng

go HORT =2f QUOT

I say, get a move on!

In an old manuscript found in Cense's archives at KITLV in Leiden,⁹⁰ *bedeng* is used frequently as a textual device to mark the story as a myth or legend:

(136) *le'baki bedeng, makkana karaeng i La Padara "kusomba–guruki"*

le'ba' =i bedeng maC– kana karaeng i La Padara ku= somba guru =ki'

already =3 QUOT MV– word king PERS HON Padara 1= homage teacher =2p

then, so it's said, Karaeng I La Padara said "I pay you homage"

5.5.3 Temporal adverbs

This class consists of words used to situate a clause in time which do not have nominal characteristics, which is to say they do not require prepositions or allow determiners

⁹⁰ KITLV HISDOC Or.545.232. Oud-Makass. HS (fragment).

unlike temporal nominals such as *allo* ‘day’, *wattu* ‘time’ (§6.1.3). Temporal adverbs are listed in Table 5.10:

<i>ammempo</i>	tomorrow	<i>sumpa(d/l)eng</i>	earlier
<i>ammembara</i>	day after tomorrow	<i>nampa</i>	just then
<i>subangngi</i>	yesterday	<i>sinampe</i>	soon
<i>subangngiangngang</i>	day before yesterday	<i>sallang</i>	later
<i>subangngiangngangngang</i>	three days ago		

Table 5.10: Temporal adverbs

Subangngiangngangngang ‘three days ago’ is unique in apparently being a doubly comparativised form <subangngi–ang–angngang | yesterday–COMPR–COMPR> ‘more than more than yesterday’. Note that its root, *bangngi* ‘night’ is a temporal noun. ‘Earlier’ appears in the forms *sumpadeng*, *sumpaleng*, and *sumpaeng* in seemingly free variation, similar to the phenomenon seen with the *to(do)ng* adverbs discussed in §5.5.2.

Other ways of referring to tense and aspect are the aspectual clitics (§4.3.3), and temporal uses of the locatives (§5.7.1).

5.6 Pronouns

This section discusses the small but important classes which have pronominal characteristics: personal pronouns, the reflexive pronoun, demonstratives, and interrogatives.

5.6.1 Personal pronouns

There are four types of personal pronominal element: (1) free pronouns, (2) enclitic pronouns marking S and P (‘absolutive’ or =ABS), (3) proclitic pronouns marking A (‘ergative’ or ERG=), and (4) possessive affixal clitics. This section discusses the free pronouns, as the clitic pronouns were introduced in §4.3.2 and cross-referencing will be discussed in §11.2.

	Free pronoun (PRO)	Proclitic (ERG)	Enclitic (ABS)	Possessive (POSS)
1	(i)nakke	ku=	=a’	≡ku
1pl.incl/2pol	(i)katte	ki=	=ki’	≡ta
1pl.excl	†(i)kambe	*	*=kang	†≡mang
2fam	(i)kau	nu=	=ko	≡nu
3	ia	na=	=i	≡na

Table 5.11: Pronominal elements

The 1st person inclusive is also used for the 2nd person plural, and is in addition the polite form for 2nd person singular. In the modern spoken language the 1st person plural exclusive is expressed by the 1st person "ku=" set — the pronoun *kambe* and the possessive $\equiv$ *mang* are archaic, while the enclitic $\equiv$ *kang* is only found in combinations with modal enclitics (eg. $\equiv$ *pakang* <=*pa*=*kang* | $\equiv$ IPF=1pl.excl>) and there is no proclitic counterpart. The *i* in front of the free pronouns is a personal prefix which also appears before proper names and can be omitted (with the exception of *ia*).

Free pronouns and enclitics can be quantified by the particle *ngaseng* ‘all’, which appears after free pronouns (*ia-ngaseng* ‘they all’), but before enclitics (*ngaseng=i* ‘they all’. *Ngaseng* is not found attached to proclitics or indeed any other part of speech.

Clitic pronouns do most of the work of identifying and tracking referents in discourse as shall be discussed in §11.2. The free pronouns are used relatively rarely, usually in the following circumstances:

- **presentatives** (§12.5)
- for **emphasis**, including where the pronoun is in Topic or Focus position (11.9)
- in **PP** arguments and adjuncts
- when the pronoun itself is the **predicate**.

In **presentative** clauses the 3rd person pronoun *ia* often appears in combination with demonstratives and a modal/aspectual clitic; as in *iaminne* <*ia*=*mo*=*i* (a)nne | 3PRO=PFV $\equiv$ 3 this> ‘this is ...’, *iapinne* <*ia*=*pa*=*i* (a)njo | 3PRO=IPF=3 that> ‘that’s still ...’ and so forth.

(137) *iaminjo allo makaruaya*

ia =*mo* =*i* (a)njo allo maka- rua $\equiv$ a
 3PRO =PFV =3 that day ORD- two $\equiv$ DEF
 that was the second day

These constructions are discussed in detail in §12.5.

Sentences (138) and (139) show **emphatic** use, in topic and focus position respectively (§11.9):

(138) ... *lompo-lompoi ana'na, na inakke, tenapa kutianang*.

lompo- *lompo* =*i* *ana'* $\equiv$ *na* *na* *i-* *nakke* *tena* =*pa* *ku=* *tianang*
 RDP- big =3 child $\equiv$ 3.POSS and PERS- 1PRO NEG =IPF 1= pregnant
 ... his child is growing, and me, I'm not yet pregnant (bembe:009)

(139) *ikambe sipammanakang*

i- kambe si- pa> amm- ana' <ang
 PERS- 1pl.excl one NR> MV- child <NR
 we are one family

Sentences (140) and (141) show **personal pronouns in PPs**:

(140) *amminawanga' ri katte*

aN(N)- pinawang =a' ri katte
 BV- follow =1 PREP 2fPRO
 I'm following you

(141) *mallaki ri nakke*

malla' =i ri nakke
 afraid =3 prep 1PRO
 he's afraid of me

Finally, sentence (142) gives an example of a **pronoun as a predicate**, with clitics attached to it:

(142) *inakkeji*

i- nakke =ja =i
 PERS- 1PRO =LIM =3
 it's only me⁹¹

5.6.2 Reflexive constructions

Reflexives are formed by combining the noun *kale* 'body, self' with a possessive affixal clitic (always from the prenasalised set, §4.4.2). Its most common use is as a nominal modifier in terms such as *areng kalenna* <name self≡POSS> 'personal name', but it is also used as an argument in sentences such as (143), where it is cross-referenced with the enclitic =i:

(143) *naciniki kalenna lalang ri televisia*

na= cini' =i kale ≡nna lalang ri televisi ≡a
 3= see =3 REFL ≡3.POSS inside PREP television ≡DEF
 she saw herself on the television

Sometimes *kale* can be ambiguous between its reflexive meaning and its 'personal' interpretation:

⁹¹ The 3rd person enclitic pronoun shows that such examples in Makassarese have similar agreement patterns to English and French (*c'est moi*), rather than Dutch *ik ben het*, for example.

(144) *nitunrungi ri kalenna*

ni- tunrung =i ri kale ≡nna
 pass- hit =3 PREP REFL ≡3.POSS

he was hit by himself / he was hit in his self (he was deeply affected)

The reduplicated form *kale-kale*≡*POSS* has an adverbial meaning ‘alone, by oneself’.

(145) *Inai kiagáng battu anrinni?* ‘*Kale-kalengku*’

i nai ki= agáng battu anrinni kale- kale ≡ngku
 PERS who 2p= do.with come here RDP- self ≡1.POSS

‘Who did you come here with?’ ‘I’m alone’

There is no reciprocal pronoun, but rather a mutual/reciprocal marker *si-* (§10.1).

5.6.3 Demonstratives

The set of demonstratives and the corresponding deictic adverbial set (see §5.7.3) show a three-way deictic contrast: ‘this’ (near speaker), ‘that’ (near hearer), and ‘that’ (far from both, not present): they are *anne*, *antu*, and *anjo* respectively.

The primary function of demonstratives is to modify (specify) the head of an NP; they generally precede the nouns which they specify, as in *anjo tedong*≡*a* <that buffalo≡DEF> ‘that buffalo’; the reverse order, *tedonga (a)njo*, is also found but is much less common and is associated with western dialects and Selayarese.⁹² Demonstratives can co-occur with the definite marker ≡*a*, and in most cases do. They may also be used as emphatic pronouns, eg: *garringa' anne* <garring=*a*' anne | sick=1 here> ‘me here, I’m sick’.

The initial /a/ of the demonstratives is subject to aphesis (§2.3.5) if there is a preceding vowel-final word, and as a result the demonstratives are often phonologically attached to words which are structurally external to the NP, as in the following example:

(146) *lanuapai[ntu taipayya]?*

la= nu= apa =i [(a)ntu taipayya ≡a]
 FUT= 2f= what =3 [that mango ≡DEF]

what are you going to do with those mangoes? (C:841)

⁹² Selayarese, lacking the definite marker *-a*, attaches enclitic forms of the demonstratives to the NP with a similar function, eg. *lokanjo* <loka=*njo* | banana=that> ‘that/the banana’ (Makassarese *untia*). In Makassarese demonstratives often attach phonologically to preceding elements (see ex. (146)), but these are usually not the specified noun, so this is quite different from the Selayarese phenomenon.

This phenomenon is most often seen in the presentative constructions (§12.5) based on the 3rd person pronoun *ia* and various enclitics, such as *iaminne* <ia=mo=i (a)nne| 3.PRO=PFV=3 this> ‘this is/was’..., *iapinne* <ia=pa=i (a)nne| 3.PRO=IPF=3 this> ‘this (still here) is...’ and so forth.

(147) *Iaminne Patturioloang Gowa*.

ia =mo =i (a)nne pa> tu ri olo <ang Gowa
 3.PRO =PFV =3 this NR> person PREP front <NR Gowa
 This is the Chronicle of Gowa

(148) *Iapinne anunnu?*

ia =pa =i =nne anu ≡nnu
 3PRO =IPF =3 =this INDF ≡2f.POSS
 Is this here your thing?

5.6.4 Interrogatives

The interrogative proforms are examined in detail in the section on questions, §12.2. Table 5.12 is simply a listing of them. They are not considered to form a cohesive word class as they are formally considered members of the class about which information is sought: ie. *siapa* ‘how many’ behaves morphosyntactically like a numeral, but it is useful to present them together as they obviously share functional properties. (Evans, 2000)

<i>apa</i>	what
<i>angngapa</i>	why
<i>ringngapanna</i>	when
<i>siapa</i>	how much, to what extent
<i>inai</i>	who
<i>pirang</i>	how many (days)
<i>kere</i>	where
<i>antekamma</i>	how

Table 5.12: Interrogatives

5.6.5 Indefinite pronouns

5.6.5.1 *anu*

There is an all-purpose indefinite pronoun *anu* ‘someone, something’.

(149) *punna anunta anunna na punna anunna apantai ikatte*

punna anu ≡nta anu ≡nna na punna anu ≡nna apa ≡nta =i
 if thing ≡2p.POSS thing ≡3.POSS and if thing ≡3.POSS what ≡2p.POSS =3

i- katte
 PERS- 2pPRO

if something's ours it's his, and if something's his, what's ours for us? (C:23)

Anu has a discourse function as a hesitation marker 'um'; and also as a 'recognitional expression' (Enfield 2003) like English 'whatsit', 'thingummyjig', which is used when a speaker temporarily forgets or does not wish to say the name in question. The hearer must share the knowledge for communication to be successful.

(150) *daeng Anu ri anu*

daeng anu ri anu
 title thing pref thing

Mr Whosit from where-is-it

5.6.5.2 *tu*

In addition to *anu* there is a more restricted indefinite pronoun: *tu* 'the one who', a reduced form of *tau* 'person'. It most often occurs in lexicalised constructions such as *turiolo* <tu-ri-olo | person-PREP-front> 'ancestor', and other conventionalised forms such as posthumous names (§ 6.1.2.3, eg. *Tunibatta* 'the one who was beheaded'), government positions (eg. *Tuma'bicara-butta* 'Prime Minister', lit. 'the one who speaks the land'), and ethnic or locational identifiers (eg. *tu-Balandaya* 'the Dutch', *tu-Marusuka* 'the people of Maros'). It also heads NPs in certain clauses with *kamma* 'thus' (§5.6.5.2.1 below).

In a paper by Finer (1997), Makassarese *tu* is analysed as a 'relativising affix' for humans, with *nu* its parallel for non-humans, eg:

(151) **anakana' tuambunoai bawia*

anakana' tu- aN- buno ≡a =i bawi ≡a
 boy REL PREF- kill ≡DEF =3A pig ≡DEF
 the boy who killed the pig

(152) **bawi nunabunoa anakanaka*

bawi nu- na= buno ≡a anakanak ≡a
 pig REL- 3E= kill ≡DEF boy ≡DEF
 the pig that the boy killed

I have starred these sentences because in Makassarese they are ungrammatical in several ways:

- the glottal stop in *ana'* does not become [k] in reduplication, → *ana'-ana'*. Also, *ana'-ana'* does not mean 'boy' or even 'child', except as a sort of job title, eg. *ana'-ana' palukka'* 'child-thief' (cf. English *stable-boy*, *paper-boy*).
- there is no 'relativising affix *nu-*'. In Makassarese *nu=* is the proclitic for 2nd person familiar, so sentence (152) would more accurately be glossed as 'the pig that the boy killed you', which makes no more sense in Makassarese than in English. Selayarese has *nu* (presumably ← *anu*), but Makassarese does not. *Anu* can head relative clauses itself, where it means 'the thing that'. In this context it behaves no differently to any other relativised nominal.
- although Makassarese has *tu*, it is not a relativiser *per se*, and in fact is not productively available to head relative clauses (with the exception of *kamma* clauses, see § 5.6.5.2.1 below), being restricted to the names and lexicalised constructions noted above. The full form *tau* often heads relative clauses, where it means 'the person who' (relativisation itself is one of the functions of the definite marker $\equiv a$, see § 6.3.3). But *tau* and *anu* do not appear where the RC already has a head, as it does in both these examples.

The corrected sentences should read:

(153) *ana' ambunoai bawia*

ana' aN- bunō $\equiv a$ =i bawī $\equiv a$
 child PREF- kill $\equiv DEF$ =3 pig $\equiv DEF$
 the child who killed the pig

(154) *bawī nabunōa anaka*

bawī na= bunō $\equiv a$ ana' $\equiv a$
 pig 3= kill $\equiv DEF$ child $\equiv DEF$
 the pig that the child killed

The sentences in the paper are anomalous because the informant was a native speaker of Selayarese, in which language it appears that *tau* and *anu* have grammaticised more completely than in Makassarese.

5.6.5.2.1 *tu in kamma clauses*

There is an environment in which *tu* productively heads NPs, including relative clauses. This is as subject of clauses headed by the basic verbs *kamma* or *kontu* ‘thus, like so’ or derivations thereof such as *singkamma* (‘the same as’).

(155) *kammai tu-pongoroka gio'na*

kamma =i tu pongor =o' ≡a gio' ≡na
 thus =3 INDF mad =EC ≡DEF manner ≡3.POSS
 he acts like a madman

This construction is most often seen in idioms such as the following, which have roughly synonymous interpretations, ie. ‘he’s clearly not comfortable with his situation’:

(156) *kammai tu-niaka saleang ri pajana*

kamma =i tu nia' ≡a saleang ri paja ≡na
 thus =3 INDF exist ≡DEF bedbug PREP rump ≡3.POSS
 he’s like someone with bedbugs on his bum

(157) *sangkammai tu-puru-puruanga pajana tammari ri pakkangkang*

saN- kamma =i tu puru- puru -ang ≡a paja ≡na
 EQ.COMPR- thus =3 INDF RDP- pustule -AFFL ≡DEF rump ≡3.POSS
 ta= amm- ari ri pa- aC- kangkang
 NEG= MV- stop PREP CAUS- MV- handful
 he’s just like someone who has sores on his bum and can't stop scratching

Although one would expect *tu* to be confined to human NPs, this is not always the case, as is shown by these unusual examples from Cense’s grammar notes (Or.545.43:9-10):

(158) *kammai tu-la-reppeka ulungku napakamma pa'risi'*

kamma =i tu la= reppe' ≡a ulu ≡ngku na= pa- kamma
 thus =3 INDF FUT= broken ≡DEF head ≡1.POSS 3= CAUS- thus
 pa'ris =i'
 pain =EC
 my head (is like something that) will break because of the pain

(159) *cini'-sái anjo lamaria kammai tu-tattilinga nicini'*

cini' sái =i anjo lamari ≡a kamma =i tu taC- tiling ≡a
 see HORT =3 that cupboard ≡DEF thus =3 INDF NVOL- crooked ≡DEF
 ni- cini'
 PASS- see
 look at that cupboard, it looks (like something that is) crooked

(160) *kamma tu–tiananga anjo kongkonga kucini'*

kamma tu tianang ≡a anjo kongkong ≡a ku= cini'
 thus INDF pregnant ≡DEF that dog ≡DEF 1= see
 that dog looks to me (like something that is) pregnant

It may be that *tu* represents a conflation of reduced forms of *tau* ‘person’ and the demonstrative *antu* ‘that (near you)’, however this is merely speculation.

5.7 Locatives

This is a functional class comprising three subclasses, arguably members of different formal word classes. They are grouped together because they share fundamental morphosyntactic and semantic features. The most obvious similarity is that they are all terms of spatial deixis which situate entities or events in space (and in some cases, in time). They also share derivational possibilities; namely the comparative *–ang* ‘further in a direction’ (usually seen on adjectives, §5.4.1.3.2), and causative *pa–* ‘put something in a location’ (§8.1.4).

5.7.1 Relative (*ri*) locatives

This class consists of five directional terms which are relative — they are based on the orientation of the speaker .

boko back, behind
olo front, before
kairi left
kanang right
dallekang in front of, facing

Table 5.13: Relative locatives

They are nouns which refer to planes inherent to objects and the space directly in front. They are often marked for possession; eg. *bokona tedong* <back ≡ 3.POSS buffalo> ‘buffalo’s back’, *kairinna biscanga* <left ≡ 3.POSS ship ≡ DEF> ‘the ship’s port side’. As locative terms they take the preposition *ri*:

(161) *a'lampa' ri olo mae a'boya kaluku*

aC– lampa =a' mae ri olo aC– boya kaluku
 MV– go =1 be.in.aplace PREP front MV– search coconut
 I went forward to look for coconuts

Ri boko and *ri olo* are also used for temporal reference, in which *ri olo* = past, and *ri boko* = future, eg. *bulang ri boko* ‘next month’ (lit. ‘month at back’), *taung ri olo* ‘last

year’. This ‘past to the front’ method of referring to time is different from the Indonesian way, in which the past is generally (*yang*) *lalu* ‘passed’ and the future is *depan* ‘facing’ or (*yang*) *akan datang* ‘to come’. Perhaps influenced by this, younger Makassar people use what appear to be calques of the Indonesian constructions, to the point of making equivalent relative clauses. Makassar and Indonesian expressions are shown side by side in (162) and (163):

(162) *minggu allaloa / minggu yang lalu*

minggu aN(N)– lalo ≡a minggu yang lalu
 week BV– pass ≡DEF week REL PASS
 last week (lit. week that has passed)

(163) *taung labattua / tahun yang akan datang*

taung la= battu ≡a tahun yang akan datang
 year FUT= come ≡DEF year REL FUT come
 next year (lit. year that will come)

These usages do not appear in my literary corpus, nor were they apparently known to Cense as they do not appear under the relevant dictionary entries.

5.7.2 Absolute (*i*) locatives

This subclass has nine members: five general locatives and four cardinal directions based on the topography of the area. Table 5.14 shows them as they are used in Gowa on the west coast of the peninsula.

<i>i rate</i>	up	<i>i lau'</i>	west (seawards)
<i>i rawa</i>	down	<i>i timboro'</i>	south
<i>i lalang</i>	in	<i>i raya</i>	east (inland)
<i>i pantara'</i>	out	<i>i wara'</i>	north
<i>i ba'le</i>	across		

Table 5.14: Absolute locatives

In contrast to the relative set, they can be regarded as ‘absolute’ — the sea is usually west, up is always up, regardless of speaker or hearer’s orientation.⁹³ Unlike the relative set, these are associated with a variant preposition *i* (rather than *ri*) which is not found in any other environment. It may be instructive that the Bugis parallel for *i rawa* is *ri awa* (Ide Said DM, 1977).⁹⁴ It seems likely that the variant form of the preposition comes from metathesis of **ri ate* → *i rate* and by extension from there to the entire class. Further evidence from this comes from the fact that causatives of *i rate* and *i rawa* can still be realised as either *pairate* and *pairawa*, or *pariate* and *pariawa* (‘put up’ and ‘put down’ respectively).

The absolute terms are used more commonly than the relative ones in Makassarese, however their use does not translate well into Indonesian (which favours relative terms), and some people report a decline in the use of the absolute system by young semi-fluent speakers.

Raya and *lau* have corresponding irregular verbal forms, *anrai* and *kalau*, which are used to refer to movement in those directions, especially in the following idiomatic phrase used to describe someone going everywhere (looking for something):

(164) *a'lampami timboro' wara', anrai' kalau'.*

aC- lampa =mo =i timbor wara' anrai' kalau'
 MV- go =PFV =3 south north go.east go.west
 she went south and north, east and west (PT:016)

⁹³ This is only true up to a point — in fact along the south coast of the peninsula the cardinal directions are rotated anti-clockwise, because the sea (*lau*) lies to the south rather than to the west as in Gowa. Thus in Bantaeng *lau* means ‘south’, *timboro* ‘east’, *raya* ‘north’ and *wara* ‘west’. But as a general rule it holds true and is a useful generalisation.

Interestingly, Makassarese has kept variant forms of *timboro* and *wara* — *timoro* and *bara* respectively — as names for the eastern and western winds and monsoon seasons (§6.1.3.6).

⁹⁴ The Bugis equivalent of *i rate* ‘above’ is *ri ase*. Other related languages do seem to share the *ri/i* alternation, though apparently not as systematically as Makassarese. For example, Tae' has *i*, at least in conjunction with *lan* ‘in’ and *lo* ‘south’, *di* elsewhere (van der Veen 1940). Apparently some Bugis dialects use *i* rather than *ri* but they are not noted as coexisting (Sirk 1996:112).

(165) *kalau'ma' ri Jakarta minggu ri olo*

kalau' =mo =a' ri Jakarta minggu ri olo
 go.west =PFV =1 PREP Jakarta week PREP front
 I went to Jakarta last week

The absolute locatives are often modified by the comparative *-angngang*, or more commonly the older form *-ang* (§5.4.1.3.2). These constructions are found in even quite small scale settings, as seen in (167):

(166) *A'limbammi anta'le ri binangaya laukanna Tammamaung,*

aC- limbang =mo =i aN- ta'le ri binanga ≡a
 MV- cross =PFV =3 AF- cross PREP river ≡DEF
 lau' -ang ≡na Tammamaung
 west -COMPR ≡3.POSS tammamaung

They crossed the river westwards of Tammamaung,

(167) *alleanga' piringa rayangnganna*

alle -ang =a' piring ≡a raya -angngang ≡na
 take -BEN =1 plate ≡DEF east -COMPR ≡3.POSS
 bring me the eastward plate (ie. the one furthest east on the shelf)

5.7.3 Deictic adverbs

The deictic adverbs show similarities with demonstratives (§5.6.3) in that the forms are clearly related and they share the same three-way deictic contrast. The difference is that the deictic adverbs refer to the spatial location of events rather than entities. In distribution and derivational potential the deictic adverbs are similar to the other locatives, however, unlike those and other terms of spatial reference the deictic adverbs do not require prepositions *ri* or *i*.

The set is: *anrinni* 'here' (near speaker), *antureng* 'there' (near hearer), and *anjoreng* 'there' (remote). *Anjoreng* occurs much more frequently in my corpus than *anrinni*, while the only sentential example with *antureng* comes from Cense's grammar notes (KITLV Or.545.43).

Deictic adverbs may appear in post-verbal (168) or pre-verbal position (169) within the predicate. In initial position, the deictic adverbial hosts the (absolutive) enclitic pronoun (see §11.2 on clitic placement):

(168) *ammantangi anjoreng*

amm- antang =i anjoreng
 MV live =3 there
 he lives there

(169) *anjorengi ammantang*

anjoreng =i amm- antang
 there =3 MV live
 there he lives

Unlike demonstratives the deictic adverbials are subject to derivational processes, identical to those seen on the other locatives (§5.7). These are the comparative (with the suffix *-ang* rather than *-angngang* as seen on adjectives), and the causative (with the affix *pa-*, associated with verbs, rather than the adjectival causative *paka-*).

The comparative form *anjorengang* means roughly ‘beyond’, and metaphorically ‘the hereafter’:⁹⁵

(170) *punna tanucinika ri lino anjorengampi nucini'*

punna ta= nu= cini' -a ri lino anjoreng -ang =pa =i nu= cini'
 if NEG= 2f= see -SBJV PREP world there -COMPR =IPF =3 2f= see
 if you don't see it in this world you'll see it later in the hereafter (C:18)

The causative derivations are predicative, and mean ‘put here/there’:

(171) *kupanjorengi anunna ri balla'na*

ku= pa- anjoreng =i anu ≡nna ri balla' ≡na
 1= CAUS- there =3 INDF ≡3.POSS PREP house ≡3.POSS
 I put his stuff there in his house

5.8 Numerals

Numerals form a cohesive word class because as well as denoting the natural class of numbers, they can be distinguished morphologically by association with the prefixes *piN-* ‘MULTIplier’, *maka-* ‘ORDinal’, and *taC-* ‘DISTributive’ (see §5.8.1). The corresponding interrogative pro-form *siapa* ‘how much/many’ is also subject to the same derivational processes. The other interrogative *piraN-* behaves somewhat differently (12.2.2.8).

⁹⁵ There are no comparative derivations of the other two deictic adverbials in the corpus.

1	<i>se're</i>	6	<i>annang</i>	0	<i>nolo'</i> (← Indon. <i>nol</i>)
2	<i>rua</i>	7	<i>tuju</i>	10	<i>-pulo</i>
3	<i>tallu</i>	8	<i>sagantuju</i>	100	<i>-bilangngang</i>
4	<i>appa'</i>	9	<i>salapang</i>	1000	<i>-sa'bu</i> ⁹⁶
5	<i>lima</i>	10	<i>sampulo</i>	10000	<i>-lassa</i>

Table 5.15: Basic numerals

The set of basic numerals is given in Table 5.15. The word for seven is evidently from Malay *tujuh* where most South Sulawesi languages use *pitu*. The word for eight, *sagantuju*, derives from *sa-agáng-tuju* ‘one with seven’. *Salapang* is also evidently from Malay, as etymologically it can be analysed as **sa-alap-ang* ‘one taken (from ten)’ (cf. Malay *d-elap-an* ‘two taken (from ten)’). *Bilangngang* is derived from *bilang* ‘to count’, probably with the old form *-ang* of the comparative suffix (§ 5.4.1.3.2). All other numerals are formed by combining the above basic numerals, with a few irregularities.

COMPOUND NUMERALS		COMPLEX NUMERALS	
10	<i>sampulo</i>	11	<i>sampulo-asse're</i>
20	<i>ruampulo</i>	12	<i>sampulo-anrua</i>
30	<i>tallumpulo</i>	13	<i>sampulo-antallu</i>
40	<i>patampulo</i>	14	<i>sampulo-angngappa'</i>
50	<i>limampulo</i>	15	<i>sampulo-allima</i>
60	<i>annampulo</i>	16	<i>sampulo-angngannang</i>
70	<i>tujupulo</i>	17	<i>sampulo-antuju</i>
80	<i>sagantujupulo</i>	18	<i>sampulo-assagantuju</i>
90	<i>salapampulo</i>	19	<i>sampulo-assalapang</i>
100	<i>sibilangngang</i>		
200	<i>ruambilangngang</i>	21	<i>ruampulo-asse're</i>
400	<i>patambilangngang</i>	32	<i>tallumpulo-anrua</i>
700	<i>tujubilangngang</i>	43	<i>patampulo-antallu</i>
1000	<i>sisabu</i>	54	<i>limampulo-angngappa'</i>
2000	<i>ruassa'bu</i>	65	<i>annampulo-allima</i>
4000	<i>patassa'bu</i>	76	<i>tujupulo-angngannang</i>
7000	<i>tujusa'bu</i>	87	<i>sagantujupulo-antuju</i>
10000	<i>silassa</i>	98	<i>salapampulo-assagantuju</i>

Table 5.16: Compound and complex numerals

‘Ten’ is shown by combining *pulo* with an irregular form for ‘one’, *saN-*, thus *sampulo*, while the other numbers use *si-*, thus *sibilangngang* ‘100’, *sisabu* ‘1000’. As a modifier of a compound numeral *appa'* ‘four’ is substituted by *pata*, thus *patassa'bu* ‘4000’.

⁹⁶ Chronicles such as the Maros Chronicle (Cummings 2000) show an archaic form for ‘thousand’, *cokkoang*.

In order to explain some morphosyntactic peculiarities it is necessary to distinguish between compound and complex numerals. **Compound numerals** are those consisting of a basic numeral and a single order of magnitude of base ten, ie. two ten = 20, three hundred = 300. In these, a nasal linker *-N-* 'LK' is inserted after the basic numerals which end in open syllables, (ie: *rua*, *tallu*, *lima*), though not after the loans *tuju* and *sagantuju*. **Complex numerals** are those which draw numbers from more than one base level, ie. one ten and one = 11. In these numerals a different linker *-aN-* is placed at each order of magnitude, ie. between thousands and hundreds, between tens and ones. Compound numerals form a single word, while complex numerals are multi-word and are likely to be interrupted by a 2P clitic (see below). And (finally), *bilangngang* usually hosts the possessive marker $\equiv na$:⁹⁷

(172) *ruassa'bu-allimambillangnganna-ntallumpulo-anrua*

rua	-N-	sa'bu	-(a)N-	lima	-N-	bilangngang	-(a)N-	tallu	-N-	pulo	-(a)N-	rua
two	-LK-	000	-LK-	five	-LK-	00	-LK-	three	-LK-	0	-LK-	two

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In NPs numerals tend to precede the head noun if it is indefinite, as in (173), but follow it if it is definite, in which case the numeral hosts the definite marker, as in (174).

(173) *assibuntulu'ma' rua tau Parancisi'*

aC-	si-	buntulu'	=ma	=a'	rua	tau	Parancisi'
MV-	RCP-	meet	=PFV	=1	two	person	France

I met with two French people

(174) *assibuntulu'ma' tau ruayya*

aC-	si-	buntulu'	=ma	=a'	tau	rua	$\equiv a$
MV-	RCP-	meet	=PFV	=1	person	two	$\equiv DEF$

I met with the two people

Complex numerals are multi-word. This can be shown by the fact that in definite NPs containing complex numerals the definite marker appears after the first complete word of the numeral:

⁹⁷ In this respect *bilangngang* behaves similarly to spatial adverbs when similarly derived with comparative *-ang* (§5.7.2). The possessive marker does not appear to have any function here other than a stylistic one.

(175) *taung sisa'bu salapambilangganna-mpatampulo-assagantuju*

taung si- sa'bu $\equiv$ a salapang- bilanggang $\equiv$ na -aN- pata -N- pulo
 year one - 000 $\equiv$ DEF 9 00 $\equiv$ 3.POSS -LK- four -LK- 0

-aN- sagantuju

-LK- eight

the year 1948

The order of constituents within NPs will be discussed more comprehensively in Chapter 6, but here I shall simply note that this behaviour parallels the placement of $\equiv a$ in relative clauses (§6.3.3), and also the placement of clitic pronouns when numerals occur predicatively as in (176), (177) and (178):

(176) *ruai bainenna*

rua $\equiv$ i baine $\equiv$ nna
 two =3 woman $\equiv$ 3.POSS

he has two wives (lit. two are his wives)

(177) *tallumpulomi angngannang (taung) umurukku*

tallu -N- pulo $\equiv$ mo $\equiv$ i -aN- annang taung umuru' $\equiv$ ku
 three -LK- 0 =PFV =3 -LK- six year age $\equiv$ 1.POSS

I'm already 36 years old (36 is my age)

(178) *Nikanai Patanna Langkana ka iami ampareki langkanaya, sampuloi anrua pa'daseranna.*

ni- kana $\equiv$ i pata $\equiv$ nna langkana ka ia $\equiv$ mo $\equiv$ i aN- pare' $\equiv$ i
 PASS- word =3 owner $\equiv$ 3.POSS palace because 3PRO =PFV =3 AF- make =3

langkana $\equiv$ a sampulo $\equiv$ i aN- rua pa> aC- daser <ang $\equiv$ na
 palace $\equiv$ DEF ten =3 LK- two NR> MV- floorboard <NR $\equiv$ 3.POSS

He was called 'Patanna Langkana' because he built a palace, it had twelve sections. (Maros061)

In the archaic style of the Gowa chronicle, the constituent order of sentences such as (177) is somewhat different in that not only the enclitic pronoun but also the quantified element is found in 2nd position:

(179) *tallumpulo taungi. angngannang. ma'gau'*

tallu -N- pulo taung $\equiv$ i -aN- annang maC- gau'
 three -LK- ten year =3 -LK- six MV- action

For thirty-six years he ruled (KIT:ref12)

This constituent order is anachronistic in the modern language.

5.8.1 Numeral derivations

Numerals and the associated interrogative proform *siapa* ‘how many’ are subject to three derivational processes which are unique to this class.

5.8.1.1 Prefix *piN-* MULT

The prefix *piN-* derives numerals with an adverbial function meaning ‘X times’, thus *pinruang* ‘twice’, *pissiapa* <*piN-* *siapa*> ‘how many times’. The nasal linker after the numeral (*pinruang*) is seen on numerals which end in an open syllable except for *tuju*, *sagantuju*, and *pulo*; thus *rua*, *tallu*, *lima* → *pinruang*, *pintallung*, *pillimang* (see discussion of the linker on page 199). It is not seen in any compound numerals, eg. *pimpatampulo*(**ng*) ‘14 times’. This prefix is not used for ‘once’ which takes the form *sikali* ‘one time’.

Forms with *piN-* generally modify verbs, either following them as in (180), or preceding them as in (181):

(180) *nainrói-seng pintallung*.

na = intro -i seng piN- tallu -N
 3 = circumnavigate -APPL again MULT- three -LK
 and they went round it (the wall) three times again (SKT:082).

(181) *battua' mange ri balla'na, a'rinra-iji kanjolika na kupintallung akkio' na tena tau appiwali*

battu =a' mange ri balla' ≡na aC- rinra ija =i kanjoli' ≡a
 come =1 go PREP house ≡3.POSS MV- light still =3 candle ≡DEF

na ku= piN- tallu -N aC- kio' na tena tau aC- piwali
 and 1= MULT- three -LK MV- call and NEG person MV- reply

I came to his house, still the candle burned, three times I called and nobody answered (Cgn:5)

In the latter sentence the numeral hosts the clitic pronoun, which appears as a proclitic rather than enclitic (ie: it has been fronted) due to the presence of the conjunction *na*. See §11.2.2 for more discussion of this phenomenon.

PiN- numerals may also themselves head predicates where the repeated action is understood to refer to the preceding verb. These may even be transitive as in (183):

(182) *anjo ulunna Karaeng Marusu' tulu nabokoi Arumpone pissiapangi*

anjo ulu ≡ nna Karaeng Marusu' tulu na= boko =i Arumpone
 that head ≡ 3.POSS king Maros keep 3= back =3 Arumpone

piN- siapa -N =i
 MULT- how.many -LK =3

Karaeng Maros' head kept turning away from the Arumpone again and again (ie. who knows how many times? Maros:190)

(183) *Kipinruangi amma', kipintallungi*

ki= piN- rua -N =i amma' ki= piN- tallu -N =i
 2p= MULT- two -LK =3 mother 2p= MULT- three -LK =3

(call) twice mother, (call) three times (antecedent verb = *akkio* 'call', PT:066)

Another common use of *piN-* is in kin terms such as *sampu-pinruang* '2nd cousin', which are often seen in verbal form, eg:

(184) *assampu-pinruanga' katte*

aC- sampu piN- rua -N =a' katte
 MV- cousin MULT- two -LK =1 2fPRO

I'm your second cousin (see §6.1.1.2 on kin terms).

PiN- can also be prefixed with the intransitive verb marker *aC-* to derive the verb *apping* 'sign with a cross' (ie. of illiterate people), as in *nipingi areнна* <ni-ping=i areng≡ na | PASS-cross=3 name≡3.POSS> 'his name was signed with a cross' (C:547).

5.8.1.2 Prefix *maka-* ORD

Ordinal numerals are formed with the prefix *maka-*, thus *makarua* 'second', *makatallu* 'third'. 'First' can be *makase're* but is more often *uru-uru* <RDP-beginning> As is usual with NP internal modifiers, if the head noun is definite, the ordinal numeral will host the definite marker, eg. *allo makaruayya* <allo maka-rua ≡ a | day ORD-two ≡ DEF> 'the second day'; or more often they are marked with possessive affixal clitics referencing the context for the series — that is, the sequence of which they are a member. For example, in *parakara makatallunna* <article ORD-three ≡ 3.POSS> 'its third article', the possessive suffix refers to the document, usually a treaty or similar legal document.

If the numeral is complex, the affixal clitic will be hosted by the first complete word of the complex, as was discussed on p.199:

(185) *allo makaruampuloa-anrua*

allo maka- rua -N- pulo ≡ a -aN- rua
 day ORD- two -LK- ten ≡ DEF -LK- two
 the 22nd day

(186) *parakara makasampulona–angngannang*

parakara maka– sampulo ≡na –aN– annang
 article ORD– ten ≡3.POSS –LK– six

article 16 (of the treaty of Bungaya) (KIT668-216)

The combination of *maka–* and *piN–* means ‘the Xth time’, eg. *makapinruang* ‘the second time’. The prefix *maka–* does not appear to be related to the adverb *maka* ‘certainly’ (§5.5.1).

5.8.1.3 Prefix *taC–* DISTR

The prefix *taC–* has a distributive meaning, eg:

(187) *tattallung–kayu jangang*

taC– tallu –N– kayu jangang
 DISTR– three –LK– CLF chicken

three chickens each

There does not seem to be any semantic connection to the non-volitional verb prefix *taC–* (§7.4).

5.8.1.4 Numerals deriving verbs

Numerals can also derive verbs — the most commonly seen is *asse're* <aC–se're | MV–one> ‘be one, gather’, which can be seen in that form and also further derived into a passive causative in the sentences below:

(188) *Tallu allo tallu bangngi asse're ngasemmi Karaenga...*

tallu allo tallu bangngi aC– se're ngaseng =mo =i karaeng ≡a
 three day three night MV– one all =PFV =3 king ≡DEF

After three days and nights all the karaengs gathered... (SKT:032)

(189) *"Apa saba'na nipasse're ngasengki'..."*

apa saba' ≡na ni– pa– aC– se're ngaseng =ki'
 what reason ≡3.POSS PASS– CAUS– MV– one all =1pl

‘Why were we all made to gather...?’ (SKT:034)

The only other example of a numeral derived into a verb in my corpus comes from a song, *Pangngu'rangimami* ‘Only memories remain’ by the singer Iwan Tompo:

(190) *Sarenta tosseng sipa'rua*

sare ≡nta =tong =seng si– pa– aC– rua
 give ≡2p.POSS =also =again MUT– CAUS– MV– two

we were ‘given’ to be made two again (ie. we were forced to separate)

Note that numerals do not need to be verbalised in order to be predicates.

5.8.2 Fractions

The basic fractions are *tangnga* ‘half’ and *parapa* ‘quarter’, eg. *sitangnga* ‘one half’, *tallu parapa* ‘three quarters’. Notice there is no nasal linker between numerals and the basic fractions. Other fractions are formed by using *tawa* ‘divided by’ (*tawa* is also a noun, ‘portion, share’) in the following way:

(191) *se're tawa tallu*

se're tawa tallu
one divide three
one third

(192) *rua tawa lima*

rua tawa lima
two divide five
two fifths

(193) *lima tawa sampulo–angngannang*

lima tawa saN- pulo –aN- annang
five divide one- ten –LK- six
five sixteenths

These forms are as they have been taught in the post-colonial school system and are greatly simplified from the two different permutations found in older texts and described by Cense in his grammar notes (KITLV Or.545.43):

(194) *rua ri tawa tallunna / rua ri tallu–ntawanga*

rua	ri	tawa	tallunna	≡ nna		rua	ri	tallu	–N–	tawa	–ang	≡ a
two	PREP	divide	three	≡ 3.POSS		two	PREP	three	–LK–	divide	–NR	≡ DEF

two thirds (two by its three divided / two by the three divisions)

5.8.3 Indefinite quantifiers

There are a few indefinite quantifiers, which come from a number of different word classes, specifically the adjective *jai* ‘many’ (eg. *jai tau* ‘many people’); the classifier-like nominal *ke'de* or *ka'de* ‘bit’ (eg. *sike'de' golla* ‘a bit of sugar’); and the pronominal plural marker *ngaseng* ‘all’ (p.186), eg. *ia–ngaseng* ‘all of them’. Other ways of denoting the meaning ‘all’ or ‘whole’ are formed with the prefix *si-* as discussed in (§10.1.5.1), eg. *siGowa* ‘everyone in Gowa’, *sibaine* ‘all women’.

5.9 Classifiers, partitives and measures

Like other Southeast Asian languages, including Indonesian (Sneddon 1996:134ff), Makassarese has an extensive system of nominal classifiers which describe various types or shapes of noun when they are enumerated. Many of the classifiers are derived from (and still function as) regular nouns. Measure nouns and partitives are formally indistinguishable from classifiers and so they are included here as well. The classifier for humans, *tau*, is an incomplete member of the class, being optional and limited to the number one (eg. *se're karaeng*, *sitau karaeng*, 'a king' but *rua karaeng*, **ruantau karaeng*).

CLASSIFIER/MEASURE		EXAMPLE	
<i>bakkarang</i>	folded flat things	<i>sibakkarang jali'</i>	one folded rattan mat
<i>balle'</i>	can, container	<i>siballe'mantega</i>	a container of margarine
<i>barrisi'</i>	line	<i>sibarrisi' tulisang</i>	a line of writing
<i>batu</i>	misc. (lit. stone)	<i>annambatu balla'</i>	six houses
<i>bollo</i>	flowers	<i>tujubollo bunga</i>	seven flowers
<i>botolo'</i>	bottle	<i>ruambotolo' minynya'</i>	two bottles of oil
<i>bukuang</i>	words	<i>tallumbukuang kana</i>	three words
<i>dotere'</i>	bunch (of fruit)	<i>sidotere' taipa-lolo</i>	a bunch of young mangoes
<i>gompo</i>	pile (of small goods)	<i>sigompo markisa</i>	a pile of passionfruit
<i>gulung</i>	spool	<i>sigulung bannang</i>	a spool of thread
<i>kaca</i>	glass	<i>sikaca kopi</i>	a glass of coffee
<i>kalabini</i>	pair, couple	<i>sikalabini jangang</i>	a breeding pair of fowl
<i>kangkang</i>	fistful	<i>sikangkang doe'</i>	a fistful of dollars
<i>karanjeng</i>	wide basket	<i>sikaranjeng tude</i>	a basket of scallops
<i>kayu</i>	animals ⁹⁸	<i>ruangkayu tedong</i>	two buffalo
<i>ke'de'/ka'de'</i>	a bit (adverbial use)	<i>sike'de' cipuru'</i>	a bit hungry
<i>kodi</i>	score	<i>tallungkodi lipa'</i>	three score of sarongs
<i>la'la'</i>	hand (of bananas)	<i>sila'la' unti</i>	a hand of bananas
<i>lawara'</i>	flat things	<i>ruallawara' baju</i>	two shirts
<i>leo'</i>	quids (for chewing)	<i>sileo' pangngajai</i>	one quid of betel
<i>lisere'</i>	small round things	<i>tallullisere' kalereng</i>	three marbles
<i>litere'</i>	litre (esp. of rice, sugar)	<i>tallullitere' minnya'</i>	three litres of oil
<i>losi</i>	dozen	<i>tallullosi piring</i>	three dozen plates
<i>pappa'</i>	rings and cylinders (inc. stalks)	<i>ruampappa' ta'bu</i>	two pieces of sugarcane
<i>pasang</i>	pair	<i>sipasang bunting beru</i>	a pair of newlyweds
<i>poko'</i>	trees and branches (also of rivers)	<i>limampoko' kaluku</i>	five coconut palms
<i>pusa</i>	narrow basket	<i>sipusa ce'la'</i>	a basket of salt
<i>roili'</i>	bunch	<i>siroili' taipa</i>	a bunch of mangoes
<i>roko'</i>	packets	<i>patanroko' te</i>	four packets of tea
<i>sikko'</i>	bunch (of long things, tied with string)	<i>ruassikko' bine</i>	two bunches of rice seedlings
<i>tau</i>	people	<i>sitau ana'</i>	a child
<i>te'ngala'</i>	piece (broken off from a larger piece)	<i>site'ngala' golla eja</i>	a chunk of palm sugar
<i>ujung</i>	bundle	<i>tallungujung ta'bu</i>	three bundles of sugarcane

Table 5.17: Classifiers, partitives and measures

⁹⁸ Interestingly *kayu* itself means 'wood'. It is also of note that in the Gowa Chronicle *kayu* is used to count *soongang* ('headfuls', a load carried on a woman's head) of fabric (KIT:4:18).

Other measures which were used historically but are no longer current include *katti* ($\cong$ 625 grams), *gantang* (five *katti*), *pikulu'* (20 *gantang*), and *lontang* 'shedful' (16 *pikulu'*, $\cong$ 1 tonne).

Classifiers, partitives and measures behave morphophonologically like higher order numerals (see §5.8), thus 'one' is denoted by the bound form *si-* instead of the full form *se're*, likewise 'four' is *pata* rather than *appa'*. Vowel-final numerals require insertion of a nasal linker between the numeral and the classifier (see discussion of the linker on page 199), again with the exception of *tuju* and *sagantuju* as can be seen with *bollo*.

5.10 Prepositions

There is one main preposition, *ri*, and another form *i* which has extremely limited distribution, occurring only before absolute locatives such as *i rate* 'above', and *i lalang* 'inside' (see §5.7.2), whereas *ri* is found in all other environments. *Ri* heads prepositional phrases with the following kinds of semantic roles:

- spatial location, source, or goal

(195) *ri Mangkasaraka' ammantang*

ri Mangkasar =a' =a' aC- antang
 PREP Makassar =EC =1 MV- stay
 I live in Makassar

(196) *sura' battu ri kakangku*

sura' battu ri kaka' $\cong$ ku
 letter come PREP $\uparrow$ sibling $\cong$ 1.POSS
 a letter from my elder brother

(197) *a'lampa' ri pasaraka*

aC- lampa =a' ri pasar =a' $\cong$ a
 MV- go =1 PREP market =EC $\cong$ DEF
 I go to the market

Given the wide semantic range of the preposition, combinations with movement/location basic verbs (§ 5.3.1.2) are understandably common to avoid ambiguity. Most frequent are *mange ri* GOAL <go PREP> 'go to') and *battu ri* SOURCE <come PREP> 'come from').

In addition to purely spatial reference, *ri* also marks temporal location:

(198) *ri subangngi ammekanga' juku'*

ri subangngi aN(N)- pekang =a' juku'
 PREP yesterday BV- hook =1 fish
 yesterday I was fishing

(199) *tette' sampulo ri bari' basa'*

tette' sampulo ri bari' bas =a'
 o'clock ten PREP morning =EC
 ten o'clock in the morning

In passive sentences (those with the prefix *ni-*, see §7.3) *ri* marks the (optional) agent.

(200) *nimeái bangkengku (ri kongkong)*

ni- mea -i bangkeng ≡ku (ri kongkong)
 PASS- urine -APPL leg ≡1.POSS (PREP dog)
 my leg was pissed on (by a dog)

There are some examples of lexicalised prepositional phrases being incorporated into derived forms. One example is the word *patturioloang* ‘chronicle’, which is a *pa* > < *ang* nominalisation (§6.2.2.4) based on *turiolo* <person PREP front> ‘those who came before, ancestors’. There are also verbal examples, eg. the following causative verbal derivations with *i*:

(201) *paipantara'ma' inakke*

pa- i pantara' =mo =a' i nakke
 CAUS- PREP outside =PFV =1 PERS 1.PRO
 leave me out, don't count on me

(202) *kupailalangi*

ku= pa- i lalang =i
 1= CAUS- PREP inside =3
 I enclose it

5.10.1 Prepositional verb

There is a lexicalised construction *siagáng* (based on *si-* ‘one’ or ‘mutual’ with the verb *agáng* ‘accompany’, which has become common as both a conjunction for NPs ‘and’, and as a comitative marker ‘with’, eg:

(203) *battua' ri Mangkasara' siagáng bainengku*

battua' =a' ri Mangkasara' =a' siagáng baine ≡ngku
 come =1 PREP Makassar =EC with woman ≡1.POSS
 I came to Makassar with my wife

This latter use could be considered prepositional.

5.11 Conjunctions

There is a substantial set of conjunctions, listed in Table 5.18.

<i>na</i>	and
<i>siagáng</i>	and, together with
<i>de'</i>	or
<i>iareka</i>	or
<i>(m)ingka</i>	but
<i>ka</i>	because
<i>saba'na/nasaba'</i>	because
<i>lanri</i>	because
<i>napakamma</i>	because
<i>jari</i>	so
<i>punna/ponna</i>	if/when
<i>manna</i>	although
<i>sanggenna</i>	until

Table 5.18: Conjunctions

As discussed in §4.5.1, *na*, *de'* and *ka* are considered to be preposed particles, while the other conjunctions are of various morphological types. The ones whose etymologies are clear are listed below:

- *siagáng* is a grammaticised mutual verb <si-agáng | MUT-accompany>
- *iareka* is probably a grammaticised construction <ia are=ka | 3PRO perhaps=Q>, roughly ‘or it could be...’ (see *are* §5.5.2, =*ka* §4.3.3.6)
- *saba'* is a noun root meaning ‘reason’
- *napakamma* is literally <na=pa-kamma | 3=CAUS-thus> ‘made so’
- *jari* is also the root of the verb *anjari* ‘become’
- *punna* is lexicalised from <pung ≡ na | if ≡ 3.POSS> ‘if s/he’. The corresponding forms *pungku* <if ≡ 1.POSS> ‘if I’ and so forth are still found in poetry.
- the above is also the case for *manna* <mang ≡ na | although ≡ 3.POSS>
- *sangge* is also an adverb ‘as far as’

5.12 Discourse particles

Discourse particles are clause-final elements with pragmatic or phatic rather than lexical meanings. Unlike interjections (§5.13) they cannot form complete utterances in

isolation. They are distinct from adverbial particles (§ 5.5.2) because they are not integrated into clauses or the agreement system, but like the other particles they do not form the basis of derivations.

de bah! bugger it!
di isn't it? (checking information)
to' isn't it? true? right? (demanding agreement)

(204) *mange-sáko de!*

mange sá =ko de
 go HORT =2f EMPH
 oh, just piss off!

(205) *le'ba'mako bunting di?*

le'ba' =mo =ko bunting di
 already =PFV =2f wedding TAG
 you're already married, aren't you?

(206) *pongoroki to'?*

pongoro' =i to'
 crazy =3 TAG
 he's crazy, right?

5.13 Interjections

Interjections are usually complete utterances in their own right, at the very least being extra-clausal, separated by a pause from other elements of a sentence. Their meanings are often not strictly lexical but emotive or attitudinal, being used to attract attention, express surprise, happiness, pain and so forth. A selection is given in Table 5.19.

<i>ae</i>	hey (attract attention)
<i>ba</i>	yeah, sure
<i>ce</i>	hey (annoyed)
<i>o</i>	oh
<i>wa</i>	gosh
<i>(w)adada</i>	ouch
<i>(w)edede</i>	ouch, wow, what the...
<i>ididi</i>	ouch
<i>aulé</i>	oh my God! (how sad, how beautiful, etc)

Table 5.19: Interjections

(207) *ce, teamako de!*

ce tea =mo =ko de
 hey NEG =PFV =2f EMPH
 Hey, don't do that!

(208) *edede, ga'gana sapatunu*

edede ga'ga ≡na sapatu ≡nu
 wow nifty ≡3.POSS shoe ≡2f.POSS

Wow, cool shoes!

In addition to the Makassarese interjections there are numerous borrowed interjections and formulae which play the same sort of role in the language. As part of the Islamic world, naturally Makassarese people use a variety of Arabic words and formulae as interjections, generally filtered through either Indonesian or Makassarese phonotactics, though obviously the extent of this filtering depends on the level of education of the speaker. Some examples are: *Allahú* ‘oh God!’, *alahandulilla* (← al-ḥamdu li’llāh) ‘praise be to God’; *assalamu alaikung* (← as-salāmu ‘alaikum) ‘peace be unto you’ (greeting formula), and so forth.

Going further into cultural literacy, there are many native Makassarese formulae, without knowledge of which one’s knowledge of the language is embarrassingly incomplete. These include proverbs, phrases from *kelong* and other poetic genres, and the like; however this aspect of the language requires further investigation beyond the scope of this work.

6 Nouns and Noun Phrases

This chapter describes both nouns and the structure of noun phrases. The basic features of nouns in opposition to other parts of speech were described briefly in §5.2, but this chapter looks in more detail at different types of noun, and at the morphological processes which derive nouns. The first section discusses subtypes of nouns including proper nouns and other referential terms, and temporal nominals. The second section discusses derivational processes which result in nouns. The third section discusses the noun phrase, including morphology typically associated with noun phrases, and the structure of various types of NP, including relative clauses.

6.1 Subclasses of noun

In §5.2 nouns were defined primarily syntactically as words with the potential to form or head noun phrases, and act as arguments in a predicate and thus enter into the system of cross-referencing. All nouns share at least these properties, but other syntactic properties such as the ability to enter into a possessor/possessed relationship are more restricted. Semantically nouns tend to refer to entities such as people, animals or objects in the world, though there are also of course nouns which refer to abstract or intangible things. Morphologically, common nouns at least are associated with the affixal enclitic $\equiv a$ which marks definiteness, and the possessive affixal enclitics. Other typical nominal properties were listed in §5.2 and are repeated here:

- they can be specified by demonstratives (§5.6.3)
- they can be modified by adjectives (§5.4)
- they can be quantified with numerals (§5.8) or other quantifiers, this process usually also involving a classifier (§5.9)
- they can be complements of PPs marked with the preposition *ri* (§5.10)
- when prefixed with *aC-*, they will typically derive a verb meaning ‘have/use NOUN’ (§5.3.1.1)

For the purposes of this section, nouns will be divided into types according to broad differences in morphosyntactic behaviour and to a lesser degree semantic differences.

One major such division is between **common nouns** which can take the definite marker $\equiv a$ and possessive markers $\equiv ku$ etc; and **proper nouns** such as names and titles (excluding kin terms) which are unlikely to host such markers but instead group together with the class of pronouns in taking the personal prefix $i-$. Semantically this group is of course distinct because they tend to refer to unique referents, and for this reason place names are included within it. **Kin terms** themselves are a subset of common nouns which are distinct because they are used as address terms and form a self-contained system. The other major subgroup is the set of **temporal nominals** which are distinct both semantically because they refer to time, and syntactically because they occur in PPs which are temporal adjuncts.

The purely morphological division between simple and derived nouns is not reflected in differences in morphosyntax, and only superficially in semantics — although simple nouns tend to be more concrete (eg. *juku* ‘fish’) and derived nouns tend to be more abstract (eg. *kakalumanynyang* ‘wealth’ $\leftarrow$ *kalumanynyang* ‘rich’), this is not always the case (cf. *rasa* ‘scent/taste/feel’ and *katinroang* ‘bed’ $\leftarrow$ *tinro* ‘sleep’). Thus, the division simple/derived is not reflected in this section.

6.1.1 Common nouns

It is difficult to define the class of common nouns other than to refer to the list of nominal properties above and note that it applies most universally to this class, and excludes proper nouns and certain nominals. Semantically common nouns may be divided into any number of classes — animals, body parts, artefacts, and so forth. Although these types of division are not reflected in the morphosyntax, they are used here just to organise the representative examples which are of course only a tiny selection — for comprehensive coverage refer to either the Makassarese–Dutch or Makassarese–Indonesian dictionaries.

Animals		Geographical features	
<i>olo'-olo'</i>	animal ⁹⁹	<i>tamparang</i>	ocean
<i>olo'</i>	worm	<i>binanga</i>	river
<i>lamu'</i>	mosquito	<i>moncong</i>	mountain
<i>jarang</i>	horse	<i>liukang</i>	island
<i>tedong</i>	buffalo	<i>parang</i>	field
<i>kongkong</i>	dog	Physical phenomena	
<i>tumpang</i>	frog	<i>bosi</i>	rain
<i>jangang-jangang</i>	bird	<i>gunturu'</i>	thunder
<i>jangang</i>	chicken	<i>bintoeng</i>	star
<i>kiti'</i>	duck	<i>anging</i>	wind
<i>juku'</i>	fish	<i>bombang</i>	wave
<i>balakebo'</i>	herring		
Body parts		Tools, weapons	
<i>ulu'</i>	head	<i>berang</i>	cleaver
<i>u'</i>	hair	<i>badi'</i>	sword
<i>mata</i>	eye	<i>pande'de'</i>	hammer ¹⁰⁰
<i>lima</i>	hand/arm	<i>uring</i>	saucepan
<i>bangkeng</i>	foot/leg	<i>guci</i>	jar
Trees, fruit		Clothing	
<i>poko'</i>	tree	<i>lipa'</i>	sarong
<i>rappo</i>	pinang, fruit	<i>baju</i>	shirt
<i>kaluku'</i>	coconut	<i>sapatu</i>	shoe
<i>unti</i>	banana	<i>songko'</i>	cap
<i>taipa</i>	mango	<i>saluara'</i>	trousers
Buildings, furniture		People, occupations	
<i>balla'</i>	house	<i>tau</i>	person
<i>baruga</i>	hall	<i>karaeng</i>	king
<i>kadera</i>	chair	<i>ata</i>	slave
<i>lamari</i>	cupboard	<i>guru</i>	teacher
<i>katinroang</i>	bed ¹⁰¹	<i>pakoko</i>	gardener ¹⁰²

Table 6.1: Common nouns

⁹⁹ Interestingly, the general term for animal is a reduplication of *olo'* 'worm'. It includes insects and mammals, but excludes fish (*juku'*) and birds (*jangang-jangang*).

¹⁰⁰ A *pa*-INF instrument nominalisation, see §6.2.2.2.

¹⁰¹ An irregular *ka* > <*ang* nominalisation, see §6.2.3.3.

¹⁰² A *pa*-ROOT occupation nominalisation, see §6.2.2.1.

6.1.1.1 Generic nouns

There are some common nouns which are notable for occurring in large numbers of compounds in which the head supplies a general meaning, which is then given a specific meaning by a nominal or adjectival modifier.¹⁰³ Although this is not a unique process, as virtually any noun may be modified in the same sort of way, it is simply worth noting that these compounds make up a large part of the Makassarese lexicon. The nouns most commonly used as heads of these kinds of compounds are: *je'ne'* 'water', *kanre* 'cooked rice, food', *tai* 'shit', *ana'* 'child', *rappo* 'fruit', *juku'* 'fish' and *tau* 'person'. A small number of examples follows:

<i>je'ne' inung</i>	water+drink	drinking water
<i>je'ne' mata</i>	water+eye	tears
<i>je'ne' uring</i>	water+pot	bean mush
<i>je'ne' bawa</i>	water+mouth	prattle
<i>tai bani</i>	shit+bee	wax
<i>tai bassi</i>	shit+iron	rust
<i>tai anging</i>	shit+wind	medicinal moss
<i>tai ka'muru</i>	shit+nose	snot
<i>tai roda</i>	shit+wheel	grease
<i>tai toli</i>	shit+ear	earwax
<i>ana' baine</i>	child+woman	daughter
<i>ana' bura'ne</i>	child+man	son
<i>ana' jarang</i>	child+horse	foal
<i>ana' irate</i>	child+above	diacritic for vowel i (see Ch.3)

Table 6.2: Generic nouns

6.1.1.2 Kin terms

Kin terms merit a discussion of their own because they are pervasively used as terms of address, though not always accurately if the link is distant or obscure. Otherwise they are not notably different from common nouns. The major kinterms are shown (greatly simplified) in Figure 6.1.¹⁰⁴ Only for the central married pairs (husband and wife, father and mother) is there a gender difference in the terminology, for the rest of the kin relationships the terms are ambisexual (and also extend to spouses of the actual blood

¹⁰³ Note that this is not phonological compounding, as was discussed in §2.3.8.

¹⁰⁴ For more detailed discussion see anthropological studies, eg. Chabot 1996; Röttger-Rössler 1988.

relation), so this is reflected in the use of semicircles rather than the usual gender specific symbols.

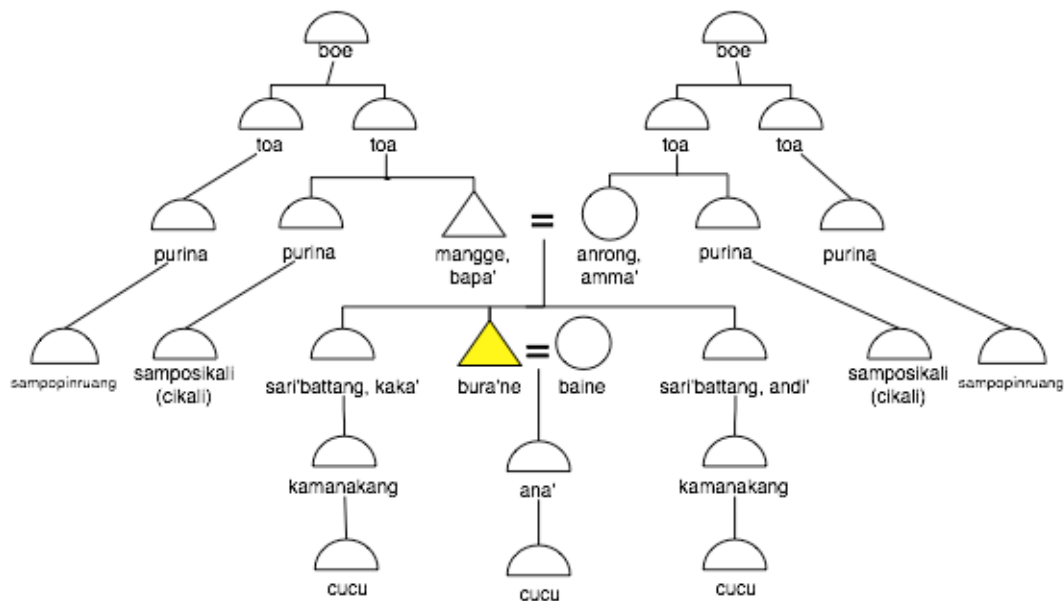


Figure 6.1: Kinship terms (ego is shaded)

Other terms which should be mentioned are *daeng*, which as well as being a general respectful address term between non-intimates (§6.1.2.2), is also used by a wife to her husband, and *andi'*, which as well as meaning 'younger sibling' is used by a husband to his wife. *Cikali*, the shortened form of *samosikali* ('1st cousin'), is also commonly used between friends. There is also a complex system of referring to kin-in-law which awaits further investigation.

Like other nouns, kinship terms can derive verbs meaning 'have an X', such as *a'baine* 'have a wife, get married', *assari'battang* 'have a sibling'; while reciprocal relationships can be marked attributively with the mutual prefix *si-* (see §10.1), as in *sisari'battang* 'siblings'.

6.1.2 Proper nouns

Proper nouns include the names of people and places. They have unique referents, or at least are intended to within the contexts of a discourse. They include personal names and local customary variants *pa'daengang* and other noble names, and place names.

6.1.2.1 Personal names

On the surface modern Makassarese naming practices are not unlike those of other Islamic parts of Indonesia. Men use one or more Arabic based names (those very popular in South Sulawesi include Hasanuddin, Asmuddin, Sirajuddin), while women have Arabic names such as Fatima or other Indonesian names such as Isnawati or Dewi. Most people nowadays go almost exclusively by these ‘Indonesian’ names or a nickname variant thereof (eg. Udin, Isna). Names are usually preceded by the personal prefix *i-* in speech, eg. *iUdin*, *iBaso*’.

6.1.2.2 Pa'daengang (daeng names)

Depending on age, social circumstance, or personal preference, traditional Makassarese names may also be used. Most Makassarese have a *pa'daengang* or *daeng*-name, which can be used as both an address and reference term. *Pa'daengang* consist of the title *Daeng* followed by a word, usually an adjective (with the archaic *ma-* adjectival prefix), though nominals or verbs (with the archaic *maC-* form of the verb prefix) are also found. *Daeng* itself is a gender neutral term of address which was formerly used as a term of respect for semi-nobility but is now in general use — in fact the same observation could be made for the practice of giving *pa'daengang* generally.¹⁰⁵ *Pa'daengang* are given in infancy and are usually positive descriptions of character or appearance. Names for men typically emphasise strength or ability (eg. *Daeng Makkulle* <MV-can> ‘Capability’; *Daeng Magassing* <ADJ-strong> ‘Strong’; *Daeng Manai*’ <ADJ-ascend> ‘Climbing’); while names for women emphasise good character or beauty (eg. *Daeng Baji*’ ‘Good’; *Daeng Bollo* ‘Flower’).

The place of *pa'daengang* in modern Makassarese society is complex. Elderly rural people use them almost exclusively, but there are also urban middle-aged or young people who have elected to use them, though others find them backward and embarrassing and rarely use them. Educational level is certainly a factor here, but there is also a complicated dynamic of Makassarese pride and ethnic or national identity. Purely on a practical level they can be used to help in differentiating between people

¹⁰⁵ Bugis also use *pa'daengang* but the practice is less widespread and still somewhat restricted to the nobility (Sirtjo Koolhof pers.comm.).

with the same Islamic name, such as the numerous Hasanuddins; but they are also a mark of ‘Makassarese-ness’ in an increasingly multi-ethnic city, though they are also bestowed on outsiders as a general token of acceptance.

An extension of the *pa'daengang* system is used when addressing tradespeople or others who are referred to by their occupation rather than by name, eg. *Daeng Beca'* ‘pedicab driver’, *Daeng Paballi* <NR-sell> ‘stallholder’.

6.1.2.3 Noble and royal names

Other types of names which are worth mentioning briefly here are those which were given to royalty: *areng kale* or *Mangkasara'* (personal or Makassarese names), *areng pamana'* (royal or birth names, equivalent to *pa'daengang*), *pakkaraengang* (*karaeng*-titles), *areng mate* (posthumous names), and (following Islamisation) *areng ara'* (Arabic names). These can be illustrated by the names held by the ill-fated Sultan Hasanuddin of Gowa (ruled 1653 – 1669, see §1.1.4.3), as listed in the Gowa Chronicle (KIT:p.30).

- (209) *Tumamenang. ri Balla' Pangkana. ansossorangi. ma'gau' ... anne karaenga. areng ara'na. nikana. Sultan Hasanuddin. areng Mangkasara'na. iangku mabassung. nikana I Mallombasi. kana pamana'na. nikana. I Daeng Mattawang. pakaraenganna. ri tama'gau'na. nikana. Karaenga ri Bontomangngape.*

tu ma- menang ri Balla' Pangka ≡na aN- sossorang =i maC- gau'
person ADJ- rest PREP house well.made ≡3.POSS AF- inherit =3 MV- action

Tumamenang ri Balla' Pangkana (‘one who rests in his sturdy house’, his posthumous name) inherited the throne.

anne karaeng ≡a areng ara' ≡na ni- kana Sultan Hasanuddin
this karaeng ≡DEF name Arab ≡3.POSS PASS- word Sultan Hasanuddin

This karaeng, his Arab name was Sultan Hasanuddin.

areng Mangkasara' ≡na iang ku= ma- bassung ni- kana I Mallombasi
name Makassar ≡3.POSS VET 1= STV- swollen.belly PASS- word PERS Mallombasi

His Makassarese name, may I not be cursed, was I Mallombasi.

kana pa- amm- ana' ≡na ni- kana I daeng bonto
word NR- MV- child ≡3.POSS PASS- word PERS daeng shore

His royal name was I Daeng Mattawang.

pa> karaeng <ang ≡na ri ta= maC- gau' ≡na ni- kana
NR> karaeng <NR ≡3.POSS PREP NEG= MV- action ≡3.POSS PASS- word

karaeng ri Bontomangngape
karaeng PREP Bontomangngape

His *karaeng*-title before he became ruler was the Karaeng of Bontomangngape.

Deceased members of the nobility are referred to after their death by posthumous names, which usually describe something about the manner or location of their death or alternatively their place or manner of burial. Posthumous names take the form *tu* ‘person’ followed by a modifying phrase, such as *Tunibatta* <tu ni-batta | person PASS-sever> ‘beheaded one’, who ruled Gowa for a short time in 1565. Some other examples of posthumous names are:

(210) *Tumapa'risi'-kallonna*

tu ma- pa'ris =i' kallonng ≡na
 person ADJ- pain =EC neck ≡3.POSS
 sore necked one (ruled Gowa 1510-46)

(211) *Tumamenang ri Agamana*

tu ma- menang ri agama ≡na
 person ADJ- rest PREP religion ≡3.POSS
 one resting in his religion (ruled Tallo' 1593-1623)

(212) *Tumamenang ri Kala'biranna*

tu ma- menang ri ka> la'bir <ang ≡na
 person ADJ- rest PREP NR> exalted <NR ≡3.POSS
 one resting in his majesty (ruled Gowa 1742-1753)

Although these names are similar to relative clauses (§6.3.3), the absence of the definite marker *≡a* marks them as distinct.

6.1.2.4 Place names

Many Makassarese place names are etymologically transparent and descriptive, eg. *Bontomanai'* ‘shore going up’; others can be decomposed but are not immediately interpretable, eg. *Je'ne'ponto* ‘water bracelet’; while still others have no obvious meaning, eg. *Marusu'*, *Takalara'*. A small number of place names in South Sulawesi appear to have been borrowed from Javanese, eg. *Jipang* and *Garassi'* (← Jipang, Grisek) (Reid 2000:107). However, a detailed study of Makassarese toponyms has yet to be performed.

6.1.3 Temporal nominals

The words referring to specific times are formally nouns, including *wattu* ‘time’ itself. They typically occur in temporal adjuncts which are prepositional phrases formally identical to spatial adjuncts, and with the exception of the clock times they tend to take

determiners, either the definite article or the possessives. They can be specified with demonstratives.

A subset of temporal expressions do not fit clearly into this category because they do not usually appear in prepositional phrases. These are words such as *subangngi* ‘yesterday’, *ammempo* ‘tomorrow’, *kamma–kammanne* ‘now’, *sumpaeng* ‘earlier’, and *nampa* ‘then, after that’. These are analysed as temporal adverbs and were discussed in §5.5.3.

6.1.3.1 Clock times

Clock times are designated by the word *tette'*, using the Dutch/Indonesian system in which half-hours refer forward, ie. ‘half ten’ = 9.30.

5.00	<i>tette' lima</i>
9.30	<i>tette' sampulo sitangnga</i>
5.50	<i>tette' annang kurang sampulo mani'</i>
12.05	<i>tette' sampulo–anrua la'bi lima mani'</i>

Table 6.3: Clock times

(213) *Tette' siapa kamma–kammanne? Tette' limami*

tette'	siapa	kamma–	kamma	(a)nne	tette'	lima	=mo	=i
o'clock	how.much	BDP–	thus	this	o'clock	five	=PFV	=3

What time is it now? It's already five o'clock.

(214) *tayanga' ri dallekannna balla' ri tette' sampulo*

tayang	=a'	ri	dallekang	≡na	balla'	ri	tette'	sampulo
wait	=1	PREP	in.front	≡3.POSS	house	PREP	o'clock	ten

wait for me in front of the house at ten o'clock

The Malay loan *jang* (← *jam*) is also used, but it refers to hours of duration rather than absolute time, and behaves like a classifier or measure noun (§5.9), in that it follows the numeral (with a linker), and when it occurs in questions it takes the interrogative *piraN*– rather than *siapa* (§12.2.2.8):

(215) *tallun–jang kutayammi*

tallu	–N–	jang	ku=	tayang	=mo	=i
three	–LK–	hour	1=	wait	=PFV	=3

three hours I've waited for him

6.1.3.2 Time of day

As well as the more exact clock times, Makassarese also has a set of general terms referring to parts of the day, from the more general *allo* and *bangngi* to more specific times, including the Islamic prayer times whose origins are obviously Arabic:

day	<i>allo</i>	
evening, night	<i>bangngi</i>	
pre-dawn	<i>subu</i>	← Ar. ṣubḥ
dawn (prayer)	<i>pa'jara'</i>	← Ar. fajr
morning	<i>bari'basa'</i>	
midday	<i>tangngallo</i>	
midday (prayer)	<i>lohoror'</i>	← Ar. zuhr
afternoon	<i>karueng</i>	
late afternoon (prayer)	<i>asara'</i>	← Ar. 'aṣr
sunset	<i>(tallang) bayang</i>	
sunset (prayer)	<i>mangngaribi</i>	← Ar. maghrib
evening (prayer)	<i>isa</i>	← Ar. 'isjā'
between 2 and 4 am	<i>danniari</i>	

Table 6.4: Times of day

(216) *tena kutinro ri bangngia napakamma lamu'*

tena ku= tinro ri bangngi ≡a na= pa- kamma lamu'
 neg 1= sleep PREP night ≡DEF 3= CAUS- thus mosquito

I didn't sleep last night because of mosquitoes

(217) *anne karuenga eroka' anjama*

anne karueng ≡a ero' =a' aN- jama
 this afternoon ≡DEF want =1 BV- work

this afternoon I want to work

6.1.3.3 Days of the week

The names for days of the week derive from Arabic, probably via Malay, and co-occur with *allo* 'day', or *bangngi* 'night':

Sunday	<i>Aha'</i>	← Mal. ahad	← Ar. aḥad
Monday	<i>Sanneng</i>	← Mal. senin	← Ar. ithnain
Tuesday	<i>Salasa</i>	← Mal. Selasa	← Ar. thalāthā'
Wednesday	<i>Arabá</i>	← Mal. rabu	← Ar. arba'ā'
Thursday	<i>Kammisi'</i>	← Mal. Kamis	← Ar. khamīs
Friday	<i>Jumá'</i>	← Mal. jumat	← Ar. juma'
Saturday	<i>Sattu</i>	← Mal. Sabtu	← Ar. sabt

Table 6.5: Days of the week

When a narrative begins with the name of a day it is usually in the frame <ri allo≡nna

DAY≡a | PREP day≡3.POSS DAY≡DEF>, as follows:

(218) *Ri allonna Arabayya ku'lampa ri Sungguminasa*

ri allo ≡nna Araba ≡a ku= aC- lampa ri Sungguminasa
 PREP day ≡3.POSS Wednesday ≡DEF 1= MV- go PREP Sungguminasa

On Wednesday I went to Sungguminasa

In other contexts the above frame is not required:

(219) *Allo apa anne alloa? Allo Salasa.*

allo apa anne allo ≡a allo Salasa
 day what this day ≡DEF day Tuesday
 “What day is it today?” “Tuesday.”

6.1.3.4 Dates

Dates are designated with the word *tanggala'*, which behaves in a similar fashion to *tette'* (§6.1.3.1), eg:

(220) *Tanggala' siapa tammu taunnu? Tanggala' ruampulona–angngannang bulang Juni.*

tanggal siapa tammu taung ≡nu
 date how.many go.around year ≡2f.POSS

tanggal rua –N– pulo –aN– annang bulang Juni
 date two –LK– ten –LK– six month June

What date is your birthday? The 26th of June.

There was previously a complex system of pre-Islamic dates, generally referring to specific times for planting or fishing. Regrettably information about these is elusive and may be lost. There are also numerous special names for various days taken from the Islamic calendar.

6.1.3.5 Months

The names of the months are taken from either Portuguese or Dutch in the case of the Western calendar, or Arabic in the case of the Islamic lunar calendar. They are shown in Table 6.6. In all cases they are preceded by the word *bulan* ‘month’. For some of the month names both Portuguese- and Dutch-derived forms exist side-by-side, in which case the Portuguese-derived form is sometimes believed to be indigenous. For both the Western and Islamic calendars the Makassarese adapted forms are giving way to Indonesian forms.

Western calendar (← Portuguese, Dutch)		Islamic calendar (← Arabic)	
January	<i>Janeru, Januari</i>	Muharram	<i>Muharrang</i>
February	<i>Pareru, Peberiwari</i>	Safar	<i>Sappara'</i>
March	<i>Marusu', Mara'</i>	Rabi al-awwal	<i>Ra'bele'–auala'</i>
April	<i>Parelu</i>	Rabi al-thani	<i>Ra'bele'–ahera'</i>
May	<i>Mayong, Mei</i>	Jumada l-ula	<i>Jumadele'–auala'</i>
June	<i>Juni, June</i>	Jumada l-akhira	<i>Jumadele'–ahera'</i>
July	<i>Juli</i>	Rajab	<i>Ra'ja'</i>
August	<i>Aguttu, Guttusu'</i>	Sha'ban	<i>Sabang</i>
September	<i>Sepetembere', Sitembere'</i>	Ramadan	<i>Ramalang</i>

October	<i>Katuburu'</i>	Shawwal	<i>Sauala'</i>
November	<i>Nombero', Nobere'</i>	Dhu al-Qa'da	<i>Dolokae'da</i>
December	<i>Demberu', Semberu'</i>	Dhu al-Hijja	<i>Doloa'ji</i>

Table 6.6: Month names

It is likely that there was an indigenous method of naming the months as there was in Bugis (*Naagai, Palagunai*, and so forth¹⁰⁶), but I am not aware of any record of it.

6.1.3.6 Times of year

There are a variety of ways to describe times of year or seasons. The most fundamental are the terms *bara'* and *timoro'* (optionally preceded by *museng* 'monsoon' or *wattu* 'time'), which refer to the west and east monsoons respectively.¹⁰⁷ *Museng bara'* (also called *wattu bosi* <time rain> 'rainy season') lasts from approximately November until April. The dry season or *museng timoro'* lasts from approximately May until September. The driest time of year, around July, is called *timoro' karring* <east.monsoon dry>. There are also innumerable terms referring to planting and harvest times, but for the most part these are no longer known by urban Makassarese, with the exception of *museng taipa* 'mango season'.

(221) *Tale'baki nabattu musing baraka.*

ta= le'ba' =i na= battu musing bara' ≡a
 NEG= finished =3 3= come season west ≡DEF
 Good weather never came (Maros:015)

(222) *la'bui baraka anne taunga*

la'bu =i bara' ≡a anne taung ≡a
 long =3 west.monsoon ≡DEF this year ≡DEF
 the rainy season is long this year

6.2 Nominal derivation

Makassarese has very productive nominalising derivational morphology which mainly involves reduplication, the prefixes *pa-* and *ka-*, and the suffix *-ang*, either in isolation or in combinations which are considered confixes (§4.2). This section examines noun derivation in detail, concentrating on the most productive processes. Some processes

¹⁰⁶ These names are painted on a board near the museum of Benteng Somba Opu south of Makassar. At present I am unaware of any published information regarding this topic.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. the cardinal directions *wara'* 'north' and *timboro'* 'south' (§5.7.2).

were described in the dictionary but were not otherwise found in the corpus; where this is the case it has been noted.

6.2.1 Reduplication

Reduplication as a phonological phenomenon was discussed in § 2.3.7 (in essence, disyllabic roots are copied exactly, while trisyllabic (or longer) bases have the first two syllables copied and then closed with a glottal stop). This section deals with its effect on nominal bases, the results being nouns with altered semantics. The most common productive meanings are of diminution and imitation, for example a toy or NOUN-like object:

<i>tau</i>	person	→	<i>tau-tau</i>	statue, doll
<i>kappala'</i>	ship	→	<i>kappa'-kappala'</i>	toy ship
<i>oto</i>	car	→	<i>oto-oto</i>	toy car
<i>jarang</i>	horse	→	<i>jarang-jarang</i>	model horse, rocking horse
<i>kiti'</i>	duck	→	<i>kiti'-kiti'</i>	rubber ducky

This is quite productive, so even where there is no obvious expectation that a toy or model thing would exist this is nevertheless the default interpretation, eg. *miong-miong* ‘toy cat’. Sometimes however the interpretation will be one of imitation or similarity alone, eg:

<i>kaluara</i>	ant	→	<i>kalu'-kaluara</i>	something like an ant (but not an ant)
<i>lima</i>	hand	→	<i>lima-lima</i>	hand-like object (such as a stick with twigs looking like fingers).

In some cases the diminution does not imply imitation at all, but simply a small (or young) NOUN:

<i>baine</i>	woman	→	<i>bai'-baine</i>	girl
<i>bura'ne</i>	man	→	<i>bura'-bura'ne</i>	boy
<i>balla'</i>	house	→	<i>balla'-balla'</i>	hut

In a few other cases reduplication expands from a specific kind of referent to a more general term:

<i>olo'</i>	worm	→	<i>olo'-olo'</i>	animal
<i>jangan</i>	chicken	→	<i>jangan-jangan</i>	bird

Finally, in some cases reduplication indicates metaphorical extension used in insults, eg. *tai* ‘shit’ and *mea* ‘piss’ when reduplicated and possessed both have the meaning ‘descendant, offspring, spawn’:

(223) *toanu lagi tanggewa' apapa seng ikauntu mea-meanaya*

toa ≡ nu lagi ta= aN(N)- ewa =a' apa =pa seng
old ≡ 2f.POSS even NEG= BV- oppose =1 what =IPF again

i- kau =ntu mea- mea ≡ na ≡ a
PERS- 2fPRO =that RDP- urine ≡ 3.POSS ≡ DEF

even your grandfather didn't dare oppose me, what (compared to him) are you
who is his piss (C:453)

6.2.2 *pa-* nominal derivation

This section covers nouns which are derived with prefixation of *pa-* on various kinds of base, ranging from bare roots to bases which are already derivations themselves.

6.2.2.1 *pa-*ROOT

On the majority of nominal or verbal roots, *pa-* derives a noun: ‘person who makes/does/uses X habitually or as occupation’. Some examples are listed in Table 6.7:

NOMINAL ROOT

<i>kelong</i>	song	→	<i>pakelong</i>	singer of <i>kelong</i>
<i>sinrili'</i>	epic poem	→	<i>pasinrili'</i>	performer of <i>sinrili'</i>
<i>jarang</i>	horse	→	<i>pajarang</i>	rider
<i>lukka'</i>	stolen goods	→	<i>palukka'</i>	thief
<i>koko</i>	garden	→	<i>pakoko</i>	gardener
<i>ballo'</i>	palm wine	→	<i>paballo'</i>	maker of <i>ballo'</i>
<i>teke'</i>	load (for animal)	→	<i>pateke'</i>	muleteer, driver of pack buffalo, etc.

VERBAL ROOT

<i>inung</i>	drink	→	<i>painung</i>	drunkard
<i>balu'</i>	sell	→	<i>pabalu'</i>	seller (eg. <i>pabalu'juku'</i> ‘fishmonger’)
<i>botoro'</i>	gamble	→	<i>pabotoro'</i>	gambler
<i>cini'</i>	see	→	<i>pacini'</i>	spectator, seer
<i>de'de'</i>	smelt, smith	→	<i>pade'de'</i>	smith (eg. <i>pade'de'bassi'</i> ‘ironsmith’, <i>pade'de'bulaeng</i> ‘goldsmith’)

Table 6.7: *pa*-ROOT → person who does X

The following sentence is from the Gowa chronicle and lists occupations which were organised under supervisors appointed by Karaeng Tunipalangga (ruled 1546–1565):

(224) *pade'de' bassi. pade'de' bulaeng. panrita balla'. panrita biseang. parau' sappu'. patiri'. pagurinda. palari'. paotere'.*

pa- de'de' bassi pa- de'de' bulaeng panrita balla' panrita bise -ang
NR- smithing iron NR- smithing gold expert house expert paddle -NR

pa- rau' sappu' pa- tiri' pa- gurinda pa- lari' pa- oter =e'
 NR- whittle blowpipe NR- pour NR- grindstone NR- turn.on.lathe NR- rope =EC
 ... ironsmiths, goldsmiths, builders, shipwrights, blowpipe makers, weaponsmiths,
 sharpeners, turners, ropemakers. (KIT:4.08,ref083)

Adjectives and adverbs are not subject to this process, while basic verbs (§5.3.1.2) with *pa-* do not result in occupation/habitual nominals but instead in event nominals — these forms should be considered instances of *pa*-INF derivation (see §6.2.2.4 below). Note that *pa-* derived nouns are often identical in form to causative verbs, eg. *painung* ‘drunkard’, or ‘cause/allow to drink’, see §8.1.

6.2.2.2 *pa*-VERB BASE

This refers to the prefixation of *pa-* on infinitival verb forms marked with *aC-* or *aN(N)-* (§7.1). An alternative way of analysing this is as individual morphemes *paC-* and *paN(N)-* (Djirong Basang Daeng Ngewa 1997; Abdul Kadir Manyambeang et al. 1996). I believe an infinitival analysis is a more elegant solution, as it keeps the morpheme inventory down and avoids the need to explain that *paC-* is found on verbs which are normally derived with *aC-*, and *paN(N)-* on verbs which are normally derived with *aN(N)-*.¹⁰⁸ The derived meaning is (usually) instrumental — ‘thing with which X is done’, as can be seen in Table 6.8:

aC- VERBS					
<i>barrasa'</i>	→	<i>a'barrasa'</i>	sweep	→	<i>pa'barrasa'</i> broom
<i>ke'bu'</i>	→	<i>akke'bu'</i>	shut door	→	<i>pakke'bu'</i> door
<i>keso'</i>	→	<i>akkeso'</i>	scrape	→	<i>pakkeso'</i> bow (eg. for violin etc)
<i>kuta'nang</i>	→	<i>akkuta'nang</i>	ask	→	<i>pakkuta'nang</i> question
<i>sare</i>	→	<i>assare</i>	give	→	<i>passare</i> gift
aN(N)- VERBS					
<i>balli</i>	→	<i>ammalli</i>	sell	→	<i>pammalli</i> goods for sale
<i>de'de'</i>	→	<i>ande'de'</i>	forge metal	→	<i>pande'de'</i> smith's hammer
<i>jo'jo'</i>	→	<i>anjo'jo'</i>	point	→	<i>panjo'jo'</i> index finger, pointer
<i>pasa'</i>	→	<i>ammasa'</i>	split	→	<i>pammasa'</i> wedge
<i>pa'rang</i>	→	<i>amma'rang</i>	calm s.t or s.o	→	<i>pamma'rang</i> s.t soothing (medicine, drink)

Table 6.8: *pa*-VERB BASE → instrument nominal

A few examples are given in sentences below:

¹⁰⁸ There is a very small number of exceptions to this, see Table 6.11; note also that there is a morpheme found on adjectives which is better analysed as *paC-* than the combination *pa-aC-*, see §5.4.1.1).

(225) *apa passarena ri katte?*

apa pa- aC- sare ≡na ri katte
 what NR- MV- give ≡3.POSS PREP 2p
 what was his gift to you?

(226) *kocci pajanu ara'-ara' panjo'jo'nu*

kocci paja ≡nu ara'- ara' pa- aN(N)- jo'jo' ≡nu
 insert.finger bottom ≡2f.POSS RDP- sniff NR- BV- point ≡2f.POSS
 stick it in your arse and then sniff your index finger! (C:338)

6.2.2.3 *pa-* + derived verbal bases

Complex verb bases such as causatives derived from verbs with *pa-* (§8.1) or adjectives with *paka-* (§8.2) can also host verb prefixes and then undergo instrument nominalisation with *pa-*. Some examples are given below:

(227) *pappaturung*

pa- aC- pa- turung
 NR- MV- CAUS- descend

alarm (lit. thing that makes you come down, eg. a drum to call people down from their houses)

(228) *pappakagassing*

pa- aC- paka- gassing
 NR- MV- CAUS.ADJ- strong

tonic, fortifying medicine or drink (lit. thing that makes you strong)

(229) *pappiu'rangi*

pa- aC- pi- u'rangi
 NR- MV- EXP- remember

reminder (lit. thing that makes you remember, see §8.3 on *pi-*)

6.2.2.4 *pa*-VERB BASE: irregularities and exceptions

In some cases the meaning of *pa*-VERB BASE forms is slightly different from the examples above, denoting different kinds of concrete or abstract nominal, but the principle can still be seen:

aC- VERBS

<i>kio'</i>	→ <i>akkio'</i>	call	→ <i>pakkio'</i>	a calling (ie. ceremony)
<i>boya</i>	→ <i>a'boya</i>	search	→ <i>pa'boya</i>	goal of search
<i>mai'</i>	→ <i>a'mai'</i>	breathe	→ <i>pa'mai'</i>	breath, character

aN(N)- VERBS

<i>asseng</i>	→ <i>angngasseng</i>	know	→ <i>pangngasseng</i>	knowledge
<i>ali'</i>	→ <i>angngali'</i>	feel shame	→ <i>pangngali'</i>	shame
<i>u'rangi</i>	→ <i>angngu'rangi</i>	think of	→ <i>pangngu'rangi</i>	memories

Table 6.9: *pa*-VERB BASE → non-instrumental nominal

Some examples, including a proverb (232):

(230) *nia'mi pa'boyata battu*

nia' =mo =i pa- aC- boya ≡ta battu
 exist =PRF =3 NR- MV- search ≡2p.POSS come
 here comes the one you were looking for (C:132)

(231) *tena pangngassengku ri anjo parakarayya*

tena pa- aN(N)- asseng ≡ku ri anjo parakara ≡a
 NEG NR- BV- know ≡1.POSS PREP that matter ≡DEF
 I have no knowledge of that matter (C:35)

(232) *Punna taena pangngali'nu angnginrang-inrangko pangngali' na nia' nupake-pake*

punna taena pa- aN(N)- ali' ≡nu aN(N)- inrang- inrang =ko
 if/when NEG NR- BV- shame ≡2f.poss BV- RDP- debt =2f

pa- aN(N)- ali' na nia' nu= pake pake
 NR- BV- shame and be 2f= wear wear

If you don't have shame, borrow some shame and wear it (Zainuddin Hakim 1995:2)

As mentioned earlier, words derived with *pa-* from basic verbs appear to belong to a subset of *pa-VERB BASE* nominals in which the result means either the event or process itself, or the time at which it takes place. Cense gives the following examples:

nai' go up → *panai'* the (moment of) going up
naung go down → *panaung* the going down, the going northwards
mange go → *pamange* the going

Table 6.10: *pa-VERB BASE* on basic verbs

However, these derivations appear to be rare — there are no examples with these kinds of meaning in my corpus, although there are numerous homophonous causative examples such as *panaung* 'drop' (§8.1).

In a very few cases the actual infinitive form is derived with a different prefix from that used in the base for the *pa-VERB BASE* form, as seen in the first two examples in Table 6.11, where *aN(N)-* infinitives correspond to *pa-aC-* derived instruments. There are also some *pa-VERB BASE* forms whose corresponding prefixed verb is not found, as seen in the final example.

tongko' → (n/a) *annongko'* cover, close → *patongko'* lid
sambila → (n/a) *anynyambila* throw → *passambila* throwing tool
balle → k.o plant **a'balle* (n/a) → *pa'balle* medicine

Table 6.11: *pa-INF* exceptions

6.2.2.5 *pa>VERB BASE<ang*

The confix *pa><ang* when attached to a prefixed verb base typically results in nouns meaning either ‘place for doing X’, or less commonly ‘time for doing X’. With some bases there are both possibilities:

aC- VERBS

<i>je'ne'</i>	→ <i>a'je'ne'</i>	bathe	→ <i>pa'je'ne'kang</i>	bathing place, bathtime
<i>pilajara'</i>	→ <i>appilajara'</i>	study	→ <i>pappilajarang</i>	lesson
<i>bunting</i>	→ <i>a'bunting</i>	get married	→ <i>pa'buntingang</i>	wedding

aN(N)- VERBS

<i>pekang</i>	→ <i>ammekang</i>	fish with a hook	→ <i>pammekangang</i>	fishing time/place
<i>polong</i>	→ <i>ammolong</i>	cut	→ <i>pammolongang</i>	abattoir
<i>sanggara'</i>	→ <i>anynyanggara'</i>	fry, roast	→ <i>panynyanggarang</i>	roasting/frying pan
<i>kanre</i>	→ <i>angnganre</i>	eat	→ <i>pangnganreang</i>	plate

amm- VERBS

<i>enteng</i>	→ <i>ammenteng</i>	stand	→ <i>pammentengang</i>	standing place, spot
<i>empo</i>	→ <i>ammempo</i>	sit	→ <i>pammempoang</i>	place to sit

BASIC VERBS

<i>battu</i>	→ <i>battu</i>	come	→ <i>pabattuang</i>	place or time s.t/s.o comes

Table 6.12: *pa>VERB BASE<ang* → place or time

(233) *baji'mi pammentenganku anrinni*

baji' =mo =i *pa>* amm- *enteng* <ang ≡ku anrinni
 good =PRF =3 NR> MV- stand <NR ≡1.POSS here

I've got a good spot here (C:206)

(234) *angngalleko pammempoang akkullea nipammempói*

aN(N)- *alle* =ko *pa>* amm- *empo* <ang aC- *kulle* ≡a
 BV- take =2f NR> MV- sit <NR MV- can ≡DEF

ni- *pa-* amm- *empo -i*
 PASS- CAUS- MV- sit -APPL

take a seat where there's a spot (lit. a sitting place that can be sat on, C:204)

(235) *pabattuang toanami nutinro-ija*

pa> *battu* <ang *toana* =mo =i *nu= tinro ija*
 NR> come <NR guest =PRF =3 2f= sleep still

it's already the time for guests to arrive and you're still asleep (C:91)

The base may also be a previously derived form such as a causative, eg:

(236) *pappajappáng (jangan)*

pa> aC- *pa-* *jappa* <ang *jangan*
 NR> MV- CAUS- walk <NR chicken

place where fighting cocks are made to walk, so that onlookers can examine them before betting

As always, there are some derivations whose meaning does not conform to the usual pattern:

<i>ana'</i>	→	<i>ammana'</i>	have child	→	<i>pammanakang</i>	family
<i>inung</i>	→	<i>angnginung</i>	drink	→	<i>pangnginungang</i>	drinking vessel
<i>karaeng</i>	→	<i>akkaraeng</i>	be king	→	<i>pakkaraengang</i>	royal name
<i>karru'</i>	→	<i>angngarru'</i>	cry	→	<i>pangngarrukang</i>	crybaby
<i>asseng</i>	→	<i>angngasseng</i>	know	→	<i>pangngassengang</i>	mystical knowledge

Table 6.13: *pa*>VERB BASE<*ang* exceptions

Pammanakang is perhaps a metaphorical extension from ‘place to have children’, while *pangnginungang* has a meaning comparable to a *pa*–INF instrumental derivation (6.2.2.2), as does *pakkaraengang* at a stretch (in the sense ‘thing (ie. name) used for *karaeng*-ing’). *Pangngarrukang* is comparable to a *paC*>ADJ<*ang* derivation (6.2.2.6).

Another rather irregular example is *patturioloang* ‘chronicle’, which is derived from the lexicalised NP *turiolo* <tu ri olo | person PREP front> ‘ancestor’, presumably via the verb *atturiolo* ‘be an ancestor’, thus *patturioloang* ‘place or time for ancestors’ → ‘chronicle’.

Note that there are identical forms derived with the two affixes *pa*– and –*ang* as the combination CAUS—BEN ‘do something for someone’ (§8.1.6).

6.2.2.6 *paC*>ADJ<*ang*

This confix is attached to an adjectival base to derive a noun meaning ‘someone who is easily ADJ, inclined to be ADJ’. The prefix part of the confix should be analysed as *paC*–, rather than the combination of *pa*– and the verb prefix *aC*–, because adjectives do not have infinitival forms and can stand as predicates without further derivation.¹⁰⁹ For example, *pa'larroang* means ‘s.o prone to anger’ (← *larro* ‘angry’), but there is no form **a'larro*. Other examples are given in Table 6.14:

<i>garring</i> sick	→	<i>pa'garringang</i>	sickly person
<i>malla'</i> scared	→	<i>pa'mallakang</i>	scaredycat
<i>cipuru'</i> hungry	→	<i>paccipurang</i>	greedyguts
<i>nakku'</i> longing	→	<i>pa'nakkukang</i>	melancholic
<i>tinro</i> ¹¹⁰ asleep	→	<i>pattinroang</i>	sleepyhead, narcoleptic

Table 6.14: *paC*>ADJ<*ang* → person inclined to be ADJ

This confix only appears to be used to derive nouns with somewhat negative connotations — although speakers would more or less accept made-up forms such as

¹⁰⁹ The alternative to this analysis is to postulate a medial stage of infimive adjective bases, which exist solely as bases for these kinds of derivation and are not in themselves well-formed.

¹¹⁰ *Tinro*, a basic verb (§5.3.1.2), behaves like an adjective in this case.

pa'rannuang ‘?someone who is easily happy’ or *pa'la'birang* ‘?someone who is easily splendid’, it was obvious that these are not idiomatic. An exception is *pa'bajikang* (← *baji* ‘good’), the name of a ceremony which takes place after a wedding and symbolises the beginning of a couple’s sexual relationship (Chabot 1996:221).

6.2.3 *ka><ang* nominal derivation

This section describes the nominalising functions of the *ka><ang* confix, which is found productively on adjectives, somewhat irregularly on basic verbs, and less commonly on nominal and adverbial bases.

6.2.3.1 *ka>ADJ<ang* → ADJ-ness

Most if not all adjective roots can take the confix *ka><ang*¹¹¹ (it is one of the defining features of the word class), and in most cases it derives abstract nouns meaning roughly ‘ADJ-ness’, with occasional more concrete or idiomatic exceptions. Some examples are:

<i>gassing</i>	strong	→	<i>kagassingang</i>	strength
<i>kodi</i>	bad	→	<i>kakodiang</i>	badness
<i>kalumananyang</i>	rich	→	<i>kakalumananyangang</i>	wealth
<i>malla'</i>	scared	→	<i>kamallakang</i>	fear

Table 6.15: *ka>ADJ<ang* → ‘ADJ-ness’

(237) *Siapa todong kagassinganna balla'nu?*

siapa todong ka> gassing <ang ≡na balla' ≡nu
how.many also NR> strong <NR ≡3.POSS house ≡2f.POSS

Anyway, how much strength does your house have? (*Caritana Pung Tedong*)
(Zainuddin Hakim 1991:72)

(238) *tenamo assauruki kakodianna balia*

tena =mo aC- sauru' =i ka> kodi <ang ≡na bali ≡a
NEG =PRF MV- be.defeated =3 NR> bad <NR ≡3.POSS enemy ≡DEF
the wickedness of the enemy cannot be surpassed (C:54)

One of the more concrete nominal derivations is *kala'busang* ‘end’ (← *la'busu* ‘finished’):

(239) *Nipauammi ri pakaramulanna sanggenna mange ri kala'busanna.*

ni- pau -ang =mo =i ri pakaramula ≡nna sangge ≡nna mange ri
PASS- story -BEN =PRF =3 PREP beginning ≡3.POSS until ≡3.POSS go PREP

¹¹¹ A reflex of pMP *ka- -en ‘abstract nouns (nonlocative)’ (Blust 2003).

ka> la'bus <ang ≡na
 NR> finished <NR ≡3.POSS

They were told the story from the beginning right until the end (*Caritana Pung Tedong*) (Zainuddin Hakim 1991:76)

There is also an idiomatic reading of *kalompoang* (← *lompo* 'big'), which as well as the regular meaning 'greatness' (as seen in *kalompoanna Alla Ta'ala* 'the greatness of God'), has the special meaning of 'regalia' or 'ornament'.¹¹²

It is not always necessary to use *ka><ang* to derive a nominal interpretation of an adjective — there are many examples in which possessive affixal clitics appear to be sufficient to derive the same sort of meaning:

(240) *Ikau tojemmi gassingku*

i kau tojeng =mo =i gassing ≡ku
 PERS 2f.sing true =PRF =3 strong ≡1.POSS

You are truly my strength (SKT:ref052)

6.2.3.2 *ka>RDP-ADJ<ang* → 'peak of ...'

The confix *ka><ang* when attached to a reduplicated adjectival base results in a nominal with the meaning 'the peak of ADJ-ness', eg. *kagassing-gassingang* 'greatest strength' in the following example:

(241) *kagassing-gassingannami*

ka> gassing- gassing <ang ≡na =mo =i
 NR> RDP- strong <NR
 strong:peak.of ≡3.POSS =PRF =3

he's already at the peak of his strength (C:228)

These are assumed to be nominal derivations not only because of the general nominalising function of *ka><ang*, but also because they must be specified with a possessive affixal clitic, and can furthermore occur within a PP, as in (242):

(242) *ri kabaji'-bajikanna iji gajia nanjama*

ri ka> baji'- baji' <ang ≡na ija =i gaji ≡a na= aN- jama
 NR> RDP- good <NR
 PREP good:peak.of ≡3.POSS still =3 wage ≡DEF 3= BV- work

he worked at the time when the wages were still at their best (C:44)

¹¹² See eg. Cummings (2002:55-57) for a discussion of *kalompoang* and their cultural meaning.

Note that these are not superlative forms (singling out the entity showing the highest degree of some quality) which are marked by *kaminang* (§5.4.1.3.2), but rather denote that an entity has reached its individual zenith in that particular quality.

6.2.3.3 *ka*>BASIC VERB<*ang*

In the majority of cases, basic verbs with *ka*><*ang* become nominals meaning roughly ‘the state (or process) of V-ing’, such as:

<i>nia'</i>	exist	→	<i>kaniakkang</i>	existence, presence
<i>nai'</i>	go up	→	<i>kanaikang</i>	ascent, rise in standing
<i>naung</i>	go down	→	<i>kanaungang</i>	descend, fall in standing
<i>battu</i>	come	→	<i>kabattuang</i>	arrival
<i>mate</i>	die	→	<i>kamateang</i>	death

Table 6.16: nouns derived with *ka*>BASIC VERB<*ang*

For example, the following is from the Maros Chronicle (Cummings 2000):

(243) *ka taena nangai kaniakanna Balandaya ri Marusu'.*

ka taena na= ngai ka> nia' <ang ≡na Balanda ≡a ri Marus =u'
BCS NEG 3= love NR> be <NR ≡3.POSS Holland ≡DEF PREP Maros =EC

because he did not like the Dutch presence in Maros (Maros:175)

while the following example appears early in the Gowa chronicle (Wolhoff and Abdurrahim 1959:9):

(244) *ka taniassengai kabattuanna siagáng kamateanna*

ka ta= ni- asseng -a =i ka> battu <ang ≡na siagáng
because NEG= PASS- know -SBJV =3 NR> come <NR ≡3.POSS with

ka> mate <ang ≡na
NR> death <NR ≡3.POSS

because nothing is known of her arrival or her death

As with the adjective examples, there are numerous examples of basic verbs taking nominal readings simply through attachment of a possessive affixal clitic, with no obvious difference in meaning from the *ka*><*ang* derived forms. For example the death of Karaeng Tumapa'risi' Kallonna (in 1546) is described in the Gowa chronicle as follows:

(245) *matena mate magarringji.*

mate ≡na mate ma- garring =ja =i
death ≡3.POSS death ADJ- sick =LIM =3

his death was just a death of illness (KIT:2.15)

When I asked speakers about the difference between the use of *mate* and *kamateang*, the difference was explained as one of stylistics — *mate* is more stark and effective in this context, whereas *kamateang* sounds more refined but a little euphemistic.

Again, there are some irregular derived meanings. A concrete exception is *katinroang* (← *tinro* ‘sleep’) which means ‘bed’. Other exceptions are derived from *ero* ‘want’ and *mange* ‘go’: *kaerokang* means ‘luck, fortune, happenstance’ (either good or bad); while *kamangeang* means ‘miscarriage’.

(246) *anne sapedayya kaerokanna kuballi ka battu–mamo nia' i Ali assare doe'*

anne sapeda ≡ a ka> ero' <ang ≡ na ku= balli ka battu mamo nia'
this bicycle ≡ DEF NR> want <NR ≡ 3.POSS 1= buy because come only exist

i Ali aC– sare doe'
PERS Ali MV give money

this bicycle, by good fortune I bought it, only because Ali happened to give me money (C:209)

6.2.3.4 ka>N<ang

Cense (1979:257) gives some examples of *ka><ang* on nominal bases, with the meaning ‘the being ...’ (*het ... zijn*), eg. *katuGowáng* ‘the being someone from Gowa’ (*het iemand van Gowa zijn*). I was unable to confirm these constructions with modern speakers, and the only examples I have in context come from the Maros chronicle (Cummings 2000:18), eg. *kakaraengang* ‘*karaeng*-ship, being *karaeng*’ in (247):

(247) *tena– todong nawarisi' ri kakaraenganna ri Marusu'.*

tena todong na= waris =i' ri ka> karaeng <ang ≡ na ri Marus
NEG also 3= inherit =EC PREP NR> king <NR ≡ 3.POSS PREP Maros

...he could not inherit the *karaeng*-ship of Maros either.

An idiomatic (and exceptional) token of this derivational process is *katauang* ‘genitals’ (← *tau* ‘person’), comparable to English ‘manhood’.

6.2.3.5 ka>ADV<ang

To my knowledge there is one adverb, the negator *taena*, which can undergo *ka><ang* nominalisation to form *kataenáng* ‘lack’:

(248) *jai kataenangku*

jai ka> taena <ang ≡ ku
many NR> NEG <NR ≡ 1.POSS

I’m lacking many things (lit. many are my lacks)

6.2.4 –*ang* nominal derivation

A small (but common) group of nouns is derived with just –*ang* from bare roots. In some cases these are noun roots (they have a default nominal interpretation), but the derived –*ang* forms have meanings more obviously related to verbs derived from those nouns, as illustrated in the first two examples of Table 6.17. In the remaining examples the roots are verb roots (the bare root does not normally appear without verbal morphology), but they appear in this construction without the usual prefix. In essence the derived meanings appear similar to those of the *pa*>VERB BASE<*ang* instrumental derivations (6.2.2.2).

<i>dongko'</i>	back	→	<i>dongkokang</i>	vehicle
→ <i>a'dongko</i>	ride			
<i>bise</i>	oar	→	<i>biseang</i>	ship
→ <i>ammise</i>	row			
<i>kokko'</i>	*	→	<i>kokkokang</i>	bit (for a horse)
→ <i>annngokko'</i>	bite			
<i>bule'</i>	*	→	<i>bulekang</i>	sedan chair
→ <i>a'bule'</i>	carry on shoulders			
<i>ta'gala'</i>	*	→	<i>ta'gallang</i>	handle
→ <i>anna'gala'</i>	grasp			
<i>inung</i>	*	→	<i>inungang</i>	drink
→ <i>angnginung</i>	drink			
<i>jama</i>	*	→	<i>jamáng</i>	job
→ <i>anjama</i>	work			

Table 6.17: nouns derived with –*ang*

An exception to this rule is the common word *kanreang* (← *kanre* ‘food’), which means something like ‘edibility’:

(249) *bajiki kanreanna*

baji' =i *kanre* –ang ≡na
good =3 food –NR ≡3.POSS

it is good to eat (cf. *bajiki kanrena* ‘her food is good’)

Another exception is *battuang* ‘meaning’ from the basic verb *battu* ‘come’:

(250) *tena kuassengi battuanna*

tena ku= *asseng* =i *battu* –ang ≡na
NEG 1= know =3 come –NR ≡3.POSS

I don’t know what it means

6.3 The noun phrase

This section discusses the structure of noun phrases, including the ordering of elements within the phrase, and the placement of morphological markers characteristic of noun phrases. Most of the interesting phenomena relate to the placement of the definite marker $\equiv a$, whose general properties and functions were discussed in §4.4.

The minimal NP is simply a noun such as *tau* ‘person’ or *berang* ‘cleaver’. The maximal NP is rather harder to determine as it is unclear to what extent an NP may contain multiple modifiers.

Noun phrase constituents can basically be divided into the following types: heads, specifiers, and modifiers. Heads are nouns by definition, specifiers are demonstratives or numerals, and modifiers may be nouns, adjectives, verbs or relative clauses. There are also morphological determiners in the form of the definite marker $\equiv a$ and/or the possessive markers.

6.3.1 Specifiers

Specifiers are the demonstratives and numerals (including classifiers). They can be distinguished from modifiers because they may appear before the head noun. The demonstratives (§5.6.3) generally precede the head noun, as in *anjo kongkong $\equiv a$* (that dog $\equiv$ DEF) ‘that dog’; the reverse order, *kongkong $\equiv a$ (a)njo*, is also found but is much less common and is associated with western dialects and Selayarese. Even if the demonstrative appears after the noun, it cannot host the definite marker.

Numerals almost always precede the head noun if it is indefinite, as in (251), (253) and (255), but follow it if it is definite, in which case the numeral hosts the definite marker, as in (252), (254) and (256). In this respect, numerals in definite noun phrases behave like post-head modifiers (see below):

(251) *assibuntulu'ma' rua tau Parancisi'*

aC- si- buntulu' =ma =a' rua tau Parancis =i'
MV- MUT- meet =PFV =1 two person France =EC

I met with two French people

(252) *assibuntulu'ma' tau ruayya Parancisi'*

aC- si- buntulu' =ma =a' tau rua $\equiv a$ Parancis =i'
MV- MUT- meet =PFV =1 person two $\equiv$ DEF France =EC

I met with the two French people

(253) *nia' tallu ana'na*

nia' tallu ana' $\equiv$ na
 exist three child $\equiv$ 3.POSS

he had three children (lit. there were three of his children)

(254) *cara'deki anjo ana'na tallua*

cara'de' =i anjo ana' $\equiv$ na tallu $\equiv$ a
 clever =3 that child $\equiv$ 3.POSS three $\equiv$ DEF

those three children of his are clever

(255) *nia' ruang-kayu miong anjoreng*

nia' rua -N kayu miong anjoreng
 exist two -LK CLASS cat there

there are two cats there

(256) *kubunoi anjo miong ruayya*

ku= buno =i anjo miong rua $\equiv$ a
 1= kill =3 that cat two $\equiv$ DEF

I killed those two cats

6.3.2 Modifiers

Modifying elements always follow the head noun — they may be of various types:

- modifying nouns
- adjectives, such as *balla' garring* <house sick> ‘hospital’; *juku' lompo* <fish big> ‘big fish’
- modifying verbs
- possessors
- relative clauses.

Relative clauses will be discussed in detail in §6.3.3, and the structure of possessives was discussed in §4.4.2; the other types will be discussed briefly here.

6.3.2.1 Modifying nouns

Modifying nouns always follow the head noun. They can have a range of meanings, giving detail about the head noun in terms of its material, origin, location, habitat, occupation, type, and so forth. Some examples are given in Table 6.18.

<i>balla' kayu</i>	<house wood>	wooden house
<i>kayu kaluku</i>	<wood coconut>	coconut-palm wood
<i>je'ne' golla</i>	<water sugar>	syrup
<i>kongkong je'ne'</i>	<dog water>	otter
<i>tau Mangkasara'</i>	<person Makassar>	Makassarese
<i>jangan Balanda</i>	<chicken Holland>	turkey
<i>badi' Bugisi'</i>	<knife Bugis>	Bugis knife
<i>bawi romang</i>	<pig forest>	wild boar
<i>tukang bulaeng</i>	<smith gold>	goldsmith
<i>je'ne' mata</i>	<water eye>	tears
<i>lisere' mata</i>	<seed eye>	pupil
<i>kappala' pepe'</i>	<ship fire>	steamship

Table 6.18: NPs with modifying nouns

When NPs with modifying nouns are marked for definiteness or possession, the marker is attached at the end (ie. the right edge) of the NP, thus *balla' kayu* $\equiv$ a ‘the wooden house’, *je'ne' mata* $\equiv$ ngku ‘my tears’.

NPs may contain more than one modifying noun — or more accurately, the modifying noun may itself be an NP with a modifying noun, eg. *kadera kayu kaluku* <chair wood coconut> ‘chair made of coconut wood’. However, modifying nouns may not be conjoined to denote different types of head noun, eg. **tukang bulaeng na kayu* <smith gold and wood> — instead they must be separate NPs, eg. *tukang bulaeng na tukang kayu* ‘goldsmiths and carpenters’.

6.3.2.2 Adjectives

As attributive modifiers adjectives also always follow the head noun, eg. *juku' lombo* <fish big> ‘big fish’; *balla' garring* <house sick> ‘hospital’. Adjectival modifiers such as the intensifier *sanna'* may precede the adjective, or the intensifier *dudu* may follow it eg. *songko' sanna' baji'* <hat very good> ‘a really good hat’; *tau pongoro'-dudu* <person crazy very> ‘a very crazy person’. Affixal enclitics which apply to the whole phrase are then attached at the right edge, eg. *miong le'lengku* <cat black $\equiv$ 1.POSS> ‘my black cat’; *anjo tau garring-dudua* <that person sick very $\equiv$ DEF> ‘that very sick person’.

In indefinite NPs adjectives may be conjoined with *na*, eg. *moncong lombo na tinggi* <mountain big and tall> ‘a big and tall mountain’; *tau garring na pongoro'* <person sick and mad> ‘a sick and mad person’. However, in definite NPs conjoined adjectives are dispreferred. They do not occur in my corpus, and though they can be elicited, there is confusion about where the definite marker should go in these cases, ie. it is unclear

whether $\equiv a$ should behave like a 2P clitic as it does in relative clauses (see §6.3.3) and be placed on the first adjective, eg. *tau garring* $\equiv a$ *na pongoro*‘; or at the end of the NP, eg. *tau garring na pongorok* $\equiv a$ ‘the sick and mad person’.

6.3.2.3 Modifying verbs

These are verbs used attributively to describe what the head noun does, such as *kappala'* *anri'ba'* <ship fly> ‘airplane’; *bembe battu* <goat come> ‘a goat which just wandered in’, *tau tinro* <person sleep> ‘sleeping person’. Affixal clitics attach to the right edge, eg. *tedong angnganrea* <buffalo BV–eat $\equiv$ DEF> ‘the eating buffalo’.

There is a fuzzy boundary between NPs with modifying verbs and relative clauses. For the sake of analysis I have assumed that NPs with a single verb marking an attribute contain modifying verbs, while anything more complex than that is a relative clause, especially if it contains any cross-referencing clitic pronouns.

6.3.3 Relative clauses

Relative clauses are clausal modifiers of nominal heads. Makassarese does not have a dedicated relative clause marker, unlike Indonesian *yang* and Selayarese and Konjo *tu* and *nu* (see §5.6.5), but instead the clausal modifier simply follows the head.

6.3.3.1 Relative clauses on definite core arguments

In the vast majority of examples the NP is definite, and there is a distinctive use of the definite affixal clitic $\equiv a$, which attaches to the verb inside the relative clause, as follows:

(257) *tau battua ri Jepang*

tau battu $\equiv a$ ri Jepang
person come $\equiv$ DEF PREP Japan

the person who came from Japan (head = S)

(258) *tau nabunoa sorodadu*

tau na= buno $\equiv a$ sorodadu
person 3= kill $\equiv$ DEF soldier

the person killed by a soldier (head = P)

(259) *sorodadu ammunoa tau*

sorodadu aN(N)- buno ≡a tau
 soldier BV- kill ≡DEF person
 the soldier who killed a person (head = A)

If P in an A-headed relative clause is indefinite, as exemplified in (259), it is not cross-referenced within the relative clause by an =ABS clitic pronoun (§11.2). However, if P is definite, as exemplified in (260), it is cross-referenced, as indicated by the enclitic =i after the definite marker. The verb is also marked with the Actor Focus prefix aN- (§7.2).

(260) *sorodadu ambunoai taua*

sorodadu aN- buno ≡a =i tau ≡a
 soldier AF- kill ≡DEF =3 person ≡DEF
 the soldier who killed the person

Relative clauses which host the 1st person enclitic =a' have no overt realisation of the definite marker due to vowel degemination (§2.3.1). Compare (261) and (262):

(261) *tau ansarea' baju*

tau aN- sare (≡a) =a' baju
 person AF- give (≡DEF) =1 shirt
 the person who gave me a shirt

(262) *tau ansareako baju*

tau aN- sare ≡a =ko baju
 person AF- give ≡DEF =2f shirt
 the person who gave you a shirt

Sentences (263) and (264) relative clauses modifying A and P respectively within simple matrix clauses.

(263) *tau ambunoai tedonga ammotere'mi*

tau aN- buno ≡a =i tedong ≡a amm- oter =e' =mo =i
 person AF- kill ≡DEF =3 buffalo ≡DEF MV- return =EC =PFV =3
 the man who killed the buffalo went home

(264) *tedong nabunoa i Baso' lompoi*

tedong na= buno ≡a i Baso' lompo =i
 buffalo 3= kill ≡DEF PERS Baso' big =3
 the buffalo that Baso' killed was big

Note that although NPs containing relative clauses appear in pre-predicate position (ie. in Focus position, see §11.9), nevertheless they are cross-referenced with clitic pronouns in the matrix clause as shown by =i on *lompo* in (264), unlike simple NPs in

the same position (eg. *tedonna lompo* <tedong $\equiv$ na lompo | buffalo $\equiv$ 3.POSS big> ‘his buffalo is big’).

As in main clauses, a definite secondary object is licensed by the use of the benefactive suffix *-ang*, and the definite marker is placed between it and the enclitic pronoun:

(265) *tau ansareangako anjo baju*

tau aN- sare -ang $\equiv$ a =ko anjo baju
 person AF- give -BEN $\equiv$ DEF =2f that shirt
 the person who gave you that shirt

Relative clauses may themselves contain verbal complements; the following shows an Undergoer-headed relative clause with an infinitival complement *a'bicara* ‘speak’, the whole modified by a temporal adverb:

(266) *bura'ne kuagánga a'bicara sumpaeng nakana mae ri nakke nia' bawi romang anrinni punna bangngi*

bura'ne ku= agáng $\equiv$ a aC- bicara sumpaeng na= kana mae ri nakke
 man 1= accompany $\equiv$ DEF MV- speak earlier 3= word toward PREP 1PRO

nia' bawi romang anrinni punna bangngi
 be pig forest here if/when night

the man I talked with earlier said to me there are wild pigs here at night

6.3.3.2 Relative clauses on indefinite core arguments

There are some cases of RCs modifying indefinite heads, such as in the following examples with relatives on indefinite S, P and A respectively:

(267) *tau battu ri Jepang*

tau battu ri Jepang
 person come PREP Japan
 a person who came from Japan

(268) *tau nabuno sorodadu*

tau na= buno sorodadu
 person 3= kill soldier
 a person killed by a soldier

(269) *sorodadu ammuno tau*

sorodadu aN(N)- buno tau
 soldier BV- kill person
 a soldier who killed a person

However, these are extremely rare — in my corpus they only arise through elicitation and there are also some examples in Cense’s grammar notes (KITLV HISDOC Or545.43). There may be discourse-related reasons for this rarity, on the assumption

that generally an entity which is discourse-prominent enough to have a relative clause attached to it, is also prominent enough to be considered definite. Alternatively these constructions might be avoided because they are formally identical to clauses containing focused indefinite arguments (§11.9.1)¹¹³ and can legitimately be understood as independent clauses with the following meanings: (267) a person came from Japan, (269) a soldier killed a person, (268) someone was killed by a soldier.

6.3.3.3 Relative clause on goal

A goal (normally an oblique in a prepositional phrase) may become the head of a relative clause, but the preposition is omitted and the locative applicative *-i* is used (see §9.1.2). It does not appear possible to relativise on a source.

(270) *sikola namangéia agangu bajiki*

sikola na= mange -i ≡a agang ≡ku baji' =i
school 3= go -APPL ≡DEF friend ≡1.POSS good =3

the school my friend goes to is good (cf. *mangei agangu ri sikola* 'my friend goes to school')

(271) *tau kubuntúlia anne karuénga napauanga' nia' bawi romang anrinni punna bangngi*

tau ku= buntul -i ≡a anne karuéng -a na= pau -ang =a'
person 1= find -APPL ≡DEF this afternoon ≡DEF 3= story -BEN =1

nia' bawi romang anrinni punna bangngi
be pig forest here if/when night

the person I met this afternoon, he told me there are wild pigs here at night (cf. *a'buntuluka' ri tau* 'I met a person')

6.3.3.4 Relative clause on instrument

An instrument may be relativised upon in two ways. One is to use the suffix *-ang* in its function of licensing an instrument (§9.2.1.4):

(272) *sele' nibunoangai tarangi*

sele' ni- buno -ang ≡a =i tarang =i
kris PASS- kill -BEN ≡DEF =3 sharp =3

the kris he was killed with was sharp

¹¹³ Relative clauses are constructed like focused clauses in that they always follow the head noun (equivalent to the focused argument), which is obligatorily gapped (in the same way that a focused argument is not cross-referenced).

Alternatively instruments may simply be expressed by using the verb *pake* 'use', with a VP complement:

(273) *lading kupakea ammolong juku' lading pokkolo'*

lading ku= pake ≡a aN(N)– polong juku' lading pokkol =o'
 knife 1= wear ≡DEF BV– cut fish knife blunt =EC
 the knife that I used to cut fish was a blunt knife

6.3.3.5 Headless relative clauses

Headless relative clauses are relatively rare — instead *anu* 'thing', *tau* 'person', or a demonstrative will usually act as head.

(274) *anjo/anu kukanrea juku'*

anjo/anu ku= kanre ≡a juku'
 DIST/thing 1= eat ≡DEF fish
 that which I ate was fish

That said, there are occasional examples of headless relatives, such as the following from the Gowa Chronicle:

(275) *ma'gauka. ri Marusu'. nikana. Patanna Langkana.*

maC– gau' ≡a ri Marus =u' ni– kana pata ≡nna langkana
 MV– action ≡REL PREP Maros =EC PASS– word owner ≡3.POSS palace
 (He) who ruled in Maros was called Patanna Langkana (KIT:1.12)

or this one from Cense's grammar notes, which again uses *-i* to denote a goal:

(276) *tanaasseng lanajappáia*

ta= na= asseng la= na= jappa -i ≡a
 NEG= 3= know FUT= 3= walk -APPL ≡DEF
 he doesn't know (where) he's going (Or545.48)

7 Voice/valence-signalling prefixes

This chapter is concerned with a particular subset of verbal morphology, specifically the prefixes which signal voice and valence. These occupy a particular slot at the beginning of the verb complex and include the subset of ‘verb prefixes’ — markers of lexical valence which also mark active voice and can be considered markers of verbhood, along with the Actor Focus prefix, and the passive and non-volitional prefixes.

Altogether there are seven prefixes in this set which are grouped together for the simple reason that they are in complementary distribution — which is to say that they occupy the same morphosyntactic slot. In other words, a verb may be prefixed by only one of these prefixes, which will be decided according to voice, transitivity and the shape of the clause. Table 7.1 shows the prefixes with their descriptive labels.

MORPHEME	GLOSS	LABEL
<i>aC-</i>	MV-	lexically intransitive (monovalent)
<i>amm-</i>	MV-	lexically intransitive (monovalent)
<i>aN(N)-</i>	BV-	lexically transitive (bivalent)
<i>aN-</i>	AF-	Actor focus
<i>ni-</i>	PASS-	passive
<i>ma-</i>	STV-	stative
<i>taC-</i>	NVOL-	non-volitional

Table 7.1: Verb prefixes

Only one is unambiguously a voice marker; namely the passive prefix *ni-* (§7.2). Of the others, the prefix *taC-* is a marginally productive marker of non-volitionality (§7.4), and *ma-* is an archaic stative or adjectival marker. The prefix *aN-* marks Actor Focus (§7.2). The functions of the remaining prefixes, *aC-*, *amm-*, and *aN(N)-*, are somewhat less straightforward to characterise, as discussed in the following section. They are markers of active voice simply by virtue of not marking any other voice — the other default ‘marker’ of active voice being absence of any prefix at all in fully transitive structures. (For a general discussion of voice see §7.6).

There are three exceptional cases to the generalisation that there may only be one verb prefix from this series. One is that the prefix *aC-* may be attached to a derived verb base

which already contains a verb prefix internal to the derivation, for example *appasse're* <aC–pa–aC–se're | MV–CAUS–MV–one> ‘cause to gather together’. The second is that *taC–* is in some sense an imperfect member of this group as there are two verbs, *atta'mea* ‘urinate’ and *attattai* ‘defecate’, which contain both *taC–* and *aC–*. This is further illustrated by the third exception, which is that *taC–* derived forms may themselves be passivised with *ni–*, as in *nita'langgere'* ‘to be overheard’.

7.1 The verb prefixes

The class of verbs is largely defined and subclassified by association with a paradigm of verb prefixes whose exact functions have been much debated in the literature but without much consensus having been reached (the various analyses are summarised later in §7.5). For lack of a more suitable label this subgroup will simply be referred to as ‘verb prefixes’. This section will begin with a general introduction to the circumstances in which they are found, and a discussion of each prefix with lists of sample derived forms.

In an active intransitive or semi-transitive clause, a verbal predicate will be marked with one of the verb prefixes, usually either *aC–* or *aN(N)–*, and host an enclitic pronoun referencing S, as in (277), (278) and (279); while in a transitive clause the verb will host both ERG= proclitic and =ABS enclitic pronouns referencing A and P, but will not be marked with a verb prefix (280):

(277) *A'jappai*

aC– jappa =i
 MV– walk =3
 He walks

(278) *Angnganrea'*

aN(N)– kanre =a'
 BV– eat =1
 I eat

(279) *Angnganrea' taipa*

aN(N)– kanre =a' taipa
 BV– eat =1 mango
 I eat mangoes

(280) *Kukanrei taipanu*

ku= kanre =i taipa ≡nu
 1= eat =3 mango ≡2f.POSS
 I eat your mangoes

Thus, at first glance it appears that the function of these verb prefixes is simply to mark verbs as intransitive (or semi-transitive), as opposed to fully transitive, leading some writers on Makassarese and similar languages to label them **intransitivisers** (Hasan Basri 1999; Mithun and Basri 1987; Ceria 1993). This is not especially apt since it implies valence reduction, but in fact *aC-* usually appears on verbs which are inherently intransitive already and thus need no such reduction, whereas *aN(N)-* usually occurs on verbs which are lexically transitive, but which appear in clauses as semi-transitive due to an indefinite Undergoer, but are not intransitive as such.

Rather than give the prefixes the misleading label **intransitiviser**, I have elected to analyse these prefixes as (a) markers of verbhood, and (b) markers of lexical valence. I have thus glossed them as either MV- or BV- for monovalent or bivalent, which is to say they subcategorise for one or two arguments respectively. The combination of a verb plus prefix, without further marking, functions as a 'citation form' since it is necessary to know which prefix a given verb root takes. A prefixed verb may also be considered an infinitive form of a verb, for the simple reason that without further morphological marking (in the form of pronominal or aspect clitics) such forms contain no information about argument structure or tense/aspect, and furthermore these are the forms typically found as complements of verbs such as *ero* 'want', *isseng* 'know', and the like, as seen in (281) and (282):

(281) *Eroka' angnginung*

ero' =a' aN(N)- inung
 want =1 BV- drink
 I want to drink

(282) *Tanaissengai a'lange*

ta= na= isseng -a =i aC- lange
 NEG= 3= know -SBIV =3 MV- swim
 He doesn't know how to swim

The fundamental contrast between the two major verb prefixes *aC-* and *aN(N)-*, is that they denote (roughly) lexically intransitive and transitive verbs respectively — by which I mean that the verbs either proscribe or require the presence of an Undergoer, as will be shown in §7.1.1 and §7.1.2. Some verb roots can appear with either prefix, usually with a difference in meaning (§7.1.3). A smaller class of vowel-initial intransitive verbs take the less common prefix form *amm-* (§7.1.4). Some verbs, the so-called 'basic' verbs, do not appear with verb prefixes at all (§5.3.1.2).

Thus, verbs can roughly be formally divided into four main groups: basic verbs, *aC*-verbs, *aN(N)*-verbs, and *amm*-verbs, as shown in Table 7.2:

VERB CLASS	BASIC	<i>aC</i> -	<i>amm</i> -	<i>aN(N)</i> -
EXAMPLE	<i>tinro</i>	<i>a'jappa</i>	<i>ammantang</i>	<i>angnganre</i>
MORPHEMES	<tinro>	<aC-jappa>	<amm-antang>	<aN(N)-kanre>
	<sleep>	<MV-walk>	<MV-stay>	<BV-food>
GLOSS	sleep	walk	stay	eat

Table 7.2: Verb types by prefix

Basic verbs, *aC*-verbs and *amm*-verbs are overwhelmingly lexically intransitive, while *aN(N)*-verbs are predominantly lexically transitive. In context within a clause the prefixes can be seen as valence-signalling (rather than valence-reducing), in that their very presence identifies a clause as being less than fully transitive (ie: intransitive or semi-transitive), because a fully transitive clause will have an ERG= proclitic pronoun rather than a verb prefix.

In many cases the morphological connection between verb prefixes and roots is not part of speakers' metalinguistic awareness and the prefixes are believed to be part of the root — this is particularly the case with some members of the *amm*-class such as *ammotere* 'return' or *ammempo* 'sit', whose roots are generally explained by speakers as being *motere* and *mempo* respectively. This can also extend to the nasal-substituting prefix *aN(N)*- and I have had *nganre* offered as the root for *angnganre* 'eat' (← *kanre*) on several occasions. This is despite the fact that there are derived forms which serve as counter-examples, such as passives and causatives, eg. *niempói* <PASS-sit-APPL> 'be sat upon' or *pakanre* <CAUS-eat> 'make/let eat'.

Historically each of these prefixes was also found with initial *m*-, (*maC*-, *maN(N)*- and *mamm*-), thus conforming to a general paradigm which also included the archaic adjectival marker *ma*- (§ 7.1.5).¹¹⁴ Examples from the Gowa chronicle include *ma'bundu* <maC-bundu' | MV-war> 'make war', *mammeta* <maN(N)-beta | BV≡DEFeat> 'defeat', and *mammio* <mamm-io' | MV=yes> 'agree'.

¹¹⁴ In Konjo this prefix conforms to the other members of the group in appearing as *a*-. This variant is not present in Makassarese.

Dating of the loss of initial *m*– is difficult, as it was (and is) retained in some archaic forms and registers to this day, and still occurs in many titles and *pa'daengang* (§6.1.2.2) such as Daeng Makkulle <maC–kulle | MV–can> ‘Mr Capability’. In the Gowa chronicle forms are found with and without *m*–, which makes it tempting to assume that it was in the process of disappearing at the time of composition, however this is not conclusive as the chronicle was routinely recopied and it is thus difficult to precisely date any particular section. It does not appear that the Actor Focus prefix *aN*– (§7.2) ever had a *maN*– variant, which implies that it either has a separate historical source or is a relatively recent innovation from a period when the initial *m*– had already disappeared (at least productively) from this paradigm of prefixes.¹¹⁵

Continuing the trend to reduction seen above, in informal speech the initial *a*– of the prefixes is also often omitted (§2.3.5) resulting in forms such as *ngnganre* <aN(N)–kanre> ‘eat’ or *'lampa* <aC–lampa> ‘go’.

7.1.1 *aC*– verbs

One set of verb forms is clearly produced by prefixation of an underlying form *aC*–,¹¹⁶ with assimilation to voiceless consonants and default glottal realisation before voiced consonants. Table 7.3 shows how *aC*– is realised in all possible environments. An asterisk in front of a root gloss means that the root does not appear underived, but has the meaning suggested.

¹¹⁵ The only apparent exception to this observation is that the verb ‘enter’ (*antama* in the modern language) appears as *mantama* in the KIT manuscript’s version of the Gowa chronicle. However, as noted in §5.3.1.2, *antama* is better analysed as a basic verb rather than the combination of <aN–tama>.

¹¹⁶ A reflex of PMP *maR– ‘intransitive verb; relation of parent and child or of siblings’ (Blust 2003). Historically this prefix was *maC*– and in fact the form *mar*– appears in one word, *marewangang* ‘be armed’ (← *ewa* ‘oppose’; C:429).

		ROOT	ROOT GLOSS		VERB FORM	DERIVED VERB MEANING
VOICELESS CONSONANTS	<i>aC-p</i>	<i>pasara'</i>	market	→	<i>appasara'</i>	go to market
	<i>aC-t</i>	<i>tunu</i>	*grill	→	<i>attunu</i>	grilled
	<i>aC-s</i>	<i>sapatu</i>	shoe	→	<i>assapatu</i>	wear shoes
	<i>aC-c</i>	<i>cini'</i>	*see	→	<i>accini'</i>	see
	<i>aC-k</i>	<i>kelong</i>	song	→	<i>akkelong</i>	sing a <i>kelong</i>
	<i>aC-h</i>	<i>hitara'</i>	guitar ¹¹⁷	→	<i>a'hitara'</i>	play the guitar
VOICED CONSONANTS	<i>aC-b</i>	<i>baine</i>	woman	→	<i>a'baine</i>	take a wife
	<i>aC-d</i>	<i>dakka</i>	a step	→	<i>a'dakka</i>	step
	<i>aC-j</i>	<i>jarang</i>	horse	→	<i>a'jarang</i>	ride a horse
	<i>aC-g</i>	<i>gari'gi'</i>	notch	→	<i>a'gari'gi'</i>	be notched/marked
	<i>aC-m</i>	<i>moro'</i>	*grunt	→	<i>a'moro'</i>	grunt/snore in sleep
	<i>aC-n</i>	<i>noa'</i>	*gasp	→	<i>a'noa'</i>	gasp
	<i>aC-ny</i>	<i>nyila</i>	indigo	→	<i>a'nyila</i>	prepare indigo
	<i>aC-ng</i>	<i>ngisi</i>	*sneer	→	<i>a'ngisi</i>	sneer
VOWELS	<i>aC-a</i>	<i>angko</i>	cousin ¹¹⁸	→	<i>a'angko</i>	call someone <i>angko</i>
	<i>aC-e</i>	<i>enta</i>	mother ¹¹⁹	→	<i>a'enta</i>	call someone <i>enta</i>
	<i>aC-i</i>	<i>ingkong</i>	tail	→	<i>a'ingkong</i>	have a tail
	<i>aC-o</i>	<i>ongkoso'</i>	price ¹²⁰	→	<i>a'ongkoso'</i>	have a price
	<i>aC-u</i>	<i>uang</i>	grey hair	→	<i>a'uang</i>	have grey hair

Table 7.3: Verbs derived with *aC-*

The most common use of *aC-* is to derive an intransitive verb from a nominal root. The derived verb will mean ‘having/using/making X’, where X is the root. They may seem at first glance to be transitive, but the patient is inherent.¹²¹ Consider the following examples:

<i>jarang</i>	horse	→	<i>a'jarang</i>	ride a horse
<i>tedong</i>	buffalo	→	<i>attedong</i>	keep buffalo
<i>oto</i>	car	→	<i>a'oto</i>	go by car
<i>buburu'</i>	rice porridge	→	<i>a'buburu'</i>	make rice porridge
<i>bayao</i>	egg	→	<i>a'bayao</i>	lay an egg
<i>jonga</i>	deer	→	<i>a'jonga</i>	hunt deer
<i>juku'</i>	fish	→	<i>a'juku'</i>	go fishing

¹¹⁷ ← Dutch *gitaar*

¹¹⁸ This word is associated with the Chinese-Makassarese community, thus *a'angko* is also a way of saying ‘be of Chinese descent’.

¹¹⁹ This word is associated with nobility, so it can also be used to mark someone as being of noble ancestry.

¹²⁰ ← Dutch *onkosten*.

¹²¹ The patient may be made explicit using the suffix *-ang*, see §7.2.6.1.

(283) *massing eroki antama ri romanga a'jonga.*

massing ero' =i antama ri romang ≡a aC- jonga
 each want =3 enter PREP forest ≡DEF MV- deer
 they all wanted to go into the forest to hunt deer (PT:7)

This contrasts with the use of unaffixed nouns as nominal predicates, as in *olo'-oloka'*, *tedonga'* 'I'm an animal, I'm a buffalo' (PT:29).

If the root is a place, the result means 'go to X':

bonto shore → *a'bonto* go to shore
pasara' market → *appasara'* go to market
Bantaeng name of town → *a'Bantaeng* go to Bantaeng

(284) *Appasaraka' ri bari'basa'*

aC- pasar =a' =a' ri bari'bas =a'
 MV- market =EC =1 PREP morning =EC
 I go to market in the mornings

If the root is a temporal noun, the result means 'spend X amount of time':

bangngi night → *a'bangngi* spend the night
bulang month → *a'bulang* stay for a month

(285) *A'bulangi ri Malino ri timoro' karring*

aC- bulang =i ri Malino ri timor =o' karring
 MV- month =3 PREP Malino PREP east.monsoon =EC dry
 He stays months in Malino during the dry season

If the root is an interjection, the result means 'say X':

io' yes → *a'io'* say 'yes'¹²²
taena no → *attaena* say 'no'

(286) *Tangngassengai attaena*

ta= aN(N)- asseng -a =i aC- taena
 NEG= BV- know -SBJV =3 MV- no
 He doesn't know how to say 'no'

If the root is a kin term or title, the result can mean either 'call someone X', 'become X', or 'have X':

daeng uncle → *a'daeng* call someone *daeng*¹²³

¹²² The stylistic variant *io* (without final glottal, and used when speaking to those lower in status) takes *amm-*, thus *ammio* 'agree'.

karaeng king → *akkaraeng* become *karaeng*
mange father → *a'mange* have a father ¹²⁴
anrong mother → *a'anrong* have a mother

If the root is a numeral, the verb means 'be X', with metaphorical extensions in some cases:

se're one → *asse're* be one, gather together
rua two → *a'rua* be two, be divided
pulo tens → *appulo* be numbered in tens

(287) *Asse're-ngasengi taua*

aC- *se're ngaseng* =i tau ≡a
 MV- one all =3 person ≡DEF
 All the people gathered

7.1.1.1 Transitive examples

A small number of frequently used *aC-* verbs are exceptions in that they may be transitive. For example, although *cini'* 'see' has an infinitive formed with *aC-* (with a possible intransitive interpretation 'have sight'), this is no bar to it appearing in a transitive clause, as can be seen in the following example.

(288) *kucinikko*

ku= *cini'* =ko
 1= see =2f
 I see you

Other similar verbs are *a'boya* 'search', *akkana* 'say', *assuro* 'order' and *attayang* 'wait'. These transitive *aC-* verbs may also appear with the Actor Focus prefix *aN-*, eg:

(289) ... *sari'battanna anciniki ana'na Pung Tedong*.

sari'battang ≡na aN- *cini'* =i *ana'* ≡na *pung* *tedong*
 sibling ≡3.POSS AF- see =3 child ≡3.POSS lord/lady buffalo
 ... (one of) their brothers saw Lady Buffalo's children. (PT:098)

In addition to these exceptions, all verbs derived with the causative prefixes *pa-* (§8.1) or *paka-* (§8.2), which are by nature at least transitive, form infinitives with *aC-*.

¹²³ The person called *daeng* is in a prepositional phrase, eg. *a'daengi ri bura'nenna* <MV-*daeng*=3 PREP man≡3.POSS> 'she calls her husband *daeng*'.

¹²⁴ As the antonym of 'be orphaned'.

7.1.2 *aN(N)–* verbs

Another set of verbs are derived through prefixation with *aN(N)–*,¹²⁵ where the second nasal is formed by nasal substitution of the initial consonant of the stem, at the same place of articulation (see §2.3.2). This occurs on roots with voiceless initial consonants (excluding marginal /h/), and /b/. With roots in /s/ the nasal may be alveolar or palatal in seemingly free variation. Table 7.4 shows examples of verbs derived with this prefix. Notice that they all lend themselves to a transitive interpretation — a patient is assumed, though not inherent to the verb as with *aC–* examples such as *a'jarang* ‘ride a horse’. Note however that in fully transitive examples with definite P, *aN(N)–* does not appear and instead there is an ERG= clitic pronoun referencing A.

	ROOT	ROOT GLOSS		VERB FORM	DERIVED VERB MEANING
<i>aN(N)–p</i>	<i>pekang</i>	hook	→	<i>ammekang</i>	fish with a hook
<i>aN(N)–b</i>	<i>balli</i>	price	→	<i>ammalli</i>	buy
<i>aN(N)–t</i>	<i>tunrung</i>	*hit	→	<i>annunrung</i>	hit
<i>aN(N)–s</i>	<i>sanggara'</i>	fried	→	<i>annyanggara' / annangara'</i>	fry
<i>aN(N)–c</i>	<i>cokko</i>	secret	→	<i>annyokko</i>	hide (something)
<i>aN(N)–k</i>	<i>kanre</i>	rice/food	→	<i>angnganre</i>	eat

Table 7.4: Verbs with nasal substituting *aN(N)–*

(290) *Angnganrea'unti*

aN(N)– kanre =a' unti
 BV– eat =1 banana
 I eat bananas

(291) *Ammalliko golla'?*

aN(N)– balli =ko golla'
 BV– buy =2f sugar
 Did you buy sugar?

(Compare the fully intransitive parallel to (290))

(292) *kukanrei untia*

ku= kanre =i unti ≡a
 1= eat =3 banana ≡DEF
 I eat the bananas

Roots which begin with voiced stops other than /b/, and also with /h/, are not subject to nasal substitution, so the allomorph *aN–* is found, as shown in Table 7.5. This means

¹²⁵ A reflex of PMP *maŋ- ‘active verb’ (Blust 2003:473).

that the contrast between *aN(N)–* and Actor Focus *aN–* is neutralised in these environments.

	ROOT	ROOT GLOSS		VERB FORM	DERIVED VERB MEANING
<i>aN(N)–d</i>	<i>doli'</i>	*tumble	→	<i>andoli'</i>	tumble, somersault
<i>aN(N)–j</i>	<i>jama</i>	*work	→	<i>anjama</i>	work
<i>aN(N)–g</i>	<i>gappa</i>	*reach	→	<i>anggappa</i>	reach
<i>aN(N)–h</i>	<i>hukkung</i>	law	→	<i>anghukkung</i>	punish

Table 7.5: Verbs without nasal substitution

With vowel-initial roots *aN(N)–* is realised as *angng–*, which contrasts with both *aC–* (realised as [a?], see Table 7.3) and the irregular prefix *amm–* (§7.1.4).

	ROOT	ROOT GLOSS		VERB FORM	DERIVED VERB MEANING
<i>aN(N)–</i>	<i>alle</i>	*take	→	<i>angngalle</i>	take
<i>aN(N)–</i>	<i>erang</i>	belongings	→	<i>angngerang</i>	bring
<i>aN(N)–</i>	<i>inung</i>	*drink	→	<i>angnginung</i>	drink
<i>aN(N)–</i>	<i>ondang</i>	*chase	→	<i>angngondang</i>	chase
<i>aN(N)–</i>	<i>unte</i>	*wring	→	<i>angngunte</i>	wring

Table 7.6: Vowel-initial verbs with *aN(N)–*

It can be observed here that, compared to *aC–* verbs which often come from nominal roots, a larger proportion of *aN(N)–* verbs come from roots which do not appear without verbal morphology.

7.1.2.1 Intransitive examples

Just as the basically intransitive marker *aC–* appears on some transitive verbs, there are some *aN(N)–* verbs which can appear in intransitive clauses. These are clauses where Undergoers are completely unspecified (not to be confused with semi-transitive clauses, in which any transitive verb has an Undergoer which is specified but indefinite, such as *ammallia' golla'* <*aN(N)–balli*=a' golla' | BV–buy=1 sugar> ‘I bought sugar’, see §11.6). The most obvious of these ambitransitive verbs are *angnganre* ‘eat’ and *angnginung* ‘drink’, shown in intransitive (293), semi-transitive (294), and fully transitive (295) examples below.

(293) *Angnginunga'*

aN(N)– inung =a'

BV– drink =1

I drink

(294) *Angnginunga' ballo'*

aN(N)– inung =a' ballo'

BV– drink =1 palm.wine

I drink palm wine

(295) *Kuinungi ballo'nu*

ku= inung =i ballo' ≡ nu
 1= drink =3 palm.wine ≡ 2f.POSS

I drink your palm wine

Clearly though, although these verbs can appear in intransitive clauses, they are still lexically transitive and obviously at least permit the presence of a specific Undergoer, even if it is not required.

7.1.3 Verbs with either *aC–* or *aN(N)–*

Generally roots are associated with only one of the major prefixes, but there are also several examples of roots which can take either *aC–* or *aN(N)–* with intransitive and transitive meanings respectively. A small selection of these is seen in Table 7.7.

<i>banynyang</i>	*stretch	→	<i>a'banynyang</i>	stretch (self)
		→	<i>ammanynyang</i>	stretch (something)
<i>kanuku</i>	nail, claw	→	<i>akkanuku</i>	have nails/claws
		→	<i>angnganuku</i>	scratch with nails/claws
<i>kanyame</i>	taste	→	<i>akkanyame</i>	have a flavour
		→	<i>angnganyame</i>	try, sample
<i>kokkoro'</i>	crumbling	→	<i>akkokkoro'</i>	tumble down
		→	<i>angngokkoro'</i>	knock down
<i>cokko</i>	secret	→	<i>accokko</i>	hide (self)
		→	<i>anynyokko</i>	hide (something)
<i>jari</i>	so	→	<i>a'jari</i>	become something
		→	<i>anjari</i>	succeed in something
<i>kanre</i>	food	→	<i>akkanre</i>	be consumed (eg. by fire)
		→	<i>angnganre</i>	eat
<i>lesang</i>	*move	→	<i>a'lesang</i>	move (self)
		→	<i>allesang</i>	move (something)

Table 7.7: Intransitive/transitive verbs with *aC–* and *aN(N)–*

In other examples (Table 7.8), the meanings of the different forms are quite distinct, and we must assume that they are based on separate homophonous roots.

<i>balu'</i>	goods	→	<i>a'balu'</i>	sell
<i>balu'</i>	*roll up	→	<i>ammalu'</i>	roll up
<i>tunrung</i>	coconut bunch	→	<i>attunrung</i>	be in a bunch
<i>tunrung</i>	*hit	→	<i>annunrung</i>	hit

Table 7.8: Homophonous roots with *aC–* and *aN(N)–*

Some verbs may appear with either prefix with no apparent difference in meaning, but this is quite rare, with only two examples found so far.

<i>soso'</i>	pass away (ie. die)	→	<i>assoso'/ anynyoso'</i>	pass through (eg. a forest)
<i>ko'bi'</i>	pluck	→	<i>akko'bi'/ angngo'bi'</i>	play stringed instrument

Table 7.9: Roots with interchangeable *aC–* and *aN(N)–*

7.1.4 *amm*– verbs

The prefix form *amm*– is clearly associated with intransitivity as it occurs on verbs such as *ammantang* ‘stay’, and it could thus be said to serve the same function as *aC*–.

<i>adang</i>	*lie dying	→	<i>ammadang</i>	lie dying
<i>ado</i>	*nod	→	<i>ammado</i>	nod, agree
<i>antang</i>	*stay	→	<i>ammantang</i>	stay
<i>ana'</i>	child	→	<i>ammana'</i>	have a child
<i>e'da'</i>	gait	→	<i>amme'da'</i>	walk with a gait
<i>e'jere'</i>	*stand silently	→	<i>amme'jere'</i>	stand silently
<i>empo</i>	position	→	<i>ammempo</i>	sit
<i>enteng</i>	*stand	→	<i>amenteng</i>	stand
<i>ikkiri'</i>	*shudder	→	<i>ammikkiri'</i>	shudder
<i>iri'</i>	*blow	→	<i>ammiri'</i>	blow (of wind)
<i>io</i>	yes	→	<i>ammio</i>	be agreeable
<i>ontoro'</i>	*be erect	→	<i>ammontoro'</i>	be erect (of penis, nipple)
<i>opang</i>	*lie on belly	→	<i>ammopang</i>	lie on belly
<i>otere'</i>	rope ¹²⁶	→	<i>ammotere'</i>	return
<i>ulu</i>	head	→	<i>ammulu</i>	hold head straight
<i>umba</i>	appearance ¹²⁷	→	<i>ammumba</i>	rise into view

Table 7.10: *amm*– verbs

It is tempting to analyse *amm*– as an allomorph of *aC*– which occurs with vowel-initial roots, and this analysis has in fact been proposed for Konjo by Friberg & Friberg (1991a:87) — they identify *amm*– as an allomorph of the intransitive prefix *a'*–, and posit an ad hoc rule called Glottal Nasalisation to explain it. Arguing against this analysis for Makassarese is the fact that *aC*– does in fact occur as [aʔ] on a variety of vowel-initial roots (see Table 7.3).

One observation which can be made is that *amm*– is no longer productive; any new words must take *aC*–, such as *a'oto* ‘drive a car’. It is also apparent that the forms with *amm*– are more frequently used and thus more likely to retain archaic forms (as with irregular verbs in English).¹²⁸

¹²⁶ Perhaps a homophone.

¹²⁷ For example of a fish coming out of the water, or the sun coming above the horizon.

¹²⁸ Compare ‘have a child’ with ‘have a mother’ — whether or not someone has a child is salient information, while the fact of someone having a mother can be taken as given.

It seems likely that forms with *amm-* are words which at one point took an historical pre-/infix <um>¹²⁹ and were then reanalysed. An example is *empo* ‘sit’, which appears with the *amm-* form in *ammempoki* ‘sit down’. This is cognate with *simpuh* ‘sit’ in Malay. Cense (Cense & Abdoerrahim 1979:900) hypothesises an earlier form †*tempo*, which then became †*t*<um>*empo*, †*mm-empo*, and then the initial nasal was assigned to the prefix resulting in *amm-empo*. The existence of *um-* as a prefix on vowel-initial roots can account for forms such as *ammana* ‘have a child’,¹³⁰ and a similar process to this seems to have occurred in Bugis (Sirk 1996:46). Alternatively, forms with *amm-* can be analysed as roots which incorporate the stative prefix *ma-* (§7.1.5), so that *antang* becomes *mantang* ‘stay’, for example. Whichever is the case, the bilabial nasal is clearly not part of the root (contra Asmah Haji Omar 1979; Indiyah Imran 1976) as can be seen in forms such as the causative *paenteng* ‘make stand’.

7.1.5 Adjectival/stative *ma-*

This prefix¹³¹ is included here because it was once part of the stable of verbal prefixes, and it was probably only recently that it became unproductive. Of its parallel in Konjo, Friberg & Friberg write ‘the ability of this class of words to take a STV (stative) prefix is one of the features that distinguishes adjectives from verbs as a basic word class’ (Friberg & Friberg 1991b). This may well be the case in Konjo, but in Makassarese this prefix is seen only in descriptive names; including titles such as *Tu-malompo* <person-STV-big> ‘boss’; and nicknames and *pa'daengang* (§6.1.2.2) such as *Daeng Matinro* <STV-sleep> ‘Mr Sleepy’ or *Daeng Mabaji* <STV-good> ‘Ms Good’. Even in the latter case the use of *ma-* is becoming rare and I have witnessed several disputes about whether *pa'daengang* such as *Daeng Nakku* <yearning> (my own name in Makassar) should include *ma-* or not (ie. *Daeng Manakku*).

¹²⁹ PMP *-um- ‘actor focus/agent voice; inchoative verb’ (Blust 2003:473).

¹³⁰ Imran (1976:90) gives *akanak* (*a'ana*) as the form of this word. However this was rejected by every native speaker I asked.

¹³¹ pMP *ma- ‘stative verb prefix (realis)’ (Blust 2003:473).

According to Cense, *ma-* could also be used on nominals to make them into attributes, as can be seen in the following example:

(296) *tena kumakopi*

tena ku= ma- kopi
NEG 1= STV- coffee

I don't (really drink) coffee (C:429)

However this use was not universally accepted by speakers when I tested it.

7.2 Actor Focus *aN-*

This prefix is found on verbs in a particular syntactic circumstance: when a transitive verb (with a definite Undergoer) appears without a proclitic referencing the Actor as a result of Actor Focus (this is further discussed in § 11.9).¹³² The Actor is not cross-referenced, the Undergoer is cross-referenced with an =ABS enclitic.

(297) *Inai angkanrei untiku?*

i- nai aN- kanre =i unti ≡ku
PERS- who AF- eat =3 banana ≡1.POSS

who ate my banana? (cf. *inai angganre unti* 'who ate bananas?')

(298) *Kongkonga ambunoi miongu*

kongkong aN- bunu =i miong ≡ku
dog AF- kill =3 cat ≡1.POSS

a dog killed my cat

There is one common exception to the rule that verbs with *aN-* should have definite (cross-referenced) Undergoers as well as focused Actors. This is the verb *angkana* 'say', which precedes a direct quote (the quote itself is the Undergoer):

(299) *Lassu'na assulu' ana'na, ammarranna angkana "mbee".*

lassu' ≡na aC- sulu' ana' ≡na amm- arrang ≡na aN- kana mbee'
birth ≡3.POSS MV- exit child ≡3.POSS MV- shout ≡3.POSS AF- word baa!

When her child came out, it shouted "baaa!" (bembe:016)¹³³

¹³² In an earlier work (Jukes 1998) I considered *aN-* to be a syntactically conditioned allomorph of the lexical bivalence marker *aN(N)-*. However, I had overlooked cases in which *aN-* corresponds with verbs whose usual infinitive is derived with *aC-*, such as *accini* 'see'.

¹³³ The possessive markers on *lassu'* and *ammarrang* exemplify the temporal/causal construction mentioned in §4.4.2.

As illustrated, the quoted element is not marked as definite, nor is it cross-referenced on the verb (**angkanai*).

Note that *aN-* can only be distinguished from *aN(N)-* on roots which begin with voiceless consonants or /b/, and further that *aN-s* is only realised as *ans* (eg. *ansuro* ‘send (AF)’) in careful speech. At other times normal assimilation rules result in *assuro* (§2.3.3). This can only be distinguished from the *ass* which results from *aC-s* because there may be some nasalisation on the vowel [ãss], however it is unlikely that people generally pay close enough attention to notice.

7.3 Passive *ni-*

The passive prefix *ni-* attaches to bare verb stems, in complementary distribution with the verb prefixes or ERG= proclitics. It functions to promote an Undergoer to the only core argument (S), which is marked with an =ABS enclitic. The demoted Actor may optionally be expressed in an adjunct preceded by the preposition *ri* — this must follow the verb. The contrast between a passive clause and an active transitive clause is shown below:

(300) *Nikokkoka' (ri meongku)*

ni- kokko' =a' (ri meong ≡ku)
 PASS- bite =1 (PREP cat ≡1.POSS)
 I was bitten (by my cat)

(301) *Nakokkoka' meongku*

na= kokko' =a' meong ≡ku
 3= bite =1 cat ≡1.POSS
 My cat bit me

Note that passivisation is not the only way to put emphasis on the Undergoer, as Undergoer focus will also do this (see §11.9).

(302) *Inakke nakokko' meongku*

i- nakke na= kokko' meong ≡ku
 PERS- 1PRO 3= bite cat ≡1.POSS
 My cat bit **me**

For this reason it may be more accurate to analyse the passive as a way of taking emphasis off the Actor, rather than putting it on the Undergoer *per se*, however the exact discourse motivations for choosing the passive (and the effects on information structure) require further research.

The frequency of passive clauses is variable according to the style and genre of texts, with older, more formal, literary texts showing a larger proportion. For example, the extract from the Gowa chronicle (Appendix A) shows 55 passive clauses in 108 sentences, and the Maros chronicle (Cummings 2000) shows 127 out of 247 (both roughly 51%); while the folktale *Karaeng ammanaka bembe* (Appendix B) has 23 passive clauses out of 123 sentences (18%), and *Caritana Pung Tedong* (Jukes 1998) only 20 out of 248 (8%).

In narrative contexts the most common use of the passive is when the Actor cannot be identified, as in (303) where it is magic, or (304) where it is generic ‘they’ or people in general:

(303) *Niroko'mi bulaeng balla'na Puttiri Bida Sari.*

ni- roko' =mo =i bulaeng balla' ≡na puttiri Bida Sari
 PASS- pack =PRF =3 gold house ≡3.POSS princess Bida Sari

Puttiri Bida Sari's house was filled with gold (by magic, PT:196).

(304) *areng kalenna. iangku mabassung. nikana. I Mangayoaberang.*

areng kale ≡nna iang ≡ku ma- bassung ni- kana
 name self ≡3.POSS PROH ≡1.POSS STV- swollen.belly PASS- word

I Mangayoaberang
 PERS Mangayoaberang

His personal name, may I not swell up, was called I Mangayoaberang (KIT:1:10)

The subject of a passive clause may be focused (§11.9), in which case there will be no enclitic. Example (305) shows S in focus position, as does (304), albeit with the formulaic expression *iangku mabassung* intruding between it and the verb. (306) is a clause with an ellipsed focused S inherited from a previous clause:

(305) *Meongku nibuno (ri kongkong)*

meong ni- bunu ri kongkong
 cat PASS- kill PREP dog

My cat was killed (by a dog)

(306) *Apaji na nicini'mo ri Puttiri Bida Sari siagang bura'nenna.*

apa =ja =i na ni- cini' =mo ri puttiri Bida Sari
 what =LIM =3 COMP PASS- see =PFV PREP princess Bida Sari

siagang bura'ne ≡nna
 with man ≡3.POSS

So (she) was seen by Puttiri Bida Sari and her husband (PT:178).

S NPs in post-verbal position in passive clauses must be definite — (307) is ungrammatical:

(307) **Nikanre ruku' ri tedong*

ni- kanre ruku' ri tedong
 PASS- eat grass PREP buffalo
 Grass was eaten by the buffalo

However, indefinite S is permitted in focus position:

(308) *Ruku' nikanre ri tedong*

ruku' ni- kanre ri tedong
 grass PASS- eat PREP buffalo
 Grass was eaten by the buffalo

Verbs in passive clauses cannot host fronted clitics (§11.2.2), unlike active clauses:

(309) *Taena niassengi bainenna* (**Taena na=ni-asseng bainenna*)

taena ni- asseng =i baine ≡nna
 neg PASS- know =3 woman ≡3.POSS
 His wife is not known (Maros:037) (cf. *taena na=battu bainenna* ‘his wife didn’t come’)

The following sentence from the Gowa chronicle shows a headless relative passive clause *nigappaya*, which itself has a passive complement clause:

(310) *areng kalenna. taena angngassengi. sanggenna. nigappaya nikuta'nang.*

areng kale ≡nna taena aN(N)- asseng =i sangge ≡nna ni- gappa ≡a
 name self ≡3.POSS NEG BV- know =3 until ≡3.POSS PASS- result ≡DEF
 ni- kuta'nang
 PASS- question

His personal name no one knows; among (those) who were able to be asked none knew (KIT:2:23)

There is no formal way to distinguish between an oblique representing the agent and a locative or temporal prepositional phrase, but in general context will make this clear, as can be seen in examples (311) and (312), where the PP can only be agent, and (313) where it can only be a location:

(311) *Nikodí ri kaluru'*

ni- kodi -i =i ri kalur =u'
 PASS- bad -TRS =3 PREP cigarette =EC
 He feels sick because of the smoke

(312) *Battu ri gau'nal¹³⁴ na niba'ji ri taua*

battu ri gau' $\equiv$ na =i na ni- ba'ji =i ri tau $\equiv$ a
 come PREP deed $\equiv$ 3.POSS =3 COMP PASS- biff =3 PREP person $\equiv$ DEF

It comes from his actions (it's his own fault) that he was beaten by the people (C:91)

(313) *Apaji na nipangngalleammi je'ne' ri kaca bulaeng*

apa =ja =i na ni- pa- aN(N)- alle -ang =mo =i je'ne' ri kaca bulaeng
 what =LIM =3 COMP PASS- CAUS- BV- take -BEN =PFV =3 water PREP glass gold

So they were made to take water (for themselves) in a gold cup (PT:225).

In the event of both Actor and locative PPs occurring in a clause it seems to be preferred for the Actor to come first as in (314), it should be noted however that this is a rather stilted invented example:

(314) *Anjo taua pa'risi' bangkenna nasaba' nikokkoki ri kongkonga ri kokonna*

anjo tau $\equiv$ a pa'ris =i' bangkeng $\equiv$ na na= saba' ni- kokko' =i
 that person $\equiv$ DEF pain =EC leg $\equiv$ 3.POSS 3= reason PASS- bite =3

ri kongkong $\equiv$ a ri koko $\equiv$ nna
 PREP dog $\equiv$ DEF PREP garden $\equiv$ 3.POSS

That man has a sore leg, because he was bitten by the dog in his garden

7.4 Involuntary/accidental *taC-*

This prefix (comparable with Malay *ter-*, and appearing on vowel-initial roots as *tar-*)¹³⁵ is relatively uncommon and its occurrence with verbs is largely conventionalised. Some examples of verbs with *taC-* are given in Table 7.11, together with a corresponding regular verbal or nominal form if there is one. A clear commonality is that they all refer to actions or states which are non-volitional or accidental, but beyond that there seem to be several subclasses, which are separated in the table with lines. The first subclass consists of actor-oriented 'accidental' verbs derived from transitive verbs. The second is similar but the verbs are undergoer-oriented. The third subclass consists of verbs derived from nouns, which mean roughly 'have NOUN (involuntarily)'. This includes the two 'verbs of excretion' (see Bowden 2001:196) which uniquely take the intransitive prefix *aC-* in addition to *taC-*. The fourth group consists of verbs which are

¹³⁴ *Battu ri X* collocations are often lexicalised (see §5.10), which explains why the enclitic pronoun occurs at the end rather than apparent 2P after *battu*.

¹³⁵ A reflex of PAN *taR- 'spontaneous or accidental action' (Blust 2003).

primarily seen in the *taC-* form, and whose connection with the presumed roots is somewhat removed, though still comprehensible.

TAC- FORM	GLOSS	EQUIVALENT FORM	TYPE	GLOSS
<i>tappinawang</i>	follow by mistake	← <i>amminawang</i>	Vtr	follow
<i>ta'langngere'</i>	overhear	← <i>allangngere'</i>	Vtr	hear
<i>tassambang</i>	be snagged on s.t	← <i>anynyambang</i>	Vtr	catch (on hook, rope)
<i>tassungke</i>	be opened accidentally	← <i>anynyungke</i>	Vtr	open
<i>(at)ta'mea</i>	piss	← <i>mea</i>	N	piss
<i>(at)tattai</i>	shit	← <i>tai</i>	N	shit
<i>ta'muri</i>	smile	← <i>muri-muri</i>	N	smile
<i>tatti'la'</i>	come to mind	← <i>ti'la'</i>	N	unbidden thought
<i>ta'do'do'</i>	be tired	← <i>a'do'do'</i>	Vi	trudge
<i>ta'langnge</i>	vomit	← <i>a'langnge</i>	Vi	lose colour
<i>ta'bangka</i>	start, shudder	← <i>bangka</i>	Adj	breached
<i>tattiling</i>	be crooked	← <i>tilingi</i>	Adj-TRS	tilt (head)

Table 7.11: Verbs with *taC-*

(315) *Tappinawangi ri otoa baju-bosiku*

taC- pinawang =i ri oto ≡a baju bosi ≡ku
 NVOL- follow =3 PREP car ≡DEF shirt rain ≡1.POSS

My raincoat went in the car by mistake

(316) ... *nasaba' tassambangi pekangku anjoreng ri batua*

na= saba' taC- sambang =i pekang ≡ku anjoreng ri batu ≡a
 3= reason NVOL- snag =3 hook ≡1.POSS there PREP stone ≡DEF

... because my hook was snagged there on the rocks

(317) ... *sikalinna massing nabattúi eroka atta'mea.*

si- kali ≡nna massing na= battu -i ero' ≡a aC- taC- mea
 one- time ≡3.POSS each 3= come -APPL want ≡DEF MV- NVOL- urine

... they each suddenly got the desire to urinate (PT:10)

Verbs with *taC-* can themselves be made passive:

(318) *nita'langngerammi ri sari'battang toana*

ni- taC- langnger -ang =mo =i ri sari'battang toa ≡na
 PASS- NVOL- listen -BEN =PFV =3 PREP sibling old ≡3.POSS

it was heard about by her eldest sister (PT:211)

Ceria (1993:101) analyses the counterpart of this prefix in Selayarese as a passive marker which disallows the presence of the agent, while Hasan Basri analysed it as an 'intransitivizer for stative verbs' (1999:20) (which seems unusual since stative verbs are already intransitive). The examples he gives are for the most part similar to those given

above, however he also notes the ‘agentless passive’ reading on voluntary verbs, giving the following example:

taʔ- letteʔ =i kadera -njo
 PASS- move =3A chair -the

The chair was moved (1999:25)

It seems that *taC-* is quite productive in this usage in Selayarese, but there are very few examples in Makassarese which are similar. One is perhaps *taralle* (from *alle* ‘take’):

(319) *punna nia' pulisi' taralle ngasenginjo pabotoroka*

punna nia' pulis taC- alle ngaseng =i (a)njo pa- botor ≡a
 if be police NVOL- take all =3 that NR- gamble ≡DEF

when the police come, all those gamblers will get caught (C:10)

However in general *taC-* cannot straightforwardly be called a passive marker in Makassarese because the majority of *taC-* verbs are inherently intransitive with no possible transitive counterpart, eg. *ta'do'doka'* ‘I’m tired’ (**nado'doka'* ‘he tired me’), *ta'muria'* ‘I smile’ (**kumuriko* ‘I smile you’), and so forth.

Some speakers have a variant *tiC-* rather than *taC-* on at least *do'do'*, ie. *ti'do'do'* rather than *ta'do'do'* ‘tired’ (opinions were mixed as to whether *tiC-* was allowed on other roots). I noticed this only in the speech of one family from the Malino area, which is approximately 50 km inland from Makassar, close to an area where Highland Konjo is spoken. However I have no reason to believe that this is a feature of Highland Konjo, and the family in question were generally viewed as speakers of standard Gowa Makassarese. To the best of my knowledge, there is no mention of this variant in any of the literature on Makassarese, Konjo, Selayarese, or Bugis.

There is a homophonous prefix *taC-* which attaches to numerals for a distributive meaning (§5.8.1.3).

7.5 Other accounts of South Sulawesi prefixes

In order to show the confusion existing in the literature about the functions of these prefixes, in this section I will summarise the different analyses that have been proposed for the system in Makassarese or closely related languages.

7.5.1 Makassarese

Matthes (1858:83ff)

Matthes identified three prefixes:

- *á-* (here *aC-*, see § 3.1.3.1 for an explanation of Matthes' system of transcription)
- nasal (*neusletter*)
- *má-* (*maC-* as above)

According to Matthes, the first was affixed to nouns to derive verbs meaning 'having a...' and then by extension to other meanings, such as *jarang* 'horse' → *a'jarang* 'riding'. The third was said to be used in the same way, eg. *anrong* 'mother' → *ma'anrong* 'have a mother'. The second was affixed to verb roots, without changing meaning, and could occur variably as either the prefix I notate as *aN(N)-* (with nasal substitution), or *aN-*, in both cases with or without the initial /a/. Thus *pinawang* 'follow' → *minawang*, *aminawang*, or *ampinawang*.

It is apparent that he conflated the prefixes *aN(N)-* and *aN-* into 'nasal' (he missed the geminate nasals resulting from *aN(N)-*), and divided the prefix *aC-* into the prefixes *a'-* and *ma'-*.¹³⁶ The vowel-initial roots which take *amm-* are not mentioned.

Imran (1976)

Imran (a native speaker linguist) noted two prefixes *aN-* (with four allomorphs) and *aK-* (with two). (Strangely, she attributed Matthes with only recognising one verbal prefix, *a-*). The allomorphy of *aN-* is based on assimilation, however there are a number of errors in her analysis.

- she misses the geminate nasals in every case, eg. *polong* → *amolong* (actually *ammolong*) 'cut'.

¹³⁶ Each of the prefixes historically began with /m/, now only seen in frozen forms such as *tu-ma'bicara-butta* (literally) 'the one who talks to the land' → 'the kingdom's administrator'.

- the supposed allomorphy between *aN(N)–* and Actor Focus *aN–* (see §7.2) is simply explained as the initial stop of the root being ‘usually dropped’ or ‘sometimes retained’ (p.89).
- vowel-initial roots which take the prefix form *amm–* are assumed to be /m/-initial, eg. *mantang* instead of *antang* ‘stay’. (I discussed this contradiction between speakers’ metalinguistic awareness and morphology in §7.1.4).
- She assumes the prefix *aK–* to have the allomorphs *ak–* and *aC–*, where the /k/ is actually a glottal stop (*aʔ–*), and *aC–* assimilates to voiceless consonants resulting in geminates, eg. *kiok* → *akkiok* (*akkio*) ‘call’. She further claims that it is common for vowel-initial roots to take *aK–*, and gives *akanak* (*aʔana*) ‘have a child’ and *akoto* (*aʔoto*) ‘go by car’ as examples.¹³⁷

She has little to say about the functions of the prefixes, only noting that *aK–* is preferred on noun bases and *aN–* on transitive verbs. She also claimed that *aK–* is more productive than *aN–*, and that loans always get *aK–*. This claim is probably made because most obvious loans are nouns, but it is demonstrably false, as can be seen with forms such as *hukkung* → *anhukkung* ‘punish’ (← Arabic via Malay *hukum*), *sapatu* → *anynyapatu* ‘shoe a horse’ (← Port. *sapato* ‘shoe’) or (as I have observed) the more recent *sotting* → *anynyotting* ‘to film/video something’ (← Eng. *shooting*).

Asmah Haji Omar (1979)

The Malaysian linguist Asmah Haji Omar assumes two prefixes, *a–* and *ma–*.

- *a–* will cause gemination of any following voiceless consonant or nasal (again vowel-initial roots which take the prefix form *amm–* are misanalysed as having the nasal as part of the root, eg. *empo* ‘sit’ is given as *mempo* to form *ammempo*). Sometimes *a–* is said to be realised with a glottal stop and sometimes with a nasal.

¹³⁷ Confusion stemming from the use of *k* to represent the glottal stop aside, my findings are that the combination of the form *aʔ–* and a vowel-initial root is quite rare, though it does occur. Notably, *aʔana* was unacceptable to all the speakers I asked, *ammanaʔ* being the only possible form. *Aʔanrong* ‘have a mother’ is possible, however.

- *ma-* is realised as *maʔ-* or *aʔ-* preceding /l/ or a vowel. Before /s/ it will sometimes cause nasal substitution (which she interprets as a single nasal, eg. *suro* ‘order’ → *manuro* or *anuro*),¹³⁸ and sometimes it won’t (eg. *susa* ‘difficult’ → *masusa* ‘have trouble’). Before a nasal it will cause gemination identical with *a-*.

Here again an allomorph (with initial /m/) has been interpreted as a separate morpheme, while clear distributional differences between actual morphemes have been overlooked. No mention is made of the functions of the prefixes.

Manyambeang et al (1979)

In this work two prefixes are identified: *aK-* and *aN-*. This is the same as in Imran (1979), however they correctly note the geminates resulting from nasal substitution of voiceless stops and /b/ (eg. *aN-pelak* → *ammelak* ‘throw’). They do not explicitly comment on the distinction between the nasal-substituting prefix (*aN(N)-*) and the non-substituting prefix (Actor Focus *aN-*), although several examples are given which show the contrast (eg. *ampelaki* ‘throw it’). Like Matthes, they completely overlook the vowel-initial roots which take *amm-*.

Manyambeang et al (1996)

This work again identifies *aK-* and *aN-*, both of which are analysed as deriving both intransitive and transitive forms (the ‘transitive’ *aK-* forms are actually those with inherent objects such as *akjarang* ‘ride a horse’). The prefix *amm-* is analysed as an unexplained allomorph of *aN-*, eg. *aN-anak* → *ammanak* ‘have a child’ but *aN-arū* → *angngaru* ‘take an oath’. The actual *aN(N)-/aN-* contrast is again not explained, although it shows up in several examples.

Cense (1979)

Cense includes definitions for the verb prefix forms in the dictionary. The relevant ones are translated below:

¹³⁸ This example is strange not only because of the single rather than geminate nasal, but also because in my data the root *suro* never takes the nasal-substituting prefix.

ma' : prefix, comparable with Malay *ber-*, with very diverse meanings: 'provided with', 'working with', 'making', 'making use of' that which is indicated by the root; with numerals: 'by Xs'; also with numerous verb roots. The full form *ma'* (with assimilation of the glottal stop to following stops and /s/) is mainly found in old writings and is now more often shortened to *a'* or *'*; an older form *mar-* is no longer productive and is only found in a few forms starting with vowels. Examples: (*m*)*a'bura'ne* or *'bura'ne* 'wed with a man' (← *bura'ne* 'man'); (*m*)*a'jarang* 'ride a horse' (← *jarang* 'horse'); (*m*)*accini'* 'to see'; *marewanang* 'arm oneself' (← *ewa* 'oppose'). (p.429).

ma- + nasal: prefix for forming transitive and intransitive verbs — the full form *ma-* + nasal is mostly found in old or archaic texts, now more often shortened to *a-* + nasal or just the nasalised form. Examples: (*m*)*annunrung* or *nnunrung* 'hit' (← *tunrung*); (*m*)*anynyungke* or *nynyungke* 'open' (← *sungke*); (*m*)*ande'de'* or *nde'de'* 'forge' (← *de'de'*); (*m*)*ammolong* or *mmolong* 'cut' (← *polong*); (*m*)*ammu'bu'* or *mmu'bu'* 'pull out' (← *bu'bu'*). (p.429).

ang-: prefix for verb forms with definite objects when emphasis falls on preceding subject. Examples: *ia ampareki balla'-lompoa* 'he built the royal palace'; *inakke ambetako* 'I beat you'. (p.24).

Of all the analyses summarised, Cense's is by far the most complete and accurate.

7.5.2 Selayarese

Mithun & Basri (1987)

The authors identify two prefix forms, *aʔ-* and *aŋ-*, but it is unclear whether they consider them two different prefixes or allomorphs of one. They are said to occur with active intransitive verbs — meaning verbs with no object or with an indefinite object, and are thus labelled 'intransitivisers'. The form of the prefix (*aʔ-* or *aŋ-*) is 'generally not predictable on phonological, syntactic, or semantic grounds' (p.248). Examples are given where:

- the choice distinguishes between homophonous roots; *(a)ŋanre* ‘eat’ and *(a)kkanre* ‘burn’ (← *kanre*, nasal substitution results in a single nasal in Selayarese rather than the geminates seen in Makassarese).¹³⁹
- either form is possible with no difference in meaning; *(a)njari* ↔ *(a)?jari* ‘become’, or the choice is stylistic.
- a set of verbs will take *aʔ-* where there is no object, and *aŋ-* if there is an indefinite object; *(a)?besoʔ* ‘pull’ and *(a)mbesoʔ* ‘pull something’ (/b/ is not subject to nasal substitution).

A footnote (p.253) mentions a prefix which does not cause nasal substitution (‘merger’) of the stem, eg. *(a)ntamaʔ* ‘enter’ and *(a)nsuluʔ* ‘get out’. These forms must be followed by a locative phrase. The authors hint that it should be considered a separate prefix, but this is not followed up.¹⁴⁰

Ceria (1993)

This paper quite exhaustively lists forms which take one or other of the two identified prefixes (*aʔ-* or *aŋ-*), which the author analyses as valency-reducing affixes, or intransitivisers (p.82). She also includes the prefix *taC-* as an intransitiviser (a non-volitional marker in Makassarese, see § 7.4). The non nasal-substituting prefix, as in *antamaʔ* above, appears in examples but is not remarked upon. She uses the choice of prefix as a way of dividing the verbs into classes, but does not identify a principle behind this, noting that ‘it seems to be an idiosyncratic process’ (p.82).

Hasan Basri (1999)

This work identifies two categories of ‘intransitivizer’; those for voluntary verbs (*aʔ-* or *aŋ-*), and *taC-* for stative verbs (see § 7.4) (1999:20). He identifies four possibilities for verbs taking *aʔ-* and *aŋ-*:

¹³⁹ Actually, in Makassarese at least, it does not seem that there are two roots *kanre* ‘eat’ and ‘burn’ but rather a single root with a core meaning ‘consume’ with divergent interpretations depending on the prefix. This is apparent because exactly the same contrast is seen with the high style variant *ka'do*!

¹⁴⁰ This parallels the situation in Makassarese where these verbs appear to have been lexicalised with the prefix attached.

(a) verbs which take *aʔ-* only, (b) verbs which take *aŋ-* only, (c) verbs which take both *aʔ-* and *aŋ-*, and (d) verbs which take no intransitivizers. The choice of *aʔ-* or *aŋ-* is largely lexical.

He does however make some generalisations, ie. that the *aʔ-* group includes verbs derived from nouns, while the *aŋ-* group includes roots which are vowel-initial. Within the group that can take both *aʔ-* and *aŋ-* he identifies two possibilities: (a) free variation, eg. *aʔriʔbaʔ/anriʔbaʔ* ‘fly’; and (b) verbs which ‘need no object when used with *aʔ-* and take an indefinite object when used with *aŋ-*’ (1999:24), eg. *assossoro/apossoro* ‘scrub’ or the following:

aʔlesaja ri kaderaku

aʔ- lesaja =a ri kadera -ku
INTR- move =1 PREP chair -1.POSS

I moved from my chair

allesaja kadera

aŋ- lesaja =a kadera
INTR- move =1 chair

I moved a chair

There are also verbs in which ‘*aʔ-* shows a kind of agentless passive while *aŋ-* implies an indefinite object’ (1999:24), as in *aʔuruʔa* <*aʔ-uruʔ=a* | INTR-massage=1> ‘I had somebody massage me’ versus *aŋurua* <*aŋ-uru=a* | INTR-massage=1> ‘I massaged somebody’.

Two comments can be made here about the obvious differences between Selayarese and Makassarese. The first is that it appears Selayarese does not have the productive distinction between *aN(N)-* and Actor Focus *aN-* that Makassarese does, although it has some irregular forms which do not show nasal substitution such as *antamaʔ* ‘go in’, *antaʔle* ‘go across’, and *ansuluʔ* ‘go out’.¹⁴¹ The second is that Selayarese does not appear to have the prefix *amm-* that appears on some vowel-initial roots in Makassarese.

¹⁴¹ Hasan Basri groups them as ‘intransitive verbs which need prepositional temporal adverbs’ (1999:55) which is surely a misprint for ‘prepositional complements’ as they have no particular relationship with temporal adverbs.

7.5.3 Konjo

The papers on Konjo (Friberg 1988; 1996; Friberg & Friberg 1991a; 1991b) describe either three or four verbal prefixes which they term verbalisers, one of which is also labelled an adjective marker *a-* (see § 7.1.5). In Friberg & Friberg (1991b:6) two prefixes other than *a-* are recognised, *a'-* and *ang-*, which are intransitive and transitive verbalisers respectively, and are 'in some sense optional'. Only one example, *angnganre* 'eat' is given to illustrate that verbs with *ang-* are transitive. In Friberg & Friberg (1991a:87) they identify *amm-* as an allomorph of the intransitive prefix *a'-*, and posit an ad hoc rule called Glottal Nasalisation to explain it.¹⁴²

In Friberg (1988) two different *ang-* prefixes are identified, the first of which (causing nasal substitution) is labelled Actor Focus Transitive, and the second (without nasal substitution) is labelled Goal Focus Transitive. They are described as follows:

a'- indicates an intransitive verb: there cannot be a syntactic object ... *ang-* indicates a semi-transitive verb with actor focus; there may or may not be an object, but it cannot be a definite object ... *ang_z-* indicates a transitive verb with goal focus; ie. the goal (or object) is fully specified (108).

... *ang_f-* attaches to a reduced form of the infinitive, while *ang_z-* attaches to the basic root or derived stem. *a'-* can be viewed as an infinitive marker, which when attached to a bare root indicates an intransitive form, but may also attach to forms which are transitive by virtue of the *pa-* transitivizer (CTV or causative prefix). Thus the combination of *a'-* plus *pa-* has the same function as *ang-* GFT (109).¹⁴³

In Friberg (1996) the analysis has been changed so that *aN-* is no longer seen as a marker of Goal Focus but is more accurately identified as a 'definite verbaliser' which appears when 'the subject is topicalised (ie. focused - AJ) in a transitive construction'

¹⁴² It may be that Konjo lacks forms where *aC-V _ a'V*, such as *a'oto*.

¹⁴³ This is a highly misleading statement (at least for Makassarese, and I suspect for Konjo as well). Friberg (1988:109) gives the example *a'pakanrea ana'-ana'* 'I feed children' which according to her discussion should be synonymous with *angkanrea ana'-ana'*. However the latter can only be interpreted as meaning '(it) ate me, children' — assuming a focused but ellipsed Actor from a previous clause.

(1996:145). The problems with Friberg's analysis of 'focus' (= voice) will be discussed in the following section.

7.6 Voice

In this section I will discuss the voice system of Makassarese, examine analyses which assume a more pervasive voice system than I do, and give justification for the limited use of voice in my analysis.

The major voice alternation in Makassarese is between (unmarked) active voice and (marked) passive voice. Makassarese does not have a symmetrical voice system as found in languages such as Malay/Indonesian, nor anything comparable to the more complicated voice systems (often referred to as 'focus') seen in Phillipine type languages.¹⁴⁴

Voice is conventionally understood as being a means whereby the speaker can realign the mapping of participants onto grammatical functions in a clause. The Makassarese passive prefix *ni-* does exactly this — it promotes the Undergoer (P in a corresponding transitive clause) so that it is S, the only core argument of an intransitive clause. The Actor, if it is expressed, is done so by means of an oblique. The difference between an active and passive clause is seen in examples (320) and (321):

(320) *Nakokkoka' meongku*

na= kokko' =a' meong ≡ku
 3= bite =1 cat ≡1.POSS
 My cat bit me

¹⁴⁴ Malay/Indonesian, for example, shows alternations such as the following (Himmelman 2005:112):

Anak saya me-lihat orang itu
 child 1s AV-see person DIST
 My child saw that person.
 Orang itu di-lihat anak saya
 person DIST UV-see child 1s
 My child saw that person

The first is in Actor voice, and the second in Undergoer voice. Arguably, neither can be considered clearly the 'basic' form, since in both the verbs are marked with voice prefixes and both clauses are syntactically equivalent, with only the order of arguments being changed.

(321) *Nikokkoka' (ri meongku)*

ni- kokko' =a' ri meong $\equiv$ ku
 PASS- bite =1 PREP cat $\equiv$ 1.POSS

I was bitten (by my cat)

Active voice is associated with the other verb prefixes (which are valence-signalling rather than voice marking *per se*), or the absence of a prefix altogether. The set of verb prefixes was discussed in detail earlier in this chapter, but those which are relevant to discussion here mark a clause as being intransitive (*aC-*) or semi-transitive (*aN(N)-*), while the absence of a verb prefix and presence of an *ERG=* proclitic marks a clause as being fully transitive.

This difference between fully transitive and semi-transitive clauses, which turns on whether the Undergoer is definite (P^{DEF}) or indefinite (P^{INDEF}) respectively, has itself been analysed by some writers as a type of voice (or ‘focus’) phenomenon, in some sense similar to the symmetrical alternation between actor voice and undergoer voice in other West Austronesian languages. (See for example Friberg 1988; Hanson 2003). As is plain by my choice of label, I prefer to view it as a marking of different levels of transitivity: basically there is a type of clause intermediate to intransitive and transitive clauses. My reasoning for this is laid out in § 11.6 where I also discuss alternative analyses, but in essence reflects the fact that a speaker cannot select a prefix in order to realign participants and grammatical functions in the way that one might expect of either an Indonesian or Philippine-type voice system, but rather the selection falls out automatically depending on whether there is an Undergoer, and if so, whether it is definite or not.

Voice (‘focus’) in the closely related language Konjo has been discussed in two articles by Friberg (1988, 1996). Her analysis is entirely different to mine. The most obvious difference is terminological — Friberg is using ‘focus’ in a Philippine-language sense (ie. voice (Himmelman 2002)) whereas I prefer to use focus to describe the fronting of arguments (see § 11.9) in a way which is more compatible with syntactic theory (eg. Bresnan 2000:155ff; Van Valin 1999). However, even substituting the term ‘voice’ for ‘focus’ leaves Friberg’s analysis unclear.

In the earlier article, she analyses focus as being designated by the choice of verb prefixes in transitive clauses, with *aN(N)-* being used for ‘actor focus’, and *aN-* being

used for ‘goal focus... when the actor is a free form pronoun or a noun’ (1988:109). The fact that this noun or pronoun should canonically be in pre-predicate position is not made explicit, though tellingly she later remarks that ‘the absolutive suffix is dropped when the object (whether definite or indefinite) is fronted for focus’ (1988:117). Thus, by this definition, actors receive focus simply as a result of there being an indefinite goal, while goals receive focus simply by virtue of being definite; on the other hand objects (= goals) may also be focused by being fronted. There are two problems here: the first being that there is no real explanation of what ‘focus’ is, or what it does (made all the more confusing by the fact that she is clearly using it in two different ways); and the second being that the article misses the point that if arguments can also be ‘fronted for focus’, then the *aN-* prefix (marking goal focus) appears in clauses where the actor has been ‘fronted for focus’ (see §7.2 and §11.9.1).

In the later article, the terms are changed somewhat. Actor and goal focus have been replaced by subject and object focus, in which:

Subject focus implies that there is no object, or that the object is not relevant to the action at hand. *Object focus* implies that there is a specifically referred-to object. Subject focus requires an ‘absolutive’ enclitic referent to the subject. Object focus requires an ‘ergative’ proclitic referent to the subject while the object is referred to by an ‘absolutive’ enclitic. (Friberg 1996:143).

In this article, the phenomenon of ‘fronting for focus’ (my **focus**, §11.9.1) is analysed as topicalisation.¹⁴⁵ Left-dislocation (my **topicalisation**, see §11.9.2) is not mentioned.

Thus, in the latter article focus was more-or-less defined, but there are problems with the definition. For example, one of Friberg’s examples of a sentence with subject focus is the following:

¹⁴⁵ I made the same error in my Masters thesis (Jukes 1998).

(322) *Langnginranga berangta*

la= aN(N)- inrang =a berang ≡ta
 FUT= VRt- borrow =1ABS knife ≡2(H)POSS

I want to borrow (one of) your knives (Friberg 1996:144).¹⁴⁶

I find no obvious way to interpret this clause as having ‘no object, or that the object is not relevant to the action at hand’ (Friberg 1996:143), as clearly the object is integral to the event. Rather, the point (as made in Friberg’s earlier paper (1988:108)), is that there is no **specific** referent. This however seems more relevant to the interaction between specificity/definiteness and cross-referencing (§ 11.2.4) rather than focus (=voice) as such.

But by far the biggest problem with Friberg’s analysis of ‘focus’ or voice is that it is essentially redundant. What it boils down to, in its 1996 formulation, is that the argument cross-referenced by an =ABS enclitic is focused; ie. S in intransitive clauses (with or without indefinite P), and P in fully transitive clauses. Thus, by this definition, a clause can be transitive and have ‘object focus’ (= undergoer voice), or intransitive and have ‘subject focus’ (= actor voice). Since no other possibilities are permitted, saying that a clause has ‘object focus’ is the same as saying it is transitive, and vice versa. But if the notions of transitivity and focus are so inextricably linked (and cross-defined), it is difficult to see that they are both necessary.

A similar criticism could be made of Hanson’s (2001:159) analysis of focus, in which:

the unmarked focus being ‘Patient focus’, the *maC-* construction indicating ‘Agent focus’ and the benefactive and locative suffixes (*-əŋ* and *-i*) representing ‘Benefactive’ and ‘Locative’ focus respectively.

Since *maC-* in Bugis seems to behave much like *aC-* in Makassarese (ie. marking intransitive verbs), the notion that it should also remove focus from the (non-existent) Patient is not especially enlightening. And again, if stating that a clause has a particular argument ‘focus’ is just a way of saying that there is that argument in the clause, it is difficult to reconcile this with a productive voice system.

¹⁴⁶ VRt = Transitive verbaliser, H = Honorific.

The error in the approaches presented above is, I believe, in attempting to analyse South Sulawesi languages as having symmetrical voice systems, whereas as Himmelmann has argued (2005), they do not have this characteristic. In any event, I prefer to separate the two issues of valence-signalling and voice. The notion of transitivity in Makassarese certainly has degrees, and is sensitive to the definiteness or specificity of the Undergoer (though I do not go so far as to say that clauses with indefinite Undergoers are intransitive, see § 11.6). But rather than the speaker realigning the grammatical functions by placing an affix on the verb, the choice of affix is given according to a tripartite distinction in valence: fully intransitive, semi-transitive, and fully transitive.

8 Causative *pa-* and related forms

The following chapter discusses the causative prefix *pa-* and the related forms *paka-* and *pi-*, the former being a causative for adjectives, and the latter being harder to characterise as shall be discussed, but included here because it is often in free variation with *pa-* in some of its more peripheral uses. It can be noted here that bases derived with *pa-*, *paka-* or *pi-* cannot host the prefix *aN(N)-* (§7.1.2); which is to say they are not subject to nasal substitution, but rather take the prefix *aC-* (§7.1.1) or Actor Focus *aN-* (§7.2) if appropriate.

8.1 Causative *pa-*

The prefix *pa-*¹⁴⁷ as a verb prefix can most usefully be characterised as a causative, which adds an argument (the causer) to intransitive or transitive verbs, resulting in a verb meaning ‘cause/allow to do X’. (Adjectives are causativised by the prefix *paka-*, see §8.2). This process is extremely productive and most verbs have an associated causative derivation if this is semantically feasible.¹⁴⁸ *Pa-* is typically found directly on verb roots, but can also be found on certain derived infinitival forms (ie. the sequence *pa-aC/aN(N)-ROOT*, §8.1.2); and also on more complex bases such as verbs which are themselves derived with prefixes such as *pi-* or *si-* (§8.1.3), and even on some prepositional phrases (§8.1.4). It often occurs in combination with the benefactive and locative applicatives *-ang* or *-i*.

¹⁴⁷ A reflex of PMP **pa-* ‘causative of dynamic verbs; divide into X (X = numeral)’ (Blust 2003).

¹⁴⁸ Basri notes that in Selayarese only a small subset of verbs take *pa-*, only where ‘the causee is not able to do the job by himself (herself) because he (she) is physically weak, or because of some disabilities, or because he (she) is not in a position to do it on his (her) own’ (Hasan Basri 1999:332). He also notes that Selayarese uses *paka-* (in Makassarese used for causativising adjectives) rather than *pa-* where force rather than help or permission is implied. This would appear to be an area of considerable grammatical difference between Selayarese and Makassarese.

8.1.1 *pa-* on verb roots

Most causative derivations are built on intransitive verbal bases which are in themselves roots. These include the class of basic verbs¹⁴⁹, most regular intransitive verbs, and ambitransitive verbs in their intransitive interpretations. Transitive verbs may also derive causatives — but these usually require applicative morphology in addition to *pa-*, thus if there is a P^{INDEF} present the combination *pa—i* is used (§8.1.5), while if there is a definite P *pa—ang* (§8.1.6) or even *pa—i—ang* (§8.1.7) are used. A selection of causative verbs with *pa-* is shown in Table 8.1.

BASIC VERB BASE

<i>lari</i>	run	→	<i>palari</i>	put to flight
<i>tinro</i>	sleep	→	<i>patinro</i>	put to sleep
<i>battu</i>	come	→	<i>pabattu</i>	make come, bring
<i>mange</i>	go	→	<i>pamange</i>	make go, put, translate, abort
<i>kamma</i>	be thus	→	<i>pakamma</i>	make be thus
<i>tu'guru'</i>	fall	→	<i>patu'guru'</i>	make fall, lower

INTRANSITIVE VERB BASE

<i>a'jappa</i>	walk	→	<i>pajappa</i>	make walk, make go, mend
<i>ammantang</i>	stay	→	<i>pantang</i>	make stay, hold still

TRANSITIVE VERB BASE

<i>angganre</i>	eat	→	<i>pakanre</i>	make eat
<i>angginung</i>	drink	→	<i>painung</i>	make drink
<i>accini'</i>	see	→	<i>pacini'</i>	show

Table 8.1: *pa*–ROOT → CAUS

Causative verb bases derived with *pa-* will be prefixed with *aC-* in intransitive or semi-transitive clauses (or in other contexts where infinitive forms are found), eg. *appajappa* <aC–pa–jappa | MV–CAUS–walk> ‘make go, fix’. They will host the prefix *aN-* if there is a focused Actor and definite Undergoer (§7.2), eg. *ampajappa* ‘fix’. Note that they are not subject to derivation with the prefix *aN(N)-*, so there are no forms such as **ammajappa*.

The argument structure of a causative verb is typically realigned so that the (former) S argument of the comparable intransitive clause becomes P (still referenced by an enclitic), and there is an added A argument denoting the causer of the action (which is

¹⁴⁹ All basic verbs can be derived into causative verbs, with the irregularity that the causative of *nia* ‘exist’ is *pa'nia'* (rather than *pania'*, see §8.1.2).

referenced with a proclitic). For example, (323), (324) and (325) are intransitive clauses which can be compared with their causative counterparts (326), (327) and (328):

(323) *Tinroi anakku*

tinro =i ana' =ku
sleep =3 child =1.POSS

My child sleeps

(324) *Tu'guruki ballinna*

tu'gur =u' =i balli =nna
fall =EC =3 price =3.POSS

Its price fell

(325) *A'langa' ri tamparanga'*

aC- lange =a' ri tamparang =a
MV- swim =1 PREP sea =DEF

I swam in the sea

(326) *Kupatinroi anakku*

ku= pa- tinro =i ana' =ku
1= CAUS- sleep =3 child =1.POSS

I put my child to sleep

(327) *Lakupatu'guruki ballinna*

la= ku= pa- tu'gur =u' =i balli =nna
FUT= 1= CAUS- fall =EC =3 price =3.POSS

I'll lower its price

(328) *Kupalangei anakku ri tamparanga*

ku= pa- lange =i ana' =ku ri tamparang =a
1= CAUS- swim =3 child =1.POSS PREP sea =DEF

I made/let my child swim in the sea

Derived causative verbs may also be semi-transitive, ie. with an indefinite P. In these examples, as might be expected, the verbs are marked with the prefix *aC-* and *S(=A)* is referenced with an enclitic, while *P^{INDEF}* is not referenced. This can be seen in (329) and (330), and also in (331), in which the Undergoer (a fetus) is not only indefinite but customarily ellipsed:

(329) *Appatinroi ana'-ana' iRamla*

aC- tinro =i ana'- ana' i- Ramla
MV- sleep =3 RDP- child PERS- Ramla

Ramla puts children to sleep

(330) *Appajappai oto*

aC- pa- jappa =i oto
MV- CAUS- walk =3 car

He fixes cars (lit. makes them go)

(331) *Appamangei antu*

aC- pa- mange =i antu
 MV- CAUS- go =3 that

That (drug) will cause an abortion

As will be discussed in §11.2.4, the contrast between P and P^{INDEF} can lead to some interesting alternations, as can be seen in examples (332) and (333), the latter showing that a 3rd person enclitic pronoun in a transitive clause with an indefinite NP will be interpreted as referring to a more salient anaphoric or exophoric argument:

(332) *Kupakanrei bembeku*

ku= pa- kanre =i bembe ≡ku
 1= CAUS- eat =3 goat ≡1.POSS

I fed my goat

(333) *Kupakanrei bembe*

ku= pa- kanre =i bembe
 1= CAUS- eat =3 goat

I made/let him eat goat (meat)¹⁵⁰

Causative verbs are also subject to passivisation (passive causatives):¹⁵¹

(334) *Nipakanrei bembea (ri Ali)*

ni- pa- kanre =i bembe ≡a ri Ali
 PASS- CAUS- eat =3 goat ≡DEF PREP Ali

The goat was fed (by Ali)

The form *pa-* is also involved in several other derivational processes. On roots it is used for deriving actor nominals, and on prefixed verb bases it derives instrument nominals, while the confix *pa><ang* on prefixed verb bases derives place/time-of-action nominals (see §6.2.2 for these). These are regarded as separate processes involving at least one other homophonous affix.

8.1.2 *pa-* on prefixed bases

A small minority of *pa-* causatives are built on derived verbal bases rather than bare roots — that is, the verb prefix is internal to the causative prefix, resulting in the sequences *pa-aC-*, *pa-aN(N)-*, *pa-amm-*, which are realised as portmanteau forms

¹⁵⁰ If P is definite, the suffix *-ang* is needed to license a definite theme, see §8.1.6.

¹⁵¹ Causative passives are also found, see §8.3.5.

paC-, *paN(N)-*, and *pamm-*. Of these, the *amm-* verbs seem to be exceptional in that derived causatives may appear with or without *amm-* in seemingly free variation, while *aC-* and *aN(N)-* verbs are much more restricted in this regard.

To my knowledge only one verb contains the sequence *pa-aN-*, namely *pantama* ‘make enter’, which can be explained because the verb and prefix complex has become lexicalised:

(335) *Anjo assingku siagáng bone lalangku pantamai ri guci.*

anjo assi ≡ngku siagáng bone lalang ≡ku pa- aN-tama =i
that contents ≡1.POSS with contents inside ≡1.POSS CAUS- enter =3

ri guci
PREP urn

Put my flesh and my innards in an urn (PT:200)

In Konjo it appears that there is a productive contrast between the sequences *pa*-ROOT and *pa-aC/aN(N)*-ROOT. This has been explained as a contrast in directness or intentionality of the action, with *pa*-ROOT forms being more direct or intentional (Friberg & Friberg 1991b:10), however there is no evidence of this type of contrast in Gowa Makassarese.

8.1.2.1 *pa-aC-*

The examples of *pa-aC-* in the corpus fall into two major types: those regularly built on verbs derived from numerals; and some irregular forms built on verbs derived from a variety of sources, notably the existential basic verb *nia'*, the negator *taena*, and then a seemingly random selection whose main commonality is that the *pa-aC-* derived form is in contrast with a more regularly derived form.

Verbs derived with *aC-* from numerals (‘be NUMERAL’) were mentioned on p.250, and further derivation with causative *pa-* results in verbs meaning ‘make be NUMERAL’ which is common as far as ‘make be one’ = ‘gather’ and ‘make be two’ = ‘separate’, but beyond these does not seem to be idiomatic.

(336) *Apa saba'na nipasse're ngasengki' sikontu kara'-karaenga sanggenna rangka'na Gowa.*

apa saba' ≡na ni- pa- aC- se're ngaseng =ki' si- kontu
 what reason ≡3.POSS PASS- CAUS- MV- one all =2p MUT- like

kara'- karaeng ≡a sangge ≡nna rangka' ≡na Gowa
 RDP- karaeng ≡DEF until ≡3.POSS the.whole ≡3.POSS Gowa

Why were we all made to gather like this, all the karaengs from the whole of Gowa? (SKT:034)

(337) *Sarenta tosseng sipa'rua*

sare ≡nta =tong =seng si- pa- aC- rua
 give ≡2p.POSS =also =again MUT- CAUS- MV- two

We were made to separate again (from the song *Pangngu'rangimami* by Iwan Tompo)

The irregular derivations of the existential basic verb *nia'* and the negator *taena* mean 'make be' (= create) and 'make not be' respectively:

(338) *ia ampa'niaki lisere' matanna*

aN- pa- aC- nia' =i liser =e' mata ≡nna
 AF- CAUS- MV- be =3 seed =EC eye ≡3.POSS

she made my pupil (a common metonymic idiom, meaning 'she made me') (PT:203)

(339) *Kupattaenai ri atingku*

ku= pa- aC- taena =i ri ati ≡ngku
 1= CAUS- MV- NEG =3 PREP liver ≡1.POSS

I'll put it out of my heart, I won't think/feel it any more (lit: I'll make it not be in my liver, C:747)

Of other derivations of this type which I am aware of, some are based on verbs derived from adjectival roots with extended or specialised meaning. For example the form *appa'baji'* <aC-pa-aC-baji' | MV-CAUS-MV-good> means 'cause to be reconciled' (ie. of estranged spouses or relations). It is in contrast with the regular causativised adjective *appakabaji'* <aC-paka-baji' | MV-CAUS.ADJ-good> 'mend, fix' (see §8.2).

There is also at least one example where *pa-aC-* is used in contrast with *pa-* alone to distinguish homophonous roots: this is *appakkanre* <aC-pa-aC-kanre | MV-CAUS-MV-burn> 'make burn' (and assorted metaphorical extensions), which contrasts with *appakanre* <aC-pa-kanre | MV-CAUS-eat> 'feed'.

8.1.2.2 *pa-aN(N)-*

There does not appear to be a general statement that can be made about the sequence *pa-aN(N)-* other than to observe that a small minority of *aN(N)-* verbs retain *aN(N)-* in derived causatives, but the majority do not. Several of those retaining *aN(N)-* have roots beginning with *a* — which makes it tempting to analyse *pa-aN(N)-* as a device for avoiding the sequence *pa-a* and subsequent degemination of the two *as*. Thus, *appangngaji* <aC-pa-aN(N)-aji | MV-CAUS-BV-recite> ‘make (someone) recite the Koran’ (← *angngaji*) rather than **appaji*, and the same with *appangngalle* ‘make/let take’ (← *angngalle* ‘take’) rather than **appalle*, as can be seen on the following passive causative benefactive example:

(340) *Apaji na nipangngalleammi je'ne' ri kaca bulaeng.*

apa =ja =i na ni- pa- aN(N)- alle -ang =mo =i je'ne' ri
 what =LIM =3 COMP PASS- CAUS- BV- take -BEN =PFV =3 water PREP

kaca bulaeng
 glass gold

So they were made to take water (for themselves) in a gold cup (PT:225)

There are however some odd counter-examples such as *appara* ‘make/let smell’ (← *anggara* ‘smell, sniff’), and furthermore some verbs which do not begin with *a* also show this pattern (such as *appangngerangang* <pa-aN(N)-erang-ang | CAUS-BV-carry-BEN> ‘bring something for someone’) so a purely phonological explanation does not suffice.

8.1.2.3 *pa-amm-*

In contrast with the two preceding cases, verbs whose infinitives are formed with the prefix *amm-* are generally equally acceptable with *pa-* or *pa-amm-*, eg. *paenteng* or *pammenteng* ‘make stand’, *paotere* or *pammotere* ‘make return’, *pao'joro* or *pammo'joro* ‘make stay still’.

8.1.3 *pa-* on other derived bases

Pa- may productively be placed on bases which have already been derived by other processes apart from those involving the verb prefixes as discussed above. The major examples of these are causative passives (*pappi—ang*, see § 8.3.5), causative mutual/reciprocals (*pa-si-*), and causative equal comparatives (*pa-siN-*).

(341) *Punna para nia' anatta andi', kipasi'allei*

punna para nia' ana' $\equiv$ ta andi' ki= pa- si- alle =i
 when both be child $\equiv$ 2p.POSS $\downarrow$ sibling 2p= CAUS- MUT- take =3

When we both have children little sister, let's betroth them (lit. make them take each other) (bembe:005)

(342) *Napasilaga-ngasengi tedonga*

na= pa- si- laga ngaseng =i tedong $\equiv$ a
 3= CAUS- MUT- fight all =3 buffalo $\equiv$ DEF

They make all the buffalo fight

(343) *ia- iannamo. tau. ampasiewai. Gowa. Tallo'. iamo nacalla. rewata.*

ia- ia $\equiv$ nna =mo tau aN- pa- si- ewa $\equiv$ a =i Gowa Tallo'
 RDP- 3PRO $\equiv$ 3.POSS =PFV person AF- CAUS- MUT- oppose $\equiv$ DEF =3 Gowa Tallo'

ia =mo na= calla rewata
 3PRO =PFV 3= condemn god(s)

Any person who sets Gowa and Tallo' against each other, he is cursed by the gods (KIT:ref039)¹⁵²

(344) *Pasinjai doekku na doe'na*

pa- siN- jai doe' $\equiv$ ku na doe' $\equiv$ na
 CAUS- EQ.COMPR- many money $\equiv$ 1.POSS and money $\equiv$ 3.POSS

Make my money the same as his

Conversely, causative verbs may occur as bases for mutual/reciprocal derivations with *si-* (§10.1).

8.1.4 *pa-* on PPs

Pa- derivations can be built on certain prepositional phrases. In most cases these consist of a preposition + a locative of either the *i* or *ri* sets (§5.7) such as *pariolo* 'put before' ($\leftarrow$ *ri olo*), *pariate* 'put above' ($\leftarrow$ *i rate*), *pariawa* 'put below' ($\leftarrow$ *i rawa*),¹⁵³ *pailalang* 'put inside' ($\leftarrow$ *i lalang*), *paipantara'* 'put outside' ($\leftarrow$ *i pantara*).

(345) *Paipantara'ma' inakke*

pa- i pantara' =mo =a' inakke
 CAUS- PREP outside =PFV =1 1PRO

Leave me out, don't count on me

¹⁵² There is no enclitic pronoun in the second clause because P is focused (§11.9.1).

¹⁵³ Note that *pariate* and *pariawa* contain non-metathesised variants of the *i* locatives *irate* and *irawa* (see §5.7.2).

(346) *Kupailalangi ri pattia*

ku= pa- i lalang =i ri patti ≡a
 1= CAUS- PREP inside =3 PREP box ≡DEF

I put it in the box

However there are also examples where *pa-* is affixed to prepositional phrases consisting of *ri* and a noun, such as *parilima* <CAUS-PREP-hand> ‘take in hand’ and *paripatti* <CAUS-PREP-box> ‘put in a box’. This only seems to be possible with certain conventional nouns, for example *pariballa* ‘put in a house’ was widely accepted while *paripoko* ‘put in a tree’ was considered marginal (*pariate ri poko* being more acceptable). PPs containing place names can not be derived with *pa-*, eg. **pariSoppeng* ‘put in Soppeng’.

8.1.5 *pa-VERB-i*

Pa- appears to have two quite different functions in these types of derivation. One is straightforwardly causative, and results in ditransitives with indefinite secondary objects.

(347) *Napacinikia' ba'bala'*

na= pa- cini' -i =a' ba'bal =a'
 3= CAUS- see -APPL =1 whip =EC

He showed me a whip (C:841)

In this function *pa-* appears to be in free variation with *pi-*; in fact *pi-i* is more commonly found than *pa-i* in this sense (see §8.3.2).

The other (and perhaps more common) function of *pa-i* is quite different — and arguably contains a distinct prefix *pa-*. The causative meaning (and thus the causer) is usually not present. Instead, these forms are very like the verbs formed with the locative applicative *-i* alone, in which a goal or other locative argument is taken out of a PP and brought into the clause nucleus, usually for the purpose of focusing or relativising upon it (§9.1.2). The reason for using *pa-* as well as *-i* may be that for these lexemes the form ROOT-*i* has a dominant reading which is distinct. Some examples are: *palarí* ‘run to a place’ (cf. *larí* ‘run to a person’); *panaíki* ‘go up to something/someone’ (cf. *naíki* ‘look up to someone’):

(348) *Pa'rasangang apa napalarí?*

pa'rasangang apa na= pa- lari -i
land what 3= CAUS- run -APPL

Which land did he run to? (C:379)

(349) *kupala'-palaki. tanipanaikia. ballammang.*

ku= pala'- pala' =i ta= ni- pa- nai' -i -a
1= RDP- request =3 NEG= PASS- CAUS- go.up -APPL -SBJV

balla' ≡mang
house ≡1pl.excl.POSS

We ask that our homes not be climbed up to (KIT:96).

8.1.6 *pa-VERB-ang*

The function of *pa-ang* can be a fairly straightforward combination of certain of the functions of the two suffixes, ie. most commonly *pa-* derives a causative transitive verb (ie. a ditransitive), while *-ang* licenses a definite secondary object (theme):

(350) *kupakanreangi bembea*

ku= pa- kanre -ang =i bembe ≡a
1= CAUS- eat -BEN =3 goat ≡DEF

I made/let him eat the goat (cf. (332) and (333))

Interestingly, *pa-ang* does not appear to be used to derive causative verbs with beneficiaries, ie. to cause something to be done on someone's behalf.

Other *pa-ang* derivations appear identical to verbs derived with *-ang* alone in which an instrument or other extra argument is brought into the clause nucleus (§7.2.6.4). The reason for adding *pa-* here may be that the particular verb + *-ang* has a dominant reading which is different, ie. *balliang* on its own has an unambiguous benefactive reading 'buy for (someone)', but *paballiang* means 'buy with':

(351) *unti kupaballiangi doekku*

unti ku= pa- balli -ang =i doe' ≡ku
banana 1= CAUS- buy -BEN =3 money ≡1.POSS

Bananas I bought with my money (C:59)

There are also several derivations which seem to be predicative equivalents of the place/time nominalisations formed by *pa><ang* (§6.2.2.5), eg. *pabattuang* 'come at a particular time' (cf. *pabattuang* 'time or place people/things come'); *patinroang* 'sleep at a certain time':

(352) *allo apa napabattuang?*

allo apa na= pa- battu -ang
 day what 3= CAUS- come -LOC

On what day did he come?

(353) *bangngi tena nabaji' nipatinroang*

bangngi tena na= baji' ni- pa- tinro -ang
 night NEG 3= good PASS- CAUS- sleep -LOC

a night not good for sleeping

8.1.7 *pa-VERB-i-ang*

To the best of my knowledge these forms are in free variation with the more common *pi-i-ang* derivations (§8.3.4).

8.2 Causative *paka-*

Adjectives can take the prefix *paka-*¹⁵⁴ (not *pa-* as is usual for verb roots) to form causative verb bases, which are by their nature transitive. In spite of their inherent bivalent nature, like *pa-* derived causatives (§8.1), infinitives of *paka-* verbs are marked with *aC-* rather than *aN(N)-*. In context they host clitic pronouns and/or the prefixes *aC-* or *aN-* depending on the syntax of the clause. For example, (354) is imperative, thus has no verb prefix and an enclitic indexing P (*empo*), while (355) is transitive and has both A and P clitics.

(354) *Pakabaji'mi emponu ana'-ana'*

paka- baji' =mo =i empo ≡nu ana'- ana'
 CAUS.ADJ good =PFV =3 seat ≡2f.POSS RDP- child

Sit comfortably, children (lit. improve your seating)

(355) *Napakabambanga'*

na= paka- bambang =a'
 3= CAUS.ADJ- hot =1

He provokes me

Sentence (356) has an intransitive clause (the subject is the clause headed by *nicini'*), while the clause in (357) shows Actor Focus with the prefix *aN-*.

¹⁵⁴ A reflex of PMP *pa-ka- 'causative of stative verbs' (Blust 2003)

(356) *Appakala'bi'-la'biriki nicini' lampunna pasara'-malanga*

aC- paka- la'bi'- la'bir =i' =i ni- cini' lampu ≡_{nn}a
 MV- CAUS.ADJ- RDP- exalted =EC =3 PASS- see lamp ≡₃.POSS

pasar =a' malang ≡_a
 market =EC night ≡_{DEF}

The night market lamps make it look quite splendid (lit. it makes exaltation (when) the night market lamps are seen, C:350)

(357) *Ikau ampakalompoi pa'maikku*

i kau aN- paka- lompo =i pa'mai' ≡_{ku}
 PERS 2 AF- CAUS.ADJ- big =3 breath ≡₁.POSS

You make me happy (you enlarge my heart)

Derivations with *paka-* differ from those with *-i* such as *lompói* ‘make big’ (§9.1.1) because it is assumed that the Undergoer already has the quality to some degree, thus *ampakalompo* ‘make bigger’ (similar to the distinction between Indonesian *per-* and *-kan* (Sneddon 1996:98)).

Interestingly, Basri (1999:337) claims that in Selayarese this prefix means ‘force to do something’. There is no hint of this connotation in Gowa Makassar. Nor is there the possibility of placing the prefix before verb prefixes and even proclitic pronouns as Basri describes (1999:338).¹⁵⁵

8.3 Experiencer-oriented *pi-*

The prefix *pi-* is relatively uncommon in isolation and should perhaps be analysed as being only in fossilised derivations or at best semi-productive — however in combination with the applicative suffixes it is still quite commonly found. Its cognate in PAN is described by Blust as a ‘causative of location’ (2003:453), but that interpretation does not seem appropriate in Makassar. Its exact function is difficult to identify and seems to differ according to which root it is placed on, and also whether or not it appears in combinations with the applicative *-i* or the applicative combination *-i-ang*,

¹⁵⁵ However the prefix *pa-* in Makassar will sometimes have verb prefixes following it (§8.1.2.1 etc), whereas Selayarese does not allow this: “*pa-* constructions are more cohesive than *paka-* constructions because *pa-* does not allow any elements to intervene between it and the base, while *paka-* allows intransitivizer, ergative marker, and secondary verb to intervene between it and the base” (Hasan Basri 1999:341).

thus these combinatory possibilities are examined separately in the sections below. Sometimes *pi-* can be characterised as causative (= valence-increasing) but more often it cannot easily be characterised in this way — and indeed often it seems to decrease valence. In several contexts *pi-* seems to be interchangeable with *pa-* with no apparent change in meaning. This is especially the case when *pi-* occurs in combination with the applicative suffix *-i* (§8.3.2), and also when *pi-* functions to mark verbs as passive within *pa-* causative derivations (§8.3.5).

In the absence of any clear single meaning of *pi-* I have elected to gloss it as something like a marker of experiencer-orientation (EXP-). This is because in isolation it derives forms with meanings like ‘(examine/inspect/listen) carefully or intently’. This is only a label of convenience, however, and it often has other functions.

8.3.1 *pi-*

Only a very few verbs are formed with affixation by *pi-* alone as opposed to combinations of *pi-* with *-ang* or/and *-i*. Of the four such forms listed by Matthes (1858:97), two are either errors or no longer acceptable (*pipake* and *pirassi* are in fact *pipakéi* <pi-pake-i> and *pirassí* <pi-rassi-i> (see §8.3.2), and of the other two, *pinana'* has no independent root *nana'* so it is not possible to tell what meaning is added by the prefix, leaving only *pipasu*. However, I was able to find a few more in Cense and elsewhere in my corpus.

<i>nana'</i>	?	→	<i>pinana'</i>	take part, be involved
<i>tappa'</i>	entirety	→	<i>pitappa'</i>	skilful
<i>pasu</i>	knot, knurl	→	<i>pipasu</i>	pay attention to knots, examine carefully
<i>sipa'</i>	quality	→	<i>pisipa'</i>	examine qualities, inspect
<i>dandang</i>	sit still	→	<i>pidandang</i>	be attentive, notice
<i>ajara'</i>	teach	→	<i>pilajara'</i>	study

Table 8.2: Verbs derived with *pi-*

In the first two the function of *pi-* is opaque, and examining these words in sentences does not make it any clearer, especially given that the form in (359) appears to be an adjective, with the archaic prefix *ma-*:

(358) *Eroka' appinana' ammalli kopi*

ero' =a' aC- pi- nana' aN(N)- balli kopi
 want =1 MV- EXP- ? BV- buy coffee

I want to take part in the coffee buying (C:470)

(359) *Mapitappa'-tongi mamma'dili'*

ma- pi- tappa' tong =i maN(N)- ba'dil =i'
 STV- EXP- entirety also =3 BV- gun =EC

He was also an excellent shot (C:779)

The *pi-* forms based on *pasu* and *sipa'* are roughly synonymous, and together with *pidandang* share the derived meaning of doing something carefully or intently. They are generally transitive, the exception being (362):

(360) *ampipasui buloa*

aN- pi- pasu =i bulo ≡a
 AF- EXP- knot(of.wood) =3 bamboo ≡DEF

Inspect the knurls of the bamboo (so as to cut it properly) (C:531)

(361) *Pisipa'-sái jarangku*

pi- sipa' sa =i jarang ≡ku
 EXP- quality HORT =3 horse ≡1.POSS

Inspect my horse (C:705)

(362) *Appidandangko kamma jangang*

aC- pi- dandang =ko kamma jangang
 MV- EXP- stay.still =2f thus chicken

You're listening like a chicken (ie. with your head tilted to one side)

(363) *Saloinjo akkelong bembe nipidandammi ri karaenga ri Massere'.*

sallo =i anjo aC- kelong bembe ≡a ni- pi- dandang =mo =i
 long =3 that MV- song goat ≡DEF PASS- EXP- stay.still =PFV =3

ri karaeng ≡a ri Massere'
 PREP karaeng ≡DEF PREP Massere'

The goat sang for a while and was observed closely by Karaeng Massere' (bembe:061)

Another interesting example is the verb *appilajara'* 'study, learn' (with an irregular prefix form *piL-*), which is based on the transitive verb *angngajara'* 'teach'. In this case rather than a causer or facilitator being added as an argument the reverse has happened, as can be seen in (364) and (365). Note that in both cases the theme (the thing being studied) is not cross-referenced:

(364) *Kuajaraku anakku basa Anggarisi'*

ku= ajar =a' =i ana' ≡ku basa anggaris =i'
 1= teach =EC =3 child ≡1.POSS language England =EC

I teach my child English

(365) *Appilajaraki basa Anggarisi' anakku*

aC- pilajar =a' =i basa anggaris =i' ana' ≡ku
 MV- study =EC =3 language England =EC child ≡1.POSS
 My child studies English

8.3.2 *pi--i*

The combination of the prefix *pi-* and applicative suffix *-i* has several functions: the first and most regular has an obvious similarity with *pa--i* derived causatives (§7.2.1.5) and in fact often these forms are in free variation with *pa--i* forms. These are generally ditransitives with indefinite secondary objects.

<i>ta'gala'</i>	grasp	→	<i>pita'gáli</i>	make/let s.o grasp s.t
<i>erang</i>	carry	→	<i>pierangngi</i>	make/let s.o carry/bear s.t
<i>balli</i>	buy	→	<i>piballí</i>	make/let s.o buy s.t
<i>cini'</i>	see	→	<i>piciníki</i>	make/let s.o see s.t
<i>mata</i>	eye	→	<i>pimatái</i>	make/let s.o see s.t
<i>pake</i>	use, wear	→	<i>pipakéi</i>	make/let s.o wear/use s.t
<i>asoro'</i>	wear a hood	→	<i>piasóri</i>	make/let s.o wear s.t as hood
<i>ponto</i>	bracelet	→	<i>pipontói</i>	make/let s.o wear s.t as bracelet

Table 8.3: Verbs with *pi--i*(366) *Tallu patti doe'na napita'gáli ngaseng pakkonciang*

tallu patti doe' ≡na na= pi- ta'gal -i ngaseng
 three chest money ≡3.POSS 3= EXP- hold -APPL all

pa> aC- konci <ang
 NR> MV- key <NR

He has fitted all of his three money chests (UF) with locks (C:749)

(367) *Napierangngi anjo taua anu tanakullea*

na= pi- erang -i =i anjo tau ≡a anu ta= na= kulle ≡a
 3= EXP- carry -APPL =3 that person ≡DEF something NEG= 3= can ≡DEF

He made that man carry something that he could not carry (C:209)

(368) *Mangemi bura'nenna anynyonyoki, ampiasóri lipa'*

mange =mo =i bura'ne ≡nna aN- nyonyo' =i aN- pi- asor -i =i
 go =PFV =3 man ≡3.POSS AF- comfort =3 AF- EXP- wrap -APPL =3

lipa'
 sarong

Her husband came, comforted her, wrapped her with a sarong (bembe:104)

(369) *Napimatáia' ba'bala'*

na= pi- mata -i =a' ba'bal =a'
 3= EXP- eye -APPL =1 whip =EC

He showed me a whip (C:449)

Note that if there is a definite secondary object, the suffix *-ang* is found as well as *-i* (§ 8.3.4).

Other derived forms are irregular and do not have a causative interpretation, but rather contrast with causative *pa-* derivations. Example (370) shows a derivation from the intransitive basic verb *lari* ‘run’, resulting in a transitive verb which clearly differs from a straightforward causative derivation:

(370) *Lanupilaría'*

la= nu= pi- lari -i =a'
FUT= 2f= EXP- run -APPL =1

You are going to leave me (C:xi)

(Compare *lanupalaria'* <FUT-2f=CAUS-run=1> ‘you will make me run’.)¹⁵⁶ This quasi-passive sort of meaning has some similarity with the causative passive discussed in § 8.3.5. A similar sort of derivation can be seen in (371):

(371) *Baji'na na kupisangkáiko ammantang*

baji' ≡na na ku= pi- sangka -i =ko amm- antang
good ≡3.POSS CMP 1= EXP- forbid -APPL =2f MV- stay

It's a good thing I forbade you to stay (bembe:123)

Finally, at least one derivational possibility adds the meaning of doing something carefully or intently which was identified for *pi-* in isolation. In this there is no increase in valence when compared to the regular verb *allangngere* ‘hear’:

(372) ... *nupilangngéri baji'-baji' bateku akkio' ri kau*

nu= pi- langnger -i baji'- baji' bate ≡ku aC- kio' ri kau
2f= EXP- listen -APPL RDP- good method ≡1.POSS MV- call PREP 2fPRO

listen well to my way of calling to you (PT:067)

8.3.3 *pi--ang*

Verbs forms derived with *pi-* and the benefactive/applicative *-ang* are uncommon. Of those that I found in Cense, speakers confirmed that they would be equally or more acceptable with *pi--i-ang*.

(373) *Nipicinik(i)angi salanna nalarro*

ni- pi- cini' (-i) -ang =i sala ≡nna na= larro
PASS- EXP- see (-APPL) -BEN =3 wrong ≡3.POSS 3= angry

He was shown his faults and became angry (C:841)

¹⁵⁶ The exact parallel construction (including the applicative) **lanupalaria'* <FUT-2f=CAUS-run-APPL=1> is not acceptable — *palarí* is somewhat unexpectedly a derivation used when a locative argument is in focus or heading a relative clause, see §8.1.5.

The most common occurrence of this combination is within causative passive forms § 8.3.5.

8.3.4 *pi--i-ang*

Verbs derived with *pi--i-ang* are for the most part identical to those formed with *pi--i*, with the difference that the secondary object is definite — the licensing of definite Themes or other kinds of secondary argument being one of the regular functions of *-ang* (§9.2.1.2).

(374) *Kupicinikiangi jarangku i Ali*

ku= pi- cini' -i -ang =i jarang ≡ku i Ali
1= EXP- see -APPL -BEN =3 horse ≡1.POSS PERS Ali

I let Ali see my horse (C:841, compare P^{INDEF} example in (369), and also causative passive (382))

(375) *kupita'galiangko anne koncina tokoa*

ku= pi- ta'gal -i -ang =ko anne konci ≡na toko ≡a
1= EXP- hold -APPL -BEN =2f this key ≡3.POSS shop ≡DEF

I give you (lit. make you hold) this key to the shop

(376) *Takupiballiangngai antu*

ta= ku= pi- balli -ang -i -a =i antu
NEG= 1= EXP- buy -BEN -APPL -SBJV =3 that

I didn't make him buy that (C:59)

8.3.5 *pi--ang* in causative passive derivations

Another function of *pi-* is to act (in combination with *-ang*) as a passive morpheme within a *pa-* causative derivation, resulting in a causative passive. These consist of the combination *pappi--ang* <pa-aC-pi--ang | CAUS-MV-EXP--BEN>.

(377) *Napappikanreangi jukuka (ri mionga)*

na= pa- aC- pi- kanre -ang =i juku' ≡a ri miong ≡a
3= CAUS- MV- EXP- eat -BEN =3 fish ≡DEF PREP cat ≡DEF

He let/made the fish be eaten (by the cat) (C:291)

This unusual use of *pi-* may be motivated by the fact that the regular passive prefix *ni-* must occur external to other derivational morphology (ie. *pa-ni-* is not a permissible ordering), and the alternative ordering *ni-pa-* would have a passive causative meaning as shown in (378) rather than the intended causative passive meaning in (377):

(378) *Nipakanreangi jukuka mionga (ri Ali)*

ni- pa- kanre -ang =i juku' ≡a miong ≡a ri Ali
 PASS- CAUS- eat -BEN =3 fish ≡DEF cat ≡DEF PREP Ali

The cat was let/made to eat fish (by Ali)

Looking at it more closely, the clause in (377) is like a combination of a simple passive in (379), and a causative in (380):

(379) *Nikanrei jukuka (ri mionga)*

ni- kanre =i juku' ≡a ri miong ≡a
 PASS- eat =3 fish ≡DEF PREP cat ≡DEF

The fish was eaten (by the cat)

(380) *Napakanreangi jukuka mionga*

na= pa- kanre -ang =i juku' ≡a miong ≡a
 3= CAUS- eat -BEN =3 fish ≡DEF cat ≡DEF

He fed the cat the fish

Some other examples are:

(381) *Napappiassengangi kalenna (ri nakke)*

na= pa- aC- pi- asseng -ang =i kale ≡nna ri nakke
 3= CAUS- MV- EXP- know -BEN =3 self ≡3.POSS PREP 1PRO

He made himself known (to/by me)

(382) *Kupappicinikangi jarangku (ri Ali)*

ku= pa- aC- pi- cini' -ang =i jarang ≡ku ri Ali
 1= CAUS- MV- EXP- see -BEN =3 horse ≡1.POSS PREP Ali

I let my horse be seen (by Ali) (C:841)

As Cense notes (1979):543, in the combination *pappi-* it is common for *pi-* to be replaced by *pa-*, resulting in *pappa-*. This has the result that one of the apparent functions of *pa-* is as a valence-reducing passive marker, in contrast to its regular function as a valence-increasing causative.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁷ The use of the same morpheme to mark both passives and causatives has been noted (for Korean) by Manning (1996:44).

9 Applicative suffixes

This chapter discusses the two most productive suffixes in Makassarese, *-i* and *-ang*. In their core uses they are most usefully characterised as applicative: *-i* as a locative applicative and *-ang* as a way to promote arguments and also as a benefactive marker. However, there are also other clear (and some not so clear) functions which suggest that each of these suffix forms can be analysed as consisting of more than one distinct morpheme — where I suspect this to be the case I have mentioned it, but without making the identification of discrete morphemes a major part of the description as I believe there are also arguments for a multifunctional analysis.

To my knowledge applicative suffixes can co-occur with verb prefixes (and/or clitic pronouns) without restriction, with a few notable exceptions (such as the monovalent *aC-* prefix not occurring on transitivised adjectives as noted in §9.1.1). In view of this productivity I have not attempted to exhaustively list possible forms — which may in any case be found in the dictionary (Cense & Abdoerahim 1979) — but rather have exemplified the major functions.

9.1 The suffix form *-i*

This suffix form serves a variety of purposes —in the dictionary Cense has given it 8 sub-entries (Cense & Abdoerrahim 1979). It seems probable that *-i* consists of at least two different homophonous suffixes: the first derives transitive verbs from adjectives and certain nouns, while the second is an applicative which licenses a goal or other kind of locative argument. There is a third function which is harder to characterise, but basically evokes extended, iterative, or metaphorical meanings. It is most likely no longer productive.

The somewhat different functions of the suffix form can to some extent be unified by assuming a meaning like ‘have X-ness applied’. The distinction between this and straightforward transitivising (in the case of adjectives) is not usually apparent, but note for example that the *-i* derivation of *koasa* ‘mighty’ does not mean ‘make mighty’, but instead means ‘be subjected (by)’ (ie. have might applied to them):

(383) *Le'ba'namo anjo antama Balandaya naerang bundu'na na nakoasái-tommi butta Marusu'ri tau Boneya.*

le'ba' ≡na =mo anjo antama Balanda ≡a na= erang bundu' ≡na na
finished ≡3.POSS =PFV that enter Holland ≡DEF 3= bring war ≡3.POSS and

na= koasa -i tong =mo =i butta Marus =u' ri tau Bone ≡a
3= mighty -TRS also =PFV =3 land Maros =EC PREP person Bone ≡DEF

After the Dutch entered, bringing war, the land of Maros was controlled by the people of Bone (Maros:160)

It should be noted here that the enclitic pronoun =i will not manifest phonologically when attached directly to a stem ending in -i, this is due to vowel degemination (§2.3.1).

9.1.1 Transitivity -i

Adjectives and certain nouns may form transitive predicates by using -i. The result can be considered a verbal base, but they do not usually host verb prefixes other than Actor Focus *aN-* or passive *ni-*. This may be because these transitivity forms usually occur in fully transitive clauses or in imperatives, environments in which verb prefixes are rarely seen.

9.1.1.1 Adjectives

All adjectives may be transitivity with -i — it is one of the defining characteristics of the class.

(384) *Lakubambangi je'neka*

la= ku= bambang -i je'ne' ≡a
FUT= 1= hot -TRS water ≡DEF

I'll heat up the water

(385) *Nalompói pa'maikku*

na= lombo -i =i pa'mai' ≡ku
3= big -TRS =3 breath ≡1.POSS

He encourages me (lit: he enlarges my breath)¹⁵⁸

(386) *Lanubattalijintu jaranga*

la= nu= battal -i =ja =i (a)ntu jarang ≡a
FUT= 2f= heavy -TRS =LIM =3 that horse ≡DEF

You'll make the horse too heavy (ie. by loading too much onto it, C:89)

¹⁵⁸ *Pa'mai'* literally means 'breath' (← *a'mai'* 'breathe'), but also means 'nature' or 'character'.

(387) *Numanynyéri otoku!*

nu= manynyer -i =i oto ≡ku
 2f= smell.of.fish -TRS =3 car ≡1.POSS
 You made my car stink of fish!

The following examples show passive and actor focus constructions on transitivised adjectives:

(388) *Nibodói paua, nita'langngerangmi ri sari'battang toana siagáng ri sari'battang tangngana.*

ni- bodo -i pau ≡a ni- taC- langnger -ang =mo =i ri
 PASS- short -TRS story ≡DEF PASS- NVOL- listen -BEN =PFV =3 PREP

sari'battang toa ≡na siagáng ri sari'battang tangnga ≡na
 sibling old ≡3.POSS with PREP sibling middle ≡3.POSS

To cut the story short, her eldest sister and middle sister heard about it (PT:211).

(389) *Jaimi pa'balle le'ba' napaballe mingka iapanne anggassíngi*

jai =mo =i pa'balle le'ba' na= pa- balle mingka ia =pa (a)nne
 many =PFV =3 medicine already 3= CAUS- spill but 3PRO =IPF this

aN- gassing -i
 AF- strong -TRS

He already took a lot of medicine but it hasn't made him strong yet (C:229)

As mentioned in §8.2, adjectives transitivised by *-i* differ from those made causative by *paka-*, because the latter implies that the quality is already present to some degree, while *-i* has no such implicature.¹⁵⁹

9.1.1.2 Nouns

Certain nouns may be transitivised by *-i*, resulting in verbs meaning 'put X in/on something'. The most commonly seen derivations come from nouns denoting substances which can be added to something else, especially ingredients or condiments added to foodstuffs:

(390) *Tenapa kugollái kopia*

tena =pa ku= golla -i kopi ≡a
 NEG =IPF 1= sugar -TRS coffee ≡DEF

I haven't sugared the coffee yet

¹⁵⁹ Friberg & Friberg (1991b:8-11) analyse a similar contrast in Konjo as being between 'focus on process' (*-i*) and 'focus on the result of an action' (*paka-*).

(391) *Nasantangngi sara'bayya*

na= santang -i sara'ba ≡a
 3= coconut.cream -TRS ginger.drink ≡DEF

She put coconut cream in the *sara'ba* (a kind of ginger drink)

There are examples of *-i* used on other types of noun, such as those seen below, but in general this use of *-i* seems to be fairly restricted in Makassarese when compared to Konjo (Friberg & Friberg 1991b:8) or Selayarese (Hasan Basri 1999:310).¹⁶⁰

(392) *Kammai tu-nikaluaráia pajana*

kamma =i tu ni- kaluara -i ≡a paga ≡na
 thus =3 person PASS- ant -TRS ≡DEF rump ≡3.POSS

He's like someone with ants in his pants (C:276; cf. *kaluaráng* 'infested with ants', §9.2.2)

(393) *Batúi-sai anjo kongkonga*

batu -i sa =i anjo kongkong ≡a
 stone -TRS HORT =3 that dog ≡DEF

Throw a stone at that dog

(394) *Nabosía'ri agánga*

na= bosí -i =a' ri agáng ≡a
 3= rain -TRS =1 PREP road ≡DEF

Rain got me on the road.

(395) *Teako ammempói antureng naallóiko!*

tea =ko amm- empo -i antureng na= allo -i =ko
 NEG =2f MV- sit -APPL there 3= sun -TRS =2f

Don't sit there, go in the sun!

9.1.2 Locative applicative *-i*

As a locative applicative *-i* is basically used to derive transitive verbs from corresponding intransitive verbs which have goals or other locative kind of arguments in prepositional complements or adjuncts. The arguments are promoted out of the PP into the clause nucleus and are then cross-referenced as is normal for core arguments. For example, clauses such as (396) and (398) have corresponding intransitive clauses with PPs in (397) and (399):

¹⁶⁰ For example, Selayarese has *-i* derivations on nouns denoting items of clothing, with the derived meaning being 'help to wear (clothing)', or on crops, meaning 'plant a place with crops' (Hasan Basri 1999:316-7). These derivations are not natural in Gowa Makassarese.

(396) *Nabattúia' pongoro'*

na= battu -i =a' pongor =o'
3= come -APPL =1 madness =EC

Madness came over me

(397) *Battui pongoro' ri nakke*

battu =i pongor =o' ri nakke
come =3 madness =EC PREP 1PRO

Madness came to me

(398) *Naempóia' i Ali*

na= empo -i =a' i Ali
3= sit -APPL =1 PERS Ali

Ali sat on me

(399) *Ammempoi i Ali ri nakke*

amm- empo =i i Ali ri nakke
MV- sit =3 PERS Ali PREP 1PRO

Ali sat on me

There are a number of reasons why the locative applicative construction might be preferred to those with arguments in obliques. One is that this construction allows these locative arguments to be focused (§ 11.9) or relativised upon (§ 6.3.3), which is not possible for PPs, eg:

(400) *Tappere' kuempói*

tapper =e' ku= empo -i
mat =EC 1= sit -APPL

I sit on a mat (also *tappere' kuempóia* <mat 1=sit-APPL≡DEF> 'the mat I sit on').

There are also most likely stylistic reasons, such as to avoid the use of free pronouns, as in the examples (396) – (399). The *-i* construction also seems to give a sense that the location is more immediate, has been more affected, or is generally of more relevance than corresponding PPs. For example, consider the following clauses:

(401) *A'meai ri lipa'na*

aC- mea =i ri lipa' ≡na
mv- urine =3 PREP sarong ≡3.POSS

He pissed in his sarong

(402) *Nameái lipa'na*

na= mea -i =i lipa' ≡na
3= urine -APPL =3 sarong ≡3.POSS

He pissed his sarong

In (401) *lipa'na* is an adjunct — it is simply some extra information about the event of a child wetting the bed. But (402) is about the sarong, and implies that it is soaked through in a way that (401) does not convey.

Another reason for using *-i* is that it allows the goal to be unexpressed or abstract. For example, (403) has no counterpart with a PP, as there is no possible NP to put inside it:

(403) *Nia' lakumangéi*

nia' la= ku= mange -i
exist FUT= 1= go -APPL

There is (somewhere) I'll go (= I need to go to the toilet)

9.1.3 Extended *-i*

In some very rare examples *-i* evokes extended meanings of habituality or iterativity.

(404) *Lakusaréiko bunga-bunga sollanna nuga'ga'*

la= ku= sare -i =ko bunga- bunga sollanna nu= ga'ga'
FUT= 1= give -APPL =2f RDP- flower so.that 2f= pretty

I'll keep you provided with flowers so that you're beautiful (cf. *lakusareko bunga-bunga* 'I'll give you flowers')

This is perhaps similar to the 'number marking' on verbs described for Selayarese in Basri (1998), in which *-i* can be suffixed to any predicates other than nouns, with the interpretation that either the participants are plural, or the activity is repeated. The same appears to be the case for Konjo (Friberg & Friberg 1991b). Speakers argue about the status of iterative or plural *-i* in Makassarese. Tellingly, those who use or allow it have universally (in my experience) had Selayarese (or at least eastern) origins, even if they now identify themselves as Gowa Makassarese and otherwise seem to be fluent speakers of that variety. Makassarese without Selayarese origins generally reject iterative/plural *-i*.

9.2 The suffix form *-ang*

The suffix form *-ang* is used widely for many purposes — as an indication it is given nine distinct senses in the dictionary (Cense 1979). This is not altogether surprising when one considers that it most likely represents a coalescence of several distinct PMP affix forms: these being **-aken* 'benefactive suffix'; **-an* 'locative focus/local voice, deverbal nouns of location, group of X (X = numeral)'; and **-en* 'patient focus/undergoer voice, polite imperative, suffer bodily afflictions; nominalizer, be

divided into X (X = numeral)' (Blust 2003:450) Its nominalising functions (both alone and as part of the *pa><ang* and *ka><ang* confixes) were discussed in §6.2, and its function as a comparative marker (now usually doubled as *-angngang*) was discussed in §5.4.1. This section discusses the functions of *-ang* as a verbal applicative suffix, and also the separate homophonous suffix *-ang* which is much less common and marks predicate nominals with the meaning 'afflicted with X' (§9.2.2).

9.2.1 Benefactive/applicative *-ang*

As an applicative suffix *-ang* has two regular functions which are clearly related but can to some degree be distinguished: the first function is to license promotion of an argument, ie. adding one by promoting an inherent patient to a specific P (§9.2.1.1), or promoting an indefinite secondary object to a definite one (§9.2.1.2). The second function is to give a benefactive reading to transitive clauses by adding a beneficiary as primary object (§9.2.1.3). I have elected to gloss *-ang* consistently as *-BEN* to differentiate it from the other applicative suffix *-i*, but it must be remembered that licensing a beneficiary is only one of its functions.

9.2.1.1 Inherent patient to P

When attached to an intransitive verb derived from a noun, with the meaning 'have NOUN' (in which the semantic patient is inherent and non-specific), *-ang* licenses a specific Undergoer, thus promoting an inherent patient into a core argument P, which is then cross-referenced with an =ABS enclitic. For example, *a'baine* means 'have a wife' (← *baine* 'woman') — the patient is inherent to the predicate, which is formally intransitive, eg. *a'bainea'* <aC-baine=a' | MV-woman=1> 'I am married'. However, it can be given a specific P as follows:

(405) *Karaengta Barasa', nabaineangi I Basse' Nguakeng.*

karaeng ≡ta Barasa' na= baine -ang =i I Basse' Nguakeng
karaeng ≡2p.POSS Barasa' 3= female -BEN =3 PERS Basse' Nguakeng

As for Karaeng Barasa', he married I Base Nguakeng (Maros:145)

Similarly, *atta'mea* means 'urinate' (← *mea* 'urine'), and again the patient is inherent and the predicate is normally intransitive, eg. *atta'meai* <aC-taC-mea=i | MV-NVOL-urine=3> 'he is pissing'. The patient can be made specific and promoted into an P with *-ang*:

(406) *Nata'meángi cera'*

na= taC- mea -ang =i cera'
 3= NVOL- urine -BEN =i blood
 He's pissing blood

Verbs derived from nouns in which the meaning is 'use NOUN' are also subject to this process, eg. *a'je'ne'* 'bathe' (← *je'ne'* 'water') can have the medium of bathing made explicit as follows:

(407) *Kuje'nekangi je'ne' kammu*

ku= je'ne' -ang =i je'ne' kammu
 1= water -BEN =3 water warm
 I use warm water to bathe in

Note that in contrast with the usual rules for cross-referencing of P, the specific P licensed by *-ang* in these constructions need not be definite to be cross-referenced (as shown in (406) and (407) above).

9.2.1.2 Definite secondary object

In three-participant constructions such as those with *sare* 'give', *-ang* licenses a definite secondary object (theme) while the =ABS enclitic indexes the primary object (recipient):

(408) *Lakusaréangko bo'bokku*

la= ku= sare -ang =ko bo'bo' ≡ku
 FUT= 1= give -BEN =2f book ≡1.POSS
 I'll give you my book

Compare the construction with an indefinite secondary object in (409). In these types of construction the primary object is still indexed with an =ABS enclitic but the secondary object is not reflected in the morphology by the use of *-ang*:

(409) *Lakusareko doe'*

la= ku= sare =ko doe'
 FUT= 1= give =2f money
 I'll give you some money

These types of construction are examined further in §11.8.

9.2.1.3 Benefactive

The suffix *-ang* is also used to add a benefactive meaning to transitive clauses, in which case the argument with the thematic role of beneficiary is indexed with the =ABS

enclitic and can thus be regarded as the primary object. This is in contrast with the parallel transitive (non-benefactive) constructions in which the argument indexed with the =ABS enclitic has the thematic role of theme. Compare the benefactive construction in (410) with the ordinary transitive construction in (411):

(410) *Kuballiangko baju*

ku= balli -ang =ko baju

1= buy -BEN =2f shirt

I bought you a shirt

(411) *Kuballi bajua*

ku= balli =i baju ≡a

1= buy =3 shirt ≡DEF

I bought the shirt

These benefactive constructions differ from the *-ang* marked ditransitives seen above, in that they are not sensitive to the definiteness of the secondary object, which may be indefinite (410) or definite (412) with no difference in structure:

(412) *Naboyánga' anjo pa'ballea*

na= boya -ang =a' anjo pa'balle ≡a

3= search -BEN =1 that medicine ≡DEF

he looks for that medicine for me

I have noticed a tendency for some younger speakers to use the preposition *untu'* (from Indonesian *untuk* 'for') to mark beneficiaries (instead of using *-ang* to mark the benefactive relation and an =ABS enclitic to mark the beneficiary):

(413) *Ammallia' baju untu' anakku*

aN(N)- balli =a' baju untu' ana' ≡ku

BV- buy =1 shirt for child ≡1.POSS

I bought a shirt for my child

(414) *Kuballi bajua untu' anakku*

ku= balli =i baju ≡a untu' ana' ≡ku

1= buy =3 shirt ≡DEF for child ≡1.POSS

I bought the shirt for my child

As illustrated above, unlike *-ang* benefactives these constructions are sensitive to the definiteness of the theme — if it is indefinite, it is not cross-referenced and the clause is semi-transitive (413). This is doubtless because the theme is P rather than a secondary object, while the beneficiary is oblique. It is difficult to gauge when the *untu'* construction entered the language, but as there is no entry for *untu'* in the dictionary it

seems likely that this is quite recent. There is no structural equivalent in ‘pure’ Makassarese.

9.2.1.4 Other types of argument

There are also examples of *-ang* being used to license an instrument or other thematic role. For example, in the following sentence *-ang* licenses a third argument, the kris used for killing:

(415) *anjo seleka nabunoangi balia*

anjo sele' ≡a na= buno -ang =i bali ≡a
that kris ≡DEF 3= kill -BEN =3 enemy ≡DEF
he killed the enemy with that kris (Cgn:24)

In other cases the thematic role of the additional argument is less clear. For example *mangeang* <go-BEN> is glossed by Cense as ‘go with’ (Cense & Abdoerrahim 1979:439), but only in the sense of going with a choice in a game, eg:

(416) *apa numangeang*

apa nu= mange -ang
what 2f= go -BEN
which card will you play?

Similarly, *jappáng* <jappa-ang> has the gloss ‘walk with’, and appears in the idiom *jappáng jappana* ‘walk with his walk’, ie. do what he usually does, follow his usual behaviour. In addition, the same derived form seen in (415) above may be used in a relative clause, licensing a temporal location:

(417) *allo nibunoangai*

allo ni- buno -ang ≡a =i
day PASS- kill -LOC ≡DEF =i
the day he was killed

9.2.2 ‘afflicted with’

A specialised function of *-ang* is found in which it is attached to nouns denoting vermin, illnesses, or other adverse things to create a predicate nominal with the meaning ‘afflicted with X’.¹⁶¹

¹⁶¹ One of the meanings present in pMP *-*en* ‘patient focus/undergoer voice; polite imperative; suffer bodily afflictions; nominalizer; be divided into X (X = numeral)’ (Blust 2003:450).

(418) *Kaluaráŋgi gollaya*

kaluara -ang =i golla ≡a
ant -AFFL =3 sugar ≡DEF

The sugar is full of ants

(419) *Kaluaráŋga' ri ballakku*

kaluara -ang =a' ri balla' ≡ku
ant -AFFL =1 PREP house ≡1.POSS

I've got trouble with ants at my house

(420) *Ca'doangi*

ca'do -ang =i
hiccup -AFFL =3

He has hiccups

(421) *Setangngangi anjo leanga*

setang -ang =i anjo leang ≡a
devil -AFFL =3 that cave ≡DEF

That cave is haunted

It is tempting to analyse this as an extended reading of benefactive *-ang*, in effect a malefactive, but the structure is quite different in that the affliction is the predicate rather than an argument.

9.3 *-i* and *-ang* together

The suffixes *-i* and *-ang* can occur in combination, always in that order. All the examples I have found are of two types — the first a combination of transitiviser *-i* (§9.1.1) plus benefactive *-ang* (§9.2.1.3), as in (422), (423) and (424):

(422) *Nace'laiaŋga' jukuka*

na= ce'la -i -ang =a' juku' ≡a
3= salt -TRS -BEN =1 fish ≡DEF

She salted the fish for me

(423) *Kuerangngangko sirikku tongkokianga'*

ku= erang -ang =ko sirik' ≡ku tongko' -i -ang =a'
1= bring -BEN =2f shame ≡1.POSS lid -TRS -BEN =1

I brought you my shame, cover it for me (ie. please sort out this shameful matter, C:707)

(424) *Nabattuangianga'*

na= battu -ang -i -ang =a'
3= come -NR -TRS -BEN =1

He explained it for me (*battuang* 'meaning', so lit. 'he "meaninged" it for me')

The second type is a combination of transitiviser *-i* and instrumental *-ang* (§9.2.1.4) as in (425):

(425) *Batu kubattaliangi rakika*

batu ku= battal -i -ang =i raki' ≡a
 stone 1= heavy -TRS -BEN =3 fishing.float ≡DEF

I weigh down the float with stones (C:89)

See also §8.3.4 on the combination *pi—i—ang*.

10 Other verbal affixes

10.1 Unitary/mutual/reciprocal *si-*

This section discusses constructions derived with the prefix *si-*, which is labelled MUT for ‘mutual’, the label being chosen because the meaning is rather broader than simple reciprocity. This prefix has a number of functions and a range of meanings, but while the different functions can clearly be identified it is not easy to see where a clear line can be drawn between them, thus *si-* is analysed as a single prefix rather than a number of homophonous forms. That said, it seems likely that *si-* reflects two distinct PMP prefixes, namely **sa-* ‘prefix of unity’ (clitic form of **esa* ‘one’), and **si-* ‘distributive’ (Blust 2003). The reasons for considering this are not only that *si-* covers those sorts of functions, but also that there are some cases where *si-* and *sa-* are interchangeable in the modern language (see §10.1.5.3).

The major functions of *si-* roughly fall within the following list:

- one (classified) NOUN
- (a number of people) sharing one NOUN
- (a number of people) sharing the activity of doing VERB
- (a number of people) doing VERB to each other

Each of the above functions is illustrated in the sections below, followed by some miscellaneous functions which are less common. As with some of the other morphemes, there are a few functions given by Cense which cannot be confirmed by in-context examples from my corpus, which is not to say that they are incorrect or one-offs.

10.1.1 *si-* + numeral or classifier ‘one NOUN’

This function is outlined in the sections on numerals, classifiers and measures (§5.8, §5.9). In these constructions *si-* is simply a bound form corresponding to the numeral *se're* ‘one’. Some examples are: *sisa'bu* ‘one thousand’, *sikayu tedong* ‘one buffalo’, *sibatu balla* ‘one house’, *sipasang sapatu* ‘one pair of shoes’, *sikalabini jangang* ‘one

breeding pair of fowl' (cf. *ruangkayu jangang* 'two hens/ cocks'). It is also used in this way on units of time, eg. *sibulang* 'one month'.

10.1.2 *si-* + NOUN 'share one NOUN'

In this usage the prefix functions to derive nominals, usually functioning as intransitive predicates, with meanings ranging from 'be N together', to 'share the state of being (involved with) N'. They are analysed as nominal predicates rather than verbs because although they can host clitic pronouns, they do not bear any verb morphology. Some examples are *siballa'* 'share a house', *sikatinroang* 'share a bed', and *sisari'battang* 'be siblings':

(426) *siballaki mionga juku'-langgaya*

si- balla' =i miong ≡a juku' langga ≡a
MUT- house =3 cat ≡DEF fish baked ≡DEF

the cat and the baked fish are sharing a house (proverb: a single man and single woman should not be left together)

(427) *tinang niakkamo nasikatinrong karaeng-bainea*

tinang nia' -a =mo na= si- ka< tinro >ang karaeng baine ≡a
never exist -SBJV =PFV 3= MUT- NR< sleep >NR karaeng woman ≡DEF

he never again slept with the queen (C:459)

These may also be used attributively:

(428) *ana' karaeng tallua sisari'battang*

ana' karaeng tallu ≡a si- sari'battang
child karaeng three ≡DEF MUT- sibling

the three prince brothers

With event nominals (§6.2.2.5) the derived meaning is 'do X at the same time', a logical subclass of co-participation:

(429) *Naumminne ri jaranna Karaeng Botolempangang sipanaungang suro bangkeng bicaraya.*

naung =mo =i nne ri jarang ≡na karaeng Botolempangang
go.down =PRF =3 this prep horse ≡3.POSS karaeng Botolempangang

si- pa> naung <ang suro bangkeng bicara ≡a
MUT- NR> go.down <NR order leg speak ≡DEF

Karaeng Botolempangang got down from his horse at the same time as the messenger (SKT:ref224)

10.1.3 *si*–ADJ–*i* ‘be ADJ together’

The combination of *si*– and the applicative –*i* on adjectival bases results in mutual adjectival predicates (not equal comparative adjectives which are derived by *siN*– or *saN*– (§5.4.1.3.3). The NPs (if present) are simply listed, not conjoined with *na* or any other conjunction:

(430) *Sikebóki bajunna lipa'na*

si– *kebo'* –*i* =*i* *baju* ≡*nna* *lipa'* ≡*na*
 MUT– white –TRS =3 shirt ≡3.POSS sarong ≡3.POSS

His shirt and sarong are both white

(cf: equal comparative *singkeboki* <*siN*–*kebo'*=*i*> *bajunna na lipa'na* ‘his shirt and white are equally white’)

(431) *Sibodóiki'*

si– *bodo* –*i* =*ki'*
 MUT– short –TRS =1pl

We are both short

Given that –*i* usually transitivises adjectives (§ 9.1.1), this is a somewhat irregular derivation — one would expect a meaning more like ‘make each other ADJ’. This meaning is instead derived with the combination of *si*– and the adjective causativiser *paka*– (§8.2, see eg. (438)).

10.1.4 *si*–VERB ‘do VERB together’ or ‘do VERB reciprocally’

On verbal bases *si*– adds either a comitative/associative meaning: to do something together or simultaneously, or a reciprocal one: to do something to each other. The two readings are not always easy to distinguish — and indeed the distinction is somewhat artificial since clearly the language itself does not make it formally but rather it depends on the valence and semantics of the verbal base. In general intransitive verbs derive comitative meanings, while transitive verbs derive reciprocals, however there are ambiguous cases such as *sibuno* ‘kill each other’ or ‘kill (someone else) together’ where the core meaning is simply that both participants were involved in the activity. Structurally they are intransitive in that there is only one clitic pronoun, and there is no reciprocal pronoun corresponding to *saling* in Indonesian. *Si*– derivations sometimes have verb prefixes, but more often do not, and they seem to be optional. One *si*–

derivation has grammaticised into a preposition or prepositional verb *siagáng* <MUT-accompany> ‘with’ (§5.10.1).

(432) *Battua' ri Mangkasara' siagáng bainengku*

battu =a' ri Mangkasar =a' siagáng baine =ngku
come =1 PREP Makassar =EC with woman =1.POSS

I came to Makassar with my wife

A good selection of both comitative and reciprocal meanings are found in the song *Pangngu'rangi mami* (‘Only memories remain’) by the popular singer Iwan Tompo:

(433) *Sallota tojeng assingai, Sisayang sika'jalái, Na ki'giling sila'leang, Ka ero'na tutoanu. Sarenta tosseng sipa'rua*

sallo =ta tojeng aC- si- ngai si- sayang si- ka'jal -a -i
long =1pl.POSS true MV- MUT- love MUT- pity MUT- hard -SBJV -TRS

na ki= aC- giling si- la'le -ang
and 1pl= MV- other.side MUT- faded -BEN

ka ero' =na tu- toa =nu
because want =3.POSS person- old =2f.POSS

sare =nta =tong =seng si- pa- aC- rua
give =2p.POSS =also =again MUT- CAUS- MV- two

For a long time we truly loved each other, sharing compassion and pain, and we turn away neglecting each other, because of your parents' wishes. (They) made us separate again

This short selection shows *si-* on one transitive verb root (*ngai*); one noun (*sayang*); in one *si*-ADJ-*i* derivation (*ka'jalái*, see §10.1.3¹⁶²); on another adjective (*la'le* ‘faded’) which has been derived with *-ang* to have an extended meaning (*la'leang* ‘not see s.o anymore’); and on a causative verb derived from a numeral (*pa'rua*). Of these, only the first and third (on transitive bases) have clearly reciprocal meanings, while the others denote sharing or undergoing something together rather than reciprocity (ie. *sipa'rua* because of the relative ordering of the prefixes means ‘they made us two’ not ‘they made each other two’).

An example of a clear simultaneous rather than reciprocal meaning is seen in (434):

¹⁶² The placing of the subjunctive suffix *-a* is unusual.

(434) *Anne Karaeng Assakayai Binangaya silanynyakangi sikalabinina.*

anne karaeng aC- saka ≡a =i binanga ≡a si- lanynya' -ang =i
 this king MV- split ≡DEF =3 river ≡DEF MUT- gone -BEN =3

si- kalabini ≡na

MUT- couple ≡3.POSS

This Karaeng Assakayai Binangaya disappeared with his wife (lit. 'his couple disappeared together'; Maros:142)

In contrast, the following examples show *si-* deriving reciprocal verbs:

(435) *Assijanjiki' a'lampa ammuko*

aC- si- janji =ki' aC- lampa ammuko
 MV- MUT- promise =1pl MV- go tomorrow

We promised each other to go tomorrow

(436) *...nasisambe Gowa Bone na Balandaya angngatái Marusu'*

na= si- sambe Gowa Bone na Balanda ≡a aN(N)- ata -i Marus =u'
 3= MUT- exchange Gowa Bone and Holland ≡DEF BV- servant -TRS Maros =EC

... the Dutch exchanged with Gowa and Bone in ruling Maros (Maros:177)

(437) *taua ri Marusu' sikanre-balei*

tau ≡a ri Marusu' si- kanre bale =i
 person ≡DEF PREP maros MUT- food fish =3

(at that time) the people of Maros ate each other like fishes¹⁶³ (Maros:10)

As was shown in (433), *si-* may be placed on *pa-* causative verbs such as *pa'rua*, and also causative verbs derived from adjectives with *paka-*:

(438) *nasaba' sipakala'biri' na sirannu-rannu*

na= saba' si- paka- la'bir =i' na si- rannu- rannu
 3= reason MUT- CAUS- exalted =EC and TOT- RDP- happy

because (we) made each other feel good, and were as happy as could be¹⁶⁴

As mentioned earlier (§8.1.3), *si-* verbs may themselves form bases for *pa-* causatives, and these are transitive. An example was given earlier in (341), another one is:

(439) *Barang bajikki' kupasialle siagáng i Anu*

barang baji' =ki' ku= pa- si- alle siagáng i anu
 maybe good =2p 1= CAUS- MUT- take with PERS thingy

Maybe it's better that I let you marry with whatshisname (Cgn:3)

Note the floating of the P clitic to the preverbal modifier *baji'*.

¹⁶³ An incorporated nominal generally acts as a manner modifier.

¹⁶⁴ See §10.1.5.2 for *si*-RDP-ADJ.

An unusual example of a construction with two instances of *si-* (on both sides of *pa-* in a headless relative clause) occurs in an old manuscript recording the oath taken by the rulers of the kingdoms of Gowa and Tallo'.¹⁶⁵

(440) *manna namaso'naja assipasiewaaki' Gowa Tallo' ia nacalla Rewata.*

manna na= ma- so'na =ja aC- si- pa- si- ewa ≡a =ki'
if 3= ADJ- dream =LIM MV- MUT- CAUS- MUT- stand.against ≡DEF =2p

Gowa Tallo' ia na= calla rewata
Gowa Tallo' 3PRO 3= condemn god(s)

Even if he only dreams of setting us, Gowa and Tallo', against each other, he is cursed by the Gods.

The version of this oath given in the KIT manuscript is somewhat different (it has evidently been 'fixed' by a scribe while recopying), with only one *si-* and an Actor-headed relative clause used instead:

(441) *ia- iannamo. tau. ampasiewai. Gowa. Tallo'. iamo nacalla. rewata.*

ia- ia ≡nna =mo tau aN- pa- si- ewa ≡a =i Gowa Tallo'
RDP- 3PRO ≡3.POSS =PFV person AF- CAUS- MUT- oppose ≡DEF =3 Gowa Tallo'

ia =mo na= calla rewata
3PRO =PFV 3= condemn god(s)

Any person who sets Gowa and Tallo' against each other, he is cursed by the gods (KIT:ref039)

10.1.5 Misc. uses of *si-*

A few senses of *si-* are somewhat different to the main ones identified above, though can still generally be seen as connected to senses of unity or entirety. These are listed in the following sub-sections.

10.1.5.1 *si-* + noun 'all/whole'

In this usage, *si-* is affixed to nouns denoting place (such as *butta* 'land', *pa'rasangang* 'country') and place names (such as Gowa), and results in a noun meaning 'the whole of

¹⁶⁵ 'A rare manuscript written in the old Makasarese script (this manuscript is available on microfilm in the Arsip Nasional Wilayah Sulawesi Selatan in Ujung Pandang, Indonesia. The catalogue number is 26/22. The section quoted here is found on page 37) briefly describes the occasion on which the pronouncement was first made in a little more detail. The text contains the formulaic oath sworn by the rulers of Goa and Talloq, Tunijalloq (r. 1565-1590) and Tumamenang of Makkoayang (r. early 1540s to late 1570s).' (Cummings 1999:110).

N, all of N'. Examples of this type are infrequent — the following is from the Maros Chronicle:

(442) *Iaminne Karaenga ampasallangi Mangkasaraka siMangkasara' ampasallangi Bugisika siBugisi' pasangngalinna Luwu'.*

ia =mo =i =nne karaeng ≡a aN- pa- sallang =i Mangkasar =a' ≡a
s/he =PRF =3 =this king ≡DEF AF- CAUS- Islam =3 Makassar =EC ≡DEF

si- Mangkasar =a' aN- pa- sallang =i Bugis =i' ≡a si- Bugis =i'
one- Makassar =EC AF- CAUS- Islam =3 Bugis =EC ≡DEF one- Bugis =EC

pa- aC- sangngali ≡nna Luwu'
CAUS- MV- except ≡3.POSS Luwu'

This Karaeng Islamized [people] throughout the land of Makassar, Islamized [people] throughout the land of the Bugis, except Luwu'. (Cummings 2000:9-10)

Cense also gives an example of the prefix on a common noun *baine* 'woman', with the result meaning 'all women' or women in general:

(443) *antu bura'ne kammaya gau'na sibainentu tangngai*

antu bura'ne kamma ≡a gau' ≡na si- baine =ntu ta= aN(N)- ngai
that man thus ≡DEF action ≡3.POSS one- female =that NEG= BV- love
women don't like men who do such things (C:692)

10.1.5.2 *si-* + RDP- ADJ (≡POSS) 'as ADJ as possible'

This construction (6th sense of *si-*) is defined as having the meaning 'in the highest degree' (*in de hoogste mate*). The semantic link with the other meanings of *si-* is in the sense of unity=totality. It was discussed in §5.4.1.3.5, for convenience the example is repeated below:

(444) *Sibella-bellana; sisallo-sallona*

si- bella- bella ≡na si- sallo- sallo ≡na
TOT- RDP- far ≡3.POSS TOT- RDP- long ≡3.POSS

At its furthest; at its longest (C:692)

The possessive suffix is not necessary, though it appears more often than not. (445) is an example of this construction without a possessive, as was (438) earlier:

(445) *"Jarre'mi sajarre'-jarre' tena sangkammanna."*

jarre' =mo =i sa- jarre'- jarre' tena saN- kamma ≡nna
strong =PRF =3 TOT- RDP- strong NEG EQ.CMPR- thus ≡3.POSS

"Strong as strong can be, nothing like it." (SKT 129)

In form this construction is identical to the one described in the following section, especially as seen on an basic verb as in (448).

10.1.5.3 *sa-/si-* + RDP– VERB/ADJ $\equiv$ POSS ‘always VERB-ing’

This construction is given under entries for both *sa-* and *si-*, as the 2nd and 7th senses respectively (Cense & Abdoerrahim 1979:626, 692). The reduplicated verb takes a verb prefix (*aC-* in all examples) if the the verb would normally require one, thus the regular verbs in (446) and (447) have them, but not the basic verb in (448). The meaning given is ‘always doing nothing but...’, ‘only doing this or that’:

(446) *Sa'bendi–bendina*

sa- *aC-* *bendi-* *bendi* $\equiv$ na
TOT– MV– RDP– carriage $\equiv$ 3.POSS

He’s always riding in *bendis* (C:626)

(447) *Tinang le'bakako kurapikang ri balla'nu sa'lampa–lampanu (si'lampa–lampanu)*

tinang le'ba' *-a* *=ko ku= rapi'* *-ang ri balla'* $\equiv$ nu
never finished –SBJV =2f 1= achieve –BEN PREP house $\equiv$ 2f.POSS

sa- *aC-* *lampa-* *lampa* $\equiv$ nu (*si-* *aC-* *lampa-* *lampa* $\equiv$ nu)
TOT– MV– RDP– go $\equiv$ 2f.POSS (TOT– MV– RDP– go $\equiv$ 2f.POSS)

I never find you at home, you're always on the road (C:626)

(448) *Satinro–tinronamami (sitinro–tinronamami)*

sa- *tinro-* *tinro* $\equiv$ na *=mamo =i* (*si-* *tinro-* *tinro* $\equiv$ na *=mamo =i*)
TOT– RDP– sleep $\equiv$ 3.POSS =only =3 (TOT– RDP– sleep $\equiv$ 3.POSS =only =3)

She sleeps continuously (C:626)

Although Cense does not mention it, this construction is also possible with adjectival bases:

(449) *Sagarring–garrinna*

sa- *garring-* *garring* $\equiv$ na
TOT– RDP– sick $\equiv$ 3.POSS

He’s always sick

There is also a usage of *sa-* on an unprefix verb, to my knowledge only found on an idiom built on the verb root *lampa* ‘go’ (usually marked with *aC-*, see (447) above). The meaning is somewhat different, but not unrelated:

(450) *A'lampai salampa–lampana*

aC- *lampa* $=i$ *sa-* *lampa-* *lampa* $\equiv$ na
MV– go =3 TOT– RDP– go $\equiv$ 3.POSS

She went without deviation (PT:160)

10.2 Erratic *piti>RDP–V<i*

This combination of a confix *piti><i* (the first part also appearing as *pati–*) and reduplicated verb root means ‘do V in a crazy or erratic manner’, while with a reduplicated adjective root it means ‘be ADJ for no good reason’.

(451) *A'lampami pitilampa–lampái*

aC– lampa =mo =i piti> lampa– lampa <i
MV– go =PFV =3 MAD> RDP– go <MAD

She wandered about wildly (PT:148)

(452) *Pitimalla'–mallakiko*

piti> malla' malla' <i =ko
MAD> RDP– angry <MAD =2f

You're angry for no reason

10.3 Subjunctive –a

This suffix¹⁶⁶ (glossed SBJV) is placed on verbs and implies that the action might happen — it is usually used as a warning or admonition.

(453) *Tu'gúráko*

tu'gur –a =ko
fall –SBJV =2f

(Be careful) you might fall (C:1)

(454) *Naikko mae nakanréako buaja*

nai' =ko mae na= kanre –a =ko buaja
go.up =2f be.in.a.place 3= eat –SBJV =2f crocodile

Come up here, a crocodile might eat you (Or.545.48:11)

There are also some rare examples of it functioning as a more general subjunctive marker of hypotheticality or contingency:

(455) *Battúako ri Pangkaje'ne' na taena balla' nuasseng mangeko ri karaeng*

battu –a =ko ri Pangkaje'ne' na taena balla' nu= asseng mange =ko
come –SBJV =2f PREP Pangkaje'ne' and NEG house 2f= know go =2f

ri karaeng
PREP karaeng

If you go to Pangkaje'ne' and there is no house that you know, go to the karaeng (Or.545.48:11)

¹⁶⁶ A reflex of PAN and PMP *-a ‘subjunctive’ (Blust 2003).

More often these kinds of contingency clauses are introduced explicitly with *ta'bangkang* 'in case' or *ti'ring* 'if by chance':¹⁶⁷

(456) *Ti'ring battúako ri Marusu' pammalli-allaloa' berasa'*

ti'ring battu -a =ko ri Marus pa- aN(N)- balli aN(N)- lalo =a' beras
by.chance come -SBJV =2f PREP Maros CAUS- BV- buy BV- PASS =1 rice

If by chance you come to Maros will you buy me rice? (C:819)

This suffix is also found in negative constructions formed with *ta=* (but not *taena*), such as *takuasséngai* <NEG=1=know-SBJV=3> 'I don't know it' (see §12.3.1).

Although subjunctive *-a* is superficially identical in form to the definite marking affixal clitic $\equiv a$ (§4.4.1), it can be distinguished in the following ways:

- it is always stress shifting, unlike the article $\equiv a$ which is only stress shifting after a vowel; thus *garríngako* <sick-SBJV =2f> 'you might get sick', but *tau gáringa* <person sick $\equiv$ DEF> 'the sick one'
- it blocks Echo-VC (§ 2.3.4), thus *tu'gúráko* (**tu'gurukako*), but compare *tau túguruka* <person fall $\equiv$ DEF> 'the one who fell'

For the above reasons it falls clearly into the class of affixes, at least from a phonological point of view. Note that otherwise tense and aspect are marked either lexically or with clitics (§4.3.3).

¹⁶⁷ Clauses introduced with *punna* 'if/when' do not take the subjunctive.

11 Basic clause structure

In this chapter I will introduce the basic structure of the major types of Makassarese clause. The main structural division in clause types is between intransitive, semi-transitive and transitive clauses. Predicates in intransitive clauses can be from any of the major classes (verbal, adjectival, or nominal), or from certain of the minor classes (numeral, adverbial, locative); those in semi-transitive and transitive clauses are verbal. Grammatical relations are marked by clitic pronouns which usually follow an ergative/absolutive pattern, but the appearance and placement of these is conditioned by several factors, some of which will be discussed below. Because there is an inexact match between the labels ERG= and =ABS on the one hand, and the actual grammatical functions of pro- and enclitics in clauses on the other, in general I have avoided using those labels in glosses and use them sparingly in discussion.

In line with general practice I will use the labels S for the sole core argument of an intransitive clause, P for the patient-like argument of a transitive clause, and A for the agent-like argument of a transitive clause. However, the facts of Makassarese, as will be discussed later, make it useful to further divide P into P and P^{INDEF} , and S into S, S^{INDEF} and S^{A} .¹⁶⁸ In addition, sometimes for making general statements I will use the macro-role labels Actor and Undergoer, in which Actor = A and S^{A} ; and Undergoer = P and P^{INDEF} .

11.1 Word order

A discussion of word order in Makassarese needs to distinguish between the order of full NPs denoting arguments with respect to the predicate head, and the order of cross-referencing clitic pronouns on the predicate itself. Both show some variation for reasons which will be the subject of detailed discussion (§11.2.1, §11.2.2, §11.9), but are summarised very briefly below.

¹⁶⁸ Note that there is no specific marking of S^{P} , such as one might expect by analogy with some other Austronesian languages, e.g. Acehnese (Durie 1985).

The order of core argument NPs in relation to a predicate head is fairly free, and it is unclear that there is in fact a ‘basic’ order. It has been argued that Selayarese has VPA (VOS) as basic order (Finer 1997b; Hasan Basri 1999), and that Konjo has VAP (VSO) (Friberg 1988; 1996), but I am hesitant to make either claim for Makassarese, based on the fact that neither of these orders shows up in my entire corpus of actual non-elicited texts.¹⁶⁹ They can certainly be elicited, are quite acceptable (and thus need to be accounted for), but rarely if ever are produced. This is because full NPs representing core arguments are only used to introduce, disambiguate, or emphasise those arguments; and within the context of a narrative it is unlikely that both arguments of a transitive clause would need to be introduced, disambiguated, or emphasised at the same time (and in any case, an argument being emphasised will most likely appear in the pre-predicate focus position, see §11.9). The clitic pronouns do the actual work of marking grammatical functions on the predicate.¹⁷⁰

That said, in Makassarese VPA seems to be the most likely ordering when simple, context-free transitive clauses are elicited, and is likewise the order preferred when such clauses are interpreted by hearers — all else being equal. However pragmatics will readily override an anomalous VPA interpretation and suggest VAP instead. For example, the Makassarese translation of the English sentence ‘the buffalo eats the grass’ will most likely be given as:

(457) *Nakanrei rukuka tedonga*

na= kanre =i ruku' ≡a tedong ≡a
3= eat =3 grass ≡DEF buffalo ≡DEF

The buffalo eats the grass

But switching the order of the NPs (*nakanrei tedonga rukuka*) will in no way result in the interpretation ‘the grass is eating the buffalo’. If one is determined to force this meaning (in order to warn of the dangers of carnivorous grass), the focus position must be used. This may be either Actor focus (*rukuka angkanrei tedonga*), or Undergoer focus (*tedonga nakanre rukuka*). See §11.9 for details of this.

¹⁶⁹ Friberg acknowledges that ‘a clause with VSO word order is rarely found in texts or conversations’ (Friberg 1996:140).

¹⁷⁰ This makes it tempting to analyse full NPs of core arguments as adjuncts, as Klammer does for the Kambara language, spoken on Sumba (Klammer 1998). See §11.2.3 for more discussion of this.

When A and P are of equal animacy and there is no prior information about the nature of their participation in an event, clauses are genuinely ambiguous:

(458) *Naciniki iAli iUdin*

na= cinil' =i i Ali i Udin

3= see =3 PERS Ali PERS Udn

Udin saw Ali / Ali saw Udin

The preference for VPA is slim. When there are ambiguous clauses such as the one above, most speakers will proffer the VPA interpretation first most of the time, but will always add that it could well be interpreted the other way around.

It would be a mistake, however, to analyse Makassarese as predominantly non-configurational, since configuration plays an important role in other types of clause, especially for marking information structure, as opposed to argument structure. For example, there is a pre-predicate **focus** position (§11.9) which is extensively used for both A and P, thus AVP and PVA are also commonly found. In addition to focus, there is a left-dislocated **topic** position (§11.9.2), which means that A,PV and P,AV are also possible.

11.2 Clitic pronouns

Clitic pronouns cross-reference definite core arguments on the predicate (see §11.3 for discussion of core argument status, and §11.2.4 for discussion of definiteness and cross-reference). In simple clauses the clitic pronouns pattern according to an ergative/absolutive system — the enclitic which marks S in an intransitive clause also marks P in a transitive clause (absolutive), while A is marked with a proclitic (ergative). P^{INDEF} is not cross-referenced, but A is cross-referenced whether definite or not,¹⁷¹ as is S in the majority of cases. Furthermore, focused arguments are not cross-referenced, whereas topicalised arguments are (see §11.9.2).

Table 11.1 below summarises the permutations of clitic and core argument NP placement in simple verbal clauses. (Because topicalised arguments are external to the clause, they are not included).

¹⁷¹ Clauses with indefinite A can be elicited, but are unnatural.

Focus	ERG=	prefix	HEAD	=ABS	NP 1	NP 2	gloss
		Intransitive					
		aC–	lampa	=i (S)	miong (S ^{INDEF})		?a cat goes
		aC–	lampa	=i (S)	i Ali (S)		Ali goes
miong (S ^{INDEF})		aC–	lampa				a cat goes
i Ali (S)		aC–	lampa				Ali goes
		Semi-transitive					
		aN(N)–	kanre	=i (S ^A)	miong (A ^{INDEF})	juku' (P ^{INDEF})	cats eat fish
		aN(N)–	kanre	=i (S ^A)	i Ali (S ^A)	unti (P ^{INDEF})	Ali eats bananas
miong (A ^{INDEF})		aN(N)–	kanre		juku' (P ^{INDEF})		a cat eats fish
i Ali (A)		aN(N)–	kanre		unti (P ^{INDEF})		Ali eats bananas
		Transitive					
	na= (A)		kanre	=i (P)	i Ali (A)	untiku (P)	Ali eats my banana
i Ali (A)		aN–	kanre	=i (P)	untiku (P)		Ali eats my banana
untiku (P)	na= (A)		kanre		i Ali (A)		Ali eats my banana
juku' (P ^{INDEF})	na= (A)		kanre		miong (A ^{INDEF})		cats eat fish
unti (P ^{INDEF})	na= (A)		kanre		i Ali (A)		Ali eats bananas
	na= (A)		kokko'	=i (P)	miongku (A)	mionnu (P)	my cat bit your cat
	na= (A)		kokko'	=i (P)	miongku (P)	mionnu (A)	your cat bit my cat
miongku (A)		aN–	kokko'	=i (P)	mionnu (A)		my cat bit your cat
mionnu (P)	na= (A)		kokko'		miongku (A)		my cat bit your cat

Table 11.1: Clitics and free NP placement

Not all permutations are equally acceptable. While it is difficult to judge on context-free examples, in Table 11.1 I have attempted to roughly represent degrees of acceptability with shading. Light shading shows that it is more or less acceptable, but odd, because of ambiguity which could be avoided by use of the focus position, passivisation, or through a more developed context. Darker shading shows constructions which are acceptable in some circumstances, but generally dispreferred in discourse because S and especially A should be definite.¹⁷² Note that in clauses with P^{INDEF}, A is cross-referenced with an =ABS enclitic if P^{INDEF} is a postverbal NP, but by an ERG= proclitic if P^{INDEF} is a focused NP. In other words, the morphosyntactic contrast between semi-transitive and transitive clauses is lost if P^{INDEF} is focused.

11.2.1 2P behaviour

The =ABS enclitic tends to appear in second position (the Wackernagel position, or 2P). The host may be of various categories; for example, in (459) it is a verb derived from the noun *sikola* 'school', in (460) it is a deictic adverb, in (461) it is a locative prepositional adjunct, in (462) it is a quantified nominal expressing duration, in (463) an adverbial derived numeral 'twice', and in (464) an adjective modifying the verb:

¹⁷² It is possible that indefinite S (as in *a'lampa=i miong* 'cats go') is cross-referenced because *a'lampa miong* could in fact equally be interpreted as containing a manner modifier: 'go in a cat-like manner'.

(459) *Assikolai anjoreng ri Balanda*

aC- sikola =i anjoreng ri Balanda
 MV- school =3 there PREP Holland
 He studies there in Holland

(460) *Anjorengi ri Balanda assikola*

anjoreng =i ri Balanda aC- sikola
 there =3 PREP Holland MV- study
 There in Holland he studies

(461) *Ri Balandai assikola*

ri Balanda =i aC- sikola
 PREP Holland =3 MV- study
 In Holland he studies

(462) *Tallun-taungi ammantang anjoreng*

tallu -N- taung =i amm- antang anjoreng
 three -LK- year =3 MV- stay there
 He's been there three years

(463) *Pinruama' mange anjoreng*

piN- rua =mo =a' mange anjoreng
 MULT- two =PFV =1 go there
 I've gone there twice

(464) *Salloa' attayang*

sallo =a' aC- tayang
 long =1 MV- wait
 I waited a long time

This 2P phenomenon is also found in transitive clauses, in which case the =ABS enclitic and the ERG= proclitic may be found on different words, if the verb is not the first constituent. Compare (465), where the verb hosts both, with (466), in which the =ABS enclitic indexing *sura'nu* appears on the secondary verb *le'ba'*:

(465) *Kubacai sura'nu*

ku= baca =i sura' ≡nu
 1= read =3 letter ≡2f.POSS
 I read your letter

(466) *Le'baki kubaca sura'nu*

le'ba' =i ku= baca sura' ≡nu
 finished =3 1= read letter ≡2f.POSS
 I already read your letter

Other examples are (467), in which =ABS is hosted by a (comparativised) deictic adverb, and (468) and (469), in both of which it is hosted by adjectives modifying verbs:

(467) *Anjorengampi nucini'*

anjoreng -ang =pa =i nu= cini'
 there -COMPR =IPF =3 2f= see

You'll see it further on

(468) *Salloko kutayang*

sallo =ko ku= tayang
 long =2f 1= wait

I waited a long time for you

(469) *Bajiki' kupasialle siagáng i Anu*

baji' =ki' ku= pa- si- alle siagáng i anu
 good =2p 1= CAUS- MUT- take with PERS thingy

It's good that I let you marry with whatshisname (Cgn:3)

Example (468) may also be compared with the intransitive counterpart seen earlier in (464).

Not all types of clause-initial element count for the purposes of defining 'second position'. For example, for example prepositional adjuncts containing temporal expressions do not tend to host an =ABS enclitic:

(470) *Ri subangngi ammekanga'juku'*

ri subangngi aN(N)- pekang =a' juku'
 PREP yesterday BV- hook =1 fish

Yesterday I was fishing

Additionally, some pre-verbal elements do seem to draw 2P clitics to them, but may not host enclitics directly, in which case 2P is manifested by ERG= forms rather than =ABS. This is referred to as clitic fronting and is discussed below.

11.2.2 Clitic fronting

Although clitics are normally patterned according to an ergative/absolutive system, in several environments S is cross-referenced by an ERG= proclitic instead of the expected =ABS enclitic. One such environment is following the free negator *t(a)ena* (§ 12.3.2). For example:

(471) *Tena kutinro*

tena ku= tinro
 NEG 1= sleep

I don't/didn't sleep

(472) *Tena na'lampa*

tena na= aC- lampa
 NEG 3= MV- go

He doesn't/didn't go

Compare the positive examples *tinroa'* <sleep=1>; *a'lampai* <MV-go=3>.

The same pattern can be seen with semi-transitive clauses, eg:

(473) *Tena nungngerang jarang*

tena nu= aN(N)- erang jarang
 NEG 2f= BV- bring horse

You didn't bring a horse (Cgn:4)

(474) *Tena kungnganre duriang*

tena ku= aN(N)- kanre duriang
 NEG 1= BV- eat durian

I don't eat durian

Examples such as (472), (473) and (474) show proclitics and verb prefixes co-occurring. Clitic fronting is the main circumstance in which this will happen, and note that the vowel of the prefix is deleted as discussed in §2.3.5.

At first glance this could be taken to be a split-S phenomenon triggered by negation, however it seems more likely that it is another manifestation of the =ABS enclitic being drawn to 2nd position as described above. Clearly there is a constraint against certain elements (such as the negator) hosting enclitics, and so the clitic spells out as an ERG= proclitic.¹⁷³

In transitive clauses where both clitic slots are filled the presence of one of these preverbal elements can result in two major possibilities: either the clitics can stay in their original place, or more interestingly the P can be represented by a proclitic from the A series (!) placed before the regular A proclitic, such as the form *ki=* in (477) which represents the P despite being in proclitic position. Thus both (476) and (477) are possible negations of (475):

(475) *Kubuntulukki'*

ku= buntul =u' =ki'
 1= meet =EC =2p

I met you

¹⁷³ It should be noted here that passive clauses are not subject to clitic fronting (see §7.3).

(476) *Tena kubuntulukki'*

tena ku= buntul =u' =ki'
 NEG 1= meet =EC =2p

I didn't meet you

(477) *Tena kikubuntulu'*

tena ki= ku= buntul =u'
 NEG 2p= 1= meet =EC

I didn't meet you

Finally, for some speakers the following is possible, where the absolutive enclitic is in fact hosted by the negator itself:

(478) *Taenaki' kubuntulu'*

tena =ki' ku= buntul =u'
 NEG =2p 1= meet =EC

I didn't meet you (C:145)

However, the last option is not universally permissible. It is at the very least held to be characteristic of southern/eastern dialects or Selayarese.¹⁷⁴

In most of these constructions the complementiser *na* may optionally appear, with no change to the ordering possibilities of the other elements:

(479) *Tena (na) kubuntulukki'*

tena (na) ku= buntul =u' =ki'
 NEG (COMP) 1= meet =EC =2p

I didn't meet you

(480) *Tena (na) kikubuntulu'*

tena (na) ki= ku= buntul =u'
 NEG (COMP) 2p= 1= meet =EC

I didn't meet you

There are several preverbal elements which are associated with this phenomenon; others include discourse connectives such as *apaji* 'what but ...' *naia* 'and it's ...', the conjunction and complementiser *na*, and preposed temporal adjuncts in general:¹⁷⁵

¹⁷⁴ Selayarese has no restriction on the negator (or other preverbal elements) hosting enclitics.

¹⁷⁵ Preposed locative constructions may host the =ABS enclitic themselves, so do not trigger clitic fronting.

(481) *Apaji na kusulu'mo ri balla'nu na nukucini'*

apa =ja =i na ku= sulu' =mo ri balla' ≡nu na nu= ku= cini'
 what =LIM =3 COMP 1= exit =PFV PREP house ≡2f,POSS and 2f= 1= see

I had only just left your house when I saw you

(482) *Se're taung namange Karaenga ri Kuri assingara' sima.*

se're taung na= mange karaeng ≡a ri Kuri aC- singar =a' sima
 one year 3= go karaeng ≡DEF PREP Kuri MV- collect.debt =EC tax

One year the Karaeng [I Malalakang Daeng Pawello] went to Kuri to collect taxes
 (Maros:244)

(483) *16.VI.1673 kinapilarí karaeng Tu-ammenang-ri-lampana i ba'le ri Sambawa*

16.VI.1673 ki= na= pi- lari -i karaeng tu amm- enang ri
 16/6/1673 1pl= 3= EXP- run -APPL karaeng person MV- lie PREP

lampa ≡na i ba'le ri Sambawa
 go ≡3.POSS PREP across PREP Sumbawa

On the 16/6/1673 Karaeng Tu-ammenang-ri-lampana left us to go across (the sea) to Sumbawa (C:380)

Sometimes even clauses not containing any of these elements (but still constituting a temporal expression) may trigger this phenomenon:

(484) *Numaloko ri dallekang ballaku kunucini' ammempo ri tontonganga*

numalo =ko ri dallekang balla' ≡ku ku= nu= cini' amm- empo
 pass.by =2f PREP front house ≡1.POSS 1= 2f= see MV- sit

ri tontongang ≡a
 PREP window ≡DEF

You came in front of my house and you saw me sitting in the window

The optional presence of the complementiser/conjunction *na* seems to be the clue to what is common to the environments which trigger clitic fronting — put informally, it appears that an enclitic cannot adjoin to *na*, nor to a node where *na* may occur, even if *na* is not in fact present. This explanation is further strengthened by the probability that the negator *taena* in fact contains *na*, albeit incorporated in a lexicalised construction <ta=ia na | NEG=3PRO COMP>.

As a last comment on this phenomenon I will add that in the speech of one of my consultants in particular there is yet another configuration associated with the complementiser/conjunction *na* — namely, attaching a proclitic form after *na* (preceding and separate from a prefixed verb), in effect encliticising the proclitic onto the conjunction, as seen in (485) and (486):

(485) *Ri allonna arabaia tette' sampulo–asse're **naku...** a'lampa ammekang ri Bulukumba.*

ri allo ≡ nna arabaia tette' sampulo aN- se're **na** = **ku** =
 PREP day ≡ 3.POSS Wednesday o'clock ten LK- one **COMP** = 1 =

aC- lampa aN(N)- pekang ri Bulukumba
 MV- go BV- hook PREP Bulukumba

On Wednesday at 11 o'clock I went fishing at Bulukumba

(486) *... ammotere'ma' mange ri biseanga **naku...** a'lampamo mange ri Tanjung Bira ri anjo tampa' kupammantang nia'.*

amm- oter =e' =mo =a' mange ri bise -ang ≡ a
 MV- return =EC =PFV =1 go PREP paddle -NR ≡ DEF

na = **ku** = aC- lampa =mo mange ri Tanjung Bira ri anjo tampa'
and = 1 = MV- go =PFV go PREP peninsula Bira PREP that place

ku= pa- amm- antang nia'
 1= NR- MV- stay exist

... we went back to the boat and went to Tanjung Bira to the place we were staying.

Note that unlike examples (472), (473) and (474) above, the vowel of the prefix remains (we would normally expect to see *na ku'lampa*), and there is a pause between the proclitic form and the verb, where this would not typically be allowed. Whether this is a generational change (the speaker is younger than most of my other consultants), dialectal (he is from Bontonempo, 20 km south of Makassar), ideolectal, or merely a repeated speech error, requires further investigation. See Appendix C for the complete text.

11.2.3 Agreement or cross-reference?

The status of clitic pronouns such as these (and indeed the entire phenomenon of pronominal affixes) is somewhat controversial or 'problematic, since some treat them as agreement, while others claim they are pronouns' (Corbett 2003:168). For example, Finer (eg. 1996) describes the Makassarese and Selayarese phenomenon as **verbal agreement** (but given that the clitics are not restricted to appearing on verbs this term does not seem especially apt); while Klammer has analysed a similar phenomenon in Kambera (Sumba) as being one of **crossreference**:

Agreement is the indexing of one or two clause actants on the head in a generally dependent-marking language. So-called 'head-marking' languages have rich pronominal marking on the head of the clause, the verb, and poor

case marking on the NPs. In such languages *crossreference* is used to mark the arguments on the verb, where the verb (plus its pronominal markers) itself normally constitutes a complete sentence and the full NPs are included only for emphasis, focus, disambiguation, etc... They (the NPs) are in essence optional, the verb plus the pronominal markers already constituting a complete clause. In crossreference languages the relation between the head and its dependent is normally unilateral: the dependent NP requires the pronominal marker on the head, whereas the head plus the pronominal marker can occur without the dependent NP. In Kambera crossreference is used as the means to mark verbal arguments on the verb. The pronominal clitics are markers of crossreference and not of agreement. (Klamer 1998:61)

Klamer's position is probably too strong, as cross-reference can arguably be considered an agreement phenomenon according to the set of features laid out in Corbett (2003). At the very least, the clitic pronouns agree with antecedents beyond the clause in the same way that other pronouns do — this is the base level justification for including pronominal elements in the Surrey Agreement Database (Corbett 2003:183).

However, ultimately I feel that describing the Makassarese case as agreement is somewhat misleading, as it is clearly a far-from-canonical example of the phenomenon, and is well on the pronominal side of the agreement – pronoun scale. Applying some of the relevant heuristics given by Corbett makes this clear.

- Case roles: only the clitic pronouns carry any information about case roles, grammatical relations and argument structure. Full NPs (including free pronouns) do not signal anything about the grammatical relations of their referents through either word order¹⁷⁶ or case marking
- Referentiality: clitic pronouns overwhelmingly cross-reference definite, identifiable antecedents

¹⁷⁶ A partial exception to this is the use of the pre-predicate Focus position (§11.9), but even in these constructions it is the clitic pronouns which identify the grammatical function of the focused argument.

- Complementary distribution: full NPs are generally optional if the clitic pronouns will suffice for identification. More cogently, clitic pronouns and free pronouns do not normally co-occur because they are semantically equivalent, so a sentence such as (487) is extremely questionable:¹⁷⁷

(487) ??*kucinikko inakke ikau*

ku= cini' =ko inakke ikau
 1= see =2f 1PRO 2fPRO
 ??I see you

Free pronouns may appear in the pre-predicate Focus slot (see §11.9), but in that case they are not cross-referenced, as in (488) and (489):

(488) *ikau kucini'*

ikau ku= cini'
 2fPRO 1= see
 I see you

(489) *inakke ancinikko*

inakke aN- cini' =ko
 1PRO AF- see =2f
 I see you

11.2.4 Definiteness and cross-referencing

For the sake of analysis I have, like other researchers on similar languages (Friberg 1988:108, 1996:139; Hanson 2003:210; Hasan Basri 1999:236) assumed that there is a correlation between definiteness and cross-referencing, that is that certain arguments must be definite in order to be cross-referenced with a clitic pronoun. This is particularly so with respect to the P function, but also applies to S in certain circumstances.

Of the types of argument which are obligatorily referenced, some have this status by default. These are: 1st or 2nd person arguments (which are rarely doubled with full pronouns, see §5.6), and those referred to by proper names and titles. These can be considered inherently definite. Other types of NP are cross-referenced usually only when they meet certain criteria for definiteness or specificity. These include:

¹⁷⁷ It is not completely unacceptable, but this level of redundancy is highly marked and suggests that the listener is obviously failing to pay attention.

- NPs with the definite marker $\equiv a$ (including relative clauses). These may be concrete or abstract
- NPs marked with possessive affixal clitics

NPs which are habitually not cross-referenced are:

- Focused NPs (see §11.9)
- NPs consisting of common nouns, generally not marked with $\equiv a$ or a possessive affixal clitic

Thus, leaving aside the focused NPs, the difference between arguments which are cross-referenced and those which are not can be assumed to be definiteness and/or specificity (we can assume $\equiv a$ to mark definiteness for reasons put forward in §4.4.1, while NPs with possessive markers are self-evidently specific).

Intransitive clauses with indefinite (and un-cross-referenced) S are most commonly existentials (see §12.4), but can also be other basic clauses as in (490):¹⁷⁸

(490) *Battu jai toana*

battu jai toana
come many guest

Many guests are coming

The failure to cross-reference indefinite P (P^{INDEF}) is much more pervasive, and is the basis for distinguishing the semi-transitive clause ((491), and see §11.6):

(491) *Ammallia' ballo'*

aN(N)– balli =a' ballo'
BV– buy =1 palm.wine

I buy palm wine

However, there are also some important and suggestive exceptions to the assumed correlation between definiteness and cross-referencing. Consider the following example, a proverb describing an overly critical person (Zainuddin Hakim 1995):

¹⁷⁸ Note though that S in passive clauses must be definite (§7.3).

(492) *Tedong lombo mate i rawa ri sirinna na tena naciniki, sama-sama mate ri sirinna taua na nacin'i*

tedong lombo mate i rawa ri siring $\equiv$ na na tena na= cini' =i
 buffalo big death PREP beneath PREP cellar $\equiv$ 3.POSS and NEG 3= see =3

sama- sama mate ri siring $\equiv$ na tau $\equiv$ a na na= cini'
 RDP- louse death PREP cellar $\equiv$ 3.POSS person $\equiv$ DEF and 3= see

A big dead buffalo in his cellar and he doesn't notice it, a dead louse in someone else's cellar and he notices

Although both of the Undergoers in these two clauses are indefinite, in the first the buffalo is cross-referenced, and in the second the louse is not. The explanation given to me was that this helps to underscore the fact that the buffalo is large and unavoidable, whereas the louse is insignificant. This shows that 'definiteness' can be manipulated for discourse purposes.

Conversely, there are some rare examples of clauses in which P bears a possessive or definite marker but is not cross-referenced, as for example in the complement clause in the following example:

(493) *ero'-dudua' appala' je'ne'nu*

ero' dudu =a' aC- pala' je'ne' $\equiv$ nu
 want very =1 MV- ask water $\equiv$ 2f.POSS

we really want to ask for (some of) your water (PT:131)

The interpretation is that the princes in the example (cross-referenced with =ABS) are only asking for some of the princesses' water. Enquiring about the preceding example led to the following elicited semi-transitive examples, which are unusual but acceptable with a particular interpretation:

(494) *Angginunga' je'ne'nu*

aN(N)- inung =a' je'ne' $\equiv$ nu
 BV- drink =1 water $\equiv$ 2f.POSS

I drank (some of) your water

(495) *Ammallia' gollaya*

aN(N)- balli =a' golla $\equiv$ a
 BV- buy =1 sugar $\equiv$ DEF

I bought (some of) the sugar (we mentioned earlier)

This shows that a contrast between definiteness and specificity can be forced where necessary, but note that this does not mean that the P argument has been backgrounded in any sense, which is why I do not analyse these as Actor voice constructions (see §11.6 and §7.6).

There are certain other circumstances in which the connection between definiteness and cross-referencing does not hold. For example, an inherent patient which has been promoted to P by *-ang* (§9.2.1.1) need not be definite as seen in (496), nor does a secondary object in a benefactive construction (also marked with *-ang*, §9.2.1.3) as seen in (497):

(496) *Kuje'nekangi je'ne' kammu*

ku= je'ne' -ang =i je'ne' kammu
1= water -BEN =3 water warm

I use warm water to bathe in

(497) *Kuballiangko baju*

ku= balli -ang =ko baju
1= buy -BEN =2f shirt

I bought you a shirt

11.3 Grammatical relations

In order to discuss the system of grammatical relations it will first be necessary to identify and define core arguments. This is not entirely unproblematic in Makassarese as there are often mismatches between morphological coding of arguments and the syntactic/thematic structure of a clause. This section attempts to summarise the main facts and propose an analysis.

The fact that there are two clitic pronoun slots (ERG= and =ABS) available on predicates for cross-referencing arguments leads to the natural assumption that arguments which are thus cross-referenced are privileged in some way. Further, the fact that in the majority of cases =ABS corresponds to S and P, while ERG= corresponds to A, suggests that clitics cross-reference core arguments, and that they do this according to an ergative-absolutive pattern. The omissibility of the NPs denoting these arguments suggests that the clitic pronouns in fact are the core arguments, and that any full NPs co-referent with them are in apposition, only present for purposes of disambiguation or emphasis.¹⁷⁹ Thus, at the very least we can identify the grammatical relations S, A and P.

¹⁷⁹ This is not an entirely uncontroversial position, but is common enough. For example, Van Valin (1993:17) states that ‘in head marking languages, the pronominal affixes on the verb are the core

However, when examining the behaviour of certain Makassarese clauses it becomes clear (a) that it is not always easy to correlate =ABS or ERG= clitics with particular grammatical relations, and (b) that some arguments which are arguably core are not always cross-referenced.

To illustrate point (a), there is not a one-to-one correspondence between either the form or position of a clitic pronoun and a grammatical function. In brief:

- S is referenced by an =ABS enclitic pronoun in basic clauses, as in (498), but by an ERG= proclitic pronoun in negative clauses and in many other kinds of complement or complement-like clauses, as in (499) (§11.2.2)
- P may in similar circumstances be referenced by an ERG= proclitic pronoun preceding and in addition to the ERG= proclitic pronoun referencing A, as in (500) (§11.2.2)
- (semantic) A may be represented by an =ABS enclitic when P is indefinite, as in (501) (§11.5)

(498) *Tinroi*

tinro =i
sleep =3
He sleeps

(499) *Tena natinro*

tena na= tinro
NEG 3= sleep
He doesn't sleep

(500) *Tena nukucini'*

tena nu= ku= cini'
NEG 2f= 1= see
I don't see you

(501) *Angganrea'unti*

aN(N)- kanre =a' unti
BV- eat =1 banana
I eat bananas

arguments of the clause, not the optional independent lexical NPs and pronouns'. See also eg. Donohue (1999:123-129), Foley (1991:227-8), Klamer (1998:68-71) for relevant discussion in other grammars; while for further theoretical discussion see eg. Jelinek (1984) and the response in Austin & Bresnan (1996).

To illustrate point (b), arguments are not cross-referenced with clitic pronouns under certain circumstances. Specifically these are:

- indefinite S in certain clauses — most commonly existentials as in (502) (see § 12.4) but also other basic clauses as in (490) earlier
- indefinite P in semi-transitive clauses,¹⁸⁰ as in (501) above (§11.6)
- any of S, A or P when denoted by an NP in focus position, as in (503) with Actor focus (§11.9)

(502) *Nia' tau anjoreng*

nia' tau anjoreng
exist person there

There's someone there

(503) *Inakke ambetako*

inakke aN- beta =ko
1PRO AF- defeat =2f

I defeated you

The alternation in form between =ABS and ERG= for S and P due to clitic fronting can be assumed to be a relatively superficial phenomenon which does not change the grammatical relation. The lack of cross-referencing of focused NP arguments could be accounted for by an analysis where focus promotes an NP to core argument status within the clause, making cross-referencing redundant.¹⁸¹ However, this leaves the contrast between P and P^{INDEF} (and S and S^{INDEF}) to explain.

What then is the status of these indefinite arguments? They are clearly important, as can be shown by the fact that they can not be omitted (unlike NPs coreferent with clitics denoting S, A or P). They are not oblique. They are not incorporated. Some have claimed that clauses with P^{INDEF} are in fact intransitive (see §11.6 and discussion in §7.5). However this does not answer the question of what P^{INDEF} is,¹⁸² nor do these treatments

¹⁸⁰ A is always cross-referenced even if indefinite.

¹⁸¹ This applies equally well to P and P^{INDEF}, see §11.9.

¹⁸² Lee (2006) is the exception, having proposed that P^{INDEF} is a 'non-core obligatory extended argument'.

propose an analysis for sentences with S^{INDEF} such as (490), which by analogy should be zero-transitive.

So it comes down to a tension between morphosyntactic marking (clitic pronouns) on the one hand, versus the non-omissibility of indefinite arguments on the other. I propose that there is a two-way split in the nature of representing core arguments in Makassarese. The most common way is with clitic pronouns cross-referencing S, A or P. However there are two circumstances in which NPs themselves serve as core arguments. The first is by being promoted to that status by use of the clause-initial focus position. The other is by virtue of being indefinite. Blocked for cross-referencing because of their indefiniteness or non-specificity, the NPs must bear the referential load themselves. However the difference in the way these arguments are treated suggests that they should not be assumed to fit within the system of grammatical relations as it functions for definite arguments and simply be P or S, but instead can be labelled P^{INDEF} and S^{INDEF} . Furthermore, a corollary of recognising the function P^{INDEF} is its counterpart S^A , an argument marked as S which is agent-like.

In summary, there are arguably six distinct grammatical relations, as laid out in Table 11.2:

LABEL	FUNCTION	CLITIC PRONOUN	NP
S	sole argument of intransitive clause	usually =ABS	optional
P	undergoer of transitive clause	usually =ABS	optional
A	actor of transitive clause	ERG=	optional
S^A	actor of semi-transitive clause	usually =ABS	optional
S^{INDEF}	sole indefinite argument of intransitive clause	0	obligatory
P^{INDEF}	undergoer of semi-transitive clause	0	obligatory

Table 11.2: Grammatical relations

11.4 Ambient clauses

It does not appear that there are zero-valence or ambient clauses in Makassarese, unlike what has been claimed for Bugis (Hanson 2003:188). The example that Hanson gives, *bosi* ‘it’s raining’ is identical in Makassarese, but here it can be argued that *bosi* ‘rain’ is in fact a nominal predicate with a dummy subject enclitic pronoun =*i*, which is invisible due to vowel degemination (§2.3.1). The hidden enclitic can be forced to reveal itself by adding an aspectual enclitic, as in *bosimi* <bosi=mo=i | rain=PFV=3> ‘it’s already raining’, or negating the clause causing clitic fronting (§11.2.2) as in *tena nabosi* <NEG 3=rain> ‘it’s not raining’. It also shows up clearly with other weather terms which do not

end with *i*, eg. *gunturuki* <guntur=EC=i> ‘it’s thundering’, *kilaki* <kila'=i> ‘it’s lightning-ing’.

There are instances of clauses which have no cross-referencing clitics and could thus be considered zero-valent from a certain point-of-view — these however have overt NP arguments which are not cross-referenced because they are indefinite or for other reasons. Existential clauses such as (504) are the most common exemplars of this, but they are not the only ones as illustrated by (505):

(504) *Nia' sikayu tedong ri romanga*

nia' si- kayu tedong ri romang ≡a
 exist one- CLASS buffalo PREP forest ≡DEF
 There's a buffalo in the forest

(505) *Battu jai toana anne minggu*

battu jai toana anne minggu
 come many guest this week
 Lots of guests are coming this week

This was discussed in §11.2.4.

11.5 Intransitive clauses

Intransitive clauses can be of several major types, depending on the category of the predicate head. What they have in common is that there will be an ‘absolutive’ (=ABS) enclitic cross-referencing the sole argument S, if S is definite or otherwise salient in the discourse (see discussion in §11.2.4), and not in focus (§11.9). The ABS enclitic tends to attach to the first constituent, whatever its category, resulting in the typologically common second position clitic (2P, see §11.2.1).

11.5.1 Verbal predicates

Intransitive verbal predicates are headed by intransitive verbs. These may be unambiguously intransitive as with (506) and (507), intransitive readings of ambitransitive verbs as with (508), or intransitive verbs which include inherent objects such as (509):

(506) *Tinroi iAli*

tinro =i i Ali
 sleep =3 PERS Ali
 Ali is sleeping

(507) *A'jappai Balandayya*

aC- jappa =i balanda ≡a
 MV- walk =3 Dutch ≡DEF

The Dutchman is walking

(508) *Angganrea'*

aN(N)- kanre =a'
 BV- eat =1

I'm eating

(509) *A'jaranga'*

aC- jarang =a'
 MV- horse =1

I ride a horse

Intransitive verbs are typically marked with a verb prefix, usually *aC-* (§7.1.1), but basic verbs such as *tinro* 'sleep' do not require these.

VPs may contain incorporated nominals as manner modifiers, in which case the ABS clitic occurs after the incorporated nominal:

(510) *A'jappa-Balandai*

aC- jappa balanda =i
 MV- walk Dutch =3

He walks like a Dutchman (ie. he stomps about with his nose in the air)

If the clause does not begin with the verb but rather with an auxiliary or other verbal modifier, the ABS enclitic will occur after the first constituent, to put it in 2P. For example, (511) has two clauses, the first containing the auxiliary verb *le'ba'* 'already' or 'after':

(511) *Le'bakki a'je'ne-je'ne, naikki ri puloa*

le'ba' =ki' aC- je'ne- je'ne nai' =ki' ri pulo ≡a
 finished =1pl MV- RDP- water climb =1pl PREP island ≡DEF

After we'd swum we landed (went up) on the island

This 2P phenomenon was discussed in § 11.2, along with other facts about the permutations of clitic placement and movement.

11.5.2 Adjectival predicates

Adjectives may function directly as either attributes or predicates in Makassarese. There is no copula, and the clitic pronoun is placed directly on the adjective phrase, which may contain a modifier such as the degree adverb seen in (513):

(512) *Bambang alloa*

bambang =i allo ≡a
 hot =3 day ≡DEF

The day is hot

(513) *Pongoro'-dudui anjo taua*

pongor =o' dudu =i anjo tau ≡a
 mad =EC very =3 that person ≡DEF

That person is really crazy

Adjectives may form transitive predicates by using either causative *paka-* (§7.2.2) or transiviser *-i* (§7.2.5.1).

11.5.3 Nominal predicates

Nominals may function as predicates directly without use of a copula or other morphosyntactic device. Clitics are placed directly on the predicate. Nominal predicates may be distinguished from verbs derived from nouns by the absence of a verb prefix, eg. compare (514) with (509) earlier, but otherwise nominal predicates may host the same range of cross-referencing and aspectual clitics as other types of predicate. Nominal predicates generally assert (or question) the identity of S.

(514) *Jaranga'*

jarang =a'
 horse =1

I am a horse

(515) *Tau-battu-kere-ko*

tau battu kere =ko
 person come where =2f

Where are you from (lit. a person coming from where you)

(516) *Atangkui anjo taua*

ata ≡ngku =i anjo tau ≡a
 servant ≡1.POSS =3 that person ≡DEF

That man is my slave

(517) *Ana'naki' karaenga*

ana' ≡na =ki' karaeng ≡a
 child ≡3.POSS =2p karaeng ≡DEF

You are the karaeng's son

(518) *Inakkeji*

inakke =ja =i
 1PRO =LIM =3

It's only me

11.5.4 Numeral predicates

An alternative to predicate possession formed with the existential verb *nia'* (§12.4) is a predicate headed by a numeral:

(519) *Ruai bainenna*

rua =i baine ≡nna
two =3 woman ≡3.POSS

He has two wives (lit. 'two (are) his wives')

(520) *Nikanai Patanna Langkana ka iami ampareki langkanaya, sampuloi anrua pa'daseranna.*

ni- kana =i pata ≡nna langkana ka ia =mo =i aN- pare' =i
PASS- word =3 owner ≡3.POSS palace because 3PRO =PFV =3 AF- make =3

langkana ≡a sampulo =i aN- rua pa> aC- daser <ang ≡na
palace ≡DEF ten =3 LK- two NR> MV- floorboard <NR ≡3.POSS

He was called 'Patanna Langkana' because he built a palace with twelve sections on pillars (lit. 'twelve (were) its sections', Maros061).

11.5.5 Locative predicates

In some clauses the only candidate for predicate head is a locative adverb or prepositional phrase:

(521) *Ri balla'nai*

ri balla' ≡na =i
PREP house ≡3.POSS =3

He's at home

(522) *Anrinnima'!*

anrinni =mo =a'
here =PFV =1

Here I am!

(523) *Anjorengji*

anjoreng =ja =i
there =LIM =3

It's just there

11.6 Semi-transitive clauses

The term *semi-transitive* refers to clauses which, although clearly describing events involving two participants, only include a clitic pronoun cross-referencing one of those participants — the Actor. This is because as a general rule Undergoers must be definite to be cross-referenced — in other words referred to by name or title (or otherwise pragmatically salient such as 1st and 2nd person), or marked with the determiner ≡a or a

possessive suffix. Thus, semi-transitive clauses contain verbs which are lexically transitive, but which host only an absolutive enclitic indexing the Actor, while the Undergoer appears only as an NP and is not cross-referenced. The verb is marked with a verb prefix, usually *aN(N)-*.

(524) *angnganrea' taipa*

aN(N)- kanre =a' taipa
 BV- eat =1 mango
 I eat a mango/mangoes

In some cases, as in the example above, omission of P^{INDEF} results in an intransitive clause which is quite well-formed (though obviously it differs in meaning).

(525) *angnganrea'*

aN(N)- kanre =a'
 BV- eat =1
 I eat, I'm eating

That is because verbs such as *kanre* 'eat' are ambitransitive, equally allowing intransitive and transitive readings. In others however, such as (526), the verb *balli* 'buy' requires an overt Undergoer and there is no possible intransitive interpretation:

(526) *ammallia' ballo'*

aN(N)- balli =a' ballo'
 BV- buy =1 palm.wine
 I buy palm wine (cf **ammallia'* 'I bought')

I have elected to use the term semi-transitive for these types of clauses. This term captures the fact that these clauses are different from both typical intransitive and transitive clauses, and that they 'exhibit properties that fall in between those of normal intransitive and transitive clauses' (Dryer to appear). They differ from intransitive clauses because of the obvious fact that these clauses contain Undergoers, both in their logical structure and in their syntax. They differ from fully transitive clauses in that the undergoer is not marked with a clitic — signalling that it is not like an ordinary P, if it is a P at all.

Other labels which have been or could be used are actor focus, actor voice, antipassive, or simply intransitive. I don't find compelling evidence for any of these options, as I will explain below.

The intransitive analysis

Examples such as (526) above, with an indefinite Undergoer which is essential to the clause and cannot be omitted, lead me to consider with suspicion claims such as those by Friberg (1996:144) and Basri (1999:19) that these clauses should be considered ‘formally intransitive’— as does the fact that verbs in these types of clauses overwhelmingly host the prefix *aN(N)–*, which in general distinguishes lexically bivalent verbs from monovalent verbs derived with *aC–* (see §7.1).

Furthermore, the fact that these P^{INDEF} arguments are available for syntactic operations such as Focus (in which event the clitic cross-referencing the Actor will change from =ABS (S) to ERG= (A), as in (527), suggests that P^{INDEF} is at least present in the thematic structure of these clauses (see also discussion in §11.3):

- (527) *ballo' kuballi*
 ballo' ku= balli
 palm.wine 1= buy
 I buy palm wine

Lee (2006) has suggested labelling a parallel construction in the related language Mandarin ‘extended intransitive’. I have no argument with this — the important thing is to capture the fact that this is more than an ordinary intransitive construction.

The antipassive analysis

Another possibility is that *aN(N)–* should be analysed as an antipassive marker. This is (for example) Mead’s analysis of the function of a similar prefix *poN–* in Mori Bawah (Mead 2005). This may be appropriate in a very general sense in that *aN(N)–* appears in clauses in which an ABS enclitic cross-references the Actor rather than the Undergoer, and *aN(N)–* has thus ‘demoted’ the Actor, but it is clearly not a prototypical antipassive inasmuch as in these clauses the Undergoer is not oblique. In addition, since the prefix *aN(N)–* also appears in normal intransitive constructions such as *angnganrei* ‘he’s eating’ (see §7.1.2.1), it is difficult to simply call it an antipassive marker.

Less important, but still relevant, the prefix cannot be used simply because the speaker wishes to realign the grammatical functions in a clause, but rather its presence is a given if the Undergoer is indefinite. Finally, an antipassive analysis is made somewhat anomalous by the fact that there is the perfectly regular passive formed by *ni–*.

The ‘actor focus’ analysis

In two papers (1988; 1996), Friberg analyses the verb prefix and cross-referencing systems of the closely related language Konjo as part of a ‘focus’ system. The use of the label is confusing, since Friberg is using ‘focus’ in a Philippine-language sense (ie. **voice** (Himmelman 2002)). It essentially boils down to an opposition between ‘actor’ or ‘subject focus’ (= actor voice), and ‘goal’ or ‘object focus’ (= undergoer voice).

In her analysis, fully transitive clauses (with definite P) have ‘object focus’, while intransitive and semi-transitive clauses (with no P, or P^{INDEF}) have ‘subject focus’. Since for any given clause these conditions are given (by the presence or absence, definiteness or indefiniteness of an Undergoer), I find that a ‘focus’ (= voice) analysis does not fit especially well. Unlike in a prototypical Philippine-type system, or other Indonesian voice systems, in which speakers may use affixes or other marking to realign the mapping of participants on to grammatical functions in a clause,¹⁸³ this system is simply marking the valence of the clause — a marking which is also sensitive to the definiteness of the Undergoer and thus distinguishes three levels of transitivity: fully intransitive, semi-transitive, and fully transitive.

Voice was discussed in more detail in §7.6, while the status of the indefinite Undergoer (P^{INDEF}) was examined further in §11.3.

11.7 Transitive clauses

In transitive clauses both proclitic and enclitic are canonically on the verb, and there is no verb prefix.

(528) *Nakokkoka' miongku*

na= kokko' =a' miong ≡ku
3= bite =1 cat ≡1.POSS

My cat bit me

¹⁸³ The Makassarese passive does exactly this — it promotes the Undergoer of the parallel active transitive clause so that it is S, the only core argument of an intransitive clause. The Actor, if it is expressed, is done so by means of an oblique.

(529) *Lakuarengko Daeng Nakku'*

la= ku= areng =ko Daeng nakku'
 FUT= 1= name =2 (title) yearning
 I'll call you 'Daeng Nakku'

When both arguments are 3rd person it can sometimes be unclear which clitic pronoun indexes which argument, and the order of free NPs does not help to clarify this, as can be seen in (530):

(530) *Naciniki tedongku i Ali*

na= cini' =i tedong ≡ku i Ali
 3= see =3 buffalo ≡1.POSS PERS Ali
 Ali sees my buffalo / my buffalo sees Ali

In these situations context or pragmatics must resolve the ambiguity. See §11.1 for more discussion about preferred word order.

Exceptions to the normal transitive pattern occur for three main reasons:

- (1) either A or P may be in focus position (§11.9);
- (2) the clitics may appear on separate words as a 2P phenomenon or there may be two proclitics as a result of clitic movement (§11.2.2); or
- (3) the clause may have an indefinite Undergoer and therefore be semi-transitive (see §11.6).

11.7.1 Reflexives

Reflexives are a subtype of transitive clause in which P is the reflexive noun *kale* 'self' plus a possessive marker from the prenasalised set (§4.4.2):

(531) *Naciniki kalenna ri kaca*

na= cini' =i kale ≡nna ri kaca
 3= see =3 self ≡3.POSS PREP glass
 She saw herself in the mirror

(532) *... kisa'ringkai kalenta karaeng–dudu*

ki= sa'ring =ka =i kale ≡nta karaeng dudu
 2p= feel =or =3 self ≡1pl.POSS king very
 or we will feel ourselves to be kings

(533) *Kukaluppai kalengku*

ku= kaluppa =i kale ≡ngku
 1= forget =3 self ≡1.POSS
 I fainted (lit. I forgot myself)

The reflexive pronoun is always cross-referenced with a 3rd person enclitic. It cannot be focused or topicalised, ie: **kalenna nacini* ‘she saw **herself**’, **kalenna, naciniki* ‘herself, she saw it’. For more examples see §5.6.2.

11.8 Ditransitive clauses

There is only one unambiguously ditransitive verb: *sare* ‘give’, though there are productive ways to license three-place predicates with other verbs, for example with the use of benefactive *-ang* (see §9.2.1.3), or causative *pa-* (§8.1). *Sare* itself occurs in clauses of two main types: those in which the secondary object (theme) is indefinite and is not marked on the verb, and those in which the secondary object is definite, this fact being marked by a special use of the applicative *-ang*:

(534) *Lakusareko doe'*

la= ku= sare =ko doe'
 FUT= 1= give =2f money
 I'll give you some money

(535) *Lakusaréangko doekku*

la= ku= sare -ang =ko doe' ≡ku
 FUT= 1= give -BEN =2f money ≡1.POSS
 I'll give you my money

The NP denoting the indefinite secondary object is not omissible (**lakusareko* ‘I'll give you’), but may be omitted if definite (*lakusaréangko* ‘I'll give you it’). This is reminiscent of the distinction between transitive and semi-transitive clauses, and suggests the label **semi-ditransitive**.¹⁸⁴ However further investigation of these types of clause is needed.

11.9 Focus and topic marking

In the following sections I discuss overt marking of focus and topic, which are each associated with particular syntactic positions. The basic facts are not unlike those

¹⁸⁴ Lee (2006) has suggested ‘extended transitive’ for similar constructions in Mandarin.

described for *Tukang Besi* (South-East Sulawesi) by Donohue (2002), and are also similar to those described for Mayan languages by Aissen (1992), which is that there is a clause-initial focus slot, and a clause-external (ie. left-dislocated) topic slot.¹⁸⁵ However the ‘basic’ characterisation, especially with regard to focus, misses subtleties and irregularities in complex sentences which also need to be accounted for. Note that the alternative analysis of ‘focus’ (= voice) was discussed in §7.6.

11.9.1 Focus

Alongside the marking of voice and transitivity, there is a phenomenon best described by the label **focus**, despite the unfortunate overuse of that term in the Austronesianist literature (Himmelmann 1996; Himmelmann 2002). In its most basic manifestation, this involves an NP referring to a core argument being placed in pre-predicate position. There is a prefix *aN-* (§7.2) which explicitly marks Actor focus (appearing in the place of the ERG= proclitic), whereas Undergoer focus is marked by the absence of an =ABS enclitic. (I use the macrorole labels here because both P and P^{INDEF} may be focused).

Thus, arguments which occur as full NPs directly preceding the predicate are not cross-referenced — for example, compare (536) and (537):

(536) *Tinroi i Ali*

tinro =i i Ali
sleep =3 PERS Ali
Ali is asleep

(537) *I Ali tinro*

i Ali tinro
PERS Ali sleep
Ali is asleep

This pre-predicate slot is a focus position,¹⁸⁶ which performs a variety of pragmatic functions such as disambiguating, emphasizing, adding certainty or uncertainty. So while (536) is just a statement of fact, (537) with S in focus can express such meanings as: ‘Are you sure it’s Ali who is asleep?’, ‘I tell you that Ali is asleep’, ‘I’ve heard that Ali

¹⁸⁵ See also Finer’s work on A’ positions in Selayarese (Finer 1994).

¹⁸⁶ Specifically, it is a slot for marked argument focus (Van Valin 1999). As for the configuration, Finer (1994) has analysed the focus position (for Selayarese) as Spec of IP.

is asleep'. It is also the answer to the question *inai tinro?* 'who is asleep?' (interrogative pronouns are typically focused, see § 12.2). Another example of how focus conveys extended meanings is the following:

(538) *Ballakku kicini'*

balla' ≡ ku ki = cini'
house ≡ 1.POSS 2p = see

You see **my house**

This could be given as an answer to the question: what can you give as a guarantee for a loan? (The unmarked way of saying 'you see my house' is *kiciniki ballakku* <ki=cini'=i balla'≡ku | 2f=see=3 house≡1.POSS>).

In transitive clauses either A or P can be in focus. The following two sentences show A focus and P focus respectively where both arguments are definite:

(539) *Kongkonga ambunoi mionga*

kongkong ≡ a aN- buno =i miong ≡ a
dog ≡ def AF- kill =3 cat ≡ DEF

The **dog** killed the cat

(540) *Mionga nabuno kongkonga*

miong ≡ a na = buno kongkong ≡ a
cat ≡ DEF 3 = kill dog ≡ DEF

The dog killed the **cat**

Thus, in (539) there is no proclitic cross-referencing *kongkonga* (A), while in (540) *mionga* (P) lacks a corresponding enclitic.¹⁸⁷ Also note that in (539) the verb is marked with the Actor Focus prefix *aN-* (found in clauses where A is in focus and P is definite, see § 7.2).

If P is indefinite (ie. if the corresponding non-focused clause is semi-transitive) either argument may still be focused, so sentence (541) shows A focus, while (542) shows P^{INDEF} focus:

(541) *Inakke angnganre juku'*

inakke aN(N)- kanre juku'
1PRO BV- eat fish

I'm eating fish

¹⁸⁷ When A is in Focus this has obvious similarities with the phenomenon of 'ergative extraction' as described for Mayan languages (1992)— except that there is a parallel 'absolutive extraction' when O is in Focus.

(542) *Juku' kukanre*

juku' ku= kanre
fish 1= eat

I'm eating **fish**

Note that in (541) the verb is marked as semi-transitive with the prefix *aN(N)-* (the missing clitic pronoun being 1st person =a'), but in (542) the verb hosts a proclitic, identical to clauses with focused definite P such as (540) above. This suggests that focus promotes P^{INDEF} to P (ie. promotes it from a non-core to a core argument), with concomitant promotion of S^A to A.¹⁸⁸

Sentences with indefinite A are marginal as a general rule, and examples (543) and (544) are no exception.

(543) *?Miong ammuno kongkong*

miong aN(N)- buno kongkong
cat BV- kill dog

A **cat** killed a dog / **cats** kill dogs

(544) *?Kongkong nabuno miong*

kongkong na= buno miong
dog 3= kill cat

A cat killed a **dog** / cats kill **dogs**

Note however, that to make it even marginally acceptable in (544) *miong* (A) has been cross-referenced with *na=* even though it is indefinite and indefinite arguments are not usually cross-referenced. This could again suggest that focusing P^{INDEF} promotes it to P, which further promotes A^{INDEF} to A.

Finally, sentences in which A is not only indefinite but lower on the animacy hierarchy than P are unacceptable.¹⁸⁹

(545) **Miong angkokkoka'*

miong aN- kokko' =a'
cat AF- bite =1

A **cat** bit me

¹⁸⁸ Basri & Finer (1987) have a different analysis, in which it is the trace (left behind when P^{INDEF} is moved) that is definite and which triggers the *ERG=* marking of S^A . I prefer an analysis in which focus itself promotes an argument to core status.

¹⁸⁹ This appears to be the case whether or not focus is involved.

(546) **Inakke nakokko' miong*

inakke na= kokko' miong
 1PRO 3= bite cat

A cat bit **me**

Complex sentences show focus phenomena which differ somewhat from simple examples. For example, NPs may be in standard (postverbal) position in one clause, and simultaneously occupy focus position (as can be seen by the use of the Actor focus prefix *aN-*) in a subsequent clause. For example, (547), shows the S NP from one clause serving as focused A in the following clause, and then as A (equi-deleted) in a third clause:

(547) *battu- tommy kongkonga ampasire'bokangi, angkanrei.*

battu tong =mo =i kongkong ≡a aN- pa- si- re'bo' -ang =i
 come also =PFV =3 dog ≡DEF AF- CAUS- MUT- squabble -BEN =3

aN- kanre =i
 AF- eat =3

the dogs came, fought over it, ate it (bembe:100)

Example (548) from the same story shows three clauses with typical focus morphology, but only one in which an NP (*bembea*) actually occupies the focus slot. In the second clause the 1st person (represented by the preposed clitic pronoun on the initial adverbial modifier *dikki'-dikki'*) is marked as focused A by the prefix *aN-* on *ambuangi*, after which the unfocused P of the second clause becomes the focused (but ellipsed) P of the third clause:

(548) *Bembea mange a'je'ne', kudikki'-dikki' mange ambuangi karungkunna naung ri buttaya, napasire'bokang kongkong.*

bembe ≡a mange aC- je'ne' ku= dikki'- dikki' mange aN- buang =i karungkung
 goat ≡DEF go MV- water 1= RDP- creep go AF- fall =3 disguise

≡na naung ri butta ≡a na= pa- si- re'bo' -ang kongkong
 ≡3.POSS go.down PREP land ≡DEF 3= CAUS- MUT- squabble -BEN dog

The goat went to bathe, I crept to throw her disguise down to the ground, it was torn apart by dogs (bembe:111)

In the preceding examples, although focus can be identified according to the structural principles as noted for simple clauses, it is unclear what the pragmatic effects are. This requires further investigation not only of focus but of clause integration phenomena.

11.9.2 Topicalisation

There is a further possibility for preposing elements in a clause, which is left-dislocation. In this (unlike with focus) a clear prosodic break occurs between the preposed element and the remainder of the clause, and if the preposed element is a core argument, cross-referencing does occur (again, unlike focus). This can be seen in both (549) and (550) — in the former A is topicalised and both arguments are cross-referenced, in the latter A is topicalised, P is focused and thus only A is cross-referenced with a proclitic:

(549) *kongkonga, nabunoi mionga*

kongkong ≡a na= buno =i miong ≡a
 dog ≡DEF 3= kill =3 cat ≡DEF
 the dog, it killed the cat

(550) *kongkonga, mionga nabuno*

kongkong ≡a miong ≡a na= buno
 dog ≡DEF cat ≡DEF 3= kill
 as for the dog, it was the cat that it killed

Example (551) has two clauses illustrating the structural contrast between topic and focus — in the first clause P is topicalised and thus is cross-referenced with an enclitic, while in the second P is in focus and is not cross-referenced:

(551) *Anjo bainea, nalantiki Karaeng ri Massere'; anjo bura'nea nalanti' Karaeng ri Roong*

anjo baine ≡a na= lanti' =i karaeng ri Massere' anjo bura'ne ≡a
 that female ≡DEF 3= inaugurate =3 karaeng PREP Massere' that man ≡DEF

na= lanti' karaeng ri Roong
 3= inaugurate karaeng PREP Roong

That girl, he made her Karaeng of Massere', that boy he made Karaeng of Roong.
 (bembe:003)

Topicalisation differs functionally from focus as one would expect. Whereas marked focus is generally used in a contrastive function, topicalisation is most often used when setting a topic either for a whole text (as was the case in (551) as the story is basically about Karaeng Massere'), or for switching between alternative topics. It also clearly differs syntactically. Whereas a focused argument is an argument within the phrase (as indicated by omission of its corresponding clitic pronoun), a topicalised NP is external to the phrase (as indicated by the presence of the clitic pronoun).

12 Other clause types

In this chapter I will examine less ‘basic’ but still common types of clause.

12.1 Imperatives

Transitive imperative clauses are distinguished from indicative clauses because they lack ERG= proclitic pronouns indexing A. Intransitive imperatives do contain a 2nd person =ABS enclitic pronoun indexing S, which means that in fact they are indistinguishable from indicatives, though context can of course make clear which interpretation is intended. In addition, intransitive imperatives are often marked with the perfective enclitic =*mo* (this is also considered polite), and/or less commonly the hortative adverb *sá*:

(552) *Ammempomaki'!*

amm- empo =mo =ki'
MV- sit =PFV =2p

Please sit! (lit. ‘you sat’)

(553) *Angnganre-sámako rong*

aN(N)- kanre sá =mo =ko rong
BV- eat HORT =PFV =2f first

Please eat first!

(554) *A'lampako punna tanungaia!*

aC- lampa =ko punna ta= nu= ngai -a
MV- go =2f if NEG= 2f= like -SBJV

Go if you don't like it!

(555) *Naikko ri balla'!*

nai' =ko ri balla'
go.up =2f PREP house

Get in the house!

Intransitive imperatives may also be formed from adjectives (556), and deictic adverbs (557); in such cases the =ABS enclitic pronoun is also employed.

(556) *Sa'barakko naung antayangi pappidalle'na Alla-ta'ala*

sa'bar =a' =ko naung aN- tayang =i pa- aC- pi- dalle' ≡na A-T
patient =EC =2f go.up AF- wait =3 NR- MV- EXP- livelihood ≡3.POSS God

Be patient [upwards], wait for sustenance from God (C:627)

(557) *Anrinnimako! Anjoremmako*

anrinni =mo =ko anjoreng =mo =ko
 here =PFV =2f there =PFV =2f

Come here! Go there! (**anturemmako* ‘*go there near you’)

It does not appear, however, that nominal predicates may function as imperatives, for example *guruko* can only be interpreted as ‘you are a teacher’, not ‘be a teacher!’.

In contrast, transitive imperatives, as mentioned above, do not mark (2nd person) A, and the =ABS enclitic pronoun indexes P. They are further distinguished by the fact that they also lack verb prefixes:

(558) *Tayamma'*

tayang =mo =a'
 wait =PFV =1

Please wait for me

(cf. *attayamma'* ‘I waited’; *nutayamma'* ‘you waited for me’; **tayamma^{ko}* ‘*wait for yourself’)

(559) *Inungi pa'ballenu!*

inung =i pa'balle ≡nu
 drink =3 medicine ≡2f,POSS

Drink your medicine!

(cf. *angnginung^{ko} pa'balle* ‘he drank medicine’; *nuinungi pa'ballenu* ‘you drink your medicine’)

Transitivised and causative adjectives may also form imperatives:

(560) *Bajiki sapedanu, reppeki*

baji' -i =i sapeda ≡nu reppe' =i
 good -APPL =3 bicycle ≡2f broken =3

Fix your bike, it's broken

(561) *Pakabambammi kopiku*

paka- bambang =mo =i kopi ≡ku
 CAUS.ADJ- hot =PFV =3 coffee ≡3.POSS

Heat up my coffee please

Benefactive imperatives and ditransitive imperatives with definite themes are marked as might be expected with benefactive *-ang* (see §11.8), and as expected do not take the ERG= proclitic:

(562) *Sungkeanga'pakke'bu'nu ana'*

sungke -ang =a' pakke'bu' ≡nu ana'
 open -BEN =1 door ≡2f,POSS child

Open the door for me kids (PT:118)

(563) *Ballian-sá' anjo bajua!*

balli -ang sá =a' anjo baju ≡a
 buy -BEN HORT =1 that shirt ≡DEF

Buy me that shirt!

Negative imperatives are formed with *tea*, see §12.3.3.

12.2 Questions

Two main types of question are distinguished: yes/no questions and content questions. The former are marked by use of some characteristic morphemes and intonation, or by intonation alone. The latter contain interrogative pro-forms, which were introduced briefly in §5.6.4, but are examined more thoroughly here.

12.2.1 Yes/no questions

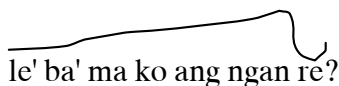
The most common way of marking yes/no questions in spoken Makassarese is with intonation, which typically rises throughout the question, reaching a peak on the stressed syllable of the last word, after which it falls and then has a lesser terminal rise:

(564) *Le'ba'mako angnganre?*

le'ba' =mo =ko aN(N)- kanre
 already =PFV =2f BV- eat

Have you eaten already?

An attempt to represent it diagrammatically (albeit impressionistically) follows:


 le' ba' ma ko ang ngan re?

Yes/no questions can frequently be identified because they are cast in the negative, eg:

(565) *Tenamo nule'ba' angnganre?*

tena =mo nu= le'ba' aN(N)- kanre
 NEG =PFV 2f= already BV- eat

Haven't you eaten yet?

In addition to intonation, the either/or clitic *=ka* (§4.3.3.6) is sometimes used to mark leading questions, which although still yes/no questions invite the hearer to add more information:

(566) *Tinrokako?*

tinro =ka =ko
sleep =q =2f

Are you asleep or ...?

(567) *Lanukanrekainjo?*

la= nu= kanre =ka =i (a)njo
FUT= 2f= eat =or =3 that

Are you going to eat that or...?

The question tag/discourse particle *di* (see §5.12) is also used on yes/no questions when the answer is anticipated, or to check that a hypothesis or expectation is correct:

(568) *Le'ba'mako angnganre, di?*

le'ba' =mo =ko aN(N)- kanre di
already =PFV =2f BV- eat TAG

You've already eaten, haven't you?

In the traditional scripts there was no punctuation similar to a question mark, and perhaps as a result in writing and in other formal genres, the sentential adverb *maka* which is usually a marker of deontic modality ('should') can be used to explicitly mark a yes/no question:

(569) *Maka inakke lassuro*

maka i- nakke la= aC- suro
should PERS- 1PRO FUT= MV- order

Will I give the order? (C:432)

(570) *Maka tenapa nule'ba' nasareang Ali doe' jai?*

maka tena =pa nu= le'ba' na= sare -ang Ali doe' jai
should NEG =IPF 2f= already 3= give -BEN Ali money many

Didn't Ali once give you a lot of money? (Friberg 2002:4)

12.2.2 Content questions

Content questions seek specific information, and are formed by using interrogative pro-forms which correspond to the word class of the type of answer being sought. Several of these interrogatives are clearly based on the interrogative pronoun *apa*: namely the question verb *angngapa*, the numeral interrogative *siapa*, and the temporal interrogatives *ringngapanna* and *siapayya*. Of these only *apa* can be used as an

indefinite pronoun ('something') or negated to function as a negative pronoun (*tena apa* 'nothing') Other negative pronoun-like meanings are expressed by using a negator and appropriate nominal, eg. *tena tau* 'no person', *tena tampa* 'no place'.

In general, questioned NPs are not cross-referenced, usually because they are in focus position.

12.2.2.1 *apa* 'what'

The interrogative pronoun *apa* is used when information is sought about a noun other than a human (for which see *inai* 'who' below). *Apa* can appear in any position in which a noun could occur, but it is most often found in focus position (§11.9). The following examples show *apa* in questions about S with verbal (571) and nominal predicates (572), (573); and A (574) and P (575) in verbal predicates:

(571) *Apa angngarru' kamma?*

apa aN(N)- karru' kamma
what BV- cry thus
What's howling like that?

(572) *Apa ero'nu?*

apa ero' =nu
what want =2f
What do you want?

(573) *Apa saba'na nipasse're ngasengki' sikontu kara'-karaenga sanggenna rangka'na Gowa?*

apa saba' =na ni- pa- aC- se're ngaseng =ki' si- kontu
what reason =3.POSS PASS- CAUS- MV- one all =2p one- thus

karaeng- karaeng =a sangge =nna rangka' =na Gowa
RDP- karaeng =DEF until =3.POSS the.whole =3.POSS Gowa

Why were we all made to gather like this, all the karaengs from the whole of Gowa? (SKT:034)

(574) *Apa ampakalumanynyangko?*

apa aN- pa- kalumanynyang =ko
what AF- CAUS- rich =2f
What made you rich? (PT:220)

(575) *Apa nukanremo ri bari'basa?*

apa nu= kanre =mo ri bari'basa
what 2f= eat =PFV PREP morning
What did you eat for breakfast?

It may function as an attributive modifier of a noun, meaning 'what, which':

(576) *Agama apa nata'gala' taua ri Bali?*

agama apa na= ta'gal =a' tau ≡a ri Bali
 religion what 3= hold =EC person ≡DEF PREP Bali

What religion do people have in Bali? (C:748)

Apa may also occur within predicates, either as the head of a nominal predicate itself (577), or as an attributive modifier in nominal (578) or adjectival predicates (579):

(577) *Apai?*

apa =i
 what =3

What is it?

(578) *Tau apaki'?*

tau apa =ki'
 person what =2p

What (kind of) person are you? (ie. what nationality or ethnicity)

(579) *Garring apai i Nona?*

garring apa =i i Nona
 sick what =3 PERS Chinese.girl

What's wrong with Nona? (a song title)

Reduplicated *apa-apa* means 'things, stuff' and is roughly equivalent to the indefinite pronoun *anu* 'whatsit' (see §5.6.5.1), as in *jai apa-apanna* <many RDP-what≡3.POSS> 'he has many things' (= *jai anunna*). Other derivations of *apa* are interrogatives in their own right, see *angngapa* (§12.2.2.4), *ringngapanna* (§12.2.2.5), *siapayya* (§12.2.2.6), *siapa* (§12.2.2.7).

Apa is also the base of the lexicalised discourse connective *apaji* <apa=ja=i | what=LIM=3> 'so, it ended up that ...':

(580) *I Ali antu nisuro anjamai mingka téai apaji na inakke-mamo anjamai*

i- Ali antu ni- suro aN- jama =i mingka téa =i apa =ja =i na
 PERS- Ali that PASS- order BV- work =3 but not.want =3 what =LIM =3 COMP

i- nakke mamo aN- jama =i
 PERS- 1PRO only BV- work =3

Ali was told to do the work but he didn't want to, so in the end I was left to do it (C:27)

12.2.2.2 *inai* 'who'

The pronoun *inai* is used when information is sought about a person. The initial *i-* is probably the personal prefix, but the form *nai* is not seen without it. *Inai* is always clause

initial, ie. in focus position. The following three examples all show it being used to enquire the identity of S (or the owner of S) with intransitive nominal predicates:

(581) *Inainjo tau?*

inai (a)njo tau
who that person

Who is that person?

When *inai* is used to ask about a non-human referent, it is assumed to refer to the owner of that referent, as can be seen in (582) and (583):

(582) *Inai arenta?*

inai areng ≡ta
who name ≡2p.POSS

What is your name?

(583) *A: Inainjo bembe? Bembenu? B: Teái, bembe battu*

inai (a)njo bembe bembe ≡nu teái =i bembe battu
who that goat goat ≡2f.POSS NEG.be =3 goat come

A: Whose is that goat? Your goat? B: No, it's a goat that just turned up (C:90)

Examples (584)-(586) show *inai* with verbal predicates, in reference to S, A, and P respectively:

(584) *Inai angngarru' kamma?*

inai aN(N)- karru' kamma
who BV- cry thus

Who's crying like that? (cf. (571))

(585) *Inai amba'ji i Udin?*

inai aN- ba'ji =i i Udin
who AF- hit =3 PERS- Udin

Who hit Udin?

(586) *Inai naba'ji i Ali?*

inai na= ba'ji i Ali
who 3= hit PERS- Ali

Who did Ali hit?

Because it must be in focus position (§11.9), *inai* can not be used to ask about non-core arguments such as agents of passive clauses or complements of the prepositional verb *siagáng* 'with'. Thus, to ask about the former, the sentence must be made active with A focus (eg. (585)); while in the latter circumstance, to avoid the sentence **battuki' anrinni siagáng inai?* 'you came here with whom?', the following construction may be used:

(587) *Inai kiagáng battu anrinni?*

inai ki= agáng battu anrinni
 who 2p= accompany come here

Who did you come here with? lit. 'who did you accompany here?'

12.2.2.3 *kere* 'where, which'

This interrogative has two functions. One is to ask 'which' (of a set), while in the other it usually combines with the basic verb *mae* 'be in a place' to ask 'where'. In the 'which' usage, *kere* appears in focus position and represents an argument, similar to the usages of *apa* and *inai*, and thus does not host an enclitic:

(588) *Kere nungai anne anu ruayya*

kere nu= ngai anne anu rua ≡a
 which 2f= like this thingy two ≡DEF

Which do you like out of these two? (C:322)

(589) *Apa uruna, apa pakaramulanna, kere poko'na, kere aka' ma'lanranna.*

apa uru ≡na apa pakaramula ≡nna
 what first ≡3.POSS what beginning ≡3.POSS

kere poko' ≡na kere aka' ma'lanrang ≡na
 which trunk ≡3.POSS which root tap.root ≡3.POSS

What is its start, what is its beginning, which is its trunk, which is its root. (Sinrili: I Ma'di')

In its 'where' usage, *kere mae* (often reduced to *ke mae*) is itself either a predicate or part thereof, and can host clitic pronouns — the placement of which is quite variable:

(590) *Lakereko mae? Lakeko mae? Lake(re) maeko?*

la= kere =**ko** mae la= ke =**ko** mae la= ke mae =**ko**
 FUT= where =**2f** be.at FUT= where =**2f** be.at FUT= where be.at =**2f**

Where are you going?

(591) *Battuki' ke(re) mae? Battu ke(re)ki' mae? Battu ke(re) maeki'?*

battu =**ki'** kere mae battu kere **ki'** mae battu kere mae =**ki'**
 come =**2p** where be.at come where =**2p** be.at come where be.at =**2p**

Where have you been? Where are you from?

In practice, inanimate 3rd person arguments are rarely cross-referenced on *kere mae*, as seen in the following example where there is no 3rd person clitic =*i* on either *kere* or *mae*:

(592) *Kere mae balla'na?*

kere mae balla' ≡na
 which be.in.a.place house ≡3.POSS

Where is his house? (cf. *kere balla'na* 'which is his house?')

12.2.2.4 *angngapa* ‘(do) what’, ‘why’

Angngapa is a verb derived with *aN(N)*– from the root *apa* (§12.2.2.1). It has two major uses which in English are expressed with a ‘(do) what’, and ‘why’. The two uses are quite distinct. In the ‘(do) what’ sense *angngapa* is a main predicate, which can be either intransitive (and rather vague) as in (593), or transitive as in (594) and (595):

(593) *Angngapako?*

aN(N) *apa* =ko?

–

BV– what =2f

What are you doing? What is it? What do you want? How are you? What’s the matter with you?

(594) *Lakuapamako?*

la= *ku*= *apa* =mo =ko

FUT= 1= what =PFV =2f

What will I do with you now?

(595) A: *Lanuapaintu mionga?* B: *Lakupakanrei.*

la= *nu*= *apa* =i (a)ntu miong ≡a *la*= *ku*= *pa*– *kanre* =i

FUT= 2f= what =3 that cat ≡DEF *FUT*= 1= CAUS– eat =3

A: What are you going to do with that cat? B: I’m going to feed it.

When it is used to mean ‘why’, *angngapa* occurs in initial position and takes as a complement a clause expressing the queried state of affairs. This suggests that *angngapa* ‘do what’ is a genuine verb, whereas the ‘why’ use has shed its verbal morphosyntax. Like negative clauses with *taena* (§ 12.3.2) and other ‘fronting’ constructions (§11.2.2), *angngapa* does not usually host a clitic itself, but causes clitic fronting on the following clause. The complementiser *na* may optionally be present in all such sentences, but must be present when the complement clause itself begins with an element causing clitic movement such as a negator, as can be seen in (599):

(596) *Angngapa (na) numakkala'?*

aN(N)– *apa* (na) *nu*= makkal =a'

BV– what (COMP) 2f= laugh =EC

Why are you laughing?

(597) *Angngapa nummantang inja, nabangngimo.*

aN(N)– *apa* *nu*= amm- antang inja *na*= bangngi =mo

BV– why 2f= *MV*– stay still 3= night =PFV

Why are you still here? it’s already night (bembe:086)

(598) *Angngapa nukalumanynyang kamma?*

aN(N)- apa nu= kalumanynyang kamma
 BV- what 2f= rich thus

Why are you rich like this? (PT:220)

(599) *Angngapa na tena kierangi pammanakanta?*

aN(N)- apa na tena ki= erang =i pammanakang ≡ta
 BV- what COMP NEG 2p= bring =3 family ≡2p.POSS

Why didn't you bring your family?

12.2.2.5 *ringngapanna* 'when'

Ringngapanna is used to ask about the timing of past events, or habitual events (601). Morphologically it appears to consist of the interrogative verb *angngapa* preceded by the preposition *ri* and suffixed with the 3rd person possessive ≡ *na*, however it is not obvious how the combination of these parts denotes the actual meaning. Cense (1979:28) considers the preposition *ri* optional, and (602) below appears without it in the dictionary, but *angngapanna* without *ri* was rejected by modern speakers.

Ringngapanna always occurs clause-initially, and like other temporal expressions it causes clitic fronting (ie. it is followed by a complement clause).

(600) *Ringngapanna nubattu?*

ringngapanna nu= battu
 when 2f= come

When did you arrive?

(601) *Ringngapanna nabiasa appasara'?*

ringngapanna na= biasa aC- pasar =a'
 when 3= usual MV- market =EC

When does she usually go to market?

(602) *Ringngapanna nanutunrung*

ringngapanna na= nu= tunrung
 when 3= 2f= hit

When did you hit him? (C:28)

12.2.2.6 *siapayya* 'when' (FUT)

Siapayya is used to ask about the timing of a future event. In all cases it may optionally be preceded by the preposition *ri*. Morphologically it appears to consist of the numeral interrogative *siapa* and the definite marker ≡ *a*, but as with *ringngapanna* it is unclear how this combination could result in the actual meaning.

Like *ringngapanna*, *siapayya* always occurs clause-initially, and causes clitic fronting.

(603) *Ri siapayya nummotere' ri pa'rasangannu?*

ri siapayya nu= amm- oter =e' ri pa'rasangang ≡nu
 PREP when.FUT 2f= MV- return =EC PREP country ≡2f,POSS

When will you return to your country?

(604) *(Ri) siapayya nanisungke sikolayya?*

ri siapayya na= ni- sungke sikola ≡a
 PREP when.FUT 3= PASS- open school ≡DEF

When will the school open? (C:28)

12.2.2.7 *siapa* 'how much/ how many'

Siapa is used for asking about numbers and quantities of things in constructions which do not include classifiers (see *pirang* below). This includes asking the time or date, and the price of items. Morphologically *siapa* appears to be composed of the mutual prefix *si-* and the interrogative pronoun *apa*, though its meaning can not be predicted clearly from that combination.¹⁹⁰

(605) *Tette' siapa kamma-kammanne? Tette' lima.*

tette' siapa kamma kamma (a)nne

o'clock how.much RDP- thus this

What time is it now? Five o'clock.

(606) *Siapa ballinna anjo sapeda?*

siapa balli ≡nna anjo sapeda
 how.much price ≡3.POSS that bicycle

How much is that bike?

In examples like those above, the expected answer is a numeral. In other examples though *siapa* asks about things which are less easily quantified, such as a hypothetical length of time in (607) and the extent of a house's strength in (608).

(607) *Angkana "siapa sallona nala'busu' tau Marusuka punna taena naero' ampinawangi ero'na Arumpone?"*

aN- kana siapa sallo ≡na na= la'bus =u' tau Marus =u' ≡a
 AF- word how.much long ≡3.POSS 3= finished =EC person Maros =EC ≡DEF

punna taena na= ero' aN- pinawang =i ero' ≡na Arumpone
 if/when NEG 3= want AF- follow =3 want ≡3.POSS Arumpone

He said [to himself], "How long [will it be until] all the people of Maros are killed if I do not give in to the wish of the Arumpone?" (Maros:186)

¹⁹⁰ The same combination (with different forms) is found in other languages of the region; for example in Muna, Southeast Sulawesi (Berg 1989:218) 'how many' is *se-hae* <one-what>.

(608) *Siapa todong kagassinganna balla'nu...*

siapa todong ka> gassing <ang ≡na balla' ≡nu
how.much also NR> strong <NR ≡3.POSS house ≡2f.POSS

How much strength does your house have anyway... (PT:126)

Siapa is subject to the same major derivational processes as numerals (see §5.8.1): namely the ordinal prefix *maka-* (*makasiapa* ‘the how many-th?’), the multiplier *piN-* (*pissiapa* ‘how many times?’), and the distributive prefix *taC-* (*tassiapa* ‘how many each?’).

12.2.2.8 *pirang* ‘how many’

The numeral interrogative *pirang* is used where the corresponding numeral would be attached to a classifier or measure noun, or higher order numeral, or in other words wherever the numeral linker *-N-* would be found (see §5.8).¹⁹¹

(609) *Pirangkayu tedong? Pirambatu balla'?*

pirang kayu tedong pirang batu balla'
how.many CLASS buffalo how.many CLASS house

How many buffalo? How many houses?

(610) *Pirangngallomaki' anrinni?*

pirang allo =mo =ki' anrinni
how.many day =PFV =2p here

How many days have you been here?

(611) *Pirambilangngang taungi umuru'na?*

pirang bilangngang taung =i umur =u' ≡na
how.many hundred year =3 age =EC ≡3.POSS

How many centuries old is it?

12.2.2.9 *antekamma* ‘how’

This interrogative appears to be formed from *ante* (a dialectal and archaic variant of *kere* ‘which, where’, see §12.2.2.3), and *kamma* ‘be like so, thus’. It is used to ask about manners and methods of doing things. *Antekamma* can host enclitics. Cense gives an example in which the enclitic occurs on *ante* (*ante=i kamma* ‘how is it’), but in all the examples in my corpus the enclitic is attached to the compound form.

¹⁹¹ In fact the final nasal on *pirang* is most likely the linker, but as there is no context in which the form *pira* is ever found, I have analysed the nasal as integral.

(612) *Antekammaminne amma' punna lanaikki' ri balla'?*

antekamma =mo =i anne amma' punna la= nai' =ki' ri balla'
 how =PFV =3 this mother if/when FUT= go.up =2p PREP house

How will you climb up to the house, mother? (lit. How this, mother, when you'll climb up to the house?) (PT:053)

(613) *Antekamma-tossengi i Yasuto?*

antekamma tong seng =i i Yasuto
 how also again =3 PERS Yasuto

How was Yasuto again? (ie. returning to Yasuto, how was he going?)

In some examples such as (614) *antekamma* asks about a noun relating to manner or method, in which case there is no enclitic. In such examples *antekamma* could be substituted by *apa* with no change in meaning.

(614) *Antekamma batena akkio' tedonga anjo?*

antekamma bate ≡na aC- kio' tedong ≡a anjo
 how method ≡3.POSS MV- call buffalo ≡DEF that

In what manner is that buffalo calling? (PT:153)

12.3 Negation

There are several related ways of expressing negation, most based either synchronically or etymologically on the negating clitic *ta=*. Apart from *ta=* itself, those derived from it are: *taena* 'not', *tea* 'not want', and *teá* 'not be'. The prohibitive *iang* is an exception.

12.3.1 *ta=* 'NEG'

Although *ta=* is not the most common negator, it is the most basic (ie. unambiguously monomorphemic) whereas the other negators described below can be analysed as grammaticalised compounds. In isolation *ta=* simply means 'not' and is equivalent to the default negator *taena* (see below), and thus most clauses with *taena* could be recast with *ta=* instead, eg. (615) and (616):

(615) *taena kuássemmi*

tena ku= asseng =mo =i
 NEG 1= know =PFV =3

I don't know it anymore, I forgot it

(616) *takuasséngami*

ta= ku= asseng -a =mo =i
 NEG= 1= know -SBJV =PRF =3

I don't know it anymore, I forgot it

In practice, clauses such as (616) are quite marked in the modern language. This may be partly because the presence of *ta=* on a verb usually requires the addition of subjunctive *-a* to the verb before any enclitics (see §10.3), and the subjunctive itself is somewhat archaic. In the modern language *ta=* is most often found in combination with the free negators in double negative constructions such as (621) below. These do not require subjunctive *-a*.

The use of *ta=* was much more common in the language of the Gowa chronicle, and is also not uncommon in genres which preserve archaic/literary style, such as folk tales (*rupama*) and epic prose (*sinrili*). From the KIT manuscript, example (617) is from the Gowa chronicle, while (618) is from article 16 of the Bungaya treaty of 1667:

(617) *anne Karaenga. tanipujiyai. malambusu'. tanipujiyai. panrita.*

anne karaeng ≡a ta= ni- puji -a =i ma- lambus =u'
this karaeng ≡DEF NEG= PASS- praise -SBJV =3 STV- upright =EC

ta= ni- puji -a =i panrita
NEG= PASS- praise -SBJV =3 expert

This karaeng was not praised for being just, was not praised for being learned.
(KIT:3.07)

(618) *ka le'ba' naadóimi manna silawara ruku tania' apa nakana anunna*

ka le'ba' na= ado -i =mo =i manna si- lawar =a' ruku
because already 3= agree -APPL =PFV =3 even one- blade =EC grass

ta= nia' apa na= kana anu ≡nna
NEG= exist what 3= say thingy ≡3.POSS

because he (Sultan Hasanuddin) already agreed that he has no claim to even one blade of grass (of Buton): lit. there does not exist anything (about which) he says (that is) his thing

There is an additional usage found only in the chronicles, in which the combination of *ri* and *ta=* prefixed to a verb functions as a kind of irrealis marker, with the meaning 'before the time of VERB', literally 'at (the time when) not':

(619) *Areng pakaraengang ri tama'gaukang nikana Karaeng Passi'*

areng pa> karaeng <ang ri ta= maC- gau' -ang ni- kana karaeng Passi'
name NR> king <NR PREP NEG= MV- action -NR PASS- word king Passi'

His karaeng name before he became ruler (lit: at not ruling) was Karaeng Passi'
(Maros:056).

12.3.2 *t(a)ena* 'not'

The most common negator is *t(a)ena*; the two variants *taena* and *tena* are distinguished only by level of formality, with *taena* being more formal. It seems likely that *taena* is a

grammaticised compound derived from *ta=ia na* <NEG=3PRO COMP>, literally ‘it’s not that...’ — the presence of *na* would help to explain why it should cause clitic fronting (§ 11.2.2). This negator does not require subjunctive *-a*:

(620) *tena kuássemmi*

tena ku= asseng =mo =i
NEG 1= know =PFV =3

I don’t know it anymore, I forgot it

The combination of *taena* and *ta=* forms a negative + negative (= positive) construction. These are quite common, and interestingly, they do not require insertion of *-a* either.

(621) *baju keboka taena tanamangéi*

baju kebo' ≡a taena ta= na= mange -i
shirt white ≡DEF NEG NEG= 3= go -APPL

the white shirt goes with everything (lit: the white shirt, there’s no it not going with)

(622) *tenamo tau tampauí*

tena =mo tau ta= aN- pau =i
NEG =PFV person NEG= AF- story =3

everyone says it (lit: there’s no longer anyone who doesn’t say it)

As the previous example shows, *taena* can host TAM enclitics — the combinations of the negators and TAM enclitics were discussed in §4.3.3.

Double *taena* constructions are also found, eg:

(623) *Taenamo taena nia' ngasengmako anne*

taena =mo taena nia' ngaseng =mo =ko anne
NEG =PFV NEG exist all =PFV =2f this

No-one isn't, there's everyone here (SKT:76)

12.3.3 *tea* ‘don’t’

The third negative element is *tea* (probably derived from *ta=ia* (NEG=3PRO) ‘it’s not’), which hosts enclitics itself, rather than causing clitic movement. In 1st and 3rd person it means ‘not want’; in the 2nd person the meaning is vetative, ‘don’t’:

(624) *tea' angnganre*

tea =a' aN(N)- kanre
not.want =1 BV- eat

I don’t want to eat

(625) *teai anjama*

tea =i aN- jama
 not.want =3 BV- work
 he doesn't want to work

(626) *teako sungkéi andi' punna teái i amma'*

tea =ko sungke -i andi' punna teái =i i amma'
 VET =2f open -APPL ↓sibling if not.be =3 PERS mother
 don't open it (the door), sister, if it's not mother (PT:121)

As with other negatives, in both of its senses *tea* is often found in negative + negative (= positive) constructions:

(627) *teai takicini' kakangku punna kilampa ri Soppeng*

tea =i ta= ki= cini' kaka' ≡ngku punna ki= lampa ri Soppeng
 not.want =3 NEG= 1pl= see ↑sibling ≡1.POSS if 1pl= go PREP Soppeng
 my sister doesn't want us to not see (her) if we go to Soppeng (= we'd better visit her)

(628) *teako ta'lampa*

tea =ko ta= aC- lampa
 VET =2f NEG= MV- go
 don't not go (= you'd better go)

12.3.4 *teái* 'not be'

Teái (with deviant final stress) is a negator of nominals roughly equivalent to Indonesian *bukan*. It can host enclitic pronouns, eg: *teái* 's/he/it's not', *teái* <tea=a'> 'I'm not'. One example was in the second clause of (626) above: *teái i amma'* 'it's not mother', another appears below:

(629) *teái kanangku*

teái =i kana ≡ngku
 not.be =3 word =1.POSS
 they are not my words (ie. I didn't say that)

Cense speculates that *teái* is most likely etymologically <ta=ia-a | NEG=3PRO-SBJV> 'it's not' (C:240), which seems plausible, though older examples which actually contain *taiái* show it with a different function, as seen in the following sentence from the Gowa Chronicle:

(630) *taiái. nipailalang. lontara'. kana-kanaya. ri bundu'na.*

ta= ia -a =i ni- pa- i lalang
 NEG= 3PRO -SBJV =3 PASS- CAUS- PREP inside

lontar =a' kana- kana ≡a ri bundu' ≡na
 lontar =EC RDP- word ≡DEF PREP war ≡3.POSS

There was not put in the *lontara'* words about their war (KIT:2.13)

12.3.5 *iang*

Iang is a prohibitive marker found in manuscripts, but quite marked in modern use. Its meaning in manuscripts is 'may I not'. The vast majority of clauses containing *iang* are in the archaic formulae *iangku mabassung* or *iangku maweke-weke* 'may I not swell up', 'may I not be diminished', used in *patturioloang* (chronicles) to ward off bad luck from the writer when personal names of nobility are mentioned.

(631) *areng kalenna. iangku mabassung. nikana. I Mangayoaberang.*

areng kale ≡nna iang ≡ku ma- bassung ni- kana I Mangayoaberang
 name self ≡3.POSS PROH ≡1.POSS STV- swollen.belly PASS- word PERS Mangayoaberang

His personal name, may I not swell up, was I Mangayoaberang. (KIT:1)

All the examples which were produced by speakers upon my request were somewhat different, in the 2nd clause of a 'I do X, lest Y' pattern (eg. (632)).

(632) *kusareko doe' iannu tau kasi-asi dudu*

ku= sare =ko doe' iang ≡nu tau kasi-asi dudu
 1= give =2f money PROH ≡2f.POSS person poor very

I give you money lest you be a pitiful person

Cense (1979:247-8) identifies this as *ia* (homonymic with the 3rd person pronoun), and always suffixed with the prenasalised versions of the possessive markers (≡*ngku*, ≡*nna* and so forth, see §4.4.2). Ultimately there is no way to tell whether the nasal belongs to the prohibitive or the possessives. In fact, initially I assumed that these constructions were in fact showing fronted clitic pronouns as is common after a negator (see *taena* above), thus (631) would be *iang ku=mabassung*. However, a counter-example exists in the form 1pl/2pol form, which is *ianta* rather than **iang ki=* as seen in (633) below:

(633) *iantamo tu'guru' naung*

iang ≡ta =mo tu'gur =u' naung
 PROH ≡1pl.POSS =PFV fall =EC go.down

may we not fall down (C:248)

I have analysed this form as *iang* rather than *ia* partly to distinguish it from the pronoun, and partly because the form is suggested by the existence of a similar form *jang* (cf. Indonesian *jangan*) in the mixed Indonesian/Makassarese vernacular used by students and prevalent on the internet. This is a vetative marker and hosts enclitics

rather than possessives, quite similar to the vetative use of *tea* seen in §12.3.3 above. An example is the following warning posted in the message board of the newspaper Fajar, not long after acts of terrorism in Makassar in 2002 (the Indonesian words are in bold):

(634) *Kubilang jangko pigi di McD*

ku= **bilang** jang =ko **pigi di** McD
 1= say VET =2f go prep McDonalds
 I say don't go to McDonalds

There is another reason to consider it as *iang*, which is that there is a clear parallel with the sentential adverbs *mang* 'even though' and *pung* 'if'. Being more productive these have lexicalised with the 3rd person possessive into *manna* and *punna*, the differently inflected forms *mangku*, *pungku*, etc, are extremely archaic.

12.4 Existentials

Existential clauses are formed with the basic verb *nia'*. They have three main functions.

The primary one is introductory: to introduce participants into discourse:

(635) *Nia' se're romang... i lalanna anjo romanga nia' todong sikayu tedong angnganre ruku'.*

nia' se're romang i lalang ≡na anjo romang ≡a **nia'** todong
exist one forest PREP inside ≡3.POSS that forest ≡DEF **exist** also

si- kayu tedong aN(N)- kanre ruku'
 one- animal buffalo BV- food grass

There was a forest... in that forest there was a buffalo eating grass (PT:002-3)

The second major function of existential clauses is to signal predicate possession, which is shown by the combination of *nia'* and possessive markers on the noun:¹⁹²

(636) *Nia' doe'nu?*

nia' doe' ≡nu
exist money ≡2s.POSS
 Do you have money?

¹⁹² There is no verb corresponding easily to English 'have' or Indonesian *punya* — the noun *pata* 'owner' can be used if ownership is specifically at issue. There are also cases in which *nia'* need not be used for predicate possession because there is a verb derived from a noun with the meaning 'have NOUN', eg: *amma'na* 'have a child'.

(637) *Nia'se're karaeng nia' ana'na rua, baine sitau, bura'ne sitau.*

nia' se're karaeng **nia'** ana' $\equiv$ na rua baine si- tau bura'ne si- tau
be one karaeng **exist** child $\equiv$ 3.POSS two female one- person man one- person

There was a karaeng, he had two children, one girl, one boy (bembe:001)

Note that numeral predicates can be an alternative to existential predicate possession, eg. *ruai ana'na* <rua=i ana' $\equiv$ na | two=3 child $\equiv$ 3.POSS> 'he had two children' rather than *nia' ana'na rua* (see §11.5.4).

Thirdly, and least commonly, there are some circumstances in which *nia'* is in fact existential (or at least locative) rather than introductory or possessive, as in the following examples:

(638) *Anggapai nunia'?*

anggapa =i nu= **nia'**
why =3 2s= **exist**

Why are you here?

(639) *Gassingka nia'-inja nucokko-cokko?*

gassing =ka **nia'** inja nu= cokko- cokko
sure =or **exist** still 2f= RDP- hide

Maybe there's still (some) that you've hidden away?

Note that in (639) the subject of *nia'* (the potential hidden things) has been ellipsed.

Nia' in its introductory or possessive functions does not usually host pronominal clitics, which is generally explicable in the case of introductory uses because the entity being introduced is not yet definite (see discussion in §11.2.4). Why this should also be the case in possessive functions is not clear. However, in existential functions pronominal clitics are sometimes found, as was seen in (638), above, and in the following biblical example:

(640) *Mingka niaki koasa malompona Alla-ta'ala a'gio' i rate ri tompo'na je'neka.*

mingka **nia'** =i koasa ma- lompo $\equiv$ na Alla-ta'ala aC- gio' i rate
but **exist** =3 mighty STV- big $\equiv$ 3.POSS God Almighty MV- act PREP above

ri tompo' $\equiv$ na je'ne' $\equiv$ a
PREP top $\equiv$ 3.POSS water $\equiv$ DEF

And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters (lit. but there was God's great might, acting above the surface of the water).

Nia' is subject to a similar range of derivational possibilities as other basic verbs, for example the nominalising confix *ka><ang* (§ 6.2.3) forms *kaniakkang* 'existence, presence':

(641) *ka taena nangai kaniakanna Balandaya ri Marusu'*

ka taena na= ngai ka> nia' <ang ≡na Balandaya ≡a ri Marus =u'
 because NEG 3= love NR> exist <NR ≡3.POSS Holland ≡DEF PREP Maros =EC
 because he did not like the Dutch presence in Maros. (Maros:175)

12.5 Ascriptives/presentatives

Ascriptive and presentative clauses are similar to existentials, but rather than simply asserting the existence of something, they assert its identity or nature, roughly 'he/she/it is...' and the like. They are basically equational clauses, based on predicates formed by the 3rd person pronoun *ia*, with the addition of aspectual and pronominal clitics. They take complements which may be clauses, or NPs.

The combinations are:

- *iami* <ia=mo=i | 3PRO=PFV=3> 'it was...'
- *iapi* <ia=pa=i | 3PRO=IPF=3> 'it still is...' or 'it will be...'
- *iaji* <ia=ja=i | 3PRO=LIM=3> 'it's just...'

(642) *iami naagaang. situju. tu-Polombangkenga.*

ia =mo =i na= agáng si- tuju tu- Polombangkeng ≡a
 3PRO =PFV =3 3= do.with MUT- goal person- Polombangkeng ≡DEF
 they were united (against) the people of Polombangkeng. (KIT:26)

(643) *Iaji bawang attallasa', maraenganga mate-ngasengi*

ia =ja =i bawang aC- tallas =a' maraeng -ang ≡a mate ngaseng =i
 3PRO =LIM =3 only MV- life =EC other - ≡ death all =3
 COMPR DEF

He's the only one still alive, the others all died

The addition of the complementiser *na* gives specialised meanings. For example, *iami na* can be used as a justification: 'that's why...':

(644) *Iami na kukana katutuko a'dongko' jarang*

ia =mo =i na ku= kana ka- tutu =ko aC- dongko' jarang
 3PRO =PFV =3 COMP 1= word NR- look.after =2f MV- back horse

So that's why I say, be careful on horseback (after describing a riding accident)

Iapi na is used for conditionals: 'it would be X if Y':

(645) *Iapi na kuppilajara' punna nia' gurungku bai'-baine*

ia =pa =i na ku= aC- pilajar =VC punna nia' guru ≡ngku
 3PRO =IPF =3 COMP 1= MV- study =epen if be teacher ≡1.POSS

bai'- baine
 RDP- female

I'd study if I had a pretty female teacher

And *iaji na* can be used for clarification or lessening of a previous statement, 'what I meant was...':

(646) *Iaji na tettere' kalotoro' anjo bajunta, punna bambangi alloa*

ia =ja =i na tetter =e' kalotor =o' anjo baju ≡nta punna
 3PRO =LIM =3 COMP quickly =EC dry =EC that shirt ≡2p.POSS if/when

bambang =i allo ≡a
 hot =3 day ≡DEF

What I mean is, that shirt of yours will dry quickly, if it's a hot day

When the complement is an NP, the *ia*+clitic cluster tends to coalesce with a demonstrative which is syntactically part of the following NP, eg. *iaminne* <ia=mo=i (a)nne | 3PRO=PFV=3 this> 'this is'; *iajinjo* <ia=ja=i (a)njo | 3PRO=LIM=3 that> 'that's just'.

There are nine permutations (3 aspect clitics by 3 demonstratives) of these:

(647) *Iaminne patturioloanga Gowa*

ia =mo =i (a)nne pa> aC- tu ri olo <ang ≡a Gowa
 3PRO =PFV =3 this NR> MV- person prep front <NR ≡DEF Gowa

This was the Gowa Chronicle

(648) *Iajinjo anungku*

ia =ja =i (a)njo anu ≡ngku
 3PRO =LIM =3 that thingy ≡1.POSS

Only that thing there is mine

(649) *Iapintu anunna taua*

ia =pa =i (a)ntu anu ≡nna tau ≡a
 3PRO =IPF =3 that thingy ≡3.POSS person ≡DEF

There's still someone's thing (left behind) near you

Appendix A

Excerpt of the Gowa Chronicle from manuscript KIT 668-216.

Slightly more than 4 pages, covering the rules of Tuma'pa'risi'–kallonna ('the sore-necked one', ruled c.1510 - 1546) and Tunipalangga ('the suspended one', ruled c.1546 - 1565). Unreadable graphs in the original script are represented with ©. References are to the original page and line in the manuscript, ie. KIT:1.01 is page 1, line 1. The text is broken roughly into sentences and the 'missing' sounds (ie. syllable codas) were filled in in consultation with Haji Djirong Basang Daeng Ngewa, and by comparison with the published version of the chronicle (Wolhoff and Abdurrahim 1959). The translation is based on Cummings (to appear), modified in places to more accurately reflect this particular version. For background to the historical period see §1.1.2.3.

KIT:1.01

မြန်မာ

- (1) ... *ri Bajeng*.

... ri Bajeng
... PREP Bajeng
... of Bajeng

[illegible]

- (2) *Karaenna. tu Bonea. naaganga. ma'ulu-kana. nikana. Boteka.*

karaeng $\equiv$ na tu Bone $\equiv$ a na= agang $\equiv$ a maC- ulu-kana ni- kana
karaeng $\equiv$ 3.POSS person Bone $\equiv$ DEF 3= friend $\equiv$ rel MV- treaty PASS- word

Boteka
Boteka

The karaeng of the people of Bone that he also made a treaty with was called Boteka

ଶିକ୍ଷାଶିଳ୍ପ: ଶିକ୍ଷା: ପ୍ରାକୃତ:

- (3) *iami anne. aenna. Bongkanga.*

ia =mo =i anne aeng ≡na Bongkanga
 3PRO =PFV =3 this father ≡3.POSS Bongkanga
 he was the father of Bongkanga.

KIT:1.02

အိမ်အတွင်း၌ အိပ်ရာအောက်၌ အိပ်ရာအောက်၌ အိပ်ရာအောက်၌

၂၀၁၆

- He made fish become plentiful.

အိန္ဒိယနိုင်ငံ၏ အဓိက နယ်နိမိတ်များကို မြေပုံကြည့်ရှုပါ။

- ရည်ရွယ်ချက်: အလုပ်: အကျိုး

- [illegible]

- မာဏအလဲ: ငွေငါး: အမည်အလဲ: အားလုံး: စစ်အောင်မြင်မှု:

He who ruled in Bajeng was the child of Karaeng Loe called (Daenna) I Pasairi.

၁။ နေဝိသုဒ္ဓိ၊ နေဝိသုဒ္ဓိ၊ နေဝိသုဒ္ဓိ၊ နေဝိသုဒ္ဓိ၊ နေဝိသုဒ္ဓိ၊ နေဝိသုဒ္ဓိ၊
 နေဝိသုဒ္ဓိ၊ နေဝိသုဒ္ဓိ၊ နေဝိသုဒ္ဓိ၊ နေဝိသုဒ္ဓိ၊ နေဝိသုဒ္ဓိ၊ နေဝိသုဒ္ဓိ၊

- He was siblings with those who ruled in Sanrabone, in Lengkesè', in Katingang, in Jamaraang, in Jipang, in Mandalle'.

၂၀၁၁-၂၀၁၂ ခုနှစ်အတွက် အကျဉ်းချုပ်စာရင်း

- They were seven siblings; all had royal sunshades.

အိမ်ထောင်ရေး၊ အိမ်ထောင်ရေး၊ အိမ်ထောင်ရေး

- This karaeng was supported by the Three Gaukang.

ကမ္ဘာ့အလင်းတိုက်လွှဲ၊ အလင်းလွှဲ၊ နဂါးလွှဲ၊ ရဲဘော်လွှဲ၊ ရဲဘော်လွှဲ၊ ရဲဘော်
လွှဲလွှဲ

- Karaeng ri Lakiung and Gurudaya, with the people of Mangngasa, Tombolo',
Saomata.

ශ්‍රී ලංකාව : ඉන්දිය : ශ්‍රී ලංකා : ප්‍රධාන : අධ්‍යක්ෂ

- ၂၂၁။ ဖဉ်းဖရဖဉ်းရၤ ၊**

- kana pa- amm- ana' ≡na anne karaeng ≡a ni- kana I daeng Matanre
word NR- MV- child ≡3.POSS this karaeng ≡DEF PASS- word PERS daeng Matanre
The royal name of this karaeng was I Daeng Matanre.

His personal name no one knows; among all those who were asked none knew.

Tunipalangga, this was the child of Tumapa'risi' Kallonna.

Tumapa'risi' Kallonna died.

Tunipalangga replaced him as ruler.

May I not be cursed, his personal name was I Mariugau'.

မုက်ခွက် ၊ မုက် ၊ အိပ်ယာအိပ်ရာ

- [illegible]

- ۞ ۞

- ၁။ အမည်နှင့် နာမည်ရင်းအသံထွက်ပုံ၊ နာမည်ရင်းအသံထွက်ပုံ၊ နာမည်ရင်းအသံထွက်ပုံ၊ နာမည်ရင်းအသံထွက်ပုံ၊ နာမည်ရင်းအသံထွက်ပုံ

- အစဉ်အဆက် ၊ ရွေးချယ်ခံရ ၊ ချစ်ခင်ခံရ ၊ ရွေးချယ်ခံရ ၊ အကဲခတ် ၊ ပုံစံအတိုင်း

- ¹⁹³ *Sa'bu katti* (literally 'thousand katti') was a metonym for the act of paying tribute rather than an actual amount.

᠋ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠠᠩ᠊ ᠋ᠮᠠᠨᠠᠢ' ᠋ᠷᠢ ᠋ᠤᠰᠢᠳᠢᠨᠷᠢᠩ᠊ ᠋ᠨᠠᠪᠡᠲᠠᠢ ᠋ᠣᠳᠡᠭᠡ ᠋ᠪᠤᠯᠤ' ᠋ᠴᠢᠨᠷᠠᠨᠠᠢᠨᠠᠭᠡᠨ᠊

(70) *na napare' palili' Saomata. Camba. nidedeki. lima kati. lima tai'.*

na na= pare' pa- lili' Saomata Camba ni- dede' =i lima kati lima tai'
and 3= make NR- vassal Saomata Camba PASS- fine =3 five catty five tahlil
made into vassals Saomata and Camba who were charged five katti and five tai.

᠋ᠨᠢᠭᠠᠩ᠊ ᠋ᠮᠠᠨᠠᠢ' ᠋ᠷᠢ ᠋ᠤᠯᠤᠤᠨ᠊ ᠋ᠨᠠᠵᠤᠨᠠᠭᠡᠨ᠊ ᠋ᠰᠠᠪᠤ ᠋ᠠᠳᠢᠨᠠᠭᠡᠨ᠊ ᠋ᠷᠤᠠᠮᠤᠨᠠᠭᠡᠨ᠊ ᠋ᠷᠤᠠᠮᠤᠨᠠᠭᠡᠨ᠊ ᠋ᠷᠤᠠᠮᠤᠨᠠᠭᠡᠨ᠊

(71) *niagángi manai' ri Luwuka. naallei. sa'bu katina. Wajo. nidedeki. ruam- pulo. katina.*

ni- agáng =i ma- nai' ri Luwu' ≡a na= alle =i sa'bu
PASS- do.with =3 ST- go.up PREP Luwu' ≡DEF 3= take =3 thousand

kati ≡na Wajo ni- dede' =i rua -N pulo kati ≡na
catty ≡3.POSS Wajo PASS- fine =3 two -LK ten catty ≡3.POSS

Accompanied he advanced to Luwu' and took tribute from Wajo', who were charged twenty katti.

KIT:3.22

᠋ᠨᠢᠭᠠᠩ᠊ ᠋ᠮᠠᠨᠠᠢ' ᠋ᠷᠢ ᠋ᠲᠤᠰᠢᠳᠢᠨᠷᠢᠩ᠊ ᠋ᠨᠠᠪᠡᠲᠠᠢ ᠋ᠣᠳᠡᠭᠡ ᠋ᠪᠤᠯᠤ' ᠋ᠴᠢᠨᠷᠠᠨᠠᠢᠨᠠᠭᠡᠨ᠊

(72) *niagangi. manai' ri tuSidenrengi. nabetai. Otting. Bulu' Cenrana.*

ni- agang =i ma- nai' ri tu Sidenreng =i na= beta =i Otting
PASS- friend =3 ST- go.up PREP person Sidenreng =3 3= conquer =3 Otting

bulu' Cenrana
mountain Cenrana

Accompanied by the people of Sidenreng he advanced and conquered Otting, Bulu' Cenrana,

᠋ᠨᠠᠭᠠᠨᠠᠭᠡᠨ᠊ ᠋ᠮᠠᠨᠠᠢ' ᠋ᠷᠢ ᠋ᠤᠯᠤᠯᠤᠨ᠊ ᠋ᠨᠠᠪᠡᠲᠠᠢ ᠋ᠣᠳᠡᠭᠡ ᠋ᠪᠤᠯᠤ' ᠋ᠴᠢᠨᠷᠠᠨᠠᠢᠨᠠᠭᠡᠨ᠊

(73) *na pasombai. Wajo. naallei. timba' sareonna. nidedeki. sampulo katina.*

na pa- somba =i Wajo na= alle =i timba'
and CAUS- homage =3 Wajo 3= take =3 open(by.separating)

sareong ≡na ni- dede' =i sampulo kati ≡na
window.shade ≡3.POSS PASS- fine =3 ten catty ≡3.POSS

then mastered Wajo' and took timba' sareong,¹⁹⁴ charging them ten katti.

KIT:4.01

᠋ᠨᠠᠪᠡᠲᠠᠢ ᠋ᠰᠤᠫᠠᠨ᠊ ᠋ᠰᠠᠪᠢᠳᠤ ᠋ᠨᠠ ᠋ᠫᠠᠯᠢᠯᠢᠭᠠᠨ᠊ ᠋ᠳᠤᠷᠢ ᠋ᠫᠠᠨᠠᠢᠭᠠᠨ᠊ ᠋ᠪᠤᠭᠢᠰᠢᠭᠢᠨ᠊ ᠋ᠢᠠᠨᠠᠢᠭᠠᠨ᠊ ᠋ᠪᠤᠭᠢᠰᠢᠭᠢᠨ᠊

(74) *nabetai. Suppa'. Sawitto na palilikangi. Duri. Panaikang. Bugisika. ia- ngaseng.*

na= beta =i Suppa' Sawitto na pa- lili' -ang =i Duri pa- nai' -ang
3= conquer =3 Suppa' Sawitto and CAUS- vassal -BEN =3 Duri CAUS- go.up -BEN

¹⁹⁴ I am unsure of the contextual meaning of this.

He too was the first to encircle fortifications; to make taikang, dacing, weights; to establish gantang, ship tariffs of forty kakana; to clarify what would be known as a patung, the measure of a koyang.¹⁹⁵

အိန္ဒြေ၊ အသံ၊ ဗုဒ္ဓိ၊ ဗျာဠာ၊ ဝိညာဏ်

- He too first placed great cannons in a row on the great fortifications.

**အိန္ဒြေဝါး ၊ ဖုလ္လင်း ၊ မျိုးဖုလ္လမ်း ၊ ဖုလ်ငွေမျိုး ၊ ဖုကာလတ္တံ့မီး ၊ ဖူးလ
ဗို**

- He also was the Makassarese who first knew how to make gunpowder, smelt gold, fire bricks.

ଶିକ୍ଷାପାଠ୍ୟ: ଲଳିତକାବ୍ୟ: ନ୍ୟାୟଶାସ୍ତ୍ର: ଶାନ୍ତିପୁରାଣ:

- He also made an agreement with the Javanese (Malay) who asked for a place to dwell named Anakoda Bonang.

[illegible]

¹⁹⁵ The meaning of many of these terms is not clear.

Appendix B

Karaeng Ammanaka Bembe: The karaeng who gave birth to a goat

A typewritten manuscript containing this story was found in A.A.Cense's archives in the historical document section of KITLV in Leiden (Or545.55f). Its source is unknown, but it is likely that it was typed up by or for Abdurrahim Daeng Mone and sent to Cense after the latter had left Makassar.

(1) *Karaeng Ammanaka Bembe*

karaeng amm- ana' ≡a bembe
karaeng MV- child ≡DEF goat

The karaeng who gave birth to a goat

(2) *Nia' se're karaeng nia' ana'na rua, baine sitau, bura'ne sitau.*

nia' se're karaeng nia' ana' ≡na rua baine si- tau bura'ne si- tau
be one karaeng be child ≡3.POSS two female one- person man one- person

There was a karaeng with two children, one girl, one boy.

(3) *Anjo bainea, nalandiki Karaeng ri Massere'; anjo bura'nea nalandi' Karaeng ri Roong.*

anjo baine ≡a na= lanti' =i karaeng ri Massere'
that female ≡DEF 3= inaugurate =3 karaeng PREP Massere'

anjo bura'ne ≡a na= lanti' karaeng ri Roong
that man ≡DEF 3= inaugurate karaeng PREP Roong

The girl he made Karaeng of Massere', the boy he made Karaeng of Roong.

(4) *Para lompoi ana'na para napa'bunting- ngasemmi.*

para lompo =i ana' ≡na para na= pa- aC- bunting ngaseng =mo =i
both big =3 child ≡3.POSS both 3= CAUS- MV- bride all =PFV =3

When both his children were big he made them each get married.

(5) *Nakanamo karaenga ri Roong:*

na= kana =mo karaeng ≡a ri Roong
3= word =PFV karaeng ≡DEF PREP Roong

The Karaeng of Roong said:

(6) *"Punna para nia' anatta andi', kipasiallei, a'de'nangki' sisari'battang".*

punna para nia' ana' ≡ta andi' ki= pa- si- alle =i
if/when both be child ≡2p.POSS ↓sibling 2p= CAUS- MUT- take =3

aC- de'nang =ki' si- sari'battang
MV- parent.of.child-in-law =2p MUT- sibling

"When we both have children little sister, let's make them take each other, become parents-in-law to them".

- (7) *Siapai sallona tianammi bainenna karaenga ri Roong.*

siapa =i sallo =na tianang =mo =i baine =nna karaeng =a
how.many =3 long =3.POSS pregnant =PFV =3 female =3.POSS karaeng =DEF

ri Roong
PREP Roong

A little while later, the wife of the Karaeng Roong was pregnant.

- (8) *Salloi tianang, ammana'mi sitau bura'ne.*

sallo =i tianang amm ana' =mo =I si- tau bura'ne
-
long =3 pregnant MV- child =PFV =3 one person man
-

She was pregnant for a while, she gave birth to a son.

- (9) *Lompo-lompoi ana'na karaenga ri Roong, nakanamo karaenga ri Massere':*

lompo- lompo =i ana' =na karaeng =a ri Roong na= kana =mo
RDP- big =3 child =3.POSS karaeng =DEF PREP Roong 3= word =PFV

karaeng =a ri Massere'
karaeng =DEF PREP Massere'

Karaeng Roong's child was getting bigger, Karaeng Massere' said:

- (10) *"Anjo taua karaenga ri Roong lompo-lompoi ana'na, na i nakke tenapa kutianang".*

anjo tau =a karaeng -a ri Roong lompo- lompo =i ana' =na
that person =DEF karaeng =DEF PREP Roong RDP- big =3 child =3.POSS

na inakke tena =pa ku= tianang
and 1PRO NEG =IPF 1= pregnant

"That person Karaeng Roong his child is growing, and I'm not yet pregnant".

- (11) *Nia'mo se're allo nammempo ri tontonganna, na nia' tau angngembai bembena nia' ruampulo kayunna.*

nia' =mo se're allo na= amm- empo ri tontongang =na na nia' tau
be =PFV one day 3= MV- sit PREP window =3.POSS and be person

aN(N)- emba =i bembe =na nia' rua -N pulo kayu =nna
BV- herd =3 goat =3.POSS be two -LK ten CLS.animal =3.POSS

One day she was sitting by her window, and there was a man herding his goats, there were twenty of them

- (12) *Na nakanamo karaenga ri Massere':*

na na= kana =mo karaeng =a ri Massere'
and 3= word =PFV karaeng =DEF PREP Massere'

And Karaeng Massere' said:

- (13) *"Poron nia' lalo anakku kamma -tong anjo bembea".*

poro nia' lalo ana' =ku kamma tong anjo bembe =a
if.only be pass child =1.POSS thus also that goat =DEF

"If only I could have children like those goats"

(14) *Mingka sala kanai.*

mingka sala kana =i
but wrong word =3

But she spoke badly.

(15) *Nia' sibulang le'ba'na akkana kamma tianang tojemmi karaenga ri Massere'.*

nia' si- bulang le'ba' =na aC- kana kamma tianang tojeng =mo =i
be one- month finished =3.POSS MV- word thus pregnant true =PFV =3

karaeng =a ri Massere'

karaeng =DEF PREP Massere'

One month after saying that, she was really pregnant.

(16) *Narapiki bulang pammanakanna, mmana'mi.*

na= rapi' =i bulang pammanakang =na amm- ana' =mo =i
3= achieve =3 month family =3.POSS MV- child =PFV =3

She reached the month to have her family, and gave birth.

(17) *Lassu'na assulu' ana'na, ammarranna angkana mbee'.*

lassu' =na aC- sulu' ana' =na amm- arrang =na aN- kana mbee'
birth =3.POSS MV- exit child =3.POSS MV- shout =3.POSS AF- word baa!

When the child came out, it shouted "baaa!"

(18) *Nasanna'mo siri'-siri'na karaenga ri Massere' lanri mmana'na sikayu bembe.*

na= sanna' =mo siri'- siri' =na karaeng =a ri Massere' lanri
3= extremely =PFV RDP- shame =3.POSS karaeng =DEF PREP Massere' reason

amm- ana' =na si- kayu bembe

MV- child =3.POSS one- CLS.animal goat

She was very ashamed because she had given birth to a goat.

(19) *Nasuro erangmi mange ri bokona pakke'bu' buka nasuro boli'.*

na= suro erang =mo =i mange ri boko =na pakke'bu' =a
3= order bring =PFV =3 go PREP back =3.POSS door =DEF

na= suro boli'

3= order hidden

She ordered it taken behind the door and hidden.

(20) *Nia'- tommonjo joa' sitau ampanngapási ansi'ruki je'ne' uring, sanggenna akkulle angganre ruku'.*

nia' tong =mo (a)njo joa' si- tau aN- pa- aN(N)- apas -i
be also =PFV that followers one- person AF- CAUS- BV- take.care.of -APPL

aN- si'ru' =i je'ne' uring sangge =nna aC- kulle aN(N)- kanre ruku'

AF- spoon =3 water cookpot until =3.POSS MV- can BV- food grass

There was also one servant who took care of it, spooned bean mush, until it could eat grass.

(21) *Jari tulusu' naung- tommi angganre ruku' anjo bembea.*

jari tulus =u' naung tong =mo =i aN(N)- kanre ruku' anjo bembe =a
so directly =EC go.down also =PFV =3 BV- food grass that goat =DEF

Then it straight away went down to eat grass, that goat.

- (22) *Sanggenna kamma tau, anjo bembe akkale ana' rarami.*

sangge $\equiv$ nna kamma tau anjo bembe $\equiv$ a aC- kale ana' rara =mo =i
until $\equiv$ 3.POSS thus person that goat $\equiv$ DEF MV- self child young.girl =PFV =3

As if it were a person, that goat became a young girl.

- (23) *Nipa'gau'-gaúkimi ana'na karaenga ri Roong.*

ni- pa- aC- gau'- gau' -i =mo =i ana' $\equiv$ na karaeng $\equiv$ a ri Roong
PASS- CAUS- MV- RDP- action - =PFV =3 child $\equiv$ 3.POSS karaeng $\equiv$ DEF PREP Roong
APPL

The child of the Karaeng Roong was given a party.

- (24) *Kalau'mi mae nipauang sari'battanna angkana:*

kalau' =mo =i mae ni- pau -ang sari'battang $\equiv$ na aN- kana
go.west =PFV =3 go PASS- story -NR sibling $\equiv$ 3.POSS AF- word

Westward came his sister's invitation, saying:

- (25) *"Massing anrai' ngasengki', ka ero'mi nisunna' kamanakanta".*

massing aN- rai' ngaseng =ki' ka ero' =mo =i ni- sunna'
each AF- (go)east all =2p because want =PFV =3 PASS- circumcision

kamanakang $\equiv$ ta
nephew $\equiv$ 2p.POSS

"Everyone come east, because your nephew is going to be circumcised".

- (26) *Nakanamo karaenga ri Massere':*

na= kana =mo karaeng $\equiv$ a ri Massere'
3= word =PFV karaeng $\equiv$ DEF PREP Massere'

The Karaeng of Massere' said:

- (27) *"Pauang baji' mami iraya karaenga ri Roong, a'matapi sallang gauka na anrai' ka tena tau ri ballakku".*

pau -ang baji' mamo =i i= raya karaeng $\equiv$ a ri Roong aC- mata =pa =i
story -BEN good only =3 PREP= east karaeng $\equiv$ DEF PREP Roong MV- eye =IPF =3

sallang gau' $\equiv$ a na anrai' ka tena tau ri balla' $\equiv$ ku
probably action $\equiv$ DEF and go.east because NEG person PREP house $\equiv$ 1.POSS

"Tell him well the Karaeng Roong in the east, when it's time for the party (I'll) go east because there's no-one at my house".

- (28) *Ammotere'mi anrai' suroa.*

amm- oter =e' =mo =i aN- rai' suro $\equiv$ a
MV- return =EC =PFV =3 AF- (go)east order $\equiv$ DEF

The messenger went back.

- (29) *Anjo karaenga ri Roong, tenamo kamma suara'na pa'gaukanna.*

anjo karaeng $\equiv$ a ri Roong tena =mo kamma suar =a' $\equiv$ na
that karaeng $\equiv$ DEF PREP Roong NEG =PFV thus busy =EC $\equiv$ 3.POSS

pa- aC- gau' -ang $\equiv$ na
NR- MV- action -NR $\equiv$ 3.POSS

That karaeng of Roong, there was nothing like the sound of his celebration.

- (30) *Eroki a'mata gau'na,¹⁹⁷ anrai'mi sari'battanna; a'lampa- ngasengi sibatu balla'.*

ero' =i aC- mata gau' =na aN- rai' =mo =i sari'battang =na
want =3 MV- eye action =3.POSS AF- (go)east =PFV =3 sibling =3.POSS

aC- lampa ngaseng =i si- batu balla'
MV- go all =3 one- CLF.misc house

Just before the main day of the celebrations, his sister went east; the whole houseful went.

- (31) *Bembea mami naboli' kale-kalenna najoli pakke'bu'.*

bembe =a mamo =i na= boli' kale- kale =nna na= joli pakke'bu'
goat =DEF only =3 3= hidden RDP- self =3.POSS 3= bolt door

Only the goat was there, (someone) hid her (someone) locked the door.

- (32) *Na anne bembe naasseng- tommy angkana a'gau'-gauki purinanna.*

na anne bembe =a na= asseng tong =mo =i aN- kana aC- gau'- gau' =i
and this goat =DEF 3= know also =PFV =3 AF- word MV- RDP- action =3

purina =nna
uncle/aunt =3.POSS

Now this goat, she also knew about her uncle's party.

- (33) *A'mata je'neki tunigauka, assulu'mi ri karungkunna na mange nakonci pattina amma'na nampa naalle pakeanna amma'na sanggenna pakeang ana' karaenga.*

aC- mata je'ne' =i tu- ni- gau' =a aC- sulu' =mo =i
MV- eye water =3 person- PASS- action =DEF MV- exit =PFV =3

ri karungkung =na na mange na= konci patti =na amma' =na
PREP disguise =3.POSS and go 3= key case =3.POSS mother =3.POSS

nampa na= alle pake -ang =na amma' =na sangge =nna pake -ang
then 3= take wear -NR =3.POSS mother =3.POSS until =3.POSS wear -NR

ana' karaeng =a
child karaeng =DEF

Just at the time of the party, she took off her (goat) disguise and unlocked her mother's trunk to take her mother's clothes until she was dressed as a princess.

- (34) *Nampa mange todong ri poko' buloa, angkana:*

nampa mange todong ri poko' bulo =a aN- kana
then go also PREP trunk bamboo =DEF AF- word

Then she went to a bamboo trunk and said:

¹⁹⁷ *A'mata* has an idiomatic meaning 'be at the main/high point of'.

- (35) *"Ka tojengku ana' panrita ri anrongku ri manggeku, a'jariko bulehang poko' bulo".*

ka tojeng $\equiv$ ku ana' panrita ri anrong $\equiv$ ku ri mangge $\equiv$ ku
because true $\equiv$ 1.POSS child expert PREP mother $\equiv$ 1.POSS PREP father $\equiv$ 1.POSS

aC- jari =ko bule' -ang poko' bulo
MV- become =2f carry.on.pole -NR trunk bamboo

"Because I'm truly the noble child of my mother and father, become a carrying pole, bamboo trunk".

- (36) *A'jarimi bulehang poko' buloa.*

aC- jari =mo =i bule' -ang poko' bulo $\equiv$ a
MV- become =PFV =3 carry.on.pole -NR trunk bamboo $\equiv$ DEF

The bamboo trunk became a carrying pole.

- (37) *Mangéi seng ri ruku'-rukuka, ri bajeng-bajenga angkana:*

mange -i seng ri ruku'- ruku' $\equiv$ a ri bajeng-bajeng $\equiv$ a aN- kana
go -APPL again PREP RDP- grass $\equiv$ DEF PREP k.o.grass $\equiv$ DEF AF- word

She went again to the grass, to the bajeng-bajeng grass, saying:

- (38) *"Ka tojengku ana' panrita ri anrongku ri manggeku, a'jariko tau, na nubuleka' mangle ri pa'gaukanna karaenga ri Roong anggióri".*

ka tojeng $\equiv$ ku ana' pa- aN- ri $\equiv$ ta ri anrong $\equiv$ ku
because true $\equiv$ 1.POSS child CAUS- AF- PREP $\equiv$ 2p.POSS PREP mother $\equiv$ 1.POSS

ri mangge $\equiv$ ku aC- jari =ko tau na nu= bule' =a' mangle
PREP father $\equiv$ 1.POSS MV- become =2f person and 2f= carry.on.pole =1 go

ri pa> aC- gau' <ang $\equiv$ na karaeng $\equiv$ a ri Roong aN(N)- kior -i
PREP NR> MV- action <NR $\equiv$ 3.POSS karaeng $\equiv$ DEF PREP Roong BV- scatter -APPL

"Because I'm really the noble child of my mother and father, become people, and carry me to the celebration of Karaeng Roong to give an offering".

- (39) *A'jari taumi ruku'-rukuka, anjo buloa a'jari bulehang tomme.*

aC- jari tau =mo =i ruku'- ruku' $\equiv$ a anjo
MV- become person =PFV =3 RDP- grass $\equiv$ DEF that

bulo $\equiv$ a aC- jari bule' -ang tong =mo =i
bamboo $\equiv$ DEF MV- become carry.on.pole -NR also =PFV =3

The grass became people, the bamboo became a carrying pole.

- (40) *Mangemi apparuru, nampa mangle naalle doe'na amma'na, nai'mi ri bulekanna, nibule'mi anrai' ri pa'gaukanna karaenga ri Roong.*

mangle =mo =i aC- paruru nampa mangle na= alle doe' $\equiv$ na amma' $\equiv$ na
go =PFV =3 MV- get.ready then go 3= take money $\equiv$ 3.POSS mother $\equiv$ 3.POSS

nai' =mo =i ri bule' -ang $\equiv$ na ni- bule' =mo =i anrai'
go.up =PFV =3 PREP carry.on.pole -NR $\equiv$ 3.POSS PASS- carry.on.pole =PFV =3 (go)east

ri pa> aC- gau' <ang $\equiv$ na karaeng $\equiv$ a ri Roong
PREP NR> MV- action <NR $\equiv$ 3.POSS karaeng $\equiv$ DEF PREP Roong

She went to get ready, then went to take her mother's money, went up on the carrying pole and was carried east to the party of the Karaeng of Roong.

- (41) *Battui anrai' tettere'mi karaenga ri Roong anruppai toananna, na naerang nai' napaempo antemma ada'na ana'- karaenga.*

battu =i aN- rai' tetter =e' =mo =i karaeng ≡a ri Roong aN- rupa =i
come =3 AF- (go)east quickly =EC =PFV =3 karaeng ≡DEF PREP Roong AF- greet =3

toana ≡nna na na= erang nai' na= pa- empo antemma ada' ≡na ana'
guest ≡3.POSS and 3= bring go.up 3= NR- sit how customs ≡3.POSS child

karaeng ≡a
karaeng ≡DEF

Arriving east quickly the Karaeng of Roong greeted his guest, and brought her up to the seating place like the custom of a princess.

- (42) *Mangemi ri bainenna angkana:*

mange =mo =i ri baine ≡nna aN- kana
go =PFV =3 PREP female ≡3.POSS AF- word

He went to his wife saying:

- (43) *"Ana' karaeng battu kereareinjo mae na tena kuissengi kabattuanna.*

ana' karaeng battu kere =are =i (a)njo mae na tena ku= isseng =i
child karaeng come where =ever =3 that go and NEG 1= know =3

ka> battu <ang ≡na
NR> come <NR ≡3.POSS

"A princess came from wherever and I don't know her origin.

- (44) *Ana' karaeng baji'-baji' mamotappa.*

ana' karaeng baji'- baji' mamotappa ≡na
child karaeng RDP- good only demeanour ≡3.POSS

A princess only with good demeanour".

- (45) *Nipasilolongammi pattoanana.*

ni- pa- silolongang =mo =i pa- aC- toana ≡na
PASS- CAUS- ready =PFV =3 NR- MV- guest ≡3.POSS

Everything was made ready for the guests' food.

- (46) *Anjo nitoananamo anjo ana' karaenga mangemi karaenga ri Massere' andallekangi.*

anjo ni- toana ≡na =mo anjo ana' karaeng ≡a mange =mo =i
that PASS- guest ≡3.POSS =PFV that child karaeng ≡DEF go =PFV =3

karaeng ≡a ri Massere' aN- dallekang =i
karaeng ≡DEF PREP Massere' AF- front =3

Having eaten (lit. having been guested) that princess went to Karaeng Massere' and sat before her.

- (47) *Nacini'minjo pakeanna ana' karaenga sangkamma le'baki pakeanna karaenga ri Massere'*

na= cini' =mo =i (a)njo pake -ang ≡na ana' karaeng ≡a saN- kamma
3= see =PFV =3 that wear -NR ≡3.POSS child karaeng ≡DEF as_adj_as- thus

le'ba' =i pake -ang ≡na karaeng ≡a ri Massere'
finished =3 wear -NR ≡3.POSS karaeng ≡DEF PREP Massere'

She saw that the clothes of the princess were the same as the clothes of Karaeng Massere'.

- (48) *Naallemi nagiling-giling pontona, najama-jama tokenna na nakana pa'mai'na karaenga ri Massere':*

na= alle =mo =i na= giling- giling ponto ≡na na= jama- jama
3= take =PFV =3 3= RDP- changeable armband ≡3.POSS 3= RDP- work

tokeng ≡na na na= kana pa'mai' ≡na karaeng ≡a ri Massere'
necklace ≡3.POSS and 3= word heart ≡3.POSS karaeng ≡DEF PREP Massere'

She took to twisting her bracelet and fiddling with her necklace, and Karaeng Massere' said to herself:

- (49) *"Titti'ma' anne kapang nilukkaki i lau', ka bembe maminjo mae kale-kalenna ri balla' kuboli'"*

titti' =mo =a' anne kapang ni- lukka' =i i lau' ka
cleaned.out =PFV =1 this suppose PASS- stolen.thing =3 PREP sea,west because

bembe ≡a mamo =i (a)njo mae kale- kale ≡nna ri balla' ku= boli'
goat ≡DEF only =3 that be.in.a.place RDP- self ≡3.POSS PREP house 1= hidden

"I'm all cleaned out, this was probably stolen in the west, because only that goat is there, by herself in the house I hid (her)."

- (50) *Nakanamo ri ana' karaenga le'ba'namo nitoana: "Ana' karaeng battu keko mae galle'"*

na= kana =mo ri ana' karaeng ≡a le'ba' ≡na =mo ni- toana
3= word =PFV PREP child karaeng ≡DEF finished ≡3.POSS =PFV PASS- guest

ana' karaeng battu ke =ko mae galle'
child karaeng come where =2f go young.lady

She said to the princess (after eating something): "Princess where did you come from?"

- (51) *Nakanamo anjo ana' karaenga: "Inakke Karaeng, ana' karaeng tuba'leang je'neka'"*

na= kana =mo anjo ana' karaeng ≡a inakke karaeng ana' karaeng
3= word =PFV that child karaeng ≡DEF 1.sing karaeng child karaeng

tu- ba'le -ang je'ne' =a'
person- other.side -COMPR water =1

That princess said: "Me Karaeng, I'm a princess from across the sea".

- (52) *Nakana tojemmo pa'mai'na karaenga ri Massere': "Apa-apangku tojemminne kapang nalukka' taua, naerang anta'leang je'ne' nabalukang".*

na= kana tojeng =mo pa'mai' ≡na karaeng ≡a ri Massere' apa- apa ≡ngku
3= word true =PFV heart ≡3.POSS karaeng ≡DEF PREP Massere' RDP- what ≡1.POSS

tojeng =mo =i (a)nne kapang na= lukka' tau ≡a na= erang
true =PFV =3 this suppose 3= stolen.thing person ≡DEF 3= bring

aN- ta'le -ang je'ne' na= balu' -ang
AF- cross -BEN water 3= roll.up -BEN

The heart of Karaeng Massere' really spoke: "This is truly my stuff, probably someone stole it, took (things) to sell across the water"

- (53) *Nakanamo anjo pole karaenga ri Massere' ri sari'battanna: "Ero'ma' nakke andi' appala' kana, punna le'ba'mo taua assunna', ka bata-bata', ka bembea mami anjo mae kale-kalenna".*

na= kana =mo anjo pole karaeng ≡a ri Massere' ri sari'battang ≡na
3= word =PFV that still,yet karaeng ≡DEF PREP Massere' PREP sibling ≡3.POSS

ero' =mo =a' nakke andi' aC- pala' kana punna le'ba' =mo tau ≡a
want =PFV =1 1.sing ↓sibling MV- request word if/when finished =PFV person ≡DEF

aC- sunna' ka bata- bata =a' ka bembe ≡a mamo =i anjo
MV- circumcision because RDP- uncertain =1 because goat ≡DEF only =3 that

mae kale- kale ≡nna
be.in.a.place RDP- self ≡3.POSS

Karaeng Massere' spoke again to her brother: "I want you to excuse me brother, when the circumcision's finished, because I'm worried, because there's only a goat there alone".

- (54) *Anne ana' karaenga le'ba'na mamo nitoana appala' kana- tomme nammotere'.*

anne ana' karaeng ≡a le'ba' mamo ni- toa ≡na
this child karaeng ≡DEF finished only PASS- old ≡3.POSS

aC- pala' kana tong =mo =i na= amm- oter =e'
MV- request word also =PFV =3 3= MV- return =EC

This princess when she had finished eating also asked leave and went home.

- (55) *Battui mange ri balla'na napattasa'-ngasemmi apa-apanna amma'na kamma ri batena.*

battu =i mange ri balla' ≡na na= pattas =a' ngaseng =mo =i
come =3 go PREP house ≡3.POSS 3= pack =EC all =PFV =3

apa- apa ≡nna amma' ≡na kamma ri bate ≡na
RDP- what ≡3.POSS mother ≡3.POSS thus PREP method ≡3.POSS

She came to her mother's house and packed everything of her mother's like so.

- (56) *Anjo poko' buloa nasuro– tommy mange ri batena, siagáng ruku'–rukuka, nampa mange napake karungkunna.*

anjo poko' bulo ≡a na= suro tong =mo =i mange ri bate ≡na
that trunk bamboo ≡DEF 3= order also =PFV =3 go PREP method ≡3.POSS

siagáng ruku'– ruku' ≡a nampa mange na= pake karungkung ≡na
with RDP– grass ≡DEF then go 3= wear disguise ≡3.POSS

That bamboo pole she ordered to its original state with the grass, then she went to wear her disguise.

- (57) *Le'baki nisunna' ana'na karaenga ri Roong, ammotere'mi karaenga ri Massere'.*

le'ba' =i ni– sunna' ana' ≡na karaeng ≡a ri Roong
finished =3 PASS– circumcision child ≡3.POSS karaeng ≡DEF PREP Roong

amm– oter =e' =mo =i karaeng ≡a ri Massere'
MV– return =EC =PFV =3 karaeng ≡DEF PREP Massere'

After the child of Karaeng Roong had been circumcised, Karaeng Massere' went home.

- (58) *Allantena balla' mangena naparessa apa–apanna.*

aN(N)– lante ≡na balla' mange ≡na na= paressa apa– apa ≡nna
BV– reach ≡3.POSS house go ≡3.POSS 3= check RDP– what ≡3.POSS

When she reached the house she went directly to check things.

- (59) *Tenaja apa–apa taena, nia' asengji.*

tena =ja apa– apa taena nia' aseng =ja =i
NEG =LIM RDP– what NEG be all =LIM =3

Nothing wasn't there, everything was there.

- (60) *Nakanamo pole ri bonena balla'na: "Tamma'– tommy bateku appari–parti ammotere', kukana barang titti'ma', na manna sibi'bi' tania' sisalana pakeangku".*

na= kana =mo pole ri bone ≡na balla' ≡na tamma' tong =mo =i
3= word =PFV still,yet PREP contents ≡3.POSS house ≡3.POSS end also =PFV =3

bate ≡ku aC– parti–parti amm– oter =e' ku= kana barang
method ≡1.POSS MV– hurry MV– return =EC 1= word goods

titti' =mo =a' na manna si– bi'bi' ta= nia' si– sala ≡na
cleaned.out =PFV =1 and though one– piece NEG= be one– wrong ≡3.POSS

pake –ang ≡ku
wear –NR ≡1.POSS

She said to her household: "I used up all my strength hurrying back, I thought all was lost, but not even one little thing is wrong with my clothes".

- (61) *Bangngi kammanjo, sannang ngasemmi taua tinrona akkelomminjo bembea angkana: "Magiro denre karaenga ri Massere' nagiling-giling pottoku, nakarawa genokku".*

bangngi kamma (a)njo sannang ngaseng =mo =i tau ≡a tinro ≡na
night thus that content all =PFV =3 person ≡DEF sleep ≡3.POSS

aC- kelong =mo =i (a)njo bembe ≡a aN- kana *magiro denre* karaeng ≡a
MV- song =PFV =3 that goat ≡DEF AF- word karaeng ≡DEF

ri Massere' na= giling- giling *pottoku nakarawa genokku*
PREP Massere' 3= RDP- changeable

That night, while everyone was asleep the goat sang, saying (in Bugis)"O Karaeng Massere', why turn your bracelet, why fiddle with necklace"

- (62) *Salloinjo akkelong bembea nipidandammi ri karaenga ri Massere'.*

sallo =i (a)njo aC- kelong bembe ≡a ni- pi- dandang =mo =i
long =3 that MV- song goat ≡DEF PASS- EXP- stay.still =PFV =3

ri karaeng ≡a ri Massere'
PREP karaeng ≡DEF PREP Massere'

The goat sang for a while and got the attention of Karaeng Massere'

- (63) *Salloi nipidandang, na ronrong ngasemmi tau tinroa nampa nakana: "Inainjo akkelong gere".*

sallo =i ni- pi- dandang na ronrong ngaseng =mo =i tau tinro ≡a
long =3 PASS- EXP- stay.still and earthquake all =PFV =3 person sleep ≡DEF

nampa na= kana inai (a)njo aC- kelong *gere'*
then 3= word who that MV- song like.that

For a long time they listened, and all the sleeping people woke with a start and said "who is singing like that?"

- (64) *Nakana ngasemmonjo bonena ballaka.*

na= kana ngaseng =mo (a)njo bone ≡na balla' ≡a
3= word all =PFV that contents ≡3.POSS house ≡DEF

All the household said.

- (65) *"Apa nakana kelonna Karaeng".*

apa na= kana kelong ≡na karaeng
what 3= word song ≡3.POSS karaeng

"What does the song say Karaeng?"

- (66) *Nakana kulangngere': "Magiro denre karaenga ri Massere', nagiling-giling pottoku, nakarawa genokku".*

na= kana ku= langnger =e' *magiro denre* karaeng ≡a ri Massere'
3= word 1= listen =EC karaeng ≡DEF PREP Massere'

na= giling- giling *pottoku nakarawa genokku*
3= RDP- changeable

She said I hear "O Karaeng Massere', why turn your bracelet, why fiddle with necklace"

(67) *Mangemi nisulói tau akkelonga.*

mange =mo =i ni- sulo =i tau aC- kelong ≡a
go =PFV =3 PASS- torch =3 person MV- song ≡DEF

They went to (search for) the singing person with a torch

(68) *Naummi taua ri buttaya ansulói, natena.*

naung =mo =i tau ≡a ri butta ≡a aN- sulo -i na= tena
go.down =PFV =3 person ≡DEF PREP land ≡DEF AF- torch -TRS 3= NEG

The people went down to the ground (with) a torch, but nothing.

(69) *Ka ammotere'mi pole mange tinro.*

ka amm- oter =e' =mo =i pole mange tinro
because MV- return =EC =PFV =3 still,yet go sleep

Because she'd already gone back to sleep.

(70) *Nipalette kiseng pau-paua mange ri karaenga ri Roong, nia'mo se're allo na nakana ri ana'na: "Ri wattungku le'ba' bunting ana', le'ba'-tong bunting purinannu karaenga ri Massere', sijanjia' sisari'battang, kukana, punna para nia' anatta, a'de'nangki' sisari'battang; mannanjo bembe naanakkang purinannu ero'ja' anruppai kanangku, ka saba'janjingu".*

ni- pa- lette ki= seng pau- pau ≡a mange ri karaeng ≡a ri
PASS- CAUS- be.moved 2p= again RDP- story ≡DEF go PREP karaeng ≡DEF PREP

Roong nia' =mo se're allo na na= kana ri ana' ≡na ri wattu ≡ngku
Roong be =PFV one day and 3= word PREP child ≡3.POSS PREP time ≡1.POSS

le'ba' bunting ana' le'ba' tong bunting purina ≡nnu karaeng ≡a ri
finished bride child finished also bride uncle/aunt ≡2f.POSS karaeng ≡DEF PREP

Massere' si- janji =a' si- sari'battang ku= kana punna para nia' ana' ≡ta
Massere' MUT- promise =1 MUT- sibling 1= word if/when both be child ≡2p.POSS

aC- de'nang =ki' si- sari'battang manna (a)njo bembe na= ana' -ang
MV- parent.of.child-in-law =2p MUT- sibling though that goat 3= child -BEN

purina ≡nnu ero' =ja =a' aN- rupa =i kana ≡ngku ka saba'
uncle/aunt ≡2f.POSS want =LIM =1 AF- greet =3 word ≡1.POSS because reason

janji ≡ngku
promise ≡1.POSS

Let's move the story back to the Karaeng of Roong, there was a day and he said to his son: "When I got married, also your aunt got married, we promised each other, we said, when we both have children, we'd become (parents-in-law of each other's children), even though your aunt has a goat for a daughter, I nevertheless want my words to be followed, because it's my promise.

- (71) *Nakanamo anjo ana'na: "Punna ikatte Karaeng angkana le'lengi, le'lengi; punna ikatte bulengi, bulengi".*

na= kana =mo anjo ana' ≡na punna ikatte karaeng aN- kana
3= word =PFV that child ≡3.POSS if 2pPRO karaeng AF- word

le'leng =i le'leng =i punna ikatte buleng =i buleng =i
black =3 black =3 if 2pPRO white(haired) =3 white(haired) =3

His son said: "If you Karaeng say it's black, it's black, if you (say) it's white, it's white.

- (72) *Jari mangemi nipasurói ana'na karaenga ri Massere', anjo bembea.*

jari mange =mo =i ni- pa- suro -i ana' ≡na karaeng ≡a
so go =PFV =3 PASS- CAUS- order -TRS child ≡3.POSS karaeng ≡DEF

ri Massere' anjo bembe ≡a
PREP Massere' that goat ≡DEF

So he went to propose to the child of Karaeng Massere', that goat.

- (73) *Nakanamo karaenga ri Massere': "Sanna'mintu rannuku andi', mingka apa lanutujuangi bembea?"*

na= kana =mo karaeng ≡a ri Massere' sanna' =mo =i (a)ntu rannu ≡ku
3= word =PFV karaeng ≡DEF PREP Massere' extremely =PFV =3 that happy ≡1.POSS

andi' mingka apa la= nu= tuju -ang =i bembe ≡a
↓sibling but what FUT= 2f= goal -BEN =3 goat ≡DEF

Karaeng Massere' said: "I'm so happy brother, but what do you want the goat for?"

- (74) *Nakanamo karaenga ri Roong: "Apa paeng ka le'ba' kananta."*

na= kana =mo karaeng ≡a ri Roong apa paeng ka le'ba' kana ≡nta
3= word =PFV karaeng ≡DEF PREP Roong what then because finished word ≡2p.POSS

Karaeng Roong spoke: "What else, because we already said"

- (75) *Jari tenamo naisseng nakanáng karaenga ri Massere'.*

jari tena =mo na= isseng na= kana -ang karaeng ≡a ri Massere'
so NEG =PFV 3= know 3= word -BEN karaeng ≡DEF PREP Massere'

So she didn't know what to say about it, Karaeng Massere'.

- (76) *Karaeng ri Roong ammotere' tommy mange ri pa'rasanganna appassilolongang.*

karaeng ri Roong amm- oter =e' tong =mo =i mange ri
karaeng PREP Roong MV- return =EC also =PFV =3 go PREP

pa'rasangang ≡na aC- pa- aC- silolongang
land ≡3.POSS MV- CAUS- MV- ready

Karaeng Roong went back to his country to make everything ready.

- (77) *Karaeng ri Massere' appassilolongang tommy bone balla'na.*

karaeng ri Massere' aC- pa- aC- silolongang tong =mo =i bone
karaeng PREP Massere' MV- CAUS- MV- ready also =PFV =3 contents

balla' ≡na
house ≡3.POSS

Karaeng Massere' also prepared her household.

(78) *Silolongangi appa'buntimmi.*

silolongang =i aC- pa- aC- bunting =mo =i
 ready =3 MV- NR- MV- bride =PFV =3

They were ready to have a wedding.

(79) *Anjo nai'namo buntinga a'rurung memammi tappu'kananna.*

anjo nai' =na =mo bunting =a aC- rurung memang =mo =i
 that go.up =3.POSS =PFV bride =DEF MV- walk.with actually =PFV =3

tappu' kana =nna
 snapped word =3.POSS

The ascension of the groom was at the same time as the marriage negotiations.

(80) *Anjo bembea a'lumpa'-lumpa' tommy angkanrei erang-eranna.*

anjo bembe =a aC- lumpa'- lumpa' tong =mo =i
 that goat =DEF MV- RDP- jump also =PFV =3

aN- kanre =i erang- erang =na
 AF- food =3 RDP- bring =3.POSS

The goat jumped for joy and ate the gifts.

(81) *Anne Karaeng ri Massere' tenamo nasulu'-sulu' ri ga'donna napakamma siri'-siri'.*

anne karaeng ri Massere' tena =mo na= sulu'- sulu' ri ga'dong =na
 this karaeng PREP Massere' NEG =PFV 3= RDP- exit PREP storeroom =3.POSS

na= pa- kamma siri'- siri'
 3= CAUS- thus RDP- shame

This Karaeng Massere' didn't come out of her storeroom because she was ashamed.

(82) *Le'baki nitoana paerang bunting bura'nea tenamo nammotere', ammantammi ri balla'na purinanna.*

le'ba' =i ni- toa =na pa- erang bunting bura'ne =a tena =mo
 finished =3 PASS- old =3.POSS NR- bring bride man =DEF NEG =PFV

na= amm- oter =e' amm- antang =mo =i ri balla' =na purina =nna
 3= MV- return =EC MV- stay =PFV =3 PREP house =3.POSS uncle/aunt =3.POSS

After the groom had eaten he didn't go home, he stayed at his aunt's house.

(83) *Nia'mo sibulang sallona le'ba'na bunting, nakanamo ri purinanna: "Eroka' rong ammotere' mange ri ballakku Karaeng ka a'bangngi-bangngima' ilau' mae".*

nia' =mo si- bulang sallo =na le'ba' =na bunting na= kana =mo ri
 be =PFV one- month long =3.POSS finished =3.POSS bride 3= word =PFV PREP

purina =nna ero' =a' rong amm- oter =e' mange ri balla' =ku
 uncle/aunt =3.POSS want =1 first MV- return =EC go PREP house =1.POSS

karaeng ka aC- bangngi- bangngi =mo =a' i= lau' mae
 karaeng because MV- RDP- night =PFV =1 PREP= sea,west be.in.a.place

A month after he'd been married, he said to his aunt: "Now I want to go back to my house because I've slept in the west already".

- (84) *Nakanamo Karaeng ri Massere': "Mangemako ana"*.

na= kana =mo karaeng ri Massere' mange =mo =ko ana'
 3= word =PFV karaeng PREP Massere' go =PFV =2f child
 Karaeng Massere' said "Go child".

- (85) *A'lampami mange ri balla'na manggena.*

aC- lampa =mo =i mange ri balla' =na mangge =na
 MV- go =PFV =3 go PREP house =3.POSS father =3.POSS
 He went to his father's house.

- (86) *Battui mange, le'ba' nisare kanre, bangngi tommy.*

battu =i mange le'ba' ni- sare kanre bangngi tong =mo =i
 come =3 go finished PASS- give food night also =PFV =3
 He came there, was given food, and it was night.

- (87) *Nakanamo manggena: "Angngapa nummantanginja nabangngimo".*

na= kana =mo mangge =na angngapa nu= amm- antanginja na= bangngi =mo
 3= word =PFV father =3.POSS why 2f= MV- stay still 3= night =PFV
 His father said: "Why are you still here staying the night?"

- (88) *Nakanamo ana'na: "Na ammantang-mantanga' rong Karaeng, ka le'ba'ji kupauang ilau' Karaeng ri Massere'"*

na= kana =mo ana' =na na amm- antang- antang =a' rong karaeng ka
 3= word =PFV child =3.POSS and MV- RDP- stay =1 first karaeng because

le'ba' =ja =i ku= pau -ang i= lau' karaeng ri Massere'
 finished =LIM =3 1= story -BEN PREP= sea,west karaeng PREP Massere'

His child said: "I'll stay here first Karaeng, because I already said so to Karaeng Massere' in the west".

- (89) *Nakanamo Karaeng ri Roong: "Teako ana' a'bangngi, ammotere'ko kalau', ri purinannu, manna teai mamotau bainennu.*

na= kana =mo karaeng ri Roong tea =ko ana' aC- bangngi -i
 3= word =PFV karaeng PREP Roong not.want =2f child MV- night -TRS

amm- oter =e' =ko kalau' ri purina =nnu manna tea =i
 MV- return =EC =2f go.west PREP uncle/aunt =2f.POSS though not.want =3

mamotau bainennu
 only person female =2f.POSS

Karaeng Roong said: "Don't spend the night here child, go back west, to your aunt, even though your wife isn't human.

- (90) *Tenajantu najule ammantang ilau' angkusiangi purinannu, ka purinannu tonji".*

tena =ja (a)ntu na= jule amm- antang i= lau' aN- kusiangi =i
 NEG =LIM that 3= strange MV- stay PREP= sea,west AF- homage =3

purina =nnu ka purina =nnu tong =ja =i
 uncle/aunt =2f.POSS because uncle/aunt =2f.POSS also =LIM =3

It's not strange to stay west to pay respect to your aunt, because she's your aunt".

- (91) *Ammotere'mi kalau' ri purinanna.*

amm- oter =e' =mo =i kalau' ri purina ≡nna
MV- return =EC =PFV =3 go.west PREP uncle/aunt ≡3.POSS

He went west to his aunt.

- (92) *Anjo ana'na karaenga ri Roong punna karuéng nipirassi-rassí nai' gumbang pa'je'nekanna.*

anjo ana' ≡na karaeng ≡a ri Roong punna karuéng
that child ≡3.POSS karaeng ≡DEF PREP Roong when afternoon

ni- pi- rassi- rassi -i nai' gumbang pa> aC- je'ne' <ang ≡na
PASS- EXP- RDP- full - go.up water.pot NR> MV- water <NR ≡3.POSS
APPL

That son of Karaeng Roong, when it was afternoon (he) had his bathing pot filled up.

- (93) *Na punna bari'bas'a' naero' mange appira'nyu', tenamo seng je'ne'na.*

na punna bari'bas =a' na= ero' mange aC- pira'nyu' tena =mo seng je'ne' ≡na
and if/when morning =EC 3= want go MV- bathwater NEG =PFV again water ≡3.POSS

In the morning when he wanted to wash, there was no water left.

- (94) *Nakanamo pa'mai'na: "Apanjo nipala'búsi je'neka.*

na= kana =mo pa'mai' ≡na apa (a)njo ni- pa- la'bus -i je'ne' ≡a
3= word =PFV heart ≡3.POSS what that PASS- CAUS- finished -TRS water ≡DEF

He said to himself: "What used up the water?"

- (95) *Punna karuéng napirassi-rassí paalle je'neka; na punna bari'bas'a' eroka' appira'nyu', tenamo."*

punna karuéng na= pi- rassi- rassi -i pa- alle je'ne' ≡a na punna
if/when afternoon 3= CAUS?- RDP- full -TRS NR- take water ≡DEF and if/when

bari'bas =a' ero' =a' aC- pira'nyu' tena =mo
morning =EC want =1 MV- bathwater NEG =PFV

In the afternoon the water carriers filled it, and in the morning when I want to wash there isn't any."

- (96) *Nia'mo se're bangngi, na nakana pa'mai'na: "Kualle sai beng kujagái ampela'-pelakai je'neku"*

nia' =mo se're bangngi na na= kana pa'mai' ≡na ku= alle sa =i beng
be =PFV one night and 3= word heart ≡3.POSS 1= take HORT =3 QUOT

ku= jaga -i aN- pela'- pela' ≡a =i je'ne' ≡ku
1= watch -APPL AF- RDP- throw.out ≡DEF =3 water ≡1.POSS

There was one night, and he said to himself: "I'll watch who throws out my water".

- (97) *Ammantammi ilalang ri katinroang accado'.*

amm- antang =mo =i i= lalang ri ka> tinro <ang aC- cado'
MV- stay =PFV =3 PREP= inside PREP NR> sleep <NR MV- sit.doing.nothing

He stayed inside on his bed doing nothing.

- (98) *Sannang ngasengi taua tinrona, a'garumbammi bembea ri bokona pakke'buka ampasulu' karungkunna, nampa mange a'je'ne'.*

sannang ngaseng =i tau ≡a tinro ≡na aC- garumbang =mo =i bembe ≡a
content all =3 person ≡DEF sleep ≡3.POSS MV- thump =PFV =3 goat ≡DEF

ri boko ≡na pakke'bu' ≡a aN- pa- sulu' karungkung ≡na nampa
PREP back ≡3.POSS door ≡DEF AF- CAUS- exit disguise ≡3.POSS then

mange aC- je'ne'
go MV- water

Everyone was sound asleep, the goat behind the door thudded out from under her costume, then went to bathe.

- (99) *Nicini'mi ri bura'nenna anjo le'baka ambuntíngi, nakanamo pa'mai'na: "Anne paleng bembea, teáiji bembe tojeng, tauji".*

ni- cini' =mo =i ri bura'ne ≡nna anjo le'ba' ≡a aN- bunting -i
PASS- see =PFV =3 PREP man ≡3.POSS that finished ≡DEF AF- bride -APPL

na= kana =mo pa'mai' ≡na anne paleng bembe ≡a teái =ja =i
3= word =PFV heart ≡3.POSS this what.then goat ≡DEF not.be =LIM =3

bembe tojeng tau =ja =i
goat true person =LIM =3

She was seen by the man she had married, and he said to himself: "That goat, she's not a goat, she's a human!"

- (100) *A'di'di'-di'di'mi assulu' ri kulambuna, akkadangkang nampa mange angngasala' ri bokona pakke'buka.*

aC- di'di'- di'di' =mo =i aC- sulu' ri kulambu ≡na aC- kadangkang
MV- RDP- tiptoe =PFV =3 MV- exit PREP mosquito.net ≡3.POSS MV- crawl

nampa mange aN(N)- asal =a' ri boko ≡na pakke'bu' ≡a
then go BV- feel =EC PREP back ≡3.POSS door ≡DEF

He tiptoed out from his mosquito net, crawled along and then felt behind the door (in the dark).

- (101) *Nagappami najama karungkunna bembea.*

na= gappa =mo =i na= jama karungkung ≡na bembe ≡a
3= result =PFV =3 3= work disguise ≡3.POSS goat ≡DEF

He managed to get the goat's disguise.

- (102) *Nabuammi naung ri buttaya, battu- tommi kongkonga ampasire'bokangi angkanrei.*

na= buang =mo =i naung ri butta ≡a battu tong =mo =i kongkong ≡a
3= fall =PFV =3 go.down PREP land ≡DEF come also =PFV =3 dog ≡DEF

aN- pa- si- re'bo' -ang =i aN- kanre =i
AF- CAUS- MUT- fight.over.s.t -BEN =3 AF- food =3

He threw it down to the ground, the dogs came and fought over it, ate it.

(103) *Ta'bangka– tomminjo patanna karungkung.*

taC– bangka tong =mo =i (a)njo pata ≡nna karungkung
 NVOL– be.shocked also =PFV =3 that owner ≡3.POSS disguise

The owner of the disguise was shocked.

(104) *Larimi mange amboyai karungkunna, tenami.*

lari =mo =i mange aN– boya =i karungkung ≡na tena =mo =i
 run =PFV =3 go AF– search =3 disguise ≡3.POSS NEG =PFV =3

She ran to look for her disguise, it wasn't anymore.

(105) *Ammantammi angngarru', angkarruki karungkunna.*

amm– antang =mo =i aN(N)– karru' aN– karru' =i karungkung ≡na
 MV– stay =PFV =3 BV– cry AF– cry =3 disguise ≡3.POSS

She stayed still, crying, crying for her disguise.

(106) *Mangemi bura'nenna anynyonyoki, ampiasóri lipa'.*

mange =mo =i bura'ne ≡nna aN(N)– nyonyo' =i aN– pi– asor –i
 go =PFV =3 man ≡3.POSS BV– comfort.s.o =3 AF– EXP– wrap.head –APPL

lipa'
 sarong

Her husband came, comforted her, wrapped her with a sarong.

(107) *Pila'sanna'ji pole batena angngarru'.*

pila' sanna' =ja =i pole bate ≡na aN(N)– karru'
 the.more extremely =LIM =3 still,yet method ≡3.POSS BV– cry

Then she cried even more.

(108) *Nakanamo bura'nenna: "Angngapai na nuballa'–ballási kamma kalennu angngarru', a'jari bembe, angnganre ruku'".*

na= kana =mo bura'ne ≡nna angngapa =i na nu= ballas– ballas –i
 3= word =PFV man ≡3.POSS why =3 COMP 2f= RDP– troubles –TRS

kamma kale ≡nnu aN(N)– karru' aC– jari bembe aN(N)– kanre ruku'
 thus self ≡2f.POSS BV– cry MV– become goat BV– food grass

Her husband said: "Why do you trouble yourself so, crying, becoming a goat, eating grass?"

(109) *Pila'sannaki batena angngarru'.*

pila' sanna' =i bate ≡na aN(N)– karru'
 the.more extremely =3 method ≡3.POSS BV– cry

She cried even more.

(110) *Ta'bangka ngasemmi taua; karaenga ta'bangka– tommi siagáng bainenna.*

taC– bangka ngaseng =mo =i tau ≡a karaeng ≡a
 NVOL– be.shocked all =PFV =3 person ≡DEF karaeng ≡DEF

taC– bangka tong =mo =i siagáng baine ≡nna
 NVOL– be.shocked also =PFV =3 with female ≡3.POSS

All the people were shocked; the karaeng was shocked too, and his wife.

(111) *Turung ngasemmi assulukang mae.*

turung ngaseng =mo =i aC- sulu' -ang mae
 descend all =PFV =3 MV- exit -BEN be.in.a.place

They all went down and out.

(112) *Battu assulu' mae, nakanamo Karaeng ri Massere': "Inainjo angngarru".*

battu aC- sulu' mae na= kana =mo karaeng ri Massere'
 come MV- exit be.in.a.place 3= word =PFV karaeng PREP Massere'

inai (a)njo aN(N)- karru'
 who that BV- cry

They came out, Karaeng Massere' said: "who's crying?"

(113) *Nakanamo ana'na Karaeng ri Roong: "Bembea Karaeng mange a'je'ne' kudikki'-dikki' mange ambuangi karungkunna naung ri buttaya napasire'bokang kongkong".*

na= kana =mo ana' =na karaeng ri Roong bembe =a karaeng mange
 3= word =PFV child =3.POSS karaeng PREP Roong goat =DEF karaeng go

aC- je'ne' ku= dikki'- dikki' mange aN- buang =i karungkung =na naung
 MV- water 1= RDP- creep go AF- fall =3 disguise =3.POSS go.down

ri butta =a na= pa- si- re'bo' -ang kongkong
 PREP land =DEF 3= CAUS- MUT- fight.over.s.t -BEN dog

The child of Karaeng Roong said: "The goat Karaeng, went to bathe, I crept to throw her disguise down to the ground, it was torn apart by dogs".

(114) *Na anjo Karaeng ri Massere' tenamo niissengi nikana-kana rannunna.*

na anjo karaeng ri Massere' tena =mo ni- isseng =i ni- kana- kana
 and that karaeng PREP Massere' NEG =PFV PASS- know =3 PASS- RDP- word

rannu =nna
 happy =3.POSS

And that Karaeng Massere', her happiness couldn't be expressed.

(115) *Nabakkáimi ana'na nabau nampa nariwa.*

na= bakka -i =mo =i ana' =na na= bau nampa na= riwa
 3= rush -APPL =PFV =3 child =3.POSS 3= kiss then 3= sit.on.lap

She rushed to her daughter, kissed her and put her on her lap.

(116) *Tenamo natinro nasingara' taua siagáng Karaenga ri Massere'.*

tena =mo na= tinro na= singlar =a' tau =a siagáng karaeng =a
 NEG =PFV 3= sleep 3= light =EC person =DEF with karaeng =DEF

ri Massere'
 PREP Massere'

They didn't sleep any more until dawn, the people and Karaeng Massere'.

- (117) *Baji'i singaraka nasuro ngasemmi apparuru bone balla'na Karaeng ri Massere'*

baji' =i singar =a' ≡a na= suro ngaseng =mo =i aC- paruru bone
good =3 light =EC ≡DEF 3= order all =PFV =3 MV- get.ready contents

balla' ≡na karaeng ri Massere'
house ≡3.POSS karaeng PREP Massere'

The sun was well up and Karaeng Massere's household was sent to prepare.

- (118) *Le'ba' ngasemmi apparuru, nia'- tommo mange nasuro ampauangi paranna kara'-karaeng.*

le'ba' ngaseng =mo =i aC- paruru nia' tong =mo mange na= suro
finished all =PFV =3 MV- get.ready be also =PFV go 3= order

aN- pau -ang =i para ≡nna karaeng- karaeng
AF- story -BEN =3 both ≡3.POSS RDP- karaeng

When they were all ready, there was also (someone) sent to tell all the karaengs.

- (119) *Nia'- tommi nasuro ampauangi Karaeng ri Roong, angkana: "kalau'ko ka anjo bembea anjari taumi".*

nia' tong =mo =i na= suro aN- pau -ang =i karaeng ri Roong aN- kana
be also =PFV =3 3= order AF- story -BEN =3 karaeng PREP Roong AF- word

kalau' =ko ka anjo bembe ≡a aN- jari tau =mo =i
go.west =2f because that goat ≡DEF AF- become person =PFV =3

There was also (someone) sent to tell Karaeng Roong, saying: "Go west, because that goat became a human".

- (120) *Anjo paranna kara'-karaeng nasuro pauammi angkana, "apparuruki' ka nampa-tommi ero' nalekka' ana'na Karaeng ri Massere', ka a'jari taumi".*

anjo para ≡nna kara'- karaeng na= suro pau -ang =mo =i aN- kana
that both ≡3.POSS RDP- karaeng 3= order story -NR =PFV =3 AF- word

aC- paruru =ki' ka nampa tong =mo =i ero' na= lekka'
MV- get.ready =2p because then also =PFV =3 want 3= bring.newlyweds.to.groom's.house

ana' ≡na karaeng ri Massere' ka aC- jari tau =mo =i
child ≡3.POSS karaeng PREP Massere' because MV- become person =PFV =3

All the karaengs sent a message, saying: "get ready because soon we should bring the daughter of Karaeng Massere' to her husband's home, because she became a person".

- (121) *Nia' ngasemminjo battu paranna kara'-karaeng, Karaeng ri Roong nia'- tommi battu.*

nia' ngaseng =mo =i (a)njo battu para ≡nna karaeng- karaeng karaeng ri
be all =PFV =3 that come both ≡3.POSS RDP- karaeng karaeng PREP

Roong nia' tong =mo =i battu
Roong be also =PFV =3 come

All the karaengs came, Karaeng Roong also came.

- (122) *Tenamo kamma rannunna Karaeng ri Roong siagáng Karaeng ri Massere'*

tena =mo kamma rannu ≡nna karaeng ri Roong siagáng karaeng ri Massere'
NEG =PFV thus happy ≡3.POSS karaeng PREP Roong with karaeng PREP Massere'

There was nothing like the happiness of Karaeng Roong and Karaeng Massere'.

(123) *Atte'ne-te'ne pa'mai'mi tuju allo tuju bangngi.*

aC- te'ne- te'ne pa'mai' =mo =i tuju allo tuju bangngi
 MV- RDP- sweet heart =PFV =3 seven day seven night

There was sweetness in their hearts for seven days and seven nights.

(124) *Nalekka'mi ana'na mange ri balla'na Karaeng ri Roong.*

na= lekka' =mo =i ana' =na mange ri balla' =na
 3= newlyweds.to.groom's.house =PFV =3 child =3.POSS go PREP house =3.POSS

karaeng ri Roong

karaeng PREP Roong

The children were brought as newlyweds to Karaeng Roong's house.

(125) *Battui anrai' nakanamo Karaeng ri Roong ri ana'na: "Baji'na na kupisangkaiko ammantang ammotere'nu anrai' mae; ka'de' tena nupilangngéri kanangku, darami bainennu, na tusanna'- dudu baji'-baji'na.*

battu =i anrai' na= kana =mo karaeng ri Roong ri ana' =na
 come =3 go.east 3= word =PFV karaeng PREP Roong PREP child =3.POSS

baji' =na na ku= pi- sangka =i =ko amm- antang
 good =3.POSS COMP 1= EXP- forbid =3 =2f MV- stay

amm- oter =e' =nu anrai' mae ka'de' tena nu= pi- langnger -i
 MV- return =EC =2f.POSS go.east be.in.a.place if.only NEG 2f= EXP- listen -APPL

kana =ngku dara =mo =i baine =nnu na tu- sanna' dudu
 word =1.POSS a.pity =PFV =3 female =2f.POSS and person- extremely very

baji'- baji' =na

RDP- good =3.POSS

Coming eastwards Karaeng Roong said to his son: "It was good that I forbade you to stay back in the east, if you hadn't heeded my words, what a shame for your wife, and she is really very beautiful".

(126) *Atte'ne-te'ne pa'mai'mi Karaeng ri Roong tallung- allo tallum- bangngi.*

aC- te'ne- te'ne pa'mai' =mo =i karaeng ri Roong tallu -N allo
 MV- RDP- sweet heart =PFV =3 karaeng PREP Roong three -LK day

tallu -N bangngi

three -LK night

Karaeng Roong felt sweetness in his heart for three days, three nights.

(127) *Gannaki tallung- allo tallum- bangngi ammotere'mi karaeng ri Massere' mange ri balla'na.*

ganna' =i tallu -N allo tallu -N bangngi amm- oter =e' =mo =i
 complete =3 three -LK day three -LK night MV- return =EC =PFV =3

karaeng ri Massere' mange ri balla' =na

karaeng PREP Massere' go PREP house =3.POSS

After three days and three nights Karaeng Massere' went back to her house.

(128) *Kammaminjo pau-pauanna karaenga ammanaka bembe.*

kamma =mo =i (a)njo pau- pau -ang ≡na karaeng ≡a
 thus =PFV =3 that RDP- story -NR ≡3.POSS karaeng ≡DEF

amm- ana' ≡a bembe

MV- child ≡DEF goat

That was the story of the karaeng who gave birth to a goat.

Appendix C

A'jappa–jappa ri Bulukumba: A trip to Bulukumba

This narrative recounting a shared experience was told to me by Alimuiddin, a native of Bontonompo in his early 20s. It was recorded in July 1997. It is unusual for the way in which the proclitic *ku=* has been encliticised onto the conjunction/complementiser *na* in (1) and (22), and also for the variant form *siagadang* of the prepositional verb *siagáng*.

- (1) *Ri allonna arabaia tette' sampulo–asse're naku a'lampa ammekang ri Bulukumba.*

ri allo ≡₃na arabaia tette' sampulo aN– se're na =ku
PREP day ≡₃.POSS Wednesday o'clock ten LK– one COMP =1

aC– lampa aN(N)– pe kang ri Bulukumba
MV– go BV– hook PREP Bulukumba

On Wednesday at 11 o'clock I went fishing at Bulukumba

- (2) *Anjo alloa assiagáng'a' i Antoni mange ammekang nia' podeng aganna battu ri Anggarisi', niareng Brus.*

anjo allo ≡_a aC– siagáng =a' i Antoni mange aN(N)– pe kang nia' podeng
that day ≡_{DEF} MV– with =1 PREP Anthony go BV– hook be also

agang ≡_{na} battu ri Anggarisi' ni– areng Brus
friend ≡₃.POSS come PREP England PASS– name Bruce

That day I accompanied Anthony to go fishing, there was also his friend from England called Bruce.

- (3) *Jari i rate ri biseanga na nia' cari–caritamo siagadang i Brus, Antoni, inakke, accari–caritatonga' siagadang i Arsyad.*

jari i rate ri biseang ≡_a na nia' cari– carita =mo siagadang
so PREP above PREP boat ≡_{DEF} COMP be RDP– story =PFV with

i Brus Antoni inakke aC– cari– carita tong =a' siagadang i Arsyad
PREP Bruce Anthony 1PRO MV– RDP– story also =1 with PERS Arsyad

So up on the ship, there was talking with Bruce, Anthony, me, I also talked with Arsyad.

- (4) *Na... narapi'mo birinna anjo puloa, nikana pulo liukang, ammantammi biseanga naku ammekangmo anjoreng.*

na na= rapí' =mo biring ≡_{na} anjo pulo ≡_a ni– kana pulo liukang
and 3= achieve =PFV edge ≡₃.POSS that island ≡_{DEF} PASS– word island island

amm– antang =mo =i biseang ≡_a na =ku
MV– stay =PFV =3 boat ≡_{DEF} COMP ≡₁.POSS

aN(N)– pe kang =mo anjoreng
BV– hook =PFV there

And... getting to that island, they say 'liukang' for island, the boat stopped and we fished there.

- (5) *Mingka tena na kummantung, jari naungi taua a'je'ne'-je'ne' ri tamparanga, nasaba'tenaja juku' nipekang.*

mingka tena na ku= aN(N)- bantung
but NEG COMP 1= BV- hoist

jari naung =i tau ≡a aC- je'ne'- je'ne' ri tamparang ≡a
so go.down =3 person ≡DEF MV- RDP- water PREP sea ≡DEF

na= saba' tena =ja juku' ni- pekang
3= reason NEG =LIM fish PASS- hook

But I didn't catch any, so the people went down to swim in the sea, because the fish weren't getting caught.

- (6) *Inakke naung a'lange, i Antoni naung todonga' siagadang i Brus naung todonga' a'lange.*

inakke naung aC- lange i Antoni naung todong =a' siagadang i Brus
1PRO go.down MV- swim PERS Anthony go.down also =1 with PERS Bruce

naung todong =a' aC- lange
go.down also =1 MV- swim

I went down to swim, Anthony also went down, with Bruce also we went down to swim.

- (7) *Inakke a'lange na kuselang ka... nasaba' tassambangi pekanku anjoreng ri batua, jari naunga' anselangi.*

inakke aC- lange na ku= selang ka na= saba' taC- sambang =i
1PRO MV- swim and 1= dive because 3= reason NVOL- snag =3

pekang ≡ku anjoreng ri batu ≡a jari naung =a' aN- selang -i
hook ≡1.POSS there PREP stone ≡DEF so go.down =1 AF- dive -APPL

I swam and dived because... because my hook was snagged there on the rocks so I went down to dive to it.

- (8) *I Brus tulimo langena i rawa ri tamparanga siagadang i Antoni.*

I Brus tuli =mo lange ≡na i rawa ri tamparang ≡a
PERS Bruce constant =PFV swim ≡3.POSS PREP beneath PREP sea ≡DEF

siagadang i Antoni
with PREP Anthony

Bruce swam the whole time in the sea together with Anthony.

- (9) *I Arsyad i rateji ri biseanga accini'-cini' tau a'lange.*

I Arsyad i rate =ja =i ri biseang ≡a aC- cini'- cini'
PERS Arsyad PREP above =LIM =3 PREP boat ≡DEF MV- RDP- see

tau aC- lange
person MV- swim

Arsyad just (stayed) up on the boat watching the people swimming.

- (10) *Nia' poenga tau maraengang na inakke sipa'agangang naung todonga' a'je'ne'-je'ne'.*

nia' pole -ang ≡a tau maraeng -ang na i- nakke
be yet -COMPR ≡DEF person other -COMPR and PERS- 1PRO

si- pa> aC- agang <ang naung todong =a' aC- je'ne'- je'ne'
MUT- NR> MV- friend <NR go.down also =1 MV- RDP- water

There were still more other people and me and my friends also went down to swim.

- (11) *I Arsyad tena naung a'je'ne'-je'ne' nasaba' tangngissengai a'lange.*

I Arsyad tena naung aC- je'ne'- je'ne' na= saba'
PERS Arsyad NEG go.down MV- RDP- water 3= reason

ta= aN(N)- isseng -a =i aC- lange
NEG= BV- know -SBJV =3 MV- swim

Arsyad didn't go down to bathe because he didn't know how to swim.

- (12) *Sallo- salloi a'lange Antoni ero'mi nai' ri biseanga natepo' anjo tuka'na biseanga.*

sallo sallo =i aC- lange Antoni ero' =mo =i nai' ri biseang ≡a
long long =3 MV- swim Anthony want =PFV =3 go.up PREP boat ≡DEF

na= tepo' anjo tuka' ≡na bise -ang ≡a
3= broken that ladder ≡3.POSS paddle -NR ≡DEF

After swimming for a while Anthony wanted to come up on the boat, the boat's ladder was broken.

- (13) *Jari, I Brus nai'i nanibeso'- mamona nai', nasaba' tena nakulle angngambi', nasaba' anjo pakalianna sanna' ca'dina nampa roso'.*

jari I Brus nai' =i na= ni- beso' mamona nai'
so PERS Bruce go.up =3 3= PASS- pull only go.up

na= saba' tena na= kulle aN(N)- ambi'
3= reason NEG 3= can BV- climb

na= saba' anjo pakaliang ≡na sanna' ca'di ≡na nampa roso'
3= reason that arm ≡3.POSS extremely small ≡3.POSS then thin

So, Bruce had to be pulled up, because he couldn't climb up, because his arms were too small and thin.

- (14) *Le'baki a'lange, iareka le'baki taua a'je'ne'-je'ne', nai'mi taua ri puloa ero' mae attunu- tunu juku'.*

le'ba' =i aC- lange iareka le'ba' =i tau ≡a aC- je'ne'- je'ne'
finished =3 MV- swim or finished =3 person ≡DEF MV- RDP- water

nai' =mo =i tau ≡a ri pulo ≡a ero' mae aC- tunu- tunu juku'
go.up =PFV =3 person ≡DEF PREP island ≡DEF want be.in.a.place MV- RDP- grill fish

After swimming, or after the people had swum, the people went up on the island, wanting to go and roast some fish.

- (15) *Mingka tena pabalu'- juku', jari kaluku- loloji nikanre anjoreng anjo ri puloa.*

mingka tena pa- balu' juku'
but NEG NR- sell fish

jari kaluku lolo =ja =i ni- kanre anjoreng anjo ri pulo ≡a
 so coconut young =LIM =3 PASS- food there that PREP island ≡DEF

But there was no fishseller, so young coconut was all we ate there on the island.

- (16) *Uru naikku ri puloa nia' podeng tau battu ri Perancis, limai siagadang.*

uru nai' ≡ku ri pulo ≡a nia' podeng tau battu
 beginning go.up ≡1.POSS PREP island ≡DEF be also person come

ri Perancis lima =i siagadang
 PREP France five =3 with

At first when we went up on the island there were also people from France, 5 together.

- (17) *mingka I Antoniji cari-carita siagadang I Brus siagang anjo tau battua ri Perancis.*

mingka I Antoni =ja =i cari- carita siagadang I Brus siagang anjo tau
 but PERS Anthony =LIM =3 RDP- story with PERS Bruce with that person

battu ≡a ri Perancis
 come ≡DEF PREP France

But only Anthony talked together with Bruce with those people from France.

- (18) *Inakke na I Arsyad a'lampa mae ri olo, mae a'boya kaluku.*

inakke na I Arsyad aC- lampa mae ri olo
 1PRO and PERS Arsyad MV- go be.in.a.place PREP front

mae aC- boya kaluku
 be.in.a.place MV- search coconut

Me and Arsyad were ahead, looking for coconuts.

- (19) *Wattu mange anjoreng nai'mi anjo agangu angngambi' kaluku na panaung annam- batu.*

wattu mange anjoreng nai' =mo =i anjo agang ≡ku aN(N)- ambi' kaluku
 time go there go.up =PFV =3 that friend ≡1.POSS BV- climb coconut

na pa- naung annang batu
 and CAUS- go.down six CLF.misc

when we went there my friend climbed up a coconut and threw down six

- (20) *Jari anjoremminjo angnganre kaluku ri puloa.*

jari anjoreng =mo =i (a)njo aN(N)- kanre kaluku ri pulo ≡a
 so there =PFV =3 that BV- food coconut PREP island ≡DEF

so (we) ate coconut on the island

- (21) *Sikalinna I Brus nisakkoki ri je'ne' kaluku nasaba' tena nabiasa angnginung punna tena nammake pipet iareka silang.*

si- kali ≡nna I Brus ni- sakko' =i ri je'ne' kaluku na= saba'
 one- time ≡3.POSS PERS Bruce PASS- choke =3 PREP water coconut 3= reason

tena na= biasa aN(N)- inung punna tena na= aN(N)- pake pipet iareka silang
 NEG 3= usual BV- drink if/when NEG 3= BV- use straw or straw?

One time Bruce choked on the coconut water because he wasn't used to drinking without using a straw.

- (22) *Jari, le'ba'namonjo angnganre kaluku, ammotere'ma' mange ri biseanga naku a'lampamo mange ri Tanjung Bira ri anjo tampa' kupammantang nia'.*

jari le'ba' ≡na =mo anjo aN(N)- kanre kaluku
 so finished ≡3.POSS =PFV that BV- food coconut

amm- oter =e' =mo =a' mange ri biseang ≡a
 MV- return =EC =PFV =1 go PREP boat ≡DEF

na =ku aC- lampa =mo mange ri Tanjung Bira ri anjo tampa'
 and =1 MV- go =PFV go PREP peninsula Bira PREP that place

ku= pa- amm- antang nia'
 1= NR- MV- stay exist

So, when we'd finished eating coconuts, we went back to the boat and went to Tanjung Bira where the place we were staying was.

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