Aspectual and modal clitics
in Makassarese and Makassar Indonesian

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Makassarese has a set of clitics which are associated with tense, aspect, mood, modality and polarity. This set consists 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', also a question tag). This paper will examine the use of this system of clitics in Makassarese, and also briefly illustrate the pervasive borrowing of these elements into Makassar Indonesian.

1   Clitics in Makassarese

Makassarese (spoken by around 2 million people in South Sulawesi) 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.

The formal properties of clitics in Makassarese are:

- they attach further from the root than affixes
- they are not counted for stress (because they are not part of the prosodic word,
- they have a tendency to appear in 2nd position (abbreviated as 2P)
- 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 (1) and (2), or the negator may precede an entire PP (3).

(1)   *naung todonga'*

    naung   todong =a'
    descend also   =1

    I also climbed down

(2)   *a'jappa bangkengi*

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

    he's going on foot

(3)   *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' 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 1 below.

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

Table 1: Clitics

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

(4) *lakuapamako*

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

now what will I do with you?

(5) *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 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.

2   Aspectual/modal clitics

The clitics which are associated with tense, aspect, mood, modality and polarity (referred to for convenience as TAM) 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*.[1] The results of the combination of TAM and pronominal enclitics are shown in Table 2.

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[1] With the exception that *=ka=i* → *=kai*. Vowel-degemination still applies in the case of *=ka=a'* → *=ka'*.

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

Table 2: TAM and pronominal enclitics

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 small subset of the 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.

2.1   Negative *ta=*

Although *ta=* is not the most common negator, it is the most basic (ie. unambiguously monomorphemic) whereas the other negators *tea*, *teá*, *tena* and *taena* 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. (6) and (7):

(6)   *taena kuássemmi*

> tena   ku=   asseng   =mo   =i
> NEG   1=   know   =PFV   =3

the white shirt goes with everything (lit: the white shirt, there's no it not going with)

I don't know it anymore, I forgot it

(7)   *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 (7) 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, 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 **(8)** below. These do not require subjunctive *-a*.

(8)   *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)

(9)   *tenamo tau tampaui*

> 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)

The use of *ta=* was much more common in the 16th/17th century language preserved in the Gowa chronicle, and is also not uncommon in genres which similarly use archaic/literary style, such as folk tales (*rupama*) and epic prose (*sinrili'*). From the oldest known manuscript (KIT 668-216), example (10) is from the Gowa chronicle, while (11) is from article 16 of the Bungaya treaty of 1667:

(10)   *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)

(11)   *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 the preposition *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':

(12)   *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).

2.2   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.

(13)   *la'lampa'*

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

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

(14) *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)

(15) *lamangea' ri pasaraka ammuko*

la=	mange	=a'	ri	pasar	=a'	≡a	ammuko
FUT=	go	=1	PREP	market	=EC	≡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':

(16) *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?'. (17) is the most common greeting formula, although it is usually shortened to *lakeko mae.*

(17) *lakereko mae*

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

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

(18) *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.

(19) *lakusaremako 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)

(20) *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. It may be that there is a historical connection, but there is no deontic content to *la=* in the modern language.

2.3   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.

(21) *angnganrema'*

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

I've already eaten

(22) *pirambulammi 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* can have a deontic component and is commonly used in imperatives. This could be viewed as projecting the speaker's certainty that an action will be performed.

(23) *tunrummi*

tunrung =mo   =i
hit   =PFV =3

go and hit him (C:459)

(24) *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:

(25) *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)

(26) *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*.

(27) *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.

(28) *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 cannot host a proclitic.

(29) *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*).

(30) *tinang niákkamo 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)

2.4 Imperfective *=pa*

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

(31) *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)

(32) *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* .

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

(33) *tenapa kutianang*

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

    I'm not yet pregnant (bembe009)

(34) *takuassengapi*

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

    I don't know it yet (cf. (27))

2.5   Limitative *=ja*

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

(35) *la'lampaja'*

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

I'm just going to go

(36) *mannantu lompo, lompo bannanji*

manna	antu	lompo	lompo	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)

(37) *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

2.6   '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*). 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 has having a 'questioning' (*vragende*) meaning, as did one of my informants who compared it to the Japanese question particle (which is also coincidentally *ka*).[2] 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:

(38) *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):

(39) *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

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

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>.

3   TAM clitics in Makassar Indonesian[3]

Along with the pronominal enclitics (less so the proclitics), the aspectual clitics are used heavily in Makassarese Indonesian. They are used in conversation and SMS or internet chat or Facebook walls. Most obviously in conversation, perfective *=mi* and imperfective *=pi* are habitually (and redundantly) added to the Indonesian lexemes *sudah* and *belum* to give *sudahmi* 'already' and *belumpi* 'not yet'. The following examples (found on Facebook) briefly illustrate their use:

(40) *Bikin apami itu anak2?*

What did those kids do?

(41) *Pergi ke Lombok? Ke Bali ja.*[4]

(Did you) go to Lombok? Just to Bali.

(42) *Mauma pulang*

I already want to go home

(43) *Kerja dimana? Di Butonkoka*

Where (do you work)? You in Buton?

These examples come from young people who are not themselves fluent in Makassarese, some not being of Makassarese extraction. Nevertheless, they show consistent use of Makassarese TAM clitics.

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   Makassaars-Nederlands Woordenboek (Cense & Abdoerrahim 1979)
KIT:ref   ms 668–216, Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen (see Appendix A)
PT:ref   Folktale *Caritana Pung Tedong* (Jukes 1998:Appendix B; Zainuddin Hakim 1991)
SKT:ref   *Sinrili'na Kappala' Tallumbatua* (Aburaerah Arief and Zainuddin Hakim 1993)
bembe:ref   Folktale *Caritana Karaeng Ammanaka Bembe*, KITLV Or545.55f

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[3] I avoid the term Makassarese or Makassar Malay because it more properly refers to the variety of Malay historically spoken in Makassar. It is unclear how much the modern variety of Indonesian spoken in Makassar and across South Sulawesi has in common with this historical variety.

[4] The glottal stop in *=a'* is rarely written.

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