



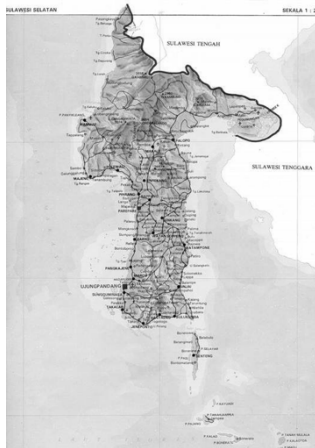
Two types of subordination in Makassarese

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Outline

- Relative clauses
- Subordinate clauses with possessive morphology

South Sulawesi



- Population 7.8 m, concentrated in southern half
- c.3.5m Bugis
- c.2m Makassarese
 - 500,000 Sa'dan
 - 250,000 Tae
 - 200,000 Mandar
 - 150,000 Highland Konjo
 - 125,000 Coastal Konjo
 - 100,000 Selayarese
- + 21 other languages

Basics of Makassarese

	Pronoun	Proclitic (ERG)	Enclitic (ABS)	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 incl	<i>ikatte</i>	<i>ki=</i>	<i>=ki'</i>	<i>-ta</i>
1 pl excl	<i>ikambe</i>	<i>(ku=)</i>	<i>† =kang</i>	<i>† -mang</i>
3	<i>ia</i>	<i>na=</i>	<i>=i</i>	<i>-na</i>

- Free pronouns occur only rarely – clitic pronouns do the main work of tracking referents.
- Generally occur in an ergative/absolutive pattern:
 - enclitic stands for S in intransitive (or semi-transitive) clause) or P in transitive clause,
 - proclitic stands for A in transitive clause.

The definite marker *-a*

- In its most basic use *-a* marks a noun as definite or specific, for example after being introduced by the existential verb *nia'*:

Nia' se're romang, anjo romanga tanikana-kanayai lompona siagáng luara'na...

nia' se're romang anjo romang ≡a ta= ni- kana- kana -a =i
 exist one forest that forest ≡DEF NEG= PASS- RDP- word -SBJV =3

lompo ≡na siagáng luar =a' ≡na
 big ≡3.POSS with wide =EC 3.POSS

There was a forest, that forest's size and width cannot be described... (PT:002)

The definite marker *-a*

- Once marked as definite, NPs participate in the cross-referencing system

Angnganrea'unti

aN(N)- kanre =a' unti
 BV- eat =1 banana

I eat bananas

Kukanrei untia

ku= kanre =i unti ≡a
 1= eat =3 banana ≡DEF

I eat the bananas

Relative clauses

- Makassarese does not have a dedicated relative clause marker, unlike Indonesian *yang* and Selayarese and Konjo *tu* and *nu*
- instead the clausal modifier simply follows the head
- In the vast majority of examples the modified NP is definite, and there is a distinctive use of *-a*, which attaches to the verb inside the relative clause
- The head is not cross-referenced within the RC — this is parallel to focused NPs. (It is cross-referenced in the matrix clause)

Relative clauses and *-a*

tau battua ri Jepang

tau battu ≡a ri Jepang
 person come ≡DEF PREP Japan

the person who came from Japan (head = S)

tau nabunoa sorodadu

tau na= buno ≡a sorodadu
 person 3= kill ≡DEF soldier

the person killed by a soldier (head = P)

sorodadu ammunoa tau

sorodadu aN(N)- buno ≡a tau
 soldier BV- kill ≡DEF person

the soldier who killed a person (head = A)

Relatives on indefinite arguments

- These are possible, but rare
- They are identical to clauses with a focused (fronted) argument

tau battu ri Jepang

tau battu ri Jepang
person come PREP Japan

a person who came from Japan

tau nabuno sorodadu

tau na= buno sorodadu
person 3= kill soldier

a person killed by a soldier

sorodadu ammuno tau

sorodadu aN(N)- buno tau
soldier BV- kill person

a soldier who killed a person

RCs with definite P

- If there is a definite P argument, its ABS clitic is placed on the verb, but after the definite marker *-a*

tau ansareako baju

tau aN- sare ≡a =ko baju
person AF- give ≡DEF =2f shirt

the person who gave you a shirt

sorodadu ambunoai taua

sorodadu aN- buno ≡a =i tau ≡a
soldier AF- kill ≡DEF =3 person ≡DEF

the soldier who killed the person

RCs with definite P

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

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

Subordinate clauses with possessive morphology

	Pronoun	Proclitic (ERG)	Enclitic (ABS)	Suffix (POSS)
1 sing	<i>inakke</i>	<i>ku=</i>	<i>=a'</i>	<i>-ku</i>
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Possessives

- Possessive suffixes are canonically placed on possessed NPs

ballá'na <house-3.POSS> 'his/her/their house'

miong le'léngku <cat black-1.POSS> 'my black cat'

tedonna i Ali <buffalo-3.POSS Ali> 'Ali's buffalo'.

tuka'na balla'na ana'na <ladder-3.POSS house-3.POSS child-3.POSS> 'her children's house's stairs'.

Subordinate temporal clauses

- Possessive suffixes can appear on verbal predicates (in place of ABS enclitics) to form subordinate temporal clauses

Subordinate temporal clauses

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 INTR- 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, saying '...'

c.f *antama=a' ri balla'na aganna*
'I/we entered his friend's house'

Kurapi'na Malino sengkang annganre ri warunga

ku= rapi' ≡na Malino sengkang aN(N)- kanre ri warung ≡a
1= reach ≡3.POSS Malino on.the.way TR- eat PREP stall ≡DEF

On reaching Malino we stopped to eat at the *warung*

Subordinate clauses with possessive morphology

- Possessed clauses cannot stand alone:
- *Antama=i* 's/he entered'
- **Antama-na* 'when s/he entered'

Paired possessed clauses

- 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:

Kucini'na, a'lampana

ku= cini' ≡na aC- lampa ≡na
 1= see ≡3.POSS INTR- go ≡3.POSS

When I looked at him, he left (he was afraid of me)

Kucini'na, a'lampaku

ku= cini' ≡na aC- lampa ≡na
 1= see ≡3.POSS INTR- go ≡3.POSS

When I saw him, I left (I was afraid of him)

Paired possessed clauses

Compare a parallel example with ABS enclitics, where there is a sequential reading but no inference of causation:

Kuciniki, a'lampai

ku= cini' =i aC- lampa =i
1= see =3 INTR- go =3

I saw him, he left

Paired possessed clauses

Conjoined clauses with *na* 'and' or *ka* 'because' are also more neutral:

kuciniki na a'lampai

ku= cini' =i na na aC- lampa =i
1.ERG= see =3.ABS and INTR- go =3.ABS
I looked at him and he went away (they are probably connected, but maybe not)

a'lampai ka kuciniki

aC- lampa =i ka ku= cini' =i
INTR- go =3.ABS because 1.ERG= see =3.ABS
He went away because I looked at him (it was the signal for him to go)

Paired possessed clauses

- It is important to note that these constructions must occur in matched pairs – either half would be ungrammatical in isolation, similar to reduced clauses in correlative comparatives (*the more... the more...*)

Paired possessed clauses

- They do not always have negative interpretations:

kucini'nu rannuna pa'maikku

ku= cini' -nu rannu -na pa'mai' -ku
 1.ERG= see -2f.POSS happy -3.POSS heart -1.POSS
 when I see you I'm happy (my heart is happy)

- But they often do:

kuinunna ta'langgeku

ku= inung -na taC- langge -ku
 1.ERG= drink -3.POSS NVOL- vomit -1.POSS
 when I drink it I vomit

A possessed clause poem

Ta'bangkana a'murianna

taC- banka -na aC- muriang -na
 NVOL- be.shocked -3.POSS INTR- wake.up -3.POSS

He startles, he wakes up

A'murianna cipuru'na

aC- muriang -na cipur =VC -na
 INTR- wake.up -3.POSS hungry =epen -3.POSS

He wakes up, he's hungry

A possessed clause poem

Cipuru'na angnganrena

cipur =VC -na aN(N)- kanre -na
 hungry =epen -3.POSS TR1- food -3.POSS

He's hungry, he eats

Angnganrena bassoro'na

aN(N)- kanre -na bassor =VC -na
 TR1- food -3.POSS satiated =epen -3.POSS

He eats, he gets full

A possessed clause poem

Bassoro'na ti'do'do'na

bassor =VC -na tiC- do'do' -na
satiated =epen -3.POSS NVOL- trudge -3.POSS

He gets full, he gets tired

Ti'do'do'na attinrona

tiC- do'do' -na aC- tinro -na
NVOL- trudge -3.POSS INTR- sleep -3.POSS

He gets tired, he sleeps

A possessed clause poem

Attinrona ta'bangkana

aC- tinro -na taC- bangka -na
INTR- sleep -3.POSS NVOL- be.shocked -3.POSS

He sleeps, he startles

Ta'bangkana a'murianna

taC- bangka -na aC- muriang -na
NVOL- be.shocked -3.POSS INTR- wake.up -3.POSS

He startles, he wakes up

Thank you!