

Aspectual and modal clitics in Makassarese

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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 paradigms and use of this system of clitics.

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 =1ABS
I also climbed down

(2) *a'jappa bangkengi*

aC- jappa bangkeng =i
INTR- walk foot =3ABS
he's going on foot

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

laisi' ta= ri nakke -na
slenderness NEG= PREP 1s -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	
<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 1: Makassarese 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= 1ERG= what =PFV =2fABS
 now what will I do with you?

(5) *takuassengapi*

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

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

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* even though those combinations do not result in semantic anomalies.

The pronominal enclitics are generally used to cross-reference the subject of an intransitive clause (S) and the patient of a transitive clause (P), while the pronominal 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 (ABS) and ergative (ERG) 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 (see Jukes 2006, 2013 for more details).

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 It is unclear why the uninflected PFV clitic is *=mo* rather than *=ma* as would be expected, but note that it changes to *=ma* in combination with consonant initial clitics. The results of the combination of TAM and pronominal enclitics are shown in table (2).

	+	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 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 Toolbox 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 1ERG= know =PFV =3ABS
 I don’t know it anymore, I forgot it
- (7) *takuasséngami*
 ta= ku= asseng -a =mo =i
 NEG= 1ERG= know -SBJV =PFV =3ABS
 I don’t know it anymore, I forgot it

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

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= 3ERG= go -APPL
 the white shirt goes with everything (lit: the white shirt, there's no it not going with)
- (9) *tenamo tau tampau*
 tena =mo tau ta= aN- pau =i
 NEG =PFV person NEG= AF- story =3ABS
 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,² 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 =3ABS STV- upright =EC

 ta= ni- puji -a =i panrita
 NEG= PASS- praise -SBJV =3ABS 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 3ERG= agree -APPL =PFV =3ABS even one blade =EC grass

 ta= nia' apa na= kana anu -nna
 NEG= exist what 3ERG= say thingy -3.POSS
 because he (Sultan Hasanuddin) already agreed that he has no claim to even one blade of grass (on the island of Buton): lit. he has agreed that even one blade of grass, there does not exist that (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
 name NR> king <NR PREP NEG= INTR- action -NR

² The chronicles of Gowa and Tallo' are histories of Makassarese kingdoms, progressively composed through the 15-19th centuries and written in Makassarese or Bugis scripts (Wolhoff & Abdurrahim. 1959; Jukes 2006; Cummings 2007).

ni- kana karaeng Passi'
 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 =1ABS
 I'll go, I'm going (time unspecified)
- (14) *tanaasseng lanajappaia*
 ta= na= asseng la= na= jappa -i -a
 NEG= 3ERG= know FUT= 3ERG= 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 =1ABS 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= INTR- market =EC =1ABS 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 =2fABS be
 where are you going? (lit. where will you be?)
- (18) *lakuapako*
 la= ku= apa =ko
 FUT= 1ERG= what =2fABS
 what will I do with you?

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

- (19) *lakusaremake pa'arengang*
 la= ku= sare =mo =ko pa> aC- areng <ang
 FUT= 1ERG= give =PFV =2fABS NR> INTR- 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 IERG= AF- enter PREP house -2p.POSS PREP night -DEF

ka la= tinro =mo =ki' ku= cini'
 because FUT= sleep =PFV =2pABS IERG= 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) *angganrema'*
 aN(N)- kanre =mo =a'
 TR- eat =PFV =1ABS
 I've already eaten
- (22) *pirambulamma battanta? sibulamma' taccini' cera'*
 piraN- bulang =mo =i battang -ta
 how.many month =PFV =3ABS belly -2pPOSS
- si- bulang =mo =a' ta= aC- cini' cera'
 one- month =PFV =1ABS NEG= INTR- 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 =3ABS
 go and hit him (C:459)
- (24) *ammempomaki'*
 amm- empo =mo =ki'
 INTR- sit =PFV =2pABS
 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 =3ABS be NR> INTR- live <NR -2fPOSS
 where is your home? (C:459)
- (26) *keremi mae pammantangannu*
 kere =mo =i mae pa> amm- antang <ang -nu
 where =PFV =3ABS be NR> INTR- live <NR -2fPOSS
 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= 1ERG= know -SBJV =PFV =3ABS
 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 3ERG= INTR- can INTR- 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.

- (29) *taenami ri barugaya*
 taena =mo =i ri baruga -a
 NEG =PFV =3ABS 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 3erg= 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 incompleteness or remainder.

- (31) *ingka se'repi kuboya*
 ingka se're =pa =i ku= boya
 but one =IPF =3ABS 1ERG= search
 but there's still one thing I seek (SKT:0001:007)
- (32) *mmantampi tallu*
 amm- antang =pa =i tallu
 INTR- stay =IPF =3ABS 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 1ERG= pregnant
 I’m not yet pregnant (bembe009)
- (34) *takuassengapi*
 ta= ku= asseng –a =pa =i
 NEG= 1ERG= know –SBJV =IPF =3ABS
 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= INTR– go =LIM =1ABS
 I’m just going to go
- (36) *mannantu lompo, lompo bannanji*
 manna antu lompo lompo bannang =ja =i
 although that big big thread =LIM =3ABS
 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 =3ABS
 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 nor 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 (1979) 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*).³ However the fact that the vast majority of questions are not marked with *=ka* makes this explanation somewhat dubious.⁴ There seem to be two major

³ Most Makassarese people do not speak Japanese, however this person has worked as a guide for Japanese tourists.

⁴ The neighbouring language Bugis has a similar element *-ga*, which according to Hanson (2003:114-5) appears on question words such as *sia-ga* ‘how much’ or *ni-ga* ‘who’, and on main or modal verbs in yes-no questions. Corresponding question words in Makassarese such as *siapa* ‘how much’ or *inai* ‘who’ are not marked with *=ka*.

functions: one is as a means of seeking confirmation or clarification similar to question tags in English:

- (38) *lanauṅkako?*
 la= naung =ka =ko
 FUT= descend =or =2FABS
 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) *punna taniassenga ruai kodina kisa'ringkai kalenta karaeng-dudu na kanaka tau ipantaraka tau bawang- dudu.*

punna ta= ni- asseng -a rua =i kodi -na
 if NEG= PASS- know -DEF two =3ABS bad -3POSS

ki= sa'ring =ka =i kale -nta karaeng dudu na kana =ka
 2ERG= feel =or =3ABS self -2pPOSS king very and word =or

tau i pantara' -a tau bawang dudu
 person PREP outside -DEF 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. Conclusions

It has been shown that the set of TAM clitics forms a relatively self-contained and quite pervasive subsystem within Makassarese grammar. As a final note I will add that along with the Makassarese pronominal enclitics (less so the proclitics), the aspectual clitics are used heavily in Makassar Indonesian,⁵ appearing in conversation, SMS, and social media. Most obviously, 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’. Further examples (which appeared in Facebook status updates) briefly illustrate their use:

- (40) *Bikin apami itu anak2?*
 What did those kids do?

⁵ I avoid the terms Makassarese/Makassar Malay because these more properly refer to the variety of Malay historically spoken in Makassar by a community descended from Malay traders. It is unclear how much the modern variety of Indonesian spoken in Makassar and across South Sulawesi has in common with this historical variety.

- (41) *Pergi ke Lombok? Ke Bali ja.*⁶
(Did you) go to Lombok? Just to Bali.
- (42) *Mauma pulang*
I already want to go home
- (43) *Kerja dimana? Di Butonka*⁷
Where (do you work)? You in Buton?

These examples come from young inhabitants of Makassar who are not themselves fluent in Makassarese, some not being of Makassarese ethnicity. Nevertheless, they show consistent use of Makassarese TAM clitics (rather than the parallel forms from Bugis, for example). However the extent of the influence of Makassarese on Makassar Indonesian requires further investigation.

Abbreviations

ABS	absolutive	AF	actor focus
APPL	applicative	DEF	definite
EC	echo (paragogic) vowel	ERG	ergative
f	familiar	FUT	future
INTR	intransitive	IPF	imperfective
LIM	limitative	NEG	negative
NR	nominaliser	p	polite
PASS	passive	PERS	personal prefix
PFV	perfective	pl	plural
POSS	possessive	PREP	preposition
PRO	pronoun	PROH	prohibitive
s	singular	SBJV	subjunctive
STV	stative	TR	transitive.

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.
PT:ref	Folktale <i>Caritana Pung Tedong</i> (Jukes 1998:Appendix B; Zainuddin Hakim 1991)
SKT:ref	<i>Sinrili'na Kappala' Tallumbatua</i> (Aburaerah Arief and Zainuddin Hakim 1993)
bembe:ref	Folktale <i>Caritana Karaeng Ammanaka Bembe</i> , KITLV Or545.55f

⁶ The glottal stop in =a' is rarely written in romanised Makassarese.

⁷ The ordering of the enclitics is opposite to that normally found in Makassarese, see ex. 38.

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