

# DA'A VERBAL AFFIXES AND CLITICS

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## 0. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is to describe the verbal affixes and clitics of Da'a, an Austronesian (AN) language of Central Sulawesi (Celebes), Indonesia.<sup>1</sup> We will first give an overall summary of the system of verbal affixes and clitics, followed by more in-depth examination of each part of that total system.

## 1. OVERVIEW OF DA'A VERBAL AFFIXES AND CLITICS

Da'a, as with many Austronesian (AN) languages, is rich in a variety of bound morphemes marking a number of features (see Sneddon 1978, Johnston 1975, and Wolff 1973 for examples in other languages). Da'a has two basic forms of bound morphemes: affixes and clitics. Affixes operate on the word level while clitics mark features on the phrase or clause level. Affixes may also be classified as derivational and inflectional types. Each of these types of bound morphemes is discussed in separate sections below.

The following paragraphs give an overview of the system of verbal affixes and clitics.

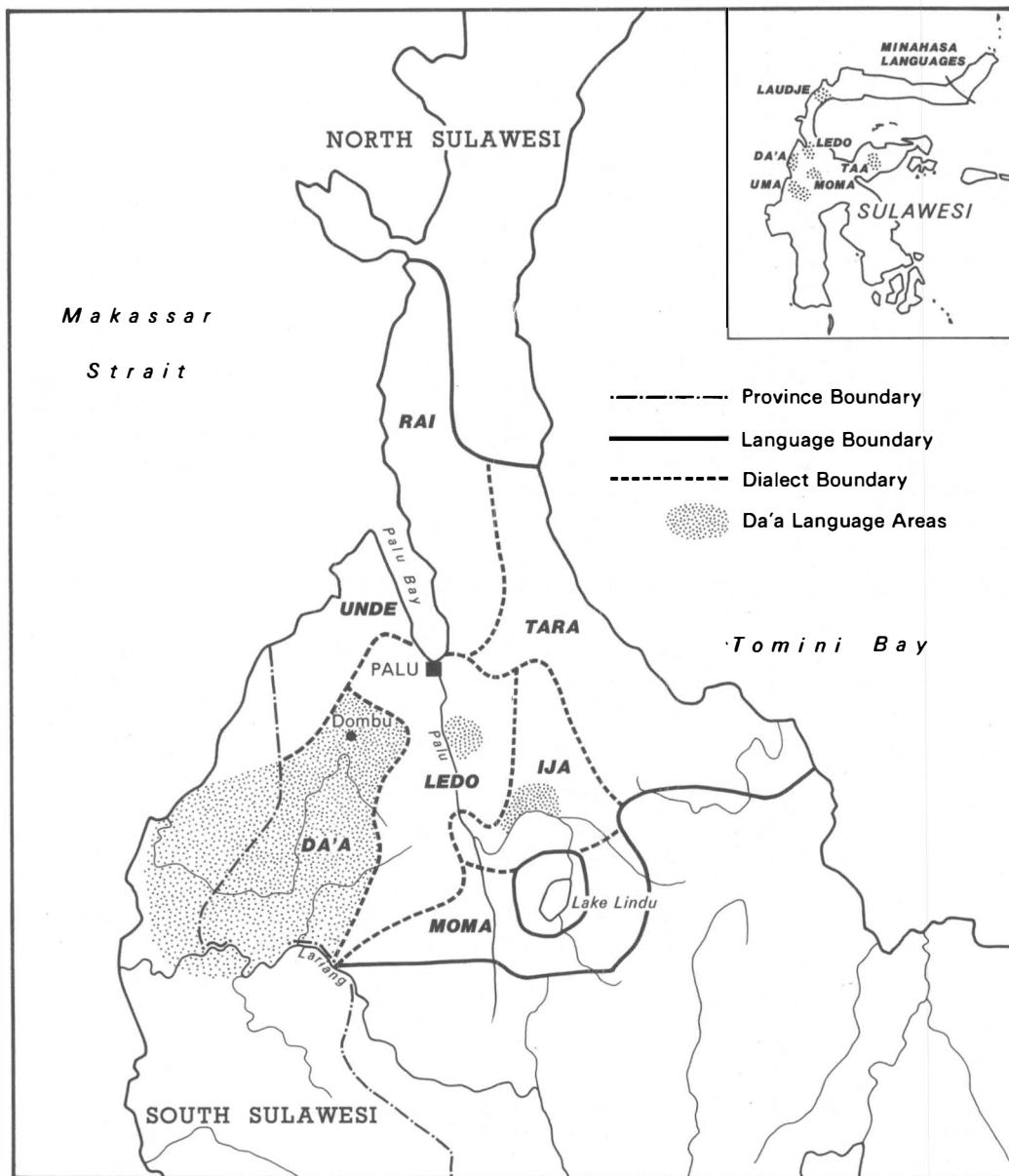
There are five sets of derivational affixes: ka-; pa-, pe-, po-; -raka, -saka, -taka, -naka, -aka; po-; and ki-. These function to form the following stem types:

- |           |              |                         |
|-----------|--------------|-------------------------|
| 1) ka-    | + ROOT       | Affective Stative       |
| 2) pa-    |              |                         |
| pe-       | + ROOT       | Transitive              |
| po-       |              |                         |
| 3) pa-ka- | + ROOT       | Causative Affective     |
| 4)        |              |                         |
|           | -raka        |                         |
|           | -saka        |                         |
|           | ROOT + -taka | Suffix Derived          |
|           | -naka        |                         |
|           | -aka         |                         |
| 5) po-pa- |              |                         |
| po-pe-    | + ROOT       | Causative               |
| po-po-    |              |                         |
| 6) ki-    | + ROOT       | Transitive Requestive   |
| 7) pe-ki- | + ROOT       | Bitransitive Requestive |

Section 2 describes and differentiates these various stem formation processes.

*Papers in Western Austronesian linguistics* No.4, 11-49.  
*Pacific Linguistics*, A-79, 1988.

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Roots or the above derived stems may be inflected for Focus, Mood and Aspect. Two Focuses are marked in Da'a: Actor Focus<sup>2</sup> and Object Focus. Three moods are distinguished: Realis, Irrealis, and Imperative. Section 3.1 describes the focus affixes and section 3.2 the mood affixes.

The following chart summarises the Focus and Mood Affixes in Da'a.

Chart 1: Summary of Focus and Mood Affixes

	ACTOR FOCUS	OBJECT FOCUS
REALIS MOOD	na- ne- no-	ni-
IRREALIS MOOD	ma- me- mo-	ra-
IMPERATIVE MOOD	pa- pe- po- ∅ stem alone	rapo- + ROOT STEM

In addition to Focus and Mood, several ASPECTS are marked by inflectional affixes. These Aspects are: Reciprocal and Multiple Actors (si); Non-Volitional (nati/mati); Reflexive (notiN/motiN); Pretense (neti/meti); Purpose (nipo/rapo and rapomba); and Repeated/Continuous Action (marked by Reduplication). Section 3.3 describes these Aspect marking affixes and reduplication.

Finally a series of clitics<sup>3</sup> occur either preceding the verb (proclitics) or following the verb (enclitics). These mark Non-Focused Actor and Mode. Section 4 describes the Non-Focused Actor clitics and section 5 the Modal clitics.

We turn now to examine first the derivational affixes, followed by a look at the inflectional affixes, concluding with an examination of the clitics. Chart 10 (p.44) summarises the overall structure of the Da'a verb.

## 2. DERIVATIONAL AFFIXES

In Da'a there are several affixes which function to derive or create stative or transitive verb stems. These affixes we are calling *derivational affixes*, as they take a root or stem and change that root or stem to a new stem type. We are here using the term derivational in a bit different sense than the traditional usage. While the traditional use means something like 'changing a word from one grammatical class to another', we are here using derivational to include 'deriving or creating new stems having a particular feature from roots or stems'. In this paper we treat roots as basically neutral with the addition of affixes defining notions of grammatical class, such as verb, noun, adjective. Thus the derivational affixes being discussed here serve to *derive* stems with various features (e.g. affective, transitive, causative, requestive), depending on which affix is used. All of these affixes occur in close proximity to the root. There is a universal tendency for derivational affixes to occur close to the

root, while inflectional affixes occur further out from the root (see Langacker 1972). Stems formed by the derivational affixes can be further affixed with a variety of inflectional affixes to mark verbs having the features expressed by those inflectional affixes. (See section 3 for discussion of Inflectional Affixes.) While it is possible to view at least certain features marked by Da'a derivational affixes as aspectual inflection (e.g. causative, requestive), based on the above considerations we feel the present analysis more concisely reflects some basic structural features of Da'a. Hence we include the following affixes as derivational:

ka-	Affective Prefix
pa- }	Transitive Prefixes
pe- }	
po- }	
-raka }	Derivational Suffixes
-saka }	
-taka }	
-naka }	
-aka }	
po-	Causative Prefix
ki-	Requestive Prefix

We will examine each of these in turn.

## 2.1 ka-, Affective Prefix

The derivational prefix ka- creates stative stems<sup>4</sup> that indicate a change of state is being ascribed to an argument of the predicate. Or said another way, an argument of the predicate is *affected* by the action. ka- creates a new stem class with the feature "affected" marked. In each of the following examples a NP is affected by the action of the verb. In (1) the floor is affected in that it becomes good as a result of the action. In (2) and (3) the action affects the one doing it. In the examples below mom- marks Actor<sup>5</sup> Focus Irrealis Mood, and ne- marks Actor Focus Realis Mood. (See sections 3.1 and 3.2 for discussion of Focus and Mood.)

- (1) Kapala mom-pa-ka-belo            jaula ri sapo-na.  
*chief AF,IRR-CAUS-AFF-good floor in house-his*  
*The chief is fixing (lit. causing to become good) the floor in his house.*
- (2) Ne-ka-wantu            ngana etu.  
*AF,REAL-AFF-jump child that*  
*The child jumped. (The child was affected by the action)*
- (3) Ne-ka-toko            totu'a etu.  
*AF,REAL-AFF-sit old man that*  
*The old man sat down. (i.e. sat himself down; the man was affected by the action)*

## 2.2 pa-, pe-, po-, Transitive Prefixes

The derivational prefixes pa-, pe-, po- derive transitive verb stems. When inflected these stems become transitive verbs with an obligatory object. As we note in the following section, pa- further functions as a causative marker on

stems. The examples in this section illustrate the use of pa-, pe-, po- to derive transitive verb stems. In section 2.2.1 we will illustrate pa- with causative meaning.

In the following examples nom- indicates Actor Focus Realis Mood, and mom- Actor Focus Irrealis Mood.

- (4) Balinawa nom-pa-ro'o            jaula.  
*Balinawa AF,REAL-TRANS-hard floor*  
*Balinawa pressed on the floor. (na-ro'o = hard)*
- (5) Aku mom-pe-koni            uta            etu.  
*I AF,IRR-TRANS-eat vegetables that*  
*I will taste those vegetables. (ne-koni = dine)*
- (6) Ngana-ngana nom-po-ngiri            roa            ira.  
*children AF,REAL-TRANS-laugh friend their*  
*The children laughed at their friend. (no-ngiri = laugh)*

It should be noted that pa-, pe-, po- occur with different classes of verbs and do not, to our present knowledge, distinguish shades of meaning. As will be noted later verbs that derive stems with pa- generally take the Focus marker ma-, those that derive stems with pe- take me- and similarly those that derive stems with po- generally take mo-.

### 2.2.1 pa- with causative meaning

The transitive derivational prefix pa- often forms stems with a causative meaning in the sense of 'cause root'. This is PAN \*pa- which has reflexes in most AN languages. Some writers have treated related pe- as an inflectional affix marking causative voice in some AN languages (Sneddon 1978, Ward 1967, Elkins 1970). Others have treated it as a derivational affix as we are here treating pa- (Johnston 1975). When affixed for Focus and Mood stems formed by pa- in Da'a convey the meaning 'A causes B to do X' as can be seen in the following examples.

- (7) Bora nom-pa-koni            wawu-na.  
*Bora AF,REAL-CAUS-eat pig-his*  
*Bora fed (lit. caused to eat) his pig.*
- (8) Indo etu nom-pa-tomi            ngana-na.  
*mother that AF,REAL-CAUS-suck child-her*  
*The mother nursed (lit. caused to suck) her child.*
- (9) Darius nom-pa-guru            ngana sikola.  
*Darius AF,REAL-CAUS-learn child school*  
*Darius taught (lit. caused to learn) the school children.*
- (10) Kami            nom-pa-tuwu            manu.  
*we (excl) AF,REAL-CAUS-live chicken*  
*We raise (lit. cause to live) chickens.*

Causative pa- may be affixed to derived stative affective stems (ka- + ROOT) to create a derived causative affective stem. The resulting verb forms have the meaning 'cause a NP to acquire the characteristic of the root'. This is seen below.

- (11) Aku nom-pa-ka-belo jaula ri sapo-ku.  
 I AF,REAL-CAUS-AFF-good floor in house-my  
 I fixed (lit. caused to become good) the floor in my house.
- (12) Ira nom-pa-ka-gasa sapo ira.  
 they AF,REAL-CAUS-AFF-clean house their  
 They caused to become clean their house.  
 (Note the contrast with the verb nom-pe-gasa, which focuses on the event, 'clean'. Here the sense is 'cause the house to acquire the characteristic "clean"'. The resulting state is emphasised rather than the action of cleaning.)

### 2.3 -raka, -saka, -taka, -naka, -aka, Derivational Suffixes

These suffixes occur with a limited number of roots to create new verb stems which are roughly relatable to the original meaning of the root as "Cause root". This is exemplified in the samples below.

- (13) keni carry keni-aka lead (cause to be carried in a figurative sense)
- (14) nawu fall nawu-saka drop (cause to fall)
- (15) sua enter sua-raka insert (cause to enter)
- (16) suwu go out suwu-raka put out (cause to go out)
- (17) ga'a separate ga'a-naka divorce (cause to be separated)
- (18) goli turn goli-aka turn over (cause to turn)

The following sentences illustrate this use of the derivational suffixes.

- (19) l'a nomba-nawu-saka maku ka aku.  
 he AF,REAL-fall-DER,SUF rose.apple to me  
 He dropped (caused to fall) a rose apple to me.
- (20) Aku nomba-liu-naka roa-ku ri jala.  
 I AF,REAL-pass-DER,SUF friend-my on road  
 I passed (caused to be passed) my friend on the road.
- (21) Kita nomba-goli-aka pajeko.  
 we (incl) AF,REAL-turn-DER,SUF plough  
 We turned the plough around (lit. caused the plough to turn around).

As with pa-, pe-, po- it should be noted that these suffixes occur with different verb classes and do not to our present understanding differentiate shades of meaning.<sup>6</sup>

### 2.4 po-, Causative Prefix

A second causative stem-forming prefix in Da'a besides transitive prefix pa- (see section 2.2.1) is the prefix po-. This is distinct from the po- transitive prefix of the pa-, pe-, po- set as it must be used in conjunction with the transitive derivational prefixes. The resulting popa-, pope- and popo- combinations create causative verb stems. In the following examples ni- marks Object Focus Realis Mood.

- (22) Tau na-ju'a etu ni-po-pa-na'u ngga ri oto.  
 Person REAL-sick that OF,REAL-CAUS-TRNS-go.down from car  
 That sick person was taken down (lit. caused to go down) from the car.
- (23) Aku nom-po-pa-njili sero ka pue-na.  
 I AF,REAL-CAUS-TRANS-return shovel to owner-its  
 I returned (lit. caused to return) the shovel to its owner.
- (24) I'a nom-po-po-koni ka apu buya-ku.  
 He AF,REAL-CAUS-TRANS-eat to fire sarong-my  
 He burned up my sarong in the fire (lit. caused the fire to eat my sarong).

As with other derived stems, causative stems can be inflected for Actor and Object Focus, Realis, Irrealis and Imperative Moods, as well as certain Aspects. These are discussed in sections 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3 respectively.

## 2.5 ki-, Requestive Prefix

The prefix *ki-* derives either transitive requestive stems, or when combined with *pe-* derives bitransitive stems with requestive aspect. *ki-* has two functions in Da'a verbs: a derivational function in that it derives transitive stems, and an inflectional function, marking requestive aspect. We are treating *ki-* in the derivational affix section rather than the section on aspect as it shares several features common to derivational affixes. Its position immediately next to the root links it to derivational affix behaviour. All the other aspect affixes are further out from the root. It also indicates the presence of two objects, another feature of other derivational affixes (*pa-*, *pe-*, *po-*). *ki-* indicates there is a person requested to do something, and the thing the action is done to. Thus we are calling *ki-* a derivational prefix which also has an inflectional function marking requestive aspect. Stems derived by *ki-* have the meaning 'request someone to do root'. When used in conjunction with Transitive Prefix *pe-*, the combination *pe-ki-* derives bitransitive stems with the meaning 'request someone to have someone to do root'. The examples following illustrate these two types of requestive stems.

- (25) Kapala ne-ki-keni jole.  
 chief AF,REAL-REQ-carry corn  
 The chief requested someone to carry corn.
- (26) Aku nom-pe-ki-keni jole etu.  
 I AF,REAL-TRANS-REQ-carry corn that  
 I requested someone to have someone carry the corn.

The following chart summarises the derivational affixes in Da'a and how they operate to create verb stems.

Chart 2: Da'a stem structure

	CAUSATIVE PREFIX	TRANSITIVE PREFIXES	AFFECTIVE PREFIX	REQUESTIVE PREFIX	ROOT	DERIVATIONAL SUFFIXES
INTRANSITIVE			ka-	ki-		
TRANSITIVE	po-	pa- pe- po-	ka-	ki-		-raka -saka -taka -naka -aka

See section 1 (p.11) for a summary of the possible stems derived by these stem formation processes. The following is a summary of the constraints on stem formation affixation:

- ka- and ki- never co-occur.
- Transitive Prefixes never co-occur with Derivational Suffixes. These are in complementary distribution.
- ki- occurs alone or with pe- in derived transitive requestive stems.
- ki- may co-occur with Derivational Suffixes.
- ka- occurs alone or with pa- in causative affective stems.
- Causative stems derived by po- plus pa-, pe-, po- cannot occur with other derivational affixes.

### 3. INFLECTIONAL AFFIXES

In Da'a there are three categories of inflectional affixes: Focus affixes, Mood affixes and Aspect affixes. There are two Focuses distinguished: Actor and Object Focus. Three Moods are distinguished: Realis, Irrealis, and Imperative. Under the general term 'Aspect' are grouped all inflectional affixes not associated with either Focus or Mood. This category covers a range of inflectional types rather than a specific category or semantically related morphemes as with Focus and Mood. These three categories will be treated in separate sections.

#### 3.1 Focus affixes

Using the terminology of Philippine languages, Da'a distinguishes two sets of Focus affixes: Actor and Object Focus.<sup>7</sup> Unlike many Philippine languages and the Minahasa languages of North Sulawesi (see Sneddon 1978), Da'a does not distinguish separate focus affixes to indicate such roles as Instrument, Benefactive, Locative or Referent. It appears that at least some languages of Central Sulawesi tend to have only Actor and Object Focus sets rather than a



fuller complement of focus affixes. The North Sulawesi Minahasa languages have Agent Focus, Object Focus, Referent Focus, Instrument Focus and Beneficiary Focus (Sneddon 1978). While extensive investigation throughout Central Sulawesi has not yet been undertaken, two focus systems have been noted in Uma (Pipikoro) (Martens 1988a, 1988b), and in the Taa dialect of Bare'e (Pamona) see Gregerson and Thiessen 1983). Laudje, further to the north toward the Minahasa languages, has been tentatively described as having Actor Focus, Object Focus, and Instrument Focus (May Whatley, 'Field notes on Laudje morphology').<sup>8</sup> Early studies of the languages of Central Sulawesi by men such as Adrianni, Esser and Kruyt predate the studies of Philippine languages which describe the functions of focus systems. Further study of other languages of Sulawesi will reveal the extent and scope of the phenomenon of focus in these languages.<sup>9</sup>

### 3.1.1 Actor Focus affixes

The prefixes *na-/ma-*, *ne-/me-*, *no-/mo-*, *naN-/maN-*, *neN-/meN-*, *noN-/moN-*, *nomba-/momba-* indicate Actor Focus inflection.<sup>10</sup> In addition to Focus inflection these prefixes also indicate Mood (see note 10). Furthermore, these prefixes also carry information on transitivity. The *na-*, *ne-*, *no-* set are intransitive, used with one-place predicates. *na-* marks stative predicates (adjectives). The forms with the N, nasal, add the component of explicit transitivity, indicating the presence of an object. As such they have interaction with the Transitive Prefixes discussed in section 2 above. We will discuss this interaction below. The contrast in transitivity types marked by the set of Actor Focus (AF) prefixes with nasal N and those without is shown in the examples below. (Note the vowel of the prefix does not remain fixed.)

INTRANSITIVE	TRANSITIVE
(27) <i>me-koni dine</i>	<i>manggoni eat</i> ( <i>maN-koni</i> )
(28) <i>me-epe hear</i>	<i>mang-epe hear</i> ( <i>maN-epe</i> )
(29) <i>me-keni lead</i>	<i>manggeni carry</i> ( <i>maN-keni</i> )
(30) <i>mo-ala take</i>	<i>mang-ala take</i> ( <i>maN-ala</i> )

Our present hypothesis is that the different vowels of these prefixes reflect different classes of verbs rather than differentiating meaning. Those verbs that derive stems with *pa-* tend to take *na-/ma-*. Those that derive stems with *pe-* tend to take *ne-/me-*, and those that derive stems with *po-* tend to take *no-/mo-*.<sup>11</sup>

The following examples illustrate the use of *na-*, *ne-*, *no-* as Actor Focus markers.

#### INTRANSITIVE VERBS

- (31) *Na-lau-mo ira mpaka ri potomu.*  
 AF, REAL-go-PERF *they to market*  
*They went to the market.*

- (32) Ne-raga asu.  
 AF,REAL-*chase dog*  
*The dog chases.*
- (33) No-rongo-mo tau etu.  
 AF,REAL-*spouse*-PERF *person that*  
*That person is already married.* (i.e. already has a spouse)

## STATIVE PREDICATES (Adjectives)

- (34) Na-bete-mo ngana-mu.  
 AF,REAL-*big*-PERF *child-your*  
*Your child is already big.*
- (35) Na-langa mpu'u sapo-mu.  
 AF,REAL-*tall very house-your*  
*Your house is very tall.*

In the examples above the na-, ne-, no- are marking intransitive or stative verbs. These are by default Actor Focus as there is only one NP available for focus.

On derived stems as well as roots (see above) na-, ne-, no- indicate Actor Focus inflection. With ka- derived stems (ka- + ROOT) the combination ne-ka indicates a kind of 'middle voice' where an actor performs an action in which he is the one affected.

- (36) Ne-ka-wantu ngana etu.  
 AF,REAL-AFF-*jump child that*  
*The child jumped.* (he was the one affected by the action of jumping)
- (37) Ne-ka-nggore ira.  
 AF,REAL-AFF-*stand.up they*  
*They stood up.* (i.e. they stood themselves up)

Similarly with ki- derived stems ne- marks Actor Focus as shown below.

- (38) Kapala ne-ki-keni jole.  
 chief AF,REAL-REQ-*carry corn*  
*The chief requested someone to carry corn.*

On derived transitive stems formed by the prefixes pa-, pe-, po- the normal Actor Focus markers are the naN-, neN-, noN- set, as these are used with transitive verbs. The use of na-, ne-, no- on derived transitive stems has the effect of detransitivising those stems, making intransitive verbs from transitive verb stems, as shown below.

- (39) Darius nom-pa-guru ngana ri kelas saongu.  
 Darius AF,REAL-CAUS-*learn child in class one*  
*Darius teaches the children in first grade.*
- (40) Darius no-pa-guru ri Dombu.  
 Darius AF,REAL-CAUS-*learn in Dombu*  
*Darius teaches in Dombu.*

In (39) nom- marks Actor Focus Realis Mood with transitive verb (here the derived transitive stem pa-guru *cause to learn* (i.e. *teach*). When nom- is used an obligatory object is specified. In (40) no- marks Actor Focus Realis mood, but is

intransitive, with no object. It thus has the effect of detransitivising the derived transitive stem pa-guru. No object is required as the sentence has become intransitive, *Darius teaches in Dombu*. While this is not a common phenomenon, it does serve to illustrate that the Actor Focus prefixes do mark transitivity. na-, ne-, no- are intransitive, while naN-, neN-, noN- are transitive.

In the absence of the transitive prefixes pa-, pe-, po- it is the nasal element of the Actor Focus prefixes naN-, neN-, noN- which marks transitivity in verbs, as seen below.

- (41) Aku mang-goni loka.  
 I AF,IRR-eat bananas  
 I eat bananas.
- (42) I'a na-lau mang-ala kopi.  
 he AF,REAL-go AF,IRR-get coffee  
 He went to get some coffee.
- (43) Aku da'a ma-mala mang-epe komi.  
 I not IRR-able AF,IRR-hear you  
 I cannot hear you.

On derived affective stems (ka- + ROOT) pa- may be added to create a derived causative affective stem. This stem is marked for Actor Focus by noN-/moN- forming verbs with the meaning 'actor causes an argument to acquire the state indicated by the root'. This is seen in the example below.

- (44) Aku nom-pa-ka-belo jaula ri sou-ku.  
 I AF,REAL-CAUS-AFF-good floor in house-my  
 I fixed (lit. caused to become good) the floor in my house.

Similarly derived bitransitive requestive stems (pe-ki- + ROOT) are marked for Actor Focus by noN-/moN-.

- (45) Aku nom-pe-ki-keni jole etu.  
 I AF,REAL-TRANS-REQ-carry corn that  
 I requested someone to have someone carry the corn.

Suffix derived stems created by -raka, -saka, etc. are marked for Actor Focus by naN- and nomba-. The forms noN- and neN- are not used.

- (46) I'a nan-juwu-raka doi-na.  
 he AF,REAL-go.out-DER,SUF money-his  
 He took out (caused to go out) his money.  
 (Root is suwu. naN-suwu → nanjuwu)
- (47) Aku nomba-liu-naka roa-ku ri jala.  
 I AF,REAL-pass-DER,SUF friend-my on road  
 I passed my friend on the road.
- (48) Aku nomba-wia-taka babe ala ngana ma-eka.  
 I AF,REAL-do-DER,SUF machete so child IRR-afraid  
 I threatened with my machete so the child would be afraid.

As noted above, stems derived by the Derivational Suffixes have roughly the meaning 'cause root', and are thus transitive. The use of na-, ne-, no- on these stems, while not extensive, is possible. This has the same

detransitivising effect as when na-, ne-, no- are used with pa-, pe-, po- derived transitive stems (illustrated in examples (39) and (40)). In the examples below me- and mo- detransitivise stems formed by -naka and -saka as they mark Actor Focus intransitive.

- (49) Tau ya'a nomba-liu-naka kita.  
*person that AF,REAL-pass-DER,SUF we (incl)*  
*That person passed us.*
- (50) Ne-liu-naka-mo tau.  
*AF,REAL-pass-DER,SUF-PERF person*  
*A person passed by.*
- (51) I'a mom-ba-nawu-saka maku ka aku.  
*he AF,IRR-TRANS-fall-DER,SUF rose.apple to me*  
*He is dropping rose apples to me.*
- (52) Sema mo-nawu-saka ka komi?  
*who AF,IRR-fall-DER,SUF to you*  
*Who is dropping (things) to you? (non-specific what is being dropped)*

That sentence (50) is Intransitive is further demonstrated by the word order used. Normal word order for intransitive sentences is VERB ACTOR (see (31) to (33) for further examples). Sentence (50) is marked intransitive by ne- and the word order used is typically intransitive as well. Note in (49) and (51) the typical word order for transitive sentences: ACTOR VERB OBJECT (INDIRECT OBJECT).

Derived Causative stems created by the prefix combinations popa-, pope-, popo- are marked for Actor Focus by noN-/moN- predictably, as shown below.

- (53) Aku nom-po-pa-njili sero ka pue-na.  
*I AF,REAL-CAUS-TRANS-return shovel to owner-its*  
*I returned (lit. caused to return) the shovel to its owner.*

Actor Focus forms are used in a number of circumstances. Primarily they are used when the actor is the topic of the sentence, thematically. He is what is being talked about. If what is being discussed is grammatically the object, one would use Object Focus forms. Actor Focus commonly occurs at the beginning of discourses to "get the action going" after a participant has been introduced and the setting set. Once a participant is established and the action begun the participant becomes old information while his actions become the new information being introduced. At this point Object Focus forms are commonly used to carry on the event line. This topic remains to be fully investigated in Da'a, but preliminary analysis shows the above pattern to be common.<sup>12</sup>

The following chart summarises the major Actor Focus affixes in Da'a.

Chart 3: Actor Focus affixes

STEM/ASPECT	REALIS	IRREALIS
BASIC FORM intr/stative transitive	na- ne- no- naN- neN- noN- nomba-	ma- me- mo- maN- meN- moN- momba-
DERIVED AFFECTIVE STEMS	neka-	meka-
DERIVED CAUSATIVE AFFECTIVE STEMS	*nompaka-	*mompaka-
DERIVED TRANSITIVE STEMS	*nompa- nompe- nompo-	*mompa- mompe- momp-
SUFFIX DERIVED STEMS	na- -raka ne- -saka no- -taka naN- -naka nomba- -aka	ma- -raka me- -saka mo- -taka maN- -naka momba- -aka
DERIVED REQUESTIVE STEMS	neki- *nompeki-	meki- *mompeki-
DERIVED CAUSATIVE STEMS	*nompopa- nompope- nompopo-	*mompopa- mompope- mompopo-
RECIPROCAL ASPECT	nosi- *nomposi-	mosi- *momposi-
NON-VOLITIONAL ASPECT	nati-/nate-	mati-/mate-
REFLEXIVE ASPECT	notiN-	motiN-
PRETENSE ASPECT	neti-	meti-
*The nom-/mom- of these prefix combinations is noN-/moN-transitive, with the nasal assimilated to succeeding bilabials. This holds true for all subsequent charts as well.		

### 3.1.2 Object Focus affixes

Object Focus in Da'a is marked by ni- (Realis Mood) and ra- (Irrealis Mood). Object Focus marks the object as topic of the sentence and possibly higher level units as well. As such use of Object Focus requires definite objects that have already been identified in the discourse. Further analysis is needed to determine discourse constraints on the use of both Object and Actor Focus affixes. We here illustrate interaction of these forms and the derivational affixes and the other inflectional affixes in Da'a.

Ni- and ra- can be affixed to roots, derived Causative Affective Stems (paka- + ROOT) derived Transitive Stems (pa-, etc. + ROOT), Suffix derived stems (ROOT + -raka, etc.), derived Requestive Stems (ki- + ROOT; peki- + ROOT), and derived Causative Stems (popa-, etc. + ROOT).

In addition to these ni- and ra- may occur in conjunction with Aspect inflectional affixes. In all cases ni- and ra- mark verbs with Object Focus, Realis and Irrealis Mood respectively. The following examples illustrate Object Focus affixes.

ni-/ra- WITH SIMPLE ROOTS

- (54) Uta etu na-opu ni-koni ira.  
*vegetable that REAL-finish OF,REAL-eat they*  
*The vegetables were all eaten by them.*

ni-/ra- WITH DERIVED CAUSATIVE AFFECTIVE STEMS

- (55) Ni-pa-ka-belo-mo jaula etu.  
 OF,REAL-CAUS-AFF-good-PERF floor that  
*The floor was fixed. (i.e. caused to become good)*
- (56) Duria etu kana ra-pa-ka-nawu.  
*Durian that must OF,IRR-CAUS-AFF-fall*  
*That durian must be dropped. (lit. caused to fall)*

ni-/ra- WITH DERIVED TRANSITIVE STEMS

- (57) Wolo etu ni-pa-noa n-tau.  
*bamboo that OF,REAL-CAUS-straight AG-person*  
*The bamboo was straightened by someone.*
- (58) Uta etu kana ra-pe-koni.  
*vegetable that must OF,IRR-TRANS-eat*  
*The vegetables must be tasted.*
- (59) Sapu-ku lako ni-po-wia.  
*house-my just OF,REAL-TRANS-make*  
*My house was just made.*

ni-/ra- WITH SUFFIX DERIVED STEMS

- (60) Ni-sua-raka-mo doi-na ri bank.  
 OF,REAL-enter-DER,SUF-PERF money-his in bank  
*His money has been put inside (i.e. deposited) the bank.*
- (61) Aku ni-liu-naka ri jala.  
 I OF,REAL-pass-DER,SUF on road  
*I was passed by on the road.*
- (62) Ni-goli-aka-mo ompa etu.  
 OF,REAL-turn-DER,SUF-PERF mat that  
*The mat was already turned over.*

ni-/ra- WITH DERIVED CAUSATIVE STEMS

- (63) Ni-po-pa-njili-ku sero-na.  
 OF,REAL-CAUS-TRANS-return-I shovel-his  
*I returned his shovel (Object Focus).*

- (64) Sapo to na-dungga etu kana ra-po-pe-mbangu ira.  
*house RM REAL-fall.over that must OF,IRR-CAUS-TRANS-rise they*  
*That house that fell over must be erected (lit. caused to rise) by them.*
- (65) Ni-po-po-koni komi ka apu buya-ku.  
*OF,REAL-CAUS-TRANS-eat you to fire sarong-my*  
*My sarong was caused-to-be-eaten-in-the-fire by you.*

The chart below summarises the major Object Focus affix combinations.

Chart 4: Object Focus affixes

STEM/ASPECT	REALIS	IRREALIS
BASIC FORM	ni-	ra-
DERIVED AFFECTIVE STEMS	nika-	raka-
DERIVED CAUSATIVE AFFECTIVE STEMS	nipaka-	rapaka-
DERIVED TRANSITIVE STEMS	nipa- nipe- nipo-	rapa- rape- rapo-
SUFFIX DERIVED STEMS	ni- -raka -saka -taka -naka -aka	ra- -raka -saka -taka -naka -aka
DERIVED REQUESTIVE STEMS	nipeki-	rapeki-
DERIVED CAUSATIVE STEMS	nipopa- nipope- nipopo-	rapopa- rapope- rapopo-
RECIPROCAL ASPECT	niposi-	raposi-

### 3.2 Mood marking affixes

In Da'a three moods are distinguished in the verbal morphology: Realis, Irrealis and Imperative. One further mood, Interrogative, is indicated by sentence final intonation for Yes-No questions, and by question words for content questions. We will here focus our attention on the three moods distinguished in the verbal affixation.

#### 3.2.1 Realis Mood

In Da'a all non-imperative verbal affixes come in pairs, one the Realis form and the other the Irrealis.<sup>13</sup> For Actor Focus forms n- marks Realis and m- Irrealis.

On Object Focus forms ni- marks Realis and ra- Irrealis. (See charts 2 and 4 for examples.)

The basic meaning of Realis in Da'a is as follows:

Past, completed action, a state or action already existing or occurring, a characteristic which is real, existing, fact, fully actualised. Realis is much like Indicative mood.

A possible analysis of what is here described as Realis vs. Irrealis Mood is to view these as TENSE distinctions. In fact many AN languages have been described as having tense (see Sneddon 1978, Johnston 1975, for examples of this analysis). Others have analysed this feature as a modal or aspectual distinction such as realis-irrealis (see Lynch 1975 for some examples). The view presented here is that in Da'a the notion of Realis-Irrealis is a broader more insightful way of explaining the data. Tense is traditionally associated with verbal notions exclusively. In Da'a the Realis-Irrealis distinction carries over to what are traditionally seen as Adjectives as well as verbal notions. The Realis-Irrealis distinction applies across the board to all Predicates and as such is a broader, more comprehensive generalisation than the narrower notion of tense. The opinion expressed here is that Realis-Irrealis is a more emic view of Da'a than the notion of tense, which is more typical of such language families as the Indo-European Family.

### 3.2.2 Irrealis Mood

Irrealis forms in Da'a are marked with m- for Actor Focus and with ra- in Object Focus. (Refer to charts 3 and 4 for examples.)

The basic meaning of Irrealis in Da'a is as follows:

Non-past action, hypothetical, not yet realised action or state, a characteristic not yet real, not fully actualised. In this way Irrealis Mood is much like Subjunctive.

The following sentences illustrate the use of Realis-Irrealis Moods in Actor and Object Focus.

#### ADJECTIVES

- (66) Na-bete-mo ana-mu.  
REAL-big-PERF child-your  
*Your child is already big.*
- (67) Ane ma-bete ana-mu kana mo-sikola i'a.  
when IRR-big child-your must AF,IRR-school he  
*When your child is big (future state) he must go to school.*

#### TRANSITIVE - ACTOR FOCUS

- (68) Aku nang-goni loka.  
I AF,REAL-eat banana  
*I ate a banana. (maN-koni = manggoni)*
- (69) Naile aku mang-goni loka.  
tomorrow I AF,IRR-eat banana  
*Tomorrow I will eat a banana.*



## TRANSITIVE - OBJECT FOCUS

- (70) Ni-koni-ku loka etu.  
 OF,REAL-eat-I banana that  
 The banana was eaten by me.
- (71) Loka etu ma-tasa kana ra-koni.  
 banana that IRR-ripe must OF,IRR-eat  
 (When) that banana is ripe it must be eaten.

## DERIVED AFFECTIVE STEMS - ACTOR FOCUS ONLY

- (72) I'a ne-ka-wantu ngga ri sapo-na.  
 he AF,REAL-AFF-jump from house-his  
 He jumped from his house.
- (73) Ka-mai me-ka-toko ri se'i.  
 AFF-come IRR-AFF-sit here  
 Come sit down here. (sit yourself down here)

## DERIVED CAUSATIVE AFFECTIVE STEMS - ACTOR FOCUS

- (74) Aku nom-pa-ka-belo jaula ri sapo-ku.  
 I AF,REAL-CAUS-AFF-good floor in house-my  
 I fixed the floor in my house.
- (75) Minggu ma-rata aku mom-pa-ka-belo jaula ri sapo-ku.  
 week IRR-come I AF,IRR-CAUS-AFF-good floor in house-my  
 Next week I will fix the floor in my house.

## DERIVED CAUSATIVE AFFECTIVE STEMS - OBJECT FOCUS

- (76) Jaula ri sapo-ku ni-pa-ka-belo-ku.  
 floor in house-my OF,REAL-CAUS-AFF-good-I  
 The floor in my house was fixed by me.
- (77) Jaula ri sapo-ku na-gero-mo. Kana ra-pa-ka-belo.  
 floor in house-my REAL-ruined-PERF must OF,IRR-CAUS-AFF-good  
 The floor in my house is ruined. It must be fixed.

## DERIVED TRANSITIVE STEMS - ACTOR FOCUS

- (78) Aku nom-po-balu kopi ri potomu.  
 I AF,REAL-TRANS-sell coffee in market  
 I sold coffee in the market.
- (79) Naile ira ma-lau mom-po-balu kopi ri potomu.  
 tomorrow they IRR-go AF,IRR-TRANS-sell coffee in market  
 Tomorrow they will go sell coffee in the market.

## DERIVED TRANSITIVE STEMS - OBJECT FOCUS

- (80) Ira ni-pa-keni-ku mpaka ri Palu.  
 they OF,REAL-TRANS-carry-I to Palu.  
 They were taken by me to Palu.
- (81) Sabana da'a ni-njani ira jalana, kana ra-pa-keni.  
 because not OF,REAL-know they road must OF,IRR-TRANS-carry  
 Because they do not know the road, they must be taken (to Palu).

## SUFFIX DERIVED STEMS - ACTOR FOCUS

- (82) Aku nomba-liu-naka roa-ku ri jala.  
I AF,REAL-pass-DER,SUF friend-my on road  
I passed my friend on the road.
- (83) Ane ma-gasi komi ma-lau, komi momba-liu-naka roa-mu.  
if IRR-fast you IRR-go you AF,REAL-pass-DER,SUF friend-your  
If you go quickly, you will pass your friend.

## SUFFIX DERIVED STEMS - OBJECT FOCUS

- (84) Maku etu ni-nawu-saka-na ka aku.  
rose.apple that OF,REAL-fall-DER,SUF-he to me  
That rose apple was dropped by him to me.
- (85) To ma-tasana, ra-nawu-saka ka aku.  
RM IRR-ripe OF,IRR-fall-DER,SUF to me  
The ripe one, drop it (O-Foc) to me.

## DERIVED REQUESTIVE STEMS - ACTOR FOCUS ONLY

- (86) Aku ne-ki-tosu.  
I AF,REAL-REQ-stab  
I requested to be injected.
- (87) Kami me-ki-tosu.  
we(excl) AF,IRR-REQ-stab  
We request to be injected. (said on arrival at clinic)

## DERIVED BITRANSITIVE REQUESTIVE STEMS - ACTOR FOCUS

- (88) Kapala nom-pe-ki-keni jole etu.  
chief AF,REAL-TRANS-REQ-carry corn that  
The chief requested someone to have someone carry the corn.
- (89) Bara naile kapala mom-pe-ki-keni jole etu.  
perhaps tomorrow chief AF,IRR-TRANS-REQ-carry corn that  
Perhaps tomorrow the chief will request someone to have someone carry the corn.

## DERIVED BITRANSITIVE REQUESTIVE STEMS - OBJECT FOCUS

- (90) Ni-pe-ki-keni kapala jole etu.  
OF,REAL-TRANS-REQ-carry chief corn that  
The headman requested someone to have someone carry the corn (O-Foc).
- (91) Kana ra-pe-ki-keni jole.  
must OF,IRR-TRANS-REQ-carry corn  
(The chief) must request someone to have someone carry the corn (O.Foc).

## DERIVED CAUSATIVE STEMS - ACTOR FOCUS

- (92) Aku nom-po-pa-njili sero etu ka pue-na.  
I AF,REAL-CAUS-TRANS-return shovel that to owner-its  
I returned the shovel to its owner.
- (93) Naile aku mom-po-pa-njili sero etu ka pue-na.  
tomorrow I AF,IRR-CAUS-TRANS-return shovel that to owner-its  
Tomorrow I will return the shovel to its owner.

## DERIVED CAUSATIVE STEMS - OBJECT FOCUS

- (94) Sero etu lako ni-po-pa-njili-ku ka pue-na.  
*shovel that just OF,REAL-CAUS-TRANS-return-I to owner-its*  
*That shovel was just returned by me to its owner.*
- (95) Sero etu kana ra-po-pa-njili ka pue-na.  
*shovel that must OF,IRR-CAUS-TRANS-return to owner-its*  
*That shovel must be returned to its owner.*

## 3.2.3 Imperative Mood

It is helpful to differentiate two kinds of imperatives in Da'a: Affirmative imperatives (commands) and Negative imperatives (prohibitions). Affirmative imperatives command or order a person or persons to perform a certain action. Negative imperatives prohibit certain actions to be performed. This may be intransitive as in "Don't go!"; or transitive, as in "Don't eat that rice!" In Da'a this difference between intransitive and transitive imperatives is marked by different strategies of affixation. Likewise affirmative imperatives employ different strategies from negative imperatives.

In Da'a affirmative imperatives are formed in several ways: 1) the uninflected root marks imperative mood; 2) uninflected derived stems mark imperative; 3) prefixes pa-, pe-, po- mark imperative when affixed to certain roots.<sup>14</sup> Generally verbs that take ne-/me- form imperatives with pe-. Verbs that take no-/mo- form imperatives with po-. There are exceptions to these general patterns. Verbs that are marked nomba-/momba- form imperatives with pe- also. Verbs which take na-/ma- have several ways to form imperatives: a) vowel initial roots stand alone to indicate imperative mood; b) some roots beginning with consonants alone mark imperative, while c) other roots take pa- or paN-. The constraints as to which strategy is employed have not yet been determined.

All Aspects marked in verbs, except of course, Non-Volitional, can be inflected for imperative mood. Chart 5 summarises the imperative marking affixes in Da'a.

Chart 5: Imperative affixes

STEM/ASPECT	IMPERATIVE
BASIC FORM	pa- pe- po- Ø paN- peN- poN-
DERIVED AFFECTIVE STEMS	peka-
DERIVED CAUSATIVE AFFECTIVE STEMS	stem alone (paka- + ROOT)
DERIVED TRANSITIVE STEMS	stem alone (pa- pe- po- + ROOT)
SUFFIX DERIVED STEMS	stem alone (ROOT + -raka, etc.)
DERIVED REQUESTIVE STEMS	stem alone (peki- + ROOT)
DERIVED CAUSATIVE STEMS	stem alone (popa- pope- popo- + ROOT)
RECIPROCAL ASPECT	posi-
REFLEXIVE ASPECT	potiN- (+ Affective Stem)
PRETENSE ASPECT	peti-

Negative imperatives (prohibitions) are marked by Actor Focus Irrealis affixes for intransitive verbs, and Object Focus Irrealis affixes for transitive verbs. (See charts 3 and 4 respectively for these forms.) Examples are as follows:

- (96) Ne'e ma-lau ri setu!  
*don't AF,IRR-go there*  
*Don't go there!*
- (97) Ne'e me-suwu ngga ri sou!  
*don't AF,IRR-exit from house*  
*Don't go out of the house!*
- (98) Ne'e ra-koni tibo etu!  
*don't OF,IRR-eat rice that*  
*Don't eat that rice!*
- (99) Ne'e ra-po-po-koni ka asu tibo etu!  
*don't OF,IRR-CAUS-TRANS-eat to dog rice that*  
*Don't feed the rice to the dog!*

Further examples of Imperative Mood are given in the examples illustrating Aspect inflection, to which we now turn our attention.

### 3.3 Aspect-marking affixes

As stated in the introduction to section 3, Inflectional Affixes, the term "aspect" is here used as a cover term for a number of inflections which are NOT

either Focus or Mood inflections. Da'a marks the following aspects in verbs: Reciprocal Aspect and Multiple Actors (si); Non-Volitional (nati/mati); Reflexive (notiN/motiN); Pretense (neti/meti); and Purpose (nipo/rapo and rapomba). In addition to the above aspects marked by affixation, Repetitive Aspect and Continuous Aspect are marked in Da'a by reduplication. What some analysts have identified as Causative and Requestive Aspect in some AN languages (Sneddon 1978) are here treated in the section on derivational affixes, as the formation of stems with causative and requestive aspect parallels derivational affixation. Thus examples of causative and requestive aspect may be seen illustrated in this paper as derived causative or derived requestive stems. One further aspect is marked in Da'a, Benefactive. However, this functions as a clause level process and is thus not dealt with in this paper. The NP marker ka marks Benefactive in Da'a. We will illustrate each of the above aspects marked in the morphology in turn.

### 3.3.1 Reciprocal aspect, and multiple actors

In Da'a the prefix si- may express either the reciprocal aspect or it may express multiple actors to an action. Both these functions are illustrated below. With intransitive verbs si- ascribes to multiple actors identical actions. With transitive or causative verbs si- ascribes to plural actors identical actions in which each participant is also the patient or site of the action of the other participant. This aspect is extremely productive in Da'a, as it occurs in both Actor and Object Focus and in all three Moods. si- can be affixed to Derived Causative Affective Stems, Derived Transitive Stems, Suffix Derived Stems and Derived Requestive Stems.

The following sentences illustrate Actor Focus Multiple Actor affix.

- (100) Kita no-si-koni tibo.  
*we (incl) AF,REAL-REC-eat rice*  
*We all ate rice together.*
- (101) Naile kita mo-si-koni tibo.  
*tomorrow we (incl) AF,REAL-REC-eat rice*  
*Tomorrow we will all eat rice together.*
- (102) Po-si-koni tibo etu!  
*IMP-REC-eat rice that*  
*Eat that rice (you all)!*

The following sentences illustrate Actor Focus Reciprocal Affixation.

#### WITH DERIVED CAUSATIVE AFFECTIVE STEMS

- (103) Ira no-si-pa-ka-nawu ngga ranjapo.  
*they AF,REAL-REC-CAUS-AFF-fall from house*  
*They caused each other to be fallen from the house. (a state)*
- (104) Ira mo-si-pa-ka-nawu ngga ranjapo.  
*they AF,IRR-REC-CAUS-AFF-fall from house*  
*They will cause each other to be fallen from the house.*
- (105) Po-si-pa-ka-nawu komi!  
*IMP-REC-CAUS-AFF-fall you(pl)*  
*Cause each other to be fallen!*

## WITH DERIVED TRANSITIVE STEMS

- (106) Aku nom-po-si-koni kayu e'i ala ma-rapa.  
 I AF,REAL-TRANS-REC-eat wood this so IRR-fit.tight  
 I caused these (pieces of) wood to "eat" each other so they would fit tight. (The idea is of chiselling a wood joint so it fits well together)
- (107) Topowia sou etu kana mom-po-si-koni kayu etu ala ma-rapa.  
 builder house that must AF,IRR-TRANS-REC-eat wood that so IRR-fit.tight  
 The house builder must cause the wood to "eat" each other so they will fit tight.
- (108) Po-si-pa-koni kayu etu ala ma-rapa!  
 IMP-REC-TRANS-eat wood that so IRR-fit.tight  
 Cause that wood to "eat" each other so it will fit tight!
- (109) Totu'a-totu'a etu no-si-pe-kutana.  
 old.men that AF,REAL-REC-TRANS-ask  
 Those old men asked each other questions.
- (110) Ira kana mo-si-pe-kutana.  
 they must AF,IRR-REC-TRANS-ask  
 They must ask each other questions.
- (111) Po-si-pe-kutana ruru!  
 IMP-REC-TRANS-ask first  
 Ask each other first! (then do something)

## WITH SUFFIX DERIVED STEMS

- (112) Ira romba'a no-si-nawu-saka ri kalangana sapo.  
 they two AF,REAL-REC-fall-DER,SUF on top house  
 They made each other fall on the top of the house.
- (113) Ira romba'a mo-si-nawu-saka ri kalangana sapo.  
 they two AF,IRR-REC-fall-DER,SUF on top house  
 They will make each other fall on the top of the house.
- (114) Po-si-nawu-saka komi!  
 IMP-REC-fall-DER,SUF you  
 Make each other fall!

## WITH DERIVED CAUSATIVE STEMS

- (115) Ira no-si-po-pa-na'u ngga ranjapo.  
 they AF,REAL-REC-CAUS-TRANS-go.down from house  
 They (many doers) caused each other to go down from the house.
- (116) Ne'e mo-si-po-pa-na'u ngga ranjapo.  
 don't AF,IRR-REC-CAUS-TRANS-go.down from house  
 Don't cause each other to go down from the house!

## WITH DERIVED REQUESTIVE STEMS

- (117) Ira no-si-pe-ki-keni jole.  
 they AF,REAL-REC-TRANS-REQ-carry corn  
 They (reciprocally) requested each other to have someone carry corn.
- (118) Komi kana mo-si-pe-ki-keni jole etu.  
 you(p1) must AF,IRR-REC-TRANS-REQ-carry corn that  
 You(p1) must request each other to have someone carry the corn.

The chart below summarises the Reciprocal Aspect and Multiple Actors Affixes.

Chart 6: Actor Focus Reciprocal Aspect and Multiple Actors Affixes

STEM/FEATURE	REALIS	IRREALIS	IMPERATIVE
RECIPROCAL	nosi-	mosi-	posi-
DERIVED CAUSATIVE AFFECTIVE STEMS	nosipaka-	mosipaka-	posipaka-
DERIVED TRANSITIVE STEMS	nomposi- nosipa- nosipe- nosipo-	momposi- mosipa- mosipe- mosipo-	posipa- posipa- posipe- posipo-
SUFFIX DERIVED STEMS	nosi- -raka -saka -taka -naka -aka	mosi- -raka -saka -taka -naka -aka	posi- -raka -saka -taka -naka -aka
DERIVED CAUSATIVE STEMS	nosipopa- nosipope- nosipopo-	mosipopa- mosipope- mosipopo-	
DERIVED REQUESTIVE STEMS	nosipeki-	mosipeki-	posipeki-

Below are sentences illustrating Object Focus Multiple Actors Affixes. Imperative forms, as noted in Chart 7 are identical to Irrealis forms.

- (119) Tibo etu tiku ni-po-si-koni sampe na-opu.  
*rice that together OF,REAL-REC-eat until REAL-all.gone*  
*The rice was eaten together until it was all gone.*
- (120) Tiku ra-po-si-koni tibo etu ala ma-opu.  
*together OF,IRR-REC-eat rice that so IRR-all.gone*  
*The rice will be eaten together so it will be all gone.*

The following sentences illustrate Object Focus Reciprocal Aspect Affixes.

WITH DERIVED CAUSATIVE AFFECTIVE STEMS

- (121) Ni-po-si-pa-ka-nawu ngga ranjapo ira.  
*OF,REAL-REC-CAUS-AFF-fall from house they*  
*They caused each other to be fallen from the house (O.Foc).*
- (122) Ra-po-si-pa-ka-nawu ngga ranjapo ira.  
*OF,IRR-REC-CAUS-AFF-fall from house they*  
*They will cause each other to be fallen from the house (O.Foc).*

## WITH DERIVED TRANSITIVE STEMS

- (123) Kayu etu ni-po-si-pa-koni topowia sapo ala ma-rapa.  
*wood that OF,REAL-REC-CAUS-eat builder house so IRR-fit.tight*  
*The wood was caused to "eat" each other by the builder so it would fit tight.*
- (124) Ne'e ra-po-si-pa-koni kayu etu!  
*don't OF,REAL-REC-CAUS-eat wood that*  
*Don't cause the wood to "eat" each other! (O.Foc)*

## WITH SUFFIX DERIVED STEMS

- (125) Ni-po-si-ga'a-naka-mo ira njamboko.  
*OF,REAL-REC-separate-DER,SUF-PERF they couple*  
*They (the couple) caused each other (O.Foc) to separate.*
- (126) Ne'e ra-po-si-ga'a-naka!  
*don't OF,IRR-REC-separate-DER,SUF*  
*Don't cause each other (O.Foc) to separate!*

## WITH DERIVED REQUESTIVE STEMS

- (127) Ni-po-si-pe-ki-keni jole etu.  
*OF,REAL-REC-TRANS-REQ-carry corn that*  
*We (many actors) requested each other to have someone carry the corn (O.Foc).*
- (128) Ne'e ra-po-si-pe-ki-keni jole etu!  
*don't OF,IRR-REC-TRANS-REQ-carry corn that*  
*Don't request each other to have someone carry the corn (O.Foc).*

The following chart summarises the Object Focus Reciprocal Aspect and Multiple Actors Affixes.

Chart 7: Object Focus Reciprocal Aspect and Multiple Actors Affixes

STEM/FEATURE	REALIS	IRREALIS	IMPERATIVE (NEG)
RECIPROCAL/MULTIPLE ACTORS	niposi-	raposi-	raposi-
DERIVED CAUSATIVE AFFECTIVE STEMS	niposipaka-	raposipaka-	raposipaka-
DERIVED TRANSITIVE STEMS (2 only)	niposipa- nipsipe-	raposipa- raposipe-	raposipa- raposipe-
SUFFIX DERIVED STEMS	niposi- -raka -saka -taka -naka -aka	raposi- -raka -saka -taka -naka -aka	raposi- -raka -saka -taka -naka -aka
DERIVED REQUESTIVE STEMS	nipsipeki-	raposipeki-	raposipeki-



### 3.3.2 Non-Volitional aspect

This aspect in Da'a is marked by *nati-* (Realis) and *mati-* (Irrealis) with variant forms *nate-/mate-* also used. These affixes may be used on roots, transitive stems derived by *pa-*, *pe-*, *po-*, and suffix-derived stems formed by *-raka*, etc. What is expressed is a kind of passive participle that emphasises the resultant state, not the event. This is similar to *ter-* prefixed verbs in Indonesian. There is no actor included. This contrasts with some AN languages in the Philippines which can mark non-volitional with actor in the sentence. This gives a sense of "unintentional action by an actor" as in "I unintentionally let the chicken out". This sense is not what the Da'a non-volitional aspect indicates. The following examples illustrate the use of non-volitional affixes.

#### WITH ROOTS

- (129) *Nati-koni-mo*            *bau etu.*  
 N-V,REAL-eat-PERF *meat that*  
*The meat was eaten. (that was not the intention)*
- (130) *Pa-ka-belo!*    *Mati-koni*    *bau etu!*  
 CAUS-AFF-good    N-V,IRR-eat *meat that*  
*Be careful! The meat will get eaten!*

#### WITH DERIVED TRANSITIVE STEMS

- (131) *Tau etu nati-pa-kita*            *ngga ri umba-umbana.*  
*person that N-V,REAL-TRANS-see from everywhere*  
*That person was seen from all over.*
- (132) *Tau etu mati-pa-kita*            *ngga ri umba-umbana.*  
*person that N-V,IRR-TRANS-see from everywhere*  
*That person will be seen from all over.*
- (133) *Tonji etu ni-sopu-ku,*            *nati-pa-liu*            *wila-ku.*  
*bird that OF,REAL-blowgun-I N-V,REAL-TRANS-pass dart-my*  
*I shot at that bird (O.Foc) with my blowgun, (but) my dart passed by.*
- (134) *Ane mati-pa-liu*            *wila da'a ma-wela tonji.*  
*if N-V,IRR-TRANS-pass dart not IRR-hit bird*  
*If the dart passes by it won't hit the bird.*

#### WITH SUFFIX DERIVED STEMS

- (135) *Nati-suwu-raka*            *manu-ku.*  
 N-V,REAL-go.out-DER,SUF *chicken-my*  
*My chicken got out.*
- (136) *Ane da'a ni-jaga*            *mpaka-belo-belo,*    *mati-suwu-raka*  
*if not OF,REAL-guard carefully*            *N-V,IRR-go.out-DER,SUF*  
*manu-mu.*  
*chicken-your*  
*If it is not guarded carefully, your chicken will get out.*

### 3.3.3 Reflexive Aspect

In Da'a Reflexive Aspect is marked by the affixes *notiN-* (Realis) and *motiN-* (Irrealis). These affixes are affixed to Derived Affective Stems (*ka-* + ROOT)

marking verbs in which an agent affects himself by an action. The nasal (N) assimilates to the k of ka- and k becomes voiced to produce the combined affix *notingga-* or *motingga-*.

It should be noted that this is not the only strategy in Da'a for indicating an agent performing an action upon himself. One can also use the pattern: agent-verb-body-his own, as seen below:

- (137) Tau etu *nomba-boba* koro-na mboto.  
*person that AF,REAL-hit body-his own*  
*That person hit himself.*

Further study is needed to determine what classes of verbs can be made reflexive by affixation and what classes use the second strategy noted above. We here give examples of reflexives marked by verbal inflection.

- (138) Ngana *notingga-dungga* ri jala.  
*child REFL,REAL-fall.down in road*  
*The boy threw himself down (made himself fall down) in the road.*
- (139) Tau na-gila bara *motingga-dungga*.  
*person REAL-crazy perhaps REFL,IRR-fall.down*  
*Demon-possessed people might make themselves fall down.*
- (140) *Po-tingga-dungga!*  
*IMP-REFL-fall.down*  
*Make yourself fall down!*
- (141) Wawu-wawu *notingga-nawu* ngga ri wiwi bingge.  
*pigs REFL-REAL-fall from edge cliff*  
*Pigs made themselves fall from the edge of a cliff.*
- (142) Ne'e *motingga-nawu* ngga ri bingge etu!  
*don't REFL,IRR-fall from cliff that*  
*Don't make yourself fall from that cliff!*
- (143) *Po-tingga-nawu* ngga ri bingge etu!  
*IMP-REFL-fall from cliff that*  
*Throw yourself down from the cliff!*

### 3.3.4 Pretense Aspect

Da'a roots may be inflected with the affixes *neti-* (Realis) and *meti-* (Irrealis) with the meaning "an agent pretends to do/be the root". This can be seen in the following examples.

- (144) Tau etu *neti-gila*.  
*person that PRET,REAL-crazy*  
*That person pretended to be crazy (demon possessed).*
- (145) Ne'e *meti-gila!*  
*don't PRET,IRR-crazy*  
*Don't pretend to be crazy!*
- (146) *Peti-gila!*  
*PRET,IMP-crazy*  
*Pretend to be crazy!*

### 3.3.5 Purposive Aspect

The notion "for the purpose of" in Da'a is signalled in the verbal morphology, here discussed as an aspectual inflection. As a clause with the notion "something for the purpose of ..." is inherently focusing on an object which is for a certain purpose, Object Focus markers are used to indicate purpose. The same forms as Object Focus on po- derived stems are used. If the situation described is not yet realised Irrealis forms are used (rapo-). If it is realised Realis forms are used (nipo-).

- (147) Rapo-kuya wawu etu? Rapo-susa.  
 PUR,IRR-*what pig that* PUR,IRR-*feast*  
*What is that pig for? For a feast.*
- (148) Nipo-kuya seme etu? Nipo-pondasi.  
 PUR,REAL-*what cement that* PUR,REAL-*foundation (of house)*  
*What was that cement for? For a foundation.*
- (149) Nipo-kuya seme etu? Nipom-pa-ka-belo jaula ri sikola.  
 PUR,REAL-*what cement that* PUR,REAL-CAUS-AFF-*good floor in school*  
*What was that cement for? For repairing the school floor.*

A further use of the prefix rapo- is to indicate the meaning "has the relationship of ..." when affixed to certain kin terms. In Da'a kinship terminology all males of one's parents' generation (i.e. all uncles) can be called 'father', and similarly all females of one's parents' generation (aunts) can be called 'mother'. There are separate terms for uncle, mangge, and aunt, pinutina as well but frequently *uma father* and *indo mother* are used to refer to uncle and aunt. Other terms for uncle and aunt are rapo-uma and rapo-indo, indicating "one who has the relationship of father" and "one who has the relationship of mother".<sup>15</sup> The following examples illustrate the use of rapo- indicating "has the relationship of ...".

- (150) Rapo-kuya nggomi ante i'a? Rapo-indo.  
*relationship-what you with her relationship-mother*  
*What is your relationship with her? (She has) the relationship of mother.*
- (151) Rapo-kuya nggomi ante i'a? Rapo-uma.  
*relationship-what you with him relationship-father*  
*What is your relationship with him? (He has) the relationship of father.*

The "place/thing used for the purpose of ..." is marked by rapomba- as illustrated below.

- (152) Na-ria wo'u talidangga rapomba-boli-boli bunga ri balengga-na.  
 REAL-be also headband PUR-*hold*-RED flowers on head-his  
*There was also a headband, used for holding flowers on his head.*
- (153) Pamulana mo-kae lowu ra-pa-ka-ndala rapomba-dika tinja-na.  
 first IRR-dig hole OF,IRR-CAUS-AFF-deep PUR-put post-its  
*First dig holes deeply for putting the posts in.*

### 3.3.6 Repetitive Aspect/Continuous Aspect

In Da'a as in many AN languages, repetitive and continuous aspect is marked by reduplication. Reduplication in Da'a functions in two major ways, indicating

Intensity of degree, and Diffuseness or Indefiniteness. In this second major category is included aspectual diffuseness, or repetitive and continuous action or state.

We here use the term diffuse to mean a non-specific number greater than one. The effect of reduplication in Da'a is to mark on countable nouns and verbs the feature diffuse. We here call verbal aspect signalled by reduplication diffuse in the sense that the actions thus marked are not just single, specific actions occurring at only one point in time. Rather they are actions that are diffused along the time spectrum, occurring either at more than one point on the spectrum (repeated action), or extending over a segment of that spectrum (continuous action or state).<sup>16</sup>

To indicate *Repeated Action* the whole verb may be reduplicated, or the verb root may be reduplicated as seen below.

- (154) Nosi-elo,           nosi-elo,           nosi-elo,           nosi-njapu.  
 REC,REAL-look.for REC,REAL-look.for REC,REAL-look.for REC,REAL-wager  
*They looked and looked and looked for each other, having wagered (who would find the other first).*
- (155) Ni-kita-kita       da'a ria sou.  
 OF,REAL-look-RED not be house  
*He looked and he looked (O.Foc) (but) there was no house.*
- (156) Ma-lau i'a ne-ka-wantu-wantu.  
 IRR-go he AF,REAL-AFF-jump-RED  
*He goes by means of jumping. (referring to an animal called Musang Sulawesi)*

In each of the examples above the effect of the reduplication is to indicate repeated actions. Unreduplicated forms would indicate only an action performed once (i.e. looked for once, looked once, jumped once).

*Continuous Action* is also indicated by reduplication.

- (157) Ni-po-pea-pea           nu bantiluku, na-tasa-mo       loka-na.  
 OF,REAL-TRANS-wait-RED AG turtle       REAL-ripe-PERF bananas-his  
*The turtle waited on and on (until finally) his bananas were ripe.*
- (158) Tempona ira da no-tesa-tesa       bo nosi-njula       pekiri, wega  
 while they still AF,REAL-talk-RED and REC,REAL-exchange ideas friend  
 ira na-rata ri ja'i nu ira.  
 their REAL-come to them.  
*While they were still talking and exchanging ideas, their friend came up to them.*

The actions indicated by reduplicated forms above continued on for some time.

*Continuous State* can also be shown by reduplication of the root of stative verbs.

- (159) Tau ya'a na-sugi   mpu'u. Doi-na   da'a ma-opu-opu       sampe  
 man that REAL-rich very   money-his not IRR-run.out-RED up.to  
 mpae-mpae.  
 year-RED  
*That man is very rich. His money won't run out for years.*

(160) Nang-uli magau ka batua-na, 'Komi kana ma-sadia-dia mom-po-pea  
 AF,REAL-say king to slave-his you must IRR-ready-RED AF,IRR-TRANS-wait  
 ka-rata-ku.  
 NOM-arrive-my  
 The king said to his slave, 'You must be continually ready waiting for  
 my arrival'.

In the examples above the states continued on for some time; in (159) a person's money will not run out or be gone, and in (160) a slave is urged to be continually ready.

4. PRONOUN CLITICS

In Da'a there are both free standing pronouns and pronoun clitics (see note 3). In Actor Focus free standing forms are used to refer to the actor. In Object Focus where the grammatical object is in focus, yet actor information is still needed in the clause, Non-Focused Actor pronoun clitics are used. Non-Focused Actor *enclitics* are identical with possessive markers or nouns. Chart 8 summarises the system of personal pronouns in Da'a.

Chart 8: Personal pronouns

	FOCUSED PHRASE	NON-FOCUSED ACTOR PROCLITICS	NON-FOCUSED ACTOR ENCLITICS	POSSESSIVE ENCLITICS
Singular				
<i>I</i>	aku	ku-	-ku	-ku
<i>you (sg)</i>	iko	mu-	-mu	-mu
<i>he, she</i>	i'a	-	-na	-na
Plural				
<i>we (incl)</i>	kita	-	-ta	-ta
<i>we (excl)</i>	kami	-	kami <sup>17</sup>	kami <sup>17</sup>
<i>you (pl)</i>	komi	-	-mu <sup>18</sup>	-mu <sup>18</sup>
<i>they</i>	ira	-	ira <sup>19</sup>	ira <sup>19</sup>

We will discuss and illustrate the pronoun clitics as they are used in Da'a verbal clauses.

4.1 Non-Focused Actor Proclitics

The proclitics in Da'a are not common, and as noted in the chart above only two persons can be marked in this way, 1sg (ku-) and 2sg (mu-). These occur in very informal, intimate conversation and never in indirect discourse. In the related Moma dialect two other persons are also possible, 1pl(incl) (ta-) and 2pl (koi-).

The following sequence from an animal fable illustrates the use of Non-Focused Actor Proclitics.

(161) Da'a ma-mala aku mu-raga. (says dog to pig)  
 not IRR-able I you-chase  
 You can't chase ME!

Ma-mala ku-raga. (says pig to dog)  
 IRR-able I-chase  
 I can chase (you). (you is topic and thus elided)

Ane da'a iko ku-raga ma-gese mompe we'i.  
 if not you I-chase AF,IRR-rub medicine like.this  
 If (you claim) I can't chase you (focused) rub this medicine on like  
 this. (puts medicine on nose to make a game of the chase)

Our present hypothesis is that the proclitics indicate highly intimate, informal direct speech. This is an area needing further study.

#### 4.2 Non-Focused Actor Enclitics

In Object Focus in direct and indirect speech Non-Focused Actor pronoun enclitics are used to mark the actor when not the focused element of the clause. As noted in the chart below Da'a varies in its use of these enclitics. Some areas primarily centered around the village of Dombu do not have shortened forms for 3pl (ira), while other areas use -ra. Similarly those areas that use -ra also use -mi for 2pl while the villages centered around Dombu use -mu, the same form as for 2sg. No Da'a areas use a shortened form for 1pl(excl) (kami). All other persons and numbers have shortened forms.

Comparing Moma and another related dialect, Ledo, we note that Ledo lacks only 1pl(excl) (kami) shortened forms, while in Moma 1pl(excl) (kami) and 2pl (komi) do not have the shortened forms. These features are displayed in the following chart:

Chart 9: Non-Focused Actor Enclitics

	DA'A	LEDO	MOMA
<i>I</i>	-ku	-ku	-ku
<i>you (sg)</i>	-mu	-mu	-mu
<i>he, she</i>	-na	-na	-na
<i>we (incl)</i>	-ta	-ta	-ta
<i>we (excl)</i>	kami	kami	kami
<i>you (pl)</i>	-mu/-mi	-miu	komi
<i>they</i>	ira/-ra	-ra	-ra

Examples of Non-Focused Actor enclitics in Da'a are as follows (Dombu dialect examples given):

(162) Ni-c'i-ku ose etu.  
 OF,REAL-buy-I rice that  
 The rice was bought by me.

(163) Ni-oli-mu ose etu.  
 OF,REAL-buy-you rice that  
 The rice was bought by you (sg).

- (164) Ni-oli-na                    ose etu.  
 OF,REAL-buy-he/she rice that  
*The rice was bought by him/her.*
- (165) Ni-oli-ta                    ose etu.  
 OF,REAL-buy-we (incl) rice that  
*The rice was bought by us (incl).*
- (166) Ni-oli                    kami                    ose etu.  
 OF,REAL-buy we (excl) rice that  
*The rice was bought by us (excl).*
- (167) Ni-oli-mu                    ose etu.  
 OF,REAL-buy-you (pl) rice that  
*The rice was bought by you (pl).*
- (168) Ni-oli                    ira                    ose etu.  
 OF,REAL-buy they rice that  
*The rice was bought by them.*

## 5. MODAL CLITICS

Da'a has three modal clitics that occur within the predicate phrase. These function on clause constituents and higher level discourse units even though phonologically they attach to the verb. Proclitic da occurs prior to the inflectional affixes, and enclitics mo and pa occur following the Non-Focused Actor enclitics, if present. Otherwise they follow the verb root, or derivational suffixes, if present. pa can also follow the negative rather than the verb (see examples (182) and (183)).

### 5.1 da

The proclitic da indicates durative mode. It can be translated *still, yet*. It also combines with the enclitic pa in the form da + VERB + pa to mean *still more*. Examples follow.

- (169) Da    na-randoo                    i'a.  
*still* REAL-unmarried.girl she  
*She's still an unmarried girl.*
- (170) Da    na-kura    ue.  
*still* REAL-lack water  
*Water is still lacking.*
- (171) Da    na-ria-pa                    ose.  
*still* REAL-be-more rice  
*There is still more rice.*

### 5.2 mo

The enclitic mo usually indicates that an action has occurred (PERFECTIVE) or that a state is existing, and thus is often translated *already* when it occurs with Realis Mood. With Irrealis Mood mo indicates that the action is imminent.

With Imperative Mood it indicates a softened command. In addition to these functions, *mo* also functions as a discourse particle possibly indicating what is thematically prominent in the view of the speaker. This use of *mo* needs further study.<sup>20</sup> Some examples of *mo* are given below.

- (172) *Na-lau-mo i'a.*  
 REAL-go-PERF *he*  
*He already went.*
- (173) *Ni-tuja-na-mo jole.*  
 OF,REAL-plant-he-PERF *corn*  
*Corn was already planted by him.*
- (174) *Ma-uja-mo.*  
 IRR-rain-PERF  
*It's going to rain (soon).*
- (175) *Pe-sai-mo-ruru!*  
 IMP-stop.by-PERF-first  
*Stop by for a bit!* (command made into request by softening with *mo*)
- (176) *Pone-mo!*  
 climb.up-PERF  
*Climb up!* (i.e. *come up into the house!*)

### 5.3 *pa*

The enclitic *pa* has a number of functions in Da'a. These are listed and illustrated below.

#### 5.3.1 'more of something'

- (177) *Dika sakedi-pa!*  
 put little-more  
*Put a little more (there)!*
- (178) *Tambai-pa!*  
 add-more  
*Add some more!*

#### 5.3.2 'still' (usually in conjunction with *da*)<sup>21</sup>

- (179) *Da na-ria-pa ose.*  
 still REAL-be-more rice  
*There's still more rice.*
- (180) *Nau-pa damo iwetu ...*  
 even.though-still like.that  
*Even though it is still like that ...* (cf. *naudamo even though*)

#### 5.3.3 'too, also'

- (181) *Ngga ri setu-pa ...*  
 from there-too  
*From there too ...*



## 5.3.4 'yet, with negative' (da'apa)

(182) Da'a-pa na-lai i'a.  
*not-yet REAL-go he*  
*He has not yet gone.*

(183) Ne'e-pa ma-lau!  
*don't-yet IRR-go*  
*Don't go yet!*

## 5.3.5 'comparative degree'

(184) Duria e'i na-momi-pa duria etu.  
*durian this REAL-sweet-er durian that*  
*This durian is sweeter than that one.*

(185) Sapo etu na-langa-pa sapo e'i.  
*house that REAL-tall-er house this*  
*That house is taller than this one.*

(186) Agina-pa ma-lau ri poroye pade ne-to'o ri se'i.  
*better IRR-go to project than REAL-live here*  
*It is better to go to the (resettlement) project than to stay here.*

## 5.3.6 'sequential marker'

pa indicates the first of two or more happenings. It often follows phrases begun with *sangga after* ...

(187) Sangga na-gana-pa tuwu-na walu mbengi pade ni-keni  
*after REAL-enough-SEQ age-his eight nights then OF,REAL-carry*  
 n-totu'a-na mpaka ri ja'i pue-na.  
 AG-parents-his to grandparents-his  
*After he was eight days old he was taken by his parents to his grand-  
 parents. (pa marks the first of a sequence (SEQ) of happenings)*

As with mo the full discourse functions of pa have not been fully investigated. Further study will show these in more depth.

## 6. SUMMARY CHART OF DA'A VERB STRUCTURE

Chart 10 gives an overall summary of the structure of Da'a verbs. Co-occurrence restrictions of the various affixes are found in the body of the paper and are not listed again here.

Chart 10: Structure of Da'a verbs

MODAL ENCLITICS		mo	pa	mo	pa	mo	pa
NON-FOCUSED ACTOR ENCLITICS						-ku	-mu
S T E M	Derivational Suffixes			-raka	-saka	-taka	-naka
	ROOT						
	Requestive Prefix	ki-		ki-		ki-	
	Affective Prefix	ka-		ka-		ka-	
	Transitive Prefixes			pa-	pe-	po-	pa-
	Causative Prefix				po-		po-
PRETENSE ASPECT PREFIX		ti-					
REFLEXIVE ASPECT PREFIX				tiN-			
NON-VOLITIONAL ASPECT PREFIX		ti-	te-				
RECIPROCAL ASPECT MULTIPLE ACTORS PREFIX			si-		si-	si-	
TRANSITIVE PREFIX (with reciprocal)					po-	po-	
FOCUS PREFIXES	Irrealis	na-	me-	mo-	na-	naN-	me-
	Realis	na-	ne-	no-	na-	naN-	ne-
NON-FOCUSED ACTOR PROCLITICS						ku-	mu-
MODAL PROCLITIC		da		da		da	
		INTRANSITIVE		TRANSITIVE ACTOR FOCUS		TRANSITIVE OBJECT FOCUS	

## ABBREVIATIONS USED

AF	Actor Focus	incl	inclusive pronoun
OF	Object Focus	excl	exclusive pronoun
REAL	Realis Mood	AG	agent
IRR	Irrealis Mood	RM	relative marker
IMP	Imperative Mood	REC	Reciprocal prefix
CAUS	Causative prefix	N-V	Non-Volitional prefix
AFF	Affective prefix	REFL	Reflexive prefix
TRANS	Transitive prefix	PRET	Pretense prefix
DER SUF	Derivational Suffix	PUR	Purpose prefix
REQ	Requestive	RED	reduplication
PERF	Perfective	NOM	Nominalising prefix

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Da'a (Pakawa) is one of at least seven dialects of Kaili, an AN language spoken in Central Sulawesi by approximately 300,000 speakers (Wumbu 1973, Barr, Barr and Salombe 1979). The Da'a dialect is spoken by approximately 30,000 people living primarily in the Marawola and Biromaru Districts of Donggala Regency, Central Sulawesi. Research for this paper was carried out under the auspices of the Cooperative Program between Hasanuddin University and the Summer Institute of Linguistics. Research was done in Dombu village, Marawola District from July 1979 to November 1981, and January 1983 to March 1983. The author wishes to thank the following for their valuable comments and critique of an earlier draft of this paper: Dr Lawrence Reid, Lou Hohulin, F.B. Dawson, and Jean Dawson. The final analysis remains the author's.
- <sup>2</sup> Here we follow Benton's definition given in Schachter 1976, which states: "Actor is the entity to which the action of the verb is attributed. Action serves as a cover term for actions, happenings, conditions in general".
- <sup>3</sup> The term clitic is used as both enclitics (following the root) and proclitics (preceding the root) are used. The enclitics do not alter the stress of the root as do Da'a suffixes (-raka, -saka, etc.).
- <sup>4</sup> In this paper the term stative ascribes a state to a patient. (See Johnston 1975 for a similar use of ke- in Cotabato Manobo.)
- <sup>5</sup> When using the terms actor and object focus we are talking about surface grammatical categories, while the terms actor and patient refer to semantic roles or relationships which nouns or noun phrases have with the verb.
- <sup>6</sup> It is possible that Da'a has lost a broader function of these suffixes. In the Uma (Pipikoro) language to the south, there are clitics ra-ka, from *they* plus benefactive ka, and also ta-ka, from *kita we* (incl) plus the benefactive ka. Uma also has person markers na *he*, *she* and a *I*, but these do not occur with ka. Da'a also has a benefactive marker, ka, which is clearly related to Indonesian kan 'benefactive, cause'. Further comparative studies in Central Sulawesi languages may reveal the exact history of Da'a -raka, -saka, -taka, -naka, and -aka, but for the present they seem to occur with different classes of roots to derive new stems.
- <sup>7</sup> For discussion of Focus in Philippine languages see McKaughan 1958, Dean 1958, Healey 1960, Pike 1964, Hidalgo 1970 and Naylor 1975.
- <sup>8</sup> See maps on p.12 for locations of these languages.

- <sup>9</sup> The Hasanuddin University-Summer Institute of Linguistics Cooperative Program has begun field programs in the following languages of Sulawesi: in Central Sulawesi, Da'a, Uma and Balantak, and in South Sulawesi, Konjo and Seko.
- <sup>10</sup> Forms beginning with n- are Realis Mood, while those beginning with m- are Irrealis. See section 3.2 below, and refer to Barr 1983. neN-/meN- occurs rarely, while naN-/maN- and noN-/moN- are the commonly used forms. Some roots take only the nombā- forms while others can take either nombā- or naN- forms. The difference between these has yet to be determined. nombā- never co-occurs with pa-, pe-, po- stems; naN-, etc. do. Both nombā- and naN-, etc. co-occur with stems formed by -raka, etc.
- <sup>11</sup> Some roots can be derived to form more than one stem by using different prefixes. These stems have different meanings. For example, koni *eat* can be prefixed with pa- to make pa-koni *feed* or with pe- to make pe-koni *taste*.
- <sup>12</sup> See Michael Martens 1988a for similar use of Actor Focus in the neighbouring Uma language.
- <sup>13</sup> See Barr 1983 for a fuller treatment of Realis-Irrealis and how this distinction functions in different discourse genre.
- <sup>14</sup> These are homophonous with the derivational prefixes pa-, pe-, po-, but function in a different capacity here.
- <sup>15</sup> See Sharon G. Barr (in this volume pp.51-75) for a fuller discussion of this use of rapo- in Da'a kinship terminology.
- <sup>16</sup> See Barr (in this volume, pp.1-9) for further discussion of this use of reduplication marking aspect on verbs.
- <sup>17</sup> There are no shortened forms for these pronouns.
- <sup>18</sup> Some Da'a areas use -mi for these forms (shortened version of komi).
- <sup>19</sup> The same Da'a areas which use -mi also use -ra in place of the full pronoun.
- <sup>20</sup> For a description of the related mi of Uma (Pipikoro), see Gregerson and Martens 1983.
- <sup>21</sup> Dempwolff reconstructed PAN \*pa *still*. Reflexes of this use of pa in Sulawesi are found in the Minahasa languages of North Sulawesi and Sa'dang in South Sulawesi (Sneddon 1978). Uma has pi for this meaning (Michael Martens 1988b).

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