West Sulawesi: The Comparative Middle Field

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Abstract

1 West Sulawesi: Linguistic Scene

1.1 Linguistic Geography

- West Sulawesi (Indonesia, Sulawesi): spans the western corner of Sulawesi
- Low-lying coastal plains in the north and south, mountains in the interior
- Linguistic geography follows: Mamuju/Mandar on coasts, PUS, Ulumanda upriver
- Languages represent primary branches of Northern South Sulawesi (Austronesian)
- Mandar historical prestige language; Balanipa Sultanate (1600’s-1905)
- All languages understudied and today, threatened: transmigration and urbanization

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Lect</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MMJ</td>
<td>Mamuju City</td>
<td>Strømme (1994)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ULU</td>
<td>Labuan Rano, Orobatu</td>
<td>Speakers: Aldi Kurniady, Charles Firmansya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PUS</td>
<td>Sattoko</td>
<td>Speaker: Saldi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MDR</td>
<td>Ugibaru, Balanipa</td>
<td>Speakers: Jupri Talib, Nabilah Haruna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2 Basic Clause Structure

2.1 Ordering of Elements

- Common basic clause structure, shown in (1)\(^1\)
- Verbs precede core arguments, follow negation, TAM, material in C

\[(1) \text{COMP} \rightarrow \text{FOCUS} \rightarrow \text{NEG} \rightarrow \text{TAM} \rightarrow \text{VERB} \rightarrow \text{SUBJ, OBJ} \rightarrow \text{ADJUNCT}\]

\(^1\text{Language Abbreviations: MMJ = Mamuju, ULU = Ulumanda', PUS = Pitu Ulunna Salu, MDR = Mandar. Glossing abbreviations include: 1, 2, 3 = 1st, 2nd, 3rd person, ABS = Absolutive, ADJ = Adjective, ADV = Adverbial, APPL = Applicative, ASP = Aspectual, AV = Agent Voice, CAUS = Causative, COMP = Complementizer, ERG = Ergative, EMPH = Emphatic, EX = Exclusive, FUT = Future, GEN = Genitive, HON = Honorific, IN = Inclusive, IPFV = Imperfective, IRR = Irrealis, LNK = Linker, MED = Middle, MOT = Motion, NEG = Negative, NMLZ = Nominalizer, PASS = Passive, PFV = Perfective, PLUR = Plural, PREP = Preposition, POSS = Possessive, PRT = Particle, STAT = Stative, TRANS = Transitivizer, VBLZ = Verbalizer.}
(2) Injolo’=ko apa’ u’de mala ni-parenta api wait.first=2.ABS because NEG may PASS-command fire

'Wait (for it to cook), because fire cannot be commanded' (Mamuju, Strømme 1991)

(3) Wow, indang=a’ rua ma’-pe’-guru-i iyau itingo!
PRT NEG=1.ABS once AV.MED-MED.2-learn-TRANS I that

'Wow, I have never studied that before!' (Mandar)

### 2.2 Verbal Systems

- Preverbal ergative proclitics, second-position absolutive enclitics
- AV-infix (um)infixes into prefixes in (2)
- AV-forms basically intransitive; single arguments indexed by absolutive clitics
- Non-AV verbs transitive; agent and patient indexed with ergative and absolutive sets

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2: P-Series Verbal Prefixes</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Morph</strong></td>
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<td>po-</td>
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<td>pu-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(4) Na=ma’-kelong=ka’
    di=mamuju
    FUT=AV.MED-sing=1.EX.ABS in=Mamuju

'We’re going singing in Mamuju!' (Ulumanda’)

(5) Andiang=pa=i=tau’
    puha k-um-ande
    NEG=IPFV=3.ABS=person already AV-eat

'We haven’t eaten yet.' (PUS)

(6) Ku=kita=ko,
    mu=kita=a’
    to=yaku’
    1.ERG=sec=2.ABS 2.ERG=sec=1.ABS also=1SG

'I see you, you see me too.' (Mamuju, Strømme 1991)

(7) Melo=nasang=bande=’o?
    want=all=Q=2.ABS

'Do you actually want ALL of them?' (Mandar)

(8) U-po-elo’=dua=nasang=i
    1.ERG-MED.3-desire=still=all=3.ABS

'I still want all of them.' (Mandar)

- Tables (3), (4) present the ergative & absolutive clitic sets.
- Third-person clitic loss from north (Mamuju: complete) to south (PUS: starting)
- First-person inclusive innovations: PASS for ergative, 'person' + 3.ABS for absolutive

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2 This morphemic diversity reflects historical patterns of inter-familial borrowing, as the eight p-prefixes below all originate from PMP *pa, *paN, and *paR. Most prefixes only occur with small numbers of specific lexemes.
### 2.3 VP-Internal Order

- All languages show flexible VSO-VOS word order; Mamuju examples (9)-(10).
- Absolutive typically follows the verb; Mandar examples (11)-(12) show slight ambiguity.
- Prosody, fronting operations used to disambiguate: Mandar example (13).

(9) Na=kua guru-ng-ku' uwalu-sabu patap-pattia ruppia.  
3.ERG=say teacher-LNK-1.GEN eight thousand four hundred rupiah  
‘Our teacher says 8,400 rupiah.’ (Mamuju, Strømme 1991)

(10) Na=pa-ma-langka=bappa sunga'-ta' Puang, Indo’!  
3.ERG=CAUS-ADJ-long=hopefully life-2.HON.GEN God Mother  
‘May god lengthen your life, Ma’am!’ (Mamuju, Strømme 1991)

(11) Na=patei Ali Baco.  
3.ERG=kill Ali Baco  
‘Baco killed Ali’ (less preferred: Ali killed Baco) (Mandar)

(12) mam=patei Ali Baco.  
AV.DISTR-kill Ali Baco  
‘Ali killed Baco’ (less preferred: Baco killed Ali) (Mandar)

(13) U-ita=i Baco na=patei Ali  
1.ERG-see=3.ABS Baco 3.ERG-kill Ali  
‘I saw that Baco killed Ali!’ (Mandar)

### 2.4 Comparative TP Structure

- Consistent structure across the group, shown in (5).
- All languages contrast realis and irrealis negation.
- Different aspectual adverbal systems: two most common shown below.
- Preverbal future clitic stands at bottom of middle field.
2.4.1 Negation

- Negation precedes aspectual adverbs, modals, verbs and follows material in the C domain.
- Ternary contrast between realis, irrealis, and equational (excluded) negation.
- Negation represents the highest head which clitic regularly move to.
- Irrealis negator procliticizes when no clitics follow in PUS, Mandar.

(14) U’dé=pa pura mo-pa-rapa’ so’bo’
\text{NEG=IPFV already AV.MED-CAUS-meeting shaman}
'The shaman had not yet performed the ceremony.' (Mamuju, Strømme 1991)

(15) Da’a=tau’ manating ne,aka’ semata ku-chat=ki!
\text{IRR.NEG=person ADJ-angry PRT COMP always 1.ERG-chat=1.IN.ABS}
'Don’t get mad, ok? Because I’m always chatting you!’ (Ulumanda’)

(16) Andiang=pa=a’ ma-ita lansung, mi-apna=i karewa-na dio
\text{NEG=IPFV=1.ABS ADJ-see direct MED.3-what=3.ABS news-3.GEN there}
'I’ve never directly seen it, what things are like there.’ (PUS)

(17) Da=mu-luppe-i balas ma’-basa inggris
\text{IRR.NEG=2.ERG-forget-TRANS reply AV.MED-language English}
'Don’t forget to reply using English!’ (Mandar)

2.4.2 Aspectual Adverbs

- Aspectual adverbs always follow negation but precede verbs.
- Regularly attract all clitics across the subfamily.
- Table (6) illustrates significant regional variance.
- Certain constituents (mamanya, biasa) show behavioral splits between languages.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LECT</th>
<th>ALREADY</th>
<th>STILL</th>
<th>CONTINUE</th>
<th>CURRENTLY</th>
<th>USUALLY</th>
<th>ONCE</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MMJ</td>
<td>pura</td>
<td>tatta’</td>
<td>tarrus</td>
<td>mamanya</td>
<td>biasa</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ULU</td>
<td>pura</td>
<td>tatta’</td>
<td>tarru’</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MMJ</td>
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<td>tahu’</td>
<td>mamanya</td>
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<td>rua</td>
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<td>MMJ</td>
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<td>tatta’</td>
<td>tarrus</td>
<td>mamanya</td>
<td>biasa</td>
<td>rua</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(18) Mala tatta’ ma-gassing ana’-ta’.
can still ADJ-strong child-1.IN.GEN
'[our children] can stay strong!' (Mamuju, Strømme 1991)
(19) **Tarru’=ke’=’o=ne** di Tobadak lambi’ karahiang?
continue=IPFV=2.ABS=Q PREP Tobadak arrive evening

’Will you be in Tobadak straight until evening?’ (Ulumanda’)

(20) **puha=mo=i=tau’** k\>um\(\)ande
already=PFV=3.ABS=person AV-food

’Have you eaten yet?’ (PUS)

(21) Iyo, **rua=to=ande=i** u-baca iting buku
Yes once=also=EMPH=3.ABS 1.ERG-read that book

’Yes, I’ve also read that book once’ (Mandar)

### 2.4.3 Future Marking

- The future proclitic *na* surfaces preverbally in all languages
- This element ordinarily never leaves its position but can be coaxed out by, e.g. VP ellipsis

(22) **Na=ma’-kelong=ka’** di=Mamuju!
fut=AV.MED-sing=1.EX.ABS in=Mamuju

’We’re going out singing in Mamuju!’ (Ulumanda’)

(23) **Na=malai=to=anda=a’** mua’ bulan annang=i
fut=return=also=EMPH=1.ABS if month six=3.ABS

’Yeah, I’ll be coming home around June.’ (PUS)

(24) Andiang=i na=u-luppe-i
NEG=3.ABS fut=1.ERG-forget-TRANS

’I won’t forget.’ (Mandar)

(25) Ampele’ meng-ka-tanda’=a’ ingkai’ mating di ingkita’
then AV.MOT-STAT-arrive=1.ABS 1.EX towards PREP 1.IN

**na=ma-bombang=ai** na=’ud’e=ai?
FUT=ADJ-wave=perhaps fut=NEG=perhaps

’Then we are just coming to ask you: ”will there be waves or will there not?”’

### 2.5 Structural Conclusions

- These languages share a typical clausal order of VSO.
- Negation, aspectuals, and the future clitic precede the verb in a fixed order

### 3 Second-Position Clitics

- The NSSul subgroup has a huge 2P clitic inventory: absolutive, aspectual, adverbial clitics
- Mamuju contains two more clitic series: a plural marker and clitic demonstratives
- Table (7) presents the cross-familial order of adverbial elements below
- Table 15 illustrates their basic distributional pattern

(26) ADV1 \> ASP \> ABS \> ADV2
3.1 Absolutive Clitics

- Follow the first constituent in the middle field (negation, aspectuals, or the main verb)
- Contrast with tightly fixed ergative proclitics, which strictly precede the verb
- Examples (27)-(28) show basic placement, (29)-(30) show raising behavior.

(27) \text{Ku=kita=ko} \text{ mu=kita=a'} \text{ to=yaku'}
1.ERG=see=2.ABS 2.ERG=see=1.ABS also=1SG
'I see you, you see me too.' (Mamuju, Strømme 1991)

(28) \text{Da'a=tau'} \text{ ma-nating ne, aka'} \text{ semata ku-chat=ki'}!
IRR.NEG=person ADJ-angry PRT COMP always 1.ERG-chat=1.IN.ABS
'Don’t get mad, ok? Because I’m always chatting you!' (Ulumanda')

(29) \text{Andiang=pa=a'} \text{ ma-ita} \text{ lansung mi-apa=i} \text{ karewa-na dio}
NEG=IPFV=1.ABS AV.VBLZ-see direct MED.3-what=3.ABS news-3.GEN there
'I’ve never really seen it directly, what things are like there.' (PUS)

(30) \text{Pura=sannal=i} \text{ u-po-elo'}
already=very=3.ABS 1.ERG-MED.4-desire
'Once I really wanted that (but I was rejected).' (Mandar)

3.2 Aspectual Clitics

- Common aspectual set exists across NSSul (divergent morphophonology simplified here)\(^3\)
- Follow the first constituent in the middle field (negation, aspectuals, or the main verb)
- Invariably precede the absolutive clitics; follow the same distributional pattern.
- Examples (27)-(28) show basic placement, (29)-(30) show raising behavior.

\(\begin{array}{|c|c|c|}
\hline
\text{LECT} & \text{IPFV} & \text{PFV} \\
\hline
\text{MMJ} & =pa & =do & =mo \\
\text{ULU} & =ke' & =do & =mo \\
\text{PUS} & =pa & =mo & =mo \\
\text{MDR} & =pa & =mo & =mo \\
\hline
\end{array}\)
(31) **Ma-rakka’=ii=do**  su’be mam-bali  
ADJ-afraid=PLUR=PFV come  
'Very afraid to come.' (Mamuju, Strømme 1991)

(32) **Ni-tunda=ke’**  kappal l(um)olo’-ku’  
PASS-delay=IPFV ship AV-fly-1.GEN  
'My flight’s still being delayed.' (Ulumanda’)

(33) **Andiang=pa=a’**  ma-ita  lansung mi-apa=i karewa-na  
NEG=IPFV=1.ABS ADJ-see direct MED.3-what=3.ABS news-3.GEN there  
'I’ve never really seen it directly, what things are like there.' (PUS)

(34) **Mua’ buku Bumi Manusia, pura=mo=i u-baca**  
if book This Earth of Mankind, already=PFV=3.ABS 1.ERG-read  
U-ERG-END-TRANS=PFV=3.ABS  
'As for the book This Earth of Mankind, I’ve already read it to the end. (Mandar)

3.3 Adverbial Clitics: Set 1

- The NSSul languages also show clitic adverbs which exhibit second-position effects as well
- Chart (26) above delineates one such class: adverbs preceding the ASP and ABS clitics
- Left-to-Right order reflects linear order of occurrence (as best can be determined)
- Note: all monosyllabic adverb clitics (and aspectuals) linearly follow disyllabic ones.
- Examples (35)-(38) illustrate base placement patterns in PUS, Mandar
- Examples (39)-(42) show raising in Mamuju, Ulumanda’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>TRULY</th>
<th>REALLY</th>
<th>ONCE</th>
<th>ALL</th>
<th>ACTUALLY</th>
<th>STILL</th>
<th>ONLY</th>
<th>MAYBE</th>
<th>AGAIN</th>
<th>ALSO</th>
<th>ONLY2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MMJ</td>
<td>si’da</td>
<td>le’ba’</td>
<td>pissang</td>
<td>nasang</td>
<td>banggi</td>
<td>lolo</td>
<td>kale</td>
<td>ai</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>ki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ULU</td>
<td>si’da</td>
<td>le’ba’</td>
<td>pissang</td>
<td>nasang</td>
<td>bande</td>
<td>lolo</td>
<td>kale</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>bu</td>
<td>tu</td>
<td>de</td>
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<tr>
<td>PUS</td>
<td>sannal</td>
<td>le’ba’</td>
<td>pissang</td>
<td>nasang</td>
<td>bande</td>
<td>dua</td>
<td>kale</td>
<td>ai</td>
<td>bo</td>
<td>to</td>
<td>ra</td>
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<td>MDR</td>
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<td>kale</td>
<td>ai</td>
<td>bo</td>
<td>to</td>
<td>ra</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(35) **Moa’ ita’ ma-sae=dua=pa=i=tau’**  dini Indonesia a?  
if 1.IN ADJ-long=still=IPFV=3.ABS=person here Indonesia PRT  
'Bro, are you still going to be in Indonesia for a while?' (PUS)

(36) **Ma-romo’=nasang=i pi’-guru-ang basa di-pake**  
ADJ-easy=all=3.ABS MED.2-learn-NMLZ language PASS=use  
'learning languages is all easy when they are being used.' (PUS)

(37) **Iya tongan=tu’u, ka-rambo=sannal=i 1 jam 30 menit indap=pa macet-na**  
YES correct=very STAT-far=very=3.ABS 1 hour 30 minutes NEG=IPFV traffic-3.GEN  
'Yes, just right, it’s very far: an hour and a half before the traffic.' (Mandar)

(38) **Ma-nyamang=le’ba’=bo=mo=i ande-ta’ di’e bongi de yaya**  
ADJ-tasty=really=again=PFV=3.ABS food-1.IN.GEN this night PRT PRT  
'This food’s really good again tonight!' (Mandar)
(39) **U’dé=banggi=ko** tallang?
   **NEG=actually=2.ABS drown**
   'You really didn’t drown?' (Mamuju, Strømme 1991)

(40) **U’dé=kale=a’** mala ma-tindo!
   **NEG=only=1.ABS can AV.VBLZ-sleep**
   'I just can’t sleep!' (Mamuju, Strømme 1991)

(41) Narang ma-rao=do dai’ allo, **u’dé=lolo=pa** kaleba.
   finally **ADJ-far=PFV upwards sun** **NEG=still=IPFV wake.up**
   'Finally, the sun had already risen far up but he had still not awoken.' (Mamuju, Strømme 1991)

(42) **Pura=tu=mo=a’** koi ande di=laeng-na
   already=also=PFV=1.ABS 1.SG eat in=other-3.GEN
   'I also just ate somewhere else.' (Ulumanda’)

### 3.4 Adverbial Clitics: Set 2

- The NSSul languages show a second class of 2P adverbs that follow the ASP and ABS clitics.
- Mamuju has innovated a large set; other languages show parallel effects with fewer lexemes.
- Chart (10) lists cross-familial adverbs of this class; linear order here not determined.
- Examples (43)-(45) illustrate base placement pattern in Mamuju, Mandar.
- Examples (46)-(48) show raising in Mamuju, Mandar.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>FIRST</th>
<th>LATER</th>
<th>AGAIN</th>
<th>ALSO</th>
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<td>nenna</td>
<td>bomo</td>
<td>tomo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ULU</td>
<td>jou’</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PUS</td>
<td>dolo’</td>
<td>nenna</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
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<td>MDR</td>
<td>dolo’</td>
<td>nenna</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(43) Mane’ **tituali=ii=nasang=bomo** sau di angngatang...
   then return=PLUR=all=again outwards PREP village
   'Then they all returned out to their villages...’ (Mamuju, Strømme 1991)

(44) Ampe’ **ti-tundu=mo=a’=tomo**.
   then ADV-fatigue=EMPH=1.ABS=also
   'Then I got tired as well.' (Mamuju, Strømme 1991)

(45) Mua’ iyau melo=a’ **ma’-kuasa-i=dolo’** publik speaking
   if 1.SG want=1.ABS AV.MED-power-TRANS=first public speaking
   'As for me, I want to master public speaking first.’ (Mandar)

(46) **U’dé=bomo** ma-coa ku=sâ’ding,
   **NEG=again ADJ-good 1.ERG=feel**
   'I don’t feel good again.’ (Mamuju, Strømme 1991)

(47) Ampele’ **u’dé=mo=tomo** diang piso-ku’ inne ma-tadang!
   Then **NEG=EMPH=also exist machete-1.GEN this ADJ-sharp**
   'And also, none of my knives were sharp!' (Mamuju, Strømme 1991)
4 Testing Second-Position Effects

- We know that all these clitics raise within the middle field (negation, aspectual adverbs)
- How do they interact with material above and below?

4.1 Below the Middle Field

- When the middle field is empty, clitics follow the first element of the predicate.
- When the predicate contains a VP or AP, the clitic follows V or A.
- Examples (49)-(52) briefly re-illustrate these patterns

(49) Yaku’ indo’ beang=a’=injolo’ doi’ta’ dua sa’bu ruppia
1SG mother give=1.ABS=first money-1.IN.GEN two thousand rupiah
'Hey mom, just give me 2,000 IDR first.' (Mamuju, Strømme 1991)

(50) Ku-kasse=i=de koi, andi’
1.ERG-like-TRANS=also=only 1.SG bro
'I also just like it, bro.' (Ulamanda’)

(51) Ma-lolo=sannal=i
ADJ-pretty=very=3.ABS
'really pretty!' (PUS)

(52) Ma-nyamang=le’ba=bo=i ande-ta’ di’e bongi de yaya
ADJ-tasty=really=again=3.ABS food-1.IN.GEN this night PRT PRT
'Your food will be really good again tonight!' (Mandar)

- Certain (non-clitic) elements, however, can intervene before these clitics.
- Directional markers, robustly attested across SSul: (53)-(81)
- Nominal predicates may show variability: splitting in Mandar degraded but not impossible

(53) Mas-sikola=a’ di bao di Makkasar
AV.MED-school=1.ABS PREP on PREP Makkasar
'I went to school up in Makkasar' (Mamuju, Kaufman (P.C.))

(54) Su’be di bao=a’ di Ujung Pandang,
come PREP on=1.ABS PREP Ujung Pandang
'I am coming up from Ujung Pandang (Makassar)’ (Mamuju, Strømme 1991)

(55) Lambi=a’ baho di Makassar
come=1.ABS on PREP Makassar
'I am coming up from Makassar' (Ulamanda’)

(56) Lambi bahao=a’ di Makassar
come on=1.ABS PREP Makassar
'I am coming up from Makassar’ (Ulamanda’)

(57) Mahasiswa pole Sulawesi Barat=i=tau’
Student from Sulawesi west=3.ABS=person
'We are students from West Sulawesi' (Mandar)
4.2 Above the Middle Field

- Constituents above negation: modal and temporal adverbs, complementizers, wh-words.
- Table (11) illustrates the linear ordering of these elements.
- High adverbs and complementizers never attract aspectual clitics, but foci do.

### Table 11: The Mamuju C-Domain

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Comp</th>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Focus</th>
<th>Adv3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

#### 4.2.1 High Adverbs

- Two classes of pre-negation adverbial: Mamuju examples of each tabulated below in (12).
- Mamuju, Ulumanda’, Mandar data shows that these never attract clitics: (59)-(61).

### Table 12: Mamuju High Adverbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Modal</th>
<th>Temporal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>maumuna</td>
<td>although</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barang</td>
<td>perhaps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sala-sala</td>
<td>almost</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biasa</td>
<td>usually</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(59) **Narang** mole=a’ su’be di bangking-ku’
finally healed=1.ABS from PREP disease-1.GEN
'Finally I healed from my disease’

(60) Da’a=tau’ ma-nating ne aka’ **semata** ku-chat=ki’
IRR.NEG=person ADJ-angry PRT COMP always 1.ERG-chat=1.IN.ABS
'Don’t get mad because I always chat you!’

(61) Hay, **mani** soro’=a’ ma’-kuliah
PRT just.then return=1.ABS AV.MED-study
'Hey, I just came home from school.’

#### 4.2.2 Complementizers

- The NSSul languages show common classes of complementizer tabulated below in (14)
- Complementizers invariably fail to attract aspectual, absolute, and adverbial clitics.

(62) **Umba** mu=ola sa-m-bongi **ampe’** u’d=ko diang ku=kita?
which 2.ERG=go one-LNK-night so.that NEG=2.ABS EXIST 1.ERG=see
'Where did you go last night so that I couldn’t see you?’

(Mandar)
Table 13: Regional Complementizers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>IF</th>
<th>SO.THA</th>
<th>BECAUSE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MMJ</td>
<td>ampunna’</td>
<td>ampe’</td>
<td>apa’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ULU</td>
<td>puna’</td>
<td>anna’</td>
<td>aka’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PUS</td>
<td>moa’</td>
<td>anna’</td>
<td>apa’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MDR</td>
<td>mua’</td>
<td>anna’</td>
<td>apa’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(63) Tapi **puna’** mem-mata=a’, tette’ karrua=a’
    but **AV.MOT-eye=1.ABS, o’clock eight=1.ABS**
    ‘But if I stay up all night, I (wake up at) eight o’clock.
    (Ulumanda’)

(64) Na=ma-lai=toanda=a’ **moa’** bulan amang=i
    **FUT=ADJ-come.home=too=1.ABS** if **month six=3.ABS**
    ‘I’ll come home in June.’
    (PUS)

(65) Tongan=tu’u **apa’** mala=i di-pake media komunikasi bassa di’e
    **correct=very because can=3.ABS PASS-use media communication like this**
    ‘Just right, because we can use it as a medium of communication like this.’
    (Mandar)

4.2.3 Clause-Initial Focus

(66) So far, the distribution of clitic elements can be described syntactically: they do not
    move past negation

(67) Unfortunately, wh-words and clause-initial foci raise problems for this pattern.

(68) NSSul languages contain two classes of wh-word: embedding verbs (‘why,’ ‘how’) and
    argument wh’s, tabled in (14)

(69) Mamuju, Ulumanda’, and Mandar examples (70)-(72) show this second set attracts clitics

Table 14: Raising Wh-Words

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>WHAT</th>
<th>WHO</th>
<th>WHICH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MMJ</td>
<td>apa</td>
<td>sema</td>
<td>umba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ULU</td>
<td>aka</td>
<td>minna</td>
<td>umba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PUS</td>
<td>apa</td>
<td>innai</td>
<td>inna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MDR</td>
<td>apa</td>
<td>innai</td>
<td>inna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Mamuju examples below illustrate that every class of clitic freely attracts up to these
adverbs. Supplementary data from other languages supports this conclusion below as well.

(70) **Umba=nasang=mo** na=ola?
    **which=all=EMPH 3.ERG=go**
    ‘Where are they all going?’
    (Mamuju, Strømme 1991)

(71) Aka **mu-po-gau’, umba=do** mu-enge-i, **minna=o** siola?
    what **2.ERG-MED.3-deed** which **=PFV 2.ERG-place-TRANS who=2.ABS with**
    ‘What are you doing, where are you, and who are you with?’
    (Ulumanda’)

(72) **Inai=mo** pura **mak-kiring di’e nasang sura’ le’mai ee?**
    **who=PFV already AV.MED this all letter to.here PRT**
    ‘Who already sent all these letters in?’
    (Mandar)
Focus-fronted pronouns and NPs attract clitics, but focused adjuncts do not:

(73) Yaku’=ii man-jampang-i.
\[1.SG=PLUR \text{ANTIP-care.for-TRANS}\]
'I took care of them' (Mamuju, Strømme 1991)

(74) Bakso=do=koa’ mang-ande?
\[\text{bakso=PFV=2.PL.ABS AV.DISTR-eat}\]
'You all just ate bakso?' (Ulumanda’)

(75) Iting elong=mo mu-pa’-elong-i sangallo!
\[\text{that song=EMPH 2.ERG-MED-sing-TRANS earlier}\]
'THAT song you were singing earlier!' (Mandar)

(76) Di boyang ma’-ellong=mo=a’ sangallo.
\[\text{PREP house AV.MED-sing=PFV=1.ABS earlier}\]
'In the house I sang earlier' (Mandar)

4.3 Final Chart

- So, if we want to summarize these clitic patterns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Comp</th>
<th>Focus</th>
<th>Modal Adv</th>
<th>Temporal Adv</th>
<th>Negation</th>
<th>Aspectual Adv</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Directional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>DIR=X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>VERB(=X) DIR(=X)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>ASP=X</td>
<td>VERB</td>
<td>DIR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>MOD</td>
<td>TEMP</td>
<td>NEG=X</td>
<td>ASP</td>
<td>VERB</td>
<td>DIR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>FOC=X</td>
<td>MOD</td>
<td>TEMP</td>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>ASP</td>
<td>VERB</td>
<td>DIR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>FOC=X</td>
<td>MOD</td>
<td>TEMP</td>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>ASP</td>
<td>VERB</td>
<td>DIR</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5 Traditional Models of Clitic Placement

- How can we theoretically model these placement patterns? Syntax, phonology, prosody?
- How do these NSSul clitics fit into a broader typology of clisis?

5.1 Typology of Approaches to 2P Clisis

Boskovic (2001) offers the following taxonomy:

- Strong Syntax: Clitic positioning fully determined by the syntax.
- Strong Phonology: Phonology places clitics (syntactic arguments) in second-position.
- Weak Syntax: Clitic placement syntactic but handled by prosody in a pinch.
- Weak Phonology: Clitics move wherever in the syntax; phonology filters out non-2P.
5.2 Problems with Strong Approaches

- This approach requires host constituents to move to an even higher position.
- In NSSul, clitic hosts don’t need to form constituents! (Directionals, nominal predicates)
- Strong Phonology: clitic consistently needs to move up to some clausal 2P
- In NSSul, complementizers and modal/temporal adverbs can’t attract them!

5.3 Weaker Approaches: any hope?

5.3.1 Weak Phonology (Franks 1998, Boskovic 1995, 2001)

- Clitics move anywhere in the syntax; phonology filters out candidates that it doesn’t like.
- Copy Theory of Movement (Chomsky 1991): syntax triggers movement, but PF ultimately decides where moving constituents are pronounced (based on orthogonal factors)
- Progovac (1996) on BCS: elements that can host 2P clitics can also sub-extract from DP
- Unfortunately, the problem should already be apparent for Austronesian...
- Chung (2003) presents the following Chamorro data; NSSul shows the same problem.

(77) Famalao’an hit ginin todus i islas gi Pasifika
women we from all the islands loc pacific
‘We are women from all the islands of the Pacific.’ (Chamorro; Chung 2003)

(78) *Hayi [kime’=nya t] hit
who? buddy=AGR we
‘Whose pals are we?’ (Chamorro; Chung 2003)

(79) Senji’=kale=mo roti ku-ande
a.bit=only=EMPH bread 1.ERG-eat
‘I ate just a little bit of bread.’ (Ulumanda’)

(80) *Roti aka mu-ande senji’ t?
bread what 2.ERG-eat a.bit
‘What bread did you just eat a bit of?’ (Ulumanda’)

5.3.2 Weak Syntax (Halpern 1995)

- Clitic movement basically syntactic; hosts normally move into the left periphery
- But if syntax fails to provide a host, prosody can force clitics to invert with what follows.
- This approach can explain why syntactic non-constituents can host clitics in SSul.
- It does, however, struggle with two facts: first, optionality in placement (re directionals)
- And second, that clitics don’t need to occupy 2P (when preceded by unattractive things).

(81) Lambi(=a’) baho(=a’) di Makassar
come(=1.ABS) on(=1.ABS) PREP Makkassar
‘I am coming up from Makassar’ (Ulumanda’)

(82) Da’a=tau’ ma-nating ne aka’ semata ku-chat=ki’
IRR.NEG=person ADV-angry PRT COMP always 1.ERG-chat=1.IN.ABS
‘Don’t get mad because I always chat you!’ (Ulumanda’)
6 Some Modern Perspectives

6.1 Approaches to Austronesian Clitics

- Chamorro (Chung 2003), Tagalog (Kaufman 2008) show similarly tricky systems
- Kaufman (2010): Tagalog 2P clitics the OT-governed output of feature-driven merge
- Chung (2003): Chamorro weak pronoun (clitic) placement falls to prosodic structure
- Chamorro clitic placement algorithm (following Prosodic Subcategorization, Inkelas 1990):
  \[(83) \quad i [p[p]=X]\]

- Several ways this looks good for NSSul:
  - Syntactic constituency not crucial to define hosts (Nominal predicates, directionals)
  - Mapping algorithm may skip functional heads, adjectival/adverbial modifiers
  - This could (potentially) give us a way to explain, e.g. flexible host size
  - But we still have a problem concerning the domain of application: how do we restrict 2P effects to the middle field (i.e. negation and lower) plus focused elements?

6.2 The Chunking Problem

- We want to define a specific domain for clitic effects in NSSul: TP.
- But identifying distinct prosodic units remains a serious field-wide debate.
- Direct vs Indirect mapping approaches, multi-tiered mapping theories (Bennet & Elfner 2018)
  - Moreover, how can we get clitics to move up to focus as well?

6.3 McFadden & Sundaresan 2018: Intonation Phrase Extension

- Recasts the EPP, comp-trace effects, and others as prosodically-driven phenomena.
- Nothing to do with clitics- but some useful (and relevant) conceptual machinery.

  Some novel ideas:
  - Major prosodic domains defined as spell-out domains (Adger 2003, Selkirk 2011)
  - Since C is a phase-defining head, TP represents an intonation phrase
  - These prosodic domains can adjust in size when constituents move from their edges.

  What are these authors trying to do?
  - For McFadden & Sundaresan, the EPP reflects a syntactic fix to a prosodic problem
  - Intonation Phrase Edge Generalization: left edges of intonation phrases MUST be filled.
  - A cluster of patterns- like the EPP, comp-trace effects, and so on- stem from the following:
    \[(84) \quad \text{Overt Subject Requirement: Spec-TP, the left edge of an IP, must be overt.}\]

- This generalization basically accounts for the following:
  \[(85) \quad *[\text{CP} \quad [TP_{\text{intP}} \quad \text{pro/pro punched Alex?}]]\]
  \[(86) \quad *\text{Who did you say [CP that [TP_{\text{intP}} \quad t punched Alex?]}}\]

- But would seem to struggle with extremely simple clauses like:
McFadden and Sundaresan note, however, that a large body of literature has suggested that the sizes of phases can be altered by syntactic operations around them: Phase Extension (den Dikken 2007), Phase Sliding (Gallego 2010), Domain Suspension (Bobaljik & Wurmbrand 2013), etc.

From this observation, they propose the mechanism below:

"Given a syntactic constituent XP that would normally be aligned with an IntP boundary by the categorial route, if an element moves from the edge of XP into a constituent YP which contains XP, the IntP will be aligned with YP instead."

Basically, what this says is as follows: movement from the left edge of TP into C drags the boundary of the TP-intonation phrase with it.

Consequently, the intonation phrase boundary in (89) moves up to C and its edge is filled.

6.4 So what about NSSul?

Scoping back, McFadden & Sundaresan’s account proposes two things about prosodic structure:

- TP, as a spell-out domain, typically behaves as a single intonation phrase
- When focused constituents raise from its edge to C, the IP boundary follows.
  These two points look pretty similar to the observed situation in NSSul, where:
- Clitics of all types raise in the middle field but usually not beyond it.
- Clause-initial focused material alone can coax these clitics out.
  To solve our domain-boundary problem, then, we might basically suspect:
- These clitics behave as second-position elements within their IP, defined as TP in spell-out
- This typically lets them raise as high as the top of the middle field, but not beyond
- When focused constituents extract, however, this prosodic domain extends up to C.

6.5 Some Challenges for this approach

Deriving the intonation phrase extension facts:

- McFadden & Sundaresan: IP extension triggered by raising from Spec, TP into C.
- What does the syntax of this movement really look like in NSSul?

Satisfying the EPP in Verb-initial languages:

- McFadden & Sundaresan note properties which cluster in Spanish, Italian, Greek: allowing pro-drop, showing no comp-trace effects (Rizzi 1982), and not showing sensitivity to the IPEG. Why?
- Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou’s (1998) old argument: Greek, Spanish can satisfy EPP with V-to-T.
- How can we translate this proposal into NSSul terms?
- More broadly, how do NSSul languages fit into the syntactic typology developed here?

Steps moving forwards:

- How does the basic VSO order derive, and how high does the verb get?
- What language-internal evidence do we have for prosodic structure?
- What effects (prosodic, syntactic) are tied with clitic placement variability?
7 Abbreviated Bibliography


