Aspectual and modal clitics
in Makassarese and Makassar Indonesian

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Makassarese has a set of clitics which are associated with tense, aspect, mood, modality and polarity. This set consists of two proclitics: ta= (NEG negator) and la= (FUT future); and four enclitics: =mo (PFV perfective), =pa (IPF imperfective), =ja (LIM limitative), and =ka (OR ‘or’, also a question tag). This paper will examine the use of this system of clitics in Makassarese, and also briefly illustrate the pervasive borrowing of these elements into Makassar Indonesian.

1 Clitics in Makassarese

Makassarese (spoken by around 2 million people in South Sulawesi) has a sizeable inventory of clitics (denoted in examples by the use of the equals sign =), which are used pervasively for pronominal cross–referencing of arguments (they are in fact the main way of indicating grammatical relations), and also for coding a range of tense/aspect and modal meanings.

The formal properties of clitics in Makassarese are:

- they attach further from the root than affixes
- they are not counted for stress (because they are not part of the prosodic word,
- they have a tendency to appear in 2nd position (abbreviated as 2P)
- they attach at phrase rather than word level. For example an adverb or other modifier such as an incorporated noun can come between a verb and the clitic pronoun, as in (1) and (2), or the negator may precede an entire PP (3).

(1) naung todonga'
    naung  todong  =a'
descend also  =1
    I also climbed down

(2) a'jappa bangkengi
    aC–  jappa  bangkeng  =i
    MV–  walk  foot  =3
    he's going on foot

(3) laisi' ta–ri–nakkena
    laisi'  ta=  ri  nakke  =na
    slenderness  NEG=  PREP  l.sing  =3.POSS
    her slenderness which is not for me

There are proclitics and enclitics: the proclitics are the pronominal set which canonically cross–reference the actor (the ERG ‘ergative’ clitics), the future tense marker la= and the negator ta=. The enclitics include the pronominal set which canonically cross–reference the subject of an intransitive clause or the undergoer of a transitive clause (the ABS ‘absolutive’ clitics), the aspectual/modal markers =mo, =pa, =ja, and the question marker =ka. The stable of clitics is given in Table 1 below.
Table 1: Clitics

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

(4)  lakuapamako

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

   now what will I do with you?

(5)  takuassengapi

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

   I don’t know it/him/her yet

These examples show that on both sides of the stem modal and aspectual clitics precede clitic pronouns, which can be illustrated as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
\{ \text{aspect/modal} \} &= \{ \text{proclitic} \} = \{ \text{ERG} \} = \{ \text{STEM} \} = \{ \text{enclitic} \} = \{ \text{ABS} \} = \{ \text{clitic pronoun} \} \\
\end{align*}
\]

It appears that each slot may only contain one clitic — which is to say there are (for instance) no examples in which negator \( ta= \) and future \( la= \) appear together, or in which perfective \( =mo \) co-occurs with limitative \( =ja \).

The enclitics are generally used to cross-reference the subject of an intransitive clause (S) and the patient of a transitive clause (P), while the proclitics are used to cross-reference the agent of a transitive clause (A). For this reason they are, with some caveats, given the labels absolutive and ergative respectively, and Makassarese can be described at least superficially as a morphologically ergative language. However, there is a great deal of complexity and many exceptions to this generalisation.

2 Aspectual/modal clitics

The clitics which are associated with tense, aspect, mood, modality and polarity (referred to for convenience as TAM) consist of two proclitics: \( ta= \) (NEG negator) and \( la= \) (FUT future); and four enclitics: \( =mo \) (PFV perfective), \( =pa \) (IPF imperfective), \( =ja \) (LIM limitative), and \( =ka \) (OR ‘or’, and also question tag).

The TAM enclitics all behave similarly in that they encliticise onto predicates, following the applicatives -\( i \) and -\( ang \), and preceding enclitic pronouns. The TAM enclitics will lose their final vowel if followed by \( =a’ \) or \( =i \).\(^1\) The results of the combination of TAM and pronominal enclitics are shown in Table 2.

\(^1\) With the exception that \( =ka=i \to =kai \). Vowel-degemination still applies in the case of \( =ka=a’ \to =ka’ \).

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clitic pronouns</th>
<th>TAM clitics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( ku= )</td>
<td>( =a’ )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( nu= )</td>
<td>( =ko )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( ki= )</td>
<td>( =ki’ )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( =kang )</td>
<td>( 1p.exc )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( na= )</td>
<td>( =i )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2: TAM and pronominal enclitics

The clitic pronoun =kang for the first person plural exclusive occurs only in combination with the TAM enclitics and not in isolation. It should also be pointed out there are numerous lexical ways of denoting TAM related meanings — these are not examined here.

Out of the six clitics, =mo is by far the most commonly used. Using Shoebox to make a wordlist and concordance from a small subset of the corpus (2948 clauses) showed that =mo appeared 917 times, =ja 134 times, ta 96 times, =pa 62 times, =la 39 times and =ka just 17 times.

2.1 Negative ta=

Although ta= is not the most common negator, it is the most basic (i.e. unambiguously monomorphemic) whereas the other negators tea, teá, tena and taena can be analysed as grammaticalised compounds. In isolation ta= simply means ‘not’ and is equivalent to the default negator taena (see below), and thus most clauses with taena could be recast with ta= instead, eg. (6) and (7):

(6) taena kuássemì
   tena ku= asseng =mo =i
   NEG 1= know =PFV =3
   I don’t know it anymore, I forgot it

(7) takuasséngami
   ta= ku= asseng -a =mo =i
   NEG= 1= know -SBJV =PRF =3
   I don’t know it anymore, I forgot it

In practice, clauses such as (7) are quite marked in the modern language. This may be partly because the presence of ta= on a verb usually requires the addition of subjunctive -a to the verb before any enclitics, and the subjunctive itself is somewhat archaic. In the modern language ta= is most often found in combination with the free negators in double negative constructions such as (8) below. These do not require subjunctive -a.

(8) baju keboka taena tanamangéi
   baju kebo’ ≡ a taena ta= na= mange –i
   shirt white ≡ DEF NEG NEG= 3= go –APPL
   the white shirt goes with everything (lit: the white shirt, there’s no it not going with)
everyone says it (lit: there’s no longer anyone who doesn’t say it)

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

(10) **anne Karaenga. tanipujiyai. malambusu’. tanipujiyai. panrita.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tena=mo tau ta= aN– pau =i</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NEG =PFV person NEG= AF– story =3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This Karaeng was not praised for being just, was not praised for being learned. (KIT:3.07)

(11) **ka le’ba’ naadóimi manna silawara ruku tania’ apa nakana anunna**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ka le’ba’ na= ado –i =mo =i manna si– lawar =a’ ruku</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>because already 3= agree –APPL =PFV =3 even one– blade =EC grass</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

because he (Sultan Hasanuddin) already agreed that he has no claim to even one blade of grass (of Buton): lit. there does not exist anything (about which) he says (that is) his thing

There is an additional usage found only in the chronicles, in which the combination of the preposition ri and ta= prefixed to a verb functions as a kind of irrealis marker, with the meaning ‘before the time of VERB’, literally ‘at (the time when) not’:

(12) **Areng pakaraengang ri tama’gaukang nikana Karaeng Passi’**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>areng pa&gt; karaeng &lt;ang ri ta= maC– gau' –ang ni– kana karaeng Passi'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>name NR&gt; king &lt;NR PREP NEG= MV– action –NR PASS= word king Passi'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

His karaeng name before he became ruler (lit: at not ruling) was Karaeng Passi’ (Maros:056).

2.2 **Future la=**

This is typically attached to a verb stem before all other preposed elements, including the proclitic pronouns. In most cases la= is a marker of future tense, in which the time can be left open or specified, ranging from the imminent to the remote or potential.

(13) **la'lapa’**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>la= lampa =a’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FUT= go =1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I’ll go, I’m going (time unspecified)
(14) *tanaasseng lanajappáia*

\[ tana = \text{na} = \text{asseng} \quad la = \text{na} = \text{jappa} \quad -i \equiv_a \]

\[ \text{NEG} = 3 = \text{know} \quad \text{FUT} = 3 = \text{walk} \quad \text{–APPL} \equiv \text{DEF} \]

he doesn't know where he's going (Or545.48)

(15) *lamangea' ri pasaraka ammuko*

\[ la = \text{mange} =a' \quad ri \quad pasar =a' \equiv_a \text{ammuko} \]

\[ \text{FUT} = \text{go} =1 \quad \text{PREP} \quad \text{market} = \text{EC} \equiv \text{DEF} \quad \text{tomorrow} \]

I'll go to the market tomorrow

The meaning of the above sentence can also be expressed with a verb derived from *pasar* 'market':

(16) *lappasaraka' ammuko*

\[ la = aC– \quad pasar =a' =a' \equiv_a \text{ammuko} \]

\[ \text{FUT} = \text{MV} = \text{market} = \text{EC} = 1 \quad \text{tomorrow} \]

La= is also often found on wh-words such as *apa* 'what?' and *kere* 'where?'. (17) is the most common greeting formula, although it is usually shortened to *lakeko mae*.

(17) *lakereko mae*

\[ la = \text{kere} =ko \quad mae \]

\[ \text{FUT} = \text{where} =2f \quad \text{be} \]

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

(18) *lakuapako*

\[ la = \text{ku} = \text{apa} =ko \]

\[ \text{FUT} = 1 = \text{what} =2f \]

what will I do with you?

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

(19) *lakusaremako pa'arengang*

\[ la = \text{ku} = \text{sare} =\text{mo} = \text{ko} \quad pa > aC– \quad \text{areng} < \text{ang} \]

\[ \text{FUT} = 1 = \text{give} = \text{PFV} =2f \quad \text{NR} > \text{MV} = \text{name} = \text{NR} \]

I will give you a naming (right now) (PT:033)

(20) *tena kuntama ri ballatta ri bangngia ka latinromaki' kucini'*

\[ tena \quad ku = \text{aN}– \quad tama \quad ri \quad balla' = \equiv ta \quad ri \quad bangngi = \equiv a \]

\[ \text{NEG} = 1 = \text{AF}– \quad \text{enter} \quad \text{PREP} \quad \text{house} = 2p, \text{POSS} \quad \text{PREP} \quad \text{night} = \text{DEF} \]

\[ ka \quad la = \text{tinro} = \text{mo} = \text{ki'} \quad ku = \text{cini'} \]

BECAUSE \quad \text{FUT} = \text{sleep} = \text{PFV} = 2p \quad 1 = \text{see} \]

I didn’t come in to your house yesterday evening, because I saw that you were about to go to sleep (C:257)

La= is not found in the mid-C18 manuscript KIT 668-216. Matthes noted it in his grammar (Matthes 1858:116) — his examples fit quite well with its current usage, but he associates it with the particle *ala*, which is a marker of deontic modality and unlike *la=* requires the subjunctive suffix on the predicate. It may be that there is a historical connection, but there is no deontic content to *la=* in the modern language.
2.3 Perfective =\(mo\)

This clitic (which is irregular in that its vowel is /o/ rather than /a/ when unaffected by a following enclitic pronoun) has a wide range of functions, the main one of which is to mark completion of an action or event, or attainment of a state. In this way it is the most frequent marker of past tense, but is also used for fine aspectual distinctions, as well as some more obviously discourse/mood related functions such as forming imperatives and expressing certainty. The following examples illustrate the core meaning of completion or attainment.

(21) \(ang\)\(ngan\)\(rema\)'
\(aN(N)–\) kanre =\(mo\) =\(a\)'  
BV– eat =PFV =1
I’ve already eaten

(22) \(pir\)\(ambul\)\(ammi\) battanta? \(si\)\(bul\)\(amma\)' taccini' cera'
\(pir\)\(aN\)– bulang =\(mo\) =i battang \(=\)\(ta\)  
how many month =PFV =3 belly \(=\)\(2p\).\(POSS\)
\(s\)i– bulang =\(mo\) =\(a\)' \(ta\)= \(ac\)– cini' cera'
one– month =PFV =1 \(NEG\) =MV– see blood
How many months have you been pregnant? (lit: how many months your belly?) It’s already a month since I saw any blood (C:840)

In addition, =\(mo\) can have a deontic component and is commonly used in imperatives. This could be viewed as projecting the speaker’s certainty that an action will be performed.

(23) tunrummi
\(tun\)\(rung\) =\(mo\) =i
hit =PFV =3
go and hit him (C:459)

(24) ammempomaki'
\(amm\)– empo =\(mo\) =\(ki\)'  
MV– sit =PFV =\(2p\)
please sit yourself down (C:459)

On questions, =\(mo\) is used when an explicit or certain answer is required. Compare the following:

(25) kerei mae pammantangannu
\(kere\) =i mae pa> \(amm\)– antang \(<\)\(ang\) \(\equiv\)\(nu\)  
where =3 be \(NR\) MV– live \(<\)\(NR\) \(\equiv\)\(2F\).\(POSS\)
where is your home? (C:459)

(26) keremi mae pammantangannu
\(kere\) =\(mo\) =i mae pa> \(amm\)– antang \(<\)\(ang\) \(\equiv\)\(nu\)  
where =PFV =3 be \(NR\) MV– live \(<\)\(NR\) \(\equiv\)\(2F\).\(POSS\)
where exactly is your home? (C:459)

The combination of \(ta\)= and =\(mo\) means ‘already not …’, and requires the predicate to be marked with subjunctive -\(a\).

(27) takuassengami
\(ta\)= ku asseng \(-\)\(a\) =\(mo\) =i  
\(NEG\)= 1= know –SBJV =PFV =3
I don’t know it anymore, I already forgot it
When =mo is attached to the negator taena or tena the result is a word meaning ‘no more’ which has scope over the following clause.

(28) tenamo nakkulle accini’
   tena =mo na= aC-- kulle aC-- cini’
   NEG =PFV 3= MV-- can MV-- see
   he can’t see any more

If the clause contains no other elements capable of hosting a fronted clitic pronoun, tenamo may host an enclitic pronoun. In the following example the clause consists solely of a prepositional phrase which cannot host a proclitic.

(29) taenami ri barugaya
   taena =mo =i ri baruga ≡a
   neg =PFV 3= PREP baruga ≡DEF
   he isn’t in the baruga (hall) any more

The combination of tinang ‘never’ and =mo means ‘never again’. (Tinang also requires subjunctive -a).

(30) tinang niákkamo nasikatinrong karaeng–bainea
   tinang nia’ --a =mo na= si-- ka> tinang <ang karaeng baine ≡a
   never EXIST --SBJV =PFV 3= one-- NR> sleep <NR king woman ≡DEF
   it never happened again that he slept with the queen (lit: there was never again him one- bedding the queen) (C:459)

2.4 Imperfective =pa

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

(31) ingka se'repi kuboya
   ingka se're =pa =i ku= boya
   but one =IPF 3= search
   but there's still one thing I seek (SKT:0001:007)

(32) mmantampi tallu
   amm-- antang =pa =i tallu
   MV-- stay =IPF 3= three
   there’s still three left

   Note that remainder (with the emphasis on scarcity, ‘only X left’) may also be expressed with the adverbial particle mamo .

   The combination of =pa with a negator means ‘not yet’:

(33) tenapa kutianang
   tena =pa ku= tianang
   NEG =IPF 1= pregnant
   I’m not yet pregnant (bembe009)

(34) takuassengapi
   ta = ku= asseng --a =pa =i
   NEG 1= know --SBJV =IPF 3
   I don’t know it yet (cf. (27))
2.5 **Limitative** =*ja*

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

(35) *la'lampaja’*

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

I’m just going to go

(36) **mannaantu lompo, lompo bannanji**

manna antu lompo lompo bannang =ja =i
although MED big big thread =LIM =3
even if that’s thick, it’s only a thick thread (ie. it may be big, but it’s only big for a small thing)

(37) **manna le'leng ka i katte angkana buleng, bulenji**

manna le'leng ka i katte aN– kana buleng buleng =ja =i
although black because PERS you AF– word white white =LIM =3
although black, since you say ‘white’, it's nothing but white

2.6 **‘Either/or’** =*ka*

This clitic groups with the aspectual/modal enclitics largely because it fits into the same morphosyntactic slot (between the stem and the pronominal enclitic), and because it is neither counted for stress has a stress contour of its own (unlike the otherwise similar hortative particle =*sà*). However its function is somewhat removed from the other members of the group and it has a significant formal difference in that its vowel is not subject to replacement by a pronominal enclitic’s vowel, thus =*ka* =*i* → *kai (*ki*).

Cense describes it has having a ‘questioning’ (vragende) meaning, as did one of my informants who compared it to the Japanese question particle (which is also coincidentally =*ka*). However the fact that the vast majority of questions are not marked with =*ka* makes this explanation somewhat dubious. There seem to be two major functions: one is as a means of seeking confirmation or clarification similar to question tags in English:

(38) *lanaungkako?*

la= naung =ka =ko
FUT= descend =or =2f

will you really go down? (C:257)

The other major function of =*ka*, although less common in spoken Makassarese than the ‘questioning’ function, could perhaps be considered more primary. In this, =*ka* marks options or possibilities in an either/or construction, with each of the alternatives marked with =*ka*. Cense gives the partial example *tedongka jarangka* <buffalo=or horse=or> ‘either buffalo or horses’ (C:257) but a larger example comes from the preamble to the Gowa Chronicle (Wolhoff and Abdurrahim 1959:9):

(39) *Ka punna taniassenga ruai kodina kisa'ringkai kalenta karaeng–dudu na kanaka tau ipantaraka tau bawang–dudu.*

ka punna ta= ni– asseng =a rua =i kodi =na ki= sa’ring =ka =i
BCS if NEG= PASS– know =DEF two =3 bad =3.POSS 2p= feel =or =3

2 Most Makassarese people do not speak Japanese, however this person is a guide for Japanese tourists.
Because if it is not known, there are two dangers: either we will feel ourselves to be kings too, or outsiders will call us common people.

In view of the latter function, it is tempting to compare the use of \(=\text{ka}\) on a single predicate to the use of leading \(\text{or}\) in English, as in \(\text{Do you want to come, or}\...\text{...}\). Note though that ‘\text{or}’ in Makassarese is in most cases the lexicalised construction \(\text{iareka} < \text{iare} = \text{ka} | \text{3PRO perhaps} = \text{Q}\).

3 TAM clitics in Makassar Indonesian

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

(40) \(\text{Bikin apami itu anak2?}\)
What did those kids do?

(41) \(\text{Pergi ke Lombok? Ke Bali ja.}\)^4
(\text{Did you}) go to Lombok? Just to Bali.

(42) \(\text{Mauna pulang}\)
I already want to go home

(43) \(\text{Kerja dimana? Di Butonkoka}\)
Where (do you work)? You in Buton?

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

Abbreviations of sources for example sentences

The following is a list of abbreviations for the most commonly used sources of example sentences. Those left unspecified are generally from my fieldnotes.

C:pp Makassaars-Nederlands Woordenboek (Cense & Abdoerrahim 1979)
KIT:ref ms 668–216, Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen (see Appendix A)
SKT:ref \textit{Sinfra’na Kappal’ Tallumbatua} (Aburaerah Arief and Zainuddin Hakim 1993)
bembe:ref Folktale \textit{Caritana Karaeng Ammanaka Bembe}, KITLV Or545.55f

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

4 The glottal stop in \(=\text{a}’\) is rarely written.
References


