Proto Celebic focus revisited

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1 Introduction[1]

The title of this paper is aptly appended with the word 'revisited', because throughout the following discussion I am indebted to René van den Berg and his pioneering investigation of focus in languages of central and south-eastern Sulawesi. In his paper, 'The demise of focus and the spread of conjugated verbs in Sulawesi' (originally presented 1991, published 1996) van den Berg both set forth arguments for recognising a Celebic macrogroup — comprising the Kaili-Pamona, Bungku-Tolaki and (the then) Muna-Buton language families — and within that framework discussed the nature of the Proto Celebic focus system and, by way of illustration, its development in seven daughter languages. As the title of his paper indicates, conjugated verbs — verbs with agent prefixes historically related to possessive enclitics — played a crucial role. They originally appeared as irrealis counterparts to realis goal focus verbs with **‹in›*, and later spread to other (non-goal focus) verb forms.

The results of my own investigations, however, which have primarily been in the Bungku-Tolaki languages of southeastern Sulawesi, have led me to question some of van den Berg's conclusions. There is, for example, little doubt in my mind that his Proto Celebic focus system accurately represents the source from which Kaili-Pamona languages sprang. However the basis of languages further to the south-east — namely Bungku-Tolaki and Muna-Buton — is significantly different. Not only have these languages preserved a living distinction between Proto Malayo-Polynesian **maN-* and **‹um›*, but the role of conjugated verbs within the system of verb inflection is so disparate when compared to Kaili-Pamona — conjugated verbs are anything **but** goal focus forms in these languages — that one must question: what innovations exactly do all these languages share that they should be subgrouped together?

[1] My thanks go foremost to René van den Berg, without whose inspiration and feedback this paper would have been a much more formidable task. I am also indebted to Nikolaus Himmelmann for his comments on an earlier draft of this paper, as well as to Michael Martens for his participation in a running conversation concerning both the Uma language as well as Kaili-Pamona languages in general. My data on Tolaki was collected in 1989 under sponsorship of the then UNHAS-SIL Cooperative Program. Sponsorship by the Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI) in 1996 and a grant from Rice University allowed me to collect the Kulisusu data presented herein.

Fay Wouk and Malcolm Ross, eds, *The history and typology of western Austronesian voice systems*, 143-177.
Canberra: Pacific Linguistics, 2002.

I begin first by noting in §2 certain revisions to the notion of 'Celebic' which have resulted from improved understanding of sound change in this part of Sulawesi. In §3 I present my view of Proto Kaili-Pamona verbal inflection (only slightly modified from the Proto Celebic system of van den Berg 1996) and briefly outline its development in three daughter languages. In §4 I do the same for Proto Bungku-Tolaki, again tracing developments into three present-day languages. With an understanding of both protosystems in hand, in §5 I bring their differences to the fore. Although both may be derived from a system like Proto Malayo-Polynesian (PMP), the place of innovated conjugated verbs within the respective systems is very different. Implications and directions for further research are discussed in §6.

2 Changes to the notion 'Celebic' as a genetic group

When van den Berg first presented his article, he included under Celebic two established microgroups, Kaili-Pamona and Bungku-Tolaki, and one putative group, Muna-Buton. The most important revision since that time was made by Donohue (in press), who deduced from patterns of historical sound change that Wotu, Wolio and three other languages of the previously assumed Muna-Buton group constitute their own subgroup. Furthermore this deconstruction allows a close relationship to be recognised between the remaining languages Muna, Pancana, etc. (that is, the reformulated 'Muna-Buton' family, this term to be used henceforth only in this sense) and the Bungku-Tolaki languages. Both groups share in the lowering of PMP final **-iq* > **e* (with **u* unaffected by a following **-q*); the raising of pretonic **a* > **o*; the unconditioned split of **s* > **s*, **h*; and the subsequent merger of **Z* and remaining **s* > **s* (van den Berg 1991b; Mead 1998). Of the four language groups under consideration, namely Kaili-Pamona, Wotu-Wolio, Bungku-Tolaki and Muna-Buton,[2] this constitutes at present the only incontrovertible subgrouping argument among them. In the same article mentioned above, Donohue also suggested (in a footnote) that it may be possible to relate Wotu-Wolio and Kaili-Pamona by virtue of the sporadic change of PMP **e* > **a*. Some examples which I have gleaned include: Uma *mo'eta*, Pamona *maeta*, Wotu, Kamaru, Wolio *maeta* 'black' < PMP **qitem*; Ledo, Da'a, Pamona, Wolio *-aka* 'causative suffix' < **-ake(n)*, Uma *taja*, Pamona *mataja* 'sharp', Wolio *tadami* 'sharpen to a point' < PMP **taZem*. However, as there are notable exceptions (e.g. Ledo, Da'a, Pamona *aono*, Uma *ono*, Badaic *ini*, Wotu, Laiyolo, Wolio, Kamaru *ana* 'six' < PMP **enem*), this phenomenon requires further study.

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2 Comprising the following languages:

Kaili-Pamona: *Northern*: Kaili (including Da'a, Ledo, Kulawi, Lindu), Pamona; *Southern*: Uma, Rampi, Badaic (Napu, Bada, Besoa) (Martens 1989b)

Wotu-Wolio: Wotu, Laiyolo, Kalao, Wolio, Kamaru (Donohue forthcoming)

Bungku-Tolaki: *Eastern*: Moronene, East Coast (Kulisusu, Koroni, Taloki, Wawonii, Bungku, Bahonsuai, Mori Bawah); *Western*: Interior (Mori Atas, Tomadino, Padoe); West Coast (Tolaki, Waru, Rahambuu, Kodeoha) (Mead 1998)

Muna-Buton: *Munan*: Busoa, Munic (Muna, Pancana, Liabuka, Kaimbulawa); *Buton*: West Buton (Cia-Cia, Masiri, Island Cia-Cia), East Buton (Lasalimu, Kumbewaha) (Donohue in press)

No subgrouping hypothesis within Wotu-Wolio has yet been advanced. Martens (1997, pers. comm.) has suggested to me that the Badaic languages (Napu, Bada and Besoa) may perhaps be better regarded as a sister group of Kaili-Pamona rather than being subsumed thereunder.

At the same time the case for Celebic as a genetic subgroup (see van den Berg 1996:94 for a list of subgrouping arguments) has been weakened. In particular, we now know that Proto Bungku-Tolaki retained **R* in medial and final position, as well as reflexes of almost all PMP consonants in final position (Mead 1996). Therefore **R* > *Ø* and final consonant loss can no longer be cited as instances of shared innovations. By my reckoning this leaves three possible sound changes by which Celebic may yet be established: (a) the merger of PMP **-ay* and **-ey* as **e*; (b) the monophthongisation of PMP **-aw* as **o*; and (c) as Donohue has suggested, PMP **d* > **r*. However, as these changes are found with some frequency in other parts of Austronesia — these three changes also characterise Oceanic languages, for instance — they constitute a weak subgrouping argument.

3 Kaili-Pamona

The following is the focus system which is reconstructible for Proto Kaili-Pamona (PKP). It is in essence the same system which van den Berg proposed for his Proto Celebic, with one notable revision. Where he proposed three classes of verbs depending on which of three prefixes, **ma-*, **me-* and **mo-*, a verb was marked with — sometimes accompanied by prenasalisation, and possibly correlating with transitivity — I have found it imperative to extract out of this the prefix **maN-* (abstractly **‹um› + *paN-)* which was definitely accompanied by prenasalisation, and definitely 'transitive'.[3] As this is the sole transitive prefix — other prefixes being intransitive or stative — van den Berg's failure to make this recognition must be regarded as his only oversight in an otherwise effective presentation of KP languages. I leave open the question of how many intransitive prefixes need to be reconstructed. The verbal inflection system of PKP is given in Chart 1.

	Realis	Irrealis
Stative and intransitive	**na*-V **ne*-V **no*-V etc.	**ma*-V **me*-V **mo*-V etc.
Transitive actor focus	**naN*-V	**maN*-V
Transitive goal focus	**ni*-V	Set A + **V

Chart 1: Proto Kaili-Pamona verbal inflection

3 Comparative evidence suggests that in Proto Kaili-Pamona the nasal coda was realised as /ŋ/ before vowel initial stems, and as prenasalisation of a following **p*, **t*, **k* or **s* (preceding other consonants it was realised as zero or possibly as /ŋ/ followed by an epenthetic vowel /a/). In regard to the transitive nature of this form, compare Barr's treatement of the Da'a prefixes *naN-/neN-/noN-* — "the forms with *N*, nasal, add the component of explicit transitivity, indicating the presence of an object" (1988a:19) — and Adriani's discussion of the Pamona transitive prefix *ma*-I (1931:172ff.).

This system distinguished two moods, realis and irrealis, and two foci, actor focus and goal focus. An account of verb forms must also be paired with a description of pronoun sets, of which I reconstruct the following for Proto Kaili-Pamona:[4]

Table 1: Proto Kaili-Pamona pronoun sets

	Set A	Set P	Set F
1SG	**ku-*	**-ku*	**i-aku*
2SG	**mu-*	**-mu*	**i-ko*
3SG	**na-*	**-nya*	**si-ia*
1PL.INC	**ta-*	**-ta*	**i-kita*
1PL.EXC	**ki-*	**-mami/-kami*	**i-kami*
2PL	**mi-*	**-miu*	**i-komiu*
3PL	**ra-*	**-ra*	**si-ira*

Set A clitic pronouns marked the agent of irrealis goal focus verbs, and were obligatory. Set P pronouns, in addition to their usual function of indicating the possessor in possession phrases, were also used to mark the agent of a realis goal focus verb. In other words, both Set A and Set P can be regarded as non-topic pronouns. Set F pronouns were used in other contexts, i.e. they were topic pronouns, used to mark focussed patients, focussed agents, and the subject of intransitive verbs.[5] Set F pronouns were free forms which had alternate short forms (that is, without the **i-/si-* formative) in postverbal position. In many places a split along these very lines has continued with the short, postverbal pronouns undergoing further stages of grammaticalisation (phonological attrition, obligitorification, etc.). However as some languages do not show evidence of such a split, we must assume that in Proto Kaili-Pamona the stage was set for grammaticalisation, but where it has occurred it has been a post–PKP process.

This reconstruction requires little explanation, and is in fact very similar to the system found presently in Kulawi (van den Berg 1996:99–101; Wolff 1996:28–29). Set P pronouns were used with goal focus realis forms because **ni-* forms arose from what were originally nominalisations (see among others Pawley & Reid 1980; Starosta, Pawley & Reid 1982; Ross 1995). The development of Set A pronouns — from the fronting of Set P pronouns in goal-focus contexts — has been discussed elsewhere, particularly by Wolff (1996), and although confirmatory evidence has yet to be adduced for each step, there is nothing in these languages themselves to suggest Wolff's hypothesis is incorrect.

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4 The labels Set A, Set P and Set F follow van den Berg (1996), who proposed these labels as a means of discussing form separately from function. These letters, of course, were not chosen randomly; the letter A can be thought of as mnemonic for 'agent', the letter P for 'possessive', and the letter F for 'free'. In the subsections devoted to individual present-day languages, however, I depart from van den Berg's convention, and employ instead the labels presented and used by the authors who have written about these languages.

5 In this paper I do not make a distinction between 'topic' and 'focus(ed constituent)'. Unlike in Philippine languages, in general Kaili-Pamona languages do not allow locatives, instruments, etc. to be focussed. Subjects of intransitive verbs could also be regarded as topics, albeit by default, as they are the only focusable constituent.

Certain developments which have occurred in the post-PKP period are illustrated briefly here with data from three present-day languages: Da'a, Uma, and Pamona (see also van den Berg 1996).

3.1 Da'a

Da'a is one of seven closely related languages or dialects collectively known as Kaili, spoken in the area of the Palu River in western Central Sulawesi. Pronoun sets in Da'a are, following Barr (1988a:39):

Table 2: Da'a pronoun sets

	Non-focussed actor proclitics	Possessive (= Non-focussed actor enclitics)	Focussed phrase
1SG	*ku-*	*-ku*	*aku*
2SG	*mu-*	*-mu*	*iko*
3SG	—	*-na*	*i'a*
1PL.INC	—	*-ta*	*kita*
1PL.EXC	—	*-kami*	*kami*
2PL	—	*-mu*	*komi*
3PL	(*ra-*)	*ira*	*ira*

A primary difference between PKP and Da'a is that the latter no longer continues a full set of actor proclitics (Set A), a development which is coupled with the evolution of the third person plural pronoun **ra-* first into an indefinite actor marker and thence into a generalised marker of goal focus irrealis (van den Berg 1996; Wolff 1996). For example, although Barr adopts the glossing convention as shown in (1):

(1) *Duria etu kana ra-pakanawu.*
durian that must GF/IRR-drop
'That durian must be dropped.' (Barr 1988a:24)

it is clear from a diachronic perspective that *ra-* continues the older pronoun and therefore a sentence like this must have earlier meant 'they (goal focus) must drop that durian', 'that durian must be dropped by them/by someone'. However other sentences with overt realisation of the non-topic agent as in (2) and (3) make it clear that *ra-* has lost its connection with third person plural:

(2) *Pade ra-ala-***ta** *kulimba nu bando...*
then GF/IRR-get-**1PL.INC** hide of dwarf.buffalo
'Then we get (GF/IRR) the hide of a dwarf buffalo...' (Barr 1988b:101)

(3) *Da'a ma-mala ra-raga* **nu asu**.
NEG INTR/IRR-able GF/IRR-chase **by dog**
'(He) couldn't be chased by the dog.' (Barr & Barr 1988:149)

As further evidence that *ra-* continues the older pronoun, in the present language *ku-* '1SG' and *mu-* '2SG' are still found in paradigmatic relationship with it. However, constructions such as in (4) are now used only in highly intimate conversation:

DAA[6]

(4) *Da'a ma-mala aku* **mu**-*raga.*
NEG IRR-able 1SG **2SG**-chase
'You can't chase ME!' (Barr 1988a:40)

Da'a has otherwise maintained the PKP focus system intact, as illustrated in brief with examples (5) through (10). Where they occur, Da'a free pronouns may only reference a focussed constituent, i.e. subject of intransitive as in example (6), agent of transitive actor focus as in (8), or patient of transitive goal focus as in (10).

DAA

(5) *No-rongo-mo tau etu.* (INTR)
INTR/R-spouse-PERF person that
'That person is already married.' (Barr 1988a:20)

(6) *Na-lau-mo ira mpaka ri potomu.* (INTR)
INTR/R-go-PERF 3PL to — market
'They went to the market.' (Barr 1988a:19)

(7) *Nang-goni-mo ira ntali matu'a.* (AF)
AF/R-eat-PERF 3PL and in-laws
'They and their in-laws ate.' (Barr 1988a:92)

(8) *Kita mam-paresa tombi kalawata etu.* (AF)
1SG AF/IRR-inspect room paddy that
'We inspect the paddy.' (Barr 1988b:105)

(9) *...ni-sambale-na bo ni-tompo-na.* (GF)
GF/R-slaughter-3SG and GF/R-chop-3SG
'...he slaughtered (him) and chopped (him) up.' (Barr 1988b:85)

(10) *Ira ni-pakeni-ku mpaka ri Palu.* (GF)
3PL GF/R-take-1SG to — market
'They were taken by me to Palu.' (Barr 1988a:27)

3.2 Uma

Uma is spoken to the south of Kaili in the highlands of western Central Sulawesi in an area traversed by the Lariang River. The Uma language was studied by the linguist Esser in the first half of this century (Esser 1964), and more recently by Martens (1988a,b,c). Realis forms were lost in Uma. The Uma prefix *N-* is clearly a reduced form of PKP **maN-*. Although the optional *-po-* is synchronically analysable as a 'spacer' often used with *N-*, comparative evidence suggests that it arose from the overlay of **maN-* on top of intransitive morphology.[7] The verbal affixes of Uma are given in Chart 2.

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6 Examples are preceded by an abbreviation indicating their language: CIA Cia-Cia; DAA Da'a; KUL Kulisusu; MRA Mori Atas; MRB Mori Bawah; PAD Padoe; PAM Pamana; TOL tolaki; UMA Uma.

7 It appears that the *-po-* can be omitted only when the stem begins with a vowel (compare *m-po-'inca ~ ng-inca* 'know') or with *p*, *t*, *k* or *h* (e.g. *m-po-pali' ~ m-pali'* 'hunt'; *m-po-hilo ~ n-cilo* 'see'). According to

Intransitive	*ma*-V *me*-V *mo*-V etc.
Antipassive ---------- Transitive actor focus	*N-(po)*-V
Transitive goal focus	ACT PRN + V

Chart 2: Uma verbal inflection

The difference between antipassive and transitive actor focus verbs — both of which make use of the same inherited verbal morphology — is significant, and is elucidated below. Uma also has a set of clitic pronouns which developed from — and is now distinct from — the original free pronouns. Pronoun sets here are from the Kantewu dialect (Martens 1988c: 169).

Table 3: Uma pronoun sets

	Non-topic actor	Possessive	Clitic	Independent
1SG	*ku-*	*-ku*	*-a*	*aku'*
2SG	*nu-*	*-nu*	*-ko*	*iko*
3SG	*na-*	*-na*	*-i*	*hi'a*
1PL.INC	*ta-*	*-ta*	*-ta*	*kita'*
1PL.EXC	*ki-*	*-kai*	*-kai*	*kai'*
2PL	*ni-*	*-ni*	*-koi*	*koi'*
3PL	*ra-*	*-ra*	*-ra*	*hira'*

Martens (1988b,c) has suggested that Uma be analysed as a morphologically ergative language, and indeed if clitic pronouns had continued in their original uses, we would expect Uma to have emerged with straight ergative marking, namely:

(a) agents of transitives marked with non-topic actor (ergative) pronouns;

(b) patients of transitives and subjects of intransitives marked with clitic (absolutive) pronouns;

(c) agents of *N-(po)-* (formerly actor focus) verbs marked with clitic (absolutive) pronouns (= antipassive construction).

These patterns **are** found; compare examples (11) through (13).

Martens, a form such as *m-po-weba'* 'hit' 'cannot be shortened to **N-weba'*, since consonant clusters are impossible in Uma. It is possible that this particular *po-* prefix developed in Uma as a 'spacer' to separate the *N-* from the verb root and thus avoid consonant clusters' (1988c:173). Although this does seem in many respects to be its synchronic function, comparative data suggests that *-po-* was originally an 'embedded' intransitive prefix. For example, in Pamona the verb *mepali* is an intransitive form meaning 'seek'. There is also a corresponding transitive form which has been derived from it, namely *mam-pe-pali* (Adriani 1928:s.v.). It is prefixes such as this embedded *-pe-* which then become reinterpretable as 'transitivising' prefixes, or, if one will, 'spacers' used with transitive verbs. If this view is correct, then not only has this reinterpretation taken place in Uma, but the use of *-po-* has been greatly extended.

UMA

(11) *Mo-dungka*-**ko**. (INTR)
INTR-fall.down-**2SG**
'You fall down.' (Martens 1988a:240)

(12) **Ku**-*weba'*-**ko**. (TRANS GF)
1SG-hit-**2SG**
'I hit you.' (Martens 1988c:174)

(13) *Ng-ala'*-**ko** *kiu*. (ANTIPASS)
N-take-**2SG** corpse
'You took a corpse.' (Martens 1988c:210)

Clitic pronouns, however, have an additional use: they may also be employed with *N-(po)-* verbs to cross-reference the **patient**. Compare example (14) where the clitic pronoun *-i* '3SG' marks the agent — this is also true of the clitic pronoun *-ko* of example (13) immediately above — versus example (15) where it marks the patient:

UMA

(14) *M-po-hilo*-**i** *romeha ' sakea*. (ANTIPASS)
N-po-see-**3SG** two boat
'He saw two boats.' (Martens 1988c:177)

(15) *Tumai-a-ma* *m-po-pali'*-**i**. (TRANS AF)
come-1SG-PERF *N-po*-search-**3SG**
'I have come searching for him.' (Martens 1988c:173)

Although the **patient**-marking function of clitic pronouns following *N-(po)-* verbs is an innovation in Uma, it is now *N-(po)-* verbs with a clitic pronoun marking the **agent** which have a restricted distribution in discourse: 'In the story from which [example (14)] is taken, this clause is introducing the boats into the story. This is precisely the type of situation where antipassives usually occur in Uma, in the setting of a story to introduce some person or thing' (Martens 1988c:177). No such discourse restriction is found with *N-(po)-* verbs when the clitic refers to a patient, which Martens collectively labels transitive actor focus forms. Transitive actor focus forms are standard in relative clauses in which the agent is relativised, when the verb is preceded by an auxiliary or some other verb as in *come searching* of example (15), and in other contexts where 'the actor or the activity of the actor is the topic of the sentence or when the actor is being contrasted or highlighted' (Martens 1988c:173). Compare also examples (16) and (17) (note a clitic pronoun need not be present).

UMA

(16) *Aku' to* *m-po-weba'-ko*.
1SG REL *N-po*-hit-2SG
'I'm the one who hit you.' (Martens 1988c:174)

(17) *Hira' hante ana' boko' m-po-keni tujaa'*.
3PL and child behind *N-po*-carry seed
'They along with the children who came later CARRIED the seeds.'
(Martens 1988c:173)

3.3 Pamona

Pamona is a Kaili-Pamona language spoken in several dialects over a relatively large but thinly populated area in the heart of Sulawesi. It is also well known by the endonym Bare'e due in large measure to the writings of N. Adriani, whose posthumous dictionary (1928) and grammar (1931) are the sources of the following data. Pamona has three pronoun sets:

Table 4: Pamona pronoun sets

	Agent	Possessive	Free
1SG	*ku-*	*-ku*	*yaku*
2SG	*nu-*	*-mu*	*siko*
3SG	*na-*	*-nya*	*si'a*
1PL.INC	*ta-*	*-ta*	*kita*
1PL.EXC	*ka-*	*-mami*	*kami*
2PL	*ndi-*	*-mi*	*komi*
3PL	*na-/nda-*	*-a/-nya*	*si'a*

Adriani describes Pamona as distinguishing only intransitive and transitive verbs, the latter of which may either be conjugated (with agent prefix) or else a participle. The realis/irrealis distinction has been lost in standard Pamona, though according to Martens (1997, pers. comm.) it is still to be found in at least the Tojo dialect. I have given the verb forms in Chart 3, arranged to emphasise the continuity of Pamona with Proto Kaili-Pamona:

Stative and intransitive		*ma*-V *me*-V *mo*-V etc.
Transitive	participle	*maN*-V
	conjugated	AG PRN + V

Chart 3: Pamona verbal inflection

It should not be supposed that the former agent/goal focus distinction has totally collapsed in Pamona. It is still evident, for example, in relativisation: when the patient is relativised the verb of the relative clause must be a conjugated (former goal focus) form, but when the agent is relativised a *maN-* participle (former agent focus) is required. Compare respectively examples (18) and (19).

PAM

(18) *Nce'e-mo pau anu ku-pokono.*
this-PERF talk REL 1SG-desire
'Those are words which I gladly hear.' (Adriani 1931:357)

(19) *Bare'e re'e anu ma-incani.*
NEG exist REL TRANS-know
'There is no one who knows it.' (Adriani 1931:452)

However, in main clauses the distinction is blurred, especially in regard to the treatment of the patient. As shown in (20) and (21), both transitive participles and conjugated verbs may be followed by a free pronoun, which cross-references the patient.[8]

PAM

(20) *Da ku-tinti siko.*
FUT 1SG-hit 2SG
'I shall hit you.' (Adriani 1928:845)

(21) *Isema mam-pokau siko da ma-pone kayuku-ku?*
who TRANS-order 2SG FUT INTR-climb coconut-1SG
'Who told you to climb on my coconut tree?' (Adriani 1931:353)

Taken together, Da'a, Uma and Pamona thus illustrate a progression in the use of PKP free pronouns. In Da'a a *maN-* (irrealis *naN-*) verb can occur with a pronoun which refers only to the agent. In Uma cognate *N-(po)-* verbs can be followed by a clitic pronoun referring either to the agent or the patient, being an innovation in the latter function. In Pamona this progression has advanced to the point where a free pronoun following a *maN-* verb refers exclusively to the patient. As others have noted (Martens 1988b; Himmelmann 1996; van den Berg 1996), this is a progression which has led away from a typical 'focus' system.

Pamona transitive participles and conjugated verbs are treated alike in other ways, for example both may have zero realisation for a patient known from context, illustrated respectively in (22) and (23).

PAM

(22) *Imbe'i labu-ku? — Bare'e ku-kita.*
where blade-1SG NEG 1SG-see
'Where is my knife?' 'I haven't seen it.' (Adriani 1931:452)

(23) *Mawela karama-mu, bara asu ma-mama.*
wounded finger-1SG perhaps dog TRANS-bite
'Your finger is wounded, did a dog bite it?' (Adriani 1931:175)

And as seen in (24) and (25), both transitive participles and conjugated verbs may have an indefinite patient.

PAM

(24) *Wawu pai lagiwa na-asuki.*[9]
pig and deer 3SG-hunt
'He hunts pigs and deer.' (Adriani 1931:453)

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8 The agent, when emphasised, may be realised by a free pronoun **preceding** a transitive participle, i.e. *yaku mam-pokau* 'I sent him out' (transitive base *pokau* 'order, command') (Adriani 1931:458). Usually however the relativiser *anu* is used, in which case the sentence is more clearly a cleft. For example:

PAM *Kami anu mang-keni.*
1PL.EXC REL TRANS-carry
'We are the ones who brought it, we are the bringers.' (Adriani 1931:459)

9 This sentence is possibly a cleft, i.e. 'pigs and deer are what he hunts'.

(25) *Tau mang-keni ju'a, ju'a mang-keni tau.*
people TRANS-carry illness illness TRANS-carry people
'The people bring disease, and the disease carries away the people.'
(Adriani 1928:274)

It appears, therefore, that the choice of conjugated versus participle form is more dependent on the discourse status of the agent, but this needs to be confirmed by further study. Parallel to Da'a, the Pamona third plural pronoun *nda-* shows signs of developing into an indefinite agent marker. Compare (26); see further Adriani (1931:453–454) and van den Berg (1996:103).

PAM

(26) *Se'i baula nda-roro.*
this buffalo.meat 3PL-roast
'This is roasted buffalo meat.' (Adriani 1931:341)

Another feature of Pamona grammar is what Adriani called 'conjunctive' forms and van den Berg 'consecutive' forms, which are found for example following the conjunction *pai* 'and'. Unlike in main clauses where agent pronouns are restricted to transitive verbs, the agent markers which characterise conjunctive verbs occur not only with transitives but also with intransitive and stative stems, as in respectively (27) through (29) (in these examples the relevant form is the one which follows *pai* 'and').[10]

PAM

(27) *Na-wai-ka yaku kina'a pai ku-pang-koni.*
3SG-give-BEN 1SG rice and 1SG-TRANS-eat
'He gave me rice, therefore I ate.' (or: '...I had to eat.') (Adriani 1931:476)

(28) *Ku-pedasi nyara-ku pai na-po-lonco-mo.*
1SG-strike horse-1SG and 3SG-INTR-go.fast-PERF
'I struck my horse, so that he went trotting.' (Adriani 1931:476)

(29) *Ma-dago pang-koni-ta pai ta-ka-gasi se'i-se'i.*
STAT-good TRANS-eat-1PL.INC and 1PL.INC-STAT-fit at.present
'We ate well, and therefore we are now fit.' (lit: 'Our eating was good...')
(Adriani 1931:479)

Adriani supposed that conjunctive forms were a recent innovation, having as their provenance gerunds with transposed possessive suffix. He supported this hypothesis with three pieces of internal evidence: (a) the form of the conjunctive base is identical to that of the gerund (note in Pamona transitive gerunds are formed with *paN-*, intransitives with *po-*, *pe-*, etc. and statives with *ka-*; compare for example the gerund *pangkoni-ta* 'our eating' of example (29) above); (b) this furthermore accounts for why conjugated transitives, e.g. *ku-koni* 'I eat' are not found in conjunctive contexts (because there are no gerunds such as

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10 Contrary to the impression which examples (27) through (29) may give, it is also possible for the subject of both clauses to be the same. For example:

PAM *Kami ma-oro, setu pai ka-ka-dusu.*
1PL.EXC STAT-hungry that and 1PL.EXC-STAT-scrawny
'We hunger, because of that we are gaunt.' (Adriani 1931:478–479)

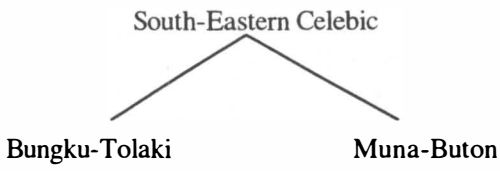
**koni-ku* 'my eating', etc. from which they could be derived); and (c) corresponding sentences with the gerund may in some cases still be formed, e.g. the sentence of (30) is possible but uncustomary.

PAM

(30) *Na-wai-ka yaku kina'a pai pang-koni-ku.*
3SG-give-BEN 1SG rice and TRANS-eat-1SG
'He gave me rice, and (there followed) an eating of mine, my eating of it.'
(Adriani 1931:476)

4 Proto Bungku-Tolaki

We now leave the Kaili-Pamona language family, and turn to languages of south-eastern Sulawesi. Most of the languages of this area belong to one basic stock, labelled here South-Eastern Celebic, which in turn comprises two subgroups:



Ideally Proto Muna-Buton should be compared to Proto South-Eastern Celebic (PSeCel). However, for practical reasons I have limited the comparison to the Bungku-Tolaki languages, for the reason that the reconstruction of Proto Bungku-Tolaki (PBT) is at a much further advanced stage. Fortunately for the purposes at hand Bungku-Tolaki languages have been conservative, therefore have transparently preserved many aspects of what must have been the PSeCel system. This is particularly true in regard to pronouns, where in most cases reconstructed PMP pronouns (Blust 1977 *inter alia*) are straightforwardly reflected in Bungku-Tolaki languages. Compare this to the situation in Muna-Buton where not only have agent proclitics tended to coalesce with following verbal prefixes, but also a number of person shifts have taken place (van den Berg 1991b:23–26). Hopefully, therefore, little has been lost in restricting our attention to Bungku-Tolaki languages.[11]

Chart 4 gives the system of verbal inflection which I reconstruct for Proto Bungku-Tolaki. There is no evidence to my knowledge to suggest that a realis/irrealis verbal distinction was maintained either in PBT or in its ancestor, PSeCel.

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11 On most points mentioned in this paper regarding Proto Bungku-Tolaki verbal inflection, parallel forms are found to such a degree in Muna that I foresee few problems in reconstructing Proto South-eastern Celebic, at least to the extent that verbal morphology is discussed herein. To be sure there are some differences — for example the prefix which marked a transitive verb as having an indefinite object is clearly reconstructible in Proto Bungku-Tolaki as **poN-*, but van den Berg (1991b) proposes **me-* for Proto Muna (based on an internal reconstruction), and in Cia-Cia the corresponding form appears to be *pi* (van den Berg 1991c) — but hopefully further investigation, particularly of lesser known Muna-Buton languages, will lead to satisfying resolutions on such issues.

	M-form	C-form
Stative	**mo*-V	Set A + **mo*-V
Intransitive	**me*-V **mo*-V etc.	Set A + **pe*-V Set A + **po*-V etc.
Transitive indefinite object	**moN*-V	Set A + **poN*-V
Transitive definite object	**‹um›*-V	Set A + *V + Set B
Passives	**‹in›*-V	

Chart 4: Proto Bungku-Tolaki verbal inflection

Note that the transitive and intransitive prefixes **moN*-, **me*-, **mo*-, etc. at a certain level of abstraction can all be analysed as the morpheme **‹um›* plus a *p*-initial prefix (that is, **moN*- is underlyingly **‹um›* + **poN*- etc.), and it is this **‹um›* which is absent in corresponding conjugated forms (from which derive the respective column labels, M-form and C-form, of Chart 4). The stative prefix **mo*- (from PMP **ma*-), however, had an invariant form whether or not preceded by a Set A pronoun. Passive verbs with **‹in›*, I will maintain, stood outside of this system especially in terms of pronominal inflection.

The difference between definite and indefinite object verb forms is most easily illustrated. Compare this pair of sentences from Tolaki:

TOL

(31)a. *...lako* **mo**-*lolaha* *o* *ambo.*
go **UM/TRI**-search ART goodness
'...go look for goodness'

b. *...lako l*[**um**]*olaha-'i* *ina-no* *i* *Dapi.*
go **UM**/search-3SG mother-3SG PN David
'...go look for David's mother' (Scott Youngman 1990, pers. comm.)

Both sentences contain verbs derived from the transitive base *lolaha* 'search'. The form *mololaha* in (31a) is a transitive **indefinite** (TRI) object form, and is required in this case because the patient, 'goodness', is a non-specific quantity. The form *lumolaha* in (31b) on the other hand is a transitive **definite** object form, and is required because here the patient, 'David's mother', is a specific, known referent. As is typical for BT languages, however, even when indefinite the patient NP appears without oblique marking. Regarding the particulars of how 'definite' and 'indefinite' are defined in Bungku-Tolaki languages, see further Mead (1999). Transitive indefinite object forms could also be termed 'antipassives' in that they indicate lowered referentiality/topicality of the patient. In Bungku-Tolaki languages they have the same case marking potential as do ordinary intransitives.

I reconstruct four pronoun sets for Proto Bungku-Tolaki, shown in Table 5.

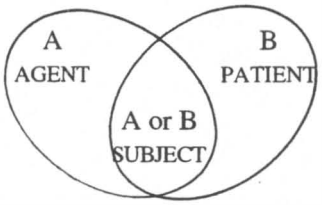
Table 5: Proto Bungku-Tolaki pronoun sets

	Set A	Set P	Set B	Set F
1SG	**ku*	**-(ng)ku*	**aku*	**i(n)aku*
2SG	**u*	**-mu, -u*	**ko*	**i(n)ko*
3SG	**i*	**-no*	**io*	**hia*
1PL.INC	**to*	**-(n)to*	**kita*	**i(n)kita*
1PL.EXC	**ki*	**-mami*	**kami*	**i(n)kami*
2PL	**mi*	**-miu*	**komiu*	**i(n)komiu*
3PL	**ro*	**-(n)do*	**ira*	**hi ira*

Set F pronouns were free pronouns, with a distribution similar to nouns.

Set A pronouns occurred in preverbal position and were clitics which either attached to the verb which followed (proclitic position) or to one of a certain number of particles preceding the verb (enclitic position). They were used to mark the subject/agent of intransitive and transitive verbs, and as already noted above were incompatible with the cooccurence of **‹um›*.

Set B pronouns occurred postverbally. In Proto Bungku-Tolaki, Set B pronouns were obligatory following transitive, definite object verbs in order to mark the patient, a situation which as far as I know has been maintained into all present-day daughter languages. Set B pronouns also occurred with other classes of verbs to mark the subject thereof. Together Set A and Set B pronouns constituted what could be regarded as a split-ergative system in main clauses (large capital letters indicate pronoun sets):



Set A pronouns occurred with intransitive verbs in a restricted environment — in Proto Bungku-Tolaki, primarily limited to consecutive clauses, conditional clauses, imperatives and following negative particles — while Set B pronouns can be regarded as the unmarked choice.

Set P pronouns were possessive pronouns which were also used on passive **‹in›* verbs to mark the demoted agent. However, it appears that by the time of Proto Bungku-Tolaki, main clause passives had become strictly agent-deleting, with pronominal marking for demoted agents being restricted to relative clauses and content interrogatives.

Let us consider now three present-day Bungku-Tolaki languages. Tolaki is the most useful for illustrating Proto Bungku-Tolaki, as it has closely retained the proposed original system. Padoe and Kulisusu exhibit more extensive modifications, but in different directions.

4.1 Tolaki

With an estimated 280,000 speakers spread across the southern portion of mainland south-eastern Sulawesi, Tolaki is by far the largest of all Bungku-Tolaki languages, but

comparatively little information has yet been published about it. The following data, representing the prestigious Konawe dialect, have been taken from my own field notes or, as indicated, from various Indonesian sources.

Tolaki has four pronoun sets which are relevant to the present discussion,[12] shown in Table 6.

Table 6: Tolaki pronoun sets

	Nominative	Possessive	Absolutive	Independent
1SG	*ku*	*-nggu*	*-aku*	*inaku*
2SG	*u*	*-mu*	*-ko*	*inggo'o*
3SG	*no*	*-no*	*-'i, (-o, -e)*	*ie'i, iee*
1PL.INC	*to*	*-ndo*	*-keito*	*inggito*
1PLEXC	*ki*	*-mami*	*-komami*	*inggami*
2PL	*i*	*-miu*	*-komiu*	*inggomiu*
3PL	*ro*	*-ro*	*-'iro*	*ihiro*

The split-ergative system described for the protolanguage has been fairly transparently maintained. I begin with illustrations of transitive, definite object verbs; as can be seen in the clauses of examples (32) through (34), a nominative (Set A) pronoun preceding the verb is used to mark the agent, while an absolutive (Set B) pronoun following the verb marks the patient.

TOL

(32) **Ku-***wutiwuti***-ko.**
1SG-deceive-**2SG**
'I deceived you.'

(33) *...a-***ro** *tiro-***'i** *i Oheo laa*
and-**3PL** look.down.on-**3SG** PN Oheo be

me-reu-rehu ine nohu.
UM/INTR-REDP-sit at rice.mortar
'...and they spied Oheo below sitting by the rice mortar.'

(34) **No-***wiso***-iro** *o wula ana-ako-no i aa m-botingu.*
3SG-enter-**3PL** ART moon child-all-3SG at inside LKR-basket.cage
'The moon put all her children into a basket cage.'

Subjects, on the other hand, can be marked by either set. Nominative marking for subjects is in fact required in imperative contexts,[13] after negatives, and following the concessive

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12 Not illustrated is a fifth set of 'dative' or 'indirect object' pronouns which arose historically from the fusion of the PBT insturmental/benefactive marker ******ako* with a following Set B pronoun; see further Mead (1998:208ff.).

13 In cases where a second person singular addressee is understood from context, the imperative verb may appear without any agreement marker. For example:

TOL *Lako-to pong-kaa, Oheo.*
go-PERF TRI-eat Oheo
'Go eat, Oheo.'

marker *ke* 'if' or the sequential marker *a* 'and, so that' (although belonging with the verb, the nominative pronoun occurs in enclitic position with respect to these particles). Compare examples (35) through (38).

TOL

(35) **I**-*pe-wiso-to* *ona* *i* *une* *baki-landaka!*
2PL-INTR-enter-PERF EMPH at inside sago.filter.basket
'You two get in the sago filter basket!'

(36) *Ku-karu-karu-'i-kee* *woroko-no,*
1SG-REDP-scratch-3SG-BEN:3SG throat-3SG

kioki **no**-*po-lua* *ringgi* *wulaa.*
NEG **3SG**-TRI-expel coin gold
'I scratched its throat for it, (but) it never coughed up a gold coin.'

(37) *Ke*-**ku** *po-wohiki* *o* *ta'i...*
if-**1SG** TRI-clean ART faeces
'If I clean up excrement...'

(38) *...a*-**ro** *lako.*
so.that-**3PL** go
'...so that they go.' (Muthalib, Alimuddin, Pattiasina, et al. 1985:21)

Nominative subject agreement also occurs in a few other contexts, such as scene-setting at the beginning of narratives, in certain kinds of complement clauses, and in clauses which are specifically marked as durative (Mead 1998:322–324). However, as examples (39) through (42) illustrate, subjects can also be marked using absolutive pronouns.

TOL

(39) *Tangga*-**ko**-*to* *wodo,* *wonggi,* *n[um]unu-o* *elo-mu...*
endure-**2SG**-PERF truly snail UM/pull-3SG tongue-2SG
'You must really endure a lot, Snail, pulling your tongue...'

(40) *Me-rapu*-**aku**-*to.*
UM/INTR-marry-1SG-PERF
'I am already married.'

(41) *Mom-behawe-*'**i** *akala.*
UM/TRI-think-3SG tactic
'He was thinking of a plan.'

(42) *Ari*-**iro**-*to* *mong-gaa.*
finish-**3PL**-PERF UM/TRI-eat
'They've already eaten.'

In a significant move away from a strict split-ergative system, however, Tolaki has developed yet a **third** way to mark subjects in main clauses, namely with possessive pronouns, illustrated here in examples (43) through (45).

TOL

(43) *Lako*-**nggu**-*to* *mo-lasu* *lako* *i* *Kolaka* *me-wuta.*
go-**1SG**-PERF UM/INTR-flee go to Kolaka UM/INTR-land
'Then I fled to Kolaka on foot.'

(44) *Laulau-***ro**-*to* *m-be-luuwako.*
do.immediately-**3PL**-PERF PL.SUB-INTR-take.off
'Immediately they flew off.'

(45) *Sabutu-no hae nggo r[um]ako-'i,*
exact-3SG in.addition FUT UM/catch-3SG

*pe-dapasako-***no**-*to tudu tumoko i mumu inea.*
INTR-glide-**3SG**-PERF arrive perch at peak areca
'Just as he was again about to catch her (the parrot goddess), off she glided, landed and perched at the peak of an areca palm.'

The origin of possessive marking in main clauses appears to have been postposed[14] subordinate temporal clauses. Compare in (46) through (48) the similar pattterning which is to be found, among other places, in present-day Mori Bawah, Pamona and Uma:

MRB

(46) *Ko-hawe-no men-toro a meda, pong-kaa-***no**-*mo.*
just-arrive-3SG UM/INTR-sit at table TRI-eat-**3SG**-PERF
'No sooner had he come and sat at the table than in he delved.' (Esser 1933:190)

PAM

(47) *Ku-pedasi nyara-ku, po-lonco-***nya**-*mo.*
1SG-strike.with.object horse-1SG INTR-go.fast-**3SG**-PERF
'I struck my horse, off he went trotting.' (Adriani 1931:476)

UMA

(48) *Na-tompoi', "Aku'-mi, mama."*
3SG-answer 1SG-PERF daddy

*Po-me-hoko'-***ra**-*mi hira' tau tolu.*
INTR-RECIP-hug-**3PL**-PERF 3PL person three
'She answered, "It's me, daddy". (And so) the three of them hugged each other.' (Martens 1988c:229)

In Tolaki, however, such verb forms have become ubiquitous in narrative texts — the verb stem most commonly found in this construction is *lako* 'go', which consequently has come to have a semantically bleached sense translatable as 'then' — where they reliably signal event-line happenings, that is, salient events which move the story forward in time. For example:

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14 In *sabutu-no* of example (45) we also see the use of a possessive pronoun to mark the subject in a **preposed** subordinate temporal clause, a pattern which itself must be very old; compare for example Tagalog *pagalis niya* 'his leaving, when he leaves/left' (Schachter & Otanes 1972:160, 446) among many others. Compare also *ari-no* 'his finishing, his having finished' of example (49). Doubtless the use of P-forms of verbs and possessive marking for subjects in preposed and postposed temporal clauses is related to the fact that these constructions are in origin (if not in some languages still in fact) nominalisations.

As Hwang has noted for English, there is some tendency for postposed (but not preposed) temporal clauses to be used for dramatic surprise, as in *He was up in the tree, picking apples, when the wolf came along* (1990:68). This predisposition is probably also to be observed in these languages, and helps account for why postposed forms developed (in Tolaki) into main clause forms.

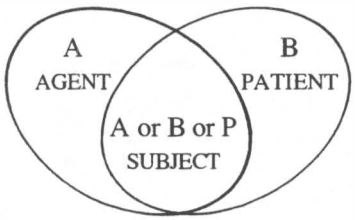
TOL

(49)a. *Ingoni-ako-no-kaa nggiro'o, lako-**no**-to lako mo-salei.*
near.present-INTS-3SG-just that go-**3SG**-PERF go UM/TRI-clear
'Right after that, he went and cleared.'

b. *Saa ari-no mo-salei, lako-**no**-to t[um]uehi-'i.*
when finish-3SG UM/TRI-clear go-**3SG**-PERF UM/clearcut-3SG
'After his having finished clearing, he clearcut it.'

c. *Saa ari-no t[um]uehi-'i, lako-**no**-to h[um]unu-'i.*
when finish-3SG UM/clearcut-3SG go-**3SG**-PERF UM/burn-3SG
'After his having finished clearcutting it, he burned it.'

As illustrated by these sentences, there still exists some tendency for such verb forms to occur in the second clause of a sentence. However, both because of the discourse status of such clauses and the fact that they **can** occur independently — see examples (43) and (44) above — verbs with possessive subjects are arguably no longer dependent verb forms. If this is accepted, then Tolaki has an agreement system in main clauses which is no longer strictly split-ergative, but (in comparison with Proto Bungku-Tolaki) could be characterised as:



Passive verbs with *‹in›* have two distinct uses in Tolaki. On the one hand, they are found in relative clauses and content interrogatives in which the patient is respectively relativised or questioned. As illustrated in (50) and (51), in this use the demoted agent may be expressed by a possessive pronoun.

TOL

(50) *o gandu s[in]olongako-ro i tonga m-bada*
ART corn PASS/pour.out-3PL at middle LKR-field
'the corn which had been poured out by them in the middle of the field'

(51) *O hapo laa k[in]aa-mu?*
ART what be PASS/eat-2SG
'What are you eating?' (Muthalib, Alimuddin, Chalik, et al. 1985:36)

As the predicate in main clauses, on the other hand, passive verbs with *‹in›* are strictly agent-deleting, and thus can be viewed as ordinary intransitives with the potential for only one argument (the underlying patient/derived subject) to be marked on the verb. Example (52) illustrates a passive verb with a nominative pronoun marking its derived subject; example (53) illustrates the same with an absolutive pronoun.[15]

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15 It is also possible for a main clause *‹in›* verb to be unmarked for its (derived) subject. For example:
TOL *Koa oleo hopulo kiniku ni-gere.*
every day ten carabao PASS-slaughter
'Every day, ten carabao are slaughtered.' (Muthalib, Alimuddin, Chalik, et al. 1985:34)

TOL

(52) *Ni'ino, iamo* **no**-*in-ala.*
this NEG.IMPV **3SG**-PASS-take
'This must not be taken.' (Muthalib, Alimuddin, Pattiasina, et al. 1985:27)

(53) *Inotu mo-lua nggiro'o t[in]amo-'ako-***'i**-*to Kolo'imba*
swamp STAT-broad that PASS/name-INSTR-**3SG**-PERF Kolo.Imba
'That broad swamp became named (with the appelation) Kolo Imba.'

As far as I am aware, however, the use of possessive pronouns to mark subjects as described above has not been extended to include the derived subjects of passive verbs.

4.2 Padoe

Padoe is a Bungku-Tolaki language originally spoken in the interior south of Lake Towuti. Although Esser considered Padoe to be a dialect of Mori, it is now usually regarded as a language in its own right. Padoe data have been taken from Karhunen (1994) and Vuorinen (1995). Although van den Berg (1996) made extensive use of Vuorinen's data, his uncertainty about its accuracy (it consists of many elicited sentences) made him chary of giving it full weight. However, based upon my own reading of Esser (1927, 1933) and my experience with closely related languages, the constructions found in Vuorinen seem not only accurate, but valid representations of patterns still to be found in many Bungku-Tolaki languages.

Padoe is somewhat distinct, however, in that here the original Set B pronouns have had a curious history. In Padoe, reflexes of these pronouns have become differentiated into three sets — in order to capture this continuity, I depart from Vuorinen's terminology and label these respectively sets B1, B2 and B3 — depending on which of three functions they were used in: marking patients of transitive verbs (B1); marking subjects of intransitive and other verbs (B2); and, only in future contexts, marking both agents of transitives and subjects of intransitives (B3). In these first two uses Padoe continues functions of these pronouns which are well attested in other Bungku-Tolaki languages and assigned to the protolanguage; the third use, however, which represents an innovation, is discussed at some length below.

Table 7: Padoe pronoun sets

	Unmarked subject	Possessive	B1	B2	B3	Independent
1SG	*ku-*	*-nggu*	*-aku*	*-aku*	*aku*	*iaku*
2SG	*(a)u-*	*-mu*	*-ko*	*-iko*[16]	*iko*	*iiko*
3SG	*no-*	*-no*	*-o*	*-o(to), -lo'o*	*o(no), lo'o*	*umono*
1PL.INC	*to-*	*-ndo*	*-kito*	*-kito*	*kito*	*ikito*
1PL.EXC	*ki-*	*-mami*	*-kami*	*-kami*	*kami*	*ikami*
2PL	*(a)i-*	*-miu*	*-komiu*	*-komiu*	*komiu*	*ikomiu*
3PL	*ro-*	*-ro*	*-iro*	*-iro, -lo'iro*	*iro, lo'iro*	*umboro*

16 Esser (1927:123) gives this form as *-ko* rather than *-iko*.

Set B1 pronouns (but not B2 or B3 pronouns) occur in four allomorphic sets (i.e. first singular *-aku*, *-'aku*, *-haku*, *-nganggu*), where allomorph selection is determined by the verb stem to which the suffix is attached. An analysis of the available data has established that these allomorphs reliably trace back to the stem final consonant of an earlier stage of the language (Mead 1998:76–79). I investigate the use of each Padoe pronoun set in turn. Pronoun sets are illustrated with all classes of verbs (intransitive, transitive, etc.) except for statives, for which unfortunately the crucial data is usually lacking in my sources.

Set B1 pronouns are used as patient markers, and as illustrated in (54) through (56) are exclusively used with transitive definite object verb stems. They are in fact obligatory with such stems, regardless of whether the patient is realised elsewhere in the clause:

PAD

(54) *Iiko kaa t[um]o'ori-***aku** *kee?*
2SG EMPH UM/know-**1SG** INTERROG
'Do YOU know me?' (Vuorinen 1995:110)

(55) *Ki-rodo-***hiro**.
1PL.EXC-hit-**3PL**
'We (exclusive) hit them.' (Vuorinen 1995:110)

(56) *Ki-angga-***'o** *io galu la'a.*
1PL.EXC-work-**3SG** ART rice.field that
'We are working that rice field.' (Vuorinen 1995:111)

Set B2 pronouns, on the other hand, are used for marking subjects, as shown in (57) and (58).[17] Although Set B1 and B2 pronouns are both suffixes, they are in complementary distribution: Set B2 pronouns can occur with all manner of stems **except** transitive definite object verbs. Set B2 pronouns are usually followed by the completive marker *-to*, which thus provides an additional measure of separation between the two pronoun sets (and from a functional perspective, usually indicates that the pronoun marks a subject rather than a patient). Active verbs in such cases are always M-forms.

PAD

(57) *Me-wuni-***o***-to umono ai te'olo.*
UM/INTR-hide-**3SG**-PERF 3SG in woods
'HE hid in the woods.' (Vuorinen 1995:105)

(58) *Mo-nahu-***aku***-to inehu.*
UM/TRI-cook-**1SG**-PERF vegetables
'I cooked vegetables.' (Vuorinen 1995:105)

Because Set B2 pronouns do not occur in allomorphic sets, van den Berg supposed that patient marking must therefore represent an older situation, and subject marking an innovation (1996:109). However, when comparing the Bungku-Tolaki languages it is apparent that reduced pronouns must be reconstructed for Proto Bungku-Tolaki in **both** functions (Mead 1998:332 ff.). One possible explanation for this difference, then, is that

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17 The predicate of (58) is notionally transitive. As noted in §4, however, verbs with indefinite objects (viz. prefixed by *poN-*) are — from the viewpoint of case marking potential — treated syntactically as intransitive.

Set B2 pronouns simply represent a later **capture** as verb suffix. It is also conceivable that this difference results from an analogical leveling whereby Set B2 pronouns came to more resemble Set B3 pronouns (see below).

So-called unmarked subject pronouns (from Set A) are not restricted in the type of stem which they may precede; however, *‹um›* in any of its allomorphs must be absent.[18] As illustrated in (59) through (61), these pronouns mark only subjects and agents.

PAD

(59) *Aso n-ta'u-to* **ku**-*po-ia* *ai Poso.*
one LKR-year-PERF **1SG**-INTR-live at Poso
'I have lived FOR A YEAR in Poso.' (Vuorinen 1995:108)

(60) *Inehu mbio* **au**-*po-nahu.*
vegetable what **2SG**-TRI-cook
'What vegetables are you cooking?' (Vuorinen 1995:107)

(61) *Umari sie* **ku**-*nahu-o.*
finish that **1SG**-cook-3SG
'After that I cooked it.' (Vuorinen 1995:107)

When preceded by one of a certain number of functor words, as in (62) through (64), the pronoun will cliticise to the functor rather than the following verb, but otherwise the patterning is the same.

PAD

(62) *...ako-***ku** *ma-haki.*
because-**1SG** STAT-sick
'...because I was sick.' (Vuorinen 1995:111)

(63) *Amba-ambano ba-***to** *po-nahu boka...*
first if-**1PL.INC** TRI-cook oil
'First, if we make coconut oil...' (Vuorinen 1995:109)

(64) *La-***ku** *to'ori-o nee-no.*
NEG-**1SG** know-3SG name-3SG
'I do not know his name.' (Vuorinen 1995:109)

In the part of the grammar we have investigated so far, the split-ergative system of Proto Bungku-Tolaki is still very much in evidence. The primary difference is a slight formal differentiation of original Set B pronouns into two sets, depending on whether they were used to mark patients or subjects.

In contrast to the above pronoun sets, compare now Set B3 pronouns, illustrated in examples (65) through (67).

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18 Certain intransitive stems with frozen *-um-* constitute only **apparent** exceptions to this claim, for example:
PAD *Ambo no-umari.*
not.yet 3SG-finish
'It is not yet finished.' (Karhunen 1994:39)

PAD

(65) **Lo'iro** *[m]o-nahu inehu.*
3PL UM/TRI-cook vegetables
'They will cook vegetables.' (Vuorinen 1995:103)

(66) **Lo'o** *kaa beehe kee me-'eka*
3SG EMPH want INTERROG UM/INTR-ascend

ai lere saru ikito?
to garden with 1PL.INC
'Does he want to go to the garden with us?' (Vuorinen 1995:101)

(67) **Kito-***to men-tarima-'o kee onie?*
3PL-PERF PL.SUB-receive-3SG INTERROG this
'Shall we receive this?' (Vuorinen 1995:115)

In addition to form, Set B3 pronouns distinguish themselves from Sets B1 and B2 pronouns in three other ways: (a) Set B3 pronouns precede the verb, while Set B1 and B2 pronouns always follow the verb; (b) while Sets B1 and B2 together reflect an older absolutive set of pronouns (i.e. used to mark subjects and patients), Set B3 pronouns constitute a set of nominative pronouns (i.e. they mark subjects and agents); and (c) Set B3 pronouns are only used in irrealis and/or future[19] contexts. All these differences, however, have a unified account if we make the assumption that historically the formative *lo* in the third person pronouns *lo'o* and *lo'iro* was originally a future-oriented verb[20] which was then followed by the appropriate absolutive pronoun. In this view, an expression such as found in example (65) — *lo'iro monahu inehu* — would in origin actually have been a two-predicate structure 'want/must/come-they to cook vegetables'.[21] A growing opacity — whereby the verbal nature of *lo* was no longer recognised — later gave rise to a new set of pronouns.

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19 Vuorinen (1995) prefers the term 'irrealis', while Esser (1927, 1933) labels these 'future' pronouns. Because of the small amount of data, most of it elicited, I prefer to leave open the question of how these forms are best characterised. According to Vuorinen, a Padoe irrealis pronoun followed by the perfective marker *-to* indicates a present continuous aspect:

PAD *Lo'o-to mo-nahu inehu.*
3SG-PERF UM/TRI-cook vegetable
'She is cooking vegetables.' (Vuorinen 1995:103)

while an irrealis pronoun followed by *-po* is used for expressing a future conditional aspect:

PAD *Aku-po l[um]eko ai Tomata.*
1PL-COND UM/go to Tomata
'(Later) if I go to Tomata.' (Vuorinen 1995:104)

However, this understanding is not always reflected in Vuorinen's free translations, e.g. in this view it seems example (66) would be better translated 'Will he want to go to the garden with us?', conversely example (67) translated 'Are we receiving this?'.

20 According to Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca (1994:251ff.), lexical verbs which can develop into future markers include those expressing desire (e.g. 'want'), obligation (e.g. 'must'), and movement (e.g. 'come', 'go'). The hypothesis which I deem most likely is that *lo* was earlier a deictic verb meaning 'be there (distant)', but the demonstration of this must be left for elsewhere; see especially Esser (1927:150ff.).

21 I am indebted to Erik Zobel for initially proposing a development along these lines. Irrealis pronouns are found in other Bungku-Tolaki languages besides Padoe, compare for example the following Mori Bawah constructions. Esser identified the (b) examples as 'future' forms (1927:98, 103):

This hypothesis receives further support in that a particle *lo* with future orientation is still to be found in both Mori Atas and the Watu dialect of Mori Bawah, where — as is shown in (68) through (70) — it appears to be conjugable like any ordinary intransitive verb (albeit having a semantically bleached meaning).

MRA

(68) *Ka i-lo l[um]eko.*
NEG 2PL-FUT UM/go
'You two shall not go.' (Esser 1933:202)

(69) *To-lo me-lere...*
1PL.INC-FUT UM/INTR-dry.field
'Whenever (supposing) we set out a dry field...' (Esser 1933:202)

MRB

(70) *A-mo ro-lo men-tuwu.*
NEG-PERF 3PL-FUT PL.SUB-live
'They shall not live any longer.' (Watu dialect) (Esser 1933:202)

However, the situation has evolved in Padoe to the point where at present *lo* occurs only in third person forms — not first or second person — and even then only optionally.[22] One can also say, for example:

PAD

(71) **Iro** *l[um]eko ai Tomata.*
3PL UM/go to Tomata
'They will go to Tomata.' (Vuorinen 1995:103)

MRB a. *Ku-lako.*
1SG-go
'I go.'

b. *Aku l[um]ako.*
1SG.FUT UM-go
'I will go.'

a. *Ku-'ala-o.*
1SG-take-3SG
'I take it.'

b. *Aku um-ala-o.*
1SG.FUT UM-take-3SG
'I shall take it.'

So far as is known to me, in Bungku-Tolaki so-called irrealis or future pronouns are restricted to a small set of geographically contiguous languages, namely Padoe, Mori Atas, Mori Bawah and Bungku. This limited distribution, as well as certain differences in the form of third person pronouns, suggest that the appearance of such pronouns is an areal feature unrelated to any period of common development.

Interestingly, parallel constructions are also to be found in Muna-Buton languages; compare for example the following data from Cia-Cia (van den Berg 1991c:317):

CIA a. *O-'ala-'e.*
1SG.REAL-take-3SG
'I take it.' (realis)

b. *A-m-ala-'e.*
1SG.IRREAL-UM-take-3SG
'I take it.' (irrealis)

This similarity raises the possibility that irrealis pronouns are actually far older than assumed in this paper. Van den Berg, on the other hand, gives a different account of the development of the realis/irrealis distinction in Muna-Buton pronoun sets; in his view, for example, the Cia-Cia first person singular forms *o-* (realis) and *a-* (irrealis) both originate from a single form **a-*. For arguments in support of this analysis, see van den Berg (1991b:24-25). The whole issue requires further investigation.

22 The explanation given here also does not account for the third person singular future form *ono* — used in Padoe as an alternate to *lo'o* — but it likely has some connection to the form *ino* '3SG (future)' found in Mori Atas. The possible origins of *ino* have already been discussed at some length by Esser (1933:202).

Although the absence of *lo* in first and second person forms could be considered an argument against the proposed hypothesis, it should be remembered that these pronouns in and of themselves historically had no association with futurity. Therefore the development of *aku* '1SG' (< PMP **aku*), *kito* '1PL.INCL' (< PMP **kita*), *iro* '3PL' (< PMP **ida*), etc. into future markers must — in any account — have been via their first becoming well established in future contexts.

Vuorinen (1995:112) further mentions, without illustration, that the third person forms with *lo* also appear as optional variants in the paradigm of Set B2 pronouns. To the extent that this occurs, it appears to result from an analogical leveling whereby Sets B2 pronouns have come to more closely resemble Set B3 pronouns.[23]

In Padoe, passive verbs which occur as the predicate of a main clause have come to be treated entirely as intransitives; they are agent-deleting, and the derived subject may be marked in the same ways as can the subject of an (ordinary) intransitive. This is illustrated in (72) through (74).

PAD

(72) *H[in]enu-***komiu***-to kee ai sala?* (B2)
PASS/hit-**2PL**-PERF INTERRROG on road
'Were you hit on the road?' (Vuorinen 1995:105)

(73) **Ono** *t[in]anu owundu-olo.* (B3)
3SG PASS/bury short-day
'He will be buried in the afternoon.' (Vuorinen 1995:104)

(74) *Inderio* **ai***-h[in]enu?* (UNMARKED SUBJECT)
where **2PL**-PASS/hit
'WHERE were you hit?' (Vuorinen 1995:110)

Although possessive pronouns are still used to mark the demoted agent, such marking is almost always restricted to passives used as nominalisations or in relative clauses; compare (75) through (77).

PAD

(75) *io w[in]awo-***mu**
ART PASS/carry-**2SG**
'your load (i.e. what is carried by you)' (Karhunen 1994:22)

(76) *in-angga-***no** *io sulia*
PASS-work-**3SG** ART sulia
'the sulia's work, what was done by the sulia' (Karhunen 1994:22)

(77) *Henu in-angga-***nggu** *ambo no-umari.*
REL PASS-work-**1SG** not.yet 3SG-finish
'That which I am doing is not yet finished.' (Karhunen 1994:39)

Vuorinen (1995:106) also gives a single example, repeated in (78), which supposedly shows the demoted agent marked on a passive verb functioning as verbal predicate.

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23 An analogical leveling in the reverse direction could also account for the absence of the formative *lo* in irrealis pronouns, but this is speculative.

PAD

(78) *N[in]ahu*-**nggu** *inehu* *la'a.*
PASS/cook-**1SG** vegetables that
'Those vegetables were cooked by me.'

However, an interpretation of (78) as an equative or cleft ('My cooked thing is those vegetables, what was cooked by me are those vegetables') seems to me to be a more likely analysis.[24]

4.3 Kulisusu

Kulisusu is a Bungku-Tolaki language spoken in the northeastern corner of Buton Island. Kulisusu has retained the PBT verbal morphology intact. The primary difference between Kulisusu and other Bungku-Tolaki languages lies in the use of pronoun sets: Kulisusu has simply lost the use of Set B pronouns to encode subjects (e.g. corresponding to the function of Padoe Set B2 pronouns), and thus emerges with nominative-accusative case marking. It is one of the few — perhaps the only — Bungku-Tolaki language to have done so. Data has been drawn from my own field notes. Kulisusu pronoun sets are as follows:

Table 8: Kulisusu pronoun sets

	Nominative	Possessive	Accusative	Independent
1SG	*ku-*	*-ngku*	*-'aku*	*ungkude*
2SG	*u-*	*-u*	*-ko*	*ingko'o*
3SG	*i-*	*-no*	*-ho, -'o, -o*	*inade*
1PL	*to-*	*-mai*	*-kai*	*ingkai*
2PL	*mi-*	*-miu*	*-komiu*	*ingkomiu*
3PL	*ndo-*	*-ndo*	*-'inda*	*indade*
1PL (COLL)	—	*-nto*	*-kita*	*ingkita*

Kulisusu is in the process of losing the first person plural inclusive/exclusive distinction, the forms *-nto*, *-kita* and *ingkita* now being employed only in a collective sense. The third singular accusative pronoun has three stem-conditioned allomorphs, the consonant of which (*h*, glottal or zero) reliably reflects an earlier stem final consonant (Mead 1998:76-79). Independent pronouns exhibit certain substitutions etymologically unrelated to the original PBT free pronouns.

Compare first the following clauses (all verbs are intransitive):

KUL

(79) *La MisiMisikini* *i-lako-mo* *me-sango* *i raja.*
La MisiMisikini 3SG-go-PERF UM/INTR-ask.permission at king
'La Misi-Misikini went to ask permission of the king.'

---

24 A passive which also had marking for the derived subject — if such were possible (e.g. **?no-n[in]ahu-nggu* 'it was cooked by me') — would more clearly be a main clause verb form.

(80) *Be-ku-lako me-baho.*
FUT-1SG-go UM/INTR-bathe
'I want to go bathe.'

(81) *Be-ku-pe-baho.*
FUT-1SG-INTR-bathe
'I want to bathe.'

As illustrated in (79) through (81), the features which characterise subject marking in Kulisusu main clauses in general are: (a) nominative pronouns are used to mark subjects,[25] which marking, as one will note, is incompatible with ‹*um*›; (b) a pronominal marker is present even when the subject is realised elsewhere in the clause, and (c) subject marking is restricted to the first verb of the clause. The common pattern in Kulisusu clauses is thus a conjugated verb (C-form) followed if appropriate by one or more M-forms.

This same pattern is found with transitive verbs, be the patient indefinite as in (82) and (83), or definite as in (84) and (85). In the latter case, an accusative pronoun — compare the third person singular suffix *-ho* in (84) and (85) — obligatorily follows the transitive verb in order to mark the patient thereof.

KUL

(82) *Ana-mai, hiina i-lako mo-onto i e'e Molosu.*
child-1PL NEG 3SG-go UM/TRI-see at water Molosu
'Our son didn't go to look around at Lake Molosu.'

(83) *Sabucuno ndo-po-onto-mo duka sa-mia cina...*
thereupon 3PL-TRI-see-PERF also one-person female
'Just then they also saw a woman...'

(84) *Sadia ndo-lako um-onto-onto-ho.*
always 3PL-go UM-REDP-see-3SG
'They always went to watch him.'

(85) *Sabucuno ndo-onto-ho-mo rapa-no Wangkinamboro...*
thereupon 3PL-see-3SG-PERF head-3SG Wangkinamboro
'Just then they saw Wangkinamboro's head...'

As may be seen in (86) and (87), stative verbs have an invariant form, whether or not a nominative pronoun precedes the stative stem.

KUL

(86) *I-kowoo mo-bosi.*
3SG-have.scent STAT-rotten
'It smells rotten.'

---

25 The only case where subjects are marked otherwise is in the construction *daa-ho* 'there is, there are' (which reflects the old use of Set B pronouns in their function of marking subjects), for example:

KUL *Daa-ho ika, daa-ho koila, daa-te duka garangga...*
exist-3SG fish exist-3SG green.turtle exist-with also edible.seaweed
'There are fish, there are green turtles, there is also edible seaweed...'

The phonologically more conservative Wolio form *daangia* 'there is, there are, it is the case that...' (Anceaux 1988:43) is cognate.

(87) *I-mo-bosi.*
3SG-STAT-rotten
'It's rotten.'

Passive verbs in Kulisusu are marked by *-in-*; as predicates of main clauses they are agent-deleting, and used only when the agent is unknown or irrelevant. As illustrated in (88), in such cases the patient (derived subject) is marked as an ordinary subject, that is with a nominative pronoun.

KUL

(88) *Mewangu mewangu, oloncuduo a'iso i-s[in]ambure.*
morning morning yard that 3SG-PASS/sweep
'Every morning that yard is swept.'

Only when a passive verb with *-in-* occurs as a participle — that is, when it serves as a noun as in (89) or noun modifier as in (90) — is expression of the demoted agent permitted, expressed by a possessive pronoun.

KUL

(89) *Hina-mo i-da'a s[in]ikori-nto.*
NEG-PERF 3SG-NEG.exist PASS/await-1PL.COLL
'There's no longer anyone we are waiting for.' (lit: 'Our awaited one doesn't exist anymore.')

(90) *ihi-no bawu in-ala-no itonia*
flesh-3SG pig PASS-take-3SG just.then
'the pig's flesh which he had taken earlier'

As further seen in (91) through (94), active and stative participles in relative clauses (either headed or headless) also now take the suffix *-no*, a pattern extended from the use of the third person singular possessive pronoun with passive participles.[26]

KUL

(91) *randaa-no raja mo-pii-no a'iso*
daughter-3SG king STAT-sick-PART this
'the king's daughter who was sick'

(92) *mo-'ia-no ri'ai*
UM/INTR-reside-PART here
'the one(s) living here'

---

26 In this use, however, *-no* is better regarded as a participle marker which has lost its connection with person and number. The same development of the third person singular pronoun is also found outside of Bungku-Tolaki, for example in both Muna and Wolio:

MUN *mie-hi niho r[um]ato-no ini*
person-PL just UM/arrive-PART this
'the people who had just arrived' (van den Berg 1989:232)

WOL *O ndoke-mo duka mo-hobuti-na bulu-na pani-na.*
ART monkey-PERF also PART-pull.out-PART feather-3 wing-3
'The monkey was also the one who pulled out the feathers of his wings.' (Anceaux 1988:56)

Given the close geographical proximity of Kulisusu to these other languages, this innovation has doubtless spread areally.

(93) *ke-o ungkude mom-potalo-no...*
if-3SG 1SG UM/TRI-defeat-PART
'If I win...' (lit: 'If it's me who defeats...')

(94) *tama-no l[um]ingka-no itonia*
father-3SG UM/set.off-PART just.then
'her father who had recently gone off'

When a participle is transitive and has a definite patient, however, then patient marking supersedes marking with *-no*. Compare the intransitive participle above in (94) (from the underived stem *lingka* 'set off') with the transitive participle in (95) (from the transitive base *hohalu* 'seek, hunt'), which differ formally only in that the former is followed by the erstwhile possessive pronoun *-no*, but the latter by an accusative pronoun.

KUL

(95) *io bawu-hako h[um]ohalu-'o a'iso*
ART pig-COLL UM/seek-3SG that
'that herd of pigs which was chasing him'

The verb morphology system of Kulisusu can thus be represented as shown in Chart 5. Accusative pronouns obligatorily follow transitive definite object forms, and mark the patient. Nominative pronouns mark agents and subjects, including the derived subject of passives. Note in Chart 5 the near identity of participle forms to the M-forms from which they historically derive.

	M-form	C-form	Participle
Stative	*mo*-V	NOM + *mo*-V	*mo*-V-*no*
Intransitive	*me*-V *mo*-V etc.	NOM + *pe*-V NOM + *po*-V etc.	*me*-V-*no* *mo*-V-*no* etc.
Transitive indefinite object	*moN*-V	NOM + *poN*-V	*moN*-V-*no*
Transitive definite object	*-um*-V + ACC	NOM + V + ACC	*-um*-V + ACC
Passive	*-in*-V	NOM + *-in*-V	*-in*-V + POSS

Chart 5: Kulisusu verbal inflection

5 Proto Kaili-Pamona and Proto Bungku-Tolaki compared

It should be apparent from the above discussion that the Proto Kaili-Pamona and Proto Bungku-Tolaki systems of verbal inflection are of very different natures. One major difference is that PBT maintained a living distinction between **maN-* and **‹um›* on transitive stems, the former marking that the patient was indefinite, the latter that it was definite. This distinction had disappeared in PKP where only **maN-* (irrealis **naN-*) was retained as a marker of transitive (actor focus) verbs.[27]

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27 I would submit, however, that the older indefinite object (antipassive) function of **maN-* was vestigially retained even in PKP in that the object of a **maN-* verb could not appear pronominally, just as is still the case for example in Da'a.

Were this the only difference between the two systems, it could be handled simply by revising our view of Proto Celebic verbal morphology by supplying the system with more 'cells', some of which (e.g. the cell for transitive *‹*um*›) were then lost in Proto Kaili-Pamona. However, another difference concerns the place given to conjugated verbs in the respective protosystems. Conjugated verbs, or rather the Set A pronouns which characterise them, are not reconstructible for Proto Malayo-Polynesian, and therefore constitute one of the innovations by which these languages distinguish themselves therefrom. However in PKP conjugated verbs functioned as irrealis counterparts to realis goal focus verbs with **ni-*, in other words they occupied the functional slot formerly held by PMP **-en*. This is compatible with the view that Set A pronouns developed from fronted (possessive enclitic pronouns serving as) non-topic actor pronouns. This is illustrated in Chart 6, where a PMP box with a heavy line around it indicates a form which was continued in PKP, and a PKP box with a heavy line around it indicates an innovation.

PMP	Realised	Unrealised
	**mina*-V	**ma*-V
	**minaR*-V	**maR*-V
	**minaN*-V	**maN*-V
	**‹umin›*-V	**‹um›*-V
	**‹in›*-V	*V-*en*

⇒

PKP	Realis	Irrealis
Stative	**na*-V	**ma*-V
Intransitive	**ne*-V **no*-V etc.	**me*-V **mo*-V etc.
Transitive AF	**naN*-V	**maN*-V
Transitive GF	**‹in›*-V	SET A + *V

Chart 6: From PMP to PKP

In Proto Bungku-Tolaki, on the other hand, we find conjugated verbs serving as 'counterparts' to all kinds of verbs **except** *‹in›* passives. This development is compatible with the view that conjugated verbs developed from gerunds (verbal nouns, atemporals) via fronting of an associated possessive enclitic pronoun, as illustrated in Chart 7.

PMP	Realised	Unrealised
	**mina*-V	**ma*-V
	**minaR*-V	**maR*-V
	**minaN*-V	**maN*-V
	**‹umin›*-V	**‹um›*-V
	**‹in›*-V	*V-*en*

⇒

PBT	M-form	C-form
Stative	**mo*-V	Set A + **mo*-V
Intransitive	**me*-V **mo*-V etc.	SET A + **pe*-V SET A + **po*-V etc.
Transitive indefinite object	**moN*-V	SET A + **poN*-V
Transitive definite object	**‹um›*-V	SET A + *V
Passive	**‹in›*-V	

Chart 7: From PMP to PBT

The difference between the Proto Kaili-Pamona and Proto Bungku-Tolaki systems is apparent for example in relative clauses. In Kaili-Pamona languages, conjugated verbs are used — indeed, in Uma and Pamona required — in order to relativise the patient of an ordinary transitive predicate, a context where conjugated verbs do **not** appear in Bungku-Tolaki languages.[28] For example, Pamona *tau nda-pepate* 'a killed person, a person killed by them' (Adriani 1931:455) can only be expressed in Kulisusu with an *-in-* passive, i.e. *mia p[in]epate-ndo.*

Furthermore, in Bungku-Tolaki languages where it is now possible for even *-in-* passives to be conjugated in main clauses (a pattern **not** found in KP languages), the pronoun marks not the agent of the action but rather the patient (derived subject). Compare example (96); see also examples (52), (74) and (88) above.

KUL

(96) *Be-ndo-k[in]aa pokana-kana.*
FUT-3PL-PASS/eat same
'They will be eaten the same.' (*eaten by them...)

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28 The rule that when the patient is relativised, an *-in-* form of the verb is required, is very nearly exceptionless in Bungku-Tolaki languages. Some 'exceptions' do exist, but almost always involving the applicative suffix *-ako*. For example in Mori Bawah it is standard for a conjugated form to be used instead of an *-in-* passive when a beneficiary is also cross-referenced on the verb of a relative clause:

MRB *kinaa anu i-binta-ako-ira*
cooked.rice REL 3SG-leave-BEN-3PL
'the cooked rice which she had left for them' (Esser 1927:164)

For certain other exceptions in Mori Bawah, see Esser (1927:164).

This pattern is entirely consistent with the above hypothesis that actor (Set A) pronouns spread to passive forms from a source use of marking subjects and agents of non-passive verbs, but would be highly unexpected (unexplained) if their original use was to mark non-topic agents.

For these reasons, I cannot agree with van den Berg's proposal that a system akin to PKP could also have given rise to the Bungku-Tolaki and Muna-Buton languages. Although we do see the spread of conjugated verbs in Pamona, both Adriani (1931) and van den Berg himself (1996:103) considered this to be a recent development. Furthermore, in that Pamona uses the prefix *ka-* in the conjugated forms of stative verbs — see example (29) above — this innovation shows itself to be distinct from the process by which conjugated verbs developed in South-Eastern Celebic.

6 Conclusions

Because of the significant differences outlined above between Proto Kaili-Pamona and Proto Bungku-Tolaki, one hypothesis would be to assume that their common ancestor did not have conjugated verbs; rather conjugated verbs were innovated separately in Kaili-Pamona and South-Eastern Celebic. This would entail that this common ancestor was more Philippine-like than any of the present-day languages. Just such an hypothesis, for example, was proposed by the Dutch linguist Adriani, and later espoused by his compatriot Esser.

What was said by Dr Adriani in 1914 about the relationship of the Bungku and Mori languages to Bare'e [Pamona] (Adriani & Kruyt 1914:87, 90) has been corroborated by research conducted up to the present: however great the similarity between Bungku-Mori and Bare'e on the one hand their differences from Bare'e, and on the other their similarities with Loinan [Saluan] and its close relatives, are such that the language border between Bare'e and Mori must be taken to be very considerable. On this basis, among other things, Dr Adriani developed the following theory: "By its relationship with Bobongko (on the Togian Islands) and Gorontalo, the Loinan language points to a southward migration of the inhabitants of the north half of the northern peninsula, which divided near present-day Gorontalo: the Loinan branch proceeded via the Togian islands to the further shore east of Tanjung Api, spreading from there to the east (Balantak) and to the south (Bungku), while another branch proceeded to the west and then to the south, and then south of the equator a further branch separated back in an easterly direction. So one may consider that Bare'e, as the most eastern extension of this last-named side flow, came to a halt up against Loinan." (Adriani & Kruyt 1914:89) And one can add to this last statement: "...and further to the south, against Mori". The Mori and Toraja [Kaili-Pamona] language groups thus make up portions of two different language complexes, which have their common point of origin in the Philippine languages. (Esser 1927:7–8) (my translation)

Not all the details of this theory have stood the test of time. In particular we now know that the Gorontalo languages are part of an intrusive wave from the central Philippines which only recently reached the northern peninsula of Sulawesi (Blust 1991). It is also possible that the similarity of the Bungku-Tolaki languages with Saluan is more apparent (i.e. shared retentions) than actual.

It should further be noted that the present study has not **disproved** van den Berg's notion of a Proto Celebic macrogroup. This, of course, could only be accomplished by marshalling evidence — in the form of shared innovations — for some alternative subgrouping hypothesis. Rather, I have shown only that the evidence for a Proto Celebic macrogroup is

weaker than has heretofore been supposed. Although various sound and other shared changes have been proposed for establishing a close link between Kaili-Pamona and their neighbours to the southeast, the principle arguments have either been vitiated by the appearance of newer data, or have not stood up to rigorous investigation.

On the other hand, one possible link between the languages of central and southeastern Sulawesi — and which at the same time suggests that conjugated verbs were not separately innovated — concerns the form of the first person plural exclusive agent prefix. Although agent pronouns are in most cases identical to corresponding possessive pronouns, there is a discrepancy in the first person plural exclusive: in both KP and BT, the agent pronoun consistently shows up as *ki-*, regardless of the form of the corresponding possessive enclitic.

Table 9: Form of the first person plural (exclusive) prefix in various Kaili-Pamona and Bungku-Tolaki languages

	Agent	Possessive
Kulawi	*ki-*	*-kami*
Da'a	—	*-kami*
Uma	*ki-*	*-kai* (dialectally *-kami*)
Pamona	*ka-* (dialectally *ki-*)	*-mami*
Tolaki	*ki-*	*-mami*
Padoe	*ki-*	*-mami*
Mori Bawah	*ki-*	*-mami*
Bungku	*ki-*	*-mami*
Kulisusu	*ki-*	*-mai*
Moronene	*ko-*	*-mami*

If we assume that these language families separately innovated actor prefixes, why they should have reached for the same form **ki-* is then unexplained. On the other hand, assuming their common ancestor did have actor prefixes raises another set of other issues, including the following.

(a) If having a reflex of the actor prefix **ki* '1PL.EXC' defines a macrogroup, what other languages would this encompass? A number of South Sulawesi languages, for example, also employ an agent pronoun *ki* covering the first person plural exclusive.

(b) What position did conjugated verbs occupy in the verbal system of their common ancestor? Although Wolff's hypothesis that conjugated verbs developed in passive contexts dovetails with our understanding of Proto Kaili-Pamona verb forms, it would be a considerably further leap to derive the Proto Bungku-Tolaki system from it, i.e. by what diachronic pathway did conjugated verbs stop being passive forms?

(c) What role did so-called verbal nouns (that is, *p*-forms of verbs, elsewhere variously termed nominalised verbs, verbal substantives or gerunds) play in the development and/or spread of agent pronouns? The role of gerunds in the spread of Set A pronouns to intransitive constructions has already been mentioned with respect to Pamona (§3.3). Furthermore, across Bungku-Tolaki languages, reflexes of Set A pronouns are everywhere incompatible with the occurrence of *‹um›*. This also suggests, on the face of things, that a conjugated form such as Tolaki *ku-ponggaa* 'I eat (something)' developed from an earlier verbal noun, e.g. **paN-kaen-ku* 'my eating'.

Because of the many different verb systems represented in Sulawesi, the languages of this area provide an ideal laboratory for anyone wishing to work on issues of focus and syntactic change in Austronesian. Although I raise certain unanswered questions, I hope the present study has at least presented a clearer picture of the Bungku-Tolaki languages than has previously been forthcoming, as well as brought into relief certain issues which in the past have perhaps not been fully appreciated. Given that we still know little about many of the languages of this area, exciting prospects await us as we follow the evidence where it leads.

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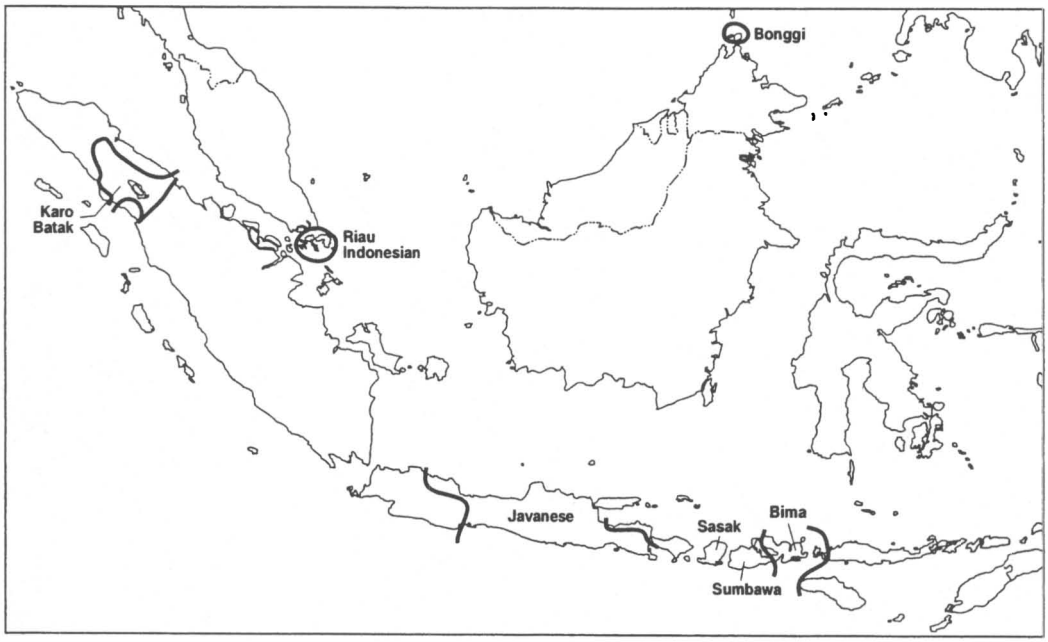
— PART III —

Languages of the rest of Indonesia and Malaysia



Map 3: Languages discussed in Part III

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