Belumpi: Makassarese clitics in Makassar Indonesian

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Makassar Indonesian (MI) refers to the modern variety of Indonesian spoken in the city of Makassar and more generally in the province of South Sulawesi. As such it is the first language of many urban residents of Makassar, and the second language of a larger population of various ethnicities, predominantly Bugis or Makassarese. Its phonology and morphosyntax show a great deal of influence from the Makassarese language (Jukes 2005), but it is also heavily influenced by mainstream 'urban' or Jakarta Indonesian.

This paper will focus on the behaviour of a set of clitics which come from Makassarese (Jukes 2013) but have taken on distinct characteristics within MI. For example, =*mo* and =*mi* in Makassarese signify perfective aspect and are respectively the bare form and a portmanteau containing the 3rd person clitic pronoun =*i*. But in MI they are used without regard for person marking and instead have developed different meanings.

1. *Kaumo yang kucari!* 'I only looked for you'
2. *Kaumi yang kucari!* 'I looked for you already'
3. *Bikin apami itu anak2?* 'What did those kids do?'

The obligatory use of the clitics on Indonesian lexemes expressing aspectual meanings gives redundant forms such as *sudah=mi* <already=PFV> 'already already' and *belum=pi* <not.yet=IPF> 'not yet yet'. Other combinations of =*mo* with clitic pronouns can result in unexpectedly vowel-harmonised forms such as =*moko* and =*miki* (2nd person familiar and polite respectively) rather than the Makassarese forms =*mako* and =*maki'*, suggesting that in the absence of the actual Makassarese rules speakers are seeking alternative regularisation.

4. *Pergimoko!* 'go!' (familiar)
5. *Dudukmiki!* 'sit down!' (polite)

In Makassarese the clitics show a strong tendency to attach to predicates in 2nd position, and do not attach to fronted (focused) nominals. In MI the placement is less constrained, and as can be seen in (1) and (2) they do attach to fronted nominals, and in fact focused elements seem to be the most likely hosts. The interaction between focus and clitic placement (and the differences between MI and Makassarese in this area) will form the final section of the presentation.

References

Jukes, Anthony. 2005. 'Makassar'. In S, Adelaar. & N. Himmelmann (eds), *The Austronesian Languages of Asia and Madagascar*. London: Routledge.

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