

Morpho-phonologically Driven Alignment Systems in Sulawesi

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Person agreement in Sulawesi appears to follow a number of alignment systems: nom-acc, ergative, and a number of intermediate patterns that are often described as split-ergative. I show here how several agreement patterns arise from morpho-phonological triggers (Kikusawa 2003 *inter alia*), thus supporting the idea that verb agreement should not be treated on par with case marking.

Pronominal clitics, especially genitive pronominals, become strictly verb-adjacent enclitics in Sulawesi. Genitive pronominals then develop a proclitic polarity due to paradigmatic pressure created by the externalization of the infix *-in- > *ni-* (Himmelmann 1996, Billings and Kaufman 2004 *inter alia*). This leads to the repositioning of the genitive pronoun as a proclitic as shown in (1) from Kulawi. Compare the intransitive paradigm in (2) where the verb is uniformly prefixed in both the perfective and imperfective.

- (1a) i-epe=ku
PV-hear=1SG.GEN
'I heard (it).'
- (1b) ku=epe
1SG.GEN=hear
'I will hear (it).'
- (2a) nang-ande=I
AV.PRF-eat=3SG.NOM
'He ate.'
- (2b) mang-ande=i
AV.IMPF-eat=3SG.NOM
'He will eat.'

If such a language additionally requires nominative pronouns to appear pre-verbally (when an adequate host is available), the verb-adjacent requirement may be violated by encliticization onto preverbal material. Alternatively, the case requirement may be loosened and the genitive proclitic could stand in the place of the expected nominative to satisfy positional requirements. These possibilities are exemplified by Kulawi and Sa'dan Toraja, respectively. In Kulawi, genitive pronominals are strictly head-adjacent (3a). Nominative pronominals however may encliticize to other elements as seen from the minimal pair in (3) (Adriani and Esser 1939:30).

- (3a) Moma i-epe=ku karata=mu.
NEG PV-hear=1SG.GEN arrival=2SG.GEN
'I didn't hear your arrival.'
- (3b) Moma=ko i-epe=ku na-rata.
NEG=2SG.NOM PV-hear=1SG.GEN AV.REAL-arrive
'I didn't hear you arrive.'

In contrast, Sa'dan Toraja disprefers encliticization of nominative clitics on non-verbs. Instead, when a nominative clitic is attracted to the pre-verbal position--in what I take to be residual second-position clisis--it surfaces as a genitive proclitic (4) (Salombe 1978:49)

- (4a) Sae=i sangmai'
arrive=3SG.NOM yesterday

'He arrived yesterday.'
- (4b) Sangmai' na=sae
yesterday 3SG.GEN=arrive

'He arrived yesterday.'

Here, I will concentrate on case shift scenarios like (4) and illustrate how this leads to attested nom-acc agreement patterns (e.g. *Tukang Besi*, Donohue 1999).

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